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# Arias for Vincenzo Calvesi

Mozart's First Ferrando

M 2 R286

Edited by Dorothea Link

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## Introduction

## Vincenzo Calvesi and the Tenor in Mozart's Vienna

As every Mozart tenor knows, the role of Ferrando in *Così fan tutte* is formidable, indeed, so formidable that one of his arias is frequently omitted in modern productions of the opera. The singer for whom Mozart wrote the music, Vincenzo Calvesi, was obviously very good. To investigate the nature of his voice and singing I have compiled this collection of fourteen arias. Thirteen were composed specifically for him. Twelve date from the period of his lengthy engagement in Vienna, where Antonio Salieri, Vicente Martín y Soler, Vincenzo Righini, Stephen Storace, and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote some of their most memorable tenor roles for him, and a further aria dates from the year he spent in Naples, where Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi composed a role for him.<sup>1</sup>

Vincenzo Calvesi (fl. 1777-1811) was born in Rome, where he made his first known stage appearance in 1777.2 He soon embarked on a career in the Italian circuit. During the 1780 carnival season he was singing in Trieste, where Count Karl von Zinzendorf, serving as governor there, heard him and noted in his diary, "The mezzo carattere Calvesi enchanted everyone."3 Calvesi spent the years 1781-84 in Dresden, after which he resumed his peripatetic career in Italy. In spring 1785 he took up an engagement at the Vienna court theater. Except for a year's leave of absence in 1788-89 to sing in Naples, Calvesi remained in Vienna for nine years, leaving the city for good at the end of the 1793-94 season. He returned to Rome, where he joined a company that apparently performed in the palaces of the nobility. The company, which included his Viennese colleagues Francesco and Dorotea Bussani, also made a brief excursion to Naples in the summer of 1794. After singing in Florence in the 1795 spring season, he seems to have retired from the stage and continued his career as an opera impresario.4 In partnership with Francesco Bussani, he leased the Teatro Alibert for a nine-year term in 1796. From 1805 to 1811 he was part of a four-man partnership at the Teatro Alibert and the Teatro Valle. He was also active at the Teatro Argentina, in regard to which a document survives that painfully illustrates the financial difficulties arising from his impresarial ventures.5

When Calvesi created the role of Ferrando in Così fan tutte on 26 January 1790, he had been singing at the

Vienna court theater for almost five years. During his first season there, Mozart had written for him the part of the Count in the terzetto and quartetto (K. 480 and 479, respectively) that were inserted into Bianchi's *La villanella rapita*. In subsequent seasons Mozart would have heard Calvesi in a large number of roles (see the appendix) and would have gotten to know his vocal and acting abilities intimately. When he finally had the opportunity to compose an entire operatic role for him, he exploited Calvesi's voice to its full potential. The demanding music he composed testifies to his high opinion of the singer.

Modern tenors often have difficulty with the vocal writing in Ferrando's part; the aria "Ah lo veggio quell'anima bella," in particular, is more often than not omitted in productions of the opera with the justification that Mozart himself cut it from the score. As the basis for this justification is not only incorrect but directly affects how scholars view Calvesi, it seems advisable to clear up this misconception right at the start. Some recent authors have asserted that Mozart eliminated "Ah lo veggio" before or during the first performances because the high tessitura and thirteen high B-flats turned out to be too difficult for Calvesi.6 There are two parts to this assertion, first that Mozart cut the aria and secondly that he did so because he had overestimated Calvesi's abilities. Both parts of the assertion turn out to be wrong. In his recent study of the opera's sources, Ian Woodfield exposes a misreading of the markings in the autograph that led to the conclusion that Mozart eliminated the aria.7 In the autograph the final measure of the accompanied recitative preceding the aria, "Barbara, perchè fuggi?," is followed by the instruction "segue l'aria di ferrando" (Ferrando's aria follows) in Mozart's hand, written to the right of the system in the margin. Below the system, also in Mozart's hand, can be read, "dopo questo viene scena 7.ma:—Recitativo Istromentato di Fiordiligi e Rondò" (after this comes scene 7: accompanied recitative for Fiordiligi and rondò). Until now, some editors have understood the second instruction as cancelling out the first by interpreting "this" in "after this" to refer to Ferrando's accompanied recitative, thus "after Ferrando's accompanied recitative comes scene 7 [etc.]."8 This reading would be much more secure if Mozart had crossed out "segue l'aria di ferrando," but he did not do so. Looking at the autograph with fresh eyes, Woodfield points out that the two instructions together form a single

instruction that reads, "Ferrando's aria follows; after this comes scene 7: accompanied recitative for Fiordiligi and rondò." The instruction, Woodfield continues, was probably intended for the court theater's copyist, who had before him a number of loose gatherings. That this is the correct reading of Mozart's instructions is confirmed in the score used for the premiere—Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn), OA 146-which indeed contains the aria after the accompanied recitative.9 This score, however, shows that the aria sustained a large internal cut: measures 57 to 91 are crossed out and were formerly tied off.10 This shortened version of the aria appears in copies of the opera made from OA 146.11 The aria, then, was never eliminated, but it was shortened, and the short version was what Calvesi sang. Having restored "Ah lo veggio" to the opera, Woodfield does not go on to consider the implications of his finding for the second part of the assertion, that Mozart had overestimated the capabilities of his singer. 12 An examination of the cut shows that, although it shortens the aria by about a quarter of its total length, it does not eliminate a single high B-flat. The high notes were clearly not a problem for

A further comparison of the same scores reveals that another of Calvesi's arias, "Un'aura amorosa," sustained cuts in measures 50-57 and 63-66.13 Also interpreting these cuts as signs of Mozart making the aria easier for Calvesi, Woodfield concludes, "Perhaps Calvesi was struggling, not with any individual passage as such, but with the demands of his role as a whole."14 Although on the surface plausible, this conclusion, too, is not supported by the evidence. While the second of the two cuts does eliminate two pairs of adjacent high As, the overall effect of the cuts is to make the aria compositionally tighter, the first cut shortening the repetition of material in the da capo, the second compressing the approach to the climactic cadential phrase. Alan Tyson, who first reported the cuts in both arias, considers them part of an overall effort to shorten a long opera.15 This view is, in my opinion, the most persuasive, especially since Calvesi did have more than his share of arias, with three compared to two apiece for the other singers. There are thus no more grounds for suspecting that Calvesi could not handle his role. Mozart did not miscalculate when he wrote Calvesi's music.

The paucity of research on the Italian operatic tenor in the late eighteenth century makes it difficult to know how to measure Calvesi as a singer. John Potter's recent and welcome book, *Tenor: History of a Voice*, has greatly increased our understanding of the singing technique of tenors such as Calvesi (about which more below), but much remains to be learned about the tenor's status in opera, both seria and buffa. <sup>16</sup> On the face of it singing in opera seria was more lucrative and prestigious than singing in opera buffa, but this observation needs to be confirmed with more salary data than is presently available for singers within and across companies to see how tenors compare with other voice types, with each other, and with themselves when they move between opera seria and opera buffa. In an attempt to create a context for

understanding Calvesi's status as a singer, I will examine his position in the Viennese court opera company in the 1780s in comparison with the other singers, particularly the tenors. It is especially regrettable in this regard that no contracts for singers survive, but other sources, such as contemporary reports and descriptions of singers as well as the music itself, help fill in the picture.

Calvesi came to Vienna on a joint appointment for himself and his wife Teresa Gherardi Calvesi ("detto la Romanina"). A seconda donna buffa for much of her career, she is first known to have appeared on stage in 1776 in Genoa, with subsequent engagements in Milan, Mantua, Venice, Monza, Vicenza, Mestre, Florence, and Turin. During carnival 1778 in Palermo she is listed as Teresa Calvesi in the company in which Vincenzo Calvesi also sang.<sup>17</sup> In the 1780 carnival season in Trieste, however, she sang in the same company as Vincenzo as Teresa Gherardi. 18 She used her maiden name in London in the 1782-83 season, which ended badly for her and the other singers when they were not paid their full contracted salaries.<sup>19</sup> One wonders in any case how singers of the second rank, poorly paid as they were, could afford to perform in the circuit with all its attendant expenses. In 1784 she sang in Bologna under the name Teresa Calvesi, once again in the same company as Vincenzo. During carnival 1785 she sang in Parma, while Vincenzo sang in Trieste. They were reunited in spring 1785 when they were engaged together for Vienna. The theater account books for 1785-86 show a combined salary "to Calvesi and wife annually [of] 3283 fl. 20 x."20 In Vienna Teresa sang only small roles, although she exceeded Zinzendorf's expectations at her Viennese debut: "La Calvesi is not so bad."21 When Vincenzo procured an engagement in Naples for the 1788-89 season, she was similarly engaged in Palermo. It is doubtful that she returned to Vienna with Vincenzo. There is no trace of her in the Viennese sources, with the exception of the housing allowance, but that has an explanation.<sup>22</sup> A housing allowance of 300 gulden was paid in 1789-90 and 1790-91 to "Calvesi with his wife" ("Calvesi samt Gattin"), but starting in 1791-92 it was paid to Calvesi alone and reduced to 200 gulden.<sup>23</sup> The payment records helpfully state that the housing allowance was paid in accordance with the terms of Calvesi's contract, which appears to have lasted to the end of the 1790-91 theater year. In his next contract, starting in 1791–92, the former salary of 3600 gulden previously paid to "Calvesi with his wife" was now paid to him alone. This suggests rather strongly that Teresa's position in Vienna had been purely nominal. She most certainly was not in Vienna in 1790 for she is known to have sung in Vicenza in the summer of 179024 and to have signed another contract for London on 28 September 1790 in Bologna.<sup>25</sup> She subsequently sang for two seasons in London, 1790-91 and 1791-92, as seconda donna buffa. Eventually, in 1794 and 1795, she succeeded in being engaged as either prima donna assoluta or prima buffa, as the case may be, in Codogno, Bergamo, Prato, Pavia, Como, and Monza, all small opera houses to be sure, but she did sing the role of Nina in Giovanni Paisiello's opera of that name at least

twice. In 1799–1800 Teresa returned to Vienna for a ninemonth engagement, for which she was paid 675 gulden.<sup>26</sup>

Another Calvesi, Vincenzo's brother Giuseppe (fl. 1784-91), interests us as well, for in the secondary literature he is regularly confused with Vincenzo. For the record, Giuseppe, and not Vincenzo, sang in London for the seasons 1787-88 and 1788-89, as well as in Versailles—which was a summer project of the London company-in 1787 and 1788, and in Moscow in 1790. While Giuseppe sometimes sang tenor roles, such as that of Berlicco in Versailles in 1787 and London in 1788, a role that Vincenzo also had sung in Vienna in 1786, he also sang baritone roles, such as Teodoro, in London in 1787, a role that had been created by Stefano Mandini in Vienna in 1784. He seems to have been younger than Vincenzo, as his first known stage appearance was only in 1784. After his two seasons in London he was engaged in Vienna for the theater year 1789-90, perhaps as a partial replacement for Stefano Mandini, who had left in spring 1788. This was not the first time that a family member of a singer engaged at the court theater was brought in to join the company. Celeste Coltellini brought her sister Anna, Stefano Mandini brought his brother Paolo, and Francesco Benucci brought his niece Francesca. As the London season ended sometime in June, Giuseppe did not make his Vienna debut until well into the summer, on 15 July 1789, according to the theater poster.27 Zinzendorf writes in his diary, "Il falegname. The brother of Mandini does not perform badly."28 Unusually for him, he made a scribal error, writing "brother of Mandini" when he meant "brother of Calvesi," probably because Giuseppe sang Fabio, a role previously sung by Stefano Mandini. Zinzendorf reports hearing two Calvesis in Axur, re d'Ormus on 23 September 1789: "I went to the opera to hear Axur where Benucci, La Ferraresi, the two Calvesis, and Bussani performed very well."29 The "two Calvesis" almost certainly refer to Vincenzo and Giuseppe and not Vincenzo and Teresa, as Zinzendorf would have referred to Teresa as "La Calvesi." Giuseppe would have sung Mandini's former role of Biscroma.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the 1787–88 season, Calvesi and Mandini and their wives left Vienna for a year's leave of absence, with Teresa going to Palermo and the others going to Naples. Emperor Joseph supplied Calvesi and Mandini with a letter of introduction for his minister in Naples, Baron de Thugut, in which he requests him to lend his support to the singers, since they were still in his employ.31 In July the queen of Naples asked for Mandini to be released from his contract so that she could retain him in Naples, a request that was granted.32 Calvesi continued to maintain contact with the court theater. In June Joseph expressed satisfaction over a letter he had received from Calvesi.33 At the beginning of August, Joseph decided to close the Italian opera for the duration of the war, writing to his theater director: "The decision that I gave you recently, namely that the Italian opera company should be dismissed at the end of the current theater year, remains. This decision should be formally announced to all its members here in Vienna as well as to Calvesi in Naples."34 A few weeks later he amplifies his instructions: "The declaration should therefore be made immediately to all the members of the opera, both in Vienna as well as those in a foreign country, such as Calvesi and Ferraresi, and if the latter insist on their contracts, there will no doubt be some means to come to an agreement with them, by giving them some sort of compensation." Adriana Ferrarese del Bene had recently been recruited as a *prima donna* for the company; notwithstanding her abrogated contract, she made her debut, as apparently planned, on 13 October 1788. The opera's continued existence was unexpectedly confirmed in January, and Calvesi returned to Vienna at Easter. All this time Teresa was singing in Palermo, but neither of these memoranda mentions her.

We know something about Calvesi's final departure from Vienna from a petition he made in March 1793. "No. 28. Calvesi, singer of the Imperial Royal National Theater requests to be retained as *primo tenore* at the opera." The reply written beneath the petition reads, "Herewith the decision to be conveyed back [to the petitioner]; since the personnel for the national theater has already been determined and no position is at present available, the petitioner is denied his request." <sup>36</sup> It appears that Calvesi had at some point given notice of wanting to leave in spring 1794. In March 1793 Calvesi reconsidered his plans and petitioned to be retained. His petition was denied, as the theater management had already reengaged Domenico Mombelli and Giuseppe Viganoni for the 1794–95 season.

