

## Notes

### 1 Opera as process

1. For the presence of opera productions in major European urban centers, see Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), and William Weber, “Opera and the Cultural Authority of the Capital City,” in Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman (eds.), *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 160–80; on the dissemination of opera in small and holiday towns, see Franco Piperno, “State and Market, Production and Style: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera History,” in *Opera and Society*, 140–3. On Eszterháza, see Caryl Clark, “Haydn in the Theater: The Operas,” in Caryl Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 176–99.
2. Stefano Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente*, 2 vols. (Bologna: Trenti, 1783), vol. 1, 1–10.
3. Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 5.
4. Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 7–8, 295–322.
5. On the complex interplay of the various operatic domains in eighteenth-century opera, see James Webster, “Mozart’s Operas and the Myth of Musical Unity,” *COJ* 2/2 (1990), 197–218. Because modern *mise-en-scène* of eighteenth-century operas redirects the political message or even adds new meaning to the original text, modern opera productions ought to be interpreted as new texts, according to David J. Levin, *Unsettling Opera: Staging Mozart, Verdi, Wagner, and Zemlinsky* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
6. Overviews of the theory and criticism of opera in Italy are offered by Renato Di Benedetto, “Politics and Polemics,” in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Opera in Theory and Practice, Image and Myth*, trans. Kenneth Chalmers (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1–71; Elvidio Surian, *A Checklist of Writings on 18th-Century French and Italian Opera (Excluding Mozart)* (Hackensack: Boonin, 1970); and Enrico Fubini, *History of Music Aesthetics*, trans. Michael Hatwell (London: Macmillan, 1990). Relevant passages concerning operatic polemics can be read in Piero Weiss (ed.), *Opera: A History in Documents* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
7. Benedetto Marcello, *Il teatro alla moda, o sia metodo sicuro, e facile per ben comporre, & eseguire l’opere Italiane in Musica all’uso moderno ...* (Venice: Aldaviva Licante, 1720; repr. Milan: Il Polifilo, 2006). A comprehensive overview of the Italian operatic production system and of the professional agents involved is Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Opera Production and its Resources*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998).
8. Charles Seeger, “Prescriptive and Descriptive Music Writing,” *MQ* 44/2 (1958), 184–95.
9. Claudio Monteverdi, *L’Orfeo: favola in musica* (Venice: Amadino, 1609; repr. Kassel, Basel, and London: Bärenreiter, 1998).
10. Hertz, *Music in European Capitals*, 309–21. Strohm, *Dramma per musica*, 78. “Son qual nave agitata” was published as the first piece in *The favourite Songs in the Opera call’d “Artaxerxes” by Sign<sup>r</sup>. Hasse* (London: Walsh, [1734 or later]), 2–5. A performance of “Son qual nave agitata” appears in the controversial 1994 movie *Farinelli* directed by Gerard Corbiau.
11. Martha Feldman, *Opera as Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 42–5, 66; the analysis of Farinelli’s aria transmitted in the two-stave melody and basso continuo is at pp. 72–80. An analysis of Hasse’s *Artaserse* is offered in a separate chapter (chapter 6), pp. 248–55. For the concept of opera as ritualized action, see especially pp. 1–3, 13, 18, 83.
12. Luigi Riccoboni, *An Historical and Critical Account of the Theaters in Europe, Viz. the Italian, Spanish, French, English, Dutch, Flemish, and German Theatres ...* (London: Waller, 1741), 83.
13. W. A. Mozart, “*Le nozze di Figaro*”: *Eight Variant Versions*, ed. Alan Tyson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

14. Roger Parker, *Remaking the Song: Operatic Visions and Revisions from Handel to Berio* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006), 5–11, 42–66. The arias for the Ferrarese are “Un moto di gloria,” substituting “Venite inginocchiatevi” in Act 2, and “Al disio di chi t’adora,” replacing “Deh vieni, non tardar” in Act 4.
15. Robert Spaethling (trans. and ed.), *Mozart’s Letters, Mozart’s Life* (New York: Norton, 2000), 135.
16. Letter of De Brosse dated August 29, 1739, in *Lettres familières*, vol. 1, 237, quoted in Eric Cross, *The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi, 1727–1738* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981), 57.
17. Goldoni gives slightly different accounts of this episode in his *Mémoires* (Paris: Duchesne, 1787), vol. 1, chapter 36, and in his *Prefazione alle commedie del dottore Carlo Goldoni avvocato veneto* (Venice: Bettinelli, 1750). Both are republished in Goldoni, *Memorie*, ed. and trans. Felice Del Beccaro (Milan: Mondadori, 1993), 211–13, 890–2.
18. John Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 42. See also Robin A. Leaver, “The Mature Vocal Works and their Theological and Liturgical Context,” in John Butt (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 90.
19. Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
20. Vivaldi’s letter to Marquise Bentivoglio, dated January 2, 1739, quoted in Mario Rinaldi, *Il teatro musicale di Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: Olschki, 1979), 12.
21. On the renaissance of Vivaldi’s operas during our era, see Frédéric Dalaméa, “La redécouverte du théâtre vivaldien: état des lieux et perspectives,” *ISV* 19 (1998), 45–72. On the sources of Vivaldi’s operas, see Rinaldi, *Il teatro musicale di Antonio Vivaldi*, 7–12. The entire collection of Vivaldi’s operas at the library of Turin (funds Foà and Giordano) is in the process of being recorded by Opus 111 (Naïve records). Vivaldi’s operas will be published soon in critical edition as a joint effort by Casa Ricordi and the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi. I am grateful to the director of the IIAV, Francesco Fanna, for this information.
22. Cross, *The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi*, 5–6, 25; Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 5. A chapter on this opera appears in a recent publication on Vivaldi’s operas that I could not consult in time: Reinhard Strohm, *The Operas of Antonio Vivaldi*, 2 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 2008).
23. The argomento appears in [Alvise Giusti], *Motezuma: dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel teatro di Sant’Angelo nell’Autunno dell’Anno 1733* (Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1733), 2–3. Nancy D’Antuono, “Tra storicità e fantasia: La *Historia de la conquista de Mexico* (1684) di Antonio de Solís e il *Motezuma* del poeta Alvise Giusti (1733) con alcuni riferimenti al *Concierto barroco* di Alejo Carpentier (1974),” in Francesco Coticelli and Paologiovanni Maione (eds.), *Le arti della scena e l’esotismo in età moderna* (Naples: Turchini, 2006), 271–83.
24. Vivaldi, *Montezuma* [sic], *La grande écurie et la chambre du roy*, conducted by Jean-Claude Malgoire, *Astrée* auvudis, E8501 (2 compact discs), 1991. On Carpentier’s and Vivaldi’s *Motezuma*, see the essays by D’Antuono, Steffen Voss, and Cesare Fertonani in Coticelli and Maione (eds.), *Le arti della scena*. Carpentier’s *Concierto Barroco* has been translated into English by Asa Zatz (Tulsa: Council Oak Books and University of Tulsa, 1988).
25. Marcello, *Il teatro alla moda*, 12.
26. George-Louis Leclerc compte de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 4th edn (Paris: Imprimerie Royale: 1761), vol. 9.
27. Vivaldi, *Amor hai vinto*, RV 683, ed. Francesco Degradà (Milan: Ricordi, 1987).
28. Vivaldi, *Motezuma*, RV 723, MS score at D-Bsa (on deposit in D-B), SA1214. The recording is by Il complesso barocco, conducted by Alan Curtis, Archiv Productions (Deutsche Grammophon), B0006490-02 (3 compact discs), 2006. I am grateful to Alan Curtis for letting me see the reconstructions of missing or fragmentary parts of the original score that he used for the recording. For a preliminary description of the manuscript score, see Steffen Voss, “Die Partitur von Vivaldi *Motezuma* (1733),” *SV* 4 (2004), 53–72.
29. John Walter Hill, “A Computer-Based Concordance of Vivaldi’s Aria Texts,” in Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (eds.), *Nuovi Studi Vivaldiani: Edizione e cronologia critica delle opere* (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 511–34.
30. On the importance of the operatic activities in Berlin during Algarotti’s residence at the court of Frederick the Great, see Annalisa Bini’s introduction to Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio sopra l’opera in musica: le edizioni di Venezia (1755) e di Livorno (1763)*, ed. Annalisa Bini (Lucca: LIM, 1989), vii–liv. I base my account of reformed opera as

fostered by Algarotti primarily on the 1755 Venice edition. The most compelling study of the relevance of Berlin's production for the reform of opera is by Marita Petzoldt McClymonds, "Frederick the Great, Algarotti, Graun, and the Origins of 18th-Century Operatic Innovations," uncut draft version of a shorter paper read at the meeting of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, 2002. I am grateful to Marita McClymonds for generously letting me read this paper prior to its publication.

31. Algarotti, *Discorso sopra l'opera in musica* (Venice: Pasquali, 1755), 27–8.
32. Algarotti, *Saggio sopra l'Imperio degl'Incas*, ed. Angelo Morino (Palermo: Sellerio, 1987), 14–15.
33. Margaret R. Butler, "Exoticism in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Turinese Opera: *Motezuma in Context*," in Mara E. Parker (ed.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Life, Cities, Courts, Churches* (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2006), 105–24. See also her *Operatic Reform at Turin's Teatro regio: Aspects of Production and Stylistic Change in the 1760s* (Lucca: LIM, 2001).
34. Algarotti, *Saggio*, 16. Pierpaolo Polzonetti, *Tartini e la musica secondo natura* (Lucca: LIM, 2001), 27.
35. Marcello, *Il teatro alla moda*. On the production and revisions of Gluck's *Orfeo*, see Patricia Howard, *C. W. von Gluck: "Orfeo"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

## 2 Aria as drama

1. Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), introduction.
2. James Parakilas, "Mozart's *Tito* and the Music of Rhetorical Strategy" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1979); Martha Feldman, *Opera as Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 63–9.
3. Marita McClymonds, "Aria," *Grove Opera*, vol. 1, 171. See chapter 1 in this volume.
4. I distinguish "drama" from "dramaturgy," using the latter to designate aspects of construction and stagecraft, for example the employment of entrances and exits, the distinction between soliloquies and speeches made to other characters, etc.
5. Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 18–23, 156–77; Mary Hunter, "Text, Music, and Drama in Haydn's Italian Opera Arias: Four Case Studies," *JM* 7 (1989), 30.
6. The statistics in this paragraph are taken from Strohm, *Dramma*, 12–13; and Strohm,

*Die italienische Oper im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1979), 12.

7. In Italy alone, there were on average 80 to 100 productions per year, or close to 10,000 during the century. The average number of arias per opera was probably between 25 and 30. This does not imply a total of 250,000 or 300,000 arias, however, because many operas were produced in several different venues, and arias were frequently "recycled"; still, the number was presumably in the six figures.

8. Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783–92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *JRMA* 122 (1997), 205–57. On Benucci as star, see Daniel Hertz, *Mozart's Operas*, ed. Thomas Bauman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 145–8. Mozart's praise of Benucci as Figaro, reported by Michael Kelly, is too well known to require comment here (it is quoted by Hertz, 147–8).

9. In the buffa context, compare Daniel Hertz, "When Mozart Revises: Guglielmo in *Così*," in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadeù Mozart: Essays on His Life and His Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 155–61; Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 42–51, 103–9.

10. Daniela Goldin, "Per una morfologia dell'aria metastasiana," in Maria Teresa Muraro (ed.), *Metastasio e il mondo musicale* (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 13–37.

11. This conceit had precedents reaching back to Tasso; see Bruce Alan Brown, *W. A. Mozart: "Così fan tutte"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 65–6.

12. This paragraph and the following two summarize James Webster, "The Analysis of Mozart's Arias," in Cliff Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 130–40 (with many examples and further references).

13. In the rhyme-schemes in this chapter, *piano* lines are shown in normal type (e.g., in "Come scoglio" above, "a" and "b"), *tronco* in bold-face ("c").

