

RECENT RESEARCHES IN MUSIC

A-R Editions publishes seven series of critical editions, spanning the history of Western music, American music, and oral traditions.

RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE MUSIC OF THE MIDDLE AGES
AND EARLY RENAISSANCE

Charles M. Atkinson, general editor

RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE MUSIC OF THE RENAISSANCE
David Crook, general editor

RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE MUSIC OF THE BAROQUE ERA
Steven Saunders, general editor

RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE MUSIC OF THE CLASSICAL ERA
Neal Zaslaw, general editor

RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE MUSIC OF THE NINETEENTH
AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES
Rufus Hallmark, general editor

RECENT RESEARCHES IN AMERICAN MUSIC
John M. Graziano, general editor

RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE ORAL TRADITIONS OF MUSIC
Philip V. Bohlman, general editor

Each edition in *Recent Researches* is devoted to works by a single composer or to a single genre. The content is chosen for its high quality and historical importance and is edited according to the scholarly standards that govern the making of all reliable editions.

For information on establishing a standing order to any of our series, or for editorial guidelines on submitting proposals, please contact:

A-R Editions, Inc.
Middleton, Wisconsin

800 736-0070 (North American book orders)
608 836-9000 (phone)
608 831-8200 (fax)
<http://www.areditions.com>

Arias for Stefano Mandini

Mozart's First Count Almaviva

Edited by Dorothea Link

MUS
M
2
.R286
V. 97

In memory of my beloved cousin Götz Link (1940–2015)

A-R Editions, Inc., Middleton, Wisconsin
© 2015 by A-R Editions, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by any electronic or mechanical means (including photocopying, recording, or information storage and retrieval) without permission in writing from the publisher.

The purchase of this edition does not convey the right to perform it in public, nor to make a recording of it for any purpose. Such permission must be obtained in advance from the publisher.

A-R Editions is pleased to support the use of *Recent Researches* material for study or performance. Please visit our website (www.areditions.com) to apply for permission to perform, record, or otherwise reuse the material in this publication.

Printed in the United States of America

ISBN 978-0-89579-825-1
ISSN 0147-0086

© The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.

Contents

Abbreviations and Sigla vii

Acknowledgments viii

Introduction ix

Contemporary Descriptions of Mandini xii

Vocal-Dramatic Roles xiii

The Term “Baritone” xv

The Selections xviii

Appendix xxii

Notes xxxi

Texts and Translations xxxviii

Plate xlvi

Arias for Stefano Mandini

1. Come un agnello, *Giuseppe Sarti* 3
Aria for Mingone in *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode* (Milan, 1782)
2. Saper bramate, *Giovanni Paisiello* 11
Canzone for Count Almaviva in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (St. Petersburg, 1782)
3. Amor non so che sia, *Giovanni Paisiello* 17
Cavatina for Nardone in *La frascatana* (Venice, 1774)
4. Quando vedrai chi sono, *Giuseppe Gazzaniga* 21
Aria for Count Zeffiro in *La vendemmia* (Florence, 1778)
5. In voi donne non v'è fede, *Giuseppe Gazzaniga* 34
Insertion aria for Count Zeffiro in *La dama incognita (La vendemmia)* (Vienna, 1784)
6. Capitan di due sciabecchi, *Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi* 41
Aria for Don Piccariglio (Count Caramella) in *Le vicende d'amore* (Rome, 1783)
7. O miei tristi pensier—Io re sono, *Giovanni Paisiello* 55
Recitative—aria for Teodoro in *Il re Teodoro in Venezia* (Vienna, 1784)
8. Ah trovar fra queste piante, *Antonio Salieri* 69
Aria for Plistene in *La grotta di Trofonio* (Vienna, 1785)
9. Dov'è dunque il mio ben—Vò dall'infami viscere, *Vicente Martín y Soler* 75
Recitative—aria for Lubino in *Una cosa rara* (Vienna, 1786)
10. Un galant'uom son io, *Vicente Martín y Soler* 90
Cavatina for Doristo in *L'arbore di Diana* (Vienna, 1787)
11. Nato io son nello stato romano, *Antonio Salieri* 92
Canzonetta for Biscroma in *Axur, re d'Ormus* (Vienna, 1788)
12. Tutto amabile e galante, *Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi* 99
Cavatina for Don Calloandro in *La pastorella nobile* (Naples, 1788)

13. Cara mia sposa amata, *Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi* 107
 Aria for Don Calloandro in *La pastorella nobile* (Naples, 1788)

Critical Report 119
 Sources 119
 Editorial Methods 119
 Critical Notes 120
 Notes 127

Abbreviations and Sigla

Abbreviations

MGG2	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finscher. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008.
NG1	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. London: Macmillan, 1980.
NG2	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. London: Macmillan, 2001.
OperaGrove	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Opera</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie, 4 vols. London: Macmillan, 1992.

Sigla

A-Wn	Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
A-Whh	Vienna, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv
A-Wst	Vienna, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus
A-Wtm	Vienna, Österreichisches Theatermuseum
I-Fc	Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Biblioteca
I-Nc	Naples, Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella, Biblioteca
US-Wc	Washington, D.C., Library of Congress

Acknowledgments

The University of Georgia provided precious research time in the form of a Center for Humanities and Arts Junior Research Fellowship in 2003 and a Willson Center for the Humanities and Arts Research Fellowship in 2013.

Chief among the libraries whose resources I have used in the preparation of this volume is the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, the unfailing helpfulness of whose staff I have come to rely upon. My thanks also to the Wienbibliothek im Rathaus for access to its libretto collection. I would also like to express my appreciation to the libraries of the Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Florence, and the Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella, Naples, for placing entire opera scores online in an easy-to-use format.

Mauro Ronca unraveled the arcane wordings of some of the aria texts and puzzled out text underlay in tricky passages. Elena Bianchelli applied her considerable linguistic expertise to Benedetto Frizzi's sometimes opaque writing. As he did for the preceding three volumes in this series, John Rice read the entire manuscript and filled the margins with perceptive comments and questions. Our subsequent discussion by email was enormously helpful to me for working out some of the remaining problems.

As usual, the staff at A-R Editions have patiently and rigorously overseen every aspect of the volume's production, for which they have my admiration and gratitude.

Although Stefano Mandini enjoyed an extraordinarily long and distinguished career throughout Europe, he is remembered today primarily for having created the role of Count Almaviva in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*. Had he not left Vienna eleven weeks before the Vienna premiere of *Don Giovanni*, he would almost certainly have sung the title role in that production. Indeed, scholars have often observed that Mozart seems to have composed the music for *Don Giovanni* as much with Mandini in mind as Luigi Bassi, the singer who created the role in Prague.¹ Aside from that, Mandini's only other artistic interaction with Mozart was in his role of Pippo in the quartet and trio (K. 479 and K. 480) composed by Mozart in 1785 for insertion into *La villanella rapita*. He probably did not know that Mozart had him in mind for the role of Don Asdrubale in his unfinished opera of about 1784, *Lo sposo deluso* (K. 430).

An interesting feature of Asdrubale's music is the clef in which it is notated: while the other roles mentioned above are notated in bass clef, Asdrubale's is in tenor clef. Searching for an explanation leads to aspects of late-eighteenth-century opera practice that are still imperfectly understood. Today Mandini would be classified as a baritone, but in his day he was rarely called such. Instead, the labels most frequently attached to him were *mezzo carattere* and *buffo caricato*, terms that designate vocal-dramatic roles rather than voice type. To understand Mandini's voice in its historical context, we need to investigate the system of vocal-dramatic roles used in the late eighteenth century and to inquire into the history of the term "baritone." We should then be able to explain Mozart's use of two clefs for Mandini's music and to understand the nature of the thirteen arias in this volume, all drawn from Mandini's operatic career.

Mandini was born in Bologna between 1750 and 1756 and was active as a singer to at least 1799.² His first known operatic appearance was in Ferrara during Carnival 1774. He met his future wife, the soprano Maria Piccinelli, in Florence in the autumn of 1780, when they were both singing there. They married a few months later during Carnival 1781 in Parma.³ Probably at this time he was granted the honorary title of *virtuoso di camera dell'Infante di Spagna, duca di Parma*, a title Mandini carried with him until his appointment in Vienna.⁴ In the following season, spring 1781, the newlyweds were engaged at the same theater in Florence as Stefano's brother Paolo (1757–1842). In autumn of that year, both

Introduction

brothers performed together in Milan, but it does not appear that Maria sang with them. During the next season (Carnival 1782), however, all three were singing together again, this time in Livorno. The table "Stefano Mandini's Roles" in the appendix vividly shows Mandini's grueling (if not atypical) lifestyle, as he moved from city to city almost every opera season.

In spring 1783 Mandini joined the newly created opera buffa company at the court theater of Joseph II in Vienna. He remained there five years, the longest he stayed anywhere in his entire career, and his success there can be charted by the increases in his salary. He was initially engaged at an annual salary of 2812 gulden, which was less than that of either the *prima donna* (Nancy Storace, 3248 gulden) or the *primo buffo* (Francesco Benucci, 2073 gulden for nine months).⁵ The following year, when the opera buffa had proven to be financially viable, salaries were increased: Storace's and Benucci's rose to 4061 gulden each and Mandini's to 3275 gulden. In 1785–86 Storace's and Benucci's salaries remained essentially the same at 4071 gulden, while Mandini's was brought up to 3721 gulden. In 1786–87 the stellar tenor Domenico Mombelli was recruited from the Teatro San Carlo in Naples at a handsome salary of 4500 gulden. This new benchmark set off a ripple of negotiations within the company: Storace's salary was raised to match Mombelli's, but Benucci only managed an increase to 4185 gulden. Mandini's salary was adjusted to match Benucci's, starting rather unusually in mid-season on 1 November. Mandini's salary remained on a par with Benucci's in the following season—his last, as it turned out.

Maria Piccinelli Mandini was engaged as a wife, a status that the theater account books indicate with the phrase "dem Mandini, samt Gattin," and indeed no separate salary is ever recorded for her. The same was true of Vincenzo Calvesi and his wife Teresa; his salary, nominally for the two of them, remained unchanged when Teresa did not return to Vienna with him after their year's leave of absence.⁶ Both Maria and Teresa were cast in *seconda donna* roles as circumstances permitted, but they were not essential to the company, as there were enough *seconde donne* to be had from the pool of local singers. Maria was, truth be told, not much of a singer. Above her only aria in the performance score of *L'arbore di Diana* someone has written in conductor's crayon (*Rötel*) "canta male"—a most unusual distinction.⁷ A Parisian admirer,

after gushing on about her great looks, superb acting, and charming style, finally admits that she "is not remotely a singer."⁸ In an otherwise unremarkable career, she had the great luck to enter history as the first Marcellina in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*.

Paolo and Stefano Mandini are often confused in the literature, partly because they had the same type of voice and sang many of the same roles. Since the confusion also extends to Vienna, it seems worthwhile to present the known facts about Paolo's presence there. Paolo Mandini joined the company for the 1785–86 season.⁹ At his debut on 6 May 1785, Count Karl Zinzendorf observed, "The brother of Mandini, body of a dancer, not singing at all badly."¹⁰ The theater account books, which report a salary of 2188 gulden and 46 kreuzer for him—somewhat less than Stefano's starting salary—identify him as the younger Mandini (*Mandini der jüngere*).¹¹ Although he spent the entire season in Vienna, he is only known to have sung in two operas, in Anfossi's *I viaggiatori felici* as Gianetto at his debut and in Bianchi's *La villanella rapita* as Paolino on 25 November.¹² The latter opera is of particular interest, as Mozart contributed to it the quartet "Dite almeno in che manca!" (K. 479) and the trio "Mandina amabile" (K. 480), as mentioned earlier. The opera's cast is uncertain, for the cast list written in *Rötel* on the front cover of the performance score (A-Wn, KT 467) conflicts in part with the singers named by Mozart in his thematic catalogue. The cast list on the cover of the score shows the roles and singers thus:

Konte [sic].....	Calvesi
Biagio [sic].....	Marchesi
Giannina.....	Molinelli
Bippo [sic].....	Bussani
Mandina.....	Coltellini
Ninetta.....	Distler
Paolino.....	Mandini Paolo

Mozart's thematic catalogue and the score taken together show that "Sig^{ra} Coltellini" sang Mandina, "Sig^{re} Calvesi" sang Il Conte, "Sig^{re} Mandini" sang Pippo, and "Bußani" sang Biaggio.¹³ The most likely explanation for the discrepancy is that the cast lists were written at different times; the cast list in the score could have been written during the planning stage of the theater year, which took place during Lent, when the singers whose contracts had ended were leaving and the new singers were arriving. Mozart's entries in his thematic catalogue on 5 and 21 November, however, show how the casting actually played out once the season got underway: Bussani was switched from Pippo to Biaggio, and the role of Pippo was now assigned to Mandini—that is, to Stefano Mandini. Had Mozart meant Paolo, he would have written "Mandini Paolo," "Mandini der jüngere," or something similar. A recently discovered report in the *Gazzetta universale* for 10 December 1785 confirms that Stefano did indeed sing in the opera;¹⁴ Paolo presumably sang the role of Paolino, as previously assigned. Paolo left Vienna at the end of the season. He did not return for the 1789–90 season, as is often erroneously stated in the secondary literature, but sang in Brescia in spring 1789, in

Bologna in autumn 1789, and in Brescia again in Carnival 1790.¹⁵ The sources that show his supposed presence in Vienna in the 1789–90 season consist, once again, of scores with cast lists apparently written during Lent.

Stefano Mandini is known to have performed in twenty-three of the forty-nine Italian operas mounted during the five seasons he sang in Vienna, though he probably sang in even more than that. Fifteen of the forty-nine operas were commissioned for Vienna, counting Salieri's one-act opera *Prima la musica, poi le parole*; Mandini is known to have sung in nine of those fifteen. His roles will be examined in detail below.

The brewing war with Turkey introduced an element of uncertainty into the continuance of the opera company. When Mandini and Calvesi applied for a year's leave of absence to sing in Naples, Joseph not only granted the request but also smoothed the way for them by asking his representative in Naples, Baron de Thugut, to patronize the two singers in whatever way he could.¹⁶ The men and their wives left Vienna during Lent 1788. Half a year later, Joseph received a request from his sister, Queen Maria Carolina of Naples, asking whether she could retain Mandini in Naples. Joseph granted this request as well, freeing Mandini from his contract with the Vienna court theater.¹⁷ Mandini's engagement in Naples lasted from spring 1788 to the end of Carnival 1789; he was employed at the Teatro del Fondo as *primo buffo toscano*, while Maria was employed at the Real Teatro detto Nuovo as *prima buffa assoluta*.¹⁸ The designation *primo buffo toscano* distinguishes the singer, in this case Mandini, from local singers who sang their roles in the Neapolitan dialect.¹⁹ Although the queen had expressed a wish to keep Mandini in Naples, he left for Paris at the end of Carnival 1789, having been recruited for a brand new Italian opera company inaugurated there on 26 January.²⁰

Directed by Giovanni Battista Viotti, the Théâtre de Monsieur was founded under the patronage of the king's brother, the Count of Provence, who would later ascend to the French throne as Louis XVIII. The "Monsieur" in the name of the theater referred to him, but the count merely lent his name to the enterprise; the real driving force behind it was Marie Antoinette.²¹ The theater played to the nobility, but the events of the revolution soon caught up with it and precipitated numerous changes. On 20 June 1791 the Count of Provence fled Paris, but the royal family's attempted flight the same night ended with their arrest in Varennes. Within days the theater's name was changed to Théâtre Feydeau, after its newest location on the street of that name. On 10 August 1792 the royal family were taken as prisoners to the Tuileries Palace. Three weeks later, after a final performance on 31 August, the Italian opera company was disbanded.²²

The company was richly endowed with first-rank singers, according to the personnel lists compiled by Alessandro Di Profio in large part from two theater almanacs. In 1792, for example, there were three singers classified as *primo buffo caricato*—Mandini, Luigi Raffanelli, and Giovanni Morelli—as well as three *prime donne*—Rosina Balletti, Anna Morichelli Bosello, and

Maria Piccinelli Mandini.²³ Salary figures for that year, however, reveal that not all the singers classified as first rank in the almanacs were in fact paid equally.²⁴ Among the *prime donne*, Balletti and Morichelli were both paid 16,800 livres annually, while Maria Mandini was paid 12,000. Among the men, Mandini and Raffanelli were both paid 16,800 livres; Morelli's salary is not known.

Of the thirty-four operas produced at the Théâtre de Monsieur over its four years of existence, thirty-two were imported. Judging by the repertory, a large number came from Vienna, but this hunch cannot be confirmed, as the scores from the Théâtre de Monsieur do not survive, and there are consequently no title pages that might have revealed from what opera houses the scores were procured.²⁵ It is not surprising then that, with one exception, Mandini sang roles he had either created or performed previously. His sole new role in Paris was that of Sancio in Angelo Tarchi's *Don Quisciotte*. It is possible Mandini had some say in the choice of repertoire for himself, for we read, "*La Grotte de Trofonius* is a sad and severe composition, which did not present beauties of a higher order. The actors who performed it are not as well placed in it as they are in their other operas. It is M. Mandini's predilection for this music that sustained it for three performances."²⁶ Of the seventeen operas in which Mandini sang in Paris, eleven were operas he had performed in Vienna,²⁷ including two he had helped create: Salieri's *La grotta di Trofonio*, just mentioned, and Vicente Martín y Soler's *Una cosa rara*. In Paris Mandini also resumed his role of Don Calloandro in Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile*, which had been written for him in Naples in 1788.

Despite his short tenure there, Mandini achieved almost legendary status in Paris. As late as 1854 he was held up as a model of perfection by Paul Scudo, who, despite never having personally heard Mandini sing, reports what the "vieux dilettanti," among them his voice teacher Alexandre Choron, thought of him:

Mandini was a virtuoso of the most rare merit, whose sweet tenor voice, flexible, delicate, and of a delicious color, radiated effortlessly and filled the ear with an exquisite sonorosity. Endowed with a handsome, commanding appearance, a cultivated mind, and excellent musicianship, Mandini succeeded especially in the *demi-caractère* roles, which the style of the majority of buffa operas of his time, and particularly that of the music of Martini [i.e., Martín y Soler], admitted. After having shone successively in Naples, Milan, Venice, and Vienna, Mandini came to Paris in 1789, and, with the celebrated Morichelli, formed part of that excellent company of Italian singers who stayed in France until 1792.

All the old dilettantes who fondly remember hearing Mandini sing in *Cosa rara* concur in saying that nothing in our day can give an idea of so perfect a technique. My illustrious teacher Alexandre Choron, in rare moments when he was reasonably satisfied with us, used to say: "Ah! if you had heard Mandini in *Cosa rara*, you would not have any difficulty in imagining the ideal that I am trying to awaken in you." He always finished his little lecture by murmuring in a quivering voice the exquisite phrase of "Pace, mio caro sposo!" until emotion drowned out the remains of what was

once a fine tenor voice.²⁸ After the revolution of 10 August, Mandini returned to Italy; he was in Venice in 1794. He traveled the following year to St. Petersburg, where Madame Vigée Le Brun had the pleasure of hearing and admiring one of the most perfect singers from the end of the eighteenth century.²⁹

It is worth noting that Mandini is reported to have had a "sweet tenor voice," yet the role for which he was remembered was the baritone role of Lubino in *Una cosa rara*.