The names of singers found in librettos and personnel lists of opera companies are sometimes followed by terms that describe their vocal-dramatic category and rank. In the highly conventionalized dramma per musica the roles invariably consist of primo uomo (or primo soprano), prima donna, and primo tenore, followed by the second-rank singers in each category as applicable. Nomenclature in dramma giocoso is much looser, reflecting a more fluid practice. One of several possible combinations of singers in a company consists of a prima buffa (or prima buffa assoluta), primo buffo mezzo carattere or primo mezzo carattere, and primo buffo caricato, followed by the seconda and secondo in the three categories. The primo mezzo carattere is usually a tenor, occasionally a high baritone, who sings the serious male role, most often the noble lover. Variants of the term, sometimes making further fine distinctions, include primo tenore di mezzo carattere (e.g., Viganoni as Don Berlicco in Le gare generose in Naples 1786) and primo buffo e mezzo carattere (e.g., Calvesi in Trieste, carnival 1781). Zinzendorf refers to the tenor role of the Count in La scuola de' gelosi as the primo amoroso.37 The looseness of the terminology can be illustrated by comparing the descriptions of the same tenor role in *Il curioso indiscreto* in different productions. When sung by Calvesi in Lucca in autumn 1779, the role of Il conte di Ripaverde was labelled primo mezzo carattere. When sung by Stefano Mandini in Novi in autumn 1779 and in Pavia during carnival 1780, the role is described as primo buffo, notwithstanding that Mandini can at other times be encountered as a primo mezzo carattere. Calvesi sang almost exclusively in dramma giocoso; consequently

Salaries of the Best-paid Singers at the

		*		Less we recalled 1000 / K		
Season	Soprano	Soprano	Bass	Bass	Tenor	Tenor
1783–84	Nancy Storace, 3248		Francesco Benucci,	Stefano Mandini, 2812		TOTAL
1784-85	Storace, 4061		20/3 tor 9 months <sup>2</sup> Benucci, 4061	Mandini, 3275	Cincopno Viasnoni 2057	
1785–86	Storace, 4071	Celeste Coltellini, 4071	Benucci, 4071	Mandini, 3721	Vincenzo Calvesi 3283	
1786–87	Storace, 4500	Luisa Laschi, 3375	Benucci, 4185	Mandini, 4185, as of Nov. 1	200	Calvesi, 3600
1787–88	Anna Morichelli, 4000	Luisa Laschi Mombelli, 3375	Benucci, 4185	Mandini, 4185	Mombelli, 4500	Calvaci 3600
1788–89	Luisa Laschi Mombelli, 4500	Coltellini, 4500, but left after 3 months; replaced by Adriana Ferrarese del Bene, 4500? <sup>3</sup>			Mombelli, 4500	cavest, 5000
1791–92	Irene Tomeoni, 4125		Benucci, 4185		Calvesi 3600	
1791–92 opera seria ensemble	Cecilia Giuliani ( <i>prima donna</i> ), 4312	Angelo Testori (primo uomo), 1050 for 5 months			Vincenzo Maffoli (tenore), 3037 for 9 months	
179394	Tomeoni, 4500		Benucci, 4500	Litioi Raffanolli 1500	Maffal: 4500	

1. For ease of legibility the salaries have been rounded up or down to the nearest gulden. The exact figures can be found in Dorothea Link, 1ne ational Court Theatre in Mozarf's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 407–43. Salary figures do not survive or 1789–90, 1790–91, and 1792–93.

2. It is inadvisable to calculate the annual equivalent of salaries paid for short-term contracts, as the rates of pay were not always identical for nort- and long-term contracts. See the case of Ferrarese discussed in note 3.

3. Ferrarese was paid 2700 gulden for six months, from which we cannot infer she received an annual salary of 5400 gulden, which would have en exceptionally high. She was presumably initially contracted for three seasons (arriving halfway through the first season) at the standard rate 4500 gulden, but when it appeared that the opera company was going to be dissolved during Lent 1789, the contract was renegotiated for six onths and, by way of compensation, at a higher rate.

he is most often referred to as a primo mezzo carattere, although in 1788 in Naples in a company performing dramma giocoso he is called primo tenore. For his two known appearances in dramma serio, in Padua and in Treviso, both in 1780, the Indice simply lists his name under "Signori" in the former and calls him tenore in the latter.38

The best tenors of the age sang in the dramma per musica, where they ranked in third place behind the primo nomo and the prima donna. While the relative preeminence of the latter two varied, the tenor conspicuously ranked below the other two, as can be seen in the following three sets of salary figures for the top three singers:

Turin, 1780-81: prima donna Luigia Todi, 700 zecchini gigliati; primo soprano Domenico Bedini, 600; tenore Antonio Prati,

Turin, 1782-83: prima donna Luigia Todi, 900 zecchini gigliati; primo soprano Tommaso Consoli, 700; tenore Giuseppe Simon,

Naples, 1785-86: primo uomo Francesco Roncaglia, 2886 ducati; prima donna Anna Morichelli, 2340; tenore Domenico Mombelli, 1638.41

In both examples from Turin, the prima donna is paid more than the primo uomo, while in Naples the situation is reversed. The ranking probably depended on the negotiations of the individual singer, since castrati no longer automatically occupied first place. The tenors in all three examples are paid considerably less than either the primo uomo or prima donna, although again by how much probably depended on the individual tenor and the opera company. As an aside, it is interesting to observe that in Naples the tenor Mombelli was paid significantly less than the prima donna Morichelli, but two years later in Vienna, Mombelli received a higher salary than Morichelli (see table 1).

London in the 1780s was unusual in having a single opera company that comprised a serious ensemble and a comic one, with the tenor shared between them. The salary figures for the highest paid singers during the 1790-91 season show this tenor being paid with the opera seria singers.42

Opera seria singers: primo uomo Gasparo Pacchierotti 1200 pounds, prima donna seria Gertrude Elisabeth Mara 1000, primo tenor serio and primo mezzo carattere Gustavo Lazzarini

Opera buffa singers: prima buffa Anna Casentini 700 pounds; primo buffo Giovanni Morelli 400, buffo caricato Lorenzo Capriani 400.

As the figures show, the tenor is paid a good bit less than the primo uomo and prima donna but within the buffa ensemble he ranks just below the prima buffa. A study of salaries for many more opera houses in Europe would give a better picture of the market value of the different classes of singers, but such data, as already mentioned, is hard to come by and further complicated by the difficulty of comparing different currencies. John Rosselli makes a first attempt at comparing fees in several theaters over a sixty-year period by converting six Italian currencies to francs.43

The Italian opera in Vienna during this period consisted of an opera buffa company; an attempt to expand into opera seria in late November 1791 was abandoned a few months later. The tenors recruited for the company from opera buffa were paid somewhat less than the prima donna and the primo buffo. The salaries of the two tenors recruited from opera seria, Mombelli and Vincenzo Maffoli, however, were at the top of the pay scale. As the theater management identifies neither the rank nor the dramatic-vocal category of its singers in any official source, such as announcements of debuts, librettos, and account books, the salary figures constitute the chief indication of rank. Other documents confirm that Vienna did observe the same ranking system found elsewhere.44 For example, Calvesi's petition of 1793 makes it clear that, despite his relatively modest salary, he was considered first rank (primo tenore). Elsewhere, Joseph remarks in a letter that if, after a year's trial, a certain prospective soprano is successful in Vienna, it will not be necessary to engage another first-rank singer or Luisa Laschi either. 45 In another letter, after being informed that the debut of Benucci's niece had not gone well, he notes wryly, "We have enough second- and third-rank female singers without having to take on any more."46 Owing to the lack of information concerning the dramatic-vocal categories, I have provisionally listed the singers in the broad vocal categories of "soprano," "bass," and "tenor" (see table 1). Stefano Mandini, who today would be considered a baritone, is difficult to classify in those categories, as he sang both bass and tenor roles, but, as he clearly is not a high tenor, he is listed with the basses.<sup>47</sup>

In its first year, 1783-84, the newly created company had as yet no first-rank tenor; it managed with four largely adequate tenors: Francesco Bussani (paid 2424 fl. 52 x), Valentin Adamberger (2133 fl. 12 x), Michael Kelly (1641 fl. 30 x), and a certain Pugnetti/Bugnetti (1207 fl. 36 x). Bussani had started his career as a tenor, singing in Vienna in 1771, Florence in 1777, Bologna in 1778, Rome in 1779, Milan in 1779, and Naples in 1781. In both Bologna and Naples he was called a primo mezzo carattere.48 At his reappointment in Vienna in 1783, he was initially classified as a tenor. The actor Friedrich Ludwig Schröder recalls how in 1783 the new company was assembled, "There came ... the tenors Poseni [Bussani], Okelly, and Pugnetti."49 The Theaterkalender, auf das Jahr 1784 reports: "Italian opera ... Sig. Posani sings tenor and plays first lovers; Sig. OKelly, an Irishman, sings tenor and plays second lovers; Sig. Pugnetti sings tenor and plays servants."50 Mozart cast Bussani as a tenor or high baritone in the role of Pulcherio in the opera fragment Lo sposo deluso, begun and abandoned in 1784-85. In the inaugural opera of the 1783 season, Salieri's La scuola de' gelosi, Bussani sang Il conte Bandiera, a tenor role Calvesi had sung a few years earlier in Trieste.<sup>51</sup> However, in subsequent operas that season he sang the bass roles of Il conte di Belfiore in Fra i due litiganti, Figaro in Il barbiere di Siviglia, Tognino in Le gelosie villane, and Pagnotta in La frascatana. In the 1784-85 season when the company had acquired a new tenor in Viganoni, he sang bass. Tellingly, in I contrattempi

Viganoni sang the tenor role of Filiberto, a role Bussani had sung as recently as 1781 in Florence. Bussani stayed with lower roles and went on to create Bartolo and Antonio in *Le nozze di Figaro* and Alfonso in *Così fan tutte*, and sang the Commendatore and Masetto in the Vienna premiere of *Don Giovanni*.

Adamberger's low salary does not seem commensurate with his impressive record of singing in opera seria in Italy and London before coming to Vienna in 1780, his good reputation in Vienna, and the difficult music Mozart wrote for him in the role of Belmonte in Die Entführung aus dem Serail. He was, however, singled out in being repeatedly engaged to sing at private court functions, and he may have had some form of job assurance connected with his marriage to the Viennese actress Marie Anne Jacquet. Initially engaged for the singspiel company, he was transferred at its dissolution to the newly created opera buffa company. Adamberger was somehow not a good fit for the opera buffa company, for he seems not to have sung many roles. We know of two, Il conte di Ripaverde in *Il curioso indiscreto*, 30 June 1783 (the opera in which he did not sing the insertion aria Mozart had composed for him, K. 420), and Pirolino in *L'incontro inaspettato*, 27 April 1785.<sup>52</sup> He was called upon to sing in the specially mounted production of the opera seria Giulio Sabino in August 1785, but no further roles are known for him in the opera buffa company. He was transferred back to the revived singspiel company for the 1786-87 and 1787-88 seasons, in which he was extremely active. After the company was once again disbanded, in 1788, he was reinstated in the opera buffa company and at the same time appointed to the Hofkapelle.<sup>53</sup> Reviews of his singing are generally positive,<sup>54</sup> and the music Mozart wrote for him leaves no doubt of his vocal abilities,55 but perhaps because of his reputed wooden acting his function in the opera buffa company was limited.

Although Kelly had been trained in the Italian school of singing and was at least once, in summer 1781 in Florence, billed as a "primo buffo mezzo carattere,"56 most of his appointments in Italy were as secondo mezzo carattere. In Vienna he was engaged as a second-rank tenor, although he made his debut in the primo mezzo carattere role of Il conte Bandiera in La scuola de' gelosi.57 His salary, somewhat unusually, changed every year during his four years there, from his initial 1641 fl. 30 x to 1528 fl. 12 x to 1532 fl. 6 x to 1800 fl. Posterity remembers him for creating the roles of Basilio and Curzio in *Le nozze* di Figaro, his later career in English comic opera in London, and his colorful memoirs. Another second-rank tenor was engaged in the person of Pugnetti/Bugnetti, who stayed the next season at a reduced salary (from 1207 fl. 36 x to 1091 fl. 36 x). He is known to have sung Tenente in La scuola de' gelosi, Don Dalmiro in Il falegname, and Giocondo in La frascatana.58

In 1784–85 the tenor Viganoni was appointed to the company. From 1777 to 1800 he enjoyed a long and successful career singing in the major opera houses, with multiple repeat engagements in Venice, Naples, and London. In the latter city, in particular, he was highly

esteemed.<sup>59</sup> He sang primarily in opera buffa but also occasionally, as in London, in opera seria. In Vienna he is known to have sung Don Alonso in *Le vicende d'amore* and the tenor role in *La finta amante*, and to have created Sandrino in *Il re Teodoro in Venezia*, the opera Paisiello wrote for Vienna. Other tenors still in the company in 1784–85 were Adamberger, Kelly, and Bugnetti. In 1785–86, Viganoni was replaced by Calvesi, while Adamberger and Kelly continued on. Calvesi made his Viennese debut on 20 April 1785 in Viganoni's role of Sandrino in *Il re Teodoro in Venezia*.

The 1786-87 season saw the arrival of Mombelli, one of the most celebrated seria tenors in the late eighteenth century. He was engaged at a salary of 4500 gulden, the highest salary to that point, which seems to have driven up the salaries of the prima donna Nancy Storace and subsequently of some of the other singers.<sup>60</sup> A stellar singer, he was engaged to add his luster to the Viennese company, but his presence in Vienna over the three years he was there (and during his return engagement in 1794) left hardly a trace. It is a mystery why he was not cast in the operas performed for the two imperial marriages that took place the following season, L'arbore di Diana, for the marriage of Joseph's niece Maria Theresia with Prince Anton von Sachsen, and Axur, for the marriage of Joseph's nephew and designated successor Archduke Francis with Princess Elisabeth von Württenberg. In both operas, Calvesi sang the tenor role. Surprisingly few of the roles Mombelli sang are known, just six over three seasons. He made his Vienna debut as Milord Arispinghe in L'italiana in Londra, a well-worn opera from 1779, in the Vienna company's repertoire since 1783. He sang the Cavaliere in I finti eredi in August 1786, Armidoro in L'amor costante in November 1787, Gianferranto in La modista raggiratrice in April 1788, and Don Riccardo in Le gelosie fortunate in June 1788. In I finti eredi and Le gelosie fortunate, he performed arias of his own composition. After his marriage to Luisa Laschi, he also composed insertion arias for her. In November 1788 he created Don Florio in Joseph Weigl's Il pazzo per forza, the only role known to have been composed for him in Vienna. Surprisingly, neither Salieri nor Mozart wrote music for him. In March 1788 he sang in an oratorio composed by himself, La morte e deposizione della croce di Gesù Cristo, for the Tonkünstlergesellschaft concerts. He took his leave in 1789 as Don Capriccio in L'ape musicale, a pasticcio opera assembled by the court librettist Lorenzo Da Ponte and performed by the singers in their benefit concerts during

In 1787 Kelly was replaced by Nicola Del Sole, another second-rank singer, who was appointed at a salary of 1350 gulden.<sup>61</sup> In the early part of his career, which apparently began in 1772, his name often appears in cast lists among the "altri buffi" or without any designation at the very bottom. In the mid 1780s, however, he is frequently designated as *primo mezzo carattere*. He seems to have had a low tenor voice, for in addition to singing the tenor role of Aldalmiro in *Il falegname* in Milan in 1781, he also sang the bass role of Sozio in the same opera in Graz

in 1783. In Vienna he created the small roles of Urson and Arlequin in *Axur*. Del Sole stayed on in Vienna until his death in May 1791.