14. On this point, see Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: "Le nozze di Figaro" and "Don Giovanni"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 23–5, 152–3, 187–90 *et passim*; Reinhard Strohm, "Zur Metrik in Haydn's und Anfossis *La vera costanza*," in Eva Badura-Skoda (ed.), *Joseph Haydn: Bericht über den Internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress Wien ... 1982* (Munich: Henle, 1986), 279–94. The qualification "actual" takes account of

- variations in metrical notation: for example, depending on the tempo, harmonic rhythm, and speed of declamation, 6/8 or 4/4 can represent either one “actual” measure or two (in the latter case,  $2 \times 3/8$  or  $2 \times 2/4$ ); conversely, 3/8 or 2/4 one “actual” measure or only half of one; and so forth.
15. John Platoff, “The Buffa Aria in Mozart’s Vienna,” *COJ* 2 (1990), 99–120; Ronald J. Rabin, “Figaro as Misogynist: On Aria Types and Aria Rhetoric,” in Mary Hunter and James Webster (eds.), *Opera Buffa in Mozart’s Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 232–60; Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa*, 110–26.
  16. On such exceptions, see Reinhard Strohm, *Italianische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720–1730)*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Volk, 1976), vol. 1, 152–80; Webster, “Arias,” 140–51 *et passim*.
  17. Mary Hunter, “Haydn’s Aria Forms: A Study of the Arias in the Italian Operas Written at Eszterháza, 1766–1783” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1982), chapter 3.
  18. Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer; London: Macmillan, 1980), Parts I–II; Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture*, Introduction and Part I; Kofi V. Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
  19. Jeffrey Kallberg, “The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin’s Nocturne in G Minor,” *19CM* 11 (1988), 238–61; James A. Hepokoski, “Genre and Content in Mid-Century Verdi,” *COJ* 1 (1989), 249–76.
  20. Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa*, 6–15.
  21. See Strohm, *Opernarien*, vol. 1, 224–33; Webster, “Arias,” 105–13; Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa*, chapters 4–5.
  22. John Brown, *Letters upon the Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera ...* (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, 1789), 36–40 *et passim*.
  23. On *mezzo carattere* as stylistic register, see Marita McClymonds, “Opera Seria? Opera Buffa? Genre and Style as Sign,” in Hunter and Webster (eds.), *Opera Buffa in Mozart’s Vienna*, 197–231.
  24. Rabin, “Figaro as Misogynist,” 248–58.
  25. Webster, “Arias,” 113–14.
  26. Edward T. Cone, *The Composer’s Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), especially chapters 1–2, 5; Fred Everett Maus, “Agency in Instrumental Music and Song,” *CMS* 29 (1989), 31–43; Webster, “Cone’s ‘Personae’ and the Analysis of Opera,” *CMS* 29 (1989), 44–65.
  27. In the oft-quoted letter to his father, September 26, 1781; for example Thomas Bauman, *W. A. Mozart: “Die Entführung aus dem Serail”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 85, 87.
  28. Webster, “Arias,” pp. 126–7 and Example 3.
  29. The concept of the ideal type, deriving from Max Weber, was introduced into musicology primarily by Carl Dahlhaus. See Dahlhaus, *Analysis and Value Judgment*, trans. Siegmund Levarie (New York: Pendragon, 1983), 45–7; Philip Gossett, “Carl Dahlhaus and the ‘Ideal Type,’” *19CM* 13 (1989–90), 49–56.
  30. Dean, *Handel*, 19–21; Platoff, “The Buffa Aria”; Rabin, “Figaro as Misogynist.”
  31. Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, vol. 3, *Concertos* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 6–16; Walter Kolneder, “Vivaldi’s Aria-Concerto,” *DJM* 9 (1964), 17–27; John E. Solie, “Aria Structure and Ritornello Form in the Music of Albinoni,” *MQ* 63 (1977), 31–47; Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1980), chapters 4–5; Ratner, *Classic Music*, 297–305; Feldman, “Staging the Virtuoso: Ritornello Procedure in Mozart, from Aria to Concerto,” in Neal Zaslaw (ed.), *Mozart’s Piano Concertos: Text, Context, Interpretation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 149–86.
  32. See, for example, McClymonds, “Aria,” 173.
  33. See, for example, Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 69–95.
  34. In the operatic context, Ratner’s term “two-reprise form” (*Classic Music*, chapter 13) is preferable to “binary form.”
  35. On sonata-form arias, see Hunter, “Haydn’s Aria Forms,” parts III–IV; on the tonal return section (Hunter’s term) see also Webster, “Arias,” 118–19; Platoff, “Buffa Aria,” 107–11, 117–20.
  36. Facsimile in *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, ed. Ellen Harris, 13 vols. (New York: Garland, 1989), vol. 1. In the text below, the orthography and punctuation have been modernized; all other details according to the original.
  37. Although this line has nine syllables, it can be read as a poetic license in *ottonario*. First, in this meter, the primary accents ordinarily fall on the third and seventh syllables (fifth and second from the final); compare lines 2–4. In line 1, the first primary accent also falls on the fifth syllable from the final (“voi”); “Pensieri” thus constitutes (as it were) a three-syllable “upbeat,” in place of the usual two syllables. Secondly, as is obvious from its placement as a detached initial line and its repetition, the word “Pensieri” is rhetorically and syntactically separable (and is so treated by Handel).

38. Lines 2–4 according to the musical sources. In the libretto they read: “Numi eterni, ch’il ciel reggete [b] / I miei voti raccogliete, [b] / La mia speme secondate [a]” (Eternal gods, who rule the heavens, / Take up my vows, / Aid my hope).
39. The aria has points of contact with Medea’s aria “Morirò” in *Teseo*; see the extracts in Dean, *Handel*, 84–5.
40. Troping the well-known comment of Beethoven about Handel reported by Ignaz von Seyfried: Friedrich Kerst, *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Hoffman, 1913), vol. 1, 83; trans. O. G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions by his Contemporaries* (New York: Schirmer, 1926), 44.
41. The “consequent” of the interruption cannot begin before m. 44, because there is no tonic. (To be sure, one could show the background  $\bar{5}$  over an “auxiliary” middleground cadence from m. 35 to 44,  $V_5^{\bar{5}}/iv-V-i$ , but this would still delay the entire background descent to the last two measures.)
42. This has nothing to do with the conventional da capo within an aria, which the libretto in fact indicates earlier, in the usual location and manner.
43. In performance the initial note of m. 90 is sung as G, not D.
44. On this plot-type, see Hunter, “‘Pamela’: The Offspring of Richardson’s Heroine in Eighteenth-Century Opera,” *Mosaic* 18 (1985), 61–76; Stefano Castelvocchi, “Sentimental Opera: The Emergence of a Genre, 1760–1790” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1996); Jessica Waldoff, “Sentiment and Sensibility in *La vera costanza*,” in W. Dean Sutcliffe (ed.), *Haydn Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 70–119. On *La buona figliuola*: Hunter, “‘Pamela,’” 61–8; Castelvocchi, “Sentimental Opera,” chapter 1; Waldoff, “Sentiment and Sensibility,” 81–9.
45. Hunter, “Some Representations of Opera Seria in Opera Buffa,” *COJ* 3 (1992), 89–108.
46. For example, in the Act 1 finale of Haydn’s *Il mondo della luna* and the trio “Soave sia il vento” in Act 1 of *Così*; see Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa*, 285–96.
47. Wolfgang Osthoff, “Mozarts Cavatinen und ihre Tradition,” in Wilhelm Stauder et al. (eds.), *Festschrift Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1969), 139–77.
48. Compare Webster, “Arias,” 196–9.

### 3 Ensembles and finales

1. For a consideration of the finale in *Singspiel*, see chapter 10 in this volume.
2. Wye Jamison Allanbrook mounts a multifaceted defense of this denouement in

- Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: “Le nozze di Figaro” and “Don Giovanni”* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 322–5, and in “Mozart’s Happy Endings: A New Look at the ‘Convention’ of the ‘Lieto fine,’” *MJ* (1984–5), 1–5. See also two companion essays in Mary Hunter and James Webster (eds.), *Opera Buffa in Mozart’s Vienna*: Michael R. Robinson, “The Alternative Endings of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*,” 261–85; and Jessica Waldoff, “*Don Giovanni*: Recognition Denied,” 286–307. The latter published also as chapter 5 of her *Recognition in Mozart’s Operas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
3. Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart’s Vienna: A Poetics of Entertainment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 162.
  4. *Ibid.*, 157.
  5. Piero Weiss, “Opera buffa,” § 2, in *Grove Opera*, vol. 3, 686.
  6. Daniel Hertz discusses the origins of the finale in two articles: “The Creation of the Buffo Finale in Italian Opera,” *PRMA* 104 (1977–8), 67–78; and “*Vis comica*: Goldoni, Galuppi and *L’arcadia in Brenta* (Venice 1949),” in Maria Teresa Muraro (ed.), *Venezia e il melodrama nel settecento*, vol. 2 (Florence: Olschki, 1981), 33–73. Both reprinted in Hertz, *From Garrick to Gluck: Essays on Opera in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. John A. Rice (New York: Pendragon, 2004).
  7. Thomas Bauman, “The Eighteenth Century: Comic Opera,” in Roger Parker (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 90.
  8. On roles and genre designations in opera buffa see chapter 5 in this volume.
  9. Of the numerous writings on this finale, the following are especially recommended – the first three featuring graphic tables: Tim Carter, *W. A. Mozart: “Le nozze di Figaro”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Table 3, p. 86; John Platoff, “Tonal Organization in ‘Buffo’ Finales and the Act II Finale of *Le nozze di Figaro*,” *ML* 72/3 (1991), 387–403 (Table 1, p. 388); Andrew Steptoe, *The Mozart–Da Ponte Operas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), Table 4, pp. 174–5; Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 119–36; and Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, “Dismissing Mozart,” *COJ* 2/1 (1990), 187–95.
  10. For instance, see John Platoff, “Music and Drama in the Opera Buffa Finale: Mozart and his Contemporaries in Vienna” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1984); Daniel Hertz, *Mozart’s Operas*, ed. with contributing essays by Thomas Bauman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Hunter and Webster, *Opera Buffa in*

Mozart's Vienna and Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa* (see notes 2 and 3 above).

11. Da Ponte's description is preserved in two sources, which transmit slightly different versions: the English-language *Extract* (1819), and the more familiar Italian *Memoirs* (1823), as cited here in *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte*, trans. Elizabeth Abbott (ed.) and annotated by Arthur Livingston (New York: Orion, 1959), 59–60. Only the extract refers to specific ranks of singers in the company (e.g. primo buffo, prima donna, etc.), while his *Memoirs* alone record that "the whole power of the drama is drawn [or pinched] together," alluding to the escalating dramatic conflicts that ultimately led to the *stretta*.
12. Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa*, 159. See also Ron Rabin, "Mozart, Da Ponte, and the Dramaturgy of Opera Buffa" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1996), 242.
13. John Platoff, "Musical and Dramatic Structure in the Opera Buffa Finale," *JM* 7 (1989), 193. The following discussion is based on this article.
14. Haydn and Porta, *Orlando Paladino*, *Joseph Haydn Werke* XXV/11, ed. Karl Geiringer (Munich: Henle, 1972), vol. 1, Finale I.
15. See Caryl Clark, "The Opera Buffa Finales of Joseph Haydn" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1991), 288–9.
16. *Orlando Paladino*, *Joseph Haydn Werke*, vol. 1, Finale I.
17. Bruce Brown, "Le pazzie d'Orlando, Orlando Paladino, and the Uses of Parody," *Italica* 64/4 (1987), 596.
18. During the Renaissance, when the *Narrenschiff* or "Ship of Fools" came into existence, the soul was frequently described as a "skiff, abandoned on the infinite sea of desires, . . . a craft at the mercy of the sea's great madness." Michel Foucault, *Madness in Civilization: A History of Madness in the Age of Reason* (1961), trans. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage, 1965), 11–12.
19. For a fuller discussion of this finale see my "Intertextual Play in Haydn's *La fedeltà premiata*," *CM* 51 (1993), 59–81.
20. The music for Astaritta's setting has not survived. Furthermore, the Act 3 concluding chorus of Haydn's text has no concordant source. For a fuller discussion of Haydn's Act 1 finale, see my article, "The Last Laugh: *Il mondo della luna*, Goldoni and Haydn," in Domenico Pietropaolo (ed.), *Goldoni and the Musical Theatre* (Ottawa: Legas, 1991), 67–8.
21. Michael Brago, "Haydn, Goldoni, and *Il mondo della luna*," *ECS* 17/3 (1984), 329.
22. Pierpaolo Polzonetti, *Opera Buffa in the Age of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).
23. Rebecca Green, "Power and Patriarchy in Haydn's Goldoni Operas" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1995), 81.
24. Gordana Lazarevich, "Mondo della luna, II," *Grove Opera*, vol. 3, 429. *La luna abitata* (Naples, 1768), to a libretto by G. B. Lorenzi; *Il credulo deluso* (Naples, 1774), an adaptation of Goldoni's libretto; a one-act *fiesta teatrale comica* for the court of Catherine the Great (St. Petersburg, 1783); and a two-act version of *Il credulo deluso* (Naples, 1783), performed in Vienna three years later as *Il mondo della luna*, with alterations by librettist Marco Coltellini.
25. Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 92–3.
26. Certainly Count Zinzendorf was not impressed at the premiere on October 20, recording in his diary that, despite pretty passages in Paisiello's music, the subject was a farce for the populace and children. Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, 280. Clearly inversions of dominant class and gender dynamics still had the ability to enrage some members of the nobility.
27. See section on "Avoiding 'temerarious rivalry'" in David Kimbell, *Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chapter 20, 276ff.
28. Paul Robinson, *Opera and Ideas: From Mozart to Strauss* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 54.
29. Paisiello also employs a canonic shock moment in the finale to *Nina o sia la pazza per amore*. On the structural function of the shock tutti in the frame of *solita-forma* structure, see Marco Beghelli, "The Dramaturgy of the Operas," in Emanuele Senici (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 97.
30. For a recent discussion of these dynamics in opera, see Jean Strobinski, *Enchantment: The Seductress in Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), especially chapter 1, "Singing and Seducing."
31. Richard Leppert, "Sexual Identity, Death, and the Family Piano in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1993), 119–51.
32. Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna*, 245.
33. See Janet Johnson's insightful essay on Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini*, 171.