On 3 November 1791 the *Chronique de Paris* reported that Mandini had been engaged for Madrid.³⁰ He left Paris in early April 1792 and can be found singing in Madrid on 8 May 1792. At the end of his one-year engagement in Spain, he returned to the Italian circuit. In 1795 he, along with his brother but not his wife, was recruited for St. Petersburg, where Prince Nicolas Borissovitch Youssoufop reestablished an Italian comic opera company, assuming the entire cost himself.³¹ Stefano Mandini was engaged as *primo buffo assoluto* and Paolo Mandini as *primo mezzo carattere*. Stefano received a warm reception from the Russian and émigré nobility alike. The portrait painter Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun left such a sympathetic description of him in her memoirs, one wishes she had painted him:³²

The actors and actresses in St. Petersburg were all French, and, although not the equal of the great comedians in Paris, they possessed for the most part much talent and played in perfect ensemble. We did not wait long, moreover, for the arrival of a man who, although young, had already excited delight in Italy and France. It was Mandini, of whom one can say he united in himself all imaginable assets for the theater. He was a good-looking man, a great actor, an admirable singer, and he arrived from Paris, where several people can still remember having heard him. Since he could not perform French opera, Princess Dolgorouky hosted several Italian operas in the summer in the small Aleksandrovsk Theater. Mandini was of course given the leading roles, in which he was so ravishing that the actresses and actors who played the supporting roles were obliged to sacrifice their self-vanity to him.³³

Vigée Le Brun states that Mandini could not perform in French opera, and yet he did so twice. On 1 March 1796 he participated in a *comédie de société* (a private performance in which the nobility itself takes the roles, sometimes with the participation of paid professionals) put on at Princess Dolgorouky's residence in Aleksandrovsk, near St. Petersburg. The opera performed at this event was Martín y Soler's *comédie mêlée de musique, Camille, ou Le souterrain*, the composer's only attempt in this genre.³⁴ However well or badly he managed the French dialogue—and it is hard to imagine an artist of his caliber agreeing to make a fool of himself on stage—he went on to perform in *Le quiproquo*, an *opéra comique* by François-André-Danican Philidor, in St. Petersburg in 1797. Fyodor Rostopchine (Count as of 1799), a courtier and later governor general of Moscow, who would later achieve fame for ordering the city to be burned to the ground during the advance of Napoleon's army in 1812, recorded in a letter the effect Mandini had on the women:

Our ladies have lost their minds. An opera buffa singer, Mandini, caused them to do the silliest things. They carry about with them the posies that he distributed to them. Princess Dolgorouky applauded him all on her own; beside herself, she called from her box "Fuora! Bravo!" And Princess Kourakine relates all triumphantly that Mandini spent the evening at her place, in a dressing gown and nightcap. . . . The wife of this singer, a Parisian prostitute, is received everywhere on account of her husband.³⁵

The Mandini brothers were still singing in St. Petersburg in 1799, after which all traces of Stefano disappear. Paolo went on to sing in Berlin and eventually Bologna, with his final known appearance on stage in that city in 1811.³⁶

Contemporary Descriptions of Mandini

Contemporary reviews consistently single out Mandini's excellent vocal technique and his equally excellent acting ability. Scudo's praises in 1854 turn out not to have been inflated over time, for the contemporary Parisian press had been no less laudatory. A Paris review of 1789 describes Mandini as a singer who was "endowed with all the natural gifts that make an actor, but above all with the rare gift of a versatile and expressive physiognomy, possessing a most beautiful and sensitive voice, and the enchanting art of using it to fullest effect."³⁷ A review of *Il finto cieco* in 1791 exclaims, "M. Mandini surpassed himself, if that is possible, in the role of Volpino. The grace, the fire, the comic strength, and the inimitable lightness that characterize this excellent singer will always assure him a complete success."³⁸ In a review from 1792 we read that

M. Mandini is as perfect a singer as he is an actor. These two great accomplishments have not previously been seen allied in a single person. Always true to the character he played, no matter the genre. Always on stage with a continual veracity; always his soul was the expression of his performance. Superb when alone on stage he sang a grand aria; superb as well when he animated a section of an ensemble or a finale. In short, that sublime talent made itself felt in the heart and ears of all those who heard him. It is impossible to unite so much talent at once, and everything to the highest degree of perfection imaginable. Nature, prodigious with him, endowed him with a beautiful figure and with an even more beautiful instrument.³⁹

While the Parisian reviews were numerous and loquacious, the smaller number of reviews from Vienna and elsewhere extol Mandini in a more prosaic manner. In his travel guide to Vienna, Johann Pezzl devotes a section to the opera, declaring that "Mandini and Benucci are the most accomplished *buffo* actors one can see."⁴⁰ Richard Edgcumbe, Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, writes about the 1784–85 season: "At Vienna, where I passed all the winter, there was no serious opera, but a most excellent set of singers for the comic, consisting of Ademberger [*sic*] and Viganoni, who had been in England, Benucci and Kelly, who afterwards came thither, Mandini, an excellent buffo, and Storace, first woman, with several very good both male and female performers for the secondary parts."⁴¹

Reviewers also comment on Mandini's refined bearing on stage. A Viennese pamphlet from 1790 declares, "In the Italian [opera] company there is only Benucci—previously there was [also] Mandini—who knows how to elevate the plot with his acting and singing."⁴² When Mandini appeared as Count Almaviva in Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in Vienna in 1783, Emperor Joseph observed that "Mandini played very well, except for the drunkard, which does not suit him."⁴³ Joseph is referring to one of the disguises that Almaviva adopts, which depends on the exaggerated gestures of the *commedia dell'arte* tradition for its effect. Mandini's unsuitability for this type of humor may have been seen as a deficiency in Vienna, but in Paris it apparently counted as an asset. As one critic put it, evaluating Mandini's performance in the same role six years later in Paris: "M. Mandini is assigned Count Almaviva, whom he renders with infinite nobility, even in the scenes where the disguises permit him to engage in gaiety. It is impossible to impart greater grace and spirit to the scene of the cavalier; and the great art of M. Mandini is to have avoided caricature and to have always allowed the great lord to shine through the diverse disguises."⁴⁴ The belief in the innate and universally recognizable superiority of the nobility was of course tenaciously held by the spectators at the Théâtre de Monsieur. In a similar vein Mandini was applauded in Paris for his portrayal of generosity in the figure of the gruff old man with a heart of gold in *Il burbero di buon cuore*: "M. Mandini, who played the role of the *Bourru*, is of a grand superiority in the moments where his magnanimity raises him above his brusqueness."⁴⁵

While some critics vaunt Mandini for his perfect portrayal of the fine manners of the *ancien régime* in some roles, others single out—not always positively—distinctly Italian traits of his performance. One critic—the same who had waxed rhapsodic about Maria Mandini even while admitting that she could not sing—begins with a recitation of Mandini's good qualities: "A beautiful figure, an easy manner, infinite charm, a lively face, subtle and comical acting, an abundance of gracefulness, roguery, and spirit, a charming voice, much lighter and more flexible than usual in a bass; a manner of singing that is piquant, artful and full of imagination; there you have Mandini, whom one cannot tire to praise or to hear." Then he voices his criticism:

I know very well that his comic art exceeds nature a little; that with a figure made to be noble, he sometimes lacks dignity when he should have it; that his antics, although similar enough to those of our harlequins and always amiable, are not always in the best of taste; that his voice even has a certain tremor that is sometimes unpleasant; but, in truth, it is only reflection, and a very severe reflection, that allows one to perceive in him these light faults. When one sees him, when one hears him, one is only disposed to laugh, to find everything charming, and to forgive him everything.⁴⁶

At issue in the criticism of Mandini's "antics" is the difference between the French and Italian sense of humor, already noted. The Italian *commedia dell'arte*, whose conventions underlie opera buffa, relies on a highly devel-

oped and stylized type of humor that is anything but natural and at times can be quite earthy.⁴⁷ The second criticism, about the slight tremor in the voice, is of interest because no other source points it out. But the tremor may not have been so noticeable after all; by the following year when the same critic sang Mandini's praises for his role in *Il finto cieco*, he had forgotten about (or pardoned) this tiny blemish.⁴⁸

A third feature of Mandini's performing singled out by reviewers is his facility to move between tenor and bass roles. In Paris, where he was engaged as a *buffo caricato*, two reviewers comment on his ability to sing tenor roles as well. According to one, "Mandini has a very beautiful and very free bass voice that has a wide range. Both this and an excellent technique allow him to sing even tenor roles. His acting is spirited and sensitive, and he has a good sense for comedy, and yet he is always natural."⁴⁹ The second report is particularly interesting for its detail:

[The opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia*] is too well known in all of Europe and even in France to need an introduction, but it is good to notice the extraordinary manner in which the roles in this opera are distributed at the Théâtre de Monsieur. Count *Almaviva*, a role portraying a nobleman, as one knows, and written for a *Tenore*, will be taken by M. *Mandini*, *Buffo caricato* (*Basse-taille comique*). The role of *Figaro*, very buffo and written for a bass, will be played and sung by M. *Viganoni*, *Tenore*, whose specialty lies in serious roles. If these two roles appear to be little suited to the two voices, they at least suit very well the figures, the physiques of these two virtuosos, and, from what one knows of their talent, one is allowed to hope that the work will lose nothing in this exchange. One will see that M. *Mandini* is capable of singing and M. *Viganoni* of acting.⁵⁰

The unexpected swapping of roles in this opera has an explanation, as we shall see, but it also illustrates the versatility of singers in the late eighteenth century. Mandini may have been engaged as a *buffo caricato* at the Théâtre de Monsieur, but he also had many tenor roles in his portfolio. In his early career in Italy he most often sang as a *mezzo carattere*, which is how Benedetto Frizzi came to know and admire him.⁵¹ But he sometimes also sang as a *buffo caricato*, as in spring of 1782 in Mantua, where Frizzi probably encountered him: "I have heard Mandini, whom I already mentioned as a good *Mezzo Carattere* in that theater [Mantua], as a *Caricato Buffo*."⁵²

Vocal-Dramatic Roles

To review the three last quotations, Mandini is first described as a bass who can sing tenor roles; second, as a *buffo caricato* who assumed a *tenore* role; and third, as a good *mezzo carattere* who can also sing as a *buffo caricato*. These terms need explanation, and a helpful source in this regard is Frizzi's own *Dissertazione di biografia musicale* (published after 1802). Written in the form of a series of letters, Frizzi's treatise throws some light on the vocal-dramatic classification system used in late-eighteenth-century Italian opera. Although he does not directly describe the system, he does describe six vocal-dramatic types: *musico* (castrato), *prima donna seria*, *tenore*, *mezzo*

carattere, *prima donna buffa*, and *buffo caricato*. Of the *mezzo carattere*, one of the two types applied to Mandini, he says:

The *mezzo carattere*. . . . It is a role in opera buffa in which there is no opportunity to represent heroism, nor the noblest passions or the sublime delicacy of the human heart; it is a mixture of pleasant gaiety in which the *mezzo carattere* is the most serious part, but always in relation to the whole, and no more. This character is often either a lover, who must feel some pain, either from jealousy or from paternal resistance, before coming to possess the beloved spouse, who is the *prima donna*; or else some intriguing character, who, however, never harbors any of the feelings of tenderness or morality that are of interest to the tenor of an opera seria. For this reason the *mezzo carattere* belongs in a middle ground between a *tenore serio* and a buffo, and in the manner of his singing he should be between a high tenor and a pure buffo. It would be risible if this *mezzo carattere* were to attempt flights, jumps, leaps, and difficult cadenzas, and likewise if he were to adopt the simple harmonic lines and sustained singing of a bass.⁵³

In short, the *mezzo carattere* plays serious characters or lovers in comic operas, occupies a register between high tenor and bass, and cultivates a lyrical singing style. The *buffo caricato*, in contrast—the second of the two vocal-dramatic designations we have seen applied to Mandini—has to provoke laughter without becoming annoying, is usually sung by a bass but sometimes also a baritone, and requires a rich voice to make the simple vocal lines ring, an effect that can be particularly felicitous in slow tempos:

The *buffo caricato* . . . is one of the most difficult roles a man may assume in dramatic theater, and it is also for this reason that, among the many I have heard, few have become objects of my admiration or pleasure. With regards to acting, it is difficult for a man who must try to be more or less laughable in every movement not to cause boredom with his monotony. The ridiculous, if not moderated, can give pleasure to few; in my opinion, there are many types of laughable matters, and what pleases one may displease another; and not only every nation, but almost every town has as a type of humor that is right for its customs. . . . A *buffo* who tries to please must increasingly rely on excesses and exaggerations, which, in the end, become annoying. . . .

Speaking, then, of the type of music that is appropriate to these *buffi*, it is singing by a bass and sometimes a baritone, which, in order to be pleasing in its simplicity and with its often forceful accompaniment, requires a sonorous voice, accurate in intonation, far from any sign of embarrassment caused by hoarseness, all of which is quite rare, and which is all the more beautiful the slower the singing and the fewer the notes. . . . This type of music has the additional drawback that what is pleasing in the theater, accompanied by the appropriate action and by scenic elements that create a perfect echo to what is being sung, is reduced to little value if used in a concert [*accademia*].⁵⁴

Mandini began his career singing predominantly as a *primo mezzo carattere* or a *primo buffo mezzo carattere*.⁵⁵ In Alessandria in spring 1780, during the course of his engagement as a *primo buffo mezzo carattere*, Mandini even sang as a *tenore* in a *dramma per musica*. Starting in 1781 we also find him singing *primo buffo caricato* roles.

Few Viennese sources survive to tell us what Mandini is called in the court theater's company, but the few that do conform to Italian practice. According to the list of singers printed in the *Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1787*, Mandini filled the slots of both *primo buffo* and *primo mezzo carattere* ("Signore Mandini, primo Buffo, e primo m. Car.").⁵⁶ Zinzendorf calls him a *primo mezzo carattere* the first time he mentions him on 16 April 1783.⁵⁷ Mozart designated the role of Don Asdrubale in *Lo sposo deluso*, which he intended for Mandini, as that of a *primo mezzo carattere*.⁵⁸ Beyond these few references, there are also the opera scores to tell us whether Mandini sang tenor-clef roles or bass-clef roles.

Before we look at the scores, we should consider the meaning of clefs. In the foreword to his Paisiello thematic catalogue, Michael Robinson reports encountering four different clefs in the scores he examined: soprano C-clef (C1), alto C-clef (C3), tenor C-clef (C4), and bass clef (F4).⁵⁹ In the incipits to the operas' numbers, he is careful to show the clef used in the original score; the sole exception is the soprano C-clef, for which he always substitutes the G-clef. In the character list for each opera, he designates the voice types by the clefs used; thus in the comic operas we see S (soprano), T (tenor), and B (bass) roles. In the *drammi per musica*, which include *musici* in the cast, we might also find roles labeled A (alto). The only voice type that strays from its proper clef, as Robinson explains, is a particular type of Neapolitan tenor, "whose vocal line is written out partly in the soprano and partly in the tenor clef."⁶⁰ This notational practice appears to be remarkably consistent for all of Paisiello's operas in all scores. Other composers, though, could use clefs in a slightly different fashion. John Rice reports that in Salieri's *La fiera di Venezia*, written for Vienna in 1772, the baritone role of Grifagno is notated partly in the tenor clef and partly in the bass clef.⁶¹

Continuing on from Robinson, each clef can obviously accommodate more than one voice type. For example, in comic opera, the soprano clef accommodated a wide range of women's voices. Of greater interest here is the tenor clef, which accommodated both low tenors and high tenors (the latter becoming known as *contraltini* tenors in the early nineteenth century). A baritone sang both low tenor and bass roles and thus found his music notated in both tenor and bass clefs. To some extent the vocal styles of the music written in the two clefs differ from one another. The nature of the vocal writing seems to be related to the overall affect of the vocal-dramatic roles, the lover (*mezzo carattere*) and the comic (*buffo caricato*). For the lover, a serious, sometimes noble, if not quite exalted, character, the vocal writing is largely lyrical, and the lover's part appears as an inner voice in ensembles. For the lower-class comic, the vocal line is disjoint and made up of short phrases or repeated notes, and this part provides the harmonic bass in ensembles. These two character types, as drawn here, are instantly recognizable, but variants and hybrids can be found among operatic roles. For example, the comic tenor, as seen in the roles of Basilio and Don Curzio in *Le nozze di Figaro*, exhibits many of the features of a *buffo caricato* role

but is notated in the tenor clef. Perhaps the vocal-dramatic categories described by Frizzi apply primarily to the first-rank singers; indeed, many librettos identify only the *prima buffa*, the *primo buffo caricato*, and the *primo mezzo carattere* roles and do not label the secondary or tertiary roles.

Looking at Mandini's roles in Vienna, we know that he sang in six operas during his first season (1783–84), and for five of these we know the roles he sang: four were tenor-clef roles and one was a bass-clef role. The preponderance of tenor-clef roles at this point can be explained to some extent by the fact that the company had no first-rank tenors during its first year. It managed with four adequate tenors: Francesco Bussani (who later sang the Commendatore and Masetto in the Vienna premiere of *Don Giovanni*), Valentin Adamberger (who sang in *drammi per musica* before coming to Vienna, but who was of limited use to the buffo company because of his stiff acting), Michael Kelly (a strong actor who specialized in buffo roles), and someone called Pugnetti or Bugnetti. What the company lacked was a singer capable of executing the principal lyrical tenor roles, some of which were consequently assigned to Mandini. When Giuseppe Viganoni was engaged in the company's second season as a first-rank tenor, Mandini was relieved from taking on new tenor roles, though he continued to sing the tenor roles he had established the previous season.

Mandini's only known bass role during his first season, that of Count Zeffiro in Giuseppe Gazzaniga's *La vendemmia*, had been created by Benucci in 1778, though Mandini had already sung it several times elsewhere by the time he came to Vienna. That was not the case in the second season when the directors assigned to Mandini the bass role of Don Piccariglio (Count Caramella) in Guglielmi's *Le vicende d'amore*, which Benucci had created to great acclaim in Rome just a few months earlier and which he had every reason to expect to sing in Vienna. Still in the second season (1784–85), Mandini took over a bass role (Don Girone) in Paisiello's *La finta amante*, and when Paisiello composed *Il re Teodoro in Venezia* for the Vienna company, he wrote the title role, in bass clef, for Mandini.

In Mandini's third season in Vienna (1785–86), he sang almost entirely bass-clef roles. He took over two existing bass roles in operas by Paisiello and Francesco Bianchi. Salieri composed a bass-clef role (Il Poeta) for him in *Prima la musica e poi le parole* but also composed the tenor-clef role of Plistene for him in *La grotta di Trofonio* in the same season. The following season, Mozart wrote the bass-clef role of Count Almaviva for him in *Le nozze di Figaro*, and Martín y Soler wrote the bass-clef role of Lubino in *Una cosa rara*. The Count's role, from a vocal-dramatic perspective, falls into the category of *mezzo carattere*, and the court theater's other *primo mezzo carattere* at the time was Calvesi; had he been cast as the Count, Mozart would have written the part for a tenor. For whatever reason, though, Mandini was cast as the Count, and Mozart wrote the part in bass clef.⁶² In the 1787–88 season Mandini had two roles in two different clefs composed for him: the bass-clef role of Doristo in

Martín y Soler's *L'arbore di Diana*, and the tenor-clef role of Biscroma in Salieri's *Axur, re d'Ormus*. That year Mandini also took over a tenor role in Paisiello's *Le due contesse*. In Vienna, then, Mandini indeed sang both tenor-clef and bass-clef roles, with many more of the latter.

In 1788 Mandini was engaged as a *primo buffo toscano* in Naples, singing bass-clef roles. The following year he was engaged for Paris as a *primo buffo caricato*, but, as we have seen, he also sang a number of tenor roles resumed from his Vienna days. After Paris, he seems to have stayed with *buffo caricato* roles. We find him listed as a *primo buffo caricato* in Venice in Carnival 1794, a *primo buffo assoluto* in Genoa in spring 1794, and a *primo buffo caricato* in Milan in autumn 1794. Passing through Vienna on his way to St. Petersburg in 1795, he sang Benucci's former bass role of Titta in *Fra i due litiganti*;⁶³ in St. Petersburg he was engaged as a *primo buffo assoluto*.

Far from being unusual, a voice like Mandini's was quite common at the time. Even confining ourselves to singers known to Mozart research, we can construct a sizeable list of baritones who sang both tenor-clef and bass-clef roles. One of the more surprising singers of this type is Francesco Bussani, best known today for singing the Commendatore in the Vienna premiere of *Don Giovanni*. Bussani did not actually possess the sepulchral voice associated today with that role; in fact, he had been singing tenor roles only five years earlier.⁶⁴ Mozart scholars know only the bass side of him, which also included the role of Masetto in the Vienna production of *Don Giovanni*, the original Bartolo in *Le nozze di Figaro*, and the original Alfonso in *Così fan tutte*. Francesco Albertarelli, who replaced Mandini in the court theater after the latter's departure, both sang the bass-clef role of Don Giovanni in the opera's Vienna premiere and took over Mandini's tenor-clef role of Biscroma in *Axur, re d'Ormus*.⁶⁵ Luigi Bassi, who created the role of Don Giovanni in Prague, was also of this voice type. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1800) provides a particularly exact description of his singing:

Bassi was an excellent singer before he lost his voice, and he still knows very well how to use what remains. It lies between tenor and bass, and though it sounds somewhat hollow, it is still very flexible, full and pleasant. Herr Bassi is furthermore a very skilled actor in tragedy with no trace of burlesque, and with no vulgarity or tastelessness in comedy. In his truly artful and droll way he can parody the faults of the other singers so subtly that only the audience notices and they themselves are unaware of it.⁶⁶

This description contains noticeable similarities to the descriptions of Mandini encountered above. Giuseppe Lolli created the roles of the Commendatore and Masetto in *Don Giovanni* and sang Bartolo in *Le nozze di Figaro* in Prague in 1787, but was engaged in Vienna in 1786–87 as a *secondo mezzo carattere*.⁶⁷ Domenico Guardasoni, the impresario in Prague who commissioned both *Don Giovanni* and *La clemenza di Tito*, had regularly sung both tenor-clef and bass-clef roles earlier in his career.⁶⁸ Paolo Mandini, as already mentioned, sang some of the same roles as his brother. Giuseppe Calvesi, unlike his brother

Vincenzo, who was a high tenor, sang both tenor-clef and bass-clef roles. In Versailles in 1787 and in London in 1788, Giuseppe sang the tenor role of Berlicco in Paisiello's *Le gare generose*—a role Vincenzo had sung in Vienna in 1786—but he also sang the bass-clef role of Teodoro, created by Mandini in Vienna, in London in 1787.⁶⁹

A defining feature of the late-eighteenth-century baritone, then, was his ability to share roles with both tenors and basses; as a result, vocal color becomes an essential aspect of the vocal performance practice of this period. A *mezzo carattere* role like Lindoro in Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* would have had a different sound depending on whether it was sung by Mandini or the *tenore* Mombelli.⁷⁰ The same would have been true for the *buffo caricato* role of Don Piccariglio (Count Caramella) in *Le vicende d'amore* when sung by Mandini or the bass Benucci.

The Term "Baritone"

The term "baritone" is infrequently encountered in late-eighteenth-century writings on opera. I have found seven instances of it—three of which are specifically in connection with Mandini's voice—and I list them here in chronological order. Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard's *Theaterkalender, auf das Jahr 1784* [for 1783] reports, "Italian opera . . . male singers . . . Signor Benucci sings bass . . . Signor Mandini sings baritone."⁷¹ Charles Burney, writing in 1789, uses both "baritone" and "bass" to describe the singer Luigi Tasca, who sang in London in 1784–85: "the excellent baritono, Tasca . . . who had a powerful base voice, and seemed to be a good musician, returned to Italy at the end of the season. . . . His voice, however, wanted mellowness and flexibility; for, like an oaken plant, though *strong*, it was *stiff*."⁷² In 1793 Giuseppe Voltiggi describes the voice of Luigi Raffanelli as "clear and strong, with a good baritonal quality."⁷³ Reviewing a number of *mezzo carattere* singers, Benedetto Frizzi comes to "the celebrated Mandini," whom he describes as "a major baritone of great ability, a profound connoisseur of his art, singing coloratura in his bass register [*gorgheggiante sui bassi*], a rare gift of which nature has shown great avarice toward others."⁷⁴ Frizzi, it will be recalled, also uses the term *baritono* when he states that both basses and baritones sing *buffo caricato* roles.⁷⁵ An 1810 review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, criticizing the casting in a recent production of *Le nozze di Figaro*, complains, "As is well known, Figaro sings the low harmonic bass in all the ensembles, and yet the role is usually given to comic singers, who tend to be baritones rather than true basses."⁷⁶ The great German actor Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, who was a member of the court theater company in Vienna when the Italian opera singers were recruited in 1783, recounted in 1823 that "there came the bass Benucci, the baritone Mandini."⁷⁷

Although a history of the term "baritone" is too large a topic to attempt here, I will piece together an overview from various secondary sources. Marco Beghelli's excellent study of the uses and meanings of the term *baritono* over the centuries provides a good starting point.⁷⁸ He

traces the etymology of the term to the Greek term *barytonos*, made up of the words for "heavy" or "low" (*barys*) and "tone" (*tonos*). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Latinate words *barytonus*, *baritonus*, *baritonans*, *baricanor*, *bariclamans*, and others can sometimes be found in polyphonic compositions for more than four voices to designate the second bass voice, often the lower one.⁷⁹ With the rise of solo singing and opera in about 1600, voices were no longer defined only in terms of counterpoint but also in terms of sonority.⁸⁰ In 1640 Giovanni Battista Doni used the now Italianized word *baritono* not only in the traditional sense of the lowest or second-lowest polyphonic voice but also in the newer senses of describing a vocal quality (a "full and sonorous voice" compared to the "common [male] voice") and of defining a voice type by range. In what Beghelli calls the first taxonomy of the voice in the modern sense, Doni distinguishes three gradations within each of the three standard voice types: *basso*, *tenore*, and *soprano*.⁸¹ Starting at the bottom, the *voci gravi* (low voices) consist of *basso profondo* as the lowest voice (with the range C–g), *basso ordinario* above it (F–b), and *baritono* as the highest voice (A–d'). The *voci mezzane* (voices in the middle range) consist of *tenore ordinario* (c–f'), *contralto* (e–a'), and *mezzo soprano* (g–c"). The *voci acute* (high voices) consist of *soprano ordinario* (b–e"), *sopracuto* (d'–g"), and *acutissimo* (f'–c''').

