



University
of Glasgow

Desler, Anne (2014) *'Il novello Orfeo' Farinelli: vocal profile, aesthetics, rhetoric*. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/5743/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

'Il novello Orfeo'
Farinelli: Vocal Profile,
Aesthetics, Rhetoric

Anne Desler

Bachelor of Music, University of California (Irvine)
Master of Arts, University of Helsinki
Licentiate in Philosophy, University of Helsinki
Doctor of Musical Arts, University of Southern California

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Music)

School of Culture and Creative Arts
College of Arts
University of Glasgow

February 2014

Abstract

Although Farinelli has received a great deal of attention in scholarship, the early music performance scene and in popular culture, little has been written about his singing. The current perception of Farinelli's musical profile is based almost entirely on the research of Franz Haböck from the beginning of the 20th century and the writings of Charles Burney. As a result of the emphasis of both writers on Farinelli's bravura singing, the singer's name has become synonymous with castrato virtuosity. This study takes a more differentiated approach. It reconstructs the artistic persona of Farinelli from libretti, scores and documentary evidence, evaluates the veracity of anecdotal information pertaining to his singing that has so far been accepted largely at face value and considers the aesthetic implications of Farinelli's singing.

Part I of this study seeks to reconstruct Farinelli's vocal profile. In chapter 1, contemporary descriptions by earwitnesses are examined and evaluated with regard to important aspects of his singing, i.e., the sound quality, volume and range of his voice, technical elements such as his trill, agility and breath control, ornamentation and improvisation and, finally, his acting. Chapter 2 summarises the main stages of the singer's operatic career. The purpose of this chapter is not to reiterate biographical information, but to provide an outline that can serve as a framework for the discussion of the development of Farinelli's vocal technique, personal style and reception. The chapter also identifies important points of professional interaction between Farinelli and other famous singers. Chapter 3 falls into two parts. Firstly, the main elements of vocal technique, as described in the vastly influential vocal treatises of Tosi¹ and Mancini,² are outlined in relation to notational practice of 18th-century manuscript scores and their relevance to the music sung by Farinelli. Secondly, the development of Farinelli's voice in terms of the singer's vocal technique, range, volume and details of style is discussed on the basis of the analysis of Farinelli's operatic roles. Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis and contextualisation of important stylistic changes that occurred during Farinelli's career. Throughout, Farinelli's stylistic choices are discussed in relation to the aesthetic preferences of the different audiences he encountered.

Part 2 explores aspects of Farinelli's artistic profile from the vantage points of aesthetics and rhetoric. Based on analyses of Farinelli's arias on nightingale metaphors, chapter 5 discusses the conceptual frameworks and aesthetic issues that have often resulted in a critical reception of his virtuosity, both during his lifetime and in the 20th century. Chapter 6 examines the manner in which the principles of rhetoric have been applied to 18th-century music in recent scholarship. It argues for a different, more integrated approach that reflects the performance-centred period understanding of rhetoric, which, unlike the

¹ Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni, o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato* (Bologna: dalla Volpe, 1723).

² Giambattista Mancini, *Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, 3rd revised, corrected and enlarged edition, Milan 1777, facsimile print (Bologna: Forni, 1996).

modern understanding, was not yet inflected by the author and work concepts. Chapter 7 analyses rhetorical strategies in Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias and their implications with regard to the issues of authorship and the relationship between performer and audience. In chapter 8, the text-music relationship and communicative strategies in Farinelli's slow expressive arias are scrutinised.

The conclusion briefly assesses the impact of Farinelli on Italian opera, theatrical performance practice and musical aesthetics.

Contents

Abstract.....	2
Contents.....	4
List of Tables.....	7
List of Figures.....	8
List of Musical Examples.....	9
Acknowledgements.....	11
Author’s Declaration.....	12
General Remarks.....	14
Introduction.....	17
PART I: FARINELLI’S VOCAL PROFILE.....	22
1 Three Ear Witness Accounts of Farinelli’s Voice.....	23
Quantz, Mancini and Burney.....	25
Sound quality and volume.....	27
Range.....	28
Trill and agility.....	29
Breath control.....	30
Ornamentation and improvisation.....	31
Acting.....	32
2 Farinelli’s Stage Career.....	34
1720-1724: Early Career.....	36
1724-1728: Naples and Beyond.....	39
1728-1734: Venice and Beyond.....	44
1734-1737: London.....	48
3 Technique, Range, Volume and Ornamentation.....	54
Aspects of vocal technique in the treatises of Tosi and Mancini.....	54
The <i>messa di voce</i>	55
The Trill.....	56
Agility and <i>passaggi</i>	59
The Appoggiatura.....	62

The Cadenza.....	63
Farinelli's vocal technique	64
1722-23: Early technical mastery	66
1725-30: Increasing refinement and specialisation.....	75
Range, pitch levels and keys	82
Volume.....	87
Ornamentation.....	94
4 Style	101
The New Neapolitan (Galant) Style.....	101
The 'Lombard Manner'	103
'A more plain and simple road'	111
Favourite Songs.....	116
PART II: AESTHETICS AND RHETORIC.....	120
5 ' <i>Der Farinell der Vögel</i> ': Farinelli and the Aesthetics of Virtuosity.....	121
Words and Music: Aesthetics and Science	122
The Nightingale's Song: Music, Reason and Worldview.....	128
Farinelli's Nightingale Arias.....	134
Farinelli's Virtuosity: Reception in modern scholarship	144
A Singer's Vanity?.....	148
6 ' <i>Le mie arie</i> ': Ownership and Authorship, Composition and Performance.....	153
The Singer-composer relationship	159
Rhetoric.....	165
Inventio and dispositio: Choosing and structuring the subject matter	175
Elaboratio: Creating individual scenes	183
Memoria: Rehearsing.....	187
Actio/Pronuntiatio: Performing.....	191
7 ' <i>C'ètoit un ange ou un diable qui chantoit</i> ':	
Rhetoric in Farinelli's Venetian Bravura Arias	196
Farinelli's Arrival in Venice: An Operatic Backdrop.....	198

Farinelli's Venetian Debut: Catone in Utica.....	204
Rhetorical Strategies	210
Farinelli's 1730 Season in Venice: Pushing the Boundaries of Singing Conventions ..	217
Farinelli's 1733 and 1734 Seasons in Venice: Infusing the familiar with the novel	225
'Loaded' Virtuosity	235
The Question of Authorship.....	236
8 'Il cantare al cuore': Text and Music in Farinelli's Slow Expressive Arias	240
Text setting.....	242
The patetico-cantabile hybrid.....	244
Communicating the passions: Actor-singer versus vocal virtuoso	248
Text alterations.....	252
Dramatic Placement	259
'Una nuova lingua'	262
'Il novello Orfeo'	266
Conclusion: Farinelli's Impact	270
Appendices	277
Appendix A: Farinelli's Career 1720-1737: Chronology, Casts, Sources consulted...	277
Appendix B: Vocal Lines.....	290
B1: Arias sung by Farinelli	290
B 2: Arias sung by Bernacchi	339
Appendix C: Full Scores	342
C 1: Arias sung by Farinelli	342
C 2: Aria sung by Nicolini	368
C3: Trio sung by Farinelli, Merighi and Bernacchi	372
Appendix D: Farinelli-Giacomelli: 'Quel usignolo' (1753)	382
Selected Bibliography.....	396

List of Tables

Table 2-1: Farinelli's Career: Overview	35
Table 3-1: Use of keys in a sample of 183 arias sung by Farinelli	84
Table 3-2: Farinelli's notated range by year	85
Table 6-1: Macro-level of rhetorical model of the <i>dramma per musica</i>	173
Table 6-2: Micro-level of rhetorical model of <i>dramma per musica</i>	174
Table 6-3: Substitute arias in Farinelli's Venetian roles	186
Table 7-1: Arias in fast tempi sung by Farinelli in Venice	203
Table 7-2: Elements of Vocal Technique in the bravura arias in <i>Mitridate</i> and <i>Idaspe</i> ...	221

List of Figures

Figure 5-1: <i>In favore del musico Bernacchi, e contro il Farinello (I-Bu Ms 3710)</i>	141
Figure 6-1: Bartolomeo Nazari, <i>Portrait of Farinelli</i> , Venice c. 1734	157
Figure 8-1: Excerpt from <i>Siroe</i> (I, 13), Venice 1726 (Metastasio-Vinci).....	248
Figure 8-2: Excerpt from <i>Siroe</i> (I, 13), Bologna 1733 (Metastasio-Hasse).....	248
Figure 8-3: Excerpt from <i>Artaserse</i> (II, 11), Rome 1730 (Metastasio-Vinci)	254
Figure 8-4: Excerpt from <i>Artaserse</i> (II, 11), Venice 1730 (Metastasio-Hasse).....	254
Figure 8-5: Excerpt from <i>Merope</i> (I, 13), Turin 1732 (Zeno-Broschi).....	258
Figure 8-6: Excerpt from <i>Merope</i> (III, 6), Turin 1732: Original aria text	261
Figure 8-7: Excerpt from <i>Merope</i> (III, 6), Turin 1732: Altered aria text	261
Figure 8-8: Jacopo Amigoni, <i>Portrait of Farinelli</i> , London 1735	268

List of Musical Examples

Mus. Ex. 3-1: <i>messa di voce</i>	55
Mus. Ex. 3-2: <i>trillo cresciuto</i>	56
Mus. Ex. 3-3: <i>trillo calante</i>	56
Mus. Ex. 3-4: <i>trillo raddoppiato</i> (1)	56
Mus. Ex. 3-5: <i>trillo raddoppiato</i> (2)	57
Mus. Ex. 3-6: Exercise for the <i>mordente</i>	58
Mus. Ex. 3-7: <i>volatina semplice</i> (ascending)	59
Mus. Ex. 3-8: <i>volatina semplice</i> (descending)	60
Mus. Ex. 3-9: <i>volatina raddoppiata</i>	60
Mus. Ex. 3-10: <i>martellato</i>	60
Mus. Ex. 3-11: <i>arpeggiato</i>	61
Mus. Ex. 3-12: <i>cantar di sbalzo</i>	61
Mus. Ex. 3-13: <i>gruppetto</i>	62
Mus. Ex. 3-14: 'La colomba imprigionata' (II, 16), <i>Flavio Anicio Olibrio</i> , 15-18	66
Mus. Ex. 3-15: 'Quanto bello agl'occhi miei' (II, 7), <i>Adelaide</i> , 15-20	70
Mus. Ex. 3-16: 'Quanto bello agl'occhi miei' (II, 7), <i>Adelaide</i> , 6-10	71
Mus. Ex. 3-17: 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' (II, 14), <i>Cosroe</i> , 13-15	71
Mus. Ex. 3-18: 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' (II, 14), <i>Cosroe</i> , 52-56	71
Mus. Ex. 3-19: 'Qual candido armellino', <i>Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra</i> , 17-20	77
Mus. Ex. 3-20: 'Qual candido armellino', <i>Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra</i> , 47-50	77
Mus. Ex. 3-21: 'Morte col fiero aspetto', <i>Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra</i> , 36-40	77
Mus. Ex. 3-22: "'A Dio trono, impero a Dio'", <i>Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra</i> , 15-17	78
Mus. Ex. 3-23: "'A Dio trono, impero a Dio'", <i>Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra</i> , 78-80	78
Mus. Ex. 3-24: 'Mi volete troppo misero' (II, 14), <i>Tito Sempronio Graccho</i> , 24-25	78
Mus. Ex. 3-25: 'Qual con l'aura' (I, 2), <i>Zenobia in Palmira</i> , 44-46	79
Mus. Ex. 3-26: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), <i>Nitocri</i> , 27-31	92
Mus. Ex. 3-27: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), <i>Nitocri</i> , 68-72	92
Mus. Ex. 3-28: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), <i>Nitocri</i> , 93-96	93
Mus. Ex. 3-29: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), <i>Nitocri</i> , 81-84	93
Mus. Ex. 3-30: 'Quel usignolo': Cadenza at the end of a2, 77-79	99
Mus. Ex. 4-1: 'Taci, o di morte' (I, 8), <i>Medo</i> , 12-23	108
Mus. Ex. 4-2: 'Dissi all'ora' (I, 4), <i>Antigona</i> , 42-58	108

Mus. Ex. 5-1: 'Quanto bello agli occhi miei' (II, 7), B section	134
Mus. Ex. 7-1: 'Cervo in bosco' (I, 13), <i>Medo</i> , 17-40.....	206
Mus. Ex. 7-2: 'Cervo in bosco' (I, 13), <i>Medo</i> , 53-82.....	207
Mus. Ex. 7-3: 'Rondinella a cui rapita' (I, 15), <i>Semiramide riconosciuta</i> , 53-72	213
Mus. Ex. 7-4: 'Rondinella a cui rapita' (I, 15), <i>Semiramide riconosciuta</i> , 15-22	216
Mus. Ex. 7-5: 'Rondinella a cui rapita' (I, 15), <i>Semiramide riconosciuta</i> , 43-52	216
Mus. Ex. 7-6: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), <i>Nitocri</i> , 95-99	227
Mus. Ex. 7-7: 'Amor... dover... rispetto' (II, 12), <i>Adriano in Siria</i> , 22-32	228
Mus. Ex. 7-8: 'Amor... dover... rispetto' (II, 12), <i>Adriano in Siria</i> , 61-71	229

Acknowledgements

This project has been very long in the making and thanks are due to many friends, colleagues and institutions. I am very grateful for many inspirational conversations with Colin Slim, Margaret Murata and Bill Holmes many years ago when I was an undergraduate student at the University of California, Irvine. It was a music history lecture with Bill Holmes that first stimulated my interest in Farinelli. At the University of Southern California, Jim and Joyce Tyler supported and encouraged my studies in performance practice and professional work as a performer of 18th-century Italian opera. A special thanks to Bruce Brown, whose friendship, support and feedback have been, and continue to be, invaluable to me.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude both to the College of Arts and the School of Culture and Creative Arts at the University of Glasgow for their generous funding of my research. Warm thanks also to the University of Glasgow library staff for their help in acquiring reproductions from archives throughout Europe. I am very grateful to the music staff at the University of Glasgow, especially Nick Fells for his kind, generous support and Martin Cloonan for his continuous encouragement. A heartfelt thanks to my inspirational supervisor, John Butt, for his creative, challenging and insightful comments and constructive criticism as well as his patience, assistance and unfailing cheerfulness.

I also thank Rouksana, Jane, Grace and Kenneth; their support has meant very much to me. A very special thanks to Hannes, Gila, Flo and Axel and, above all, my parents, to whom I dedicate this study.

All mistakes are, of course, my own.

Anne Desler

Author's Declaration



University
of Glasgow

School of Culture and Creative Arts

Declaration of Originality Form

This form **must** be completed and signed and submitted with all assignments.

Please complete the information below (using BLOCK CAPITALS).

Name	Dr ANNE DESLER.....
Student Number	0903465D
Course Name	PHD IN MUSIC
Assignment Number/Name	PHD THESIS

An extract from the University's Statement on Plagiarism is provided overleaf. Please read carefully THEN read and sign the declaration below.

I confirm that this assignment is my own work and that I have:	
Read and understood the guidance on plagiarism in the Student Handbook, including the University of Glasgow Statement on Plagiarism	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clearly referenced, in both the text and the bibliography or references, all sources used in the work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fully referenced (including page numbers) and used inverted commas for all text quoted from books, journals, web etc. (Please check with the Department which referencing style is to be used)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Provided the sources for all tables, figures, data etc. that are not my own work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not made use of the work of any other student(s) past or present without acknowledgement. This includes any of my own work, that has been previously, or concurrently, submitted for assessment, either at this or any other educational institution, including school (see overleaf at 31.2)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not sought or used the services of any professional agencies to produce this work	<input type="checkbox"/>
In addition, I understand that any false claim in respect of this work will result in disciplinary action in accordance with University regulations	<input type="checkbox"/>

DECLARATION:

I am aware of and understand the University's policy on plagiarism and I certify that this assignment is my own work, except where indicated by referencing, and that I have followed the good academic practices noted above.

Signed: *Anne Desler*

General Remarks

Primary Sources

This study is based on the analysis of over a hundred libretti and scores of *drammi per musica* and other musical pieces pertaining directly to Farinelli, covering most of the works in which he appeared for which sources have survived.³ In this regard, my work constitutes the most comprehensive examination of Farinelli's repertory to date. The library sigla and shelf marks of these sources are given in Appendix A. These sources are supplemented by libretti and scores of contemporary operas whose bibliographical information is given in the bibliography.

My discussion of Farinelli's style, technique and reception as well as issues of aesthetics and rhetoric draws on numerous 18th-century treatises, letters and other written sources. My selection criteria in this regard have been similar to those I applied to the musical sources, i.e., I sought to utilise sources for which a connection with Farinelli can be established with certainty or which were demonstrably widely known and constituted standard points of reference during those decades to which I apply them. Among the writings in the first category are Quantz's 'Lebenslauf', Mancini's *Riflessioni*, Burney's *General History and Present State of Music in Italy and France*, Conti's correspondence with Mme de Caylus and 'Tratto dell'Imitazione' as well as Farinelli's correspondence with Sicinio Pepoli and Metastasio's letters to Farinelli. The first biography of the singer, *Vita del Cavaliere Don Carlo Broschi Farinelli* by Sacchi, is somewhat problematic as it cannot be established with certainty whether Sacchi ever met Farinelli in person. Like Sacchi's account, Burney's writing have to be handled with care, so to speak, as the high proportion of anecdotes that are demonstrably inaccurate sometimes calls into question the veracity of the remaining information. Among the writings in the second category are Tosi's famous *Opinioni*, Bontempi's *Historia musicae*, Marcello's *Teatro della moda*, the treatises of Gravina and Muratori, Serra's *Compendio della rettorica*, as well as many other works on aesthetics, literature and rhetoric.

³ Notable exceptions are the *drammi per musica*, *Eraclea* (Stampiglia-Vinci, Naples 1724) and *Astianatte* (Salvi-Vinci, Naples 1725), due to problems in obtaining manuscript reproductions from the archives by which they are held. However, these are discussed in detail by Kurt Markstrom in *The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2007).

Modern Reference Sources: Information relating to the chronologies of singers' careers, casts and performance venues is taken from Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 7 volumes (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990-94) or from the printed libretti and not referenced separately in the text. The chronology of opera in Venice is based on Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology of Venetian Operas and Related Genres, 1660-1760* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007). The dates of singers, composers, librettists and performances follow those given in *Grove Online* unless stated otherwise. The bibliographic information for printed libretti and scores relating to Farinelli's career consulted for the purpose of the present study is given in Appendix A.

Editorial Practice (Music) and Musical Examples: Short examples have been inserted into the text. Appendix B contains the complete vocal lines of arias by Farinelli (appendix B 1) and Bernacchi (appendix B 2). The bass lines are not included. This is because, firstly, the harmonic structure of the arias is so simple that it can, for the most part, be deduced from the vocal lines as it conforms to the da capo aria's standard pattern of modulating to the dominant key during the first vocal episode and back to the tonic during the second vocal episode, with some harmonic instability and use of related keys in the B section. Secondly, all the necessary information is contained in the vocal lines as it is on their properties that the discussion focuses. Appendix C contains a number of full scores of arias sung by Farinelli (appendix C 1), an aria sung by Nicolini (appendix C 2) and a trio sung by Farinelli, Merighi and Bernacchi (C 3). Appendix D reproduces Farinelli's autograph of his re-composed and ornamented version of one of his arias. In Appendices B to D, the bibliographical information of the source upon which the musical examples are based is given at the top of each example. For the short in-text musical examples, the bibliographical information of the sources from which they have been transcribed is given in footnotes.