34. Robinson, *Opera and Ideas*, 11 and 16.  
 35. Peter Kivy's review of Robinson's *Opera and Ideas*, in *COJ* 1/1 (1989), 89.

#### 4 Metastasio: the dramaturgy of eighteenth-century heroic opera

1. Francesco Coticelli wrote the introduction and the first two sections; the remaining parts are by Paologiovanni Maione. Coticelli and Anthony R. DelDonna translated Maione's part of the essay, as well as all of the quotations from Italian sources.
2. Heinrich Benedikt, *Das Königreich Neapel unter Kaiser Karl VI ...* (Vienna and Leipzig: Manz, 1927), 638–44.
3. Metastasio, *Poesie di Pietro Metastasio romano* (Naples: Mutio, 1717).
4. Regarding Neapolitan theatrical activity during the Austrian viceroyalty, see Francesco Coticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Onesto divertimento e allegria dei popoli. Materiali per una storia dello spettacolo nel primo Settecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1996).
5. Details on the *Orti esperidi* can be found in Francesco Coticelli, "Metastasio a Napoli. Vicende di *Orti Esperidi*," in Elisabeth Theresia Hirschler and Andrea Sommer-Mathis (eds.), *Pietro Metastasio uomo universale* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 171–84.
6. Francesco Coticelli, "Per commodità della rappresentazione: scelte drammaturgiche ed echi letterari nella *Didone abbandonata* (Napoli, Teatro di San Bartolomeo, 1724)," in Elena Sala Di Felice and Caira Lumetti (eds.), *Il melodramma di Pietro Metastasio ...* (Rome: Aracne, 2001), 405–21. This opera traveled extensively, as documented by Teresa Gialdroni, "I primi dieci anni della *Didone abbandonata* di Metastasio: il caso di Domenico Sarro," *AnMc* 30/1–2 (1998), 437–500.
7. Daniel Hertz, "The Poet as Stage Director: Metastasio, Goldoni, and Da Ponte," in *Mozart's Operas*, ed. with contributing essays by Thomas Bauman (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1990), 89–106.
8. See Franco Onorati (ed.), *Metastasio da Roma all'Europa* (Rome: Besso, 1998) and Rosy Candiani's essays on Metastasio (see Bibliography).
9. Sala Di Felice, "Metastasio sulla scena del mondo," *Italianistica* 13/1–2 (1984), 41–70.
10. Metastasio's works are available in modern edition in *Drammi per musica*, ed. Anna Laura Bellina (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), henceforth abbreviated as Metastasio-Marsilio (most of the quotations from Metastasio's libretti in this

- chapter are from this edition). Another edition is Metastasio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Bruno Brunelli (Milan: Mondadori, 1943–54), henceforth abbreviated Metastasio-Mondadori. All the texts are available online at [www.progettometastasio.it](http://www.progettometastasio.it) (accessed July 4, 2008). Recommended English translations are Metastasio, *Three Melodramas* [*Didone Abandoned, Demetrius, The Olympiad*] (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1981). His letters can also be found at [www.liberliber.it/biblioteca/m/metastasio/index.htm](http://www.liberliber.it/biblioteca/m/metastasio/index.htm) (accessed July 4, 2008).
11. See Metastasio-Marsilio, vol. 1, 69.
  12. On *Didone abbandonata* see Coticelli, "Per commodità della rappresentazione," 405–21.
  13. *Didone abbandonata*, Act 1, sc. 16.
  14. *Ibid.*, Act 1, sc. 5. On this aria, see also chapter 7 in this volume.
  15. *Ibid.*, Act 3, sc. 10.
  16. *La clemenza di Tito*, Act 3, sc. 13.
  17. Seneca, *De providentia*, IV, 1. Sala Di Felice, "Segreti, menzogne e coatti silenzi nella *Clemenza di Tito* del Metastasio," in Marta Columbro and Paologiovanni Maione (eds.), *Pietro Metastasio: il testo e il contesto* (Naples: Altrastampa, 2000), 187–201.
  18. See especially the recitative in *La clemenza di Tito*, Act 3, sc. 13.
  19. Anna Laura Bellina, "Da Leopoldo I a Leopoldo II. In margine a *La clemenza di Tito*," in Di Felice and Lumetti (eds.), *Il melodramma di Pietro Metastasio*, 493–509. See also John Rice, *W. A. Mozart: "La clemenza di Tito"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and – on the issue of mercy in Mozart's operas – Ivan Nagel, *Autonomy and Mercy: Reflections on Mozart's Operas*, trans. Marion Faber and Ivan Nagel (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1991) and Hertz, "La Clemenza di Sarastro: Masonic Benefice in the Last Operas," in *Mozart's Operas*, 272–5.
  20. Compare for example *La clemenza di Tito*, Act 2, sc. 10 to *Attilio Regolo*, Act 2, sc. 7.
  21. *Attilio Regolo*, Act 2, sc. 2.
  22. On Metastasio's celebration of court events, see Jacques Joly, *Les fêtes théâtrales de Métastase à la cour de Vienne 1731–1767* (Clermond Ferrand: Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 1978).
  23. Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 2, 939.
  24. Letter no. 1790 to Francesco Sinibaldi, dated June 15, 1769, in Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 4, 748–52. Metastasio expressed similar concerns in his letter to Gioachino Pizzi, no. 1996, dated February 27, 1772, in Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 4, 143–5.

25. *Estratto dell'Arte poetica d'Aristotile, e Considerazioni su la medesima* can be read in Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 2, 957–1117. See Francesco Cotticelli, “La tragedia del melodramma. Metastasio e l'Estratto dell'Arte poetica di Aristotile,” in *L'officina del teatro europeo*, ed. Alessandro Grilli and Anita Simon (Pisa: Edizioni Plus-Università di Pisa, 2002), 5–12.
26. Andrea Sommer-Mathis, “Il lamento di Metastasio. Metastasio and the Viennese Theatre in a Changing Society,” *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 16 (1997), 51–85; Francesco Cotticelli, “Classicità di Metastasio: il poeta cesareo modello e contraddizione del teatro del suo tempo,” in Mario Valente and Erika Kanduth (eds.), *La tradizione classica nelle arti del XVIII secolo e la fortuna di Metastasio a Vienna* (Rome: Artemide, 2003), 269–80.
27. For the debate on opera, see Di Benedetto, “Poetics and Polemics,” in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Opera in Theory and Practice, Image and Myth*, trans. Kenneth Chalmers (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1–65. See also chapter 1 in this volume.
28. A good survey of seventeenth-century libretti is offered by Paolo Fabbri, *Il secolo cantante: per una storia del libretto d'opera in Italia nel Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990).
29. Paolo Gallarati, *Musica e maschera: il libretto italiano del Settecento* (Turin: EDT, 1984), 7–18.
30. Paolo Fabbri, “Metrical and Formal Organization,” in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Opera in Theory and Practice, Image and Myth*, trans. Kenneth Chalmers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 151–220, and Fabbri, *Il secolo cantante*, 273–325.
31. Sala Di Felice, *Metastasio: Ideologia Drammaturgia Spettacolo* (Milan: Angeli, 1983), 38–9.
32. See letters to Salvino Salvini, dated March 11, 1713; to Pier Caterino Zeno, January 6, 1720; to Giuseppe Gravisi, November 3, 1730, and September 27, 1735, in Apostolo Zeno, *Lettere* (Venice: Sansoni, 1785); and the dedication in Zeno, *Poesie sacre drammatiche ...* (Venice: Zane, 1735).
33. Saverio Mattei, “Elogio del Jommelli o sia Il Progresso della Poesia,” in Metastasio, *Opere del Signor Abate Pietro Metastasio ...* (Naples: De Bonis, 1780–85), vol. 13, liii–cxx.
34. Metastasio, *Canoni* (Vienna: Artaria, 1782). On Metastasio's education, see Luigi Ronga, “L'Opera metastasiana,” in Metastasio, *Opere*, ed. Mario Fubini (Milan and Naples: Ricciardi, 1968), vii–xxxiii.
35. Letter no. 1474 to Francesco Giovanni di Chastellux, dated January 29, 1766, in Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 4, 438.
36. Letter no. 328 to Johann Adolf Hasse, and no. 328, dated October 20, 1749, in Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 3, 428–33. This letter is mentioned by Hertz, “The Poet as Stage Director,” 91.
37. Sala Di Felice, “Metastasio ‘Cesareo’: lodi e lezioni per la corte,” in Valente and Kanduth (eds.), *La tradizione classica*, 327–48.
38. Letter no. 1360 to Leopoldo Trapassi, dated January, 30, 1764, in Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 4, 337.
39. The relationship between the author and the singer is outlined by Rosy Candiani, “La cantante e il librettista: il sodalizio artistico del Metastasio con Marianna Benti Bulgarelli,” in Maria Giovanna Miggiani (ed.), *Il canto di Metastasio* (Bologna: Forni, 2004), vol. 2, 671–99.
40. Fabbri, “Metrical and Formal Organization.”
41. Andrea Chegai, “Forme limite ed eccezioni formali in mezzo secolo di intonazioni metastasiane. Cavatine, arie pluristrofiche, rondò e altro,” in Miggiani (ed.), *Il canto di Metastasio*, vol. 1, 341–408.
42. Costantino Maeder, *Metastasio, l'Olimpiade e l'opera del Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993), 45–60. For further information about the poet's views his *Estratto dell'Arte poetica d'Aristotile* remains fundamental. See also Sala Di Felice, “Il desiderio della parola e il piacere delle lacrime,” in Maria Teresa Muraro (ed.), *Metastasio e il mondo musicale* (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 39–97, and Cotticelli, “La tragedia del melodramma.”
43. Sala Di Felice, “Geometrie della grammatica nelle arie di Metastasio,” in Francesco Bruni, Sandro Maxia, and Marco Santagata (eds.), *Una lezione sempre viva: per Mario Baratto, dieci anni dopo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996), 279–310.
44. Letter no. 356 to Anna Francesca Pignatelli di Belmonte, dated February 21, 1750, in Metastasio-Mondadori, vol. 3, 490.
45. All the published versions of Metastasio's *Artaserse* and most of his other libretti, can be read at [www.progettometastasio.it](http://www.progettometastasio.it) (accessed July 5, 2008).
46. Among the numerous studies on this topic, see Paologiovanni Maione, “*La Clemenza di Tito*: due apocrifi ottocenteschi per le scene napoletane,” *MJ* (1991), 470–84; Renato Di Benedetto, “Dal Metastasio a Pergolesi e ritorno. Divagazioni intertestuali fra l'*Adriano in Siria* e l'*Olimpiade*,” *ISM* 2/2 (1995), 259–95; Maione, “Un impero



centenario: Didone sul trono di Partenope,” in Hirschler and Sommer-Mathis (eds.), *Pietro Metastasio*, 185–219.