Among eighteenth-century treatises that deal with the classification of voices, the influential vocal tutors of the great castrato teachers Pietro Francesco Tosi (*Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni*, 1723) and Giovanni Battista Mancini (*Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato*, 1774), continued to distinguish simply *soprano*, *tenor*, and *bass*.⁸² In his 1757 German translation of Tosi, however, Johann Friedrich Agricola also refers to the baritone voice in two new voice types he introduces, low *tenor* (*tenore grave*) and high *bass* (*basso acuto*).⁸³ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, in his *Anleitung zur Musik* (1763), accommodated the new singing voices within the frame of the traditional SATB texture to yield an eight-voice scheme consisting of "hoher Diskant, tiefer Diskant, hoher Alt, tiefer Alt, hoher Tenor, tiefer Tenor (*Barytonus*), hoher Baß, and tiefer Baß."⁸⁴ In his 1768 *Introduzione armonica*, Paolo Serra classified male voices as *basso*, *baritono*, and *tenore* and female voices as *contralto*, *mezzo soprano*, and *soprano*.⁸⁵ This sixfold classification of voices was given enormous authority in what, according to Beghelli, became the most influential treatise of the nineteenth century, Bernardo Mengozzi's *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire de Musique* (1803).⁸⁶ The six voice types are named in both French and Italian. The lowest male voice is *basse-contre* or *basse* (in Italian, *basso*). The middle register is called *basse-taille* or *concordant* (Italian *baritono*). The highest is *taille* or *haute-contre* or *ténor* (Italian *tenore*). For women, the lowest voice is the *haute-contre* (Italian *contralto*), the medium voice is *bas-dessus* (Italian *mezzo soprano*), and the highest is *dessus* (Italian *soprano*). The anonymous translator of the first Italian edition of the Conservatoire tutor, published in 1825, prefers the term *baritenore* to *baritono*,⁸⁷ thereby contributing to the prolifer-

ation of new terms that came about in the third decade of the nineteenth century.

This brief survey of treatises has shown that the term *baritono* has a long history but not in association with opera in particular.⁸⁸ The vocabulary used to describe operatic roles in the late eighteenth century is, as we have seen and as Beghelli points out, derived from the terminology of the spoken theater;⁸⁹ he refers particularly to the *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli* as a good source for observing the vocal-dramatic categories in use.⁹⁰ In the spoken drama of this period, the roles are variously labeled *prima donna*, *seconda donna*, *primo amoroso*, *servetta*, *vecchio ridicolo*, *caratterista buffo*, and *caratterista napolitano*, among others, and sometimes include masks from the *commedia dell'arte*: Pantalone, Brighella, Arlecchino, Pulcinella, il Dottore, Zanni, and others. In serious opera the characters are classified as *prima donna*, *seconda donna*, *primo soprano* (or *primo musico* or *primo uomo*), *primo tenore*, *secondo tenore*, and *primo basso*. In comic opera we find an even wider array of terms to describe the roles, including *prima donna buffa* (or *prima buffa*), *prima donna seria*, *primo mezzo carattere*, *primo tenore di mezzo carattere*, *primo buffo mezzo carattere*, *primo buffo*, *buffo caricato*, *buffo cantante*, etc.⁹¹ The lists clearly show that the vocal-dramatic categories, especially in comic opera, are defined more by character type than by voice type.

In the preceding list of vocal-dramatic roles in comic opera, I have retained Beghelli's term *buffo cantante* with some hesitation, because it appears so rarely in eighteenth-century sources. Also, I am somewhat surprised at what he goes on to write about it. Using Burney's comment about Tasca's stiff voice in London in the mid 1780s as a springboard,⁹² Beghelli explains that the traditional *basso buffo* was now separating into two distinct vocal-dramatic categories: *buffo caricato* or *buffo comico*, in which category he places Tasca; and *buffo cantante* or *buffo nobile*, which now became a category for baritones.⁹³ Crucially, his strongest evidence in support of this assertion comes from 1821 and 1822 in connection with Rossini's *Torvaldo e Dorliska*—more than thirty years after Burney's comment about Tasca.⁹⁴ The terms *buffo cantante* and *buffo nobile* do not seem to be widely used in the 1780s and early 1790s, and I suspect that the development Beghelli postulates took place later. Indeed, the history of operatic singing from the mid- or late-1790s to the arrival of Rossini is shrouded in a kind of musicological fog. Then the fog lifts, though not all scholars agree on what they see. There is general agreement, however—and this needs to be emphasized—that the baritone emerged as a distinct operatic voice only in about 1840.⁹⁵

The changes in singing techniques that came about in the early nineteenth century were accompanied by a plethora of new terms to distinguish different types of low male voices. In what follows my interest is less on sorting out competing theories about the development of the baritone as an operatic voice than on understanding the new terms, especially those that some musicologists are starting to apply anachronistically to Mandini's voice type. The three major stages in the development of the nineteenth-century operatic baritone are generally associ-

ated with composers: Rossini for the first, Bellini and Donizetti for the second, and Verdi for the third. Rodolfo Celletti distinguishes two types of bass voice in Rossini's operas: he calls one a "heavy" *buffo* or *parlando buffo*, who sings in a syllabic style and engages in farcical humor; and the other a noble *buffo* or *cantando buffo*, who sings in a virtuosic style and portrays the lover or a character of high rank.⁹⁶ Frustratingly, however, Celletti does not specify the source of those terms. During the bel canto period, Celletti distinguishes the *basso cantante*, whose singing is marked by coloratura and agility, from the emerging Donizetti baritone, who renounces coloratura and sings instead in chest voice in a plain style and in a high tessitura. This singer, Celletti says, is the precursor of the Verdi baritone. The Verdi baritone, according to Will Crutchfield, sings predominantly in the upper part of the baritone chest-voice range (i.e., around and above c'),⁹⁷ notes that John Potter and Neil Sorrell refer to as "the brilliant upper fifth of the baritone range."⁹⁸ In the twentieth-century *Fach* system, as codified by Rudolf Klobber and adapted by the International Phonetic Association, the Verdi baritone comprises its own *Fach* (called *Charakterbariton*) alongside three other types of baritone: the lyric baritone (called *lyrischer Bariton*, *hoher Bariton*, or *Spielbariton*), kavalierbaritone (*Kavalierbariton*), and heldenbaritone (*Heldenbariton*, previously called *hoher Bass*).⁹⁹ Pearl Yeadon McGinnis's description of the *Kavalierbariton* is worth quoting for how well it matches descriptions of Mandini's singing:

A brilliant voice with warm, beautiful color capable of singing coloratura passages, smooth lyric lines, and dramatic passages without effort.

This *Fach* could be considered the *divo*-baritone of the opera stage. Most of these roles are leading characters, and when this person is performing, no one looks at anyone else. He should be a personable figure and able to portray various characters sympathetically and easily. Although this voice often has an easy tenor top, it needs to have a recognizable baritone vocal color. Whereas the other baritones are not necessarily known for their general "good looks," this one is! A true cavalier baritone is one of the most difficult voices/actors/personalities to find.¹⁰⁰

American voice pedagogue Richard Miller, on the other hand, distinguishes just two baritone types, the dramatic (Verdi) baritone and the lyric baritone, and adds in passing that a young singer who has not yet decided whether he is a tenor or baritone could be called a *baritenor*.¹⁰¹

The emergence of the high dramatic baritone was closely allied to the development of the dramatic tenor, a development that also spawned new terms. Celletti, describing the two types of tenor roles (low and high) found in Rossini's operas, calls the low voice "baritone-tenor" or "baritenor" and the high voice a "contraltino tenor" or "tenorino"—once again without saying where these terms come from.¹⁰² Edward Foreman is not persuaded by Celletti's two tenor types, writing that "Rodolfo Celletti refers to the lower voice as 'baritenor,' and the higher as 'contraltino tenor,' not precise or historically defensible terms, but useful to denote the tessitura

of the voices."¹⁰³ Regrettably, however, he does not elaborate.

John Potter explains the change in the tenor voice in terms of vocal pedagogy. Tenors in the late eighteenth century studied with castratos, who trained them to develop their head voice and join it seamlessly to their chest voice. This type of tenor, which he calls a *contraltino* tenor (or *tenore di grazia*), continued into the nineteenth century, culminating with the high F (f') Bellini wrote for Giovanni Battista Rubini in *I puritani* in 1835.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, tenors who studied with tenors learned to lower the larynx to produce a darker tone, achieve greater resonance and volume, and extend the chest voice upward to high C (c'). This type of voice is known as the *tenore di forza*, and its first sensational exponent was Gilbert-Louis Duprez, originally trained as a *contraltino* tenor.¹⁰⁵ Potter and Sorrell also recount how Giovanni David (Rossini's prize *contraltino* tenor) and Domenico Donzelli (classified by Celletti as a "baritenor") both eventually abandoned the practice of singing high notes in their head and concentrated on raising their chest voices.¹⁰⁶

Crutchfield attempts to bridge the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with his construction of an "intermediate male voice, sometimes called baritone but occasionally also referred to as mezzo-tenor."¹⁰⁷ He gives as examples of this voice type the role of Orfeo in Haydn's *L'anima del filosofo*, as well as many Rossini tenor roles. Such singers, he says, have a low voice but learn to cultivate their head-voice extension, allowing them to sing some tenor roles as well; put another way, such singers "could thus choose, to some extent, between tenor-clef and bass-clef roles."¹⁰⁸ When producing notes in the head-voice register went out of fashion, Crutchfield claims, these low tenors settled into their chest voices and became baritones.¹⁰⁹ This view is appealing in its simplicity, but Crutchfield gives no citation for his use of the term *mezzo-tenor*, and the term does not appear in any of the eighteenth-century sources listed in his bibliography.

The term does, however, appear in Johann Daniel Andersch's *Musikalisches Wörterbuch* of 1829, which defines *mezzo tenor* as a voice "that lies between tenor and bass but somewhat higher than baritone."¹¹⁰ The third decade of the nineteenth century produced two more relevant terms: *baritenore*, which we have already encountered in the 1825 Italian translation of the Conservatoire tutor, where it was used in preference to *baritono*; and "zweiter Tenor-Bariton," found in a letter written by Albert Lortzing in 1826.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, the meaning of neither term is clear; in particular, it is not clear how (or whether) the use of the term *baritenore* in the Conservatoire tutor relates to Celletti's use of the same term as a subcategory of tenor.

To round out this survey of nomenclature, we should take note of one other related term used before the nineteenth century: *mezzo basso*. Beghelli reports two occurrences, the first in performance instructions for a 1612 motet by Lodovico Viadana, where it is used to specify the type of voice that should sing the *tenore* part in a

section of the motet scored for low male voices. According to his instructions, the soprano part should be sung by a low alto; the alto part by a tenor; the tenor by a baritone, that is, a half bass ("il tenore è un baritone, cioè mezzo basso"); and the bass by a low bass.¹¹² Beghelli found this term used a second time in 1771 by Carlo Giovanni Testori, who defines "baritone" as "a half-bass" ("baritono, vale a dire un mezzo basso").¹¹³ This definition of the *baritono* as a species of bass is worth noting vis-à-vis Crutchfield's view of baritone as a low tenor.¹¹⁴ In addition to these two instances reported by Beghelli, a third can be found in a 1794 review criticizing Antonio Baglioni's performance as Ferrando in *Così fan tutte*. "Of course he needs such embellishments, because he has to hide his inadequate voice, which is more of a *mezzo basso* [than a tenor]."¹¹⁵

With all these terms laid out in front of us, which one would be the most appropriate to apply to Mandini's voice? We should probably follow his contemporaries in calling him a baritone, but given that we live two centuries later, it might be better to call him an "eighteenth-century baritone" to distinguish him from the operatic baritone that emerged after 1840. In any case, it would seem inadvisable and anachronistic to seize on terms from the early nineteenth century, as at least two scholars have done: Daniel Brandenburg, in his entry on Mandini in the second edition of *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, labels him a *mezzo tenore*, carefully citing Andersch (1829) as the source for the term—no doubt to distinguish Mandini from the modern baritone.¹¹⁶ Similarly, Thomas Seedorf, in the same encyclopedia, calls Luigi Bassi a *mezzo tenore* (also citing Andersch as the source of the term) and explicitly compares him to Mandini.¹¹⁷

The Selections

Of the thirteen arias in this volume, eight are notated in bass clef and five in tenor clef (transcribed here in transposing treble clef). The bass-clef arias comprise five that were composed for Mandini (nos. 7, 9, 10, 12, and 13), a possible sixth (no. 5), and two that had originally been composed for Benucci (nos. 4 and 6). The tenor-clef arias consist of three from roles taken over by Mandini in his first year in Vienna (nos. 1, 2, and 3) and two composed for him later in Vienna (nos. 8 and 11).

Two of the tenor-clef arias (nos. 2 and 11) are in modified strophic form and are furnished with mandolin accompaniment, with no. 2 labeled a "canzone" and no. 11 a "canzonetta." Mandini may have had a facility for such arias, for in London about 1799 we find the publication of *Three Favorite Canzonetts, Arranged with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Guitar*, with the byline "The Words & Music Composed by Steffano Mandini."¹¹⁸ It is interesting that this publication appeared about the time we lose track of Mandini.

The combined range of the thirteen arias in this volume spans from B \flat up to f \sharp '. If we include Mandini's "Vedrò mentre io sospiro" from *Le nozze di Figaro*, which goes down to A, we can posit Mandini's range to have been about A–f \sharp '.¹¹⁹ Given Mandini's known versatility,

this relatively narrow range (an octave and a sixth) is perhaps unexpected; compare, for example, Benucci's combined range based on the twelve arias in my previous volume *Arias for Francesco Benucci* (G–g', two octaves) and Calvesi's combined range based on the fourteen in *Arias for Vincenzo Calvesi* (B–d", two octaves and a third).¹²⁰ Admittedly, the arias in all three volumes make up a limited and somewhat arbitrary sample, so not too much should be made of the comparison. Nonetheless, it does confirm that Mandini was closer in voice type to Benucci than to Calvesi.

Continuing with measurements, the top note in eleven of the thirteen arias is either e' or f'; in the remaining two arias (nos. 1 and 9) it is f \sharp ' and e \flat ', respectively. While the top notes are roughly uniform across all the arias, the lowest notes vary and can serve to distinguish bass-clef from tenor-clef arias. The lowest notes in the bass arias are B \flat (nos. 4, 5, and 9), B (nos. 6, 7, and 13), and c (nos. 10 and 12); those in the tenor arias are d (nos. 8 and 11), d \sharp (no. 1), e (no. 3), and f (no. 2).¹²¹

For a singer, however, more important than the highest and lowest notes in an aria is its tessitura, which is the range of notes in which the voice can sing comfortably for a long period of time. The tessitura of all thirteen arias in this volume should be about the same, regardless of whether they are tenor-clef or bass-clef arias, and a baritone singing through them will quickly be able to confirm that this is so. The challenge from the theoretical point of view is to come up with an objective way of ascertaining the tessitura of an aria. John Rice observes that, in the eighteenth century, "a composer typically used the opening melody of an aria to display a singer's tessitura."¹²² This seems like a good rule of thumb, and even if it is not equally true for every aria, it provides a starting point. Coming from another direction, Julian Rushton has developed a precise method of calculating tessitura—or, rather, the exact center point of the tessitura for a short passage of music.¹²³ His interest in doing so was to be able to demonstrate empirically that Mozart used tessitura as an expressive device. Rushton's method of calculation is extremely laborious, but with the use of computers it could be made to work on a large scale as well.

In the titles of the following thirteen arias an asterisk indicates that the aria was written specifically for Mandini.

1. Giuseppe Sarti, "Come un agnello," aria in *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode*: This aria is known today from Mozart's quotation of it in the supper music scene in *Don Giovanni*. First performed in Milan in 1782, *Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode* was one of the first operas to be mounted by the newly created Italian opera company in Vienna; it premiered on 28 May 1783 and became an immediate and long-playing success.¹²⁴ The role of Mingone was assigned to Mandini, who, according to Zinzendorf, performed it marvelously.¹²⁵ Mandini may have continued to sing this role in Vienna for the duration of its first run of forty-nine performances that ended 22 January 1787. In the Paris production of the opera, however, Mandini sang the bass role of Titta, which had been taken by Benucci in Vienna, while Luigi Raffanelli—

who, like Mandini, was engaged in the Paris company as a *primo buffo caricato*—sang Mingone.¹²⁶

Of the librettos for this opera listed in Claudio Sartori's catalogue of librettos, those from the 1785 Ferrara and 1786 Vicenza productions are the only ones to provide vocal-dramatic designations for the roles.¹²⁷ Both label the bride Dorina as the *prima buffa*, her lover Masotto as the *primo mezzo carattere*, and the unsuccessful suitor, Titta, as the *primo buffo caricato*. The Vicenza libretto goes on to identify Livietta as the *seconda buffa*, the Countess as the *terza buffa*, and Count Belfiore as the *secondo buffo caricato*. Neither libretto provides a vocal-dramatic designation for Mingone, whose role may simply have been considered too insignificant.¹²⁸ Mingone's music is notated in tenor clef throughout. In ensembles with Masotto, Mingone is the lower tenor-clef part; in larger ensembles, Mingone sometimes doubles Masotto a third lower and sometimes Titta a third higher. His music is not lyrical, nor is he a particularly comical character.¹²⁹

The vocal line of the aria is written in the buffo style, with short repeated phrases, repeated notes, and syllabic text setting. The aria makes few technical or musical demands on the singer, which makes it all the more striking that Zinzendorf singles out Mandini's performance of this slight role.

2. Giovanni Paisiello, "Saper bramare," canzone in *Il barbiere di Siviglia*: Paisiello composed the opera in St. Petersburg in 1782, and the Vienna opera company performed it on 13 August 1783. Zinzendorf attended the premiere and wrote in his diary: "Mandini, as Lindoro, as a music teacher sent by Basilio to give Rosina her music lesson, finally as Count Almaviva, is very good. . . . The emperor had him repeat the aria of the music teacher, who came in the manner of Tartuffe, wishing 'gioia e pace' [joy and peace] to the tutor [Bartolo]."¹³⁰ Mandini sang the role at the premiere, but thereafter, apparently, the tenor Michael Kelly took turns singing it with him.¹³¹ As we have seen, Mandini sang the role again in Paris in 1789, even though Giuseppe Viganoni, engaged as the *primo mezzo carattere*, would have been the more obvious choice, having already sung it in Naples in 1787.¹³² The explanation can be found in a casting decision that had been made in Vienna in the 1783–84 season. When *Il barbiere di Siviglia* was first produced in Vienna in 1783, the company did not yet have a first-rank tenor, which is how the role of Lindoro came to be assigned to Mandini. When the first-rank tenor Viganoni joined the company the following season, Mandini had already been singing the role for over half a year, and he continued to sing it. This situation apparently provided the precedent for how the roles were assigned in Paris.

As a lover who overcomes obstacles to win his ladylove, Rosina, the Count is the quintessential example of a *mezzo carattere* role. He serenades her with this canzone, which is fittingly simple in form, texture, and vocal line. Its captivating beauty lies in its cantilena, which contrasts with the virtuosic mandolin accompaniment.

3. Giovanni Paisiello, "Amor non so che sia," cavatina in *La frascatana*: Yet another tenor role taken on by Mandini in his first year in Vienna was that of Nardone

in Paisiello's *La frascatana*, an opera dating from 1774 and previously performed in Vienna during the period 1775 to 1777.¹³³ The opera was apparently still welcome, especially with its new cast of stellar singers. Zinzendorf was delighted, using his favorite phrase to indicate his complete satisfaction ("La Storace and Mandini sang like angels"),¹³⁴ and he names this aria as one of the numbers that he particularly liked.¹³⁵ Mandini sang the role again in Paris in 1790, though, as in the case of Count Almaviva in *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, it would otherwise have gone to Viganoni. Mandini obviously had made the role very much his own, for a reviewer in Paris wrote, "M. Mandini, for whom the role of the shepherd seems to have been made, replaced the base caricatures that Pinetti used to deliver with the most pleasing elegance and sweet singing."¹³⁶

The role of Nardone is a shepherd lover, not noble in rank but noble in character. The five librettos listed by Sartori that provide vocal-dramatic designations label this role *primo buffo mezzo carattere* or *primo buffo di mezzo carattere*.¹³⁷ Cavatinas are short, lyrical arias in which characters make their first appearances, playing to the audience. Nardone's cavatina, with its pastoral key of F major and compound meter, identifies him at once as a shepherd. The vocal line, like that in the preceding canzone, is simple and lyrical.

4. Giuseppe Gazzaniga, "Quando vedrai chi sono," aria in *La vendemmia* (known in Vienna as *La dama incognita*): The opera was first performed in Florence on 12 May 1778. Although the cast at the premiere is unknown, Benucci is listed as one of the "Signori" in the company that performed the opera; since the *Personaggi* in several librettos label Count Zeffiro a *primo buffo caricato* role, it is extremely probable that Benucci created the role.¹³⁸ Benucci sang the role again in Genoa in 1778, in Monza in 1779, in Modena in 1779, and in Florence in 1782 before coming to Vienna in 1783. He would have been the obvious choice for Zeffiro in the Vienna production on 11 February 1784, had he been in the city. However, he had taken a leave of absence the previous November to honor a prior commitment for Carnival in Rome. Since the theater directors knowingly scheduled the opera for a time when they knew Benucci would be away from Vienna, they had apparently decided to cast Mandini in the role right from the start. It seems he had sung it twice before, in Bergamo and Alessandria, both in 1779.¹³⁹ That it was a good casting decision is confirmed by Zinzendorf's appraisal of Mandini's performance: "*Le vendemmie* or *la donna incognita* was put on, with music by Gazzaniga. Mandini sang like an angel: the tirade against women, the 'nobil torta,' etc. The music is pretty."¹⁴⁰ The "tirade against women" refers to no. 5 (see below), and the "nobil torta" to the present aria.