Had Calvesi not taken a leave of absence in 1788–89, he probably would have sung Don Ottavio in the Vienna premiere of Don Giovanni on 7 May 1788. As it was, Mozart was saddled with his substitute Francesco Morella, a nrimo mezzo carattere from Italy who was engaged at 1800 gulden, which already says a great deal. It is commonly thought that Mozart composed "Dalla sua pace" for him when the original aria "Il mio tesoro" composed for Antonio Baglioni proved to be too difficult. Mombelli might have been the ideal Don Ottavio, but he was not assigned the role, perhaps because he was scheduled to sing in the first premiere of the season, La modista raggiratrice, on 23 April. Adamberger was back in the company; might he have been preferable to Morella? He had only just recently sung at the wedding banquet for Archduke Francis on 6 January 1788 and had been handsomely rewarded for it.<sup>62</sup> His solo singing career was nonetheless winding down. Two and a half years later on the occasion of Archduke Francis's second marriage on 19 September 1790, the Tafelmusik was provided by Calvesi.63

For the following two seasons the composition of the opera company is not known with complete certainty since the theater account books for those two years are missing. We do know that Mombelli was not replaced when he left in spring 1789. Instead, Calvesi had to cover all the "primo" tenor roles, with Del Sole taking the "secondo" roles. Adamberger, who was still on the payroll (for his name appears in the account book for 1791–92), could conceivably have sung, but there is no evidence one way or the other. The company was managing on a tighter budget, producing fewer new operas, and reviving old ones. Joseph died on 20 February 1790. His brother Leopold took office but was as yet too preoccupied with matters of state to take an interest in the opera. Consequently the next year, 1790–91, saw no change in the management of the opera and none with regard to

In 1791–92 the company began the season with three tenors, Calvesi, Adamberger, and Del Sole, but Del Sole died two months into the season, leaving the company without a secondo tenore. On 1 June salary payments started for the tenor, Maffoli, who, however, did not make his debut until the end of November, and then as the primo tenore in the new opera seria ensemble. The account book for 1792-93 is missing, but the account book for 1793-94 shows that Calvesi and Maffoli were still in the company, Maffoli now singing in opera buffa. Calvesi left Vienna for good in spring 1794, as did Maffoli, and Mombelli and Viganoni returned. This overview of the tenors who sang in Vienna shows that Calvesi was a real workhorse, especially during the financially constrained years 1789 to 1792. Some things, however, we may never know: why his salary never rose above 3600 gulden and what his position was vis-à-vis Mombelli.

John Potter's history of the tenor voice, already mentioned, provides considerable insight into voices like

Calvesi's.<sup>64</sup> In one of the central arguments of the book Potter traces the change in the tenor voice from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Potter begins his description of the Italian eighteenth-century tenor with the observation that the celebrated tenors were high tenors. Competition with the castrati had driven up the ranges of both tenors and sopranos so that by the end of the century there existed a type of very high tenor, who "could unite the registers to combine 'the power of a man's voice with all the sweetness and charm of a woman's.' "65 These tenors achieved their wide range and high notes by using the chest voice sparingly, developing the head voice, and, most importantly, assiduously blending the registers in the passaggio (break), an area called the mezza voce (mixed voice).66 The renowned English tenor John Braham once submitted to a test in which he sang an ascending and descending chromatic scale in the area of his passaggio. His attentive auditors could not discern when he passed from one register to the other.67 In addition to achieving a seamless sound throughout their range, these tenors were trained to perform a messa di voce on each note in their range, and to develop their vocal agility. This three-pronged approach to singing underlies the singing school advocated by the great castrati with whom these tenors studied, such as Pier Francesco Tosi and Venanzio Rauzzini. Called tenore contraltini (or tenore di grazia) in the nineteenth century to distinguish them from the tenore di forza, a new type of tenor that was then emerging, these tenors reached a peak of development with Giovanni Battista Rubini, for whom Bellini wrote a high F in I puritani in 1834/35.68

The tenore di forza no longer studied with castrati but with tenors, a change that led to tenors beginning to find their own voice. The new tenor voice lowered the larynx to produce a darker tone, greater resonance, and greater volume.69 The new tenor voice also raised the pitch at which it crossed the passaggio from chest to head voice.70 Tenors continued to push up the chest voice, eventually entirely sacrificing the head voice and the mezza voce. The sound of the new tenor began to be heard in the second decade of the nineteenth century alongside that of the old tenor, but Gilbert-Louis Duprez's famous performance in 1837 of a high C in chest voice in Rossini's Guillaume Tell marked the point of no return. Rossini had intended for the passage containing the high C to be sung in head voice, as indeed it had been at the premiere, and he objected to the sound of the chested C, but to no avail. The modern tenor sound won out. As the Rubini generation of tenors passed away, their style of singing did as well. Potter strikingly emphasizes the finality of that loss by comparing the tenore contraltino with the castrato. "The Rubini sound is as unknowable as that of Rauzzini or Farinelli."71 Nothing of course prevents a modern tenor from training in the castrato method of singing, but Potter thinks it rather unlikely. Nonetheless, in recent years, coming from a totally different direction, a tenor has emerged who is convincingly executing the Rubini repertoire: Juan Diego Flórez produces strong and brilliant high notes without using chest voice.72

If Rubini was the last great exponent of the tenore contraltino singing method, we do not have to trace the lineage back very far to situate Calvesi. He belongs to the generation that includes Giacomo David (1750-1830) and Domenico Mombelli (1751–1835), the two most renowned tenors in the late eighteenth century. Mombelli helped form the thirteen-year-old Rossini's understanding of the tenore contraltino voice, when the young composer wrote the principal role in Demetrio e Polibio for him in 1805. The next generation of tenors is represented by John Braham (1774-1856), the only tenor David conceded could be compared to himself. The generation after that includes Giacomo's son, Giovanni David (1790-1864), who created Rodrigo in Rossini's Otello in 1816 with its many high Cs and Ds, and Giovanni Battista Rubini (1794-1854). Gilbert-Louis Duprez (1806–94), born only a decade later, already belongs irrevocably in the tenore di forza camp.

Acknowledging that the practice of the *tenore contraltini* in the late eighteenth century is apparently contradicted by the notated music written for them, Potter explains that high notes fall into the realm of ornamentation, which is controlled by the singer

The high tenor voice is elusive, as composers rarely notated the highest available pitches, preferring to leave them to the ornamental discretion of individual singers. Composers were generally conservative in their estimate of singers' ranges and were careful to keep within a written tessitura that was comfortably manageable over an entire evening. By the end of the eighteenth century there was a substantial gap between the highest composed notes and the known ranges of many singers, which could be exploited by those who were able to disguise the register change into falsetto and use this very special tone colour for additional improvised ornamentation.<sup>73</sup>

As has been frequently noted, Mozart does not write higher than bl' for his tenors, with the famous exception of an aria he composed in 1770 for Guillaume d'Ettore in Mitridate that includes seven high Cs, six of them approached by leap and the seventh "fired 'out of the blue.' "74 Will Crutchfield is puzzled by the fact that "The part of Ferrando in Così fan tutte does not go up beyond bb' and there were Italian tenors going beyond that, and a singer in London we hear of went up to e" and f"."75 He could also have mentioned Naples, for at least one of Calvesi's arias written for him in that city in the season before he created Ferrando goes up to d" (see aria no. 12 in this volume). Obviously Calvesi did not have an upward extension of a third only in Naples, even allowing for Naples pitch being somewhat lower than Vienna pitch.76 Potter makes an interesting observation that might shed some light on this phenomenon. Mozart, as is well known, was thoroughly versed in the Italian school of singing, having been introduced to it by the great castrato Giovanni Manzuoli when the Mozarts visited London in 1765. Six years later Mozart put Manzuoli's teachings into practice when he composed the title role in Ascanio in Alba for him. Mozart also worked with other castrati, including Rauzzini, who later set down his approach to singing in his influential Solfeggi (1808).

Potter, who analyzes the exercises, which he says are typical of the castrato singing school, points out that the exercises designed to progressively extend the range upwards stop at bb'.77 If, indeed, as Potter suspects, a convention existed among singing tutors not to exceed bb' in their notated exercises, I wonder whether some composers did not observe the same convention in their music. This might explain why the arias composed for Calvesi in Vienna have as their top note bb', while an aria composed for him in Naples goes up to d".

The lack of agreement between what was notated and what was sung involved much more than high notes. In arias composed for the great castrati the notated melody was merely a skeleton that the singer fleshed out with embellishments.<sup>78</sup> In slow arias in particular the written melody is often syllabic and gives no indication of the rapture-inducing transformation through fioritura that could be achieved by the skillful singer. Two spectacularly ornamented examples of such extemporization survive for one of the last great musici, Luigi Marchesi (1755-1829).79 Composers wrote skeletal arias for Marchesi and others like him in deference to their high artistry. The inability of the majority of singers to sing tasteful or even harmonically correct embellishments, however, increasingly forced composers to compose the embellishments directly into the arias, whereupon singers, anxious to display their powers of ornamentation, embellished the embellishments.80 What decisively curtailed the singer's freedom to embellish, however, was thick orchestral accompaniment of the sort that Niccolò Jommelli and Mozart were known for.

If Mozart left little room for singers to improvise, he was more than willing to compose highly virtuosic music for the singers who could sing it. We can probably accept that his vocal writing for Calvesi in the role of Ferrando reflected how Calvesi saw himself. "Un'aura amorosa" (A major, § Andante cantabile) is a model of lyrical writing. It is also an example of an aria in which the composer provides written-out ornamentation of the vocal line in coordination with the first violin's part. "Ah lo veggio quell'anima bella" (B-flat major, & Allegretto—Allegro) requires continuous, intense singing that never lets up, with only an occasional half-measure of breathing space between phrases. Its largely syllabic melody moves rapidly up and down in triadic or scalar motion, requiring considerable vocal agility and a perfectly seamless passaggio to execute. As already mentioned, the aria's highest note by occurs thirteen times. "Tradito, schernito" (E-flat major—C major, & Allegro) opens with a brief passage in Calvesi's energetic singing style, a passage that recurs. The body of the aria is lyrical, its melody ranging increasingly up and down and finally breaking out in a cadential flourish of bravura. Notwithstanding this showy ending, the near absence of coloratura in the music Mozart wrote for Calvesi is striking, especially when compared to the elaborate coloratura arias Mozart wrote for other tenors, 81 and also the full-blown virtuosic aria Righini composed for Calvesi a few weeks before the premiere of *Così fan tutte* (see aria no. 14 in this volume).

The vocal portrait of Calvesi that emerges from the arias Mozart composed for him highlights his two strengths, his lyrical singing, on the one hand, and his intense or energetic singing, on the other. Salieri, who knew Calvesi extremely well, characterizes his voice as "sweet-energetic" (dolce-energica). In his description of the role of Atar in the notes he appended to the autograph of Axur, he enlarges on what he means. "His part is a mixture of the heroic and the sensitive. Everything that he sings, whether pathetic or sweet, must always have a foundation of energy so as not to descend to the effeminate, which would greatly weaken this beautiful role."82 The arias that Salieri wrote for Calvesi in this as well as other operas are vocally similar to the ones Mozart wrote for him. Indeed, all the arias in this volume, except the first, which was not composed for Calvesi, and the last, Righini's exceptionally flamboyant aria, highlight either his lyrical or his energetic singing, or both in contrasting sections.

Contemporary descriptions of Calvesi's voice single out the beauty of his tone and the refinement of his technique. Zinzendorf, hearing him for the first time in Trieste in 1779, notes in his diary, "Calvesi has a silvery voice, and he enunciates with astonishing clarity."83 One Viennese writer writes, "Calvesi is surely one of the best tenors in Italy, who combines a naturally sweet, agreeable, and sonorous voice with a technique which, without being overly affected or studied, cannot help but please our public."84 Another lauds the same qualities but also identifies a shortcoming. "Calvesi has an extraordinarily beautiful voice and he sings correctly and beautifully according to an exact school of singing. If he could mix into his singing and acting the requisite liveliness, he would be the most consummate singer that Vienna has heard in the last thirty years."85 The lack of "liveliness" cannot be easily reconciled with the way Salieri emphatically praises Calvesi's energetic vocal delivery unless it refers to his acting, about which we have no further comments. Benedetto Frizzi emphasizes the singer's musicianship and vocal agility: "Calvesi is a most charming mezzo carattere; he demonstrates his mastery of music in many ways and has extraordinary agility."86

The selections in this volume reveal a singer whose vocal technique is that of a tenore contraltino. The wideranging melodies and large leaps demonstrate ease of motion through the registers and the possession of a perfectly smooth passaggio. The multiple long-held notes point to a flawless messa di voce, and rapidly ascending and descending melodic lines betray remarkable vocal agility. Although he is able to negotiate passages of coloratura, Calvesi's noticeable preference is for melodies that are either syllabic or have two notes to the syllable; this is true for both his lyrical and energetic singing. Typical of the music that showcases his energetic singing are melodies that repeatedly course up and down and phrases that follow upon each other without pause. The many lyrical arias composed for him reflect the beauty of his tone as well as his skill in legato singing. Although the combined range of all the arias in this volume spans from

B to d", many arias confine themselves to ranges smaller than an octave and a half. Whether in performance Calvesi availed himself of the high notes he possessed is open to conjecture.

#### The Selections

An asterisk indicates an aria written specifically for Calvesi.

1. Antonio Salieri, "A me par che il mondo sia," aria in *La scuola de' gelosi*: Although this aria was not composed for Calvesi, he sang it on 26 December 1779 in Trieste, where Zinzendorf remarked on how well he performed it: "The *mezzo carattere* Calvesi enchanted everyone in the aria 'A me par che il mondo sia.' "87 Calvesi sang the role of Il conte Bandiera in this opera at least two more times, in Verona in 1780 and in Vienna in 1786. Salieri had composed the opera for the 1779 carnival season at the Teatro San Moisè in Venice, where Antonio Palmieri was the *primo mezzo carattere* and presumably created the role.<sup>88</sup>

That Calvesi enchanted everyone in this aria is much to his credit, for the aria, despite its promising beginning in D major and C Allegro maestoso, largely relies on the singer to bring it off. John Rice points out how the text of this catalogue aria describes the variety of attractive women by means of contrasting pairs of words, such as "grave" and "snella," and "bianca" and "bruna."89 The musical characterization is more restrained than that found in Mozart's famous catalogue aria, perhaps because Bandiera is not a comic servant like Leporello, but a nobleman who expresses his pleasure in female beauty in a more refined manner. Salieri may have expected the singer to convey in performance the contrast he omitted from the score.