47. Giacomo Leopardi, *Zibaldone di pensieri ...* (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1989–94), vol. 2, 701–2 (recorded February 27, 1821).

### 5 Roles and acting

1. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Il teatro d'opera in Italia, geografia, caratteri, storia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993).

2. For an overview on the eighteenth-century intermezzi, see Charles Troy, *The Comic Intermezzo: A Study in History of Italian Opera* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1979). See also Franco Piperno, “Buffi e buffe considerazioni sulla professionalità degli interpreti di scene buffe ed intermezzi,” *RiDM* 33/2 (1982), 240–84; Piperno, “Gli interpreti buffi di Pergolesi. Note sulla diffusione di *La serva padrona*,” *SP* 1 (1986), 166–77.

3. Anonymous, [Luigi Serio after Pietro Metastasio], *Alessandro nell'Indie* (Naples: Morelli, 1774), 4. The music was by Niccolò Piccinni.

4. For an English translation of the preface to the 1769 *Alceste*, see Piero Weiss, *Opera: A History in Documents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 119–20.

5. See Carlo Goldoni, *Il teatro comico*, 1<sup>st</sup> edn (Venice: Bettinelli, 1751), Act 2, sc. 15.

6. About Lord Middlesex's tenure, see Richard G. King and Saskia Willaert, “Giovanni Francesco Crosa and the First Italian Comic Operas in London, Brussels and Amsterdam, 1748–50,” *JRMA* 118/2 (1993), 246–75.

7. See chapter 9 in this volume.

8. Andrea Perrucci, *Dell'Arte rappresentativa premeditata e all'improvviso. A Treatise on Acting, From Memory and by Improvisation. A bilingual Edition in English and Italian*, ed. Francesco Cotticelli, Anne Goodrich Heck, and Thomas F. Heck (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008).

9. About the first Harlequin, Tristano Martinelli, see Siro Ferrone, *Arllecchino: vita e avventure di Tristano Martinelli attore* (Bari: Laterza, 2006).

10. Roberto Verti (ed.), *Un almanacco drammatico: l'Indice de' teatrali spettacoli 1764–1823*, 2 vols. (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1996), vol. 2, 1000.

11. Gaetano Latilla and Carlo Fabozzi, *La finta cameriera* (Naples: Langiano e Vivencio, 1745), Act 3, sc. 9. See also Gianni Cicali, *Attori e ruoli nell'opera buffa italiana del Settecento* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2005), 126–7.

12. Anonymous, *La serva per amore* (Florence: Stamperia dirimpetto a Sant'Apollinare, 1744), Act 1, sc. 4.

13. See Giovanni Macchia, *Vita avventure e morte di Don Giovanni, con tre scenari della Commedia dell'Arte, un' "opera regia" e un dramma per musica* (Bari: Laterza, 1966); Nino Pirrotta, *Don Giovanni's Progress: A Rake Goes to the Opera*, trans. Harris Saunders (New York: Marsilio, 1994). See also chapter 8 in this volume.

14. See Alessandro Lattanzi and Paologiovanni Maione (eds.), *Commedia dell'arte e spettacolo in musica tra Sei e Settecento* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2003).

15. Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie, “The Creation of a Genre: Comic Opera Dissemination in Italy in the 1740s” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1993). On the production system see also chapter 1 in this volume.

16. Cicali, *Attori e ruoli*, chapter 4.

17. *La finta sposa* (Siena: Bonetti nella Stamperia del Pubblico, 1754). The plot is a variation of the *Finta cameriera* performed in Naples in 1745.

18. Some of these contracts are available for consultation in I-Fsc, 8371, *Scritte di Virtuosi e Ballerini 1754*.

19. Quoted in Robert Lamar Weaver and Norma Wright Weaver, *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theatre. 1751–1800. Operas, Prologues, Farces, Intermezzos, Concerts and Plays with Incidental Music* (Warren: Harmonie Park Press, 1993), 26.

20. Carlo Goldoni, *Mémoires* in *Tutte le opere di Carlo Goldoni*, vol. 1, ed. Giuseppe Ortolani (Milan: Mondadori, 1943), 378.

21. Goldoni, *La bella verità* (Bologna: Sassi, 1762), Act 3, sc. 1.

22. Antonio Simone Sografi, *Le convenienze teatrali* (Florence: Giuseppe Luchi dal Fisco, 1796).

23. *La moglie capricciosa* (Venice: Giovan Battista Casali a S. Marina, 1786), Act 3, sc. 1.

24. Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 128–9.

25. Monticelli performed in the comic operas *Le pescatrici* and *Il mondo alla rovescia* by Goldoni, as documented in I-Fsc, 8371, *Scritte di Virtuosi e Ballerini 1754*. See Cicali, *Attori e ruoli*, 136–7.

26. Lorenzo Da Ponte, *Estratto dalla vita di Lorenzo da Ponte, con la storia di diversi drammi da lui scritti e fra gli altri Il Figaro, il Don Giovanni, e la Scuola degli Amanti. Musica di Mozart*, ed. Marina Maymone Siniscalchi and Franco Carlo Ricci (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1989), 62–3. Quoted in full, but from a different edition, in chapter 3 of this volume.

27. Giovanni Valle, *Cenni teorico-pratici sulle aziende teatrali ossia osservazioni generali e speciali per servire di norma in tutti i contratti*

- che riguardano teatri e virtuosi ...* (Milan: Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1823), 36–7.
28. Antonio Paolomba, *La donna di tutti i caratteri* (Naples: Vincenzo Mazzola-Vocola, 1762).
29. I-Na, *Archivio dei Viceré, Affari diversi della Segreteria dei Viceré*, quoted in Francesco Coticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Onesto divertimento e libertà dei popoli. Materiali per una storia dello spettacolo nel primo Settecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1996), 303–4.
30. Carlo Goldoni in his *Il Conte Caramella*, music by Balddassare Galuppi (Venice: Giuseppe Bettinelli, 1751) divided the characters in three role categories: *buffi, seri, mezzi caratteri*. See Cicali, *Attori e ruoli*, 173–85.
31. I-PaP, *Accademici Affiliati*, 1700–1800, n. 4, November, 4 1795.
32. I-Na, *Tribunali Antichi*, vol. 1312, July 3, 1795, c. 93v, quoted in Paologiovanni Maione (ed.) *Le fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica a Napoli dal XVI al XVIII secolo* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2002), 484, n. 29.
33. These last designations are extracted from Sartori, *Indici I*, for performances in Naples between 1780 and 1790.
34. For a comprehensive list of role designations, see Cicali, *Attori e ruoli*, 30–4.
35. Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Il mondo novo musicale di Pier Leone Ghezzi* (Rome and Milan: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Skira, 2000), 289.
36. Carlo Goldoni, *L'Autore a chi legge in Il cavaliere e la dama* [1753] (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), 62. This spoken comedy was first staged in 1749.
37. Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, trans. Stewart Spencer, ed. Cliff Eisen (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 91.
38. Quoted in Rostirolla, *Il mondo novo musicale*, 368–9. The illustration of Francesco Baglioni, sketched by Pier Leone Ghezzi in 1738, is from I-Rvat, codice Ottoboniano Latino 3116, c. 163v.
39. Frederick C. Petty, *Italian Opera in London, 1760–1800* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980), 98.
40. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ed. with critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer (New York: Dover, 1957), vol. 2, 848.
41. *Ibid.*, 864.
42. One can read more on this topic in the seminal work of John Rosselli, *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). See also Dorothea Link's introductions to the anthologies *Arias for Nancy Storace: Mozart's First Susanna* (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2002) and *Arias for Francesco Benucci: Mozart's First Figaro and Guglielmo* (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2004).
43. W. S. Lewis (ed.), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937–83), vol. 18, 198.

## 6 Ballet

1. The genre of opéra-ballet was introduced to the Opéra with *L'Europe galante* of 1697, by librettist Antoine Houdar de La Motte and composer André Campra.
2. Nathalie Lecomte, "The Female Ballet Troupe of the Paris Opéra from 1700 to 1725," in Lynn Matluck Brooks (ed.), *Women's Work: Making Dance in Europe before 1800* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 99–122.
3. Regarding mid-eighteenth-century choreographic conventions, see Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Bruce Alan Brown (eds.), *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: Gennaro Magri and his World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 265–76.
4. *Les Spectacles de Paris* (1754), 145, 173.
5. Kathleen K. Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Opera on Stage*, trans. Kate Singleton (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 177–308: 193. Much of the information about Italian practices presented here is indebted to Hansell's chapter.
6. See Harris-Warrick and Brown (eds.), *The Grotesque Dancer*.
7. For sample ballet scenarios from the second half of the eighteenth century from northern Italy and from the Teatro San Carlo in Naples, see Harris-Warrick and Brown (eds.), *The Grotesque Dancer*, Appendices 2 and 4.
8. Harris-Warrick and Brown (eds.), *The Grotesque Dancer*, Appendix 2, 294–7.
9. Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet," 212–14 and 250, n. 198.
10. See Lawrence Bennett, "Ignaz Holzbauer and the Origins of German Opera in Vienna," *ECM* 3/1 (2006), 63–90.
11. Regarding Handel and the dance, see Sarah McCleave, "Marie Sallé as Muse: Handel's Music for Mime," *TC* 51/1 (1995), 13–23, and "Handel's Unpublished Dance Music: A Perspective on his Approach to Composition," in Hans Joachim Marx (ed.), *Göttingen*

*Händel-Beiträge*, vol. 6 (Göttingen:

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 127–42.

12. A number of these scores have survived and are now being published by A-R Editions (Madison, WI); the first volume appeared in 1996. As was generally the case in Germany, these were performed between the acts of operas.

13. For a thorough discussion of both opera and ballet in Vienna during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, see Bruce Alan Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre in Vienna* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

14. See Andrea Chegai, “Sul ‘ballo analogo’ settecentesco: una drammaturgia di confine fra opera e azione coreutica,” in Giovanni Morelli (ed.), *Creature di Prometeo: Il ballo teatrale dal divertimento al dramma* (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 139–75.

15. Regarding the aesthetic struggles taking place in Naples, see Salvatore Bongiovanni, “Magri in Naples: Defending the Italian Dance Tradition,” in Harris-Warrick and Brown (eds.), *The Grottesque Dancer*, 91–108.

### 7 Orchestra and voice in eighteenth-century Italian opera

I want to thank several people for their assistance with this project. Dan Hertz gave advice about the scope and analytical approach. Marita McClymonds helped date Jommelli scores. Dale Monson helped date Galuppi scores. Roland Schmidt-Hensel provided a copy of a recitative by Hasse.

1. See John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra – History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 137–42.

2. Tabulations of continuo arias versus arias accompanied by the orchestra in operas by Scarlatti, Vivaldi and Handel show the proportion of accompanied arias increasing steadily over time. See Michael Collins, “L’orchestra nelle opera teatrali di Vivaldi,” in Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (eds.), *NSV 1* (1988), 306.

3. See Eric Reimer, *Opera Seria and the Evolution of Classical Style, 1755–1772* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1984), chapter 4. For a discussion of the growing role of the clarinet see Anthony R. DelDonna, “A Documentary History of the Clarinet,” *SM 37/1* (2008), forthcoming.

4. Several composers – among them Cavalli, Purcell, Desmarets, Graupner and Piccinni – composed Dido operas to texts by librettists other than Metastasio.

5. Domenico Sarri, *Didone abbandonata*, I-Nc Rari 18.4.2.

6. The example comes from the 1763, Milan version of *Didone abbandonata* (US-Wc

M1500.T76 D4). Traetta had composed an earlier version of *Didone* in 1757 for Venice.

7. Sacchini wrote this aria for the *pasticcio Didone* that Venanzio Rauzzini put together at the King’s Theatre in London in 1775.