Although the opera continued to play until 21 May 1785, Benucci never resumed his former role in Vienna.¹⁴¹ He did not sing this particular aria, even when an opportunity to do so presented itself. In Lent 1789 Lorenzo Da Ponte produced the pasticcio *L'ape musicale* by assembling popular numbers from various operas and showcasing the singers. One of the chosen arias was "Quando

vedrai chi sono," which at that point had not been heard in Vienna for four years. Although both Benucci and Albertarelli, who had replaced Mandini in the company, participated in the pasticcio, Albertarelli was the one who sang the aria.¹⁴² Benucci seems not to have laid claim to it, but when he appeared in London a few months later, on 9 May 1789, he chose *La vendemmia* as the opera in which to make his debut, and he sang the aria then.¹⁴³ While Benucci clearly still identified with the aria, so did Mandini, for he sang it in Paris when the opera was produced there in 1791.¹⁴⁴

For some theaters, tinkering with the text of the glutton aria presented a temptation hard to resist. In the librettos of the 1779 Reggio Emilia, 1780 Naples, 1784 Vienna, and 1789 London productions, and perhaps the original 1778 Florence production, the dishes listed in lines 22 and 23 consist of vegetables: "carciosetti e piselletti, / insalata e sparagetti" (baby artichokes and baby peas, / salad, baby asparagus). The libretto from the 1779 production in Vienna replaces the vegetables with more birds: "beccafichi, lodolette, / mazzorini, e follegghette" (warblers, larks, / wild ducks and hummingbirds). The 1780 Naples libretto substantially revises the menu by substituting different delicacies, retaining only the dishes named in lines 18, 19, and 20, and the vegetables in lines 22 and 23 (see the "Texts and Translations").

This catalogue aria offers the *buffo caricato* singer a wonderful vehicle in which to demonstrate his histrionic art. As a gluttonous epicure, Zeffiro drools over every dish he conjures up for the benefit of the farmer whom he hopes to persuade to host the meal.

5. Giuseppe Gazzaniga, "In voi donne non v'è fede," insertion aria in *La dama incognita* (*La vendemmia*): The "tirade against women" mentioned by Zinzendorf turns out to be an aria added to the 1784 Vienna production of *La vendemmia*, apparently especially for Mandini. It is one of several numbers inserted into the imported score (A-Wn, KT 459) in a Viennese hand. Neither the composer nor the source is identified at the head of the aria, but, curiously, the composer is named in a score copied from KT 459 (see the critical notes). Did Mandini borrow the aria from another Gazzaniga opera that he had sung elsewhere and which might have been composed for him?¹⁴⁵ Zinzendorf continued to enjoy it, specifically mentioning it again many months after first hearing it: "the tirade against women, which Mandini sang, succeeded marvelously."¹⁴⁶ However, Mandini did not sing the aria in Paris when the opera was produced there with him in the same role.¹⁴⁷

Like the preceding aria, this aria is written in the buffo style, with short repeated phrases, patter, and a nonlyrical melody.

6. Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, "Capitan di due scia-beccchi," aria in *Le vicende d'amore*: It was Benucci, rather than Mandini, who in Rome in December 1783 created the role of Don Piccariglio (Count Caramella) in this opera by Guglielmi.¹⁴⁸ Joseph II witnessed his success and desired him to perform the role in Vienna.¹⁴⁹ The opera was duly mounted in Vienna on 16 June 1784, but, unaccountably, with Mandini in Benucci's role, even

though Benucci was in Vienna for the entire run of twenty performances. It would be interesting to know what lay behind this casting decision.

The text in this aria, where the Count makes one outrageous claim after another, furnishes the *buffo caricato* with plenty of comedic material. The music is thoroughly buffo, exhibiting the characteristic short, repeated phrases, melodic leaps, and patter passages, and the lengthy, sectional nature of the aria contributes to an effect of cumulative momentum.

7. *Giovanni Paisiello, "O miei tristi pensieri—Io re sono," recitative—aria in *Il re Teodoro in Venezia*: Paisiello composed this opera in Vienna in the summer of 1784 while stopping there on his way from St. Petersburg to Naples. He collaborated with the satirical poet Giambattista Casti, who wrote the libretto. Mandini was cast as Teodoro, the short-lived king of Corsica who encounters his ruin at the end of the opera, when he is hauled off to debtors' prison.

Zinzendorf notes in his diary after the premiere on 23 August 1784: "I did not like the aria 'Il re sono' very much."¹⁵⁰ He then lists a few numbers he did like, concluding, "In short, there are many beautiful numbers, but the opera is long and the public did not enjoy it."¹⁵¹ No doubt the libretto's unusually caustic tone and grim ending left the audience bewildered; insiders knew that King Gustav III of Sweden was being lampooned in the figure of Teodoro. In addition to the serious undercurrent running through the story, the libretto's language is unusually dense, more appropriate to a literary work than an opera. Teodoro's description of his situation is extremely detailed—not only in his opening accompanied recitative but also in the aria proper. Paisiello responded to the many changes of affect in the aria text by composing it as a long, multi-sectional buffo aria, featuring short phrases, octave leaps, dotted rhythms, patter, much repetition, and an extended final cadential section.¹⁵²

8. *Antonio Salieri, "Ah trovar fra queste piante," aria in *La grotta di Trofonio*: Casti's second libretto in Vienna, *La grotta di Trofonio*, set to music by Salieri in 1785, resulted in another somewhat unusual opera. Whereas Paisiello had normalized Casti's idiosyncratic libretto by overriding its quirks and writing completely conventional music, Salieri responded to its irregular nature by writing highly original music. The plot deals with two betrothed couples, the father of the brides, and a meddling magician. Salieri designed the roles for soprano-tenor, soprano-tenor, and two basses respectively. His decision to write for Mandini as a tenor is made explicit in the ensemble writing. When paired with his betrothed, Dori, Plistene doubles her melody in tenths. When paired with the other male lover, Artemidoro—a role created by the high tenor Calvesi—Plistene doubles his melody in thirds and sixths below. In none of the ensembles, including the larger ones, does this part ever provide the harmonic bass.

Although technically unassuming and not designed as a showpiece, this short aria serves to portray the light-hearted character of Plistene, who contrasts with the serious Artemidoro. In Salieri's words, "the aria is of a light

but spirited cheerfulness, as is the character of the youth who sings it."¹⁵³ Much of the aria's expressiveness lies in its delicate orchestration and contredanse rhythm.

9. *Vicente Martín y Soler, "Dov'è dunque il mio ben—Vò dall'infami viscere," recitative-aria in *Una cosa rara*: In this opera Mandini created the role of the shepherd Lubino, who must ward off two men's attempts to destroy his marriage to Lilla. The first is her brother, who wants to prevent the marriage so that he can marry her to the mayor, and the second is the Infante of Spain, who wants to dally with her after her marriage. In this aria, Lubino has just discovered that Lilla has been abducted, and he is beside himself with worry and anger. The aria has much in common with Count Almaviva's rage aria in *Le nozze de Figaro*, "Hai già vinta la causa," which Mandini had sung half a year earlier. Both are long da capo arias in the exalted style, set in cut time, and both feature martial dotted rhythms, leaps in the melody, and timpani in the orchestra. While the style is appropriate to Count Almaviva by virtue of his rank, its use in this aria is justified by the strength of Lubino's emotion and the nobility of his character.

Mandini repeated his success in the role in Paris; as one reviewer wrote, "One of the actors who also should be singled out in this work is M. Mandini, for whom it was written in Vienna, and who seems to outdo himself in the role of Lubin."¹⁵⁴ As observed in Paul Scudo's review cited earlier,¹⁵⁵ Mandini's singing was particularly admired in Lilla and Lubino's duet, "Pace, caro mio sposo," in which Mandini sang the harmonic bass and which became the opera's biggest hit everywhere.

10. *Vicente Martín y Soler, "Un galant'uom son io," cavatina in *L'arbore di Diana*: Mandini sang the role of Doristo, the guardian of Diana's tree, a character who adores women and provides much of the opera's humor (some tinged with sexual innuendo). Both dramatically and musically the role has little scope. It, along with almost everything else in the opera, was roundly criticized by an anonymous reviewer:

Mandini was given a role, which he played well, because he is an actor who acquits himself well in all his roles, a role, I say, which could be charming and full of spirit and gracefulness, instead of which the poet has him say dirty and horrible things without end, and on the other side, the composer did not find it appropriate to give him an aria in which he could shine, except for a tiny duet of little consequence that he sings with Amore and which is pleasant enough, otherwise nothing else for him that is striking, and he can brag about being sacrificed in this opera.¹⁵⁶

Indeed, all the singers in this opera, including the tenor lead, were sacrificed to the *prima donna*. She is provided with four arias, two of them very large, while all other characters receive only a few small numbers each. Doristo's three short arias include the present cavatina, which is extremely short at twenty-nine measures (twenty-four measures plus a five-measure cadential phrase). It is written in the opera's predominant song-like style, characterized by periodic phrases, melody-dominated texture, and a lilting compound meter. Doristo is the only

bass-clef role in the opera, which is otherwise dominated by high voices. The role could be considered *buffo caricato*, though it is strongly tempered by the pervasive pastoral nature of the opera.

11. *Antonio Salieri, "Nato io son nello stato romano," canzonetta in *Axur, re d'Ormus*: Salieri composed this opera in French for Paris in 1787 under the title *Tarare*. The following year he converted it to an Italian opera for the Vienna opera company, a labor that entailed extensive recomposition. This canzonetta, however, follows the original "chanson" for tenor quite closely in retaining the key, the basic vocal melody, and the repetition of the vocal refrain by a chorus.¹⁵⁷ The most striking feature of the orchestral accompaniment is the mandolin, which is given a prominent part in the ritornellos that separate the singer's strophes.¹⁵⁸

Salieri's notes attached to the autograph score describe Biscroma, a European slave serving as head of the eunuchs, as "always a buffoon when he speaks to the king, and also when he pleads; but at heart honest and sensible, and, out of gratitude to Atar [i.e., the king's general, the principal tenor role], very much concerned about his interests."¹⁵⁹ Salieri's description of the character explains Biscroma's mixed vocal style. While some of Biscroma's music is written in the buffo style, some is more lyrical. In duets with Atar (sung by Calvesi), Biscroma doubles his melody a third below, and in larger ensembles he sings an inner voice, not the harmonic bass.

In this song-within-an-opera, Biscroma narrates the story of his life, allowing Mandini once again to play the troubadour. His performance must have pleased the public; at his farewell concert on 15 February 1788, he used this canzonetta—fitted with new words—to thank the people of Vienna for their patronage.¹⁶⁰ The following year, Domenico Mombelli sang the aria in the pasticcio *L'ape musicale* but in the original French version, which Lausch then offered for sale as the "Romance Tenor."¹⁶¹

12. *Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, "Tutto amabile e galante," cavatina in *La pastorella nobile*: Mandini created the role of Don Calloandro in Naples in 1788 and resumed it in Paris in 1789. The only libretto listed by Sartori that provides vocal-dramatic designations for the roles is the one from the 1790 production in Alessandria, where Calloandro is listed as the *primo buffo caricato*. In this cavatina Calloandro triumphantly returns home from university. The text hilariously reveals the true situation, as the supposed graduate flaunts his nonexistent knowledge of languages. The short phrases typical of the buffo idiom are well suited to his limited attempts at speaking in the different languages. The opening melody is richly adorned with triplets, with which Calloandro expresses his recently acquired gallant manners. When he trips over his languages, the triplets devolve into comic patter.

13. *Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, "Cara mia sposa amata," aria in *La pastorella nobile*: Later in the opera Don Calloandro is given a buffo aria that not only invites but also demands good acting ability, for in it he addresses three characters at once, and the style of the melody changes according to whom he speaks. When he

addresses the lady whom he is supposed to woo, the phrases are broad and legato. When he speaks to the padrone and his father—and to himself in a panic—the style is pure buffo, with leaps, phrases broken by rests,

patter, and immediately repeated phrases. A comic effect is achieved by the bouncy melody with its ridiculous leaps, illustrating the bouncing ball described in the text.

Appendix

The following sigla are used for sources in table 1 (see also “Abbreviations and Sigla” at the beginning of the volume):

Carmena y Millán	Carmena y Millán, Luis. <i>Crónica de la ópera italiana en Madrid desde el año 1738 hasta nuestros días</i> . [1878]; facs., Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2002.
Di Profio	Di Profio, Alessandro. <i>La révolution des bouffons: L'opéra italien au Théâtre de Monsieur, 1789–1792</i> . Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2003.
Florimo	Florimo, Francesco. <i>La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii: Con uno sguardo sulla storia della musica in Italia</i> . Naples: Stabilimento tip. di V. Morano, 1880–82 [1883].
ICCU	Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche (www.sbn.it).
Indice	<i>Un almanacco drammatico: L'indice de' teatrali spettacoli, 1764–1823</i> , 2 vols. Foreword by Roberto Verti. Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1996; facsimile reprint of <i>Indice de' spettacoli teatrali</i> (Milan: Pietro Agnelli, 1764–1785/86); <i>Indice de' teatrali spettacoli</i> (Milan: [s.n.], 1786/87–1799/1800; 1803/04; 1808/09); <i>Indice, o sia Catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli italiani di tutta L'Europa</i> (Milan: [s.n.], 1819/20–1822/23).
Kelly	<i>Reminiscences of Michael Kelly of the King's Theatre and Theatre Royal Drury Lane</i> , 2 vols. 1826; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1968.
Michtner	Michtner, Otto. <i>Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne: Von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. (1792)</i> . Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1970.

Mooser	R. Aloys Mooser, <i>Opéras, intermezzos, ballets, cantatas, oratorios, joués en Russie durant le XVIIIe siècle</i> , 3rd ed., 3 vols. Basel: Éditions Bärenreiter, [1964].
MTC	<i>Mozart's Thematic Catalogue: A Facsimile, British Library, Stefan Zweig MS 63</i> . Introduction and transcription by Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.
NMA	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: <i>Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke</i> , ed. Ernst Fritz Schmid, Wolfgang Plath, and Wolfgang Rehm. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955–.
OperaGrove	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Opera</i> , ed. Stanley Sadie, 4 vols. London: Macmillan, 1992.
Paissa	Paissa, Roberto. “‘Questi è il conte, alla voce il conosco’: Stefano Mandini prima di Mozart (1774–1783).” <i>Rivista italiana di musicologia</i> 22 (1987): 145–82.
Pohl	Pohl, Carl Ferdinand. <i>Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät: Im Jahre 1862 reorganisiert als “Haydn,” Witwen- und Waisen-Versorgungs-Verein der Tonkünstler in Wien</i> . Vienna: Selbstverlag des “Haydn,” 1871.
RiceMz	Rice, John. <i>Mozart on the Stage</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
RISM A/II	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i> . Series A/II: <i>Musikhandschriften nach 1600</i> (opac.rism.info).
Robinson	Robinson, Michael F. <i>Giovanni Paisiello: A Thematic Catalogue of His Works</i> , 2 vols. Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1991–94.

S	Sartori, Claudio, ed. <i>I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: Catalogo analitico con 16 indici</i> . 7 vols. Cuneo: Bertolla & Locatelli, 1990–94.
Tz	<i>Theaterzettel</i> (theater poster[s]) from the Theaterzettelsammlung at A-Wtm.
Voltiggi	Voltiggi, Giuseppe. <i>Lettera apologetica intorno al teatro in Vienna</i> (Vienna: Presso Alberto Antonio Patzowsky, 1793).
Waisman	Waisman, Leonardo J. <i>Vicente Martín y Soler: Un músico español en el Clasicismo europeo</i> . Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2007.

Weaver	Weaver, Robert Lamar, and Norma Wright Weaver. <i>A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theater, 1751–1800: Operas, Prologues, Farces, Intermezzos, Concerts, and Plays with Incidental Music</i> . Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1993.
Virgo	RISM-U.S. Libretto Database, University of Virginia Library Catalog (http://lib.virginia.edu).
Zinzendorf	Diary of Count Karl Zinzendorf, transcribed in Dorothea Link, <i>The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents, 1783–1792</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

TABLE 1
Stefano Mandini's Roles

City	Year	Date	Position ¹	Composer, Title (Genre) ²	Role ³	Clef ⁴ Role Type ⁵	References
Ferrara	1774	Carnival		Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, <i>Le puzzie di Orlando</i> (dg)	Orlando		S
				Giovanni Paisiello, <i>L'innocente fortunata</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
Faenza		summer		Pasquale Anfossi, <i>La Giannetta</i> (<i>L'innocente perseguitata</i>) (dg)	Fabrizio		S; Paissa
				Giuseppe Gazzaniga, <i>L'isola d'Alcina</i> (dg)	Don Lopez		S
Pesaro		Aug.		Niccolò Piccinni, <i>Le finte gemelle</i> (int)	Pasquino		S
				Anfossi, <i>La Giannetta</i> (<i>L'innocente perseguitata</i>) (dg)	Fabrizio		S; ICCU; Paissa
Treviso		Sept.		Anfossi, <i>La Giannetta</i> (<i>L'innocente perseguitata</i>) (dg)	unknown		S; ICCU
Trieste	1775	Carnival		Florian Leopold Gassmann, <i>La contessina</i> (ob)	unknown		Paissa
				Anfossi, <i>L'innocente perseguitata</i> (<i>La Giannetta</i>) (dg)	unknown		Paissa
Vicenza		summer		Giacomo Rust, <i>L'idolo cinese</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
Venice		autumn		Anfossi, <i>Il geloso in cimento</i> (dg)	Don Fabio		S
				Anfossi, <i>L'avaro</i> (dg)	*Stefanello		S; ICCU
				Felice Alessandri, <i>La novità</i> , act 1 of two-act opera (dg)	*Pasquino		S; ICCU; Paissa
				Alessandri, <i>L'italiano a Parigi</i> , act 2 of <i>La novità</i> (opera within opera)	*Lucidor		S; ICCU; Paissa
Venice	1776	Carnival		Giovanni Battista Borghi, <i>La donna instabile</i> (dg)	*Don Florio		S; ICCU; Paissa
				Francesco Salari, <i>Il marchese carbonaro</i> (dg)	*Sandrino/Narciso		S; Virgo; ICCU; Paissa
Florence	1776	spring		Paisiello, <i>La discordia fortunata</i> (dg)	Conte di Belprato	T	S; ICCU; Weaver; Paissa; Robinson
				Borghi, <i>La donna instabile</i> (dg)	Don Florio		S; Weaver; Paissa
				Gennaro Astarita, <i>I visionari</i> (dg)	Giuliano		S; Weaver; Paissa
Treviso	1776	fiera ⁶		Anfossi, <i>Motezuma</i> (dm)	Ferdinando Cortez		S; ICCU
Parma	1777	Carnival		Anfossi, <i>L'avaro</i> (dg)	Stefanello		S; Paissa
				Paisiello, <i>L'innocente fortunata</i> (dg)	Bretton	T	S; Paissa; Robinson
Bologna	1777	spring		Borghi, <i>I tre pretendenti</i> (<i>La donna instabile</i>) (dg)	Don Florio		S; Paissa
				Astarita, <i>I visionari</i> (dg)	Giuliano		S; ICCU; Paissa
Milan	1777	Aug.		Paisiello, <i>Le astuzie amorose</i> (dg)	Rosbate (Rosbale/ Abate)	T	S; ICCU; Paissa; Robinson
		autumn		Anfossi, <i>La vera costanza</i> (dg)	Conte Errico		S; ICCU; Paissa
				Anfossi, <i>Il principe di Lago Nero</i> (<i>La contadina incivilita</i>) (dg)	unknown		S; Paissa
Genoa	1778	Carnival		Anfossi, <i>Il principe di Lago Nero</i> (<i>La contadina incivilita</i>) (dg)	Rinaldo		S
Alessandria	1778	spring		Anfossi, <i>Il curioso indiscreto</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
Acqui	1778	summer		Anfossi, <i>Il principe di Lago Nero</i> (<i>La contadina incivilita</i>) (dg)	unknown		Paissa
Bergamo	1778	Fiera d'Agosto		Anfossi, <i>Il curioso indiscreto</i> (dg)	Contino di Ripaverde		S; ICCU
	1779	Carnival		Luigi Caruso, <i>La virtuosa alla moda</i> (<i>Il padre della virtuosa</i>) (dg)	Monsieur Ralph		S; ICCU
Alessandria	1779	spring		Gazzaniga, <i>La vendemmia</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
				Giuseppe Sarti, <i>Le gelosie villane</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
Bergamo	1779	summer		Gazzaniga, <i>La vendemmia</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
				Anfossi, <i>La forza delle donne</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
Acqui	1779	summer		Anfossi, <i>Il geloso in cimento</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
Novi	1779	autumn		Anfossi, <i>La finta giardiniera</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
				Anfossi, <i>Il curioso indiscreto</i> (dg)	Contino di Ripaverde		S; Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
Pavia	1780	Carnival		Paisiello, <i>L'innocente fortunata</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
				Anfossi, <i>Il curioso indiscreto</i> (dg)	Contino di Ripaverde		S; <i>Indice</i>
Alessandria	1780	spring		Domenico Cimarosa, <i>L'italiana in Londra</i> (int)	unknown		Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
				Caruso, <i>Il padre della virtuosa</i> (<i>La virtuosa alla moda</i>) (dg)	unknown		Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
				Francesco Bianchi, <i>Erfilte</i> (dm)	Learco		S; Paissa
				Cimarosa, <i>Le donne rivali</i> (int)	Annibale		S; Weaver; Paissa
Florence	1780	autumn		Caruso, <i>La locanda in sponpiglio</i> (<i>L'albergatrice vivace</i>) (dg)	Floran		S; Weaver ⁷
Parma	1781	Carnival		Caruso, <i>L'albergatrice vivace</i> (dg)	Micheluccio		S; Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
				Anfossi, <i>Il matrimonio per inganno</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa
Florence	1781	spring		Rust, <i>Il castellano deluso</i> (dg)	*Don Pisone		S; Paissa
				Giovanni Valentini, <i>Le nozze in contrasto</i> (dg)	Barone Astolfo		S; Weaver; Paissa
Monza	1781	autumn		Sarti, <i>I contraltieri</i> (dg)	Frasconio		S; Weaver; Paissa
				Sarti, <i>I contraltieri</i> (cm)	Frasconio		S; Paissa; Virgo; ICCU; <i>Indice</i>