In scores of Italian operatic arias of this period, composers and copyists typically do not create precise vertical alignment between the syllables of text and the pitches to which they are set. However, the note beaming usually reflects the syllable-pitch alignment relatively accurately. Where this is not the case, the text has been underlaid to match the metric patterns of the text to that of the music and in accordance with period conventions. Also, as common practice at the time, the basso continuo line is unfigured, and no figures have been added in any of the musical examples.

Editorial Practice (Text): Historical spellings have been preserved in all prose quotations. Deviations from modern spelling (e.g. consonant doublings) are accepted as common historical variances and not pointed out; only errors are marked as such. Both in the musical examples and in-text quotations of aria texts, I have modernised the spelling, use of accents and punctuation. This is due to the typical discrepancies between printed libretti and manuscript scores as well as inconsistencies and frequent absence of punctuation in scores. In those cases in which punctuation with a specific expressive or rhetorical function (i.e., exclamation marks, question marks or ellipses) has been added in the score, but is absent in the aria text as printed in the libretto, this punctuation has been preserved.

Translations: All translations are mine unless stated otherwise. As the usage and connotations of many words have undergone significant changes since the 17th and 18th centuries, I have utilised period dictionaries throughout. These are listed among the reference sources in the bibliography.

Terminology: The terms ‘*dramma per musica*’, ‘opera seria’, and ‘opera’ are used synonymously throughout. The word ‘repertory’ is generally avoided. Whenever it is used, it should be understood as referring to the different roles sung by Farinelli successively rather than in the modern sense of the word, i.e., as a pool of roles he sang multiple times. Even when Farinelli performed in revivals of *drammi per musica* in which he had sung previously, for example, the 1732 Turin and 1733 Lucca productions of *Merope* (Zeno-R. Broschi), he did not retain more than one or two arias from the earlier production.

Aria Form: Aside from a small number of cavatinas, all of the arias sung by Farinelli are in da capo form, based on bipartite aria texts whose first and second stanzas are set in the A and B sections, respectively. Nearly all of these da capo arias conform to the form outlined below, which had become the standard aria form by the 1720s:

A					B	A'
opening ritornello	a1 first vocal statement of stanza 1	ritornello	a2 second vocal statement of stanza 1	closing ritornello	b vocal statement of stanza 2	repeat of section A

The dal segno arias sung by Farinelli follow the same pattern, differing from da capo arias only in that the opening ritornello is shortened in A'.

Introduction

In her recent book, *Gesang 'gegen die Ordnung der Natur'? Kastraten und Falsettisten in der Musikgeschichte*, Corinna Herr writes in reference to Farinelli: 'Über diesen Sänger wurde bereits genug geschrieben.'¹ (About this singer, enough has been written already.) Indeed, the last 20 years have seen the publication of two biographies of Farinelli,² a special issue of the *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* in commemoration of his tercentenary in 2005, two volumes of conference proceedings and articles by the Centro Studi Farinelli in Bologna (2005 and 2007),³ an edition of Farinelli's correspondence with Count Sicinio Pepoli,⁴ a small flock of articles by Thomas McGeary as well as individual writings by various authors. And this is in addition to a fair number of earlier articles.⁵ An enumeration of mentions of Farinelli in recent scholarly literature on the *dramma per musica* and castrato singers would fill several pages, not to mention non-scholarly writings, recordings and other materials relating to the singer.

Nevertheless, I beg to differ from Herr. Although much has been written about Farinelli, very little has been said about the very aspect that one might expect to create particular curiosity – his singing. Admittedly, there has been some discussion. A few writers have commented on Farinelli's ornamentation in two of his arias, as notated by the singer himself (see chapters 1 and 5), and one of the 2005 articles makes some general points regarding his vocal technique.⁶ However, discussions of Farinelli's singing have mainly reiterated observations already made in the 1920s by Franz Haböck⁷ in his volumes, one on

¹ Corinna Herr, *Gesang 'gegen die Ordnung der Natur'? Kastraten und Falsettisten in der Musikgeschichte* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), 218.

² Patrick Barbier, *Farinelli. Le castrat des Lumières* (Paris: Grasset, 1994) and Sandro Cappelletto, *La voce perduta. Vita di Farinelli e virato cantore* (Turin: EDT, 1995).

³ *Il fantasma del Farinelli. Centro Studi Farinelli (1998-2003). Saggi e conferenze* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005) and *Il Farinelli e gli evirati cantori, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in occasione delle manifestazioni per il 300° anniversario della nascita di Carlo Broschi detto il Farinelli* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2007), both edited by Luigi Verdi.

⁴ Carlo Broschi Farinelli, *La solitudine amica. Lettere al conte Sicinio Pepoli*, ed. Carlo Vitali (Palermo, Sellerio, 2000).

⁵ For example 'Farinelli and Metastasio: rival twins in public favour', *Early Music* 12 (1984): 358-366 and 'Farinelli revisited', *Early Music* 18 (1990): 430-443 by Daniel Hertz.

⁶ Nicholas Clapton, 'Carlo Broschi Farinelli: Aspects of his Technique and Performance', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 28/3 (2005): 323-338.

⁷ An exception is Reinhard Strohm's highly insightful discussion of 'Nobil onda' from *Adelaide* (Salvi-Porpora, Rome 1723) in his *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*, *Analecta musicologica* 16/1 (Cologne: Volk, 1976), 40-42.

castrati in 17th- and 18th-century opera in general, and the other on Farinelli in particular.⁸ Due to the ground-breaking nature of his work, Haböck necessarily focuses on establishing facts, chronologies and describing musical texts. The actual discussion of Farinelli's singing in Haböck's 'Vokalbiography' is relatively brief; modern performance editions (vocal scores) of arias sung by Farinelli account for the bulk of the volume dedicated to the singer. Haböck's main interest is in the unusual extent of Farinelli's virtuosity, and this is understandable as it the parameter of his singing that emerges most clearly from surviving musical texts. Aside from the well-known fact that Farinelli was probably the most accomplished virtuoso of the 18th century, his voice has so far largely remained a 'voce perduta' (lost voice), in the words of his Italian biographer, Sandro Cappelletto.

Somewhat perversely, the great increase in interest in castrato singers in the early music recording industry and performance scene of the last twenty year has not contributed to making Farinelli's artistic profile emerge more clearly. It is true that many of his arias are now accessible to the listener. However, the fact that Farinelli's name and image have been instrumentalised as marketing tools for selling the virtuosity and exotic allure of the castrati (and indeed modern singers) means that his vocal profile has become conflated with those of his contemporaries. The situation is not all that different in scholarship. Farinelli is often mentioned collectively in the same breath (or, rather, phrase) with Caffarelli, Senesino, Carestini and others or as a representative example for castrato singing, which implies that the similarities between his vocal profile and those of his colleagues outweigh the differences. This is partially a matter of perspective. Applying a retrospective approach to historiography and primarily seeking to detect overarching developments, musicologists have assessed singers collectively for the most part. In addition, the still prevailing composer- and work-centred view of music history has accorded singers a subservient role. Though it is generally acknowledged that in the star-centred *dramma per musica*, singers played a crucial role, singers' contributions to the genre continue to be regarded as confined to performance for the most part and, thus, as ephemeral: 'The performers [i.e., singers] may be co-authors, not so much because they may influence the work itself, but through their acting and voices.'⁹ Accordingly, singers have not been the subject of similarly comprehensive studies as composers – the sheer

⁸ Franz Haböck, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli, Gesangkunst der Kastraten, 1. Notenband* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1923) and *Die Kastraten und ihre Gesangkunst. Eine gesangsphysiologische, kultur- und musikhistorische Studie* (Berlin and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt Stuttgart, 1927).

⁹ Reinhard Strohm, 'Zenobia: voices and authorship in opera seria', *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart*, ed. Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002), 80.

logistical effort of dealing with manuscript sources that are located in archives all over Europe and North America is forbidding and seems more warranted for an important composer than a singer.¹⁰ In the case of Farinelli, the fact that many of the operas in which he sang were composed by composers who have traditionally been categorised as *Kleinmeister* has further discouraged study of his roles.

However, the image of Farinelli that emerges from 18th-century sources differs substantially. Whilst it is true that his name became synonymous with virtuosity during his own lifetime, his agility is only one of many features praised by his contemporaries that earned him epithets such as ‘tutelar nume della nostra professione’ (guardian god of our [i.e., the singing] profession).¹¹ And even his critics infallibly emphasise that he was unlike other singers. 18th-century discourses about Farinelli are discourses of difference, inimitability and perfection. This raises the question of which aspects of his voice and performance resulted in his being perceived as different from other star singers by his contemporaries. Answering this question is one of the aims of the present study. As the period reception of Farinelli was shaped by the prevailing aesthetics, analysis of the aesthetic implications of the music he sang is another important concern of his study. As a result of my own work as a singer of baroque opera, two other issues that have long been of great interest to me are the role of star singers in the creation of the *dramma per musica* and communication between performer and audience. These are, of course, closely connected with the public perception of singers. This latter is to a great extent shaped by the off-stage image of a singer, as Suzanne Aspden has shown in her study of the personae of Faustina, Cuzzoni and Senesino, *The Rival Sirens*.¹² In Farinelli’s case, the nobility of character accorded him by most accounts dating from after his retirement from the stage played an important role in rendering him a legendary figure by the middle of the 18th century, as it set him apart from what was considered typical star behaviour. However, my research focuses primarily on the musical and aesthetic aspects of his persona, not least because Thomas McGearry has already dealt in much detail with the commodification of

¹⁰ So far, there are no studies of singers to match the scope of e.g. Strohm’s *The Operas of Antonio Vivaldi*, 2 volumes (Florence: Olschki, 2008), Roland Schmidt-Hensel’s “*La musica è del Signor Hasse detto il Sassone...*” *Johann Adolf Hasses ‘Opere serie’ der Jahre 1730 bis 1745*, 2 volumes (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009) and Winton Dean’s *Handel’s Operas 1726-1741* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006) and *Handel’s Operas 1704-1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), the latter volume co-authored with John Merrill Knapp.

¹¹ Giambattista Mancini, *Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, 3rd revised, corrected and enlarged edition, Milan 1777, facsimile print (Bologna: Forni, 1996), 154.

¹² Suzanne Aspden, *The Rival Sirens. Performance and Identity on Handel’s Operatic Stage* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Farinelli in the socio-political discourses in England during and after the singer's sojourn in this country.¹³

Part I of this study seeks to reconstruct Farinelli's vocal profile. In chapter 1, contemporary descriptions by earwitnesses are examined and evaluated with regard to important aspects of his singing, i.e., the sound quality, volume and range of his voice, technical elements such as his trill, agility and breath control, ornamentation and improvisation and, finally, his acting. Chapter 2 summarises the main stages of the singer's stage career. The purpose of this chapter is not to reiterate biographical information, but to provide an outline that can serve as a framework for the discussion of the development of Farinelli's vocal technique, personal style and reception. The chapter also identifies important points of professional interaction between Farinelli and other famous singers. Chapter 3 falls into two parts. Firstly, the main elements of vocal technique, as described in the vastly influential vocal treatises of Tosi¹⁴ and Mancini,¹⁵ are outlined in relation to notational practice of 18th-century manuscript scores and their relevance to the music sung by Farinelli. Secondly, the development of Farinelli's voice in terms of the singer's vocal technique, range, volume and details of style is discussed on the basis of the analysis of Farinelli's operatic roles. Chapter 4 focuses on the analysis and contextualisation of important stylistic changes that occurred during Farinelli's career. In particular, I evaluate the veracity of anecdotal information that has greatly contributed to the reception of Farinelli, both already during his lifetime and posthumously, and so far been accepted largely at face value. In addition, I explore the relationship between Farinelli's stylistic choices and the aesthetic preferences of the different audiences he encountered.

Part II deals with larger questions raised by Farinelli's reception and the analysis of his artistic profile. In chapter 5, 18th-century conceptualisations of virtuosity and the text-music relationship in opera are considered in order to provide a theoretical backdrop for the reception of Farinelli's nightingale metaphor arias, both in his lifetime and in modern scholarship. Chapters 6 and 7 approach the *dramma per musica* from the vantage point of

¹³ See Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), especially chapter 6, as well as 'Farinelli in Madrid: opera, politics, and the war of Jenkins' ear.' *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 383-421.

¹⁴ Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni, o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato* (Bologna: dalla Volpe, 1723).

¹⁵ Mancini, *Riflessioni*.

rhetoric. A critical examination of recent attempts at integrating the principles of rhetoric into *dramma per musica* scholarship lays the foundation for a rhetorical model of the creative process of operatic composition. This model posits a re-evaluation of the relationship between singer, composer and poet, proposing that all three need to be understood as co-creators in a collaborative process. This is followed by an analysis of Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias which seeks to pinpoint musical details that yield information about 1) rhetorical devices that act upon the listener's expectations in the live performance of individual pieces, and 2) overarching strategies that serve to make Farinelli's artistic profile cohesive, unique and memorable. The final chapter deals with Farinelli's slow expressive arias. It argues that in these pieces, Farinelli introduced an aesthetic that was novel to the *dramma per musica*; in it, the words cede the role of primary communicative agent to music. The conclusion of this study seeks to assess (though briefly) Farinelli's impact on the *dramma per musica*.

Due to the well-known comments on Farinelli's acting, which was perceived as poor by his contemporaries, this aspect of Farinelli as a performer has so far raised little interest. However, the singer very carefully cultivated a highly distinct dramatic profile, perhaps partially to disguise his lack of talent in this area, but possibly also for other reasons. The analysis of this profile does not fit the scope of the present study and will be dealt with separately as it requires the discussion of issues such as contemporary aesthetics regarding stage performance, the relationship between opera and theatre, the principles of 18th-century acting as well as detailed examination of the libretti of the operas in which Farinelli appeared. Therefore Farinelli's acting will be considered only briefly inasmuch as it impacts directly on his singing and the aesthetic questions discussed in part II of this study.

As this study deals with the large issues of aesthetics and rhetoric in addition to the reception and artistic profile of Farinelli, it dispenses with the traditional literature review. Instead, it responds to previous scholarship, as appropriate, within individual chapters.

PART I: FARINELLI'S VOCAL PROFILE

1 Three Ear Witness Accounts of Farinelli's Voice

The most famous of all castrati since his own lifetime, Farinelli, has become the default example for castrato singing in modern scholarship. In his *General History of Music*,¹ published in 1789, Burney gives extensive musical examples of Farinelli's singing, reproducing the aria 'Son qual nave' in full score, three coloratura passages with basso continuo and the vocal lines of another six arias. Altogether, these amount to eight pages of 'Divisions in the Songs which Farinelli performed during his Residence in England.'² To no other singer does Burney dedicate so much space for musical examples.³ An extensive collection of musical examples from Farinelli's roles, prefaced by a prose account of the singer's vocal development, entitled *Carlo Broschi Farinelli – Gesangkunst der Kastraten*,⁴ constitutes the first volume of a projected 4-volume series (two volumes of musical examples and 2 volumes of prose writings) detailing the history of castrato singing by Franz Haböck, the pioneer of modern research on castrati.⁵ Modern scholarship has drawn heavily on both Burney and Haböck. For example, Nicholas Clapton's 2005 article 'Carlo Broschi Farinelli: Aspects of his Technique and Performance' for the Farinelli issue of the *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*⁶ on occasion of the singer's tercentenary, relies entirely on Haböck; all of his musical examples are taken from Haböck's Farinelli volume. Martha Feldman's main musical example for her discussion of 'The Singer as Magus' in *Opera and Sovereignty*⁷ is 'Son

¹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest to the Present Period*, Vol. 4 (London: Burney, 1789).

² Burney, *General History*, 4:437-444.

³ Burney gives groups of musical examples of divisions sung by other singers. The most extensive of these are the 'Divisions in Nicolini's Songs, and in those of his Contemporaries and immediate Successors' (271-272) and 'Vocal Divisions and Refinements in Dramatic Music from 1740 to 1755' (461-462). Neither of these exceeds two pages and both contain excerpts of arias sung by several singers.

⁴ Franz Haböck, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli, Gesangkunst der Kastraten, 1. Notenband* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1923).

⁵ Haböck did not live to complete this series, but died unexpectedly in 1921, by which time he had only completed the first volume on Farinelli, which was published posthumously. The remaining materials were compiled into the volume *Die Kastraten und ihre Gesangkunst. Eine gesangsphysiologische, kultur- und musikhistorische Studie* by his wife, Martina Haböck, according to her editorial preface to this volume (Berlin and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt Stuttgart, 1927), V-VI.

⁶ Nicholas Clapton, 'Carlo Broschi Farinelli: Aspects of his Technique and Performance,' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 28/3 (2005): 323-338.

⁷ Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty. Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 69-82. Feldman incorrectly states that the version of the aria she reproduces was sung by Farinelli in the *Artaserse* pasticcio in London in 1734 (74, caption of the musical example). However, in 1734 Farinelli sang an earlier version of the aria, the one reproduced

qual nave' in the recomposed, transposed and ornamented version included by Farinelli in a collection of six arias presented to Empress Maria Theresa in 1753, also reproduced in piano-vocal score by Haböck. A substantial passage from the same aria also serves as an illustration of castrato virtuosity in Corinna Herr's *Gesang gegen die Ordnung der Natur? Kastraten und Falsettisten in der Musikgeschichte*.⁸ Haböck's achievement is admirable in the context of the logistic difficulties in researching a repertory whose sources are spread throughout and beyond Europe, the near complete absence of previous scholarship and the general hostility towards castrato singers and vocal virtuosity in musicology at the beginning of the 20th century.⁹

However, nearly a century later, the importance of Farinelli both in the history of vocal music and the reception of the *dramma per musica* in modern musicology warrants the corrections of some errors made by Haböck that continue to be perpetuated in scholarship and popular culture and the refocusing of the artistic image of Farinelli. For example, the circumstance that Haböck based his transcription of the aria 'Navigante che non spera' (II, 15) from *Medo* (Frugoni-Vinci, Parma 1728) on a score in which the aria had been transposed down one octave continues to cause confusion regarding Farinelli's range.¹⁰ This has contributed to a perhaps unrealistic perception of an important aspect of Farinelli's voice as somehow superhuman. Of at least equal consequence is Haböck's focus on bravura singing; 14 of the 25 arias included in full contain extensive coloratura passages, and nearly all of the 17 excerpts are particularly difficult *passaggi*. Haböck's choices are justified in that Farinelli made a great impact on contemporary singing in the area of bravura singing and that it was this aspect of his singing which may have contributed most to his fame. However, though the proportion of virtuosic arias varies in different stages of Farinelli's career, such arias hardly ever account for more than half of his arias in any of his operatic roles. Moreover, there is evidence that Farinelli may have

in score by Burney in *General History*, p. 439-444, which, in turn is based on the 1734 print in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Call'd Artaxerxes* (London: Walsh).

⁸ Corinna Herr, *Gesang gegen die Ordnung der Natur? Kastraten und Falsettisten in der Musikgeschichte* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), 208-211.

⁹ In his writings, Haböck reacts to the aspersions cast upon castrato singers particularly by the Handel scholar, Friedrich Chrysander, on several occasions. See, for example, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, XXIX.