Vocally the aria makes few demands. The range extends from d to g'. The writing is typically buffo, exhibiting predominantly syllabic text setting, scalar and triadic melodies, and repeated short phrases. Three fermatas allow vocal flourishes, the only opportunity for the singer to demonstrate something more than basic good technique. While this aria would not have been composed specifically for Calvesi, it illustrates a type of aria a buffo di mezzo carattere would frequently encounter and be expected to sing. The contrast with the other arias in this volume, which were tailored to his voice, sets in relief the distinctive features of Calvesi's singing style.

2. \*Stephen Storace, "Languida voce in seno," aria in Gli sposi malcontenti: Calvesi's first role in Vienna expressly written for him was that of Casimiro in Storace's opera, first performed on 1 June 1785. In this two-part aria (E-flat major, 3 Larghetto, 6 Allegro grazioso) the composer takes advantage of Calvesi's fine lyrical singing to give a sympathetic portrayal of a young husband struggling to deal with rumors of his wife's infidelity. Two short exclamations protesting his injured honor briefly interrupt the lyrical flow, but the lyricism is resumed and maintained in the second part of the aria, in which Casimiro addresses the men in the audience. The overall range extends from eb to bb'.

3. \*Antonio Salieri, "Di questo bosco ombroso," aria in grotta di Trofonio: Not performed until 12 October 1785, opera had originally been scheduled to premiere in ne, which meant that its composition would have been Il underway by the time Calvesi arrived in Vienna. lieri must have known something of Calvesi's singing forehand, for the opera, both in plot and music, pends on having a singer of his abilities in the role that is assigned to him. His dual strengths of lyrical and ergetic singing complemented those of the versatile ritone Stefano Mandini, who over the course of his ng career sang both primo mezzo carattere and primo buffo les. The opera requires the characters portrayed by ese two singers to exchange personalities and singing yles while under a magic spell. Artemidoro, played Calvesi, is naturally introverted and pensive, and istene, Mandini's character, is extroverted and lively. vitching back and forth between the two makes for a nallenging pair of roles.

In this abbreviated da capo aria (E-flat major, cantabile con moto), the outer sections, in which rtemidoro sings of the joys of quiet contemplation in the woods, require his lyrical singing style, and the consasting middle section, where he describes the madness of crowded cities, his energetic style. The technical equirements of the lyrical sections are limited to presominantly legato singing. A melisma on the word "soliario" spans almost the entire range of the aria, which xtends from ele to al. Twice, notes held for three meaures afford Calvesi a chance to display his messa di voce.

4. \*Antonio Salieri, "Sognai, o sogno ancor?," cavatina n *La grotta di Trofonio*: In this cavatina (A major, & Un poco adagio), Artemidoro, emerged from the spell, expresses his delight in finding himself restored to his former self. The musical style illustrates his return to nornalcy by recalling features of the outer sections of the first aria, the same range of e to a', several melismas in the melody, and an emphasis on legato singing. <sup>91</sup> The aria is followed by accompanied recitative, in which Artemidoro decides to look for his beloved.

5. \*Vicente Martín y Soler, "Più bianca di giglio," aria in *Una cosa rara*: In the opera that took Vienna by storm at its first performance on 17 November 1786, Calvesi played the *infante*, Prince Giovanni. As befitting a hopeful lover, this short aria (C major, <sup>2</sup>4 Andante amoroso) is lyrical throughout. Deceptively simple with its narrow range (d to f') and syllabic text setting, the aria requires a controlled legato to bring it off. <sup>92</sup>

6. \*Vicente Martín y Soler, "O ciel! che duro passo—Seguir degg'io chi fugge?," recitative—aria in *Una cosa rara*: Giovanni gives vent to his despair at being rejected in a suitably princely high-flown style. Accompanied recitative leads to a three-part aria (C Adagio, <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Cantabile, Presto), in B-flat major, conceived on a large scale. The Adagio is cast in the seria style with a wide-ranging disjunct melody, dotted rhythms, and a nine-measure passage of coloratura that includes a large leap. The range of the entire aria covers a twelfth (d to a'). This recitative and the lengthy aria of 173 measures were performed at the premiere. Sometime in 1787 they were

replaced by a new recitative, "Di qual rigido marmo," and a short da capo aria, "Perchè farla eterni Dei," of only forty-five measures. He replacement aria was conceivably written for Calvesi, for, although short, it calls for skills similar to those required in the original aria: the melody in measure 10, for example, leaps down a tenth and up a twelfth. The overall range, too, is similar to that of the original aria, c‡ to a'. Perhaps the new prima donna, Anna Morichelli, protested that Calvesi's long seria aria was inappropriate when she, the prima donna, did not have one as well. Whether she liked it or not, she was stuck with the song-style arias that her predecessor, Nancy Storace, had made so immensely popular. The solution, it seems, was to replace Calvesi's original long aria with a new short one.

7. \*Stephen Storace, "Pupille amorose dell'idolo mio," aria in *Gli equivoci*: In Storace's second opera for Vienna, first performed on 27 December 1786, Calvesi plays the lover Eufemio di Siracusa. In this two-part aria in E-flat major, <sup>3</sup> Larghetto and <sup>C</sup> Allegro spiritoso, he declares his love to Sostrata, who recoils from him, believing him to be her brother-in-law, who is later revealed to be his identical twin. The first section allows Calvesi to display his lyrical, the second his energetic singing style. Characteristic of the latter are phrases that follow closely upon one another and a melody that ranges up and down. The range extends from el to bb'.

8. \*Vincenzo Righini, "Vedrai che a torto offendi," aria inserted into *Le trame deluse* by Domenico Cimarosa as performed at the court theater on 7 May 1787: The opera had been given its premiere five months earlier in Naples and was apparently brought to Vienna by the new *prima donna* Anna Morichelli. The aria was inserted into the opera in act 2, at the end of scene 4. As its text is not present in the printed libretto, the aria must have been added to the opera after the libretto had gone to press.

At the time of the opera's production in Vienna, Righini was acting kapellmeister of the Italian opera company, replacing Salieri who was in Paris for the production of his opera Tarare, which had its premiere on 8 June 1787. A tenor himself, who had sung in opera in the early part of his career, Righini established himself in Vienna as a voice teacher and composer. He later published solfeggi called Exercises pour se perfectionner dans l'art du chant. The three-part aria that he composed for Calvesi (C major, C Allegro maestoso, 3 Andantino, C Allegro) highlights the singer's energetic singing style in the outer sections and his lyrical style in the middle section. The melody moves within a narrow range, f# to a', but Righini lets Calvesi show off his messa di voce on a three-measure g', dramatically placed at the opening of the Allegro maestoso section, and again at the end for four measures, as well as another messa di voce, again on g', in the Andantino section.

9. \*Vicente Martín y Soler, "Lieti e amorosi i rai," aria in *L'arbore di Diana*: With *L'arbore di Diana*, whose premiere took place at the court theater on 1 October 1787,96 Martín achieved another hit. In an extension of what had pleased the public in *Una cosa rara*, *L'arbore di Diana* consists entirely of short, lyrical numbers in Martín's cele-

brated song style, except for two large-scale, seria-style arias for the *prima donna* Morichelli. Calvesi was thus provided with no substantial arias that could be compared with his big aria in *Una cosa rara* (no. 6 in this volume), a fact the author of an anonymous pamphlet notes with disapproval. "It seems that Mr. Martini is no longer a friend of Calvesi, for in the beautiful role of Endimion he did not have the sense to give him a single outstanding aria that would show off his voice."<sup>97</sup> The author is right: although enchantingly lyrical, this short da capo aria (C major, <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Larghetto) is only fifty-eight measures long, and the melody spans just an octave (a to a'). Calvesi's other aria in the opera is no better.

10. \*Antonio Salieri, "Come? Aspasia una schiava?— Soave luce di paradiso," recitative—aria in Axur, revised version: A model of virtue, Atar combats an evil lord, rescues his wife from his clutches, and ends up being acclaimed king by the populace. In Salieri's description of the character, "He will be nobly dressed, but without extravagance. His part is a mixture of the heroic and the sensitive. Everything that he sings, whether pathetic or sweet, must always have a foundation of energy so as not to descend to the effeminate, which would greatly weaken this beautiful role."98 Calvesi's two strengths, the sweet and the energetic, are especially effectively exploited in this role. It is interesting that, in his notes to La grotta di Trofonio, Salieri repeatedly draws attention to the orchestration, which is used as a major expressive resource in the opera, whereas in his notes to Âxur, the emphasis is mainly on the voices.

The aria survives in two versions. The version performed at the premiere (B-flat major, 3 Andante un poco cantabile) is a da capo aria, where, in a departure from the standard form, the da capo restatement of the A section is provided with new text. The revised version (3 Larghetto, 2 Allegretto) largely retains the first section of the original aria, to measure 32, at which point the former da capo section is replaced with new music and new text. The original ending expresses despair: "Dove t'ascondi, tesoro amato? Deh mi rispondi se vivi ancor." (Where do you hide yourself, beloved treasure? Respond to me if you are still alive.) The revised ending depicts a man resolute and poised for action: "Per rinvenire Aspasia io stancherò i viventi, Aspasia, i miei lamenti l'Eco ripeterà." (To find Aspasia I will tire out the living, Aspasia, my laments Echo will repeat.) At twenty-nine measures the revised ending is not only more substantial than the original ending of ten measures but it is also more dramatic, with its melody repeatedly ranging up and down between f and bb'. To set off the revised ending, the tempo of the first section is slowed down from the original Andante un poco cantabile to Larghetto.

The original version is found in sources associated with the premiere, namely the libretto; the presentation score (A-Wn, Mus Hs 17832); a commerical copy made by Wenzel Sukowaty, the court theater copyist (A-Wn, Mus Hs 9996); the autograph (vol. 1, following fol. 65r—the aria is unfoliated because the pages were once pasted shut); and the performance score (A-Wn, KT 50, on pages that used to be sewn shut) (see the critical report for fur-

ther information on the sources). The revised version of the aria is found in the autograph (vol. 1, following fol. 66v—unfoliated; foliation continues after the end of the aria with 67r) and in the performance score in a slightly compressed form. It is clear that Salieri preferred the revised version, since he pasted—not sewed—the pages of the first version shut in the autograph.<sup>99</sup>

It is difficult to know from the sources when Salieri revised the aria, but he seems to have done so before Mozart started composing *Così fan tutte*, for the similarities between the revised ending and "Ah lo veggio quell'anima bella" are striking and suggest that here, as in many other instances, Mozart borrowed an idea and took it one step further. Salieri's revised ending is vocally intense, featuring a melody that courses up and down, requiring continuous singing with barely a chance for a breath, and calling for four climactic bl's. Mozart took over the entire conception along with the key of B-flat for his own aria, with one difference: he kept up the intensity for the entire aria, six times as long as Salieri's ending.

11. \*Antonio Salieri, "V'andrò tutto si tenti," aria in *Axur*: Having just discovered that his wife's abductor was the king, whose life he once saved, Atar explodes with anger. In this aria (B-flat major, C Allegro presto), the wide-ranging melody covers a span from c to g' in scales, triads, and huge leaps, always under intense forward propulsion. The pace never lets up.

In his notes Salieri writes: "This aria, sung by a sweet-energetic (dolce-energica) tenor voice, as already mentioned, always makes a good effect in the context of the whole [opera]." 100 The phrase "as already mentioned" refers to Salieri's description of an adjacent pair of arias for Axur (sung by Benucci) and Atar near the end of act 1, where he states that to produce a strong effect the first has to be sung and declaimed well by a big bass voice and the second by a sweet-energetic tenor voice. These two vocal qualities, he continues, are necessary for the whole opera; otherwise it will fall flat. 101 The emphasis Salieri places on correct casting illustrates yet again how carefully he wrote for his singers and how heavily he relied on them to ensure the success of his opera.

12. \*Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, "Ohimé, qual fosca nube—Il mio bene io già perdei," recitative—aria in *La pastorella nobile*: This aria was composed for Calvesi in 1788 in Naples, while he was there on a year's leave of absence from Vienna. The opera was given its premiere in April 1788 and subsequently produced in Vienna on 4 May 1790, with Calvesi taking his former role.

The Marchese reacts to the news of his love's death with anguish and grief in this two-part aria in B-flat major (© Andante, © Allegro assai). The Andante section is lyrical throughout. The Allegro assai is written in the seria style with broad phrases, which, when repeated, invite ornamentation. Reiterated cadential phrases make for a forceful ending. A single measure of coloratura in the cadential section contains, in addition to several prominent bb's, a reiterated d", briefly touched on within the figuration. This high note, fully a major third above bb', the highest pitch notated in the Viennese arias contained in this volume, illustrates the point made earlier

that, while many composers did not notate the highest pitches available to their singers but left them to their ornamental discretion, Guglielmi, for one, perhaps reflecting a Neapolitan practice, wrote pitches higher than bb' into the music.

13. \*Antonio Salieri, "Fra l'orror di questa selva," cavatina in La cifra: In the opera, given its premiere on 11 December 1789, Calvesi plays Milord Fideling, who in this cavatina announces his quest for the missing daughter of the recently deceased owner of the estate. According to Salieri, "The cavatina 'Fra l'orro di questa selva' is serious and noble, and gives the singer the opportunity, if he has a beautiful voice, to display it along with his technique."102 Although short at thirty-five measures, the cavatina (in B-flat major, & Larghetto) is technically challenging, with a melody that ranges from c to bb' and that contains a large leap in almost every phrase, the largest a twelfth. Only a highly trained singer can manage the exposed changes of register. Clearly written to profile Calvesi's energetic singing, the cavatina needs agility and intensity in its delivery.

14. \*Vincenzo Righini, "Siam salvi almeno in questi scogli—Se pietà d'un infelice," recitative—aria in the can-

tata Il natal d'Apollo: Righini composed this aria for Calvesi in the cantata Il natal d'Apollo, performed at the Tonkünstlergesellschaft concerts on 22 and 23 December 1789. In this highly virtuosic aria (G major, C Allegro) Righini's background as a singer and voice teacher comes to the fore. Most striking are the four long stretches of coloratura on the word "rimarrà," containing scalar runs, ascending and descending triadic figures, and octave leaps. In the second coloratura passage the vocal line plunges from a' to c, continuing downwards to B (the lowest note in these arias), and then leaps up again to g'. Elsewhere, a' is held for over two measures ending with a fermata, allowing Calvesi to display his messa di voce followed by a short cadenza. The performance score contains two penciled-in ornaments, which are included in the present edition. The second is the final cadenza, which shoots up to b', the highest note in the aria.

Calvesi was obviously in fine vocal shape at this stage in his career. He performed his cavatina in *La cifra* on 11 December, the present aria two weeks later, and Ferrando's arias a month after that.