Rauzzini, Mortellari and Giardini also contributed arias to the production. Examples 7.3a–b are from Antonio Sacchini, *Didone abbandonata*, US-Wc, M1500.R242 D4.

Example 7.4 is Domenico Sarri, *Didone abbandonata*, I-Nc Rari 18.4.2.

8. Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de’ cantori antichi e moderni di Pier Francesco Tosi con note ed esempi di Luigi Leonesi* [1723] (Naples, 1904; rpt. Bologna: Biblioteca Musica Bononiensis, 1985), 93; trans. J. E. Galliard as *Observations on the Florid Song* ([London], 1742; rpt. London, 1987), 116.

9. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique française* (1753); rpt. in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Écrits sur la musique: avec des notes, éclaircissements historiques, etc.* (Paris: Stock, 1979), 283–4.

10. Baldassarre Galuppi, *Didone abbandonata*, P-La, 44-VI-66-8. Composed for Naples in 1764, this was Galuppi’s second setting of the opera. He wrote an earlier version for Modena in 1740.

11. Examples 7.6a–c are based on Tommaso Traetta, *Didone abbandonata*, US-Wc, M1500.T76 D4.

12. Examples 7.7a–b are based on Giovanni Paisiello, *Didone abbandonata*, I-Nc Rari 16.8.36–37.

13. David Perez, *Didone abbandonata*, US-Wc M1500.P411 D4.

14. Jommelli set *Didone abbandonata* four times: Rome, 1747; Vienna, 1749; Stuttgart, 1763; Stuttgart, 1777. The example comes from the Vienna version, copy in F-Pn, D6234-36.

15. Examples 7.10a–b are from Leonardo Vinci, *Didone abbandonata*, US-Cn VM 1500.V77d.

16. Vinci’s setting of this passage was admired and influential. When Sarri’s *Didone* was revived in Naples in 1730, “E soffrirò” was rewritten to provide orchestral accompaniment from the very beginning of the recitative. See I-Nc Rari 32.2.20. Daniel Hertz discusses Vinci’s *Didone* at length in *Music in European Capitals, The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 89–90.

17. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), 403–4. Rousseau was not the first to make the distinction between two styles of orchestral recitative. Scheibe, in his *Critischer Musikus* (1745), says that an orchestra can accompany recitative in two manners: “First the instruments [can]

accompany the voice very softly and without calling attention to themselves; second the instruments [can] assert themselves now and then in a forceful way between the recitative speech.” Johann Adolf Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig, 1745), 744.

18. A contemporary English translation of Rousseau’s Dictionary by William Waring (1779) translates *récitatif accompagné* as “accompanied recitative,” but *récitatif obligé* as “confined recitative,” which conveys little in modern English.

19. Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, 404.

20. The example comes from Hasse’s Berlin, 1752 version of *Didone*. Hasse had set Metastasio’s libretto twice before: Hubertusburg, 1742 and Naples, 1744.

21. Examples 7.11a–b are from Johann Adolf Hasse, *Didone abbandonata*, D-B, Mus. Ms. 9549/1.

22. Pietro Metastasio, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abbate Metastasio*, ed. and trans. Charles Burney (London, 1796), vol. 1, 326. Hasse and Metastasio were friends. In the letter Metastasio gives the composer pointers about *Attilio Regolo*, which Hasse was setting for Dresden.

23. This example comes from the earlier of Piccinni’s two *Dido* operas. The first was in Italian on Metastasio’s libretto (Rome, 1770), the second in French on a libretto by Marmontel (Paris, 1783). The source is Niccolò Piccinni, *Didone abbandonata*, US-WC, M1500.P58 D42.

24. David Charlton, “‘Envoicing’ the Orchestra: Enlightenment Metaphors in Theory and Practice,” in *French Opera 1730–1830: Meaning and Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

#### 8 To look again (at *Don Giovanni*)

1. Mozart and Da Ponte, *Don Giovanni*, Act 2, sc. 11, duet Leporello–Don Giovanni “O statua gentilissima.” References to the libretto (hereafter abbreviated as L) are based on Eduardo Rescigno (ed.), *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart “Don Giovanni.” Libretto di Lorenzo Da Ponte* (Milan: Ricordi, 1993). All translations are mine.

2. For a synthetic but vivid account of the different staging practices, see Roger Savage, “The Staging of Opera,” in Roger Parker (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 350–420.

3. For one of the most interesting accounts of opera iconography, see Mercedes Viale Ferrero, “Stage and Set,” in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Opera on Stage*,

trans. Kate Singleton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

4. Mozart, *Don Giovanni* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 377, mm. 60–5. A stage direction in the autograph score reads: “[Leporello] imita la statua”; “la statua china qui la testa.” “He imitates the statue”; “the statue at this point bows its head.”

5. The reference here is to J. L. Austin’s definition of “performatives” as those verbal utterances that “do something,” that are themselves actions. The famous example of performative is the “I do” uttered during a wedding ceremony. J. L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words*, ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).

6. On this see the by-now-classic and still extraordinary reading of Moliere’s *Don Juan*: Shoshana Felman, *The Scandal of the Speaking Body. Don Juan with J. L. Austin, or Seduction in Two Languages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).

7. *Il capriccio drammatico* (1/2), libretto by Giovanni Bertati, set to music by Giovanni Valentini, Venice, Teatro S. Moisè, Carnival 1787; rpt. in Charles Russell, *The Don Juan Legend Before Mozart* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1993), 388.

8. The first definition is from Anne Ubersfeld, *Lire le théâtre* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1978) and the second from Umberto Eco, *Lector in fabula* (Milan: Bompiani, 1979), 24.

9. David Levin, *Unsettling Opera. Staging Mozart, Verdi, Wagner, and Zemlinsky* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 73–6; Levin revisits a use of the concept of “translation” proposed by Patrice Pavis, “Toward Specifying Theatre Translation,” in *Theatre at the Crossroads of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1992), 136–59.

10. L, 25. For a thoroughly researched collection of sources and historical information surrounding the premiere of *Don Giovanni* (Prague, October 29, 1787), see Thomas Forrest Kelly, *First Nights at the Opera* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 65–130.

11. On the history of the *Don Juan* story preceding the Da Ponte–Mozart “treatment,” see, among the numerous entries, Edward Forman, “Don Juan Before Da Ponte,” in Julian Rushton (ed.), *W. A. Mozart “Don Giovanni”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 27–44; Russell, *The Don Juan Legend Before Mozart*, which includes a number of libretti, and Nino Pirrotta, *Don Giovanni’s Progress: A Rake Goes to the Opera*, trans. Harris Saunders (New York: Marsilio, 1994).

12. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, DVD, directed by Joseph Losey in collaboration with Frantz Salieri (1979; Culvert City, CA: Columbia Tristar Home Entertainment, 2002). Two by-now classic essays on the film are Jeremy Tambling, *Opera, Ideology and Film* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 158–75; and Marcia Citron, *Opera on Screen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 161–204.
13. L, 29.
14. Russell, *The Don Juan Legend Before Mozart*, 411–12.
15. On this “darker” connotation of the garden, see Jessica Waldoff, *Recognition in Mozart's Operas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 174. The author here provides a subtle reading of the duel from this *Introduzione* as a phase in Don Giovanni's drama of identity.
16. Sony 2002 DVD (see note 12), track 1.
17. This production was released on DVD in 2000 by Sony Classical: conducted by Herbert Von Karajan, with Samuel Ramey as Don Giovanni.
18. Salzburg Festival 2006, conducted by Daniel Harding, with Thomas Hampson and Ildebrando D'Arcangelo. The DVD, released in 2007, is available as one of the series of Mozart operas at Salzburg by Decca (M/22).
19. L, 30.
20. At this point Donna Anna leaves Don Giovanni and goes back inside; L, 31.
21. On Don Giovanni's “excess,” see Jean Starobinski, *Enchantment. The Seductress in Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 73–86.
22. L, 32; score, 43, mm. 183 ff.
23. Several musicological contributions have commented on Don Giovanni's uncanny lack of a musical idiom, as evidenced by his disquieting tendency to mimic others. See for instance the two classic entries in the bibliography of Mozart operas in English: Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, rev. edn (Berkeley: University California Press, 1988), and Wye Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart. “Le Nozze di Figaro” & “Don Giovanni”* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). I instead make the case for mimicry as a positive and powerful tool for theatrical characterization.
24. Mladen Dolar and Slavoj Žižek, *Opera's Second Death* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 46.
25. Among the many recent examples is the famously controversial 2002 stage version by director Calixto Bieito for the Gran Teatre del Liceu in Barcelona; Opus Arte released the DVD in 2006.
26. Bertati-Gazzaniga, *Don Giovanni o sia Il convitato di pietra* (Venice, 1787); in Russell, *The Don Juan Legend Before Mozart*, 413–14.
27. Donna Anna's part was assigned to one of the company's highest-paid sopranos, possibly one trained also in serious roles: Teresa Saporiti premiered it in Prague, and Aloysia Lange in Vienna. Julian Rushton, “Don Giovanni (ii),” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, www.grovemusic.com (accessed June 19, 2008).
28. Other well-known examples of narratives in place of tragic, “unseeable,” deeds are the Messenger's “Ahi, caso acerbo!” in Act 2 of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, and Gilda's “Tutte le feste la tempio” in Act 2 of Verdi's *Rigoletto*. On the latter, see Elizabeth Hudson, “Gilda Seduced: A Tale Untold,” *COJ* 4/3 (1992), 229–51.
29. On the fluctuation of genre definitions of opera buffa in general and *Don Giovanni* in particular see chapter 5 in this volume and Pirrotta, *Don Giovanni's Progress*.
30. *Il capriccio drammatico* (I/ii); in Russell, *The Don Juan Legend Before Mozart*, 388.
31. L, 66–8. Translations are mine.

## 9 Genre and form in French opera

1. Thus the Opéra was officially entitled the “Académie Royale de Musique,” having been founded by Louis XIV as a form of humanistic institution, after the Italian example.
2. [Jacques Lacombe], *Le Spectacle des beaux-arts* (Paris: chez Vincent, [1758], 1761), 144.
3. *Ibid.*, 145.
4. Robert Fajon, *L'Opéra à Paris du Roi Soleil à Louis le Bien-Aimé* (Geneva and Paris: Editions Slatkine, 1984), 6–8.
5. Toussaint Rémond de Saint-Mard, *Réflexions sur l'opéra* [1741], in *Œuvres*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1749), vol. 5, 280.
6. Fajon, *L'Opéra*, 21–2.
7. Reinhard Strohm, “Towards an Understanding of the Opera *Seria*,” in his *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 97.
8. Lois Rosow, “French Baroque Recitative as an Expression of Tragic Declamation,” *EM* 11/4 (1983), 468–79: 157.
9. E. T. A. Hoffmann, [Review of] “*Iphigénie en Aulide*,” *AMZ* 12 (29 August and 5 September, 1810), cols. 770–3, 784–9, trans. Martyn Clarke in David Charlton (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 255–62: 259–60.
10. [Lacombe], *Le Spectacle*, 159–60.