¹⁰ Clapton, who reproduces an excerpt from *Medo* as printed by Haböck, thus believes that Farinelli's range extended to c (middle of the system in bass clef) at the bottom, thus overestimating the singer's low range by a fourth (Clapton, 'Carlo Broschi Farinelli,' 327). Herr refers to Haböck's musical examples in *Carlo Broschi Farinelli* in a footnote, giving Farinelli's range as 'f-c3' in the footnote, but as 'f-e3' in the main text (Herr, *Kastraten und Falsettisten*, 216, footnote 295). It is not necessary to list the various instances in which Farinelli's range has been misrepresented; in the *Grove Online* article on the singer, the error has been corrected.

developed a personal preference for *cantabile* arias. The heavy emphasis on Farinelli's vocal virtuosity, encouraged by Burney's musical examples in *General History*, has overshadowed other important aspects not only of Farinelli's own singing, but, due to his function as the paradigm of castrato singing, that of other castrati as well.

In addition, although 18th-century writings frequently point out that Farinelli continued to develop his vocal technique even after he had already acquired an international reputation, augmenting the technical and stylistic repertory he had been taught in Naples by Porpora by the features of the Northern Italian style, there has been no study that corroborates these 18th-century claims and/or differentiates between the different elements of Farinelli's technique and style.¹¹ Similarly, the question whether, and, if so, how far Farinelli adapted his style and technique to the vastly different audiences to whom he performed, remains unexplored. In sum, to date the knowledge of Farinelli, one of the most famous singers in music history, as a musician and performer, remains as incomplete as that of Handel a century ago when he was known for little more than the *Messiah*.

Quantz, Mancini and Burney

The three most comprehensive descriptions of Farinelli's voice by music experts who met Farinelli in person are those by Johann Joachim Quantz, Giambattista Mancini and Charles Burney.¹² Quantz's account of Farinelli forms part of his 'Lebenslauf', which is mainly composed of Quantz's most memorable musical memories. Quantz heard Farinelli during the carnival season of 1725 in Naples in the *dramma per musica*, *Tito Sempronio Graccho* (Stampiglia-Sarri)¹³ and the *serenata*, *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra* (Ricciardi-Hasse)¹⁴ as well as in Parma in 1726 in *I fratelli riconosciuti* (Silvani-Capelli).¹⁵ He also performed alongside him in several concerts in Naples in 1725.¹⁶ Mancini sang with Farinelli in

¹¹ Haböck's summary of Farinelli's career remains relatively brief and untechnical throughout. The author primarily discusses the range of arias and the duration and technical difficulty of coloratura passages.

¹² Johann Joachim Quantz, 'Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen,' *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützen's selige Wittwe, 1754), 233-234. Giambattista Mancini, *Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, facsimile print of the 3rd revised, corrected and enlarged edition, Milan 1777 (Bologna: Forni, 1996), 152-154. Burney, *General History*, 378-81.

¹³ Quantz, 'Lebenslauf,' 226-227.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 233.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 229-230.

Lucca in 1733 in *La Merope* (Zeno-R. Broschi), probably a revival of Broschi's setting for Turin the preceding year in which Farinelli had also appeared as *primo uomo*. It is highly likely that Mancini heard Farinelli on many more occasions. Born in 1714, Mancini first studied with Leonardo Leo in Naples and later with Antonio Bernacchi in Bologna,¹⁷ making it likely that Mancini's and Farinelli's residences in Naples and Bologna coincided or at least overlapped. Mancini describes Farinelli in his *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (Vienna, 1774, revised 1777), in which examples of famous singers serve to underpin Mancini's pedagogical aims. Burney heard Farinelli in Bologna in 1770 on the journey documented in his *General State of Music in France and Italy*,¹⁸ undertaken to collect information for his *General History*, which also contains his description of Farinelli's voice.¹⁹ By 1770, Farinelli was 65 years old and, according to Burney, had 'long left off singing, but amuse[d] himself still on the harpsichord and viol d'amour'.²⁰ Sacchi's statement that 'tre settimane innanzi alla morte cantò quasi tutto il giorno' (until three weeks before his death, he [Farinelli] sang almost all day)²¹ may be over-exaggerated. Burney does not mention hearing Farinelli perform any vocal music, and Farinelli may have avoided singing for Burney as it seems plausible that 'egli paragonando se stesso con se stesso, quando era giovine, trovava in sé molta differenza'²² (he, comparing himself [in old age] with himself when he was young, found much difference in himself [i.e., in his singing]). However, Burney heard Farinelli play the pianoforte, commenting that 'he *sings* upon it with infinite taste and expression.'²³ Though Farinelli's playing would have given Burney an idea of his practice of ornamentation, taste and expression in 1770, Burney's account of Farinelli's singing is second-hand. But, composed of information collected from a great number of musicians and connoisseurs who had heard him sing, it can be assumed that Burney's account represents his informants' general consensus, as Burney aimed at documenting music history to his best knowledge. It should be noted that Quantz, Mancini and Burney all wrote about Farinelli's voice in retrospect; Quantz nearly 30 years

¹⁷ John Rosselli, 'Mancini, Giovanni Battista,' *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 27, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O007306>.

¹⁸ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: Beckett and Strand, 1773), 204-205, 210-225, 229-230.

¹⁹ Burney, *General History*, 379-381.

²⁰ Burney, *France and Italy*, 211.

²¹ Giovenale Sacchi, *Vita di Don Carlo Broschi detto il Farinello*, ed. Alessandro Abbate (Napoli: Pagano, 1994), 57.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Burney, *France and Italy*, 229. The italics are Burney's.

and Mancini about 40 years after hearing him. Similarly, Burney utilised memories that were 30 or more years old. However, both the authors' musical expertise and the circumstance that Farinelli's voice was, by all contemporary accounts, outstanding and unequalled and thus memorable, lend them credibility.

Since it is the aim of this study to reconstruct a well-rounded profile of Farinelli, it is worth taking a closer look at the aspects of his singing commented upon by Quantz, Mancini and Burney.

Sound quality and volume

Quantz: 'Farinelli hatte eine durchdringende, völlige, dicke, helle und egale Sopranstimme.' (Farinelli had a powerful, perfect, full, bright and even soprano voice.)

Mancini: 'La sua voce fu riguardata sorprendente, perchè perfetta, valida, e sonora nella sua qualità, ... che a' tempi nostri non si è sentita l'eguale'; 'il di lei portamento, e l'unione ... furoni i di lei pregi uguali.' (His voice was regarded as surprising because [it was so] perfect, strong and resonant in quality ... that in our times, no equal [voice] has been heard; his *portamento*, the perfect union of registers ... were all of equal distinction.)

Burney: 'No vocal performer of the present century has been more unanimously allowed by professional critics, as well as general celebrity, to have been gifted with a voice of such uncommon power, sweetness ... Farinelli ... enchanted and astonished his hearers by the force ... and mellifluous tones of the mere organ ... He was so judicious in proportioning the force of his voice to the space it was to pass to the ears of his audience, that in a small theatre at Venice, though it was then most powerful, one of the managers of the opera complained that he did not sufficiently exert himself- "let me then," says Farinelli, "have a larger theatre, or I shall lose my reputation, without your being a gainer by it."

All three authors concur that Farinelli's voice was beautiful. Its beauty consisted both in the sound quality, which Quantz describes as full and bright and Burney as sweet,²⁴ as in the evenness of sound quality throughout the registers, one of the most important criteria for the quality of a voice according to Tosi²⁵ and Mancini.²⁶ This was complemented by uncommon power, i.e., volume and projection. Burney's story about Farinelli's adapting his volume to the size of the theatre may be anecdotal at least in part – in Venice, Farinelli

²⁴ In 18th-century English writings, the adjective 'sweet' is used to describe voices as 'beautiful'; the latter word is typically not used.

²⁵ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 14

²⁶ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 133-41.

only sang opera at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, the grandest theatre in Venice (which still survives today, renamed Teatro Malibran), never at any of the smaller theatres, and no concerts at other theatres are documented. Nevertheless, the circumstance that the volume of Farinelli's voice became subject of an anecdote supports reports of its unusual power. It is possible that a remark by Tosi echoes in Burney's story: 'Chi non regola la sua voce a misura del sito dove canta deve correggersi, essendo grandissima balordagine di chi non distingue un vasto Teatro da un Gabinetto angusto.'²⁷ (He who does not adapt his voice to the venue where he sings needs to correct his practice, for it is very foolish not to distinguish between a vast theatre and a small chamber.) Tosi's treatise, at least in its English translation by John Galliard of 1742, was well known in England. Burney's anecdote thus validates Farinelli's use of the dynamic range of his voice as an example of good practice according to Tosi's principles.

Range

Quantz: 'Sopranstimme, deren Umfang sich damals vom ungestrichenen a bis ins dreygestrichene d erstreckte; wenige Jahre hernach aber sich in der Tiefe noch mit einigen Tönen, doch ohne Verlust der hohen, vermehret hat: dergestalt, daß in vielen Opern, eine Arie, meistens ein Adagio, in dem Umfange des Contralts, und die übrigen im Umfange des Soprans für ihn geschrieben worden.' (A soprano voice whose range extended from a to d'' at that time [in 1725-26], but which a few years later gained several more pitches at the bottom without losing the high ones; therefore, in many operas, one of his arias, usually an adagio, was written in the contralto range and the rest in soprano range.)

Mancini: 'La sua voce fu riguardata sorprendente, perchè ... ricca nella sua distesa per i profondi, gravi, ed acuti, che a' tempi nostri non si è sentita l'eguale.' (His voice was regarded as surprising because [it was so] ... rich in its extension over the low, middle and high notes, that in our times, no equal [voice] has been heard.)

Burney: 'No vocal performer of the present century has been more unanimously allowed by professional critics, as well as general celebrity, to have been gifted with a voice of such uncommon power, sweetness, extent, and agility.' 'Farinelli ... enchanted and astonished his hearers by the force, extent, and mellifluous tones of the mere organ.'

Whilst Burney and Mancini only emphasise that Farinelli had an unusually wide range, Quantz specifies his range, describing it as two octaves and a fourth in 1725-26. A further increase of the bottom range would have expanded Farinelli's range to close to three octaves. Quantz's observation that Farinelli was known to sing arias both in contralto and

²⁷ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 95.

soprano range confirms the remarks about the evenness of his registers, suggesting that he had a firm command of his voice and could produce a powerful sound throughout his range, being able to sing in different tessituras for significant amounts of time.

Trill and agility

Quantz: 'Sein Trillo [war] schön ... und seine Kehle sehr geläufig; so daß er die weit entlegenen Intervalle, geschwind, und mit der größten Leichtigkeit und Gewissheit, heraus brachte. Durchbrochene Passagen, machten ihm, so wie alle anderen Läufe, gar keine Mühe.' (His trill was beautiful ... and his larynx very agile, so that he produced the widest intervals with the greatest ease and precision. Arpeggiated *passaggi*, as well as any other type of coloratura singing, cost him no effort at all.)

Mancini: 'Tutte le grazie e gli ornamenti del canto... possedeva a tutta perfezione'; l'agilità sorprendente, ed un perfetto e raro trillo.' (He possessed all the graces and ornaments of [the art of] singing to absolute perfection; surprising agility, and a perfect and exquisite trill.)

Burney: 'His voice was so active, that no intervals were too close, too wide, or too rapid for his execution. It seems as if the composers of these times were unable to invent passages sufficiently difficult to display his powers, or the orchestra to accompany him in many of those which had been composed for his peculiar talent.' 'On his arrival here, at the first private rehearsal ..., Lord Cooper, then the principal manager of the opera under Porpora, observing that the band did not follow him, but were all gaping with wonder, as if thunder-struck, desired them to be attentive; when they all confessed, that they were unable to keep pace with him: having not only been disabled by astonishment, but overpowered by his talents. This band was small, consisting only of Carbonelli, Mich. Christ. Festing, Valentine Snow, afterwards sergeant-trumpet, and Mr. Vezan, a dancing-master, who was likewise a steady and excellent concert-player on the violin, and constantly employed whenever Carbonelli or Festing was the leader; it is from this worthy man that I had this anecdote.' 'Of his shake, great use seems to have been made in the melodies and divisions assigned to him.'

For the vocal pedagogue, Mancini, the most noteworthy aspect here is that Farinelli had command of all embellishments in use in the 18th century, and that there was no area in which his singing was lacking. Quantz, the flautist, seems impressed with Farinelli's technical precision as though he had been playing an instrument rather than singing, making special reference to *arpeggios*, which were not typical of vocal idiom at the time. Burney, who gleaned his knowledge of Farinelli's arias to a great extent from sheet music, learnt about his singing from reports and writes about it in retrospect, comparing him with earlier and later singers, emphasises the unprecedented difficulty of Farinelli's bravura arias. Burney's account of Vezan's story that Farinelli's tempo in rehearsal was so fast that some of the best violinists in London could not keep up with him should probably be

read in conjunction with from his comments in *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* on the first London performance of 'Son qual nave' only a few weeks later. Burney states that 'it was difficult for the violins of those days to keep pace with him. In short, he was to all other singers as superior as the famous horse Childers was to all other running-horses; but it was not only in speed that he excelled, for he now had every excellence of every great singer united.' The fastest note values played by the violins in Farinelli's bravura arias are usually the same as the ones performed by the singer (most often sixteenth notes). If Farinelli was indeed able to perform his difficult *passaggi* faster than the violinists could play their parts, his agility was indeed extraordinary.²⁸ Even if the anecdote contains a degree of exaggeration, the amazement of professional musicians, rather than an amateur audience, supports Quantz's, Mancini's and Burney's comments regarding Farinelli's unusual agility.

Breath control

Quantz: 'Seine Brust [war] im Aushalten des Athems, außerordentlich stark.' (His chest was extraordinarily strong in sustaining the breath.)

Mancini: 'Farinello... possedeva la *messa di voce* a tutta perfezione, che a giudizio comune, fu quella, che lo rese per fama immortale nel canto.' 'L'arte di saper conservare e ripigliare il fiato con tal riserva e pulizia, senza mai farne accorgere alcuno, principiò, e terminò in lui.' (Farinelli ... possessed the *messa di voce* to absolute perfection, so that it was the general consensus that it was this that rendered his fame in singing immortal. The art of controlling his breath and retaking it with such discretion and neatness, so as not to let anyone notice when he breathed, started and ended with him).

Burney: 'There was none of all Farinelli's excellencies by which he so far surpassed all other singers, and astonished the public, as his *messa di voce*, or swell; which, by the natural formation of his lungs, and artificial œconomy of breath, he was able to protract to such a length as to excite incredulity even in those who heard him; who, though unable to detect the artifice, imagined him to have had the latent help of some instrument by which the tone was continued, while he renewed his powers by respiration.'

All three authors consider Farinelli's breath control extraordinary. Burney's comment probably reflects the narratives of the eye (or rather ear) witnesses he consulted. Mancini,

²⁸ The violinists may have been sight-reading; however, an 18th-century opera violinist who, of course, played only in contemporary style, would have been familiar with the figurations, patterns and techniques that could occur in orchestral parts. The emphasis on Farinelli's unmatched tempo is emphasised by means of the comparison with the Duke of Devonshire's legendary racehorse, Flying Childers, who was undefeated throughout his career in the 1720s (Anne Peters, 'Flying Childers', *Thoroughbred Heritage Portraits*, accessed 21 June 2014, <http://www.tbheritage.com/Portraits/FlyingChilders.html>). Apparently, the violinists were able to keep up with Farinelli eventually once their amazement had abated.

who as a young aspiring singer had surely observed Farinelli's technique very closely, points out that he also breathed almost unnoticeably, a valuable detail of execution not found elsewhere.

Ornamentation and Improvisation

Quantz: 'In den willkürlichen Auszierungen des Adagio war er sehr fruchtbar. Das Feuer der Jugend, sein großes Talent, der allgemeine Beyfall, und die fertige Kehle, machten, daß er dann und wann zu verschwenderisch damit umgieng.' (He was very fruitful in the improvised ornamentation of the adagio. The fire of youth, his great talent, the general applause and his agile throat made him use it [ornamentation] too lavishly every once in a while.)

Mancini: 'Fu anche dotato del dono d'un naturale creativo, il quale condotto col sapere, faceva sentire cose peregrine, e sì particolari, che non lasciò campo ad altri di poterlo imitare.' (He was also endowed with the gift of a creative disposition, which, controlled by his learning, brought forth such unusual and original things, that he made it impossible for others to imitate him.)

Burney: 'Of his taste and embellishments we shall now be able to form but an imperfect idea, even if they had been preserved in writing, as mere notes would only show his invention and science, without enabling us to discover that expression and neatness, which rendered his execution so perfect and surprising;' 'his taste and fancy in varying passages were thought by his cotemporaries²⁹ inexhaustible.'

In the second half of the 18th century, aspects of Farinelli's improvisational practice were already no longer accessible, though some ornamented arias have been preserved in writing.³⁰ It should be noted that Burney relies on Mancini for his remark on Farinelli's embellishment,³¹ which attests to Burney's serious interest in utilising the most reliable sources available to him. Quantz, having heard Farinelli when he was no older than 21, i.e., within the first five years of his career, remarks on occasional excess in ornamentation. Mancini and Burney mention no such thing, which may indicate that Farinelli became more judicious with regard to ornamentation or that their points of reference and perception of what constituted excess were different from Quantz's. Mancini's assertion

²⁹ This is not a spelling error but a variant used consistently by Burney.

³⁰ A re-composed and transposed version of 'Son qual nave' (*Mitridate*, 1730, Gai), and 'Quell'usignolo che innamorato' (*Merope*, 1734, Giacomelli), the latter with a new B section, are transmitted in the collection of arias Farinelli presented to Maria Teresa in 1753 (*A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 19111).

³¹ Burney translates an example Mancini uses to illustrate the ephemeral nature of the singer's art in contrast to that of the painter, sculptor, architect or composer: 'Prendiamo, a cagion d'esempio, per mano un Aria cantata dal celebre Farinello, ed abbiassi anche separatamente in scritto quella variazione, di cui sé n'è egli servito per abbellirla. Noi scopriremo certamente in quella il di lui talento, la di lui scienza, ma non potremo per quello indovinare qual fosse il suo preciso metodo, che rese sì perfetta, e sì sorprendente l'esecuzione, giacchè questo non può essere spiegato con le note.' Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 32.

that the originality of Farinelli's ornamentation practice resulted from the control Farinelli exerted over his natural creativity by means of his musical erudition may reflect Mancini's pedagogical agenda,³² but it is no less true for this. Farinelli came from a family of musicians, composed music himself and was an accomplished harpsichord player, well able to accompany himself at a professional level.³³

Acting

Quantz: 'Seine Gestalt war für das Theater vorteilhaft: die Action aber gieng ihm nicht sehr von Herzen.' (His figure was advantageous for the stage; but his acting lacked passion.)

Mancini: no discussion of Farinelli's acting

Burney: 'Nicolini, Senesino, and Carestini, gratified the eye as much by the dignity, grace and propriety of their action and deportment, as the ear by the judicious use of a few notes within the limits of a small compass; but Farinelli without the assistance of significant gestures or graceful attitudes enchanted and astonished...' 'During the time of his singing, he was as motionless as a statue.'