## Appendix

The followin	g sigla are used for sources in Table 2:		Tonkünstler-Societät. Vienna: Selbstverlag des "Haydn," 1871.
A-Wn	Austria, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung. The performance scores with the shelf numbers KT 448 and KT 92 contain cast-	Rice	Rice, John A. Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
Curiel	ing information.	RiceF	Rice, John A. "'La Folia' in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-
Curier	Curiel, Carl. <i>Il Teatro S. Pietro di Trieste:</i> 1690–1801. Milan: Archetipografia di Milano, 1937.		Century Vienna." In Festschrift Otto Biba zum 60. Geburtstag, edited by Ingrid Fuchs, 85–96. Tutzing: Hans Schneider,
ICCU	Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le infor-	D:Y	2006.
	mazioni bibliografiche, www .internetculturale.it.	RiceL	Rice, John A. "A Libretto Collection from the Circle of Vincenzo Calvesi, Mozart's Ferrando." In <i>Music Observed: Studies in</i>
Indice	Un almanacco drammatico: L'indice de' teatrali spettacoli, 1764–1823. Foreword by Roberto Verti. Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1996; facsimile reprint of <i>Indice</i>		Memory of William C. Holms, edited by Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi, 429–45. Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2004.
	de' spettacoli teatrali (Milan: Pietro Agnelli, 1764–1785/86), Indice de' teatrali spettacoli (Milan: s.n., 1786/87–1799/1800; 1803/04; 1808/09), Indice, o sia Catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli italiani di tutta L'Europa (Milan: s.n., 1819/20–	RISM A/II	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Series A/II: International Inventory of Musical Sources after 1600, available through www.ebscohost.com (accessed 3 February 2011).
	1822/23), 1649 pages numbered continuously over 2 volumes.	Sartori	Sartori, Claudio, ed. I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: Catalogo analitico con 16 indici. 7 vols. Cuneo:
Kelly	Reminiscences of Michael Kelly. Edited by Theodore Hook. 2 vols. London, 1826.		Bertolla & Locatelli, 1990–94.
Link	Link, Dorothea. <i>The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents</i> 1783–1792. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.	Tz	Theaterzettel (theater poster[s]) forming part of the Theaterzettelsammlung of the Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna, Austria (A-Wtm).
Morrow	Morrow, Mary Sue. Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing and Social Institution. Stuyvesant, N.Y.:	Virgo	RISM-U.S. Libretto Database. University of Virginia Library Catalog, http://lib.virginia.edu.
	Pendragon Press, 1989.	Weaver	Weaver, Robert Lamar, and Norma Wright Weaver. A Chronology of Music in
MTC	Mozart's Thematic Catalogue: A Facsimile, British Library, Stefan Zweig MS 63. Intro- duction and transcription by Albi		the Florentine Theater, 1751–1800. Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1993.
	Rosenthal and Alan Tyson. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.	WZ Zinzendorf	Wiener Zeitung.  Diary of Count Karl von Zinzendorf,
Pohl	Pohl, Carl Ferdinand. Denkschrift aus Anlass des Hundertjahrigen Bestehens der	—AARASTICULI	transcribed in Link.

City	Year	Date	Composer: Title (genre)¹	Role <sup>2</sup>	References
Rome	1777	carnival	Joseph Heiberger: Il colonnello (dg)  Paccuala Anforci: Il curioca indicareta (da)	Rinaldo *Contino	Sartori
Florence	1778	Aug. 26	Bernardo Ottani: Le nozze della Bita (dg)	Cavaliere Lelio	Sartori; Weaver
Dame	1770	Oct. 6	Altonso Santi: Il marito indolente (dg) Antosci: I a fiuta ciaedinima (da)	tenente Conte Belfione	Santon Sarton
auron	1//9	carnival	Ancesco Bianchi: L'innocenza perseguitata (dg)	*Florindo	Sartori
		carnival	Angostino Accorimboni: Il marchese di Castel Verde (dg)	*Marchese Ruggiero	Sartori; Virgo
Florence	1779	spring	Antonio Salieri: La fiera di Venezia (dg)	primo mezzo carattere	Weaver, Indice
			Giuseppe Gazzaniga: Il desertore (dg)	primo mezzo carattere	Weaver; Indice
Lucca	1779	autumn	Anfossi: Il curioso indiscreto (dg)	Contino	Sartori
Trieste	1779	Dec. 26	Salieri: La scuola de' gelosi (dg)	Conte	Zinzendorf, in Rice, 340
	1780	Jan. 15	Anfossi: Il matrimonio per inganno (dg)	primo mezzo carattere	Curiel, 130, 144; Indice
Verona	1780	spring	Salieri: La scuola de' gelosi (dg)	Conte	Sartori
Padua	1780	Fiera	Bianchi: Castore e Polluce (ds)	Giove	Sartori; Indice; ICCU
Treviso	1780	autumn	Anfossi: Adriano in Siria (ds)	Osroa	Sartori; Indice
Venice	1781	carnival	Anfossi: La finta giardiniera (dg)	Conte Belfiore	Sartori
Trieste	1781	Feb. 7	Luigi Caruso: Il cavaliere Magnifico (dg)	Magnifico	Sartori; Curiel, 148
		spring	Giuseppe Valentini: Le nozze in contrasto (dg)	La Rose	Sartori
Treviso	1781	summer	Anfossi: Lo sposo disperato (dg)	Cav. Acquilante	Sartori; ICCU
Dresden	1781-84			tenore	Indice; RiceL, 433
	1782	Mar. 9	Joseph Schuster: Il marito indolente (ob)	Belsospiri	RISM A/II, 270.001.264
	1784	Jan. 24	Schuster: Il pazzo per forza (ob)	Florio	RISM A/II, 270.001.261
Trieste	1784	carnival	Domenico Cimarosa: La ballerina amante (dg)	Franchiglione	Sartori
Bologna	1784	autumn	Felici Alessandri: La finta principessa (dg)	Ruggiero	Sartori
Trieste	1785	carnival	Bianchi: La villanella rapita (dg)	Conte	Sartori; Curiel, 195
Vienna	1785	Apr. 20	Giovanni Paisiello. Il re Teodoro in Venezia (dramma eroicomico)	Sandrino	WZ, 23 Apr. 1785, p. 953
		June 1	Stephen Storace: Gli sposi malcontenti (oc)	*Casimiro	libretto A-Wn, TB 641432 AM XV/1
		Oct. 12	Salieri: La grotta di Trofonio (oc)	*Artemidoro	Zinzendorf, in Link, 256
		Nov. 25	Bianchi; La villanella rapita (dg)	Conte	score A-Wn, KT 467
		Dec. 22	Ditters von Dittersdorf: Esther (orat)	*role unknown	Pohl
	1786	Apr. 8	Dittersdorf: Giobbe (orat)	*role unknown	Pohl
		May 15	Anfossi: Il trionfo delle donne (dg)	Ogus	libretto A-Wn, TB 641432 AM XIV/1
		June 4	Giuseppe Sarti. Miserere		Zinzendorf, in Link, 274
		June 11	Salieri: La scuola de' gelosi (dg)	Conte	Zinzendorf, in Link, 275
		Sept. 1	Paisiello: Le gare generose (cm)	Don Berlicco	libretto A-Wn, TB 641432 AM XIII/3
		Nov. 17	Vicente Martín y Soler: Una cosa rara (dg)	*Giovanni	score A-Wn, Mus Hs 17794
		Dec. 27	Storace: Gli equivoci (dramma buffo)	*Eufemio di Siracusa	Kelly, 234

	1787	Mar. 30	Georg Christoph Wagenseil: (cant), and Gazzaniga: I profeti al Calvario (cant)	*roles unknown	Pohl; $Tz$
		May 7	Cimarosa: Le trame deluse (dg)	Clicerio	score A-Wn, KT 448
		July 28	Paisiello: Le due contesse (dg)	Cavagliere	score A-Wn, KT 92
		Oct. 1	Martín y Soler: L'arbore di Diana (dg)	*Endimione	score A-Wn, Mus Hs 17795
		Dec. 22	Leopold Kozeluch: Moise in Egitto (orat)	*role unknown	Pohl
	1788	Jan. 8	Salieri: Axur, re d'Ormus (dramma tragicomico)	*Atar	libetto A-Wn. TB 641432 AM XVII/2
		Feb. 8	Il convito di Baldassare (pasticcio orat)	role unknown	WZ, 20 Feb. 1788, p. 414
Naples	1788	Apr.	Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi: La pastorella nobile (cm)	*Marchese Astolfo	Sartori; Virgo
		summer	Vincenzo Fabrizi: L'incontro per accidente (dg)	*Leandro	Sartori
		Nov.	Anfossi: I matrimoni per fanatismo (dg)	*Annibale	Sartori
	1789	carnival	Cimarosa: I due supposti conti (dg)	Pantaleo	Sartori
Vienna	1789	Dec. 11	Salieri: La cifra (dg)	*Fideling?	Rice, 441
		Dec. 22	Vincenzo Righini: Il natal d'Apollo (cant)	*Adrasto	Pohl
	1790	Jan. 26	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Così fan tutte (dg)	*Ferrando	MTC
		May 4	Guglielmi: La pastorella nobile (dg)	Marchese	score A-Wn, KT 338; RiceF, 88
		Dec. 22	Kozeluch: Moisè in Egitto (orat)	*role unknown	Pohl
	1791	Mar. 11	Il Davide (pasticcio orat)	role unknown	<i>Tz,</i> 18 Mar. 1791
		Mar. 23	L'ape musicale rinnuovata (pasticcio)	*Don Capriccio	Sartori
		Apr. 16	Paisiello: Fedra (dm) (excerpts)	Ippolito	$Tz^3$
		Apr. 26	Guglielmi: La bella pescatrice (cm)	Marchese	score A-Wn, KT 342
	1792	Dec. 22	Giuseppe Weigl: Venere ed Adone (cant)	*role unknown	Morrow
	1793	Mar. 9	Cimarosa: Il matrimonio segreto (dg) (excerpts)	role unknown	Morrow
		Mar. 23	Weigl: Venere ed Adone (cant)	role unknown	Morrow
Rome	1794	spring, summer,	"concerti nobili"	tenore	Indice
		carnival 1795			
Naples	1794	summer	Valentino Fioravanti: L'amore immaginario (ob) (quintetto)	Marchesino	Sartori
Rome	1794	Dec. 28	Cimarosa: Le ustuzie femminili (dg) (excerpts performed in a	Filandro	Sartori
Ī	1		"concerto nobile")		
Horence	1795	Apr. 4	Cimarosa: Le astuzie femminili (dg)	Filandro?	Weaver; Indice
		spring	Paisiello: I zingari in fiera (dg)	primo mezzo carattere	Weaver; Indice
,		,			

Abbreviations for genres: cant = cantata; cm = commedia per musica; dg = dramma giocoso; dm = dramma per musica; ds = dramma serio;
 a pera buffa; oc = opera comica; orat = oratorio.
 Asterisks indicate roles written specifically for Vincenzo Calvesi.
 Theaterzettel, 16 and 17 April 1791: "Eine grosse musikalische Akademie ... Tonkünstlergesellschaft ... 2. Un' Estratto dell'Opera Fedra, dove canteranno nella Parte dell'Aricia—la Sigra. Lang, dell'Ippolito—il Sigre. Calvesi, dell' Teseo—il Sigre. Nencini. CORO. La Musica è del Sigra Paisiello mit Ausnahme der Arie, welche Mad. Lange singt, und von der Komposition des Hrn. Mozart ist."

## Notes

- 1. The present volume is the third such collection I have prepared in this series; see also *Arias for Nancy Storace, Mozart's First Susanna*, ed. Dorothea Link, Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era, vol. 66 (Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 2002), and *Arias for Francesco Benucci, Mozart's First Figaro and Guglielmo*, ed. Dorothea Link, Recent Researches in the Music of the Classical Era, vol. 72 (Middleton, Wis.: A-R Editions, 2004).
- 2. Evidence for Rome as Calvesi's birthplace is presented in John A. Rice, "A Libretto Collection from the Circle of Vincenzo Calvesi, Mozart's Ferrando," in *Music Observed: Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes*, ed. Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), 432.
- 3. Zinzendorf, 26 December 1779, quoted in John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 340.
- 4. Rice, "Libretto Collection," 432.
- 5. Ibid., 433.
- 6. E.g., Bruce Alan Brown, W. A. Mozart: "Così fan tutte," Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 162. Also Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2001), 1950–51, who writes: "We have seen in other operas that Mozart sometimes had to make cuts or to rewrite in order to accommodate weak tenors. Perhaps Vincenzo Calvesi, who created the role of Ferrando, was not able to cope with the extended and sustained cantabile and high tessitura of the ardent Ferrando, as Mozart had originally conceived it in this aria."
- 7. Ian Woodfield, Mozart's "Così fan tutte": A Compositional History (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 122–23. Woodfield provides a black and white photograph of the passage in the autograph (figure 10, p. 123), but the recent availability of a facsimile of the autograph makes it possible to view the page in color and within the context of the entire score; see Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Così fan tutte": Facsimile of the Autograph Score (Los Altos, Calif.: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2007),
- 8. E.g., Georg Schünemann, ed., Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Così fan tutte (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [1941]; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1983), 290, provides a footnote that reads (in Stanley Appelbaum's translation), "According to an indication by Mozart in the autograph MS, the following aria [No. 24] should be omitted and the recitative on p. 300 [Fiordiligi's] should follow at once." In their edition for the Neue Mozart Ausgabe, ser. II/5, vol. 18 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), Faye Ferguson and Wolfgang Rehm show the omission of the aria in the score by means of a "Vi-de" framing the aria on pages 382 and 397, and on page 382 they refer to the Vorwort, xxv, where they state that the instruction written below the staff sanctions the cut as Mozart's. In the Kritischer Bericht (2003), 120, Henning Bey and Faye Ferguson transcribe Mozart's entire instruction without any comment.
- 9. Woodfield, Mozart's "Così fan tutte," 122.
- 10. Alan Tyson, "On the Composition of Mozart's Così fan tutte," chapter 13 in Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 204, and Woodfield, Mozart's "Così fan tutte," 158.
- 11. E.g., Tyson's Sukowaty score, as discussed in "On the Composition of Mozart's Così fan tutte," 204–5, now located in the British Library (GB-Lbl), Music Deposit 1998/05, Alan Tyson Collection, Box no. 5: Così fan tutte (location from Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 1926). The Schünemann edition shows the internal cut in the score by means of the two syllables of "vi-de" placed above the staff at either end of the cut passage. The NMA edition does not show the cut in the score but reports it in the Kritischer Bericht on pp. 35 and 60 in the description of OA 146.