11. James Raymond Anthony, "The Opera-ballets of André Campra: A Study of the First Period French Opera-Ballet" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1964), 142–5.
  12. *Ibid.*, 144.
  13. The Comédie-Italienne had given it in 1746 using spoken dialogue.
  14. François-André Danican Philidor, *Ernelinde* (Paris: chez l'Auteur, [1769]); rpt. in Julian Rushton (ed.), *French Opera in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, vol. 56 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), 128–41.
  15. Luigi Cherubini, *Eliza, ou le Voyage aux glaciers du Mont St. Bernard* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, n.d.); rpt. in Philip Gossett and Charles Rosen (eds.), *Early Romantic Opera* (New York: Garland, 1979), 125–30.
  16. Daniel Heartz, "The Beginnings of the Operatic Romance: Rousseau, Sedaine and Monsigny," *ES* 15/2 (1981–2), 149–78; David Charlton, "Berlioz, Dalayrac and Song," in Barbara Kelly and Kerry Murphy (eds.), *Berlioz and Debussy: Sources, Contexts and Legacies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 3–18.
  17. Anthony, "Opera-ballets of André Campra," 73.
  18. Giacomo Casanova, *History of My Life*, ed. and trans. Willard R. Trask, 12 vols. (London: Longmans, 1969), vol. 3, 141–2.
  19. *Ibid.*, 143. This account does not feature in the alternative lively overview in chapter 1 of James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
  20. [Anne-Marie Lepage DuBocage], *Lettre de Madame \*\*\* à une de ses amies sur les spectacles, et principalement sur l'Opéra Comique* ([n.p.], 1745), 17.
  21. See Bruce Alan Brown, "La diffusion et l'influence de l'opéra-comique en Europe au XVIIIe siècle," in Philippe Vendrix (ed.), *L'Opéra-Comique en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Liège: Mardaga, 1992), 283–343.
  22. Beethoven's experience in the court theater orchestra led to his early familiarity with opéra comique. Titles of works heard are in Elliot Forbes (ed.), *Thayer's Life of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).
  23. Elisabeth Cook, *Duet and Ensemble in the Early Opéra-Comique* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 59.
  24. Rousseau, *Lettre sur la musique française*, ed. Olivier Pot, in *Œuvres complètes V: écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1995), 310.
  25. Paul F. Rice, *Fontainebleau Operas for the Court of Louis XV of France by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764)* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), 151–64.
  26. Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, ed. and trans. Edward R. Reilly, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London: Faber, 1985), 316.
  27. Charlton, *Grétry and the Growth of Opéra-Comique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), chapters 11, 23, 35; Patrick Taïeb, *L'Ouverture d'opéra en France de Monsigny à Méhul* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 2007), chapter 12.
  28. Raphaëlle Legrand, "chaconne," in Benoit, *Dictionnaire*, 122.
- 10 Genre and form in German opera**
1. For an account of this event, see Jakob Minor, *Christian Felix Weisse und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1880), 148, and Bertil van Boer, "Coffey's The Devil to Pay, the Comic War, and the Emergence of the German Singspiel," *JMR* 8/12 (1988), 119–39.
  2. [*Der komische Krieg*], MS Germ. Quart 746, D-B, Handschriftenabteilung.
  3. Johann A. Hiller, Preface to *Die verwandelten Weiber, oder Der Teufel ist los* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1770).
  4. Luise Gottsched, "Der Kleine Prophet von Böhmischbroda," 16, and Johann T. Schulze, "Schreiben an Herr K\* in Z\*\*," 5 and 63–5 in [*Der komische Krieg*], MS Germ Quart 746.
  5. For a description of the production of Italian opera within the German linguistic area, see Reinhard Strohm, "The Crisis of Baroque Opera in Germany," in *Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 81–96. For a discussion of German traveling troupes, see John Warrack, *German Opera: From Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 63–85, and Thomas Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
  6. The presence of bird song is twice indicated in the libretto in Act 1, sc. 3: "Man höret den Gesang der Vögel" ("One hears the sound of birds") and shortly thereafter "Die Vögel singen von neuem" ("The birds sing anew"). Christian Felix Weisse, *Komische Opern* (Karlsruhe: Schmieder, 1778), vol. 1, 170–1. Since these indications occur within the spoken dialogue, the orchestra is not involved in the creation of bird song. It is unclear precisely how these sounds were produced on stage.

7. See Daniel Heartz, “The Beginnings of the Operatic Romance: Rousseau, Sedaine and Monsigny,” *ECS* 5/2 (1981), 149–78.
8. Johann Friedrich Agricola, “Lottchen am Hofe; Die Liebe auf dem Lande,” *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (1770), 88; J. F. Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774; repr. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1977), vol. 2, 101.
9. “Hännschen: O! in der Stadt singen sie dir noch viel andre. Da schwatzen sie von Thränen, von Schrecken, von Foltern, von Pfeilen der Liebe, von Nebenbuhlern, von Galanen, von Seufzern, von Eifersucht, von Klagen, von Augenblitzen, von Flammen, von verloschner Gluth, von Verzweiflung, und vom Tode ... Lieschen: Pfui! du machst mir ganz Angst! lieben sie denn nicht in der Stadt, wie wir? Hännschen: Bey Leibe nicht! Unsere Liebe ist was ganz anders. Sie schwatzen nur davon, und wir – wir fühlen sie.” Weisse, *Komische Opern*, vol. 1, 175–6.
10. Estelle Joubert, “Songs to Shape a German Nation: Hiller’s Comic Operas and the Public Sphere,” *ECM* 3/2 (2006), 213–30.
11. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Über die deutsche comische Oper* (Leipzig, 1774), 60.
12. Timothy C. W. Blanning, *The Power of Culture and the Culture of Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Martha Feldman, *Opera as Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
13. For a discussion of the rise of German nationalism and its manifestations in literature and music, see Blanning, *The Power of Culture*, 232–65.
14. Johann Jakob Engel, *Ideen zu einer Mimik der Tonkünste* (Berlin: August Mylius, 1785–6), 264–5.
15. H. Kiesel and P. Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1977), 84. Quoted from Blanning, *The Power of Culture*, 264.
16. For a concise background to the establishment of the National Theater and catalogue of performances, see Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart’s Vienna: Sources and Documents 1783–1792* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
17. For a discussion of Joseph II and the establishment of the National Singspiel, see Warrack, *German Opera*, 128–31.
18. Caterina Cavalieri (1755–1801), a Viennese soprano renowned for her ability to sing high coloratura. Her major roles include Sandrina in Pasquale Anfossi’s *La finta giardiniera* (1775), Sophie in Ignaz Umlauf’s *Die Bergknappen* (1778), Nanette in Antonio Salieri’s *Der Raufgangkehrer* (1781), Constanze in Mozart’s *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782), and Madame Silberklang in Mozart’s *Der Schauspieldirektor* (1786).
19. See Thomas Bauman, *W. A. Mozart: “Die Entführung aus dem Serail”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Peter Branscombe, *W. A. Mozart: “Die Zauberflöte”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
20. *Wiener Realzeitung*, 1786, 670–1.
21. *Uiber [sic] das deutsche Singspiel den Apotheker des Hrn. v. Dittersdorf*. Vienna, 1786.
22. Carl von Dittersdorf, *AmZ* (1798), 139–41: 141.
23. The score consulted for this chapter is Carl von Dittersdorf, *Der Apotheker und Doktor*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Gottfried Friederich, 1787).
24. Heartz, “The Beginnings of the Operatic Romance.”
25. For a discussion of the central features of the buffa finale, see Chapter 3, in the present volume.
26. Stephanie the Younger, “Vorrede zu den Singspielen (1792),” in Renate Schusky (ed.), *Das deutsche Singspiel im 18. Jahrhundert: Quellen und Zeugnisse zu Ästhetik und Rezeption* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1980), 91–7: 94.
27. See Paul Horsley, “Dittersdorf and the Finale in Late-Eighteenth-Century German Comic Opera” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1988), 153–4.
28. Horsley, “Dittersdorf and the Finale”, 228, makes the important point that Salieri was far better acquainted with the conventions of opera buffa than those of the Singspiel.
29. The presence and role of mothers in eighteenth-century opera has received considerable attention in recent scholarship. While Martha Feldman has argued for the absence of mothers in opera seria, this view has recently been refuted by Reinhard Strohm. See Martha Feldman, “The Absent Mother in Opera Seria,” in Mary Ann Smart (ed.), *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 29–46, and Reinhard Strohm, “From She-Devil to Recalcitrant Mother: Women’s Voices in Vivaldi’s Operas,” in Francesco Fanna (ed.), *Antonio Vivaldi: Passato e Futuro* (Florence: Olschki, forthcoming).

#### 11 Opera in eighteenth-century England:

##### English opera, masques, ballad operas

1. See William Weber, “Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the *beau monde* in London 1700–1870,” in Susan Wollenberg

- and Simon McVeigh (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 76.
2. Lawrence Stone, "The Residential Development of the West End of London in the Seventeenth Century," in Barbara C. Malament (ed.), *After the Reformation: Essays in Honour of J. H. Hexter* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 167–212.
  3. See, for example, Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004), and the relevant sources in Markman Ellis (ed.), *Coffee-House Culture* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006).
  4. Weber, "Musical Culture," 71–6.
  5. Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure* (London: Athelone Press, 2002), 63–77.
  6. See, for example, the case of the singer Regina Mingotti, the composer Giovanni Lampugnani, and the impresario Francesco Vanneschi exposed in Regina Mingotti, *An Appeal to the Public* (London: for the Author, [1755]). Mingotti's pamphlet recounts in detail negotiations between herself and Vanneschi, and her substitution of arias she had brought with her, because Vanneschi thought they were better than those provided by Lampugnani, the house composer.
  7. These were few enough; in 1796, the King's Theatre clearly felt it to be an unusual enough circumstance to put "The music, composed, here, by Bianchi" as a draw-card on the title-page of *Antigona*.
  8. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (London: for the Author, 1782–9), vol. 4, 486. These claims were taken up by others, including George Hogarth, *Memoirs of the Musical Drama* (London: R. Bentley, 1838), vol. 2, 97–9.
  9. However, the Opera of the Nobility performed Italian opera there in the 1733–4 season, and in 1740 and 1741, Handel used it to stage his last two operas, *Imeneo* and *Deidamia*.
  10. Michael Burden, "Afterpiece," *Grove Opera*, vol. 1, 33–4.
  11. Michael Burden, "Opera in the London Theatres," in Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the English Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 205–17.
  12. See Mark Humphreys, "Daniel Purcell: A Biography and Thematic Catalogue" (D.Phil., University of Oxford, 2004), vol. 1, 1–25.
  13. Daniel Purcell, *Six Cantatas for a Voice ... Compos'd (After the Italian Manner)* ([London]: J. Cullen, [1713]).
  14. Robert D. Hume, "Aaron Hill," *Grove Opera*, vol. 2, 715–16.
  15. Purcell, *Six Cantatas*, Preface.
  16. Aaron Hill, "Original Letters: 'To Mr Handel,'" December 5, 1732, in *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq.* (London: for the benefit of the family, 1754), vol. 1, 175.
  17. [Anon.], *A Comparison between the two Stages* (London: [NI], 1702), 51.
  18. For the terms "pastiche opera" and "dialogue opera," see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), chapters 8 and 9.
  19. For possible sources for the some of *Beggar's Opera* material, see Robert D. Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), and Carolyn Kephart, "An Unnoticed Forerunner of the *Beggar's Opera*," *ML* 61/3 (1980), 66–271.
  20. See, for example, William A. McIntosh, "Handel, Walpole, and Gay: The Aims of *The Beggar's Opera*," *ECS* 7/4 (1974), 415–33, and Cheryl Wanko, "Three Stories of Celebrity: *The Beggar's Opera* 'Biographies,'" *SEL* 38/3 (1998), 481–98.
  21. John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera* (London: Printed for John Watts, 1728), Introduction.
  22. See also Daniel Heartz, "*The Beggar's Opera* and *Opera-comique en vaudevilles*," *EM* 27/1 (1999), 42–53.
  23. Figures taken from "Staging Ballads: The Popular Music Industry in Eighteenth-Century England," in *Ballad Operas and the London Stage Song Industry, 1728–1760: An Electronic English Theatre Music*, database designed and managed by Berta Joncus and Michael Burden, Oxford Digital Library ([www.odl.ox.ac.uk/balladopera](http://www.odl.ox.ac.uk/balladopera)), appendix D, 597–9.
  24. Edward Piggott, May 16, 1771, MS dairy in US-NHub, quoted in Elizabeth Gibson, "Edward Piggott: Eighteenth-Century Theatre Chronicler," *TN* 42/2 (1988), 63–4.
  25. Joseph W. Donohue, "Burlletta and the Early Nineteenth-Century English Theatre," *NTR* 1 (1973), 29–51, and Phyllis T. Dircks, *The Eighteenth-Century English Burlletta* (Victoria: English Literary Studies, 1999), 55ff.
  26. *Midas* was played as an afterpiece to *Fra Diavolo* at Burton's Theatre on April 25, 1857; Louisa Pyne sang Apollo. See George Clinton D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), vol. 6.
  27. *The London Gazette*, March 21, 1700. For accounts of the competition, see commentary by John Eccles to William Congreve, *The Judgement of Paris*, ed. Richard Platt, in *Music for London Entertainment 1660–1800*, Series C, I (Tunbridge Wells: Richard McNutt, 1984), and commentary by John Weldon to the same