Of course, Burney refers to the manner in which Farinelli sang arias, not recitatives; in the latter Farinelli, too, was obliged to act by the conventions of stage performance. Burney may have exaggerated in order to sharpen the contrast between Farinelli on the one hand and Nicolini, Senesino and Carestini on the other; it is certainly a gross understatement to describe Carestini's range as Burney does in this passage. However, there is ample evidence that Farinelli did not excel at acting. Quantz's comment has to be read in the context of remarks on other singers. For example, according to Quantz, Pinacci's and Carestini's acting was 'feurig' (fiery)³⁴, whereas Cuzzoni's was 'kaltsinnig' (cold-blooded),³⁵ suggesting that Quantz's assessment of singers' acting was shaped by his understanding of the passions according to the Galenian model of the human body in which strong passions require a high degree of body heat. The heart was thought to be a

³² In addition, Mancini points out twice in the course of two pages that Farinelli never ceased to study and refine his technique even after he had already attained international acclaim.

³³ For example, Farinelli accompanied himself when he first performed before Emperor Charles VI on his 1731 visit to Vienna ('mi fa mettere al cembalo e sonai e cantai da me un'aria'). See letter of 31 March 1731, Carlo Broschi Farinelli, *La solitudine amica. Lettere al conte Sicinio Pepoli*, ed. Carlo Vitali (Palermo: Sellerio, 2000), 99.

³⁴ Quantz, 'Lebenslauf', 230 and 235 respectively.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 240.

'small combustion chamber'³⁶ which could heat the blood, creating strong passions. Thus Quantz's remark means that Farinelli's acting lacked passion and expression. Quantz does not state this in an equally straightforward manner as in Cuzzoni's case, possibly on account of his high regard for Farinelli.³⁷

Although Quantz, Burney and Mancini cover a range of important aspects of Farinelli's singing, they tell the reader more about how Farinelli was perceived in comparison with contemporary singers than about his actual singing. Moreover, as is to be expected in such brief accounts, they describe Farinelli's voice entirely from a retrospective perspective, aside from Quantz's remark on the gradual increase of Farinelli range. Thus they offer very little insight into the development of Farinelli's voice or style. However, as later chapters will show, the latter was of great significance for both the impact and reception of Farinelli.

³⁶ Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion. Studies in the Science of Acting* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 38. Roach explains the Galenian body model and its significance for the understanding of acting and its effects on the human body in detail in Chapter 1. By the early 18th century, the Galenian understanding of human physiology had been superseded by Cartesian dualism, at least among scientists and philosophers. However, terminology and idioms related to the Galenian model remained in currency. Metastasio, for example, frequently used both Galenian and Cartesian terminology in his libretti throughout his career.

³⁷ Quantz mentions that he and Farinelli became friends in Naples in 1725. 'Lebenslauf', 230.

2 Farinelli's Stage Career

Farinelli's career was unusual in all respects. It commenced at the top tier of the professional hierarchy in a prima donna role – Farinelli never had to climb the career ladder and achieved almost instant fame. His stage career was the shortest of any star singer in the first half of the 18th century, spanning only 15 years (1722-1737), and yet it not only impacted enormously on the singing style of the time, but also took on extra-musical significance. It was also exceptionally intense. In 15 years, Farinelli sang in approximately 80 productions of which printed libretti survive. In comparison, here are some figures for other star singers: Among the famous castrati, Nicola Grimaldi 'Nicolini' sang 104 roles in 35 years, Antonio Bernardi 'Senesino' 122 roles in 33 years, Antonio Bernacchi 94 roles in 39 years, Giovanni Carestini 90 roles in 35 years; among famous female singers, Francesca Cuzzoni appeared in 76 roles in 27 years, Faustina Hasse-Bordoni in 75 roles in 33 years and Vittoria Tesi in 100 roles in 35 years.¹ Farinelli's unusually busy schedule may have resulted from the singer's desire to end his career as soon as he had enough money to retire comfortably² and, possibly, in order not to diminish his extraordinary reputation by a gradual decline of his career as experienced by many singers.³

An overview of Farinelli's career (see table 2-1 below) shows that the number of operas in which he appeared increased steadily until he left Italy for England in 1734. The earliest peak of activity occurred in 1724, the first year in which Farinelli sang opera outside Rome, appearing both in the Roman carnival season and in Naples in spring, autumn and winter. 1725 was a particularly busy year with regard to the total number of works in Farinelli's diary, which included three *serenate*. Such works are nearly absent in subsequent years – the only exception is the 1736 *La festa d'Imeneo*⁴ – Farinelli may not have wished to learn full-length roles for one-off performances, as they would have commanded lower fees than

¹ These figures are approximate and only meant to serve for a general comparison. They do not include reruns of the same opera as were typical e.g., in London.

² The earliest surviving evidence for this is a letter by Farinelli to Count Sicinio Pepoli written within a month of his spectacular debut in London. Letter of 30 November 1734. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 132.

³ Letter of 23 May 1735. *Ibid.*, 136. Farinelli's plans to quit the stage are discussed in more detail later on in this chapter.

⁴ *La festa d'Imeneo* (Rolli-Porpora, London) was part of the wedding celebrations of the marriage of the English heir apparent, Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha.

productions with a full run; some of them might even have been rewarded only by means of the honour of the invitation to participate and a present.⁵ The dip in the number of operatic productions in 1726 and 1727 appears to have been related to Farinelli's move into the northern Italian opera circuit and possibly to the challenges of learning to negotiate engagements in different cities and long-distance travel. In 1730, Farinelli began to perform in numerous *drammi per musica* in small cities that held a summer or autumn fair, such as Fano and Lucca. These operas' often star-studded casts were produced to entice aristocratic and other rich patrons to visit the fairs.⁶

Table 2-1: Farinelli's Career: Overview

Year	Operas	Serenate	Oratorios	Total
1720	-	1	-	1
1721	-	1 (2)	-	1 (2)
1722	2	-	-	2
1723	2	2	-	4
1724	5	1	-	6
1725	4	3	-	7
1726	3	-	-	3
1727	3	-	-	3
1728	4	-	-	4
1729	4	(1)	-	4 (+1)
1730	6	-	-	6
1731	6	-	-	6
1732	2	-	2	4
1733	4	-	-	4
1734	7	-	-	7
1735	5	-	-	5
1736	4	1	-	4
1737	5	-	-	5

The low number of operatic productions in 1732 is due to the imperial invitation to the Viennese court, where Farinelli traveled at the end of March, staying until 16 June.⁷ There he sang in two oratorios during Lent in addition to giving numerous chamber performances. The circumstance that the duration of his stay in Vienna depended on the wishes of the imperial couple may have prevented Farinelli from taking on engagements in the late summer and autumn of 1732. Finally, the peak in number of operatic productions in 1734 reflects a full schedule both in northern Italy and London.

⁵ Several of the *drammi per musica* in which Farinelli appeared were connected to aristocratic or royal weddings and similar events, but these seem to have had runs with multiple performances and were performed in opera houses rather than private homes.

⁶ It is possible that Farinelli began to take on these engagements with the aim of reducing the duration of his stage career before being able to retire, so this decision may date to 1730.

⁷ Letters of 3 March 1732 and 14 June 1732. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 97 and 105, respectively.

The circumstances of Farinelli's career after leaving the stage, his engagement as a remedy for the mental health problems of Philip V at the royal court of Spain, where he remained for 23 years and was appointed director of the court opera, was 'so well known that it [was] not necessary to discuss [it] in any detail'⁸ in the 18th century. In the 21st century, the general facts of Farinelli's career as they relate to the singer's biography are well known due to the work of Patrick Barbier⁹ and Sandro Cappelletto¹⁰ respectively, so it will not be necessary to discuss them in any detail here, either. However, a summary of the stages of Farinelli's career will be given in order to provide a context for the ensuing discussion of the singer's vocal profile and issues arising from the study of his repertory. The emphasis in this summary is not on biographical detail but rather on Farinelli's professional status, also in relationship with other singers.

1720-1724: *Early Career*

Carlo Broschi made his stage debut at the age of 16 at the Teatro Aliberti in Rome in the carnival season of 1722, performing the title role in Silvani-Predieri's *Sofonisba* and Placida in Zeno/Porpora's *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*.¹¹ By this time, he must already have had a reputation in the musical circles of Naples, which were closely connected to those of Rome. In Naples, he had already appeared in at least two *serenate*, *Angelica e Medoro* (Metastasio-Porpora)¹² and *L'Andromeda* (Ricciardi-Sarri), in 1720 and 1721

⁸ '... ist so bekannt, daß es nicht nöthig ist, es hier weitläufig anzuführen.' Quantz, 'Lebenslauf', 234.

⁹ Patrick Barbier, *Farinelli. Der Kastrat der Könige* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1995).

¹⁰ Sandro Cappelletto, *La voce perduta. Vita di Farinelli e virato cantore* (Turin: EDT, 1995).

¹¹ There is no evidence for the appearance in Zeno-Porpora's *Eumene* in Rome in 1721 mentioned by Franz Haböck (*Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, LIV) as well as several other authors.

¹² Two scores survive of this work. Add. 14120 in *GB-Lbl*, most likely Porpora's autograph, dates the first part of the *serenata* 07 August and the second part 19 August 1720 and contains abbreviations of some of the singers' names: 'Sig^{ra} Marianna' (f.149r), 'Gizzy' (f.151v), 'Brosco' (f.151v), 'Rom:^a' (f.152v) and 'March:^{na}' (f.152v). 'Sig^{ra} Marianna' and 'Rom:^a' both refer to Marianna Benti-Bulgarelli 'La Romanina', 'Gizzy' to Domenico Gizzi, 'Brosco' to Carlo Broschi, and 'March:^{na}' to Santa Marchesini. Abbreviations of these names are also found in the copy, Mus.Hs.17050/1-2, in *A-Wn* in the *licenza* (instead of the characters' names). The comment on the library record in *GB-Lbl* that the singers' names must refer to a later performance, also included on the RISM record for the item, is probably erroneous. Benti-Bulgarelli and Marchesini were the prima and seconda donna respectively on the stage of the S. Bartolomeo in Naples in 1720 and Gizzi had sung previously in Naples and was singing in Rome in 1720. While no other singer by the name of 'Brosco' is known, Carlo Broschi's name was given in this form in the libretto of the wedding *serenata L'Andromeda* (Ricciardi-Sarri, Naples 28 January 1721), in which Bulgarelli and Marchesini appeared as well. The *licenza* of *Angelica e Medoro* dedicates the work to Empress Elisabeth Christine, whose birthday was on 28 August. This suggests that the dates on Porpora's autograph refer to the dates he finished the two parts of the *serenata*, rather than, as suggested on the library record in *GB-Lbl*, the dates on which he started work on them. The time left between finishing the composition and performance would then be similar to that of Porpora's *serenata* for the birthday of Empress Elisabeth Christine in 1721, *Gli orti esperidi* (*GB-Lbl*, Add. 14118), whose autograph is dated 22 August 1721. Porpora's worklist in *Grove Online* dates the first performance of *Angelica e Medoro* 6

respectively,¹³ and it is highly likely that he had been singing both in church and private concerts in aristocratic homes, although such performances are not documented. Without prior evidence of vocal accomplishment, he would probably not have been cast in prima donna roles in his first operatic season in a major operatic centre. His role in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* is in fact the largest in the opera. In addition to singing one aria more than any other cast member, the 16-year-old Carlo Broschi also participated in the only duet and quartet of the opera and sang one of the act-ending arias, although the cast comprised both successful, seasoned performers who had been appearing at important venues for more than 20 years - Stefano Romani 'Pignattino' and Francesco Vitale (the *primo uomo*) – and up-and-coming younger singers who already had a few seasons of stage experience – Domenico Gizzi¹⁴ and Giovanni Carestini.

In 1723, Carlo Broschi became 'il Farinello'.¹⁵ This is true not only because this stage name first appears in the printed libretti of *Adelaide* (Salvi-Porpora) and *Cosroe* (Zeno-Pollarolo), both performed at the Teatro Aliberti in Rome, but also in the sense that aspects of the legend Farinelli was to become can be traced back to this year.¹⁶ The singer's debut in 1722 must have been highly successful given that his roles were the largest in both 1723 operas.¹⁷ Nevertheless, if Farinelli's singing had created high expectations in his first

September 1721; however, this would only be plausible if, for some reason, the work had not been performed on the actual birthday of Elisabeth Christine. I have not been able to ascertain whether it is true that, as Haböck assumes, Broschi sang the role of Medoro (see Haböck, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, XVI). He could equally well have sung the role of Tirsi, which Haböck seems to have overlooked entirely.

- ¹³ Several sources also list him as Adonide in Metastasio-Porpora's *Gli orti esperidi*. This information has been perpetuated by means of a modern edition (James Sanderson, ed., *Farinelli Arias from Gli Orti Esperidi (1721): Arias for Soprano and Orchestra*, Cantata Editions 2004), multiple recordings utilising this edition and a number of written sources. However, the only surviving musical source, GB-Lbl/ Add. 14118, contains no reference to specific singers and the cast list in the printed libretto clearly states that the role was sung by Antonio Pasi.
- ¹⁴ Gizzi's career as an opera singer was somewhat anomalous in that, aside from an isolated operatic season in 1707 when he was 20 years of age, he only began to sing opera regularly in 1718. In 1720, he was thus a relatively newcomer to the opera stage, but at 33 significantly older than Farinelli and Carestini.
- ¹⁵ During the early years of his career, Farinelli was also known by the nickname 'Il ragazzo' (the boy; Burney, *General State*, 214), which may have encapsulated the audience's amazement at the level of success and ability he had achieved already at a very young age.
- ¹⁶ The famous anecdote relating Farinelli's contest with a trumpet player. See Chapter 3 (*1722-23: Early technical mastery*).
- ¹⁷ In *Adelaide*, Farinelli (Adelaide) sang 6 arias, including the one at the end of act I, three accompanied recitatives and one duet. Luca Mengoni (Ottone) and Domenico Gizzi (Idelberto) shared the position of *primo uomo* in that the former had 6 arias as well, but no duet, act-ending aria or accompanied recitatives, and the latter 5 arias, including the one at the end of act II, and the duet with Adelaide. All other members of the cast were allotted 5 or fewer numbers in total. In *Cosroe*, the part of Farinelli (Palmira) consisted of 6 arias, though none of them act-ending. The next largest role, again of Gizzi as *primo uomo* (Arsace), comprised 4 arias, including the one at the end of act II, and one duet.

season, he must have surpassed them in the second – the score of *Adelaide*¹⁸ suggests that his command of vocal technique as well as his range and, ostensibly, the volume of his voice had all greatly increased. There can be no doubt that Porpora's roles for Farinelli in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* and *Adelaide* were designed to promote his student as much as possible and that, as Strohm points out, 'Farinelli hatte seinem Lehrer nach der Gesangsausbildung auch die Arien zu verdanken, mit denen er in den Jahren 1721 bis 1723 seinen Ruhm aufbaute' (after his vocal training, Farinelli also had his teacher to thank for the arias with which he built his fame in the years 1721 to 1723).¹⁹ However, it appears that Farinelli's instant success also benefitted Porpora's career. Porpora had only occasionally composed operas until 1721, the year of his first commission, *Eumene*,²⁰ for Rome. Between 1708 and 1719, he had had five operatic commissions, all of them in Naples. With operas from the early 1720s, however, Porpora's career took off. From then until 1743, Porpora was commissioned to compose up to three, but usually one or two operas per year. Porpora himself appears to have used his connection with Farinelli to promote himself. The cast list in the printed libretto of *Adelaide* draws attention to the composer's role in the singer's success: 'Carlo Broschi detto Farinello' is described as 'Allievo del sotto scritto Sig. Porpora' ('student of signor Porpora, mentioned below', i.e., further down on the page as the composer of the opera). In a review of Scarlatti's *serenata, Erminia*, performed in Naples later the same year, Farinelli was referred to as one of the 'primi quattro Virtuosi, che si trovano in questa Città' (four foremost virtuosos of this city) and singled out for special praise.²¹ In Farinelli's third Roman carnival season, in 1724, he appeared as a prima donna for the last time, singing Berenice in Lucchini-Vinci's *Farnace* and Salonice in Predieri's *Scipione*. In the former, his role is of the same

In addition, Strohm states with regard to *Adelaide*, 'An Stelle des Schlußensembles ist ihm [Farinelli] sogar eine Schlußarie zgedacht, der nur noch "L'Italia in macchina" folgt (also die höchste Steigerung, derer ein Operschluß überhaupt fähig ist.' (Instead of a final chorus, he [Farinelli] even has a final aria, which is only followed by "L'Italia in macchina" (i.e., the greatest climax possible at the end of an opera)). The "L'Italia in macchina" section (essentially a *licenza*) consists of another da capo aria and a celebratory final chorus, so it might more accurate to say that the final chorus is delayed. However, singing a final aria in the *scena ultima* is certainly a symbol of professional status. See Reinhard Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*, *Analecta Musicologica* Vol. 16, Part I (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1976), 41.

¹⁸ Little can be said about the vocal characteristics of Farinelli's role in *Cosroe*, Palmira, as only the aria 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' (II, 14) is transmitted. However, the circumstance that one of his arias from the following Roman carnival season, 'Da quel ferro che ha svenato' (I, 3) from *Berenice* (Lucchini-Vinci, Rome 1724) bears some musical resemblance to 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' may suggest that the latter aria was popular with the audience.

¹⁹ Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, I: 40.

²⁰ Various biographers of Farinelli have asserted that Farinelli sang in *Eumene*, but he is not listed in the libretto and I have not been able to find any other reliable evidence to support this claim.

²¹ *Gazzetta di Napoli*, 15 June 1723, Number 25. Thomas Griffin, *Musical References in the Gazzetta di Napoli, 1681-1725* (Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1993), 108.

length and prestige as that of *primo uomo* Gizzi (whose career had apparently experienced a boost in 1722 to 1724); in the latter, Farinelli has one less aria than Gizzi, but his last aria concludes the opera, instead of the customary final chorus, which lends obvious prestige to Farinelli's role. The six prima donna roles that Farinelli sang in the Roman carnival seasons of 1722 to 1724 established his fame, as manifest from Pier Leone Ghezzi's caricature of Farinelli in a female costume, dated 2 March 1724, with the caption 'Farinello Napolitano / famoso castrato di Soprano che / cantò nel Teatro d'Aliberti nell'Anno 1724' (Farinelli, from Naples, famous soprano castrato who sang at the Teatro Alibert in the year 1724).²²

1724-1728: *Naples and Beyond*

Farinelli's workload in 1724 and 1725 was heavy by the standards of any professional singer. In 1724, aside from the two above-mentioned operas in the Roman carnival, he performed in three more operas in Naples, *Semiramide regina dell'Assiria* (Zanelli-Porpora) in May, *Eraclea* (Stampiglia-Vinci) in October and *Turno Aricino* (Stampiglia-pasticcio, arr. Vinci/Leo) before Christmas, and, in addition, the *serenata*, *La Tigrena* (Gasparini) in Rome in January. In 1725, he appeared in the *drammi per musica*, *Tito Sempronio Graccho* (Stampiglia-Sarri) in the carnival, *Zenobia in Palmira* (Zeno/Pariati-Leo) in May, *Amore e fortuna* (Passarini-Porta) in October and *Astianatte* (Salvi-Vinci) before Christmas as well as the three *serenate*, *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra* (Ricciardi-Hasse),²³ *Il Florindo* (Sarri) and an untitled *serenata*,²⁴ all in Naples. The number of roles performed during these seasons demonstrates that by the age of 19, Farinelli was in high demand and could both manage his voice under the pressure of a busy schedule and learn large roles in a short amount of time. Thus he was able to stand on his own feet. Indeed, Farinelli seems to have become professionally independent of Porpora following

²² Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Farinelli Napolitano*. Pen and brown ink, over traces of black chalk, on paper, 1724. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Department of Drawings and Prints.