- 12. Woodfield, *Mozart's "Così fan tutte,"* 43, writes: "Calvesi perhaps found this aria just too demanding on his voice with its high tessitura and repeated high Bb."
- 13. The cuts to this aria were presumably made in the performance score OA 146, although the aria is now inexplicably missing from that score. However, scores copied from OA 146 contain the shortened aria.
- 14. Woodfield, Mozart's "Così fan tutte," 158, and similarly see Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 1952.
- 15. Tyson, "On the Composition of Mozart's Così fan tutte," 204.
- 16. John Potter, *Tenor: History of a Voice* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009).
- 17. Un almanacco drammatico: L'indice de' teatrali spettacoli, 1764–1823, foreword by Roberto Verti (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1996; facsimile reprint of Indice de' spettacoli teatrali [Milan: Pietro Agnelli, 1764–1785/86], Indice de' teatrali spettacoli [Milan: s.n., 1786/87–1799/1800; 1803/04; 1808/09], Indice, o sia Catalogo dei teatrali spettacoli italiani di tutta L'Europa [Milan: s.n., 1819/20–1822/23]), 1649 pages numbered continuously over 2 volumes, 1:286.
  - 18. Ibid., 1:360
- 19. Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume, *The King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1778–1791*, vol. 1 of *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 296
- 20. Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 415: "Dem Calvesi, und Gattin an jähr: 3283 fl. 20 x." The standard unit of currency in Mozart's Vienna was the gulden (or florin, abbreviated as fl. or f), which is made up of sixty kreuzer (abbreviated as x or Kr.).
- 21. Zinzendorf, 18 April 1785: "puis a l'opera le Vicende d'amore. La Calvesi n'est pas si mal." Transcribed in ibid., 243.
- 22. Because the annual theater account books are missing for those two years, the composition of the company, except for the first-rank singers, is uncertain. Less reliable sources such as the *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli* show that Teresa Calvesi was not a member of the company in 1789–90 and 1790–91. 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), 189, 251, states, as so often without supplying documentation, that only Vincenzo returned to Vienna in 1789.
- 23. Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Generalintendanz der Hoftheater, Sonderreihe 22–26, Rechnungen der k.k. Theatral-Hof-Directions Cassae (hereafter abbreviated as A-Whh, S.R. 22–26); and Vienna, Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Handschrift M4000, Kassabuch der beiden Hoftheater (hereafter abbreviated as A-Wtm, M4000).
- 24. Claudio Sartori, ed., I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: Catalogo analitico con 16 indici, 7 vols. (Cuneo: Bertolla & Locatelli, 1990–94), librettos 15800 and 18578, and Indice de' teatrali spettacoli, 1:927.
- 25. Curtis Price, "Italian Opera and Arson in Late Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989): 77.
- 26. The *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli*, 2:1397, adds beneath the list of singers in the company "Teresa Calvesi dal mese di Novembre 1799." Information about her salary is provided by Carol Padgham Albrecht, "Music Public Life: Viennese Reports from the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 1798–1804" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 2008), 231, where she presents the salaries of the members of the theater company as taken from the theater account book A-Whh, S.R. 33 (1 August 1799 to 31 July 1800). Calvesi is shown to have been paid 675 gulden for nine months (November to July). Padgham Albrecht misidenti-

fies the singer as "[Vincenzio] Calvesi," but she has corrected the error in a list of errata (personal communication).

- 27. The theater poster for 15 July announces: "Herr Joseph Calvesi wird heute zum erstenmal in der Rolle des Fabio aufzutreten die Ehre haben." Link, National Court Theatre, 336.
- 28. Zinzendorf, 15 July 1789: "Il falegname. Le frere de Mandini ne joua pas si mal." Ibid.
- 29. Zinzendorf, 23 September 1789: "je fus a l'opera entendre Axur ou Benucci, la ferraresi, les deux Calvesi et Bussani jouerent fort bien." Ibid., 341.
- 30. A payment in the weekly ledger of the court theater's accounts, A-Wtm, M4000, was erroneously notated as having been made to Giuseppe, but the mistake was rectified in the annual financial statement, A-Whh, S.R. 26. The payment record in M4000 reads: "[week of] 3 Dez. Nachtrag zur Laxemburger [sic] Sejour. Dem Calvesi Joseph für die gelieferten Waldtrappen. 36 [fl.]" (3 December. Addendum to the [expenditures for the] Laxenburg sojourn. To Joseph Calvesi for the delivery of Waldtrappen [a type of game bird]. 36 [fl.]). The corrected entry in S.R. 26 reads: "Extra Ausgaben. Auf die von 16.ten Mai bis 13.ten Juli 791 abgehaltene Laxenburger Sejour Belohnung. [item] 387. Dem Calvesi Vicenzo [sic] für gelieferte 12 Waldtrappen ut N.o 387. 36 [fl.]" (Additional expenditures. Recompense during the Laxenburg sojourn from 16 May to 13 July 1791. [item] 387. To Vicenzo Calvesi for the delivery of 12 game birds, under No. 387. 36 [fl.]).
- 31. A-Whh, Handbillets, vol. 47, 1788, no. 225, Joseph to Baron de Thugut, 16 February 1788: "Les porteurs de la presente Lettre sont deux chanteurs, nommé Mandini et Calvesi, ci devant employés à l'opera buffa de Vienne, d'ou ils se rendent à Naples. Quoique je ne les charge point d'une lettre pour la Reine, ils ne meritent pas moins par leur honnêteté reconnue et leur succès sur notre Theatre que vous les lui fassiés connoître lorsque vous en aurés l'occasion. Comme ils retourneront l'année prochaine à Vienne, vous me ferés chose agréable de les recommander ainsi que de les protéger là où ils en auront besoin." (The bearers of the present letter are two singers, with the names Mandini and Calvesi, who until now have been employed at the opera buffa in Vienna, from whence they go to Naples. Although I did not provide them with any letter for the Queen, they merit at the very least, on account of their acknowledged uprightness and their success at our theater, that you make them known to her when you have the opportunity. Since they are returning to Vienna next year, you will do me a kind service by recommending and patronizing them wherever they
- 32. Joseph to Rosenberg, 26 July 1788, in Rudolph Payer von Thurn, ed., Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor: Ungedruckte Briefe und Aktenstücke aus den Kinderjahren des Burgtheaters (Vienna: Leopold Heidrich, 1920), 80: "Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 20. Vous pouvés dire a M.r de Gallo qu'ayant égard aux desirs de la Reine, je cedois Mandini. Mais en même tems vous expliquerés positivement que dés à present je regardois tout engagement fini avec lui, dont il ne peut plus être question même pour l'année 1790, ne sachant pas, si l'opera existera alors." (I have just received your letter of the 20th. You can tell Monsieur de Gallo [the Neapolitan ambassador to Vienna] that with regard to the wishes of the Queen, I cede Mandini to her. But at the same time you will clearly explain that from this point on I consider all engagement with him to be finished, even for the year 1790, not knowing whether the opera will even still exist then.)
- 33. Joseph to Rosenberg, 11 June 1788, ibid., 78: "Je vous renvoie ci-joint la lettre de Calvesi qui en cette occasion a agi en homme zélé pour la bien du théatre." (I am returning to you the enclosed letter from Calvesi, who on this occasion acted like a man zealous for the good of the theater.)
- 34. Joseph to Rosenberg, 2 August 1788, ibid., 82: "Bei Meiner Ihnen letzthin zu erkennen gegebenen Resolution, die welsche Oper nach dem heurigen Theatral=Jahre zu entlassen, hat es sein Verbleiben. Dieser Entschluß ist demnach sowohl

allen in Wien befindlichen Mitgliedern derselben als auch dem Calvesi nach Neapel förmlich zu bedeuten."

- 35. Joseph to Rosenberg, 18 August 1788, ibid., 83: "Les Denonciations seront donc faites incessament à tous les membres de l'Opera tant à Vienne qu'en païs etranger, comme à Calvesi et à la Ferraresi, et si ces derniers insistoient sur leurs contracts, il y auroit sans doute moyen de s'arranger avec eux, en leur accordant quelque dedommagement."
- 36. A-Whh, Generalintendanz der Hoftheater, Karton 1: 1792–1794 (nos. 1–101); Folder 1793 (nos. 10–54, fols. 1–201): "N.ro 28. Calvesi, Sänger bei dem k.k. Nationaltheater bittet als primo Tenore bei den Opern beibehalten zu werden." [Reply:] "Mit dem Bescheid zurük hinausgegeben, da bereits das Personale für das Nazional Theater bestimmet, und dermalen kein Platz mehr erlediget ist; so wird Bittsteller mit seinen diesfällige Gesuche abgewiesen." The date of the petition is perhaps sometime in March, as no. 28 falls between no. 20 (14 February 1793) and no. 38 (19 May 1793).
- 37. Zinzendorf, 22 April 1783, in Link, National Court Theatre, 204
- 38. Indice de' teatrali spettacoli, 1:377 and 383.
- 39. Margaret Butler, "Las óperas de Vicente Martín y Soler para el Teatro Regio de Turín: Elementos de producción y de escritura para conjuntos en *Andromaca* (1780) y en *Vologeso* (1783)," in *Los siete mundos de Vicente Martín y Soler: Actas del congreso internacional, Valencia, 14–18 noviembre 2006*, ed. Dorothea Link and Leonardo J. Waisman (Valencia: Institut Valencià de la Música—Generalitat Valenciana, 2010), 187.
  - 40. Ibid
- 41. Michael Robinson, "A Late 18th-Century Account Book of S. Carlo," Early Music 18 (1990): 75.
- 42. Price, "Italian Opera and Arson," 76–77.
- 43. John Rosselli, Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 131–33.
- 44. John Rice pointed out to me that this was true of Prague as well. For example, in Domenico Guardasoni's contract with the Bohemian Estates, 8 July 1791, for *La clemenza di Tito*, Guardasoni commits himself to engaging a castrato "di prima Sféra." Quoted in Joseph Heinz Eibl, *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens; Addenda und Corrigenda* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978), 67.
- 45. "Peut être reussira-t-elle qu'on n'aura pas besoin de faire venir une autre première ou la Laschi." Joseph to Rosenberg, 24 June 1785, in Payer von Thurn, Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor, 63.
- 46. "Nous avons assés de Seconde et terze Donne pour ne pas avoir besoin d'en prendre d'autres." Joseph to Rosenberg, 11 June 1788, ibid., 78.
- 47. Zinzendorf calls him a *primo mezzo carattere* the first time he mentions him, 16 April 1783: "Mandini primo mezzo carattere me porta une lettre de Rome du 13. Mars de M.e de Diede." Link, *National Court Theatre*, 204.
- 48. Rice, Salieri, 341-42.
- 49. F. L. W. Meyer, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1823), 1:357, quoted in Link, National Court Theatre, 204: "Es kamen . . . die Tenoristen Poseni [Bussani], Okelly und Pugnetti."
- 50. Theaterkalender, auf das Jahr 1784, Gotha, September 1783 [signed] Reichard, p. 221: "Wälsche Oper ... Sig. Posani singt den Tenor, und spielt die ersten Liebhaber, Sig. OKelly ein Irrländer singt Tenor, und spielt den zweyten Liebhaber, Sig. Pugnetti singt Tenor, und spielt Bediente" (Vienna, Wienbibliothek im Rathaus [A-Wst], A 15584).
- 51. Zinzendorf, 22 April 1783: "M.elle Storace, l'Inglesina, jolie figure voluptueuse, belle gorge, bien en Bohemienne, elle et Bussani chanterent ce duo: Quel vision è da ritratto, mais B. moins bien que Calvesi a Trieste." Link, National Court Theatre,
- 52. According to the handwritten cast list in the libretto A-Wn, TB 641432 AM VIII/9.
- 53. See Dorothea Link, "Mozart's Appointment to the Viennese Court," in Words About Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie, ed. Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (Woodbridge: The

Boydell Press, 2005), 168–69. Adamberger's salary, unchanged, was henceforth split between the opera and the Hofkapelle.

54. See Michtner, *Das alte Burgtheater*, 88–89, and Thomas Bauman, "Mozart's Belmonte," *Early Music* 19 (1991): 557–63. Criticism centers on his lackluster acting and a tendency towards a nasal sound in his high register.

55. Belmonte in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Vogelsang in *Der Schauspieldirektor*, David in the oratorio *Davidde penitente*, the arias K. 420 and 431, and possibly the tenor part in the cantata *Die Maurerfreude*.

56. Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver, A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theater, 1751–1800 (Warren, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 1993), 465.

57. The cast list written in A-Wn, KT 410 shows him in the role of Il conte. Kelly says in his memoirs that he made his debut in that opera but without naming the role; see *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly*, ed. Theodore Hook, 2 vols. (London, 1826), 1:196. However, Zinzendorf, 22 April 1783, reports that on opening night Bussani sang the role of Il conte; see Link, *National Court Theatre*, 204.

58. In the singers index (see note 24 above), Sartori lists a Luigi Pugnetti, whose dates of activity would fit the Pugnetti who sang in Vienna.

59. Joseph heard Viganoni in Capranica, after he had already been engaged for Vienna, and reported that he was a passably good singer but a poor actor. "Le tenor nommé Viganone qui est engagé pour Vienne, chante passablement et est mauvais acteur." Joseph to Rosenberg, 20 January 1784, in Payer von Thurn, Joseph II. als Theaterdirektor, 44.

60. Mombelli initially asked for such a high salary that Joseph declined to pursue the negotiations. "Die Forderungen des Tenor Monbelli [sic] habe Ich so übermäßig gefunden, daß Ich seinetwegen weder nach Neapel noch nach Florenz habe schreiben lassen." Joseph to Rosenberg, 25 June 1785, ibid., 64.

61. The Sartori singers index describes him as "Nicola Del Sole di Roma, buffo caricato," but I have so far not been able to find any *buffo caricato* roles sung by him.

62. A-Whh, Handbillets, vol. 47, 1788, no. 39, Joseph to Prince Starhemberg, the Obersthofmeister, 8 January 1788: "Nachdem die Vermählungs Feyerlichkeit meines Neffens ein besonderer Fall ist, so will ich statt der 50 Ducaten, welche den Sängern, so bey öffentlichen Tafeln singen gewöhnlich abgerricht werden, der Cavalieri und dem Adamberger für dieses mal jedem 100 Ducaten bewilligen." (Since the celebrations for my nephew's marriage are a special case, I want to grant Cavalieri and Adamberger 100 ducats each instead of the 50 ducats they usually receive for singing at ceremonial dinners.) To put that figure into perspective, one hundred ducats was the standard fee paid to a composer for an opera score.

63. Rudolph Angermüller, Antonio Salieri: Dokumente seines Lebens, 3 vols (Bad Honnef: K. H. Bock, 2000), 2:210–11.

64. See Potter, Tenor, 27-43.

65. Gilbert-Louis Duprez, L'Art du chant (Paris, 1846), quoted in Potter, Tenor, 24.

66. The break for most late-eighteenth-century tenors occurred around e' or f'. John Potter, "The Tenor-Castrato Connection, 1760–1860," Early Music 35 (2007): 109 n. 2.