- masque, ed. David W. Music, in *Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era*, vol. 94 (Wisconsin, [1999]).
28. Michael Burden, "The British Masque 1690–1800" (D. Phil., University of Edinburgh, 1991), vol. 1, 86–8.
  29. Thomas McGeary, "Thomas Clayton and the Introduction of Italian Opera to England," *PQ* 77 (1998), 171–86.
  30. See Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704–1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), chapter 9 for an account of this period.
  31. John Eccles, *Semele: An Opera*, ed. Richard Platt, *Musica Britannica*, vol. 76 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2000), Introduction.
  32. Kevin Pry, "Theatrical Competition and the Rise of the Afterpiece 1702–1724," *TN* 36/1 (1982), 21–7.
  33. Burden, "Afterpiece," 34.
  34. Colley Cibber, *Venus and Adonis* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1715), Preface.
  35. Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 158–9. Dean's assessment of other aspects of the work is, however, far from flattering.
  36. D. F. Cook, "Venus and Adonis, an English Masque After an Italian Manner," *MT* 111/1651 (1980), 553–7.
  37. See Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous, "J. F. Lampe and English Opera at the Little Haymarket 1723–33," *ML* 58/4 (1997), 502–31, for the only reliable account of events of these seasons.
  38. John Dryden, *King Arthur; or, Merlin, the British Inchanter* (London: R. Walker, 1736), Prologue by James Sterling.
- 12 Opera in Naples**
1. For a comprehensive history of Naples, see Tommaso Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy* (New York: Norton, 2006). See also Michael F. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985) and Francesco Degrada, "'Scuola napoletana' e 'opera napoletana' nascita, sviluppo e prospettive di un concetto storiografico," in Franco Mancini (ed.), *Il Teatro di San Carlo* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1987), vol. 2, 9–20.
  2. See Francesco Degrada, "Musica e verità: la funzione dell'opera," in Guglielmo Barblan and Alberto Basso (eds.), *Storia dell'opera*, vol. 1 (Turin: Unione Tipografica-Editrice Torinese, 1977), 272.
  3. Salvatore Di Giacomo, *I quattro antichi conservatorii musicali di Napoli* (Palermo: Sandron Press, 1924–8), vol. 2. See also Michael Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria di Loreto, Naples," *RCRMA* 10 (1972), 1–98.
  4. Di Giacomo, *I quattro antichi conservatorii*, vol. 2, 208.
  5. Robinson, "The Governors' Minutes," 36.
  6. For the Neapolitan theaters, see Benedetto Croce, *I teatri di Napoli* (Naples: Piero, 1891); Francesco Coticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli durante il vicereame austriaco (1707–34): materiali inediti sulla Reale Cappella ed il Teatro di San Bartolomeo* (Naples: Luciano Editore, 1993); Franco Mancini (ed.), *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, 2 vols. (Naples: Electa Napoli 1987); Maione and Coticelli, *Onesto divertimento ed allegria de' popoli. Materiali per una storia dello spettacolo a Napoli nel primo Settecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1996).
  7. Maione and Coticelli, *Onesto divertimento*, 138.
  8. *Ibid.*
  9. Leonardo Vinci, *Li zite 'ngalera*, I-Nc, score 1722 Rari 1.9.1 For the facsimile edition, see Howard Mayer Brown (ed.) (New York: Garland Publications, Inc., 1979); on this opera, see Kurt Sven Markstrom, *The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano* (Hillsdale: Pendragon, 2007), 27–37.
  10. Reinhard Strohm, *L'opera italiana nel Settecento* (Venice: Marsilio, 1991), 143. See also Strohm, *Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 143.
  11. *Ibid.*, 145.
  12. See Nina Treadwell, "Female Operatic Cross-Dressing: Bernardo Saddumene's Libretto for Leonardo Vinci's *Li zite 'ngalera* (1722)," *COJ* 10/2 (1998), 131–56.
  13. Di Giacomo, *I quattro antichi conservatorii*, vol. 2, 209; Coticelli and Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli*.
  14. *Il zelo animato*, Napoli 1733. Libretto in I-Nc RARI 10.10.19 (9). The score by Mancini is also in I-Nc, score 1733 Rari 28.3.13.
  15. Anthony R. DelDonna, "An Eighteenth-Century Musical Education: Francesco Mancini's *Il zelo animato* (1733)," *Recercare* 19/1 (2008), 205–19.
  16. Angela Romagnoli, "Considerazioni sullo stile operistico di Francesco Mancini (1672–1737)," *AnMc* 30 (1998), 373–436.
  17. Carolina Belli, "Il San Carlo attraverso le fonti documentarie," in Franco Carmelo Greco (ed.), *Il teatro del re: Il San Carlo da Napoli all'Europa* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche, 1987), 173.
  18. See Maione and Coticelli, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli*, 41.

19. Franco Mancini, “La storia, le vicende amministrative, gli organismi di gestione,” in Mancini (ed.), *Il Teatro di San Carlo* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1987), vol. 1, 9.
20. Quoted in Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, 165. For an explanation about the role of the Uditore, see Belli, “Il San Carlo,” 174.
21. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*. See also chapters 4 and 7 in this volume.
22. For the modern edition, see Anthony R. DelDonna, Francesco Ermini-Polacci, and Eleonora Negri (eds.), *Debora e Sisara by Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi and Carlo Sernicola*, Monuments in Tuscan Music: Sacred Vocal Music, ed. Robert Lamar Weaver, Series 1: Sacred Drama, vol. 1 (Louisville: Art-Print, 2003). Also see DelDonna, “The Operas of Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728–1804)” (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1997).
23. Sernicola was active at the court of Ferdinando IV in the period 1787–95, contributing relatively few works. See Francesco Melisi (ed.), *Catalogo dei libretti d’opera in musica dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Salerno: Buonaiuto Sarno, 1985); see also Sartori.
24. Quoted in Franco Piperno, “Stellati sogli e Immagini portentose: Opere bibliche e stagioni quaresimali a Napoli prima del Mosé,” in Bianca Maria Antolini and Wolfgang Witzemann (eds.), *Napoli e il teatro musicale in Europa fra Sette e Ottocento. Studi in onore di Friedrich Lippmann* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 276. See also Saverio Mattei, *Libri poetici della Bibbia*. (Naples: Stamperia Simoniana, I, 1766; II, 1767; III, 1768; IV, 1771; V, 1 and 2, 1774) and Renato Di Benedetto, “Music and Enlightenment,” in Girolamo Imbruglia (ed.), *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 142.
25. Piperno, “Stellati sogli,” 276.
26. Anthony R. DelDonna, “Esotismo e dramma quaresimale nel tardo Settecento a Napoli: uno sguardo a *Debora e Sisara* di Sernicola e Guglielmi,” in Paologiovanni Maione e Francesco Cotticelli (eds.), *Le arti della scena e l’esotismo in età moderna* (Naples: Turchini edizioni, 2006), 421–48.
27. For information about the San Carlo Orchestra, see Anthony R. DelDonna, “Behind the Scenes: The Musical Life and Organizational Structure of the San Carlo Opera Orchestra in late 18th-century Naples,” in Paologiovanni Maione (ed.), *Fonti d’archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*

- (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001), 427–48; DelDonna, “Production Practices at the Teatro di San Carlo, Naples, in the Late 18<sup>th</sup> century,” *EM* 30/3 (August 2002), 429–45.
28. See DelDonna, “Giovanni Battista Lorenzi and Neapolitan Comic Opera in the Late 18th Century,” in Anthony R. DelDonna (ed.), *Genre and Music in the 18th Century* (Ann Arbor: Steglein Press, 2008), 52–82.
  29. Stefano Castelveccchi, “Sentimental and Anti-Sentimental in ‘Le nozze di Figaro,’” *JAMS* 53/1 (Spring 2000), 2. See also Castelveccchi, “From *Nina* to *Nina*: Psychodrama, Absorption and Sentiment in the 1780s,” *COJ* 8/2 (1996), 91–112.
  30. Castelveccchi, “From *Nina* to *Nina*,” 91.
  31. Giovanni Paisiello, *Nina o sia la pazza per amore*, I-Nc, score 1789 Rari Cornice 2.4–5.
  32. Mario Battaglini, *La Repubblica napoletana: origini, nascita, struttura* (Rome: Bonacci, 1992), 11–17.
  33. DelDonna, “Eighteenth-Century Politics and Patronage: Musical Practices Before and After the Republican Revolution of Naples,” *ECM* 4/2 (2007), 211–50.

### 13 Portugal and Brazil

1. Frederick II, *Histoire de mon temps*, in *Œuvres Posthumes* (Berlin: Chez Voss et Fils et Decker, 1788), 13.
2. The only one of these which survives complete, *La Spinalba ovvero il vecchio matto* (1739), libretto by an unknown author, was successfully revived in the twentieth century in Lisbon, Badajoz, Paris, Rome, and London. The lightly sentimental style of several arias is typical of the period of Vinci and Pergolesi. The Philips LP record 839.710/12, [1968] is no longer available; there is, however, a modern CD recording of Almeida’s beautiful oratorio, *La Giuditta* (premiered in Rome in 1726), conducted by René Jacobs and produced by Harmonia Mundi, 901411.12 (two compact discs), 1992.
3. Nevertheless, John V seems to have had thoughts of building a court theater, ordering plans for it from Francesco Galli-Bibiena in Rome, as documented by Angela Delaforce, *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 283 and 445, n. 11.
4. In P-VV.
5. In P-Cug.
6. On A. J. da Silva’s texts, see José Oliveira Barata, *António José da Silva: criação e realidade* (Coimbra: Serviço de Documentação e Publicações da Universidade de Coimbra, 1985).

7. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music for the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols. (London: for the Author, 1782–9), vol. 4, 571.
  8. Richard Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* (London: G. Robinson, T. Becket and Robson, 1775), 10–12.
  9. Marita McClymonds, *Niccolò Jommelli: The Last Years, 1769–1774* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1978), 37.
  10. On Goldoni's collaboration with the Lisbon court, see Maria João Almeida, *O teatro de Goldoni no Portugal de secentos* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2007).
  11. Only one aria from *Os viajantes ditosos* survives in P-VV.
  12. Quoted in Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 107.
  13. A selection of theatrical music from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century will soon be published by Cranmer in *Música teatral do reinado de D. Maria I*.
  14. Quoted in Andrade, *Francisco Manuel da Silva e o seu tempo*, vol. 1, 63.
  15. Rogério Budasz, "New Sources for the Study of Early Opera and Musical Theatre in Brazil," 6.
  16. See Francisco Curt Lange, "La ópera y las casas de ópera en el Brasil colonial," *BIM* 44 (November 1964), 3–11; Manuel Ivo Cruz, "Ópera portuguesa no Brasil do século XVIII," *BAPEM* 52 (January/March 1987), 39–41; Affonso Ávila, *O teatro em Minas Gerais: séculos XVII e XIX* (Ouro Preto: Prefeitura Municipal, 1978), 6–8; Carlos Francisco Moura, *O teatro em Mato Grosso no século XVIII* ([Cuiabá]: Edições da Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso, 1976).
- 14 Opera, genre, and context in Spain and its American colonies**
1. On the conventions for music and song in the *comedia* and the early *zarzuela* into the eighteenth century, see Louise K. Stein, "Este nada dichoso género": la zarzuela y sus convenciones," in Maria Antonia Virgili Blanquet *et al.* (eds.), *Música y Literatura en la Península Ibérica: 1600–1750, Actas del Congreso "Música y Literatura en la Península Ibérica 1600–1750"* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1997), 185–217; and sections of Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
  2. *La púrpura de la rosa* is preserved in Per-Ln, MS C-149, first reported in Andres Sas, "La púrpura de la rosa," *BBN* 2/5 (October 1944), 9. See the critical performing edition, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Juan Hidalgo, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Louise K. Stein (Madrid: Fundación Autor, 1999).
  3. Stein, "'De la contera del mundo': Las navegaciones de la ópera entre dos mundos y varias culturas," in Emilio Casares and Álvaro Torrente (eds.), *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Fundación Autor, 2001), vol. 1, 79–94; and Stein, "'La música de dos orbes': A Context for the First Opera of the Americas," *OQ* 22 (2006), 433–58.
  4. Decio y Eraclea, *Opera. Para Recitar en Música, según estilo, y metro Italiano, en celebración festiva del primer año, que cumple el Serenissimo Señor Príncipe de las Asturias. Dedicada a la excelentissima Señora Princesa de los Ursinos. En el Regio Teatro del Coliseo* (Madrid: Oficina de D. Gabriel del Barrio, n.d.); consulted copy in E-Mn 7/16822.
  5. See the edition of the incompletely preserved music in Alessandro Scarlatti, *L'Eraclea*, ed. Donald J. Grout (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), which includes a facsimile of the libretto by Silvio Stampiglia, *L'Eraclea dramma per musica ...* (Naples: Parrino and Mutio, 1700).
  6. The extant score (E-Mn, MS M-2247) has the incomplete music for the *loa* followed by the music of Act 1 in a separate hand (the music of Act 2 appears to be lost). The attribution of the *loa*'s music to Sequeyra is given in the printed libretto, f. 11; the composer of Act 1 is unknown.
  7. *La Partenope Fiesta, que se hizo en el Real Palacio de México el día de San Phelipe, por los años del Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe V (que Dios guarde) ...* (Mexico: de Ribera, [n.d.]). There are two copies of this undated libretto, one in Mex-Mn and the other at Brown University.
  8. Robert Freeman, "The Travels of Partenope," in Harold Powers (ed.), *Studies in Music History, Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 356–85 (although it does not consider the Mexico City libretto). Many thanks Drs. Emma Julieta Barreiro, Aurelio Tello, Craig Russell, Ken Ward, and Michael Hamerly for their assistance in verifying these sources.
  9. Stampiglia, *La Partenope: dramma per musica ...* (Naples: Parrino and Mutio, 1699). Many thanks to Paula D. Matthews of Princeton University for providing speedy access to a film of this libretto and to Dr. Dinko Fabris for kindly sharing his copy of the *Mancia* score.
  10. The title-page states in contradictory fashion that the opera was "the day of Saint Philip for the birthday of the King our Lord."