²³ This work was very well received, resulting in Hasse's first operatic commission in Naples, *Il Sesostate*, in Naples the following year at the Teatro San Bartolomeo. The singers, Farinelli in the last female role of his career, Cleopatra, and Vittoria Tesi as Marc'Antonio, surely had an important part in the serenata's success. According to Quantz, Hasse composed it during Quantz's sojourn in Naples, i.e., between late January and 23 March 1725. See Quantz, 'Lebenslauf', 228.

²⁴ In the printed libretto, this piece is simply entitled *Serenata da cantarsi in casa D. Francesco Santoro, Presidente, e Avvocato Fiscale della Reggia Camera*. Written in celebration of the confirmation of cardinal Michael Friedrich von Althann in his office as viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, it is an allegorical work in which Giustizia, Pietà, Pace and Sebeto celebrate the greatness, wisdom and virtues of Emperor Charles VI and Cardinal Althann.

Semiramide, Regina d'Assiria; after this he was not going to sing in another opera by Porpora until 1728. During the production of *Eraclea* (Stampiglia-Vinci) in October 1724, Porpora was probably in Munich to carry out a commission. He seems not to have been in Naples for *Zenobia in Palmira* and *Astianatte*, either as he wrote an opera for Reggio Emilia in the spring of 1725 and the first opera for the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice for the 1726 carnival.²⁵ Porpora must also have dedicated a certain portion of his remaining time in Naples to preparing another promising student for his operatic debut, namely, Gaetano Majorano, who was going to become famous as 'Caffariello' or 'Caffarelli.' Burney is probably mistaken in believing that Farinelli travelled to Vienna in 1724.²⁶

Already in 1723 and earlier in 1724, Farinelli had sung male roles in *serenate* in Naples,²⁷ but his first male role on the operatic stage was Nino in *Semiramide, Regina d'Assiria* in May 1724, followed by Damiro in *Eraclea* and Geminio in *Turno Aricino* at the same venue later in the year. The transition from female to male roles took place smoothly; unlike many other young castrati, he continued seamlessly at the top tier of the cast hierarchy, singing roles that were not surpassed by other singers in technical difficulty and hardly ever in size. Whilst in Rome, Farinelli had sung in all-male casts, he was the only castrato in most of the operas and *serenate* in which he performed in Naples in 1724 and 1725, sharing the stage with three outstanding female singers: the powerful actress and accomplished contralto, Vittoria Tesi, who appeared in prima donna roles; the virtuosic high soprano, Anna Maria Strada del Pò;²⁸ and the renowned Diana Vico, equally at home

²⁵ At the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, the run of carnival seasons' first opera typically began on 26 December. This was also the case for *Siface*, which premiered on 26 December 1725. Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology of Venetian Operas and Related Genres, 1660-1760*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 382.

²⁶ Burney, *General History*, Vol. 4, 378. The same may be true for Farinelli's supposed visit to Vienna in 1728, mentioned one page later. In any event, Farinelli's own letter describing his encounter with Empress Elisabeth Christine and Emperor Charles VI suggests that in all likelihood Farinelli did not sing before the Imperial couple before 1732. Among other details, Farinelli tried to recognise the Emperor by his dress ('figurandomi di doverlo distinguerlo dal vestimento'), which means that he had not seen him before. See Carlo Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, Letter of 31 March 1732, 99.

²⁷ These were Tirinto in *Imeneo* (Stampiglia-Porpora) in 1723, and Titiro in *La Tigrena* (Gasparini) in January 1724.

²⁸ The roles sung by Strada del Pò in Naples in 1725 disprove Burney's claim that she was 'a singer formed by [Handel] himself, and modelled on his own melodies. She came hither a coarse and awkward singer with improvable talents, and he at last polished her into reputation and favour', quoted by Dean. Winton Dean, 'Strada del Pò, Anna Maria' (*Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 30, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26887>). Her parts in Naples require an accomplished virtuosic singer and their size (often equalling that of Tesi's and Farinelli's roles) demonstrates that she already had a considerable reputation four years before being engaged in London.

in male and female roles. In terms of casting, the role of the heroic or mature lover in the *drammi per musica* performed in Naples in 1724 and 1725 was almost always sung by Vico, while Farinelli sang roles of younger lovers, friends or sons. Thus it was Vico who was cast as dramatic *primo uomo*. However, Farinelli was cast as musical *primo uomo* in that his roles sometimes equalled, but mostly exceeded Vico's in size and vocal difficulty. This casting practice suited both Vico and Farinelli dramatically and musically; Vico was Farinelli's senior by about 15 years²⁹ and a talented actress. The overall less assertive, more amorous affects typical of the dramatic *secondo uomo* role were more suited to the young Farinelli. Farinelli was going to favour such roles for much of his career.

Farinelli first left the Roman-Neapolitan orbit after the carnival season of 1726. The years of 1726 to 1728 were the beginning of a period of intense travel that took the singer through Italy and eventually abroad. Farinelli's first engagement in northern Italy, the role of Niccomede in *I fratelli riconosciuti* (Frugoni-Capelli, Parma 1726), took place in a highly charged situation. The constellation of Farinelli and Giovanni Carestini, both soprano castratos of the same generation of singers, in the roles of two brothers competing for the crown and singing the same number of arias and a duet together, constituted a competition for vocal supremacy. The two singers had already performed together in the Roman carnival of 1722. The circumstance that in 1722, Carestini, who, though four years older than Farinelli,³⁰ had been allotted smaller and less important roles in his third operatic season than Farinelli in his first, may have fuelled the competition between the two. Not surprisingly, the role of Niccomede contains Farinelli's most virtuosic bravura aria up to this point. As Cappelletto has pointed out, Farinelli's engagement in Parma first brought him into contact with the ducal family of Parma, the Farnese.³¹ Elisabetta Farnese, queen of Spain and the niece of the current duke, Francesco, would later engage Farinelli at the Spanish court in 1737. Farinelli's first engagement in Milan, also in 1726, in *Il Ciro* (Pariati?-Ciampi), repeated the casting constellation of the Neapolitan operas of 1724-25, with Vico as the older, heroic, and Farinelli as the younger, *galant*³² lover.

²⁹ Vico's date of birth is not known, but, judging by typical career patterns, she was probably born around 1690.

³⁰ Carestini was born on 13 December 1700, not in 1704 (as stated in *Grove*) or 1705, as commonly assumed. Mario Filippi, 'Giovanni Carestini da Filottrano detto il "Cusanino" (1700-1760): celebre cantante (castrato) sopranista contraltista' (Ancona: Benedetti Fotocomposizione, 1994), 11, quoted in Claudia Maria Korsmeier, *Der Sänger Giovanni Carestini (1700-1760) und "seine" Komponisten (Eisenach: Dieter Wagner, 2000)*, 57-58.

³¹ Cappelletto, *Voce perduta*, 16.

³² I will use the French '*galant*' (rather than the English 'gallant') throughout as the specific societal connotations of the term are better suited to describe Farinelli's dramatic profile. See Daniel Heartz,

Both in 1727 and 1728, Farinelli went to Rome for the carnival season, singing in two operas each, *L'amor generoso* (Zeno-Costanzi) and *Il Cid* (Alborghetti-Leo) in 1727 and *Cesare in Egitto* (Bussani-Predieri) and *L'isola d'Alcina* (Fanzaglia-R. Broschi) in 1728, this time at the Teatro Capranica.³³ During the remainder of both years, he sang in northern Italy, in *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata* in Bologna in June 1727 and in 1728 in *Arianna e Teseo* (Lalli after Pariati-Porpora) in Florence and again in Parma in *Medo* (Frugoni-Vinci). In the Roman carnival operas, Farinelli was the *primo uomo*, but the roles of two female characters in each season equalled, even exceeded his in size,³⁴ which may have influenced his decision to take engagements in northern Italy instead. More importantly, Carestini, who was also singing in Rome during the 1728 carnival, though at a different theatre, may have been better received. According to the second Earl Cowper, 'Carastini ... is not to be compar'd (I think) wth Faranelli, but the Romans like him much better.'³⁵ Money was perhaps the most decisive factor. The negotiations between Farinelli and the Grimani brothers, owners of the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice, seem to have been protracted because of Farinelli's financial demands.³⁶

In Bologna in 1727, Farinelli sang opposite two older castrati who enjoyed star status, Antonio Bernacchi and Nicola Grimaldi 'Nicolini,' for the first time. Whilst Farinelli's professional relationship with Carestini became increasingly tense, that with Bernacchi quickly became amiable and collegial, after initial competitiveness in their first opera together, *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata* in Bologna. On this occasion as well as on their subsequent appearances together, Bernacchi sang more mature, and Farinelli, younger, characters.³⁷ The same is true for the eight *drammi per musica* in which Farinelli

Music in European Capitals. The Galant Style 1720-1780 (New York and London: Norton, 2003), especially 3-16.

³³ Aside from a few scattered individual arias, the music of these operas is lost.

³⁴ The latter was the case in *Cesare in Egitto* and *L'Isola d'Alcina*.

³⁵ Letter from Rome, 10 March 1730 to Sarah Cowper, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Panshanger Papers, D/EP?F237, f.22, quoted after Thomas McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion: The Recruitment and Reception of Opera's "Blazing Star,"' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 28/5 Farinelli (2005), 342. The most recent season that would have allowed a direct comparison between Farinelli and Carestini in Rome was the season of 1728. Neither Farinelli nor Carestini sang in Rome in 1729 or 1730.

³⁶ The letters of Antonio Conti suggest as much, though they do not constitute conclusive evidence. Antonio Conti, *Lettere da Venezia a Madame la Comtesse de Caylus, 1727-1729*, ed. Sylvie Mamy (Fondazione Cini, Venice, Linea Veneta 17, Florence: Olschki, 2003).

³⁷ The 1728 *Medo* (Frugoni-Vinci) is an exception. Here, Farinelli's character, Giasone, is the husband of Medea, whereas Bernacchi's character, Medo, is the son of Medea from an earlier marriage. However, as all three characters are in disguise or believed to be someone else, their relationships are not revealed

and Nicolini sang together. Nicolini's voice had deteriorated greatly by the late 1720s, but he was a great favourite with audiences due to his, by most accounts, unparalleled talent as an actor. Farinelli and Nicolini thus excelled at different, complementary skills and constituted no competition for one another.

Another important first encounter Farinelli made in Bologna was that with count Sicinio Pepoli (1684-1750) who was going to be an important patron and advisor and, eventually, a close friend. Pepoli, a well-connected and affluent Bolognese nobleman, Venetian and Roman patrician, owner of large estates between Bologna, Ferrara and Venice and, from 1740, *Geheimrat* (Privy Councillor) of Charles VI, had studied music with Pier Giuseppe Sandoni, exerted great influence on the operations of the Teatro Malvezzi in Bologna as a leading member of the theatre's 'Comitato dei nobili cavalieri impresari' (Committee of the noble gentleman-impresarios) and was in contact with numerous artists and impresarios throughout Italy and beyond.³⁸ The beginning of the close association between Farinelli and Pepoli cannot be established with certainty; however, it is evident from Farinelli's surviving letters to Pepoli that the latter managed a considerable portion of the singer's savings from 1731.³⁹ This attests to the singer's refined manners and conversation without which such an unusually close relationship with Pepoli (as well as with many other aristocratic and royal personages in the course of Farinelli's career) would not have been possible.⁴⁰

By 1726, Farinelli was a singer of international reputation.⁴¹ In the autumn of 1728, he took the first engagement abroad in Munich, singing the title role in *Nicomede* (Lalli-Torri).⁴² Farinelli's star status in the Munich cast, which otherwise consisted of singers employed by the Elector of Bavaria, is evident from the numbers of his arias; he sings

until late in the opera. In fact, the casting may have contributed to the delightful confusion caused by the disguises and misunderstandings.

³⁸ Carlo Vitali, editorial introduction and supplemental information to Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 51-55 and 304.

³⁹ Farinelli's first surviving request to this effect, taking up an offer Pepoli had made previously, is dated 15 December 1731. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 93.

⁴⁰ Writing on 12 November 1734, the Duchess of Leeds, who had dined with Farinelli a few days earlier, specifically mentioned that he was 'so civile & well-bred y^t it makes one like him more'. Quoted in Thomas McGearry 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds: tanto mio amico e patrone particolare', *Early Music* 30 (2002), 205.

⁴¹ See the letter by Swiney of 31 May 1726 to the Duke of Richmond, cited above (see footnote 28) as well as the letters of Conti. Conti's reports of news about Farinelli to his correspondent in Paris start in 1727.

⁴² The variants in spelling ('Nicomede' in Parma in 1726 and 'Nicomede' in Munich in 1728) are typical of the period and will be preserved.

seven, two more than any other singer in the production. Farinelli returned to Munich one year later, this time with another star, Faustina Bordoni, to sing the title role in *Edippo* (Lall-Torri). Singing seven arias each as well as the only duet, Farinelli's and Faustina's roles are twice as large as those of the *seconda donna* and *secondo uomo*, and among the two of them, they perform nearly as many arias as the six remaining singers together, although the score shows that some of the Munich court singers were highly accomplished virtuosos.⁴³

Perhaps the most important production of 1728 for Farinelli's career was *Medo* in Parma in which he sang with Bernacchi and Tesi. In *Medo*, composed by Vinci on a newly written libretto by Frugoni, Farinelli's entrance is unusually prominent. Not only does it occur uncommonly late (in I, 11), but Farinelli enters singing a bravura aria (rather than a recitative) while disembarking from a ship; two scenes later, Farinelli sings another bravura aria.⁴⁴ The production's, and particularly Farinelli's and Bernacchi's, success is suggested by the survival of a good number of aria collections and individual arias. Moreover, *Medo* seems to have attracted visitors from other Northern Italian cities. One of these, Francesco Bernardi 'Senesino,' gave accounts of Farinelli's performance in Venice that no doubt contributed to the general sense of anticipation regarding Farinelli's Venetian debut.

1728-1734: Venice and Beyond

Farinelli first sang in Venice at the age of nearly 24,⁴⁵ in his seventh operatic season; this was late in comparison to other star castrati.⁴⁶ For most other singers, engagements in Venice constituted an important part of the advancement of their careers; Farinelli had achieved an international reputation entirely without them. As a result of this and in the context of the exceptionally large operatic audience in Venice and the importance of opera

⁴³ Francesco Cignoni, Agostino Galli and Giovanni Perprich, in particular, appear to have been virtuosic singers.

⁴⁴ Surely Markstrom is right that 'by delaying the entrance of the star until the end of Act I, Frugoni intended to create a sense of expectancy in his audience.' Kurt Markstrom, *The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2007), 246.

⁴⁵ Farinelli turned 23 within a month of his debut in Venice.

⁴⁶ Nicolini, Bernacchi, Senesino, Carestini and Caffarelli all went to sing in Venice within the first five seasons of their careers and before establishing themselves securely at the first tier of the professional hierarchy.

in the city's culture, Farinelli's arrival in the city became an unprecedentedly spectacular event.⁴⁷ Throughout the 1729 carnival season, the Venetian audience took an avid interest in Farinelli as well as in the competition between the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, the most prestigious opera house in the city and known for hiring star singers⁴⁸ (where Farinelli was engaged), and the Teatro San Cassiano, where Faustina Bordoni and Senesino were singing. Faustina had also invested a large amount of personal money in financing the operatic season.⁴⁹ Farinelli was *primo uomo* in both of the carnival operas at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, *Catone in Utica* (Metastasio-Leo) and *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Metastasio-Porpora). His popularity with the audience is evident from the size of his role in the entertainment for the last evening of the carnival, *L'abbandono di Armida* (Lallipasticcio), in which he sang four arias, twice as many as any other member of the cast, which included Nicolini as well as Gizzi.

Farinelli made his entrance in his next opera, *Lucio Papirio dittatore* (Zeno/Frugoni-Giacommelli) in Parma in 1729, '*sul Carro seguito dall'Esercito Romano, che porta trofei, e spoglie de' Sanniti, e da uno stuolo de' Sanniti schiavi*' (on a triumphal chariot, followed by the Roman army who carry Samnite trophies and spoils, and a swarm of Samnite slaves).⁵⁰ Whilst *Lucio Papirio* was a pre-existing libretto, Farinelli's triumphant entry may have seemed an apposite choice after his recent success in Venice. As in *Medo*, Farinelli's entry is delayed until late in the first act (scene 10) and he enters singing a bravura aria, which is followed by another aria only a few scenes later.⁵¹ The cast was similarly stellar to that for *Medo*, comprising Bernacchi and Faustina, in addition to Farinelli.⁵²

⁴⁷ The arrival and reception of Farinelli in Venice are discussed in detail in chapter 7.

⁴⁸ Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 350.

⁴⁹ Undated letter, posted between 19 November and 4 December 1728. Conti comments that if the operatic season at San Cassiano were to fail, Faustina would lose the 5,000 ducats she had invested and sing for nothing. Conti, Antonio, *Lettere da Venezia a Madame la Comtesse de Caylus, 1727-1729*, ed. Sylvie Mamy (Florence: Olschki, 2003), 223. I have eliminated Mamy's editorial interventions from all quotations taken from Conti's letters. In my opinion, they obscure the contents instead of clarifying them.

⁵⁰ Stage directions for *Lucio Papirio dittatore*, I, 10.

⁵¹ The libretto was adapted and probably chosen (or at least suggested) by Frugoni, the author of the 1728 *Medo*, who seems to have been keen to exploit Farinelli's participation in the production in *Medo* (see footnote 39). Casting Farinelli in a role with such a grand entrance was certainly not an instance of allegory, but it might have been a comment on his success.

⁵² The tenors, Paita in *Medo* and Borosini in *Lucio Papirio dittatore*, were famous as well.

The 1730 Venetian carnival season at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, consisting of *Mitridate* (Zeno-Giai), *Idaspe* (G.P. Candi-R. Broschi) and *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse), was no less successful than that of the preceding year. Hasse's *Artaserse*, like Vinci's setting for Rome, which had premiered a few weeks earlier) became one of the most famous operas of the period, and was subsequently produced not only throughout Italy, but also in the German-speaking countries and England. In addition to Farinelli and Nicolini, the 1730 carnival cast included Cuzzoni as well as the tenor Filippo Giorgi. Despite Cuzzoni's fame, Farinelli was the main focus of interest, singing one aria more than Cuzzoni in *Idaspe* and two act-ending arias in *Mitridate*, whereas Cuzzoni sang none.⁵³ In spring the same year, Farinelli and Cuzzoni performed in Piacenza in *Scipione in Cartagine nuova* (Frugoni-Giacomelli), together with Carestini. Although the three singers perform a trio together as well as five arias each, Cuzzoni and Farinelli are somewhat privileged because they sing the arias ending acts I and II, respectively. As often outside the main operatic seasons, Farinelli accepted an engagement in a smaller city in the autumn of 1730, singing in a revival of Hasse's *Artaserse* and *La Ninfa riconosciuta* (Silvani-anonymous) in Lucca, where he also returned in 1733, again in a revival. The attraction of smaller cities such as Lucca or Fano probably lay in the fees star singers were paid for the short fair seasons, in order to attract visitors.⁵⁴

In 1731 and 1732, Farinelli did not return to Venice, but sang in Turin in the carnival seasons (in Metastasio-Broschi's *Ezio* and Metastasio-Porpora's *Poro* in 1731 and Metastasio-Hasse's *Catone in Utica* and Zeno-Broschi's *Merope* in 1732), spending the rest of the year 1731 travelling to Bologna, Fano, Milano and Ferrara with Tesi. Operatic productions of the years 1730 to 1734 follow patterns established in 1727 to 1729; Farinelli frequently sang with the same singers, such as Bernacchi in Bologna 1731, Faustina in Turin in 1731⁵⁵ and Tesi in several operas in 1731 and 1733. The most important event of these years was Farinelli's invitation to the Imperial court in 1732. Arriving during Lent,

⁵³ *Mitridate* is in five, rather than the usual three, acts.