67. Ibid., 101.

68. Potter, Tenor, 24.

69. Ibid., 46.

70. Potter, "Tenor-Castrato Connection," 106.

71. Ibid., 107.

72. Potter, Tenor, 183.

73. Ibid., 24.

74. Andrew Porter's phrase occurs in the discussion appended to Bauman, "Mozart's Belmonte," 563.

75. Ibid.

76. John Rice drew my attention to Bruce Haynes's book, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A"* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2002), which reports that in the late eighteenth century A *Wienerton* was close to 440 (p. 321), Mozart's A was 435 (p. xxxvii), and A in Naples was around 413 (p. 305). By

1826, however, Neapolitan pitch had risen substantially (pp. 329, 332), for Rossini, used to Neapolitan pitch, was reportedly shocked upon arriving in Paris in 1826 to find the low pitch in use there (A was 413).

77. Potter, Tenor, 41.

78. Laura E. De Marco, "The Fact of the Castrato and the Myth of the Countertenor," *Musical Quarterly* 86 (2002): 174–85, and Beverly Jerold, "How Composers Viewed Performers' Additions," *Early Music* 36 (2008): 95–109.

79. One is a rondò composed by Niccolò Zingarelli for Marchesi in Milan, 1792, for which the Czech composer Václav Pichl transcribed four variants of the melody. An excerpt is published in Will Crutchfield, "Voices," in Performance Practice: Music after 1600, ed. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (New York: Norton, 1989), 303–4. The other is a rondò composed by Luigi Cherubini for Marchesi in Mantua, 1784, for which an unidentified musician transcribed eight, in some passages fourteen, variations of the melody. The manuscript of this aria can be found in A-Wn (shelf number Mus Hs 3920). An extensive excerpt is published in Robert Haas, Aufführungspraxis der Musik (New York: Musurgia Publishers, 1931), 225–30. See also Rebecca Jones, "Luigi Marchesi: Life and Voice" (Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2009).

80. Jerold, "How Composers Viewed Performers' Additions," 96.

81. Rice makes this point when he compares Calvesi's arias to Baglioni's in his book *W. A. Mozart: "La clemenza di Tito,"* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 55.

82. Rice, Salieri, 415.

83. Zinzendorf, 26 December 1779: "Le Calvesi a une voix de Tenor argentine et prononce avec une clarté surprenante." Translation from Rice, *Salieri*, 340.

84. "Calvesi est sûrement un des meilleurs ténors d'Italie, qui joint à une voix naturellement douce, agréable et sonore une méthode, qui sans être extrêmement recherchée ni étudiée ne laisse pas que de plaire généralement à notre public." "Lettre d'un habitant de Vienne," manuscript pamphlet transcribed in Michtner, Das alte Burgtheater, 437, my translation.

85. "Calvesi hat eine außerordentlich schöne Stimme, und singt nach einer bestimmten Schule richtig und schön. Könnte er in seinen Gesang und Spiel das erforderliche Leben mischen, dann wäre er gewiß der vollkommenste Sänger, den Wien seit dreißig Jahren gehört hat." Grundsätze zur Theaterkritik, über Einsicht, Sprache und Spiel in Menschenhaß und Reue (Vienna, 1790), 38 (A-Wst, 5341 A), my translation.

86. "Calvesi è un graziosissimo mezzo carattere, à molte maniere nell'armonico maneggio e agilità non indifferente." John A. Rice, "Benedetto Frizzi on Singers, Composers and Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century Italy," *Studi musicali* 23 (1994): 383. Translation kindly provided by John Rice, personal communication.

87. Rice, Salieri, 340.

88. Indice de' teatrali spettacoli, 1:308.

89. See the description of the aria in Rice, Salieri, 270.

90. This and the following aria can be heard on the compact disc recording of Antonio Salieri, *La grotta di Trofonio*, conducted by Christophe Rousset with Les Talens Lyriques, 2005, Ambroisie AMB 9986.

91. Rice, *Salieri*, 369, points out the similarity to Ferrando's "Un'aura amorosa" in the use of the same key, clarinets, bassoons, horns, and "muted strings to convey a mood of dreamy lyricism."

92. This aria can be heard on two compact disc recordings of *Una cosa rara*, one conducted by Jordi Savall, 1991, Astrée Auvidis E 8760, and the other by Giancarlo Andretta, 2000, Mondo Musica MFON 22250.

93. This aria can be heard on the Savall recording; the Andretta recording omits it.

94. The new aria appears in the libretto of the opera published in German prose in 1787 (copy in the Library of Congress [US-Wc], S 6016). Advertisements by Lorenz Lausch in the

Wiener Zeitung help narrow down the date. On 20 January 1787 (p. 157) an advertisement appears for the entire opera of Una cosa rara, with all the numbers listed separately. The list includes "Oh ciel! che duro passo-Seguir degg'io." On 19 September 1787 (p. 2279) Lausch again offers the complete opera, this time texted in German. The original aria has disappeared; instead, there is the new aria, identified by the textual incipit, "Warum schufst du grausam Geschikte?" În the Simrock vocal edition the textual incipit reads "Warum hast du, gütiger Himmel!" After 20 January 1787, the opera was performed 31 January, 9, 14, and 20 February and then not again until 20 August when Anna Morichelli took over Nancy Storace's former role. It seems likely that the new aria for the Prince was composed for the resumption of the opera on 20 August. But it was not a direct replacement: the original aria occurs at the end of scene 9, while the new aria occurs at the end of scene 13. The heavily used performance score A-Wn, KT 99 contains the original aria, cancelled out, as well as the new aria, followed by yet another substitute aria, presumably from a still later production. The Simrock edition includes both the original aria in scene 9 and the new aria in scene 13. The new aria is printed in the appendix of Vicente Martín y Soler, Una cosa rara, ed. Gerhard Allroggen (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1990), 435-42. The editor explains in the Vorwort, x, that the aria occurs in both the score and libretto of an unspecified production in Dresden and leaves

95. Anna Morichelli had been given plenty of opportunities to perform her choice of arias, in the seria style, when she first arrived in Vienna. See my article "La cantante Anna Morichelli, paladín de Vicente Martín y Soler," in Los siete mundos de Vicente Martín y Soler, 328–62. An English translation is posted at http://dlink.myweb.uga.edu/articles/Morichelli\_article.pdf.

96. The public premiere was preceded by a private performance for the court at Laxenburg on 28 September. See Ingrid

Fuchs, "Nuevas fuentes para la recepción de las óperas de Martín y Soler en Viena, y en particular, de *Una cosa rara*," in *Los siete mundos de Vicente Martín y Soler*, 263. See also Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Tu felix Austria nube: Hochzeitsfeste der Habsburger im 18. Jahrhundert*, Dramma per musica, vol. 4 (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1994), 232.

97. "Il faut croire, que le Sieur Martini n'est pas autrement ami de Calvesi, auquel dans le beau rôle d'Endimion il n'a pas eu l'esprit de donner un seul air bien saillant, et à peine adapté à sa voix." "Lettre d'un habitant de Vienne," in Michtner, Das

alte Burgtheater, 437, my translation.

98. Translation from Rice, Salieri, 415. The original Italian can be found in Angermüller, Salieri: Dokumente, 2:121: "Egli sarà vestito nobilmente, ma senza fasto. La parte sua è un misto di eroico, e di sensibile. Tutto ciò ch'egli canterà di lamentevole e di dolce in altro genere, deve aver sempre un fondo d'energia per non cader nell'effemminato, il quale defetto farebbe languire tutta quella bellissima parte."

99. The version of the aria sung at the premiere can be heard on the compact disc recording Antonio Salieri, *Axur*, *re d'Ormus*, conducted by René Clemencic, 1996, Nuova Era 6852-54.

100. "Quest'aria, cantata da una voce di Tenore dolceenergica, come dissi sopra, farà sempre un'effetto interessante e analogo al tutto." Angermüller, *Salieri: Dokumente*, 2:119.

101. Regarding the arias "Dove andò quel maschio ardire" (Axur) and "S'io ti salvai la vita" (Atar), Salieri writes: "Può riguardarsi come un solo pezzo, è tutto di sicuro effetto s'è cantato e declamato bene da un vocione di Basso e da una dolce-energica voce di Tenore. Queste due qualità di voci sono necessarie in tutta quest'Opera, altrimenti va a terra." Ibid., 2:118.

102. "La Ĉavatina 'Fra l'orror di questa selve' è seria e nobile, e lascia tempo al cantante, se ha bella voce, di cominciar a mostrarle, unitamente alla sua abilità." Ibid., 2:182.

## **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. A me par che il mondo sia

Aria for Count Bandiera in *La scuola de' gelosi* by Antonio Salieri, Venice, 1778; libretto by Caterino Mazzolà. The libretto for the 1783 Vienna production contains the aria in act 1, scene 6, on page 24.

Count Bandiera is a womanizer who causes his wife much anguish by attempting to seduce Ernestina, the wife of the local grain dealer. In this aria he gives expression to the pleasure he finds in pursuing women.

A me par che il mondo sia di ragazze d'ogni sorte una vasta galleria.
Chi si muove sussiegata, chi par Dido sulla scena.
Sulle braccia ripiegata ivi un'altra si dimena; quella è grave, questa è snella, bianca è l'una, l'altra è bruna. Io passeggio piano, piano, miro questa, miro quella.
Esser parmi il gran Sultano, crescer sento il cor nel petto, ed a tutte il fazzoletto io vorrei poter gettar.

It appears to me that the world is a vast gallery of girls of all kinds.

One moves with dignity, dressed like Dido on the stage.

With her arms folded over there another one fidgets; that one is serious, this one lively, one is blond, another dark.

I take a walk inconspicuously, looking at this one, that one.

I think of myself as the great sultan; I feel my heart swelling in my breast, and to every girl my handkerchief I would like to toss.

Comments. Line 4, libretto has "move." Line 15, libretto has "gittar."

Other source. John A. Rice, Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 270.

#### 2. Languida voce in seno

Aria for Casimiro in *Gli sposi malcontenti* by Stephen Storace, Vienna, 1785; libretto by Gaetano Brunati. The aria occurs in act 2, scene 10, on pages 62–63 of the libretto.

Casimiro believes a rumor that his wife Eginia is having an affair with a former lover. This throws him into an agony, caught between his love for her and his pride.

Languida voce in seno parmi sentir che dica, ah, non scordarti appieno la tenerezza antica; sovvienti che l'infida fù l'idol del tuo cor.
Ma un'altra dice, e sgrida rammentati l'onor.

A faint voice in my bosom seems to me to be saying, ah, do not completely forget the former tenderness; remember that the unfaithful one was once the idol of your heart. But another voice says scoldingly, remember your honor.

Voi che moglie aver bramate quella mai non procurate, che per forza, o d'interesse sol vi giura fedeltà, perché poi le pene istesse ch'or io provo per la mia, empia, o buona ch'ella sia, anche a voi provar farà.

You who long to have a wife such a one you will never acquire, who only through force or from self-interest promises to be faithful to you, for then the same suffering that now I feel for mine, pitiless or good that she may be, she will make you feel.

Comments. Line 1, libretto has "Laguida." Line 5, libretto has "l'ingrata." Line 7, libretto has "grida." Line 10, libretto has "no." Line 11, libretto has "od interesse."

#### 3. Di questo bosco ombroso

Aria for Artemidoro in La grotta di Trofonio by Antonio Salieri, Vienna, 1785; libretto by Giovanni Battista Casti. The aria occurs in act 1, scene 11, on page 30 of the libretto. The contemplative lover, Artemidoro, carrying a copy of Plato's Dialogues, has been drawn into the woods, where he is about to encounter the magician Trofonio, who lies in wait for him. This aria is a portrait of Artemidoro's personality.

Di questo bosco ombroso al solitario aspetto, un placido riposo d'insolito diletto, tutto m'inonda il cor. La cheta solitudine a un'alma filosofica quanto è più cara, e amabile, che di città lo strepito, e d'affollato popolo l'incomodo clamor!

The solitary aspect of this shady woods, a peaceful repose of unwonted delight, completely inundates my heart. Tranquil solitude to a philosophical soul is so much more precious and agreeable than the tumult of the city, and the irksome din of the teeming throng!

Other source. Liner notes to compact disc recording of Antonio Salieri, La grotta di Trofonio, conducted by Christophe Rousset with Les Talens Lyriques, 2005, Sound Arts AMB9986.

#### 4. Sognai, o sogno ancor?

Cavatina for Artemidoro in La grotta di Trofonio by Antonio Salieri, Vienna, 1785; libretto by Giovanni Battista Casti. The aria occurs in act 2, scene 7, on page 56 of the libretto.

Artemidoro, coming out of the spell Trofonio had cast on him, discovers with relief that he is his former self. While under the spell, he found himself with the personality of the lively Plistene, to the great confusion and consternation of his betrothed, Ofelia.

Sognai, o sogno ancor? Non so qual urto insolito, o qual delirio fosse, che incalorì, che scosse i spirti miei finor. Ma già l'usata calma ritorna all'alma e al cor.

di passeggiar le aggrada;

Certo io provai poc'anzi un'inquieta agitazion nel sangue, che l'idee mi sconvolse; or grazie ai Numi, un perfetto equilibrio i spirti miei già riacquistan di nuovo. Oh se potessi Ofelia ritrovar! So che ogni giorno quinci pel bosco attorno

vorrei vederla; a ricercar si vada. Other source. As for no. 3.

Was I dreaming, or am I dreaming still? I know not what unusual shock or delirium it was that heated up, that shook my spirits till now. But already the habitual calm returns to my soul and heart. Certainly I felt just now a disquieting agitation in my blood that deranged my mind; now, thanks to the gods, my spirits are regaining their former perfect equilibrium. Oh, could I but meet Ofelia! I know that every day she likes to take a walk in these woods; I would like to see her; I will search for her.

#### 5. Più bianca di giglio

Cavatina for Prince Giovanni in Una cosa rara by Vicente Martín y Soler, Vienna, 1786; libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, adapted from Vélez de Guevara, La luna della Sierra. The aria occurs in act 1, scene 5, on page 10 of the libretto.

The prince, young and inexperienced in love, has just met the country girl Lilla, who shies away from him. He is dazzled by her beauty and charm.

Più bianca di giglio, più fresca di rosa, bell'occhio, bel ciglio, vivace, graziosa, la mano a un villano la Lilla darà? Almen crude stelle. non fossi chi sono . . . ma val più d'un trono sì rara beltà.

Whiter than a lily, fresher than a rose, beautiful eyes, lovely face, vivacious, graceful, must Lilla give her hand to a peasant? If only, cruel stars, I were not who I am . . . for such a rare beauty is worth more than a throne.

Other sources. Lorenzo Da Ponte, Libretti viennesi, ed. Lorenzo Della Chà, 2 vols. (Parma: Fondazione Bembo and Ugo Guanda Editore, 1999), 1:391; liner notes to compact disc recording of Vicente Martín y Soler, Una cosa rara, conducted by Jordi Savall, 1991, Astrée Auvidis E 8760; and Joseph LoSchiavo, ed. and trans., unpublished libretto used in the Vineyard Theatre's production of Una cosa rara, New York, 1986.