TABLE 1 continued

City	Year	Date	Position ¹	Composer, Title (Genre) ²	Role ³	Clef ⁴ Role Type ⁵	References
Milan	1781	autumn	<i>primo mezzo carattere</i>	Cimarosa, <i>Il falegname</i> (cm)	Don Fabio Cartapeccora		S; ICCU; Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
			<i>primo mezzo carattere</i>	Alessandri, <i>Il vecchio geloso</i> (cm)	*Giannino		S; ICCU; Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
Livorno	1782	Carnival	<i>primo caricato</i>	Caruso, <i>L'albergatrice vivace</i> (dg)	unknown		Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
Mantua	1782	spring		Guglielmi, <i>I due fratelli Pappanosa</i> (cm)	Alessandro		S; Paissa
				Cimarosa, <i>Il falegname</i> (cm)	unknown		Paissa
Bologna	1782	autumn	<i>primo mezzo carattere</i>	Cimarosa, <i>Il falegname</i> (cm)	Don Fabio		S; Paissa; <i>Indice</i>
				Alessandri, <i>Il vecchio geloso</i> (cm)	Giannino		Paissa
Rome	1783	Carnival		Angelo Tarchi, <i>Il guerriero immaginario</i> (int)	*Cavaliere Ferramondo		S; Paissa
				Cimarosa, <i>I due baroni di Rocca Azzurra</i> (int)	*Barone Totaro	<i>primo mezzo carattere</i>	S; ICCU; Paissa
Vienna	1783	5 May 28 May		Cimarosa, <i>L'italiana in Londra</i> (int)	Mylord Arcespigh ⁸ Mingone	T	Zinzendorf score in A-Wn (Mus Hs 17888); ⁹ Zinzendorf
		25 July 13 Aug.		Paisiello, <i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i> (dg)	Don Fabio Conte Almaviva	T	score in A-Wn (KT 141) Zinzendorf; Kelly; ¹⁰ Robinson
		8 Dec. autumn, Carnival		Paisiello, <i>La frascatana</i> (dg)	Nardone	T	Zinzendorf; Robinson <i>Indice</i>
		autumn, Carnival		Christoph Willibald Gluck, <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i> (tragedia) ¹¹	unknown		<i>Indice</i>
		Carnival 11 Feb.		Gluck, <i>Alceste</i> (tragedia)	unknown		
	1784			Giuseppe Gazzaniga, <i>La dama incognita (La vendemmia)</i> (dg)	Conte Zeffiro	B	Zinzendorf
		28, 30 Mar.		Joseph Haydn, <i>Il ritorno di Tobia</i> (orat)	unknown		Pohl
				Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, <i>Lo sposo deluso</i> (opera fragment)	*Asdrubale	T	NMA ¹²
		16 June		Guglielmi, <i>Le vicende d'amore</i> (dm)	Don Piccariglio (Conte Caramella)	B	score in A-Wn (Mus Hs 17791)
		20 June 23 Aug.		Paisiello, <i>La finta anante</i> (ob)	Don Girone	B	Zinzendorf; Robinson
				Paisiello, <i>Il re Teodoro in Venezia</i> (dramma eroico-mico)	*Teodoro	B	Kelly; ¹³ Robinson
	1785	22, 23 Dec. 6 Apr.		Tommaso Traetta, <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i> (dm)	Toante Giorgino	B	Tz score in A-Wn (KT 91); Robinson
				Paisiello, <i>La contadina di spirito</i> (Il <i>matrimonio inaspettato</i>) (dg)	*unknown	B ¹⁴	
		1 June 12 Oct.		Stephen Storace, <i>Gli sposi malcontenti</i> (oc)	*Plistene	T	Zinzendorf
		25 Nov.		Antonio Salieri, <i>La grotta di Trofonio</i> (oc)	Pippo	B	MTC
		22, 23 Dec.		Bianchi, <i>La villanella rapita</i> (dg)	unknown		Pohl ¹⁵
				Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, <i>La liberatrice del popolo giudaico nella Persia, o sia Ester</i> (orat)			
	1786	4 Jan.		Vicente Martin y Soler, <i>Il burbero di buoni cuore</i> (dg)	*Dorval	B	Voltiggi ¹⁶
		7 Feb.		Salieri, <i>Prima la musica e poi le parole</i> (divertimento teatrale)	*Poeta	B	score in A-Wn (Mus Hs 17814)
		8, 9 Apr. 1 May		Dittersdorf, <i>Giobbe</i> (orat)	*unknown		Pohl
				Mozart, <i>Le nozze di Figaro</i> (cm)	*Conte Almaviva	B	libretto in US-Wc (ML 48 [S6826]); MTC
		15 May 1 Aug.		Antossi, <i>Il trionfo delle donne</i> (dg)	Marone		Zinzendorf
		17 Nov.		Sarti, <i>I finiti eredi</i> (dg)	Griffagno		score in A-Wn (KT 160)
				Martin y Soler, <i>Una cosa rara</i> (dg)	*Lubino	B	score in A-Wn (Mus Hs 17794)
	1787	7 May 28 July		Cimarosa, <i>Le trame deluse</i> (dg)	Nardo	B	score in A-Wn (KT 448)
				Paisiello, <i>Le due contesse</i> (dg)	Leandro	T	score in A-Wn (KT 92); Robinson ¹⁷
		1 Oct.		Martin y Soler, <i>L'arbore di Diana</i> (dg)	*Doristo	B	score in A-Wn (Mus Hs 17795); Michtner ¹⁸
		22, 23 Dec. 8 Jan.		Leopold Kozeluch, <i>Moisè in Egitto</i> (orat)	*unknown		Pohl
	1788	8 Feb.		Salieri, <i>Arur, re d'Ormus</i> (dramma tragicomico)	*Biscroma	T	Tz ¹⁹
				<i>Il convito di Baldassarre</i> (pasticcio orat)	Il re Baldassarre		Zinzendorf
Naples	1788	1st opera	<i>primo buffo toscano</i>	Guglielmi, <i>La pastorella nobile</i> (cm)	*Don Calloandro		S; Florimo; <i>Indice</i>
		2nd opera	<i>primo buffo toscano</i>	Vincenzo Fabrizi, <i>L'incontro per accidente</i> (dg)	*Polidoro		S; Florimo; ICCU; <i>Indice</i>
		3rd opera	<i>primo buffo toscano</i>	Anfossi, <i>I matrimoni per fanatismo</i> (dg)	*Don Tullio		S; Florimo; ICCU; <i>Indice</i>
	1788	(2 perfs.) ²⁰ Carnival		Paisiello, <i>I filosofi immaginari</i> (dg)	Giuliano	B	Florimo; Robinson; <i>Indice</i>
	1789			Cimarosa, <i>I due supposti conti</i> (dg)	Conte Caramella	B	S; Florimo; ICCU
Paris	1789	15 June	<i>primo buffo caricato</i>	Bianchi, <i>La villanella rapita</i> (dg)	Pippo	B	S; Di Profio; <i>Indice</i>
		22 July 14 Sept. 31 Oct.		Paisiello, <i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i> (dg)	Conte Almaviva	T	Di Profio; Robinson
		28 Nov.		Sarti, <i>Le nozze di Dorina</i> (Fra i due litiganti) (dg)	Titta	B	Di Profio
		12 Dec.		Paisiello, <i>La molinara</i> (L'amor contrastato) (cm)	Pistofolo	B	S; Di Profio; Robinson
		15 Mar.		Cimarosa, <i>Il fanatismo burlato</i> (cm)	Lindoro	B	S; Di Profio
	1790	14 May 29 May		Guglielmi, <i>La pastorella nobile</i> (oc)	Don Calloandro	B	Di Profio
				Salieri, <i>La grotta di Trofonio</i> (oc)	Plistene	T	Di Profio
				Anfossi, <i>Il geloso in cimento</i> (dg)	Perichetto		Di Profio
				Guglielmi, <i>Le due gemelle</i> (L'inganno amoroso) (cm) ²¹	Don Nasturzo		Di Profio
		5 June 2 Aug.		Paisiello, <i>La frascatana</i> (dg)	Nardone	T	Di Profio; Robinson
				Tarchi, <i>Don Quisciotte o sia Il cavaliere errante</i> (cm) ²²	*Sancio		Di Profio
		9 Sept.		Cimarosa, <i>L'italiana in Londra</i> (int)	Don Polidoro		S; Di Profio
					Fistacchini		
	1791	22 Feb. 7 Apr.		Martin y Soler, <i>Il burbero di buon cuore</i> (dg)	Ferramondo ²³	B	Di Profio
		1 June 12 Aug. 3 Dec.		Paisiello, <i>Il tamburo notturno</i> (cm)	unknown	B	Di Profio
				Gazzaniga, <i>Le vendemmie</i> (dg)	Conte Zeffiro		S; Di Profio
				Gazzaniga, <i>Il finto cieco</i> (dramma buffo) ²⁴	Volpino		Di Profio
				Martin y Soler, <i>Una cosa rara</i> (dg)	Lubino	B	Di Profio

TABLE 1 continued

City	Year	Date	Position ¹	Composer, Title (Genre) ²	Role ³	Clef ⁴ Role Type ⁵	References
Madrid	1792	8 May 18 July		<i>Le gelosie di Pipo</i> (pasticcio) Cimarosa, <i>L'impresario in angustie</i> (farsa per musica)	unknown Don Grisobolo	B	Carmena y Millán ²⁵ Carmena y Millán
Venice	1793 1794	8 Oct. Carnival	<i>primo buffo</i> <i>caricato</i>	Piccinni, <i>La Griselda</i> (dramma eroicomico) Guglielmi, <i>La lanterna di Diogene</i> (dg)	*Giannucolo Nane	B	RISM A/II; ICCU RISM A/II; <i>Indice</i>
Genoa	1794	17 Jan. spring	<i>primo buffo</i> <i>assoluto</i>	Piccinni, <i>Il servo padrone</i> (opera buffa) Giuseppe Nicolini, <i>I mulinari</i> (int)	*Lazarillo *Bartolone		RISM A/II S; <i>OperaGrove</i> ; <i>Indice</i>
Milan	1794	autumn	<i>primo buffo</i> <i>caricato</i>	Nicolini, <i>Lo spazzacamino principe</i> (farsa) Paisiello, <i>I zingari in fiera</i> (dg) Guglielmi, <i>La lanterna di Diogene</i> (dg)	*Pierotto Pandolfo Nane	B	S; ICCU; <i>OperaGrove</i> S; ICCU; Robinson S; ICCU; <i>Indice</i>
Venice	1794	13 Sept. autumn autumn		Nicolini, <i>Le nozze campestri</i> (dg) Paisiello, <i>I zingari in fiera</i> (dg) Caruso, <i>Oro non compra amore ossia Il barone di Moscabianca</i> (dg) Vittorio Trento, <i>I capricci</i> (farsa)	*Checco Pandolfo *Giorgio	B	S; ICCU; <i>OperaGrove</i> S; ICCU; Robinson S; ICCU
	1795	5 Feb.			*Geronzio	B	S; Virgo; ICCU; RISM A/II
Vienna	1795	Carnival		Sebastiano Napolini, <i>I vaggiri fortunati</i> (farsa) Guglielmi, <i>La pupilla scaltra</i> (dg) Piccinni, <i>La Griselda</i> (dramma eroicomico) Paisiello, <i>La molinara</i> (<i>L'amor contrastato</i>) (cm) Sarti, <i>Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode</i> (dg) Martin y Soler, <i>Camille, ou Le soutertrain</i> (<i>comédie mêlée de musique</i>) Martin y Soler, <i>Il burbero di buon cuore</i> (dg)	*Giorgino Don Gradasso unknown unknown Titta *Fabio unknown		S; ICCU; <i>OperaGrove</i> S; ICCU Michtner; ²⁶ <i>Indice</i> Michtner; <i>Indice</i> RiceMz ²⁷ ; <i>Indice</i> Waisman Mooser ²⁹
near St. Petersburg ²⁸	1796	19 May	<i>primo buffo</i> <i>assoluto</i>	Astarita, <i>Rinaldo d' Asti</i> (cm) Bianchi, <i>La villanella rapita</i> (dg) Cimarosa, <i>L'italiana in Londra</i> (int) Paisiello, <i>La molinara</i> (<i>L'amor contrastato</i>) (cm) Paisiello, <i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> (<i>Le gare generose</i>) (cm) Sarti, <i>Il genio della Russia</i> (cant) ³¹ François-André-Danican Philidor, <i>Le quiproquo</i> (<i>opéra comique</i>) Guglielmi, <i>La lanterna di Diogene</i> (dg) Martin y Soler, <i>La festa del villaggio</i> (dg)	*unknown Pippo Don Polidoro Don Calloandro Bastiano *Genio della Russia unknown unknown *unknown	B T B	Mooser RISM A/II ³⁰ RISM A/II RISM A/II; Robinson RISM A/II; Robinson S; Mooser Mooser Mooser Waisman Mooser ³²
Moscow	1797	12 Apr.					
St. Petersburg	1797	29 June					
St. Petersburg, Hermitage	1797 1798	4 Sept.? 19 Jan.					
St. Petersburg	1799	19 Oct.		Sarti, <i>Epitalamio</i> (cant)	*soloist		

1. Mandini's position in the company, derived primarily from the *Indice*.

2. Abbreviations for genres: cant = cantata; cm = commedia per musica; dg = dramma giocoso; dm = dramma per musica; int = intermezzo; ob = opera buffa; oc = opera comica; orat = oratorio.

3. Asterisks indicate roles written specifically for Stefano Mandini.

4. The clef in which the role is notated, either T (tenor) or B (bass).

5. Role type refers to vocal-dramatic categories as specified in the libretto, generally *primo mezzo carattere* and *primo buffo caricato*, as well as variants of these two types.

6. According to *OperaGrove*, s.v. "Anfossi, Pasquale" (p. 134), by Michael Robinson and Mary Hunter, the opera received its premiere in Reggio Emilia during "la fiera dell'anno 1776." The dedication in the libretto is dated 11 May 1776. The production in Treviso took place during "la fiera dell'anno 1776." The dedication in the libretto is dated 19 October 1776.

7. Paissa, 152, and *OperaGrove*, s.v. "Caruso, Luigi" (pp. 747-48), by Galliano Ciliberti and Marita P. McClymonds, list *L'albergatrice vivace* and *La locanda in scompiglio* as separate operas, but Weaver, 456, states that they are different titles for the same opera, which can be confirmed by comparing the *personaggi* in each.

8. Zinzendorf confirms that Mandini and Benucci sang in the opera but does not specify their parts. Given that Benucci had sung the *primo buffo caricato* role of Polidoro many times before and that he could not have sung either of the two other male roles (*primo* and *secondo mezzo carattere*), that left Mandini in the role of Mylord Arespingh, a *primo mezzo carattere*.

9. *OperaGrove*, s.v. "Fra i due litiganti il terzo gode" (p. 269), by John Platoff, labels Mingone a tenor.

10. Kelly, 253: "Signor Mandini and I played the part of Count Almaviva alternately."

11. These were performances mounted in the Kärntnertheater by Antonia Bernasconi, who had sung in the premiere of *Alceste* on 26 December 1767. The *Wiener Zeitung*, 10 January 1784, p. 49, reports: "Mad. Bernasconi hat sich anheischig gemacht, eben allda 8mal zu unbestimmten Zeiten wälsche Opern zu geben, und hat auch schon 3mal Iphigenie, und 2mal Alceste mit der Musik von Hrn. Ritter Gluck, aufgeführt" (Madame Bernasconi has taken it upon herself to perform Italian opera there on eight occasions at various times and has already performed Iphigenie three times and Alceste twice, with music by Herr Gluck).

12. Mozart's list of *personaggi* is reproduced in facsimile in *NMA*, ser. II/5, vol. 14, xxiv.

13. Kelly, 237: "The characters of the drama were Teodoro, Signor Mandini; Taddeo, the Venetian innkeeper, Bennuci [*sic*]; the sultan

Achmet, Bussani; his sultana, Signora Laschi; Lisetta, daughter to the innkeeper, Signora Storace; and Sandrino, her lover, Signor Viganoni," and, of course, Kelly as Cafforio. Kelly conflates the singers who sang in the 1784 and 1786-87 seasons, but Mandini would have been able to sing Teodoro in both seasons.

14. The role is labeled baritone in *OperaGrove*, s.v. "*Sposi malcontenti, Gli*" (p. 487), by Richard Platt.

15. Pohl calls the oratorio *Ester*, which is the title found on the score used in 1785 (A-Wn, Mus Hs 15913/1-2 Mus). However, he also provides a cross reference to the oratorio's first performance in 1773, when it was given the longer title, which was used on the libretto (A-Wn, 641432-A.17/3).

16. Voltiggi, 22, states that Mandini sang in the opera but does not identify his role.

17. The cast list in the 1787 Vienna performance score (A-Wn, KT 92) shows Mandini as Leandro, and Robinson, 223, identifies Leandro as a tenor role.

18. "Lettre d'un habitant de Vienne à son ami à Prague, qui lui avoit demandé ses réflexions sur l'opéra intitulé L'Arbore di Diana," transcribed in Michtner, 435-39.

19. The *Theaterzettel* (A-Wtn, Theaterzettelsammlung, no shelfmark) for Mandini's farewell concert on 15 February 1788 shows as no. 11 on the program "Eine Abschiedsarie nach der des Biscroma aus der Oper: Axur, gesungen von Herrn Mandini" (A farewell aria sung by Mr. Mandini to the melody of Biscroma's aria in the opera *Axur*).

20. The *Indice* gives no exact dates but states that only two performances were given; both times Maria Mandini stood in for Signora Tomeoni Dutillieu, who was about to give birth.

21. Mandini probably sang in the same opera in Vienna on 9 April 1787, when Moricelli made her debut.

22. Cf. *OperaGrove*, s.v. "Tarchi, Angelo" (p. 653), by Dennis Libby and Marita P. McClymonds, where the opera's title is spelled *Don Chisciotte* and the date of the first and only production is given as 1791.

s.n., 1786/87–1799/1800, 1803/04, 1808/09], and *Indice, o sia Catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli italiani di tutta L'Europa* [Milan: s.n., 1819/20–1822/23]; hereafter *Indice*). See also Francesco Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii: Con uno sguardo sulla storia della musica in Italia*, 4 vols. (Naples: Stabilimento tip. di V. Morano, 1880–82 [1883]), 4:352–53, who states that Maria sang the role of Clarice in *I filosofi immaginari*.

19. Michael F. Robinson, *Giovanni Paisiello: A Thematic Catalogue of His Works*, 2 vols. (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1991–94), 1:xviii.

20. The theater was inaugurated with a performance of *Le vicende amorose* on 26 January 1789. Mandini and his wife made their debuts on 15 June in *La villanella rapita*.

21. Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 44.

22. *Ibid.*, 46.

23. *Ibid.*, 55–58. The *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli* for 1789–90, 1:828, provides more or less the same vocal-dramatic designations as found in the list of singers in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, except in the case of Carlo Rovedino, who is labeled *buffo mezzo carattere* in the *Indice* but most unusually *basso mezzo carattere* by Di Profio (p. 58). It appears that Di Profio misread the word *buffo*, which is smudged in the *Indice*, as *basso*.

24. See salary chart in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 60–61.

25. *Ibid.*, 437. Di Profio assembled his list of operas performed, with their contents, from librettos and newspaper reviews.

26. "*La Grotte de Trophonius* est une composition triste & sévère qui n'a pas présenté des beautés d'un ordre supérieur. Les Acteurs qui l'exécutent n'y sont pas aussi bien placés que dans leurs autres opéras. C'est la prédilection de M. Mandini pour cette musique, qui l'a soutenue jusqu'à trois représentations." *Journal général de la Cour et de la Ville*, 18 March 1790, 615–16, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 344.

27. Two of these are conjectures: Guglielmi's *L'inganno amoroso* (*Le due gemelle*), written for Morichelli in Naples, was chosen by her for her debuts in Vienna on 9 April 1787 and Paris on 29 May 1790. As Mandini is known to have sung in this opera in Paris, he could have sung in it in Vienna as well. Similarly, Mandini sang in Gazzaniga's *Il finto cieco* in Paris on 12 August 1791, so he may previously have sung in the same opera in Vienna on 20 February 1786.

28. The duet for Lubino and Lilla, "*Pace, mio caro sposo*," emerged as the big hit in *Una cosa rara*, which Martín y Soler had composed for Vienna in 1786.

29. "Mandini était un virtuose du plus rare mérite dont la voix de ténor douce, flexible, délicate et d'un timbre délicieux rayonnait sans efforts et emplissait l'oreille d'une sonorité exquise. Doué d'une belle prestance, l'esprit orné, et excellent musicien, Mandini réussissait surtout dans les rôles de demi-caractère que comportait le style de la plupart des opéras bouffes de son temps et particulièrement celui de la musique de Martini. Après avoir brillé successivement à Naples, Milan, Venise et Vienne, Mandini vint à Paris en 1789, et fit partie, avec la célèbre Morichelli, de cette excellente troupe de chanteurs italiens qui est restée en France jusqu'en 1792. Tous les vieux dilettanti qui ont été assez heureux pour entendre alors Mandini chanter dans la *Cosa rara* s'accordent à dire que rien de nos jours ne saurait donner l'idée d'une méthode aussi parfaite. Mon illustre maître Alexandre Choron, dans les moments fort rares où il était assez content de nous, disait: 'Ah! si vous aviez entendu Mandini dans la *Cosa rara*, vous n'auriez pas tant de peine à concevoir l'idéal que je m'efforce d'éveiller en vous.' Il terminait toujours ses petits discours en murmurant de sa voix chevrotante la phrase exquise de *Pace, mio caro sposo!* jusqu'à ce que l'émotion vint étouffer net les restes d'une voix qui avait dû être jadis un ténor assez équivoque. Après la révolution du 10 août, Mandini retourna en Italie; il était à Venise en 1794, à Saint-Petersbourg l'année suivante, où madame Vigée-Lebrun eut le plaisir de l'entendre et d'admirer l'un des chanteurs les plus parfaits de la fin du XVIII^e siècle." Paul Scudo, *La musique ancienne et moderne: Nouveaux mélanges de critique et de littérature*

musicales (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1854), 22–23, quoted in Gustav Gugitz, ed. *Denkwürdigkeiten des Venezianers Lorenzo Da Ponte*, 3 vols. (Dresden: P. Aretz, 1924), 1:386.