⁵⁴ For example, Farinelli wrote to Pepoli from Fano on 21 July 1731: 'Ogni sera abbiamo teatro pieno con gran numero di forestariera circunvicina e di molta Nobiltà; e questa sera vi sarà un gran Teatro, mentre s'attende quasi tutta la nobiltà d'Ancona, e d'altri paesi.' Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 82.

⁵⁵ The Turin carnival was the last time Faustina and Farinelli sang together, due to of lack of opportunity. Farinelli wrote to Faustina in order to try and engage her as well as Hasse for the 1733 *Siroe* in Bologna on behalf of Sicinio Pepoli. Hasse accepted, but Faustina did not take any engagements for 1733, most likely because of a pregnancy (see Saskia Maria Woyke, *Faustina Bordoni*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010, 66). Hasse and Farinelli were on very friendly terms; the former addressed the latter as 'mon très cher ami' in his response to Farinelli's inquiry (letter reprinted in Carlo Vitali, 'Da 'schiavottiello' a 'fedele amico': lettere (1731 - 1749) di Carlo Broschi Farinelli al conte Sicinio Pepoli.' *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, 1/ 1992 (February/March), 35-36.)

he sang in private for Charles VI and Elisabeth Christine on several occasions as well as in the oratorios *Sedecia* (Zeno-Caldara) and *La morte d'Abel figura di quella di nostra Redentore* (Metastasio-Hasse). The visit to Vienna resulted in Farinelli's appointment as 'Virtuoso di camera di Sua Maestà Cesarea, e Cattolica', which appears in cast lists from 1733.

Following the Venetian carnival season of 1733, Farinelli went to Bologna to perform in *Siroe* (Metastasio-Hasse). The cast included the 23-year old Caffarelli as *secondo uomo*. Young and ambitious, Caffarelli was in the process of climbing the career ladder and sought to challenge Farinelli's professional primacy as *primo uomo*. The strained relationship between Caffarelli and Farinelli continued into the 1734 carnival season in Venice. Although Farinelli and Caffarelli sang the same number of arias in the first and second operas, *Berenice* (Salvi-Araia) and *Merope* (Zeno-Giacomelli), Farinelli's are of much larger proportions, difficulty and overall musical weight. Farinelli reported to Pepoli that *Berenice* failed, primarily due to the libretto⁵⁶ and partially because of the music,⁵⁷ although he has no explanation for the failure of the ballet: 'Io non so attribuire ad altro che la città sia stufa d'opera, però ci possiamo contentare da quel che dicono, i biglietti non si fanno tanto pregare.'⁵⁸ (I have no explanation other than that the city is tired of opera; however, we can content ourselves with what they say, it's not too hard to come by tickets.) Caffarelli's attempt at undermining Farinelli's performance may have contributed to *Berenice's* failure as well. Already before the premiere, Caffarelli had enlisted followers to form a clique to support him, but ended up refusing to come return to the stage on the opening night when his plans did not pan out.⁵⁹ However, a much altered rerun of Hasse's popular *Artaserse* and the last opera of the carnival at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, *Merope*, were well received. Still in Venice, Farinelli signed a contract to sing for the so-called 'Opera of the Nobility' in London in May 1734. Before departing for England in September, he sang in two more operas in Italy, *Demetrio* (Metastasio-pasticcio, arr. Araia) in Vicenza and *L'innocenza giustificata* (prob. Silvani-Orlandini) in Florence. By the summer of 1734, Farinelli had thus performed in twelve different cities in Italy, ten of them in northern Italy, as well as in Vienna and Munich.

⁵⁶ According to Sartori, the libretto was a reworking of Salvi's *Le gare di politica e d'amore* of 1711.

⁵⁷ Selfridge-Field deduces that *Berenice* was successful from the duration of its run (26 December 1733 until at least 11 January 1734. Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 438.

⁵⁸ Letter of 2 January 1734. Carlo Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 128.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

1734-1737: London

There had been English interest in hiring Farinelli to sing in England since 1726;⁶⁰ Handel had tried several times to meet Farinelli to discuss an engagement in 1729, but Farinelli had not met with him and declined offers for fear that the English climate might be harmful to his voice.⁶¹ That he finally signed a contract in 1734 may have two main reasons. First, in the years 1733-1734, he had befriended a number of English noblemen, which meant support in travelling to England and a well-established network of useful contacts in London.⁶² Second, London was no doubt financially attractive to Farinelli. Of course, every singer wanted to earn as much as possible, but Farinelli seems to have been trying to earn enough in order to retire from the stage as soon as he was able. Following the description of his reception at the English court and in the theatre in his first letter to Pepoli from London, Farinelli writes: 'In conclusione se Iddio mi dà salute spero essere in Italia dilettante di musica e non professore.' (In conclusion, if God gives me health, I hope to be an amateur, not a professional musician in Italy.)⁶³ Less than a year later, Farinelli again confirms his plans to Pepoli: 'Sia pur sicuro l'Eccellenza Vostra ch'io so prevalermi delle mie fortune, poiché sempre più mi metto in testa la massima di lasciare la professione prima che lei lascia me.'⁶⁴ (Your Excellency may rest assured that I know how to manage my finances, for more and more I fix in my mind the maxim of leaving the profession before it leaves me.) A few weeks later, he adds: 'Ho rimesso a Venezia tre mila zecchini alla macina, e l'anno venturo rimetterne se non tanto, più; ed andando di questo passo presto presto lasciare il mestiere di canoro accento.'⁶⁵ (I have deposited three thousand sequins in Venice, and next year I will deposit more, if not as much; and proceeding in this manner, I will very soon leave the singing profession.) In 1732, Farinelli had already bought land in Bologna, of which he had become a citizen in the same year.⁶⁶ His correspondence with Pepoli shows that he had been saving money strategically; Pepoli had

⁶⁰ McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress', 339-340. See also McGeary's 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds'; 'Farinelli in England: "the blazing star" over Albion', *Il fantasma del Farinelli*, ed. Luigi Verdi, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), 9-24; 'Farinelli's Journey to England', *Il Farinelli e gli evirati cantori*, ed. Luigi Verdi (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2007), 97-109.

⁶¹ McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress', 339-340.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 343-344.

⁶³ Letter of 30 November 1734. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 132.

⁶⁴ Letter of 23 May 1735, *Ibid.*, 136.

⁶⁵ Letter of 2 July 1735, *Ibid.*, 139. By the summer of 1735, Farinelli had evidently realised that the overall success of his first season in London was not sustainable.

⁶⁶ Barbier, *Farinelli*, 61.

both advised him and managed his savings.⁶⁷ As Farinelli's initial reception in London was enthusiastic, giving him no reason to want to retire from the stage, it seems likely that this was not a new idea. It may also offer at least a partial explanation for Farinelli's extremely crowded schedule since the late 1720s.

The years of Farinelli's engagement at the 'Opera of the Nobility' have been more thoroughly researched than any other period of his career, most extensively by McGeary and also by Milhous and Hume; therefore its summary here will be brief. Farinelli's first season in London opened with *Artaserse*, a pasticcio based on Hasse's 1730 setting for Venice. This was highly successful, running for thirty-three nights.⁶⁸ The first opera in the second half of the season, the newly written *Polifemo* (Rolli-Porpora), was also well received, running for fourteen nights.⁶⁹ However, none of the operas performed in the same season achieved similar success. *Ottone* (Pallavicino/Haym-Handel/past.), *Issipile* (Metastasio/Cori-Sandoni) and *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Rolli-Porpora) lasted for no more than five performances.⁷⁰ Whilst Farinelli enjoyed the patronage of members of the royal family and the English nobility as well as a highly profitable benefit night, the professional relationships with Senesino, one of the principal figures of the 'Opera of the Nobility',⁷¹ may have been strained. Senesino had already been overshadowed by Farinelli in the 1729 Venetian carnival season in which he sang in Faustina's company at the Teatro San Cassiano.⁷² Being outshone by him again in London, after having been the dominant male star singer there for nearly 15 years, could hardly have failed to offend Senesino's strong

⁶⁷ In the letter of 30 November 1734 from London, too, Farinelli mentions that he only spends as much as is absolutely necessary, as the city is expensive and with the rent for a house alone he could buy much land in Bologna. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 133.

⁶⁸ Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Construing and Misconstruing Farinelli in London', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28/3 (2005), 364.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ As McGeary points out, the 'Opera of the Nobility' was often called 'Senesino's Opera.' According to McGeary, the company was not formed as an act of political resistance by opposition nobility, but as an expression of discontent with Handel's dominance of opera in London, and it was spearheaded by Senesino. McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 155ff. In contrast, Aspden argues that the foundation of the 'Opera of the Nobility' had a socio-political dimension. Aspden, 'Ariadne's Clew: Politics, Allegory, and Opera in London (1734)', *The Musical Quarterly* 85/4 (2001), 735-770.

⁷² In reference to the 1729 carnival season in Venice, Swiney writes, 'Senesino lost much reputation in the y^c first opera [*Gianguir*]: He recovered some of it again, in Orlandini's [*Adelaide*] which was y^c second. Farinelli carreyed all, before him, at St. Gio: Grisostomo's Theatre.' Letter of 30 March 1729, quoted in Elizabeth Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728. The Institution and Its Directors* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 381.

sense of professional pride,⁷³ particularly as he was sometimes compared to Farinelli in an unflattering way.⁷⁴ Cuzzoni, also engaged at the 'Opera of the Nobility', was close to Senesino.⁷⁵

Curiously, one of the most famous anecdotes relating to Farinelli's stage career seems to suggest a friendly relationship between him and Senesino in London. Burney states:

He [Farinelli] likewise confirmed to me the truth of the following extraordinary story, which I had often heard and never before credited. Senesino and Farinelli, when in England together, being engaged at different theatres on the same night, had not an opportunity of hearing each other, till, by one of those sudden stage-revolutions which frequently happen, yet are always unexpected, they were both employed to sing on the same stage. Senesino had the part of a furious tyrant to represent; and Farinelli that of an unfortunate hero in chains: but, in the course of the first song, he so softened the obdurate heart of the enraged tyrant, that Senesino, forgetting his stage-character, ran to Farinelli and embraced him in his own.⁷⁶

Although Burney asserts that Farinelli confirmed the veracity of this anecdote, which is generally (and plausibly) assumed to refer to the 1734 *Artaserse*, the first opera in which Farinelli appeared together with Senesino in London, several details are demonstrably inaccurate. Most obviously, Senesino and Farinelli had not been engaged at different theatres in London and it would have been highly unlikely for them not to rehearse together prior to *Artaserse's* opening night. Moreover, Senesino did not, as the anecdote implies, hear Farinelli for the first time during their first performance together in England. Senesino had already heard Farinelli in the 1728 Parma *Medo* and even sung together with him at St. Mark's in Venice on Christmas Day of the same year;⁷⁷ he had also very likely heard him during the 1729 Venetian carnival as singers frequently attended each other's performances. Also, the arias Arbace (Farinelli) sings while in chains occur in act II ('Lascia cadermi in volto' in II.2 and 'Per questo dolce amplesso, II.5), i.e., after Arbace's

⁷³ This is manifest from his relationship with Handel in general. Senesino's pride surely did not diminish with the foundation of the 'Opera of the Nobility': the design of the first ticket of the 'Opera of the Nobility' in 1733, showed an image of Senesino singing a heroic role and the motto of Louis XIV, 'Nec pluribus impar' (Not unequal to many [suns]). See McGeary, *Politics of Opera*, 158 and 340, n.54. As the artistic leader of the 'Opera of the Nobility', Senesino may well have had a hand in the design of the ticket.

⁷⁴ In *The Happy Courtezan: Or, the Prude demolish'd. An Epistle From the Celebrated Mrs. C-P-, to the Angelick Signior Far-n-li*, published in London in 1735, Senesino is described as 'old', 'fat' and 'foggy' (lines 57-60, page 4).

⁷⁵ Farinelli's dislike of Senesino and Cuzzoni is expressed, for example, in his letter of 16 February 1738, by which time he lived in Spain. He complains of some gossip he attributes to the two and styles them 'marmotte canore' (singing marmots). Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 143.

⁷⁶ Burney, *Present State*, 225.

⁷⁷ See chapter 7, 'Farinelli's Arrival in Venice: An Operatic Backdrop'.

first aria in the presence of Artabano (Senesino), 'In sen mi tace smarrito il core' in I.2. Therefore, it seems likely that Senesino, rather than 'forgetting his stage character', made a strategic decision to publically endorse Farinelli's singing (whose engagement in London he must have supported), possibly in order to cut a gracious, gentlemanly figure in a situation in which he was outshone by another singer, with the aim of assuring for himself the continuing favour of the audience. He might also have wanted to draw attention to himself by ingeniously disrupting the operatic performance in a manner that heightened the drama and its affective content, creating a highly memorable situation. Nevertheless, the possibility of a genuine, spontaneous reaction to Farinelli's singing on Senesino's part cannot be excluded entirely.⁷⁸

The pieces performed by the 'Opera of the Nobility' during Farinelli's second season fared similarly to those performed in the previous season, although none of the operas came close to the number of performances of *Artaserse*, since Farinelli was no longer a novelty in London. According to Milhous and Hume,

The same pattern [as for the first season] emerges for his [Farinelli's] second season, 1735-1736, for which less supplementary documentation exists. Early nights in runs that season were sometimes well populated. After the second night of *Mitridate* on 27 January 1736, attended by several members of the royal family, the *Daily Advertiser* reported that the King's Theatre was "so full [...] that there were above 440 Ladies and Gentlemen in the Pit and Boxes, besides the Subscribers. Above 50 People were oblig'd to go away for want of Room" (30 January 1736). But *Mitridate* managed just two more performances, and another production, *Onorio*, was abandoned after only one night. Of the seven works the company produced in 1735-1736 only *Adriano* (twenty performances) and an unknown version of *Orpheus*⁷⁹ (fourteen performances) found any favour.⁸⁰

Farinelli's benefit night in the second season was undoubtedly less profitable than the previous one, which according to McGeary had been 'quite possibly the most celebrated

⁷⁸ Senesino seems to have greatly admired Farinelli's singing when he first heard him in Parma in 1728 (Letter of 4 December, Conti, *Lettere*, 226) and his own roles typically include a highly expressive lament (e.g., 'Dove sei, amato bene' in *Rodelinda* and 'Aure, deh, per pietà' in *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, both Haym-Handel). Despite professional rivalry, Senesino may have genuinely been affected by the slow expressive arias Farinelli had been cultivating since the Venetian carnival of 1730 (see chapter 8). Arbace's 'Per questo dolce amplesso' (II.5) would be the most likely piece in *Artaserse*, not only because of its wide appeal (the aria was universally so well received that it became one of Farinelli's most famous pieces), but also because, being almost entirely in contralto (i.e., Senesino's own) range, it may have resonated with Senesino.

⁷⁹ This was a pasticcio on a text by Rolli arranged by Porpora, which also included music by Hasse and others. In addition to the widely spread *Favourite Songs* print by Walsh, a manuscript score survives in GB-Lbl (RM 22i/11-13).

⁸⁰ Milhous and Hume, 'Construing and Misconstruing Farinelli in London,' 364.

and stellar single musical event of the century.⁸¹ During the summer of 1736, Farinelli travelled to Paris, where he sang both in private residences of the nobility and before the king and queen at court. According to Riccoboni, 'tous ceux, qui l'ont entendu l'ont admiré, & on convient que l'Italie n'a jamais produit, & ne produira peut-être jamais, un Musicien si parfait'⁸² (all those, who heard him, admired him, and all agree that Italy has never produced, and perhaps will never again produce, such a perfect musician). The productions of the 'Opera of the Nobility' during Farinelli's third season were largely unsuccessful and Farinelli gave up his benefit night. Senesino and Cuzzoni returned to Italy before the beginning of the season and the singers who replaced them, Antonia Merighi and Margherita Chimenti, did not have their drawing power.⁸³

It comes as no surprise that Farinelli's roles were invariably longer than those of the other cast members during the 1736-1737 season, as none of the singers were of equal professional standing. The aria distributions in the 1734-1735 and 1735-1736 seasons, however, are more varied. In his debut opera, *Artaserse*, Farinelli sang seven arias, two more than both Cuzzoni and Senesino, but in most of the other operas of 1734-1735, his roles are about equal in size to Senesino's and Cuzzoni's. Exceptions are *Issipile*, in which his role is substantially larger than both of the others', and *Polifemo*, in which his role is equal to Cuzzoni's in terms of closed numbers, but larger than Senesino's. In the 1735-1736 season, the singers' parts are about the same except in *Adriano* and *Orfeo*; in the latter, Farinelli's role significantly exceeds that of Cuzzoni and Senesino in size.⁸⁴ Thus aside from *Issipile*, those operas in which Farinelli sang the largest roles were those that were best received in both seasons; however, this may be a coincidence. If the *Favourite Songs* collections printed by Walsh can be interpreted as evidence of singers' respective popularity, these prints suggest that Farinelli's singing lost appeal over the course of his stay in London. In *The Favourite Songs from the Opera call'd Artaxerxes*, all arias but one were sung by Farinelli;⁸⁵ in *The Favourite Songs from the Opera call'd Polypheme*, the

⁸¹ McGeary, *Politics of Opera*, 152.

⁸² Luigi Riccoboni, *Réflexions historiques et critiques sûr les différentes théâtres de l'Europe. Avec les pensées sur la déclamation* (Paris: Guerin, 1738), 51. It does not emerge clearly whether Riccoboni himself heard Farinelli sing.

⁸³ Moreover, Merighi, who took Cuzzoni's place as the prima donna in the cast, was in many ways the opposite of Cuzzoni. Unlike the latter, she was a very good actress but her voice was reportedly not beautiful. For Chimenti, it would have been difficult to step into Senesino's shoes.

⁸⁴ Farinelli sings 6 da capo arias, 2 cavatinas and 2 duets, Euridice 4 arias, 1 arioso and 1 duet, Senesino 5 arias and 1 duet.