#### 6. O ciel! che duro passo—Seguir degg'io chi fugge?

Recitative—aria for Prince Giovanni in Una cosa rara by Vicente Martín y Soler, Vienna, 1786; libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, adapted from Vélez de Guevara, La luna della Sierra. The aria occurs in act 2, scene 9, on pages 52–53 of the libretto.

Now smitten with passion for Lilla, who, however, steadfastly rejects his advances, the prince confides his despair to the older and more seasoned Corrado. Corrado advises the use of either guile or force, as opportunity allows. The prince recoils at the idea, but then grasps at this straw as his only hope.

O ciel! che duro passo è mai questo per me! sentir mi pare una voce nel cor che mi rinfacci la debolezza mia: dunque un infante, un figlio d'Isabella, da una vile serrana ora è costretto a mendicare affetto, e a mendicarlo, ahimè, con un inganno? A qual varco mi traggi, amor tiranno! Seguir degg'io chi fugge? chi mi disprezza amar? Saprò scacciar dal petto il mio funesto affetto; saprò abborrir la perfida che ride al mio penar. Saprò... ma intanto il core langue nel suo dolore e della mia speranza comincia a dubitar. Stelle ingrate, avversi Dei, che volete ancor da me? Son confuso, son oppresso, non intendo più me stesso. a Cor. A miei mali una speranza pur m'avanza ancora in te.

Oh heavens! what a difficult step this is for me! I seem to hear a voice in my heart reproaching me for my weakness: that an infante, a son of Isabella, be forced to beg for the affection of a lowly peasant girl, and to beg for it, alas, with a trick? To what end do you drive me, tyrannical love! Must I pursue one who flees me? who scorns my love? I know how to drive my lamentable affection from my breast; I know how to abhor the perfidious one who laughs at my suffering. I know how . . . but meanwhile my heart languishes in its sorrow and begins to doubt my hope. Ungrateful stars, hostile gods, what more do you want from me? I am confused, I am oppressed, I no longer know myself. to Corrado Yet still a hope for my woes

rests with you.

Comments. Line 12, libretto has "Sveller saprò." Line 18, libretto has "sua costanza." Line 25, libretto has "ancor."

Other sources Da Ponto Libretti menneci 1:430-31: further sources as for no 5

#### 7. Pupille amorose dell'idolo mio

Aria for Eufemio di Siracusa in *Gli equivoci* by Stephen Storace, Vienna, 1786; libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, adapted from a French translation of William Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors*. The aria occurs in act 2, scene 5, on page 53 of the libretto.

In Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*, two sets of twins, separated during infancy, are reunited as adults under comic circumstances. In this aria the recently arrived Eufemio di Siracusa, still believed by everyone to be his brother Eufemio di Efeso, woos his supposed sister-in-law, who is naturally horrified.

Pupille amorose dell'idolo mio, serene, pietose, vi piaccia girar. Quel guardo severo, quel rigido aspetto il core nel petto mi fa palpitar. Mostratemi un raggio di placida calma; se il labbro, se l'alma si denno spiegar. L'esperto nocchiero non lascia la sponda se il vento, se l'onda fremente gli par. Ah, ch'ella non ode il suon di mia voce, e forse si gode, quell'alma feroce,

di far coi begli occhi

gli amanti penar.

Loving eyes of my idol, bright, compassionate, may it please you to turn them on me. That stern look, that severe appearance makes my heart throb in my breast. Show me a ray of mild tranquillity; if lips, if the soul are to explain themselves. The expert steersman does not leave the shore if the wind, if the waves seem too rough to him. Ah, that she does not dislike the sound of my voice, and perhaps enjoy, that fierce soul, making lovers suffer with her beautiful eyes.

Comment. Line 7, score has "cor" in m. 41.

Other sources. Da Ponte, Libretti viennesi, 1:512; Stephen Storace, Gli Equivoci, ed. Richard Platt in vocal score, Musica Britannica, vol. 86 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2007), 225–32.

#### 8. Vedrai che a torto offendi

Insertion aria by Vincenzo Righini for Clicerio in *Le trame deluse* by Domenico Cimarosa, for the 1787 Vienna production. The words of the aria may have been written by Lorenzo Da Ponte, librettist at the imperial court theater. A comparison of the libretto and score used for the 1787 Vienna production shows that the aria was interpolated into the opera at the end of act 2, scene 4, but the text is missing from the libretto, suggesting that the aria was a late addition to the opera. The aria was retained for the 1791 production and can be found in the 1791 libretto on page 45, at the end of act 2, scene 3.

A pair of swindlers, Ortensia and Don Nardo Fionza, are scheming to defraud the old and somewhat senile Don Artabano. In the aria below, Cavalier Clicerio, who loves Olimpia, the old man's niece, tries to warn Artabano of what Nardo and Ortensia are up to, but Artabano puts him off by saying he doesn't believe him and just wants his peace.

Vedrai che a torto offendi chi chiude onore in petto, vedrai chi difendi è un empia, un traditor. Tu sarai sempre un misero, io resterò chi sono, mi chiederai perdono ma sarà tardi allor. You will see that you unjustly offend who harbors honor in his breast, you will see that those you defend are wicked and traitorous.

You will always be a poor soul,
I will remain who I am,
you will beg pardon of me but by then it will be too late.

Comments. Line 3, score has "vedrai che chi" in mm. 88 and 134. Line 5, libretto of 1791 (see list of sources in critical notes) has "sempore."

#### 9. Lieti e amorosi i rai

Aria for Endimione in *L'arbore di Diana* by Vicente Martín y Soler, Vienna, 1787; libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte. The aria occurs in act 1, scene 4, on pages 13–14 of the libretto. Amore has just appeared to the men in the guise of a shepherdess. Endimione finds her enchantingly beautiful.

Lieti e amorosi i rai,
bianca la carne avea,
d'ebano il crin parea,
parea di neve il sen.
E il vermiglietto labbro
con tanta grazia apria
che nato si diria
per fare il ciel seren.

Joyful and loving were her glances, her body white, her hair like ebony, like snow her bosom.

And her ruby lips parted with such sweetness that [they] seem to have been born to make the heavens bright.

Comment. Line 1, the libretto has "guardi" in place of "rai."

Other source. Da Ponte, Libretti viennesi, 1:634-35.

#### 10. Come? Aspasia una schiava?—Soave luce di paradiso (revised version)

Recitative—aria for Atar in *Axur, re d'Ormus* by Antonio Salieri, Vienna, 1788; libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, adapted from Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *Tarare*. The aria occurs in act 2, scene 4, on page 21 of the libretto.

The king Axur envies his general Atar for his popularity with the people as well as for his happy marriage to Aspasia. Unable to contain his envy, he has Aspasia kidnapped for his harem. Desperate to find her, Atar asks Axur for his help. Axur mocks him by asking a servant whether he remembers anyone called Aspasia, perhaps a pretty slave, arriving at the harem. The word "slave" triggers a rapturous description of Aspasia from Atar.

Come? Aspasia una schiava? Sire, perdona! a sì odiosa idea non resiste quest'alma: Aspasia è Dea. Soave luce di paradiso entro il bel viso brillava ognor. Parean celesti li sguardi e i gesti, il dolce suono de' cari accenti piovea contenti dentro il mio cor. Per rinvenire Aspasia io stancherò i viventi, Aspasia, i miei lamenti l'Eco ripeterà.

What? Aspasia a slave?
Sire, pardon! such an odious idea
this soul does not withstand: Aspasia is a goddess.
The soft light
of paradise
within the beautiful face
shone always.
Her glances and gestures
appeared celestial,
the sweet sound
of her dear accents
rained contentments

on my heart.
To find Aspasia
I will tire out the living,
Aspasia, my laments
Echo will repeat.

Other source. Da Ponte, Libretti viennesi, 1:767, for the first thirteen lines.

#### 11. V'andrò tutto si tenti

Aria for Atar in *Axur, re d'Ormus* by Antonio Salieri, Vienna, 1788; libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, adapted from Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *Tarare*. The aria occurs in act 3, scene 4, on pages 34–35 of the libretto.

The guardian of the harem, who is loyal to Atar for having once saved his life, confides to Atar that it was Axur who abducted Aspasia and that she is being held in his harem. Left alone, Atar mentally addresses the king.

V'andrò tutto si tenti, ogni riparo è poco ad un furente foco, a un disperato amor.
Penetrerò i recessi del tuo recinto infame, non sazierai tue brame, O perfido avoltor, in lei che viva o morta saprò strapparti ancor.
Nè deplorar mia sorte, qualunque sia per me, merita ben la morte chi a te la vita diè.

I will go there and try everything, every defense is useless against a furious fire, against a desperate love.

I will penetrate the recesses of your foul enclosure, you will not satiate your lust, O perfidious vulture, whether she is alive or dead I will be able to tear you apart.

Nor deplore my fate, however it may turn out, whoever gave you life

deserves to die.

Other sources. Da Ponte, Libretti viennesi, 1:776; liner notes to compact disc recording of Antonio Salieri, Axur, re d'Ormus, conducted by René Clemencic, 1996, Nuova Era 6852-54.

#### 12. Ohimé, qual fosca nube—Il mio bene io già perdei

Recitative—aria for Marchese Astolfo in *La pastorella nobile* by Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, Naples, 1788; libretto by Francesco Saverio Zini. The aria occurs in act 2, scene 4, on page 38 of the libretto.

The Marchese Astolfo pursues the shepherdess Eurilla and is not at all interested in meeting Donna Florida, the woman he is to marry. Confusion and various subterfuges ensue. In order to restrain the Marchese, the village mayor Don Polibio announces that Eurilla has had an accident and has died. The Marchese is beside himself with grief.

mi toglie agl'occhi il giorno? Qual fulmine del ciel mi stride intorno? Eurilla, ah dove sei? Io per voi la perdei, da voi la voglio, ma barbari, esultate al mio cordoglio? Ah! tacete, tacete, odo i flebili accenti del caro mio tesor . . . l'ombra adorata girarmi intorno io miro . . . ferma ... senti ... dov'è? Ah, che deliro. Il mio bene io già perdei, più speranza il cor non ha. Del mio duol, de' mali miei voi sentite almen pietà. Provo al vivo nel mio seno del destin la crudeltà. Ma che dico? che ragiono? Sol io colpo al fiero eccesso, e sol contro di me stesso la vendetta saprò far.

Ohimé, qual fosca nube

Alas, what dark cloud obscures the day from my vision? What thunderbolt from heaven strikes me? Eurilla, ah, where are you? Through you I lost her, from you I want her, but barbarians, do you rejoice in my anguish? Ah! be quiet, be quiet, I hear the plaintive sounds of my dear treasure . . . adored shadow I see turning around to me . . . Wait . . . listen . . . where is she? Ah, how delirious I am. My dear one I already have lost, my heart has no more hope. Of my sorrow, of my sufferings you feel at least pity. I feel to the quick in my breast the cruelty of fate. But what am I saying? what am I thinking? Only I sin to wild excess, and only against myself will I know how to exact revenge.

Comments. Line 1, libretto has "Oimè" and "fesca." Line 3, libretto has "Ciel." Line 11, score has "deh senti...dov'è?" in mm. 34–37. Line 13, libretto has "no." Line 16, libretto has "del." Line 20, libretto has "une" instead of "me."

#### 13. Fra l'orror di questa selva

Via furioso

Cavatina for Milord Fideling in *La cifra* by Antonio Salieri, Vienna, 1789; libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte, adapted from Guiseppe Petrosellini, *La dama pastorella*. The aria occurs in act 1, scene 1, on page 8 of the libretto.

Milord Fideling, in search of the missing daughter of the former lord of the estate which he has just inherited and which he is now visiting, announces his mission to the

peasants on the estate and requests their cooperation. He addresses the following remarks to Rusticone, who later is revealed to be hiding the missing woman. When her identity is discovered and verified by the existence of a casket of jewels and papers, Lord Fideling marries her.

Fra l'orror di questa selva tu non sai qual gemma è ascosa, te felice se tal cosa tu m'aiti a discoprir.

Among the horrors of these woods you do not know what jewel is hidden, I will make you happy if such a thing you help me find.

Other source and comment. Da Ponte, Libretti viennesi, 2:956; in line 4, Della Chà replaces "discoprir" with "discolpar."

### 14. Siam salvi almeno in questi scogli—Se pietà d'un infelice

Recitative—aria for Adrasto in the cantata *Il natal d'Apollo* by Vincenzo Righini, Vienna, 22 and 23 December 1789; the librettist is unknown. The aria occurs in the *parte prima*, scene 2, on page 14 of the libretto used for a 1794 performance in Berlin.

In antiquity there were two sites dedicated to Apollo: the city of Delphi, where he established his oracle, and the island of Delos, where he was born. At the time of Apollo's birth, according to this story, Delphi was terrorized by a great dragon. The people demanded a sacrificial virgin, and the choice fell on Erifile. Her intended bridegroom Alceo fled with her in a ship. The people's leader Adrasto sailed after them in pursuit. A storm drove both ships to Delos. In the aria below, Adrasto vows to find and sacrifice both of them. He apprehends them, but Apollo intervenes, appointing them as his priest and priestess and instructing them to return to Delphi to slay the dragon, to establish his oracle, and to marry.

Siam salvi almeno in questi scogli. Oh notte tenebrosa, ed orrenda! Ah! l'ire, oh Numi, placate al fin. Delfo non sia l'oggetto sol del vostro furor. Patria infelice! Desolata città! Fate, che Alceo, ch'Erifile io raggiunga, e a voi svenati ambo cadran! Ma tu . . . qual nuova? Il vento quà spinse ancor de' fuggitivi il legno? Grazie, oh Numi placati! In nostre mani già sono i rei. Vendicherò . . . No? Come?

Il conosciuto legno è sulla sponda: d'Erifile, e Alceo non v'è novella? O forse gli assorbi l'atra procella! Se pietà d'un infelice egli' è ver che il ciel non sente, terra misera e dolente oggi Delfo rimarrà.

We are at least safe in these rocks. O night dark and frightful! Ah! O gods, appease at last your anger. Let Delphi not be the only object of your fury. Unhappy homeland!

Afflicted city! Let me find Alceo and Erifile, and I will sacrifice both to you! But you . . . what news? The wind also drove here the fugitives' ship?

Thank you, O placated gods! Already the guilty ones are in our hands. I will avenge you . . . No? What?

The ship, recognized as theirs, is on the shore:
[but] of Erifile and Alceo there is no sign?
Perhaps the atrocious storm swallowed them up!
If it is true that heaven does not feel pity
for an unhappy one,
today Delphi will remain
a miserable and unhappy place.

Comments. Line 5, libretto has "Desolta" and "citta." Line 12, libretto has "D'Erifile, d e'Alceo." Line 17, libretto has "rimarra."