30. "Le Théâtre de la rue Feydeau va perdre M. Mandini. Cet artiste célèbre est engagé pour Madrid." *Chronique de Paris*, 3 November 1791, 1235, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 420.

31. R.-Aloys Mooser, *Opéras, intermezzos, ballets, cantates, oratorios, joués en Russie durant le XVIII^e siècle*, 3 vols., 3rd ed. (Basel: Éditions Bärenreiter, [1964]), 2:617–20. Mooser names all the singers in the company, citing as his source the *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli* for 1795–96 and 1796–97 (see note 18 above). Mooser also confuses the Mandini brothers, unwittingly misleading many subsequent scholars.

32. Her portrait of Giovanni Paisiello can be seen at <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PaiselloVigeeLeBrun.jpg>.

33. "Les acteurs et les actrices de Saint-Petersbourg étaient tous français, et, sans égaler les grands comédiens que Paris possédait alors, ils avaient pour la plupart beaucoup de talent, et jouaient avec un ensemble parfait. Nous ne tardâmes pas d'ailleurs à voir arriver un homme qui, quoique jeune, avait déjà fait les délices de l'Italie et de la France. C'était Mandini, que l'on peut dire avoir réuni pour le théâtre tous les avantages imaginables. Il était beau; il était grand acteur, il chantait admirablement, et il arrivait de Paris, où plusieurs personnes peuvent encore se souvenir de l'avoir entendu. Comme il ne pouvait point jouer les opéras français, on monta l'été chez la princesse Dolgorouki plusieurs opéras italiens, qui furent représentés sur le petit théâtre d'Alexandrowski. On donnait naturellement à Mandini les premiers rôles, dans lesquels il était si ravissant, qu'il fallait que les dames et les seigneurs qui le secondaient fissent l'entier sacrifice de leur amour-propre." *Souvenirs de Madame Vigée Le Brun*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charpentier et Cie., 1869), 1:355.

34. Leonardo J. Waisman, *Vicente Martín y Soler: Un músico español en el Clasicismo europeo* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2007), 116.

35. "Nos dames ont perdu la raison. Un chanteur d'opéra bouffe, Mandini, leur fait faire les pires sottises. Elles portent des devises qu'il leur a distribuées. La princesse Dolgorouky l'applaudit toute seule: hors d'elle, elle crie de sa loge: 'Furor! Bravo!' Et la princesse Kourakine raconte, toute triomphante, que Mandini a passé la soirée chez elle, en robe de chambre et en bonnet de nuit . . . La femme de ce chanteur, une fille publique de Paris, est reçue partout, grâce à son mari. . . ." Quoted in Mooser, *Opéras, intermezzos, ballets*, 2:620. In note 2 on the same page, he incorrectly identifies the Mandini named in the quotation as "le célèbre tenor Paolo Mandini, qui, quelques années auparavant, avait fait fureur à Paris." As we now know, Stefano was the one who was married and who had caused a stir in Paris.

36. ICCU; and RISM-U.S. Libretto Database, University of Virginia Library Catalog (<http://lib.virginia.edu>).

37. "Doué de tous les dons naturels qui font un acteur, mais sur-tout du don si rare d'une physionomie mobile et expressive, possédant la qualité de voix la plus belle et la plus sensible, et l'art enchanteur de la manier et d'en ménager les effets." *Gazette nationale, Moniteur universel*, 25 December 1789, 508, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 323.

38. "M. Mandini se serait surpassé, s'il eût possible, dans le rôle de *Volpino*. La grâce, le feu, la force comique, et l'inimitable légèreté qui caractérisent cet excellent chanteur, lui assureront toujours un succès complet; on lui a fait répéter un air au commencement du second acte." *Gazette nationale, Moniteur universel*, 17 August 1791, 947–48, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 412.

39. "M. Mandini est aussi parfait chanteur que grand comédien. On n'avait point encore vu alliés ces deux grands avantages dans un même sujet. Toujours vrai dans le personnage qu'il représentait, n'importe le genre.

"Toujours à la scène avec une vérité continue; toujours son ame étoit l'expression de son jeu. Superbe quand, seul en scène,

il chantoit un grand air; superbe encore, quand il faisoit mouvoir un morceau d'ensemble ou un finale. Enfin ce sublime talent s'emparoit toujours du cœur & des oreilles de tous ceux qui l'entendoient. Il est impossible de réunir tant de talents à la fois, & tous à un degré de perfection aussi imaginable. La nature, prodigue envers lui, l'avoit encore doué d'une belle taille, & d'un organe encore plus beau." *Chronique de Paris*, 4 April 1792, quoted in Andrea Fabiano, *Histoire de l'opéra italien en France (1752–1815): Héros et héroïnes d'un roman théâtral* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2006), 143–44.

40. "Mandini und Benucci sind die ausgemachtesten zwei Schalksnarren, die man sehen kann." Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien: Ein Kultur- und Sittenbild aus der josephinischen Zeit*, ed. Gustav Gugitz and Anton Schlossar (Graz: Leykam, 1923), 319. A footnote at the bottom of this page glosses the word "Schalksnarren" as "Buffoni." English translation from Daniel Heartz, *Mozart's Operas*, ed. with contributing essays by Thomas Bauman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 125.

41. Richard Edgcumbe, Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, *Musical Reminiscences, Containing an Account of the Italian Opera in England from 1773 to 1834*, 4th ed. (1834; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 32. The singers he mentions who have not yet been mentioned here are the tenors Valentin Adamberger, Giuseppe Viganoni, and Michael Kelly (OKelli).

42. "Bei der italienischen Gesellschaft ist der einzige Benucci, sonst war es Mandini, der durch Spiel und Gesang die Handlung zu erhaben weiß." *Grundsätze zu Theaterkritik, über Einsicht, Sprache und Spiel in Menschenhaß und Reue* (Vienna, 1790).

43. Joseph to Rosenberg, 14 August 1783, quoted in Payer von Thurn, *Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor*, 35: "Mandini a fort bien joués hors l'ivrogne qui ne lui alloit pas."

44. "M. Mandini s'est chargé du Comte Almaviva, qu'il rend avec infiniment de noblesse, même dans les scènes où le travestissement lui permet davantage de se livrer à la gaité. Il est impossible de mettre plus de grace & d'esprit dans la scène du Cavalier; & le grand art de M. Mandini est d'avoir évité la caricature, & d'avoir toujours laissé deviner le grand Seigneur sous ses divers déguisemens." *Mercure de France*, 1 August 1789, 444–45, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 308.

45. "M. Mandini, qui fait le rôle du *Bourru*, est d'une grande supériorité dans les momens où la bienfaisance l'emporte sur la brusquerie." *Journal de Paris*, 24 February 1791, 224, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 396.

46. "Une belle taille, de l'aisance, une grace infinie, une figure gaie, un jeu fin et comique, beaucoup de gentillesse, de friponnerie, d'esprit, une voix charmante, plus légère et flexible qu'il n'appartient à une basse; une manière de chanter piquante, adroite et pleine d'imagination: voilà Mandini, qu'on ne peut se lasser, ni de louer, ni d'entendre.

"Je sais bien que son comique outrepassa un peu la nature; qu'avec une figure faite pour être noble, il manque quelquefois de dignité quand il voudrait en avoir; qu'assez semblable à nos arlequins, ses gentillesse toujours aimables ne sont pas toujours de très-bon goût; que sa voix même a un certain tremblement quelquefois désagréable; mais, en vérité, il n'y a que la réflexion, et une réflexion très-sévère, qui puisse laisser apercevoir en lui ces légers défauts. Quand on le voit, quand on l'entend, on n'est disposé qu'à rire, qu'à trouver tout charmant, qu'à lui tout pardonner." *Gazette nationale, Moniteur universel*, 10 January 1790, 45–46, quoted in Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 327.

47. The playwright and librettist Carlo Goldoni was fascinated by the different national sensibilities and, after ten years of living in Paris, wrote what he hoped was a true French comedy, *Le bourru bienfaisant*. Lorenzo Da Ponte converted it into the libretto *Il burbero di buon cuore*, emphasizing its Italian elements, which derived from the *commedia dell'arte*. See Dorothea Link, "*Il burbero di buon cuore*: The Art of the Librettist," in *Goldoni and the Musical Theatre*, ed. Domenico Pietropaolo (Ottawa: Legas, 1995), 37–48.

48. See note 38 above.

49. "M. Mandini a une voix de basse très-belle[,] très-facile, très-étendue, & susceptible de chanter même le Ténore, auquel sa méthode excellente paroît convenir également. Son jeu est plein d'esprit, de finesse, d'intentions comiques, & pourtant toujours naturel. . . ." *Mercure de France*, 27 June 1789, quoted in Fabiano, *Histoire de l'opéra italien*, 134.

50. ". . . est trop connue par toute l'Europe, & même en France, pour en rien dire; mais il est bon de remarquer la manière assez extraordinaire dont les rôles de cet Opéra sont distribués au Théâtre de Monsieur. Le Comte *Almaviva*, rôle noble, comme on sait, écrit pour un *Ténore*, sera rempli par M. *Mandini*, *Buffo caricato*, (Basse-taille comique). Le rôle de *Figaro*, très bouffon & fait pour une basse, sera joué & chanté par M. *Viganoni*, *Ténore*, chargé spécialement des rôles sérieux. Si ces deux rôles paroissent peu convenir aux deux voix, ils conviennent du moins très bien à la taille, à la figure de ces deux Virtuoses, & ce qu'on connoît de leur talent peut faire espérer que l'ouvrage ne perdra rien à cet échange. On y verra ce dont M. *Mandini* est capable pour le chant, & M. *Viganoni* pour le jeu." "Observations sur l'Opéra del *Barbiere di Siviglia*," *Journal de Paris*, 13 July 1789, 877–78, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 306.

51. The *Dissertazione di biografia musicale di Benedetto Frizzi ingegnere e medico*, published after 1802, is transcribed and annotated in John Rice, "Benedetto Frizzi on Singers, Composers and Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century Italy," *Studi musicali* 23 (1994): 367–93.

52. "Mandini che già registrai qual bravo Mezzo Carattere, lo ò sentito in quel Teatro qual Caricato Buffo." Quoted in Rice, "Benedetto Frizzi," 391.

53. "Il Mezzo Carattere. . . È una parte dell'opera buffa, in cui non vi è l'occasione a far sceneggiare l'eroismo nè le più nobili passioni, e la delicatezza sublime del cuor umano; è un misto di gajo dilettevole, in cui il Mezzo Carattere è la parte più seria, ma sempre in relazione del tutto, e nulla più. È di sovente quella parte o un amante che deve provar qualche pena, o di gelosia o di negative Paterne, prima di arrivar a possedere l'amata sposa che è la prima donna, o qualche carattere intrigante, che però non ammette mai le dolcezze neppur morali che interessano il Tenore di un Opera Seria. Perciò è che il Mezzo Carattere deve essere anche un anello di mezzo trà il Tenore Serio e il Buffo, e nella modulazione del canto, trà il Tenore di alta portata, e il buffo puro. Sarebbe ridicolo se volesse codesto Mezzo Carattere, tentare voli, salti, sbalzi, e difficili cadenze, come se volesse passare alla semplice intonazione e canto tenuto di un Basso." Quoted in Rice, "Benedetto Frizzi," 381.

54. "Il Buffo Caricato è . . . uno dei più difficili impegni che l'uomo assumere possa sul Teatro Drammatico, ed è canche perciò che frà i molti che ò sentito pochi si son resi presso di mè oggetti di ammirazione, ò di piacere. In quanto all'azione, un uomo che deve cercare in ogni movimento di esser più o meno ridicolo, è difficile che colla sua monotonia non porti una noja. Il ridicolo non dimezzato, può a pochi piacere; vi sono poi a mio parere tante specie di ridicolezze, che piace all'uno quell che spiace a un altro; ma non solo ogni nazione ma quasi ogni Città à una specie di ridicolo giusta i rapporti del costume. . . . Per tutti questi obbietti un Buffo che cerca piacere, deve sempre più peccare di eccessi che finalmente annojano. . . .

"Parlando poi del genere di Musica che circonscrive questi Buffi, è una cantata da basso e qualche volta da baritono, che per piacere nella sua semplicità, e col suo stromentale per lo più strepitoso accompagnamento, richiede una voce sonora giusta nelle intonazioni, lontana da qualunque ombra d'imbarazzo proveniente da raucedine, ciò che è ben raro, e tanto più grata quanto più lento il canto, e quanto men numerose le note. . . . E il genere poi di questa Musica à ancora l'inconveniente, che quanto piace in Teatro, corredato dalla relativa azione, e dai punti di scena che fanno perfetto eco a ciò che si canta, altrettanto si riduce a poco valore se si voglia farne uso in un Accademia. . . ." Quoted in Rice, "Benedetto Frizzi," 389.

55. The early part of Mandini's career is examined in Paissa, "Questi è il Conte."

56. *Wiener Theaterkalender auf das Jahr 1787* (Vienna: Joseph Gerold, 1787). The almanac covers the period 1 October 1785 to 30 September 1786. Since this is one of the few Viennese sources to provide vocal-dramatic categories for the singers in the company, I will list the other singers. Benucci is labeled "primo buffo," Francesco Bussani is labeled "Soprintendente del scenario e vestiario e primo m. C.," Michael Kelly is labeled "sec. m. Car.," Domenico Mombelli is labeled "primo m. Car.," and Giuseppe Lolli is labeled "sec. m. Car." Among the female singers, Katharina Cavalieri, Storace, and Luisa Laschi are all labeled "prima Donna," and Maria Mandini, Rosalina Marconi Molinelli, Calvesi, and Dorothea Sardi Bussani are all labeled "sec. Donna."

57. Zinzendorf, 16 April 1783: "Mandini primo mezzo carattere me porta une lettre de Rome du 13. Mars de M^e de Diede." Quoted in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 204.

58. The list of "Attori" for *Lo sposo deluso* displays the typical constellation of voices: one *primo buffo caricato*, one *prima buffa*, one *primo mezzo carattere*, followed by second-rank singers in the same categories. A facsimile of the sketch showing the vocal-dramatic categories Mozart specified for the characters, along with the names of the singers he had in mind, is reproduced in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, ser. II/5, vol. 14 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), xxiv.

59. Robinson, *Paisiello: A Thematic Catalogue*, xvii.

60. *Ibid.*, xviii.

61. John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 184.

62. Compare Mount-Edgumbe's remark on the subject: "It has always surprised me that the principal characters in two of Mozart's operas should have been written for basses, namely, Count Almaviva, and Don Giovanni, both of which seem particularly to want the more lively tones of a tenor; and I can account for it no otherwise than by supposing they were written for some particular singer who had a bass voice, for he has done so in no other instance." Mount-Edgumbe, *Musical Reminiscences*, 123n.

63. Zinzendorf heard him with some amazement and perhaps nostalgia: "Mandini and La Sessi sang the notes Benucci and Storace used to sing; but what a difference." Quoted and translated in John Rice, *Mozart on the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 209.

64. Bussani sang tenor from 1771 to 1783, when he was engaged as a tenor for the Vienna opera company. In the course of the first season he switched to singing bass roles. See Link, ed., *Arias for Vincenzo Calvesi*, xiii-xiv.

65. According to the *Theaterzettel* for 4 April 1788, Albertarelli made his debut in Vienna as Biscroma in Salieri's *Axur*. A-Wtm, *Theaterzettelsammlung*, no shelfmark.

66. NG1, s.v. "Bassi, Luigi" (p. 263), by Christopher Raeburn. On Bassi, see also Till Gerrit Waidelich, "Don Juan von Mozart, (für mich komponiert.): Luigi Bassi, eine Legende zu Lebzeiten, sein Nekrolog und zeitgenössische Don Giovanni-Interpretationen," *Mozart-Studien* 10 (2001): 181-211.

67. Cf. note 56 above. See also Alessandra Campana, "Giuseppe Lolli da L'italiana in Londra a Don Giovanni," in *Mozart, Padova e la "Betulia liberata": Committenza, interpretazione e fortuna delle azioni sacre metastasiane nel '700*; *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, 28-30 settembre 1989, ed. Paolo Pinamonti, 417-22 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1991).

68. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 206, states that Guardasoni sang both tenor and bass roles in Vienna in 1772 and 1773.

69. See Link, ed., *Arias for Vincenzo Calvesi*, xi.

70. Mombelli sang Lindoro in Caserta in 1783. Libretto in ICCU.

71. Heinrich August Ottokar Reichard, *Theaterkalender, auf das Jahr 1784* (Gotha, 1783), 221, "Wälsche Oper . . . Männer . . . Sig. Benucci singt den Baß . . . Sig. Mandini singt den Bariton." (Copy in A-Wst, A 15584.)

72. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 2nd ed.

baritono," in *Tra le note: Studi di lessicologia musicale*, ed. Fiamma Nicolodi and Paolo Trovato, 57-91 (Fiesole: Cadmo, 1996): 78-79. This article draws on the author's study of eighteenth-century vocal treatises, "I trattati di canto italiani dell'Ottocento: Bibliografia, caratteri generali, prassi esecutiva, lessico," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Bologna, 1995).

73. " . . . la sua voce è chiara, forte, buona nel baritono . . ." Giuseppe Voltiggi, *Lettera apologetica intorno al teatro in Vienna* (Vienna: Presso Alberto Antonio Patzowsky, 1793), 19. My thanks to John Rice for drawing this document to my attention.

74. " . . . il celebrato Mandini maggiore Baritono di grande abilità, profondo conoscitore della sua arte, e gorgheggiante sui bassi, difficile dono di cui fu ben avara natura con altri." Quoted in Rice, "Benedetto Frizzi," 382.

75. See note 54 above.

76. "Figaro hat bekanntlich in allen Ensembles den tiefen Grundbass zu singen, und kommt doch gewöhnlich an Komiker, die mehr Bariton-, als ware Baßstimmen zu besitzen pflegen." *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12, no. 52 (26 September 1810), col. 835, quoted in Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono," 81.

77. "Dagegen kamen der Bassist Benucci, der Baritono Mandini . . ." Friedrich Ludwig Wilhelm Meyer, *Friedrich Ludwig Schröder: Beitrag zur Kunde des Menschen und des Künstlers*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (Hamburg: A. Campe, 1823), 1:357.

78. Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono." See also *OperaGrove*, s.v. "Baritone" (pp. 323-27), by Owen Jander, Lionel Sawkins, J. B. Steane, and Elizabeth Forbes.

79. *OperaGrove*, "Baritone," 323.

80. MGG2, Sachteil, s.v. "Stimmengattungen" (cols. 1795-96), by Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Thomas Seedorf.

81. Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono," 72-73.

82. *Ibid.*, 75.

83. *Ibid.*

84. MGG2, "Stimmengattungen," cols. 1803-4.

85. Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono," 76.

86. *Ibid.*, 63.

87. *Metodo di canto del Conservatorio di Parigi: Adottato dall'I. R. Conservatorio di Milano; Versione italiana con note e utili osservazioni sulla pronunzia di M. M.* (Milan: Presso Gius. Antonio Carulli Editore, [1825]), 3. See Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono," 64, n. 22.

88. At least one source from the first half of the eighteenth century, however, uses the term "baritono" to describe opera singers. A list of singers headed "Cantatori di Drammatiche Poesie" in Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia del volume terzo, parte seconda* (Milan: Francesco Agnelli, 1744), 525-33, includes the names of three singers specifically labeled as baritones: "Antonio Francesco Carli, Virtuoso di S. M. C.[.] Baritono" (p. 530); "Alessandro Besozzi, Milanese. Fu egli tanto eccellente nel Canto, quanto infelice nell'Azione. Baritono" (p. 531); and "Francesco Maria Venturini, Viniziano, Virtuoso di S. A. Elettorale di Baviera. Baritono" (p. 532). I thank John Rice for drawing my attention to this source.

89. Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono," 80. See also MGG2, "Stimmengattungen," col. 1806.

90. See note 18 above.

91. I have expanded Beghelli's list of vocal-dramatic categories in comic operas by adding further terms from the *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli*.

92. See note 72 above.

93. Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono," 81-82.

94. *Ibid.*, 82.

95. John Rosselli, "Grand Opera: Nineteenth-Century Revolution and Twentieth-Century Tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, ed. John Potter, 96-108 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 100; idem, *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 177; and *OperaGrove*, "Baritone," 324.

96. Rodolfo Celletti, *A History of Bel Canto*, trans. Frederick Fuller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991; first published as *Storia del belcanto* [Fiesole: Discanto, 1983]), 167-68.

97. Will Crutchfield, "The Nineteenth Century: Voices," in *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie, 424-58 (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), 428.

98. John Potter and Neil Sorrell, *A History of Singing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 116.

99. See <http://www.ipasource.com/baritone>. For a list of Kloiber's *Opernfächer*, which distinguishes five, instead of four, types of baritone, see MGG2, "Stimmengattungen," col. 1810.

100. Pearl Yeadon McGinnis, *The Opera Singer's Career Guide: Understanding the European Fach System* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 38.

101. Richard Miller, *Securing Baritone, Bass-Baritone, and Bass Voices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9-11.

102. Celletti, *History of Bel Canto*, 163-67.

103. Edward Foreman, *Authentic Singing: Being the History and Practice of the Art of Singing and Teaching in Two Volumes*, 2 vols. (Minneapolis: Pro Musica Press, 2001), 1:279.

104. John Potter, *Tenor: History of a Voice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 51-52. Potter mentions the baritenor only once in passing in connection with "Donzelli's baritenor roles" (p. 199, n. 19).

105. Potter, *Tenor*, 50-53.

106. According to Potter and Sorrell, *History of Singing*, 117, Donzelli moved from florid Rossini to heavier Donizetti and Bellini roles in the 1820s.