⁸⁵ This is true for both editions of the collection.

situation is the same.⁸⁶ Farinelli's part is less dominating in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Orpheus*, which contains three arias sung by him, two sung by Senesino and one sung by Cuzzoni. *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Adriano* comprise two arias for Farinelli, one each for Senesino, Cuzzoni and Antonio Montagna. Despite Farinelli's role as main star in 1736-1737, the Walsh prints of arias from operas from the last season of the 'Opera of the Nobility', *Siroe*, *Demetrio* and *Sabrina*, contain no more than three pieces sung by him.⁸⁷

Invited to stay at the Spanish court in 1737, Farinelli broke his contract with the directors of the 'Opera of the Nobility' and remained in Spain rather than returning to England for another season. Thus he was able to retire from the stage sooner than he could have expected. Farinelli's departure from London for Spain 'caused ripples in the diplomatic world as the opera directors in vain enlisted the ministry to enforce their contract'⁸⁸ and took on significance in English political discourse, attesting to the unusual impact of the singer's career:

Such was Farinelli's impact on London's cultural consciousness, far beyond the limited circles of those who ever heard him sing, that even after his absence after summer 1737, his detention [i.e., engagement at the Spanish court] was exploited in popular media by the opposition in their agitation for war with Spain. Taking his entering the service of the Spanish court as a parallel to Spanish captures of British shipping and mocking London's opera-goers for their misplaced lamentations over the loss of Farinelli was a way to indict Walpole's ministry for its indifference to the loss of British trade, ships, sailors, and national honor at the hands of the Spanish.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Both the *Artaxerxes* and *Polypheme* collections contain one aria for Senesino.

⁸⁷ The *Favourite Songs* prints for *Siroe* and *Demetrio* contain three arias; the one for *Sabrina* two arias and one duet.

⁸⁸ McGeary, *Politics of Opera*, 173.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

3 Technique, Range, Volume and Ornamentation

Aspects of vocal technique in the treatises of Tosi and Mancini

The important elements of vocal technique used by Farinelli and his contemporaries are described in Tosi's *Opinioni de' Cantori antichi, e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato* and Mancini's *Riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato*. Tosi's 1724 treatise, which summarises and defends the practice of the late 17th and first two decades of the 18th centuries, shows that stylistic change towards a greater prevalence of virtuosic singing was taking place.¹ It was during this transition from the more text-centred 'old' style, the *stile patetico*, to the 'new' florid style, that Farinelli was trained. Although Tosi's *Opinioni* could not stem the tide of the 'new' florid style due to the latter's great success with the audience, the treatise's influence was long-lasting and wide-ranging. Translated into English by John Ernest Galliard in 1743² and German by Johann Agricola in 1757,³ it continued to serve as a touchstone of good taste in singing for much of the century.⁴ Fifty years later, Mancini describes the practice of the new virtuosic style so resented by Tosi. The technical elements of singing are still the same; Mancini admits freely to drawing heavily on Tosi's treatise. The difference between what Tosi and Mancini consider good practice resides for the most part simply in the latter's far greater acceptance of virtuosity. Farinelli's skill at bravura singing and the success he achieved with it greatly contributed to the general increase of virtuosic singing, and Mancini's view of Farinelli as the model of perfection in singing suggests that the practice described by Mancini corresponds closely to Farinelli's singing. A summary in the following paragraphs of the main elements of period vocal technique as outlined by Tosi and Mancini will serve as a basis for an analysis of Farinelli's singing from the perspectives of technique and range, style, ornamentation, aria types and aesthetics.

¹ Benedetto Marcello's satirical advice to singers and composers in his *Teatro alla moda* (Venice 1720) expounds the same aesthetics as Tosi's treatise.

² Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song or, Sentiments on the ancient and modern Singers*, transl. John Ernest Galliard (London: Wilcox, 1743).

³ Peter Franz [Pier Francesco] Tosi, *Anleitung zur Singekunst*, transl. Johann Friedrich Agricola (Berlin: Winter, 1757).

⁴ Mancini's matter-of-course references to Tosi's *Opinioni* in his *Riflessioni* show that Mancini assumed that his readers were familiar with Tosi's work. The wide-ranging influence of Tosi's treatise probably contributed to the increasing distinction between the 'vulgar' popular taste of the broader audience and the refined taste of the connoisseurs. See also chapter 5.

The messa di voce

The ultimate touchstone of a singer's breath control, the *messa di voce*, is a gradual *crescendo* from the softest to the loudest volume level the singer can produce in a beautiful tone followed by an equally gradual *decrescendo*.

Mus. Ex. 3-1: *messa di voce*⁵

The duration of the *messa di voce* correlates directly to the singer's breath capacity and breath management. Both Tosi⁶ and Mancini⁷ accord great importance to the *messa di voce*. While Tosi advises that singers should use it sparingly⁸, Mancini states that '[o]rdinatamente questa messa di voce si suol marcare nel principio d'un'aria cantabile, o pure in una nota coronata, e similmente è necessaria nel preparare una cadenza'⁹ (this *messa di voce* is usually notated at the beginning of a cantabile aria or on a fermata; similarly, it is necessary in preparing a cadenza). However, 'un vero ed ottimo artista se ne serve in qualunque nota di valore, che trovi anche sparsa in qualunque musical cantilena'¹⁰ (a true and excellent artist makes use of it on any sustained note he finds interspersed in any musical cantilena). In the long run, Tosi's complaint that modern singers neglected the *messa di voce* was thus not justified since its use was increasing rather than diminishing, but it may have experienced a temporary decline during the first two decades of the 18th century. As Mancini's example for perfection in the *messa di voce* is Farinelli (Mancini's above-cited account of Farinelli's voice also directly follows his discussion of the *messa di voce*), Mancini's description of the application and execution of this ornament may reflect Farinelli's practice. Indeed, the placement of opportunities for *messe di voce* in Farinelli's arias is well aligned with Mancini's guidelines. Though the *messa di voce* is typically not notated, such opportunities are easily recognisable in musical texts, consisting in unaccompanied vocal entrances containing a sustained note (usually on the dominant), fermatas in specific contexts, and as mentioned by Mancini, long sustained notes.

⁵ The musical examples are extracted from Mancini's *Riflessioni*, in which they are reproduced on the last pages. The latter are numbered A-D. Although the page number C occurs twice, the musical examples can be unequivocally identified as they are numbered separately. Mancini, *Riflessioni*, B12.

⁶ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 17.

⁷ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 145-154.

⁸ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 17.

⁹ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 147.

¹⁰ Ibid.

The Trill

Mancini distinguishes between three types of trill, the *trillo cresciuto*, *trillo calante* and *trillo raddoppiato*. These are the trills he considers to be the most difficult. The first of these is a trill that is sustained over a series of stepwise ascending notes; the second is the opposite, a trill sustained over stepwise descending notes.

Mus. Ex. 3-2: *trillo cresciuto*¹¹



Mus. Ex. 3-3: *trillo calante*¹²



Although Mancini's example might suggest otherwise, neither the *trillo cresciuto* nor the *trillo calante* had to encompass an entire octave. In practice, the minimum number of notes seems to have been two to three. These two trills are easily recognisable in musical notation even in absence of notated trills from stepwise descending or ascending successions of pitches within coloratura passages. Farinelli also frequently sang successive trills over ascending or descending arpeggios. These constitute a special instance of the *trillo cresciuto* or *calante* with an added degree of difficulty. They could be described as *trillo cresciuto arpeggiato* and *trillo calante arpeggiato*.

The *trillo raddoppiato* is an extended multi-component embellishment, consisting of a *messa di voce* which the singer seamlessly turns into a trill; the latter is partitioned into segments by means of the interpolation of rapid three-note groups, comprising the notes below the main note of the trill, the main note itself and the note above the trill, ideally several times. Consequently, the *trillo raddoppiato* equally demonstrates the singer's breath control and his facility at producing trills.

Mus. Ex. 3-4: *trillo raddoppiato* (1)¹³



or

¹¹ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, C14.

¹² *Ibid.*, C15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, C16.

Mus. Ex. 3-5: *trillo raddoppiato* (2)¹⁴

In terms of execution, Mancini postulates that it ‘può servir solo, quantunque fatto senz’altro ajuto di passaggi, che lo vada a preparare in una nota di tenuta, o sia fermata, e la sola sua semplicità gli procurerà applausi ed onori’ (is only effective when performed without the addition [help] of *passaggi*, [and] that it is prepared by a sustained note, or fermata; and its simplicity alone will earn it applause and acclaim).¹⁵ By ‘simplicity’, Mancini refers to its being performed on its own rather than it being easy to execute: He cautions that the *trillo raddoppiato* must not be undertaken without planning and requires ‘doni di natura e d’arte’ (gifts of nature and art).¹⁶ In fact, Mancini points out that it takes an accomplished and experienced artist to perform it, emphasising the necessity of ‘maturo studio e possesso’ (mature study and command) and ‘giudizio maturo’ (mature judgment).¹⁷ The duration of the ornament, which depends on the singer’s ability, and Mancini’s claim that it is most effective when performed on its own suggest that the *trillo raddoppiato* was considered particularly suitable as an embellishment for fermatas, similarly to the *messa di voce*.

As Tosi, whose discussion of the different trills in use at his time is more detailed than Mancini’s, does not mention the *trillo raddoppiato*, it seems that the ornament came to be recognised only after the publication of his treatise. Although it is impossible to distinguish the *trillo raddoppiato* from a ‘normal’ trill with absolute certainty as this embellishment is performed on a single note and no dedicated symbol exists to identify it, it seems very likely that Farinelli used the *trillo raddoppiato*. First, his arias abound with situations (often marked with fermatas) that are well suited to the application of the *trillo cresciuto*. In one of his early roles, *Adelaide* (Salvi-Porpora, Rome 1723), configurations occur that may constitute early versions of the *trillo raddoppiato* as codified by Mancini (see chapter 3). Second, his arias contain phrases that resemble *trillo raddoppiato* configurations, though often in ascending form and without the initial *messa di voce*. If the *trillo raddoppiato* was in the process of formation in the 1720s and 1730s, Farinelli’s ornamenting practice may well have contributed to establishing it. And if Farinelli

¹⁴ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, C17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 170.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 171-172.

combined existing simple ornaments to create compound ones which required a high degree of skill to execute, this may have contributed to his reputation for musical originality and creativity as well as technical mastery.

Tosi discusses trills in greater detail than Mancini, distinguishing between the *trillo minore* and *trillo maggiore* (trills executed on two notes a minor and a major second apart, respectively)¹⁸ as well as the *mezzotrillo* (short trill)¹⁹ and the *trillo lento* (slow trill)²⁰. The three types of trill mentioned by Mancini correspond to the fourth, fifth and seventh types described by Tosi.²¹ The last kind of trill, mentioned by both Tosi and Mancini is the *mordente* (mordent). Mancini sets it apart from the trills as the *mordente* consists of a brief alternation between the main note and the pitch a semitone below the main note, rather than, as in trills, an alternation between the main note and the semitone or tone above the main note.²² He praises its suitability in any singing style and advises practising it on passages of dotted rhythms:²³

Mus. Ex. 3-6: Exercise for the *mordente*²⁴



This exercise may be a clue as to its application to notated music. Italian composers and copyists of the 1720s and 1730s usually do not distinguish between any of these trills in notation. Most use the same symbol, either the letters ‘tr’ or any kind of wiggly line, to indicate the location, but not the type of trill to be applied. However, as Mancini tacitly implies by restricting himself to the discussion of only four of Tosi’s eight trills, the type of trill applied depends on the musical context. Moreover, fixing ornamentation in writing, as was practised in France and Germany, would have run contrary to the performance aesthetics of Italian singing – both Tosi and Mancini stress the importance of singers’ ability to apply ornaments spontaneously.

¹⁸ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 25-26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

²² Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 172.

²³ *Ibid.*, 173.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, C18. The mark above the third note, c’, is merely an ink smudge.

Agility and Passaggi

Tosi contrasts the *passaggio battuto* and the *passaggio scivolato*, two types of articulation used in *passaggi*. The former, in which the notes are clearly separated from each other, is more commonly used and at faster tempi. The uses of the latter are more limited as the slurred *scivolato* articulation is more appropriate in slower tempi and for intervals no larger than a fourth (preferably descending) and short groups of notes.²⁵ According to Tosi, both *passaggi battuti* and trills are out of place in the *siciliano*, whereas the use of the *scivolo* as well as a vocal slide, the *strascino*, is recommended.²⁶ Scores of arias sung by Farinelli often contain articulation marks, including slurs that indicate instances of *scivolato* execution within *passaggi*. As the *scivolato* singing is the exception and *battuto* execution the norm, the latter is typically not notated. As a matter of register management and tone production a professional singer was expected to have mastered, the *portamento di voce*²⁷ i.e., smooth and even connections between notes, regardless whether they are in the same or different registers.²⁸ Metastasio reminisces about Farinelli's beautiful *portamento* in a number of letters in the 1740s and 1750s.

According to Mancini, the most important elements of vocal technique that require agility are the *volatina*²⁹, *martellato*³⁰ and *arpeggiato*³¹ passagework and the *cantar di sbalzo*.³² The *volatina semplice* is simply a scale; in Mancini's musical examples the outer pitches have longer note values than the scale degrees in between because the *volatina* does not only appear ready notated, but is also frequently used as an ornament to lead towards an important note, whether from above or below.

Mus. Ex. 3-7: *volatina semplice* (ascending)³³



²⁵ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 30-31.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 205.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁹ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 196-198.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 199-201.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 201-203.

³² *Ibid.*, 203-208.

³³ *Ibid.*, C22.

effect). Quantz's pointing out that Faustina was the first who applied this technique to singing draws attention to the circumstance that it had been an instrumental technique previously, employed by woodwind and bowed string instruments. In his bravura arias of the late 1720s and 1730s, Farinelli exploited *martellato* singing to a degree that probably remained unmatched by any other singer. Unlike Mancini, Quantz does not mention that the first of the repeated pitches has to be higher than the following ones. Both Faustina and Farinelli often sang passages consisting of repeated pitches without a higher note. To describe these either in terms of *martellato* or *battuto* technique would be confusing, as the former is highly specific and the latter is the term for the default manner in which to execute a *passaggio*. Therefore the term *ribattuto* (re-articulated) will be used in the discussion of Farinelli's arias to describe note repetitions that remain at the same pitch level throughout.

Passaggi arpeggiati are arpeggiated coloratura passages. In the case of *arpeggiato* singing, the instrumental origin is, of course, evident from the name, i.e. 'harp-style', itself. This idiom, too, is extensively utilised in Farinelli's arias.

Mus. Ex. 3-11: *arpeggiato*⁴⁰

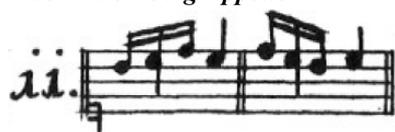


instead of its synonym, *sbalzo*.⁴³ The fact that none of the agility techniques discussed by Mancini are mentioned by Tosi attests to the increase in virtuosity between the two authors' publications. Tosi might have considered all techniques but the *volatina* detestable manifestations of the modern style.

The Appoggiatura

Both Tosi and Mancini accord essential importance to the appoggiatura and agree that singers must know without the help of notation when to apply it.⁴⁴ Mancini points out that it is out of place in moments of great passion and anger.⁴⁵ Tosi derides composers who 'uscito appeaa [sic] dalle lezioni [...] le marcano, o per esser creduti Moderni, o per dar ad intendere, che sanno cantar meglio de' Vocalisti'⁴⁶ (mark them [appoggiaturas] either in order to appear to be Moderns or to make it understood that they know more about singing than vocalists themselves, when they [the composers] have hardly finished their studies). In the second decade of the century, virtuosic singers such as Bernacchi began to use the appoggiatura as an ornament where it would not have been necessary according to the rules for the application of the appoggiatura laid out by Tosi; these are notated in scores, something Tosi may have considered bad taste. Mancini's definition of the double appoggiatura, the *gruppetto*, in which two successive main notes at the same pitch are both decorated by an appoggiatura, the first from below, the second from above or vice versa,⁴⁷ attests to the double life of the appoggiatura as both a requirement in some cases and an optional ornament in others.

Mus. Ex. 3-13: *gruppetto*⁴⁸



⁴³ Both terms will be used in the ensuing discussion, *salto* mainly for isolated leaps of up to an octave, *sbalzo* for leaps larger than an octave and *cantar di sbalzo* for passages of successive leaps. Mancini and Tosi do not specify such a distinction. However Mancini's musical examples show passages of successive leaps exceeding an octave, whereas at the time of publication of Tosi's treatise leaps of more than an octave (or even of an octave) were exceedingly rare in music for high voices. Such leaps were actually not uncommon in music written for low male voices, but Tosi's *Opinioni* deals primarily with vocal instruction of male and female high voices.

⁴⁴ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 141-144; Tosi, *Opinioni*, 19-23.

⁴⁵ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 143.

⁴⁶ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 22.

⁴⁷ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 183.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, B11.

In terms of the analysis of Farinelli's arias, the *appoggiatura* is relevant as an added ornament.

The Cadenza

The differences between Tosi's and Mancini's guidelines regarding the *cadenza* constitute one of the clearest signs of the stylistic changes that took hold between the early and later 18th century. Whereas Tosi expresses great displeasure at the idea that the orchestra should stop for the singer to perform a *cadenza*,⁴⁹ Mancini takes this for granted.⁵⁰ Both agree that a *cadenza* should be short, but for Tosi this means that a *cadenza* should ideally be performed 'senza offesa del Tempo'⁵¹, i.e., without taking extra time, whereas Mancini states that 'la *cadenza* preparar si deve con la nota graduata, cioè messa di voce; e quanto siegue dev'essere un epilogo dell'aria, o altra composizione, e singolarmente dei passi o passaggi, che in essa contengono, i quali devono essere ben distribuiti, imitati, e sostenuti di un sol fiato, accoppiandovi a tutto ciò il solito trillo'⁵² (a *cadenza* must be prepared with a graduated note, i.e., a *messa di voce*; and what follows must be an epilogue to the aria or other composition and [consist] only of phrases or *passaggi* contained in it [the aria or other composition], and these must be well laid out, imitated and supported by a single breath; all this must be combined with the usual trill). However, both agree that singers need to master the art of improvisation.⁵³ Since little evidence of Farinelli's ornamentation survives, and none from the period of his stage career, i.e. 1722-1737, an important clue regarding his *cadenzas* is the number and placement of opportunities afforded by his arias. As a virtuosic, modern singer, his practice was undoubtedly much closer to that advocated by Mancini than by Tosi; in fact, it may, have constituted an important influence on Mancini's aesthetics.

⁴⁹ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 81.

⁵⁰ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 179-187.

⁵¹ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 88.

⁵² Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 179.

⁵³ Tosi discusses this necessity throughout his treatise, for the first time on page 3. Mancini is not as explicit as Tosi, but reiterates throughout his *Riflessioni* that singers need to have command of the various elements of singing technique and ornamentation coupled with a creative mind (see e.g. 179-181, regarding *cadenzas*).

Farinelli's vocal technique

Over a period of about eight years, between 1722 and 1730, Farinelli created a highly distinct artistic profile in which specific dramatic preferences were interlocked with vocal preferences. Vocal technique was essential to the latter. Before the advances in the sciences that enabled an understanding of the vocal mechanism, vocal technique was mainly a matter of performance practice rather than of vocal production. Aspects of singing for which a knowledge of the vocal mechanism is considered of great importance today (at least for vocal pedagogues), such as evening out the register breaks, are discussed in 18th-century treatises, but could not yet be explained physiologically. Instead, treatises focus on musical conventions, vocal styles or manners of delivery (such as *patetico*, *cantabile* and *parlante*) and ornamentation. The most conspicuous aspect of Farinelli's roles is their technical comprehensiveness. As pointed out by Mancini, he had perfect command of all aspects of vocal technique in addition to extraordinary volume and beauty of tone,⁵⁴ whereas many other star singers are known to have had specific technical preferences.⁵⁵ In addition, Farinelli's singing can be described in terms of the Olympic motto, 'Faster, Higher, Stronger' as he took all aspects of singing, i.e., range, breath control and agility (including the execution of all known graces), to a level that had formerly been unimaginable to his contemporaries.⁵⁶ Drawing on various elements of his prodigious vocal technique, Farinelli developed certain musical idiosyncracies which highlight his unusual technical command; their occurrence in arias essentially brand the pieces as Farinelli's vocal property.