Saint Philip was celebrated at the beginning of May in this period (May 1), though the reference to the “birthday of our King” points to Philip V’s birthday (December 19) as the date of performance. The publication date is also unknown, though scholars have assumed 1711 as the publication date because it is given (without documentary support) in José Mariano Beristáin de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano americana setentrional* (Mexico, 1898), vol. 3, 325. The publishing house named on the title-page, “Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera,” was active in the period 1714–32, according to the kind information of Ken Ward, Curator of Latin American Books, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, whose advice is gratefully acknowledged here.

11. Concerning foreign musicians and genres in Madrid, see Louise K. Stein, “Henry Desmarest and the Spanish Context: Musical Harmony for a World at War,” in Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton (eds.), *Henry Desmarest (1661–1741). Exils d’un musicien dans l’Europe du Grand Siècle* (Versailles: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles; Liège: Mardaga, 2005), 75–106; Juan José Carreras, “L’Espagne et les influences européennes: la musique française à la cour d’Espagne (1679–1714),” in François Lesure (ed.), *Échanges musicaux franco-espagnols XVIIe-XIXe siècles, Actes des Rencontres de Villecroze, 15 au 17 octobre 1998* (Paris: Académie Musicale de Villecroze, Klincksieck, 2000), 61–82, and Miguel Ángel Marín, “La recepción de Corelli en Madrid (circa 1680– circa 1810),” in Gregory Barnett, Antonella D’Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (eds.), *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica* (Florence: Olschki, 2008), 573–635.

12. See Carreras, “From Literes to Nebra: Spanish Dramatic Music Between Tradition and Modernity,” in Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (eds.), *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 8–10.

13. The seventeenth-century convention is defined and considered at length in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*.

14. Manuscript scores for Literes, *Acis y Galatea*, are E-Mn MS M-2210 and P-EVp Cód. CLI/2–4. See the edition Antonio Literes and José de Cañizares, *Acis y Galatea. Zarzuela en dos jornadas*, ed. Luis Antonio González Marín (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2002).

15. Manuscript score for Literes, *El estrago en la fineza, Júpiter y Semele*, is P-EVp Cód. CLI/2–5.

16. Andrea Sommer-Mathis, “Entre Nápoles, Barcelona y Viena. Nuevos documentos sobre la circulación de músicos a principios del siglo XVIII,” *Artigrama* 12 (1996–7), 45–77.

17. See the manuscript (US-NYhsa B2192, ff. 171–293), described in José M. Regueiro, *Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Catalogue of the Manuscript Collection at the Hispanic Society of America* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1984), 368–70.

18. Carreras, “Entre la zarzuela y la ópera de corte: representaciones cortesanas en el Buen Retiro entre 1720 y 1724,” in Rainer Kleinertz (ed.), *Teatro y música en España (siglo XVIII)* (Kassel and Berlin: Edition Reichenberger, 1996), 49–77.

19. Libretto in E-Mn T-25726, MS 16902; see Carreras, “Entre la zarzuela y la ópera de corte.”

20. Andrea Bombi, “*El mayor triunfo de la mayor guerra* y otras óperas españolas de principios del siglo XVIII,” in Juan José Carreras and Miguel Ángel Marín (eds.), *Concierto Barroco. Estudios sobre música, dramaturgia e historia cultural* (Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, 2004), 77–109.

21. The plot is based in the episode at New Carthage (Cartagena) in Spain, from Livy 26.50, called popularly the “Contingence of Scipio.” Ferreira’s opera thus can be added to the group of opere serie with libretti produced on this campaign, including Antonio Salvi’s *Publio Cornelio Scipione* (produced Florence or Pratolino, 1704); Zeno’s *Scipione nelle Spagne* (performed for the Archduke Charles in Barcelona, 1710), and Piovene’s *Publio Cornelio Scipione* (Venice 1712). All of these libretti carried political implications relevant to the War of the Spanish Succession. See Bombi, “*El mayor triunfo de la mayor guerra*,” and Robert C. Ketterer, *Ancient Rome in Early Opera* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

22. Carreras, “From Literes to Nebra,” 10.

23. Concerning Metastasio in Madrid, see José Máximo Leza Cruz, “Metastasio on the Spanish Stage: Operatic Adaptations in the Public Theatres of Madrid in the 1730s,” *EM* 26 (1998), 623–31; Leza, “Francesco Corradini y la introducción de la ópera en los teatros comerciales de Madrid (1731–1749),” *Artigrama* 12 (1996–7), 123–46; and Maria Grazia Profeti, “El espacio del teatro y el espacio del texto: Metastasio en España en la primera mitad del siglo XVIII,” in Casares and Torrente (eds.), *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 1, 263–91.

24. On these operas, see Reinhard Strohm, “Francesco Corselli’s *drammi per musica* for

- Madrid,” in *Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 97–117, and Juan José Carreras, “En torno a la introducción de la ópera de corte en España: *Alessandro nell’Indie* (1738),” in Margarita Torrión (ed.), *España Festejante. El siglo XVIII* (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2000), 323–47.
25. See Juan José Carreras, “Terminare a schiaffoni: La primera compañía de ópera italiana en Madrid (1738/9),” *Artigrama* 12 (1996–7), 99–121.
26. Concerning Metastasio and opera seria in Madrid, see José Máximo Leza, “Aspectos productivos de la ópera en los teatros públicos de Madrid (1730–1799),” in Casares and Torrente (eds.), *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, (2001), vol. 1, 231–62.
27. On the sources and content of this work, see Rainer Kleinertz, “La zarzuela del siglo XVIII entre ópera y comedia. Dos aspectos de un género musical (1730–1750),” in Rainer Kleinertz (ed.), *Teatro y Música en España (siglo XVIII)* (Kassel and Berlin: Edition Reichenberger, 1996), 115–21; and José de Nebra, *Para obsequio a la deidad nunca es crueldad y Iphigenia en Tracia*, ed. Álvarez Martínez (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1997).
28. Gian Giacomo Stiffoni, “La ópera de corte en tiempos de Carlos III (1759–1788),” in Casares and Torrente (eds.), *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 1, 317–42.
29. Albert Recasens Barberà, “Las zarzuelas de Antonio Rodríguez de Hita (1722–1787). Contribución al estudio de la zarzuela madrileña hacia 1760–1770” (Ph.D. diss., Université Catholique de Louvain, 2001); and Rainer Kleinertz, *Grundzüge des Spanischen Musiktheaters im 18. Jahrhundert: Ópera, Comedia und Zarzuela*, 2 vols. (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2003).
30. See Pablo Esteve y Grimau, *Los jardineros de Aranjuez (1768). Zarzuela en dos actos*, ed. Juan Pablo Fernández Cortés (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005).
31. A number of zarzuelas were performed in private palaces of the nobility, among them *Clementina* (1786), text by Ramón de la Cruz and music by Luigi Boccherini for the dowager Duchess of Benavente; see Miguel Ángel Marín, “La zarzuela *Clementina* di Luigi Boccherini,” in Maria Grazia Profeti (ed.), “*Clementina*” di Luigi Boccherini (Florence: Alinea, 2003), 15–36.
32. Michael F. Robinson, “Financial Management at the Teatro de los Caños del Peral, 1786–99,” in Boyd and Carreras (eds.), *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, 29–50; and José Máximo Leza, “Aspectos productivos de la ópera en los teatros públicos de Madrid (1730–1799),” in Casares and Torrente (eds.), *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 1, 231–62.
33. Xoán M. Carreira, “Opera and Ballet in Public Theatres of the Iberian Peninsula,” in Boyd and Carreras (eds.), *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, 17–28.
34. Carmen Rodríguez Suso, “El empresario Nicola Setaro y la ópera italiana en España: la trastienda de la Ilustración,” *ISM* 5/2 (1998), 247–70.
35. Roger Alier i Aixalà, *L’òpera a Barcelona. Orígens, desenvolupament i consolidació de l’òpera como a espectacle teatral a la Barcelona del segle XVIII* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1990).
36. María Gembero Ustárrroz, “Migraciones de músicos entre España y América (siglos XVI–XVIII): estudio preliminar,” in María Gembero Ustárrroz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas (eds.), *La música y el Atlántico. Relaciones musicales entre España y Latinoamérica* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 17–58.
37. An important contribution to the study of secular arias in Latin American archives is Bernardo Illari, “*Metastasio nell’Indie*: De óperas ausentes y arias presentes en América colonial,” in Casares and Torrente (eds.), *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, vol. 1, 343–74.
38. Primary sources and documents are summarized and quoted in the invaluable Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato* (Madrid: Estades, 1945), 398–404.
39. Concerning Saccomano and Massa, see Dinko Fabris, “La vita musicale a Napoli nell’età coloniale come fonte per la musica in Spagna e nell’America Latina,” in René de Maeyer (ed.), *Musique et influences culturelles réciproques entre l’Europe et l’Amérique Latine du XVIème. au XXème. siècle*, *Bulletin of the Brussels Museum of Musical Instruments* 16 (1986), 161–73; and Juan Carlos Estenssoro, *Música y sociedad coloniales: Lima 1680–1830* (Lima: Editorial Colmillo Blanco, 1989), 45–6; Juan Carlos Estenssoro, “Massa, Bartolomé,” in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2000), vol. 7, 335; as well as Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima*, 430–7.
40. The 1765 contract (Lima, Archivo Histórico de la Nación, Protocolos, J. B. Tenorio Palacios, 1765–66, f. 67), is

reproduced in Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima*, 431–3.

41. Concerning the musical renovation of older *comedias* in eighteenth-century Madrid, see Louise K. Stein, “El ‘manuscrito novena’: sus textos, su contexto histórico-musical y el músico Joseph Peyró,” *RM* 3 (1980), 197–234; and José Máximo Leza, “‘Bellísimo Narciso y

músicas para seguir siéndolo’.

Transformaciones dramáticas en el teatro Español entre los siglos XVII y XVIII,” in Carreras and Marín (eds.), *Concierto Barroco*, 47–76.

42. See Victoria Eli Rodríguez, “Ópera. VII. Cuba,” *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, vol. 8, 120–2.