107. Crutchfield, "The Classical Era: Voices," in Brown and Sadie, *Performance Practice*, 294.

108. *Ibid.*

109. Crutchfield, "The Nineteenth Century: Voices," 428.

110. " . . . welche zwischen dem Tenore und Basse, doch etwas höher als der Bariton liegt." Johann Daniel Andersch, *Musikalisches Woerterbuch für Freunde und Schüler der Tonkunde* (Berlin: W. Natorff, 1829), 305, quoted in MGG2, "Stimmengattungen," col. 1806.

111. MGG2, "Stimmengattungen," col. 1809. The term *Tenor-Bariton* gained currency in the late nineteenth century in German-speaking countries and was eventually considered the precursor of the *Heldentenor* in the *Fach* system; see *ibid.*, col. 1810: "*Heldentenor* (früher auch *Tenorbariton*)."

112. Beghelli, "Sulle tracce del baritono," 71.

113. *Ibid.*, 76.

114. See note 107 above.

115. "Freilich bedarf er solcher Schnörkel, um seine mangelhafte Stimme, die mehr ein *mezzo basso* ist, zu bedecken. . . ." "Einige Nachrichten über den Zustand des Theaters in Prag. Im Dezember 1794." *Allgemeines europäisches Journal*, 1794, 565, quoted in Mozart: *Die Dokumente seines Lebens, Addenda und Corrigenda*, ed. Joseph Heinz Eibl (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 81. The reference is cited in John A. Rice, "Antonio Baglioni, Mozart's First Don Ottavio and Tito, in Italy and Prague," in *Böhmische Aspekte des Lebens und des Werkes von W. A. Mozart: Bericht über die Prager internationale Konferenz*, 27-28. Oktober 2006, ed. Milada Jonášová and Tomislav Volek, 295-321 (Prague: Institut für Ethnologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik, 2011), 296. I thank John Rice for alerting me to this source.

116. MGG2, s.v. "Mandini," cols. 956-57; and Daniel Brandenburg, "Benedetto Frizzis 'Dissertation di biografia musicale' (Trieste, 1802): Eine Quelle zur Rollencharakteristik in der Opera buffa," in *Bühnenklänge: Festschrift für Sieghart Döhring zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Betzwieser, 37-45 (Munich: Ricordi, 2005), 40 and 44, n. 20.

117. MGG2, Personenteil, s.v. "Bassi" (col. 455), by Thomas Seedorf. The term "tenor-baritone" has been used at least twice in recent writings as a purely descriptive label with no claims to historical authenticity, and perhaps it could serve as a term to designate the eighteenth-century baritone. Clemens Höslinger, "Mozarts Opern im Wiener Biedermeier," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1980-83): 100, observes that the roles of Almaviva and Don Giovanni were often filled by singers in the "Tenor-Baritonfach." Bruce C. MacIntyre, "Eighteenth-Century Operas at Caramoor Summer Festival, July 2004," *Newsletter of the*

Society for Eighteenth-Century Music 6 (April 2005): 5, labels Francesco Borosini (ca. 1699-1754) a "tenor/baritone."

118. The details of this are a bit unclear. According to Laureen Baillie, ed., *Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980*, 62 vols. (London: K. G. Sauer, 1981-87), 37:331, one set of canzonets was published in 1799 (surviving at GB-Lbl, shelfmark E. 1501. pp. [2.]), and a reissue soon followed, probably in 1800 (GB-Lbl, shelfmark E. 600. n. [7.]). The title page of the first set reads "Printed for G. G. Ferrari, and to be had of him 1 N° 34 Great Marlboro Street"; John Rice has suggested the "G. G. Ferrari" is Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763-1842), who was living in London at the time (personal communication, spring 2014). The reissue was "printed for R. Birchall" and reveals that the accompaniment was made by one "M^{me} Dussek," whom the cataloguers identify as Sophia Dussek (later Sophia Dussek Moralt), who arranged numerous works for harp or pianoforte. The songs are strophic, the vocal line is notated in the soprano G clef (pointing to a female clientele), and the words are pastoral in nature, with the names Tirsi and Clori appearing in the third song.

119. Roberto Paissa, who studied Mandini's career up to 1783, reports an identical range for the arias he examined (Paissa, "Questi è il Conte," 163).

120. Dorothea Link, ed., *Arias for Francesco Benucci, Mozart's First Figaro and Guglielmo*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era, vol. 72 (Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 2004), and Link, ed., *Arias for Vincenzo Calvesi*.

121. Julian Rushton, "Buffo Roles in Mozart's Vienna," 414, makes a related observation in his study of the three bass-clef singers in *Don Giovanni*: "Their upper range is not much different: all three go to e'. What mainly distinguishes them is extension downwards: Masetto to G, Leporello twice to F. But Giovanni lacks low notes; exceptionally, in the quartet, he descends to B \flat , but usually he goes no lower than c."

122. Rice, "Antonio Baglioni," 301.

123. Rushton, "Buffo Roles in Mozart's Vienna," 415-18.

124. The 1782 Milan libretto provides a cast list, showing Giuseppe Lolli as Mingone, but it does not include vocal-dramatic designations for the roles.

125. Zinzendorf, 28 May 1783: "Mandini jouoit a merveille le rôle de Mingone." Quoted in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 205-6.

126. Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 55 and 468.

127. Sartori, ed., *I libretti italiani*, nos. S10906 and S10913, respectively.

128. John Platoff, who generously shared with me his knowledge of *Fra i due litiganti*, observes that the roles of Mingone and the Countess are the two smallest in the opera. Personal communication, May 2014.

129. *Ibid.*

130. Zinzendorf, 13 August 1783: "Mandini comme Lindor, comme Bachelier envoyé par Basilio a enseigner la musique a Rosina, enfin comme Comte d'Almaviva est fort bien. . . . L'Emperor fit repeter l'air du Bachelier, qui vient en Tartuffe souhaiter Gioja e pace au Tuteur." Quoted in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 210. Tartuffe is a character in the eponymous play by Molière (1664) who exaggeratedly feigns religious virtue.

131. "Signor Mandini and I played the part of Count Almaviva alternately." *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly of the King's Theatre and Theatre Royal Drury Lane*, 2 vols. (1826; repr., New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 1:253.

132. Viganoni's position in the Italian company at the Théâtre de Monsieur was that of *mezzo carattere*, according to *Indice*, 1:828. Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 55, labels him a *primo tenore* based on other sources.

133. Otto Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater als Opernbühne: Von der Einführung des deutschen Singspiels (1778) bis zum Tod Kaiser Leopolds II. (1792)* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1970), 64.

134. Zinzendorf, 8 December 1783: "La Storace et Mandini chanterent comme les anges." Quoted in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 215.

135. *Ibid.*

136. "... et M. Mandini, pour qui le rôle du berger semble fait, y a remplacé, par les grâces les plus aimables, et par le chant le plus suave, les basses caricatures qu'y faisait autrefois Pinetti." *Gazette nationale, Moniteur universel*, 7 June 1790, 646, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 368.

137. Sartori, ed., *I libretti italiani*, nos. S10945a, S10955a, S10957, S10999, and S11000.

138. *Indice*, 1:298.

139. We know that he sang in the opera in both cities but not in which role.

140. Zinzendorf saw the opera for the first time only on its fifth performance on 13 April 1784, when he writes, "On donna l'opera *le Vendemmie* ou la donna incognita, musique de Gazzaniga. Mandini y chanta comme un ange. Des couplets *contre* les femmes, la nobil torta etc. la musique est jolie." Quoted in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 222–23.

141. However, Benucci's association with the role was publicly acknowledged in a curious manner in 1786. Salieri's and Casti's one-act opera *Prima la musica e poi le parole* was written as a spoof on the Italian opera company in Vienna and presented as part of the entertainment for a formal dinner Joseph gave on 7 February 1786. The opera is laden with references to other operas given at the court theater, the most prominent of which consists of long quotations from three arias that Luigi Marchesi had sung when he passed through the city in August and that Nancy Storace now sang in an astonishing imitation of that great *musico*. A recent edition of the opera has identified other quotations, not only in the music but also in the libretto. One of these consists of the textual incipit of the aria "Quando vedrai chi sono," which appears within a passage of recitative (Giambattista Casti, Antonio Salieri, *Prima la musica e poi le parole*, music ed. Thomas Betzwieser, text ed. Adrian La Salvia, editing supervisor Christine Siegert, Opera: Spektrum des europäischen Musiktheaters in Einzelditionen, vol. 1 [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013], xviii). The words "Capitan di due sciabecchi sovra l'Alpi navigai" are set to an unidentified melodic snippet in Andante $\frac{2}{4}$. The quoted text is delivered by the character Il Maestro, who was sung by Benucci. The significance of the quoted text referring to Benucci's former role of Zeffiro is unclear from the dramatic context, suggesting it may have been an in-house joke for the opera personnel.

142. The libretto for the pasticcio shows that "L'Aria delle vendemmie, Quando saprai [sic] chi sono. Del Sig. Gazza" was sung by the character Brunetti/Brunetto, played by Albertarelli. It is clear from the named opera and composer that "Quando vedrai chi sono" is meant. The aria with which it is confused, "Quando saprai chi sono"—composed by Sarti for the 1782 production of *Fra i due litiganti* in Milan—is also a tall tale about the character's colorful past, also composed for Benucci. Benucci sang the aria again in the Viennese production of the opera in 1783. I owe this information to John Platoff (personal communication, September 2013), who kindly shared his research about this aria with me and corrected some errors I had made in my edition of the aria in Link, ed., *Arias for Francesco Benucci*, 27–37. The title page of the pasticcio's libretto reads, "L'APE MUSICALE | COMEDIA per MUSICA | IN DUE ATTI | DA RAPPRESENTARSI | LA QUADRAGESIMI DELL' ANNO | M.DCC.LXXXIX. NEL TEATRO DI CORTE | A | BENEFIZIO DI ALCUNI VIRTUOSI. | IN VIENNA | NELLA IMPER. STAMPERIA DEI SORDI, e MUTI." A facsimile reprint of this libretto, along with the librettos of the pasticcio's 1791, 1792, and 1830 versions, can be found in Marina Maymone Siniscalchi, *"L'ape musicale" di Lorenzo Da Ponte* (Rome: Il Ventaglio, 1988).

143. The libretto bears the title "LA VENDEMMIA. | A | NEW COMIC opera, | IN TWO ACTS. | As performed at the KING'S THEATRE, in the | HAY-MARKET. | THE MUSIC ENTIRELY NEW, by SIGNOR GAZZANIGHA, ... London ... 1789." Like Mandini and Calvesi the previous year, Benucci had obtained a leave of absence to explore a new opera house, in his case the King's Theatre in London. His former colleagues from

Vienna, Nancy and Stephen Storace and Michael Kelly, may have helped bring about his engagement, although King's had already attempted to recruit him in June 1781. Benucci's overall reception in London, however, was qualified, and he returned to Vienna three months later.

144. Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 479.

145. Searches in RISM A/II (www.rism.info) and Internet culturale: Cataloghi e collezioni digitali delle biblioteche italiane (www.internetculturale.it) yielded no further information.

146. Zinzendorf, 17 December 1784: "... les couplets contre les femmes, que Mandini chanta, réussirent a merveille." Quoted in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 237.

147. See list of numbers in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 479–80.

148. Some confusion surrounds the character's name. The *personaggi* in both the 1783 Rome and 1784 Vienna librettos name him Conte Caramella, but he appears throughout the librettos as Don Piccariglio; and he is also named Don Piccariglio in the score. In the plot he is eventually unmasked as a servant pretending to be Don Piccariglio. I suspect that a mistake was made in compiling the *personaggi* in the 1783 Rome libretto but would need to consult more sources in order to verify this.

149. Joseph to Rosenberg from Caserta, 31 December 1783: "Benucci a un succès étonnant à Rome. ... Je crois que je pourrai vous envoyer un Spartito d'une pièce dans la quelle Benucci a chanté [à Rome] et dont je vous envoie en attendant le livret" [written in margin: *Le vicende d'Amore*] (Benucci has an astonishing success in Rome. ... I think that I will send you a score of a work in which Benucci sang and of which, in the meantime, I send you the libretto), quoted in Payer von Thurn, *Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor*, 38–39.

150. Zinzendorf, 23 August 1784: "L'air Io Re Sono ne me plut gueres." Quoted in Link, *National Court Theatre*, 232.

151. Zinzendorf, 23 August 1784: "Bref il y a beaucoup de beaux morceaux, mais l'opera est long et le public ne l'a pas goûté." Quoted in *ibid.*, 232–33.

152. Upon seeing this aria, John Rice exclaimed: "finally, a classic *buffo caricato* aria in D major, C time." Personal communication, spring 2014.

153. Salieri's annotation to the cavatina in the autograph reads, "La Cavatina – Ah trovar fra queste piante – è d'un allegria leggera ma spiritosa, com'è il carattere del giovane che la canta." Quoted in Rudolph Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: Dokumente seines Lebens; Unter Berücksichtigung von Musik, Literatur, bildender Kunst, Architektur, Religion, Philosophie, Erziehung, Geschichte, Wissenschaft, Technik, Wirtschaft und täglichem Leben seiner Zeit*, 3 vols. (Bad Honnef: Verlag Karl Heinrich Bock, 2000), 1:307.

154. "L'un des acteurs que l'on doit distinguer encore dans cette piece, c'est M. Mandini, pour qui elle a été faite à Vienne, et qui semble se surpasser dans le rôle de Lubin." *Gazette nationale, Moniteur universel*, 7 December 1791, 1422bis–1423, quoted in Di Profio, *La révolution des bouffons*, 423.

155. See note 29 above.

156. "On a donné à Mandini un rôle, qu'il joue bien, parce que c'est un acteur qui s'acquitte bien de tous ses rôles, un rôle dis-je, qui pourrait être charmant et plein d'esprit et de gentillesse, au lieu de cela le poète lui fait dire des saletés et des horreurs sans fin, et d'un autre côté le compositeur n'a pas trouvé à propos de lui donner un air, où il puisse briller, si ce n'est un petit duo de rien, qu'il chante avec l'Amour, qui est assez gentil, d'ailleurs rien de saillant pour lui non plus, et il peut se vanter d'être sacrifié dans cet opéra." "Lettre d'un habitant de Vienne à son ami à Prague, qui lui avait demandé ses réflexions sur l'opéra intitulé L'Arbore di Diana," transcribed in Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater*, 438.

157. The "chanson," as it is called in the score, can be found in Antonio Salieri, *Tarare: Opera en cinq actes avec un prologue (Pariser Fassung von 1787)*, ed. Rudolph Angermüller, 2 vols., Die Oper (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1978), 2:311–24.

158. Curiously, the Angermüller edition, which follows the published Paris score, does not contain a part for mandolin, though the "chanson" is preceded by the direction "Il prend une mandoline et chante sur le ton de la Barcarolle."

159. "Biscroma, capo degli eunuchi, schiavo europeo: buf-fone per politica tutte le volte ch'egli parla al Re, quasi anche allor quando prega: ma, nel fondo, onesto, sensibile, ed interessantissimo per gratitudine ad Atar." As quoted in Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: Dokumente*, 2:121. English translation from Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 415.

160. On the *Theaterzettel* (A-Wtm, Theaterzettelsammlung, no shelfmark), a note appended to the eleventh item on the program of his benefit concert on 15 February 1788 reads, "Congedo sull' Aria di Biscroma nell'Axur, cantato dal Sigr. Mandini (Diese Abschiedsarie wird bey dem Eingange des Theaters deutsch und italiänisch gedruckt, unentgeltlich ausgegeben)." The handout containing the contrafactum text, both

in Italian and in German translation, is headed, "ALLE | NOBILISSIME | DAME, | ED | INCLITO PUBBLICO | DI | VIENNA | RINGRAZIAMENTO | DI STEFANO MANDINI | PRIMA DELLA SUA PARTENZA | NELL'ACCADEMIA | DATA | DAL MEDESIMO IL DI 15 FEBBRAJO | 1788," with the German translation on the opposite page. The handout is preserved in A-Wst (shelfmark 109874 A).

161. The copying house of Lorenz Lausch placed an advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung*, 21 March 1789, 687, offering for sale all the numbers in the pasticcio opera *L'ape musicale* in piano-vocal score. The complete description of the aria reads: "Atto I^{mo} ... 8. Je suis né natif de Ferrare, Romance Tenor (Ahi povero Calpigi) 28 kr." As can be seen, the main title is in French, the language in which Mombelli sang the aria, but the Italian text in parentheses clearly corresponds to the Italian version of the opera, sung in *Axur*. No copy of this edition seems to have survived.

Texts and Translations

Texts have been taken from the scores and checked against the matching librettos. Spellings and punctuation have been modernized, for example, “perché, annoia” instead of “perchè, annoja.” Descriptions of the sources can be found in the critical report.

1. Come un agnello

Mingone taunts Titta, his rival for Dorina’s hand, after telling him that he has the Countess’s support in his marriage bid for her. But in the end Mingone does not get her either, since, as the opera’s title proclaims, Dorina is allowed to marry the man of her choice, Masotto.

Come un agnello, che va al macello, belando andrai per la città. Io colla bella, mia rondinella, andrò rondando di qua, di là. Io già m’aspetto sentirmi dire: guarda che amabile sposo perfetto! di là ripetere: viva la sposa. O impareggiabile coppia vezzosa, il ciel concedavi felicità.	Like a lamb that goes to slaughter, you will go bleating through the town. I, with my beauty, my swallow, will walk about here and there. I can already hear them saying, “Look at that attractive, perfect husband!” And from over there is repeated, “Long live the bride! O incomparably charming couple, may heaven grant you happiness.”
--	--

a Tit. che minaccia
to Titta, who is threatening him

Non serve fremere, signor frabutto, a dente asciutto lei resterà.	It does no good to fume with rage, you scoundrel; empty-handed [lit., with a dry tooth] you will remain.
--	---

Other source. Liner notes to *Amadeus & Vienna*, Roberto Scaltriti, baritone, with Les Talens Lyriques, dir. Christophe Rousset, Decca BIEM/MCPS 458 557-2, 1998, compact disc.

2. Saper bramate

The Count has fallen in love with Rosina after watching her from afar. Disguised as the poor student Lindoro, he has come to the house in which Bartolo, her guardian, keeps her locked up, hoping for a chance to talk to her. Aware that he is outside, she drops a note from the balcony asking him to introduce himself in a song. He then sings the following canzone, accompanying himself on a mandolin.

Saper bramate, bella, il mio nome? Ecco, ascoltate, ve lo dirò.	You wish to know, lovely one, my name? Hear me then; I will tell you.
--	--

Io son Lindoro, di basso stato, nè alcun tesoro darvi potrò. Ma sempre fido ogni mattina a voi mie pene, cara Rosina, col cuor su’ labbri vi canterò.	My name is Lindoro, of low birth; I can offer you no riches. But faithfully every morning I will sing to you of my suffering, dear Rosina, with my heart on my lips.
--	---

Other sources. Giovanni Paisiello, *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, ed. Francesco Paolo Russo, Concentus musicus, vol. 11, pt. 1 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2001), 13. Liner notes to *Giovanni Paisiello: Il barbiere di Siviglia*, Hungarian State Orchestra, dir. Ádám Fischer, Hungaraton 12525-16-2, 1985, compact disc.

3. Amor non so che sia

Act 1, scene 3, marks the first appearance of Violante and Nardone. The former opens the scene by singing a little song to herself, and then he sings a little song (this one) to himself. They then notice one another and begin to converse.

Amor non so che sia, ma so ch’è un traditor; che cosa è gelosia non ho saputo ancor. La donna mi vien detto fa molto sospirar, e pure, io poveretto, mi voglio innamorar.	I do not know what love may be, but I know it is a traitor; what jealousy is I have not yet known. Women, I am told, make men sigh very much, and yet I, poor fellow, want to fall in love.
--	--

Comment. Line 6, libretto has “che fa da sospirar.”

Other source. Liner notes to *Giovanni Paisiello: La frascatana*, Opéra de Chambre de Genève, dir. Franco Trinca, Bongiovanni GB 2358/59-2, 2004, compact disc.

4. Quando vedrai chi sono

The opera opens with Count Zeffiro, described in the *Personaggi* as a glutton and flatterer, devouring newly harvested grapes, while Cordone, the horrified farmer, desperately tries to stop him. In his first aria, Zeffiro lists all the dishes he wants the farmer to serve at his upcoming wedding feast.

Quando vedrai chi sono, sorpreso resterei e stupirai di me. Per render ben servito il numeroso invito, senti l’idea qual’è. Quattro zuppe à la santé, un gran lessò di vitella, un bon fritto di cervella, un pasticcio di rigaglia, colla tortora e la quaglia, una gran carapotina con piccione e beccaccina, <i>fricassée</i> poi d’animelle, piccion grossi in pappardelle, un salmi colla beccaccia, e una nobil torta in faccia. Un bodino all’uso inglese, ed un altro alla francese, poi l’arrosto di fagiani, tordi grassi ed ortolani,	When you see who I am, you will be surprised and astonished by me. To best serve the numerous guests, hear what my idea is. Four soups à la santé, a huge boiled veal, some good fried brain, a pie of giblets, with turtledove and quail, a large <i>carapotina</i> with pigeon and snipe, then a fricassee of sweetbreads, large pigeons served with pasta, a stew of woodcock, and a great tart in front of you. A pudding in the English style, and another in the French style, then a roast of pheasants, plump thrushes, and songbirds,
--	--

carciofetti, piselletti,
insalata, sparagetti . . .
Che ne dici? che ti par?
non ti senti liquefar?
Ah mi par d'averla in bocca!
che dolcezza! che sapor!

Comments. Line 1, score initially has "saprai" in place of "vedrai" (m. 9), though the score uses the correct word when the line is restated (m. 26). Line 3, score cites the line as in the libretto, but at its third statement in mm. 20–21 the text is altered to "ne stupirai così." Line 12, score has "carape fina" in place of "carapotina" (which makes equally little sense). Line 21, libretto has "con dei tordi ed ortolani." Lines 22 and 23, libretto has "e" between the pairs of nouns. Line 27, libretto has "delizia" in place of "dolcezza."

Other source. John Platoff, "Catalogue Arias and the 'Catalogue Aria,'" in *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 296–311 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 298–99.

5. In voi donne non v'è fede

Upon observing yet another misunderstanding between the lovers, Zeffiro launches into a tirade against women.

In voi donne non v'è fede,
non si trova carità,
è ben pazzo chi vi crede
e chi a voi pensando va.
Siete tutte dispettose,
più crudeli che amorose,
par che il miele abbiate in bocca.
Guai a quello che gli tocca
di servirvi, riverirvi,
corteggiarvi, accarezzarvi,
ci sta fresco in verità.

Comments. Line 2, libretto has "ne" in place of "non." Line 4, libretto has "che" in place of "chi."

6. Capitan di due sciabecchi

While the man passing himself off as Don Piccariglio (Count Caramella) is paying court to the supposed Baroness Doralice, his abandoned former lover Elvira comes upon them and recognizes him. Claiming that she is mistaken, he invents an elaborate story about himself.

Capitan di due sciabecchi,
sopra l'alzi io guerreggiai.

vedendo, che Pin. ride

(Ah, l'ho detta grossa assai,
ma non cambio di color.)
Poi studiai di contrapunto,
e composi un'ariettina
(che Madama spizzichina
mi solea cantare ognor).

cantando

"Amor mi rosica, amor mi pizzica,
mi batte, batte, tiranno amor:
si batti, batti, pizzica, rosica,
tu non lo vinci questo mio cor."
In Salamanca m'addottorai
e domandate che gran bisbiglio

baby artichokes and baby peas,
salad, baby asparagus . . .
What do you say? How does it seem to you?
Don't you feel your mouth watering?
Ah, it seems to be in my mouth already!
What sweetness! What flavor!

In you women there is no trust,
one finds no compassion;
he is right crazy who believes you
and goes around thinking of you.
You are all spiteful,
more cruel than loving;
it seems you have honey in your mouths.
Woe to the one who has
to serve you, honor you,
woo you, cherish you;
he is truly in trouble.

Captain of two xebecs [three-masted sailing ships],
I waged war over the sights of guns.

seeing that Pinodoro is laughing

(Ah, I have overdone it a bit,
but I am not changing color.)
Then I studied counterpoint
and composed a little arietta
(that dainty little Madam
was always in the habit of singing to me).

singing

"Cupid gnaws at me, Cupid pinches me,
he hits and hits me, tyrannical Cupid.
If you hit and hit, pinch, gnaw,
you do not win my heart."
In Salamanca I became a doctor,
and you all ask what great whispering

fece il Dottore Don Piccariglio,
sanando un gobbo coll'erba tè.
Da *petit-maitre*, dentro Parigi
andai servendo madam' Tritri,
la Contessina di Graffigni,
la Duchessina di Mordorée.
Scherma, sciabecchi, musico, medico,
dame, madame, duchesse, eccetera,
più di trent'anni m'hanno impiegato,
per vita mia, che chiere, oste?
Quante bugie, quante n'ho dette,
per digerirle ci vuol caffè!

Parte

Comments. Line 2, score has "sopra l'Alpi" in place of "sopra l'alzi." Lines 9 and 11, libretto has "puncica" in place of "rosica." Line 8, libretto has "cantar" in place of "cantare"; direction "(cantando)" follows line 10 in libretto. Line 17, libretto has "petitmetre" and score has "petitmaitre" in place of "petit-maitre." Line 19, score has "La Contessina Missipipi." Line 20, libretto has "Mordorè" in place of "Mordorée." Line 23, libretto has "m'anno" in place of "m'hanno."

7. O miei tristi pensier—Io re sono

Teodoro is an adventurer, who, through charm, cunning, and good luck, had himself acclaimed king of Corsica but now finds himself deposed and fleeing both creditors and would-be assassins. Under the name of Conte Alberto, he has taken up residence in Venice at the inn of Taddeo. He develops an infatuation with the innkeeper's daughter, Lisetta, and fastens on her as the solution to his problems, since he hopes to tap into her father's money. In this aria he takes stock of his situation.

O miei tristi pensier, che vergognosi
dentro il sen v'ascondete, or che siam soli
uscite fuor dell'affannoso petto.
Che mi giova a dispetto
delli natali miei, della mia sorte
aver saputo collo scaltro ingegno
una corona, un regno,
e il titolo acquistar di Re de' Corsi,
se timido e meschino
son costretto a fuggir ed a celarmi;
e a qual birbon della più vil canaglia
Genova pon sul capo mio la taglia?
In ciaschedun che incontro
un assassin pavento,
a ogni passo un'insidia, un tradimento,
un colpo d'archibuso o di pistola,
o un coltel nella gola;
se desino, se ceno,
temo ch'ogni boccon mi sia veleno,
e in mezzo a tanti guai per tormentarmi
mancava l'ostessina,
quella crudel che ognora
quanto mi sprezza più, più m'innamora.

Io re sono, e sono amante.

Il mio amor è un brutto affanno;
il mio regno è un bel malanno;
ma la taglia è peggio ancor.
Quando volgo il mio pensiero
alla mia crudel Lisetta,
par che irato amor mi metta
mille diavoli nel cor.

Doctor Don Piccariglio caused
by healing a hunchback with herbal tea.
As a beau, in Paris,
I went serving Madame Tritri,
the little Countess of Graffigni,
the little Duchess of Mordorée.
Fencing, xebecs, musician, doctor,
women, ladies, duchesses, et cetera,
more than thirty years I have spent;
for the life of me, what else do you want, my host?
How many lies I have told;
it takes coffee to digest them all!

Leaves

O my sad thoughts, you who hide shamefully
in my breast, now that we are alone,
issue forth from my troubled bosom.
What avails it me that,
despite my lowly birth [and] my fate,
I have through shrewd talent
acquired a crown, a kingdom,
and the title of king of the Corsicans,
if, nervous and wretched,
I am forced to flee and hide myself,
as if, as a knave of the most vile rabble,
Genoa has put a price on my head?
In everyone I meet
I fear an assassin;
at every footstep an ambush, a treachery,
the shot of a harquebus or a pistol,
or a knife in my throat;
if I dine, if I sup,
I am afraid that every mouthful is poison,
and in the midst of so much misfortune tormenting me
what was missing was the little innkeeper,
that cruel one, who, all the time,
the more she disdains me, the more enamored I am of her.

I am king, and I am a lover.

My love is an ugly anguish;
my kingdom is a fine mess;
but the price on my head is even worse.
When I turn my thoughts
to my cruel Lisetta,
it seems that angry love puts
a thousand devils into my heart.

Ch'io son re poi mi rammento
e dai stimoli di gloria
cose a far degne d'istoria
infiammar mi sento allor.

Ma la solita paura
smorza amor, la gloria oscura,
e aver parmi sulla groppa
il sicario, che m'accoppa,
e con qualche botta ria
mi risana in sempiterno
dall'eroica pazzia
della gloria e dell'amor.

Comment. Line 19, libretto has "temo ch'ogni boccon non sia veleno."

Other source. Liner notes to *Giovanni Paisiello: Il re Teodoro in Venezia*, Orchestra and Chorus of Teatro La Fenice, dir. Isaac Karabtchevsky, Mondo Musica MFON 20121, 1998, compact disc.

8. *Ah trovar fra queste piante*

While Artemidoro becomes pensive and philosophical upon entering the woods, Plistene imagines himself coming upon a wood nymph. But then he catches himself and reaffirms his love for his betrothed Dori.

Ah trovar fra queste piante
potess'io qualche galante
Amadriade o Napea.
Bella gloria è il far conquista
d'una ninfa o d'una dea!
Quanto più credito acquista
a un amabile garzon.
Cara Doride, perdon.

Un capriccio passeggero
non offende l'amor vero,
e ad un giovine è concesso:
ma son teco ognor lo stesso,
teco ognor costante io son.
Cara Doride, perdon.

Comments. Line 4, libretto lacks "è." Line 8, autograph, m. 32 has "bella" instead of "cara," but thereafter "cara." Line 12, autograph and Mus Hs 40492, mm. 41–42 have "ma son teco ognor l'istesso."

Other source. Liner notes to *Antonio Salieri: La grotta di Trofonio*, Les Talens Lyriques, dir. Christophe Rousset, Ambrosie AMB9986, 2005, compact disc.

9. *Dov'è dunque il mio ben—Vò dall'infami viscere*

Tita has locked his sister Lilla in a room until he can forcibly marry her to the village mayor. When Lubino, Lilla's betrothed, discovers this, he rushes to free her, but the room is empty with nothing but her veil to attest to her having been there. Lubino gives vent to his rage and fear for her in the following aria.

Dov'è dunque il mio ben? . . . già son fuggiti . . .
Barbari, al tradimento
aggiungete lo scherno?
Ma raggiunger saprovvi;

salta già dalla finestra

qual uomo, qual dio potrebbe
trattener l'ire mie? Stelle! che miro?
il velo non è questo
della mia Lilla bella?
Forse la meschinella

Then I remember that I am king,
and by the love of glory
I still feel inflamed
to do deeds worthy of history.
But the usual fear
smothers love, obscures glory,
and it seems to me I have on my back
the assassin who kills me
and with some cruel blow
heals me forever
from the heroic madness
for glory and love.

Oh, if among these trees
I could but find some sexy
hamadryad or wood nymph.
What a pretty glory it is to make a conquest
of a nymph or a goddess!
How greatly it enhances the reputation
of an amiable young man.
Dear Dori, forgive me.
A passing fancy
does not offend true love
and is permitted to a young man.
But with you I am always the same,
with you I am always faithful.
Dear Dori, forgive me.

Where then is my beloved? They have already fled.
Barbarians, to betrayal
do you add mockery?
But I know how to catch you.

jumps out the window

What man, what god
could restrain my anger? Heavens! What do I see?
Is this not the veil
of my lovely Lilla?
Perhaps the poor girl,

ne' moti della sua disperazione
si lanciò dal balcone . . . e il molle viso . . .
e le tenere membra . . . ah! chi sa quale
soffrirò oltraggio ad ambedue fatale.
Non è vano il sospetto . . .
la camera rinchiusa . . .
il balcon spalancato . . . il velo appeso . . .
Ah se questo adivenne, a tutti io giuro
i numi dell'abisso e a quei del cielo
di farne di coloro
nuovo tremendo memorabil scempio:
qual fui d'amor, sarò d'atrocia esempio.

Vò dall'infami viscere
strappar agli empi il cor,
vò farli a brani a brani,
e dar per cibo ai cani
l'ossa e le carni lor.
E tu, su questo braccio

s'avvolge il velo al braccio

rimanti infausto segno,
e se giammai nell'anima
langue l'usato sdegno
porgi alimento ed esca
che accresca il mio furor.

Comments. Line 11, libretto has "saltò giù" in place of "si lancio." Line 13, libretto has "ambi due." Line 22, libretto has "Vo da l'infami."

Other sources. Joseph LoSchiavo, ed. and trans., unpublished libretto used in the production by the Vineyard Theatre, New York, 1986. Liner notes to *Vicent Martin i Soler: Una cosa rara*, Le Concert des Nations, dir. Jordi Savall, Astrée Auvidis E 8760, 1991, compact disc.

10. *Un galant'uom son io*

To punish him for flirting with her nymphs, Diana changes Doristo into a tree. Endimione and Silvio come along. Then Amore appears, disguised as a girl, and instructs Silvio to cut down the tree. The tree yelps. The men address the tree, and Doristo sings this lament. Shortly afterwards Amore reappears and changes him back to his human form.

Un galant'uom son io,
non ti so dir di più,
e pria del caso mio
fui già quel che sei tu.
Per causa delle femmine
son condannato qui,
mi servirà di regola
se mai rivedo il dì.

Comment. Line 4, libretto reads "che eri tu."

Other source. Vicente Martín y Soler, *L'arbore di Diana*, ed. Leonardo Waisman, Música hispana, ser. A, vol. 36 (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2001), 92–93.

11. *Nato io son nello stato romano*

Envious of the married happiness of his general Atar, King Axur has the general's wife, Aspasia, kidnapped and placed in his harem, where he alternately woos and threatens her. One evening he tries to please her by arranging a large feast. To contribute to the evening's entertainment, Biscroma, chief eunuch of the harem, recounts his life's story in a song, accompanying himself on the mandolin.

in the throes of her desperation,
threw herself from the balcony . . . and her delicate face
and tender limbs . . . ah, who knows what
fatal harm she will suffer to both!
My suspicion is not unfounded . . .
the locked room . . .
the balcony wide open . . . the hanging veil . . .
Ah, if this happened, I swear by all
the gods of hell and heaven
to make of them
a new terrible, unforgettable slaughter:
as I was a model of love, I will be a model of atrocity.

I'll tear the wicked ones' heart
out of their detestable insides;
I'll rip them to pieces
and throw their bones and flesh
to the dogs as food.

And you, stay on this arm

he wraps the veil around his arm

as an ill-omened sign,
and if ever the usual anger weakens
in my soul,
give it food and bait
so that my fury may grow.

A gallant man am I;
I don't know what else to tell you,
and before I became what I am now
I was what you are.
On account of women
I am condemned here;
it will serve me as a lesson
if ever again I see the daylight.

Nato io son nello stato romano,
 e mio padre che fe il ciarlatano
 per tutor Don Rasoio mi diè.
 Oh poveretto me.
 Sul teatro d'andare decisi,
 e a cantar bene o male mi misi
 da soprano la sol fa mi re.
 Bravo Biscroma affè.
 Una fresca, gentil virtuosa,
 per coprirsi col manto di sposa
 per marito passare mi fe:
 Oh poveretto me!
 Per spogliarmi d'un peso discaro
 destramente la vendo a un corsaro
 che per sorte veniva da Calè.
 Bravo Biscroma affè.
 Giunto il dì che doveva pagarmi,
 questo perfido fece legarmi
 e per schiavo menommi con sè.
 Oh poveretto me.
 Di marito divento custode,
 la briccona ne giubila e gode:
 sposi cari, piangete con me.
 Oh poveretto me.

Comments. Line 9, libretto has “bella” instead of “fresca.” Line 23, libretto has “sapete perchè.” The text above follows that of the Artaria vocal score of the opera (1788; see the critical report), on which the music of the edition is based. In the libretto and autograph score, the canzonetta continues with two additional stanzas: “Navigammo per storto per dritto, / a traverso la Libia, l’Egitto / con catene alle mani ed ai piè. / Oh poveretto me. // Ah siam presi, quel barbaro grida; / chi ci prese? fu il celebre Atar.” (We sailed this way and that, / past Libya and Egypt, / our hands and feet in chains. / Oh, poor me. // Ah, we are seized, the barbarian shouts! / Who has seized us? It was the hero Atar.)

12. Tutto amabile e galante

Don Calloandro has just returned home from university and is full of airs. His father, Don Polibio, quickly discovers to his horror that his son abandoned his studies in Padua and was off living the good life in Paris. In addition, he discovers later that his son’s creditors are suing him.

Tutto amabile e galante,
 di ritorno io vengo qua,
 delle donne tante e tante
 n’ho lasciate a sospirar.
 Resterà come un marmotto
 nel vedermi il mio papà.
 Gli farò così di botto
 una vasta riverenza,
 poi dirò con eloquenza . . .
 ma in che lingua si dirà?
 In francese: adiù adiù,
 in inglese: addio monsieu,
 in tedesco: vaia ostè,
 in spagnolo: mainer tù.
 Nel sentir del caro figlio
 tanti detti sì eruditi,
 ei farà con suoi nitriti
 queste valli risuonar.

I was born in the state of Rome,
 and my father, who was a charlatan,
 made Mr. Razor my guardian [i.e., made me a castrato].
 Oh, poor me.
 I decided to go into the theater
 and I set out to sing well or badly
 as a soprano, la sol fa mi re.
 Bravo, Biscroma, in faith!
 A fresh, tender virtuosa,
 in order to cover herself with the mantle of a wife,
 made me pass for her husband.
 Oh, poor me.
 To rid myself of the unpleasant burden,
 I cleverly sold her to a pirate
 who by chance had come from Calais.
 Bravo, Biscroma, in faith!
 The day arrived when he had to pay me;
 the perfidious wretch had me tied up
 and took me with him as a slave.
 Oh, poor me.
 Once a husband, I became a warder;
 the wench enjoys and rejoices in it.
 Dear husbands, cry with me:
 Oh, poor me.

Totally lovable and charming,
 I return here;
 so very many women
 I have left behind sighing.
 My papa will be as stunned as a marmot
 to see me.
 Just like this I shall suddenly make him
 a great bow,
 then I will say, with eloquence . . .
 but in what language will I say it?
 In French: adiù adiù,
 in English: addio monsieur,
 in German: vaia ostè,
 in Spanish: mainer tù.
 Hearing from his dear son
 so many erudite phrases,
 with his happy cries he will make
 these valleys resound.

Comments. Line 11, libretto has “In Spagnuolo: Adio Monsiù.” Line 12, libretto has “In Inglese: Mainertu.” Line 14, libretto has “In Francese: Allas ballà.” Line 15, libretto has “In sentir”; all three scores have “Nel veder” in m. 54 and “Nel sentir” in m. 70.

13. Cara mia sposa amata

Besotted with the shepherdess Eurilla, Marchese Astolfo is no longer interested in meeting his future wife, Donna Florida, who is expected to arrive at his estate at any moment. When he inevitably encounters her, she asks the men standing in front of her which of them is her future husband, and he points to Calloandro, whom he instructs in a whisper to impersonate him. Embarrassed and confused, Calloandro does his best to greet her in the appropriate manner but fears his father’s anger at his apparent impertinence.

Cara mia sposa amata,
 eccomi a te vicino,
 volgimi quel visino,
 che scivolar mi fa. *Al Mar.*
 (Cos’è, non vi trovate?
 la man si abbasserà.) *A Pol.*
 (Papà, voi mi seccate,
 finitela, papà.) *A Flor.*
 Già l’alma mia per lei,
 a sospirar impara,
 Cara . . . ciò è . . . non tanto cara . . .
 bella . . . ciò è . . . non tanto bella . . .
 senta . . . vorrei . . . dirò.
 Ah che fra tante e tante
 amabili scintille
 di quelle sue pupille
 perduto ho la favella,
 che dirvi più non so.
 (Oimè, che precipizio,
 che imbroglio è questo, cattera,
 la sposa dice carica,
 costui mi dice scarica,
 di là colui mi fiotta,
 mio padre mi rimbrotta,
 ed io, destin briccone,
 son fatto qual pallone,
 balzando e ribalzando,
 per tutto me ne vò.)

Comments. Line 4 in libretto ends with “A Flo.” Lines 5 and 6 appear after the following four lines in libretto. Line 6, libretto has “Al Mar.” Line 8, libretto has “A Pol.” Line 11, libretto lacks “tanto.” Line 12, libretto lacks “cio è.”

My dearly beloved bride,
 here I am close to you;
 turn toward me that face
 that makes me tremble. *To the Marchese*
 (What is it, don’t you find yourself?
 The hand will come down.) *To Polibio*
 (Papa, you’re annoying me!
 Stop it, Papa!) *To Florida*
 Already my soul
 learns to long for you.
 My dear . . . that is . . . not so much my dear . . .
 my beauty . . . that is . . . not so much my beauty . . .
 listen . . . I would like . . . I will say . . .
 Ah, what with so very many
 attractive sparkles
 in her eyes
 I have lost my tongue
 so that I am unable to speak any more.
 (Oh dear, what a precipice,
 what a tangle this is, *cattera* [exclamation]!
 The bride tells me one thing,
 that man tells me the contrary,
 that man over there keeps talking to me,
 my father scolds me,
 and I—wicked destiny!—
 have become just like a football;
 bouncing this way and that,
 I go everywhere.)

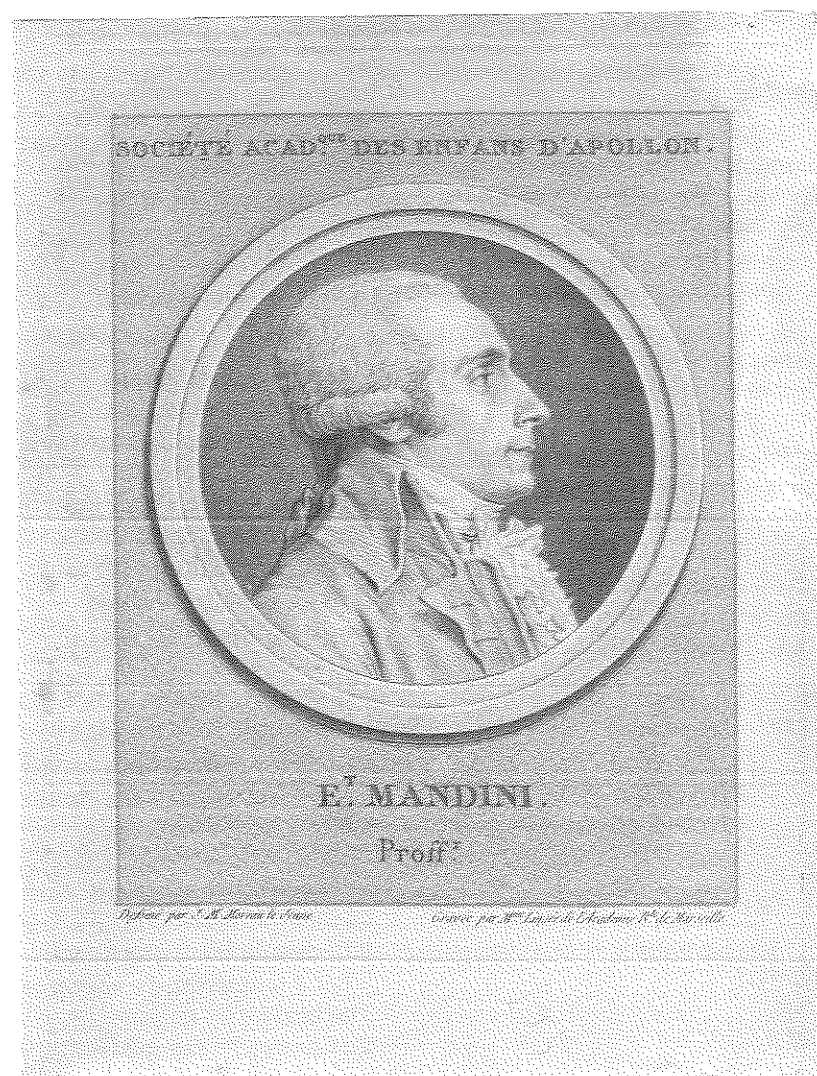


Plate 1. Stefano Mandini, stipple engraving by Thérèse-Éléonore Lingée, after a drawing by Jean-Michel Moreau the Younger. New York, The New York Public Library, Muller Collection (Mandini, Stefano #1). Used by permission.

Arias for Stefano Mandini