Different aspects of Farinelli's singing developed at different speeds. Certain aspects of singers' voices are directly linked to their physical development, which in the case of castrati was more protracted than in women or uncastrated men.⁵⁷ Castrati in general - and

⁵⁴ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 152-154.

⁵⁵ Particularly famous examples are Cuzzoni's preference for expressive singing in contrast to Faustina, who avoided sustained legato singing as did, e.g. Tesi, Girò and a number of other singers.

⁵⁶ Antonio Conti, 'Trattato dell'Imitazione,' *Prose e Poesie* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1756), 109-125.

⁵⁷ Unlike in non-castrated males, 'l'accrescimento staturale ... non rallenta ai 16 anni per poi arrestarsi verso i 18-20 anni, ma continua in modo lento e costante per qualche anno ancora' (the growth of the body does not slow down at the age of 16, ceasing at the age of circa 18 to 20, but continues slowly and steadily for several more years). The average height of castrati was c.180-190 cm, compared to an average height of Italian men of c. 165 cm around the middle of the 18th century. See Giuseppe Gullo, 'La fabbrica degli angeli - La voce, l'aspetto fisico e la psiche dei castrati attraverso un approccio medico integrato,' *Hortus Musicus*, III/9 (January-March 2009), 52. Gullo's hypotheses are corroborated by the forensic analysis of Farinelli's remains, which established his height at c. 190 cm. See Maria Giovanna Belcastro et al. 'Hyperostosis frontalis interna (HFI) and castration: the case of the famous singer Farinelli (1705-1782),

Farinelli was no exception - sang on stage well before their bodies ceased to grow. As a result, their voices tended to get lower throughout their careers as their larynxes gradually reached their full size;⁵⁸ similarly, their breath capacity continued to increase for years into their career.⁵⁹

The first aspect of Farinelli's voice to reach its full extent was that of technical command of the various types of embellishments and vocal techniques known at his time. One of these, the *messa di voce*, would have been affected by the size of his body, as he would have been able to take in more air at the age of 28 than at 18, so that one may assume that he could sustain a *messa di voce* longer later in his career than at the beginning.

Nevertheless, the technique of how to produce this ornament could be acquired regardless of the singer's breath capacity. Trained in the Neapolitan style, and in particular the highly florid one of Porpora, Farinelli expanded his musical vocabulary by the 'Lombard manner', i.e., the stylistic characteristics of northern Italian singing. Most of the technical elements of this style were the same as used in Neapolitan style, but applied somewhat differently.

The second aspect of Farinelli's singing to develop fully was his range. His wide range offered Farinelli the opportunity to take the technical elements of vocal technique to an unprecedented level of difficulty. Having explored the maximum possibilities of his voice in terms of technique and range, Farinelli reduced the amount of virtuosity in his roles and turned his attention to a greater stratification of his arias in terms of singing styles (*cantabile*, *bravura* and *grazioso*). At the same time, the stylistic choices made by him and the composers with whom he collaborated were influenced by the local preferences of audiences in different cities, resulting in different stylistic characteristics of his roles depending on where he was engaged.

Journal of Anatomy, 219 (2011), 634. Farinelli may have reached his full height during the time period in which he was singing in Venice (where he debuted at the age of 23 and appeared for the last time when he was 29).

⁵⁸ Tosi acknowledges that voices become lower, though period medical understanding of the physical development would not have allowed him to relate this fact to the castrato's growth process. 'Il Maestro se ne sovvenega, poichè crescendo l'età la voce declina, e in progresso di tempo' (The teacher needs to be aware that with increasing age the voice gets lower). Tosi, *Opinioni*, p. 16. It seems unlikely that Tosi is referring to the loss of high notes due to old age as few opera singers continued to sing on stage beyond middle age at the time.

⁵⁹ According to Gullo, castrati's long bones continued to grow for the longest amount of time. These include the ribs. Moreover, the rib cage remained more elastic in castrati as their cartilage tissue hardened less than in non-castrated men. See Gullo, 'Fabbrica degli angeli,' 52-53.

default would be performed *battuto*. In the first phrase of B, articulation is used for emphasis and text delivery (*marcato* marking in 29). Moreover, the aria demonstrates Farinelli's excellent command of trills. The *passaggi* in a1 and a2 contain a *trillo cresciuto* each, extended over three and four stepwise ascending quarter notes respectively (11, 24). A fermata at the end of the first phrase of a1, which is marked with a trill (9, probably also the end of the first phrase of a2, 19), suggests a *trillo radoppiato*, the most difficult kind of trill, which, according to Mancini, requires 'mature study and command' as well as 'mature judgment'.⁶³ The *messa di voce* would have found application in the voice's unaccompanied *adagio* entrance from the dominant to the tonic in a1. Altogether, the A section offers three opportunities for cadenzas, not counting the standard opportunities at the end of a1 and a2, and another fermata is marked at the final cadence of the B section. In sum, 'Spero dal tuo valor' exhibits a significant number of technical difficulties.

In 'Numi voi, che in ciel regnate' (III, 9; Appendix B 1.2), an *adagio* lament with a bravura B section in *allegro tempo*, the expansive phrases in the A section require excellent breath control. Farinelli's ability to produce even tone colours across register breaks is tested by the numerous successive leaps, executed both in slow and fast note values, simple and dotted rhythms, and syllabic text setting as well as *passaggi*. These *salti* are either presented sequentially in equal size (13-16, 28-30) or in expanding patterns (29, 44-45). In the context of the early 1720s, when vocal writing for high voices was predominantly conjunct,⁶⁴ such extensive use of *cantar di sbalzo* is highly unusual, especially in an aria for a high voice. It indicates technical and musical mastery as well as secure intonation. In terms of ornamentation and articulation, the score contains few markings. However, certain constellations of pitches and rhythms invite certain ornaments. Although no trills are marked in bar 17, trills would very likely have been applied to the dotted eighth notes; preceded by a sustained c'', which would offer the opportunity for a (though relatively brief) *messa di voce*,⁶⁵ the figuration can be interpreted as a combination of the *trillo cresciuto* with the *trillo raddoppiato* (which one might call a *trillo raddoppiato cresciuto*). It may constitute an early instance of the *trillo radoppiato* as described by Mancini, though it forms part of the vocal line rather than being an independent embellishment added at a cadential point or fermata. The descending *salti* of a seventh in A might have been

⁶³ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 171-172.

⁶⁴ Vocal writing for low male voices was often less conjunct as it made frequent use of bass line idiom.

⁶⁵ The quarter note c'' on the last beat of bar 16, which is tied to the dotted eighth note on the downbeat of bar 17, constitutes a comparatively long note value in *andante tempo*.

ornamented by means of *volatine*. The range of d'-a'' easily matches, even surpasses, that of the majority of high voices of the time. Already in this early aria, Farinelli makes ample use of most of the aria's range (all but the lowest note, d'), which yet again is not the norm; arias at this time tend to utilise the outer limits of singers' ranges sparingly. In sum, the three surviving arias from Farinelli's first season on the operatic stage suggest that, by this time, he fulfilled all the expectations of a first-rate singer, i.e., the ability to sing in syllabic, bravura and legato style, perform cadenzas and execute the most highly regarded ornaments, the trill and *messa di voce*, with an even tone and assured breath control.

The most conspicuous difference between the arias from the 1722 *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* and the 1723 *Adelaide* is a vast increase in virtuosic singing in the latter as well as a much longer duration of bravura *passaggi*. The longest continuous *passaggio*, i.e., without an opportunity to take a breath, in Farinelli's surviving 1722 arias (in the allegro B section of 'Numi voi, che in ciel regnate') comprises 4 bars in common time. The longest *passaggio* in Farinelli's role in *Adelaide* consists of 10 bars ('Quel cor che mi donasti,' I, 11; Appendix B 1.3), also in common time and allegro tempo.⁶⁶ In terms of performance duration, this is exceeded by a coloratura passage of 9.5 bars in common time and andante tempo in 'Nobil onda' (I, 17; Appendix B 1.4). Discussing this passage, Strohm points out, 'dabei ist das Textende nach den beide "aure" Koloraturen, das einen kräftigen Schluss bilden soll, nicht durch Pausen abgesetzt wie in vergleichbaren Arien der Zeit' ('moreover, the final words at the end of the two coloratura passages on 'aure', which are to provide a strong ending, have not been set off by means of rests as in comparable arias of the period').⁶⁷ In fact, the end of the *passaggio* mentioned by Strohm is even extended; the penultimate note is marked by a fermata in the basso continuo, and would have been intended for embellishment with a cadenza. *Passaggi* of 3 to 4 bars, the typical length of coloratura passages in other singers' parts, are now hardly noteworthy in Farinelli's arias. In addition, the bravura *passaggi* abound with the imitation of instrumental idioms.⁶⁸ In

⁶⁶ In addition, 'Quel cor che mi donasti' contains another 7-bar *passaggio* in a1 as well as a two 3-bar ones in B. The ones in 'Nobil onda' (I, 17) amount to 3 and 4.5 bars in a1, 2 and 9.5 bars in a2 and 2, 2 and 4.5 bars in B, all in common time.

⁶⁷ Reinhard Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*, *Analecta Musicologica* 16/1 (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1976), 41.

⁶⁸ It is sometimes difficult to draw the line especially between violin and oboe idiom as the same patterns were often executed by both. This is true for the many 'general purpose' sonatas (written for either oboe or violin or even flute), but also for orchestral parts for which oboes were frequently employed to reinforce the violins instead of playing independent parts. Nevertheless, some patterns are more characteristic of some instruments than others. Trumpet idiom, in turn often imitated by violins and sometimes by oboes, is relatively easily distinguished by the use of triads, particularly in the lower range, conjunct passages in the high range, quick tone repetitions as well as extended trills.

the B section of ‘Non sempre invendicata’ (C 1.1), violin idiom predominates⁶⁹ whereas oboe idiom is distinguishable in ‘Nobil onda’. The A section of ‘Non sempre invendicata’, probably the source of the famous anecdote of Farinelli’s competition with a trumpeter, makes ample use of trumpet idiom. In ‘Quel cor che mi donasti’, both trumpet (20-21) and violin idiom (51-53) are clearly recognisable. The highly instrumental nature of Farinelli’s *passaggi* is extremely significant as it constituted one of the most important aspects of his vocal profile that was responsible for his meteoric rise and earned him his vast fame, but also some of his fiercest criticism. The latter arose from the circumstance that in the first half of the 18th century, as evident not only in Tosi’s 1723 treatise, but also in remarks by Metastasio in 1750,⁷⁰ different idioms and styles were considered proprietary and thus suitable for different instruments and high and low voices. Transgression of the boundaries of these styles – and Farinelli transgressed them with abandon – could elicit both admiration and the criticism of poor taste and excess. This issue will be further discussed in Part II of this study.

In *Adelaide*, the vocal ornaments employed already in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* are concentrated more densely and taken to a higher level of difficulty. The *messe di voce* is to be executed not only on comfortable mid-range notes (between g’ and d’’ in 1722), but also nearly at the top of the notated range of Farinelli’s part, on a’’ (i.e., one semitone below the highest notated pitch in his role, b’’ flat), as well as on f’’ sharp (‘Non sempre invendicata’, III, 2, a1 and B, respectively; Appendix C 1.1) in addition to numerous *messe di voce* in the middle of his range. The fact that opportunities for *messe di voce* exist in all of Farinelli’s arias, suggests that the singer’s execution of the ornament was highly accomplished and much admired. An abundance of *salti* of up to an octave has become an integral element of Farinelli’s vocal style; they are employed as a matter of course at any tempo and any kind of articulation. Even wider *salti* begin to appear; ‘Nobil onda’ contains two ninths in the B section (52-53). A succession of leaps of increasing interval size, already in evidence in 1722 in ‘Numi voi, che in ciel regnate’ and in 1723 found in ‘Nobil onda’ (34), was similarly going to become a marker of Farinelli’s vocal parts. The duration of the *trillo cresciuto* and *trillo calante* has been extended from 3 or 4 quarter notes to 3 half and 2 quarter notes as well as 6 quarter notes in ‘Nobil onda’ (17-18, *cresciuto*, and 40-41, *calante*).

⁶⁹ The use of this idiom is possibly a musical pun on the word ‘arco’ (bow) in the aria text, which refers to the weapon in the dramatic context, but is of course also the Italian word for ‘violin bow.’

⁷⁰ Letter 399, 1 August 1750. Pietro Metastasio, *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, ed. Bruno Brunelli, (Milan: Mondadori, 1954), 3:274.

Moreover, new technical difficulties have made their way into Farinelli's part. Trills are now also applied to three successive bars of graceful eighth-note *salti di terza* (leaps of a third) in 'Nobil onda' (11-13), but *salti di terza* are also used in sixteenth-note values for a quick ascent (same aria, 41-42). *Volatine* occur in all three bravura arias, as *volatina semplice* ('Quel cor che mi donasti,' 17, 22, 42, 59), *volatina raddoppiata* ('Non sempre invendicata,' 9, 23) and as threefold descending *volatina* followed directly by an ascending *volatina semplice* ('Nobil onda,' 52-54). Thirty-second notes in the *passaggi* of the latter 'Quel cor che mi donasti' (17 and 59) also demand great facility in articulation. *Martellato* execution appears in 'Quel cor che mi donasti,' both in the form described by Mancini (37-40) and in a reversed manner, in which three notes on the same pitch are followed by a fourth, higher pitch (33-34). In 'Nobil onda', *note ribattute* are sung for four successive bars, interrupted by short stepwise ascending sixteenth-note groups on the last beat of each bar, (36-39). In the andante aria, 'Quanto bello agl'occhi miei' (II, 7; Appendix B 1.5), *ribattuto* articulation is employed in a very different manner. Here the repeated notes gradually turn into a trill, being followed by two repeated trills over quarter notes and a sustained one over a half note.⁷¹ These trills would be eminently suited for execution as the latter half of a *trillo raddoppiato*, i.e., without the initial *messa di voce*.

Mus. Ex. 3-15: 'Quanto bello agl'occhi miei' (II, 7), *Adelaide*, 15-20⁷²

Aside from matters of technical finesse, *Adelaide* probably also bears witness to the increasing range⁷³ of Farinelli's voice. In comparison to the surviving arias of *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*, Farinelli's notated range in 1723 has increased by a third at the bottom and a semitone at the top (b flat – b'' flat as opposed to d'–a''). The fact that the low b flat occurs only once in *Adelaide* and in a unison passage with the full string orchestra (at the end of the first phrase of 'Quanto bello agl'occhi miei') probably means that the notes

⁷¹ This curious use of articulation perhaps suggests that despite Adelaide's strength of character and resolution, the thought of the 'torvo aspetto' (sinister countenance) of death makes her shudder.

⁷² D-Swi Mus 4294, fols. 97v-98r.

⁷³ Since fewer than half of Farinelli's vocal numbers in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* survive, the total range of the role of Placidia cannot be determined with certainty. However, considering that the arias that did survive appear to have been the most important ones (the act-ending aria, lament and bravura aria) and singers were generally less likely to employ a wide range in less important arias, it is not unlikely that they do represent the full range of the part.

below the staff did not constitute the singer's preferred register, but that he must have been able to produce them with some volume.

Mus. Ex. 3-16: 'Quanto bello agl'occhi miei' (II, 7), *Adelaide*, 6-10⁷⁴

In any case, the ample use of d' in several arias suggests that his voice had grown in strength at the bottom; in the surviving arias in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*, the d' had been used sparingly.

The only surviving aria from the other 1723 carnival opera, *Cosroe*, 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' (II, 14), requires a stepwise unison descent to b flat, which has to be executed four times in performance since it occurs both in a1 and a2.

Mus. Ex. 3-17: 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' (II, 14), *Cosroe*, 13-15⁷⁵

While the top note, b' flat, only occurs once in writing in 1723, before the final cadence of A in the latter aria, a'' is used in all of Farinelli's arias in *Adelaide* but one ('Quanto bello agl'occhi miei') in a manner that indicates great assuredness in the high range.

Mus. Ex. 3-18: 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' (II, 14), *Cosroe*, 52-56⁷⁶

The brief uses of Farinelli's low range in *Adelaide* and *Cosroe* are strategic. They show off Farinelli as a soprano who could, if he wanted, also use contralto tessitura. Singing in the low range for long stretches of time (whether the singer was able to do so at this point or not) would probably not have been greatly desirable as there was a 'scarsezza di

⁷⁴ D-Swi Mus 4294, fol. 97r.

⁷⁵ D-Müs SANT Hs 174 (Nr. 2), p. 2.

⁷⁶ D-Müs SANT Hs 174 (Nr. 2), pp. 5-6.

Soprani' (scarceness of soprano voices)⁷⁷ and they were consequently more esteemed than low voices. As Tosi points out, many teachers were too lazy or did not know how to instruct their students in the use of the head voice and made them sing in their low range instead.⁷⁸ Indeed, pitches above a'' are rarely notated for sopranos in the first two decades of the century. The greater value ascribed to higher voices emerges from Tosi's comment that it constituted 'vanità insulsa' (insipid vanity) for a contralto to call himself a soprano.⁷⁹

While Strohm, judging from the diffusion of manuscript copies, may be right that 'Nobil onda' was the most successful of Farinelli's arias in *Adelaide*,⁸⁰ 'Non sempre invendicata' (Appendix C 1.1) may have played an important role in the construction of the 'Farinelli legend.' As noted above, it appears that it was this aria which gave rise to one of the most famous anecdotes thematising the superiority of Farinelli's breath control.⁸¹ Burney recounts this anecdote, which Farinelli may have confirmed to him in 1772, as follows.

He [Farinelli] was seventeen when he left that city [Naples] to go to Rome, where, during the run of an opera, there was a struggle every night between him and a famous player on the trumpet, in a song accompanied by that instrument: this, at first, seemed amicable and merely sportive, till the audience began to interest themselves in the contest, and to take different sides: after severally swelling out a note, in which each manifested the power of his lungs, and tried to rival the other in brilliance and force, they had both a swell and shake together, by thirds, which was continued so long, while the audience eagerly awaited the event, that both seemed to be exhausted; and, in fact, the trumpeter, wholly spent, gave it up, thinking, however, his antagonist as much tired as himself, and that it would be a drawn battle; when Farinelli, with a smile on his countenance, shewing he had only been sporting with him all this time, broke out all at once in the same breath, with fresh vigour, and not only swelled and shook the note, but ran the most rapid and difficult divisions, and was at last silenced only by the acclamations of the audience. From this period may be dated that superiority which he ever maintained over all his cotemporaries.⁸²

Sacchi's version is less detailed, but otherwise similar:

È memorabile la prova, ch'egli diede l'anno 1722 la prima volta, che cantò in Roma, dove quasi scherzando prese a gareggiare con un suonatore di tromba. Le prime sere passò quella contesa inosservata. Per avventura il suonatore

⁷⁷ Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, I:40.

⁷⁸ 'Molti Maestri fanno cantare il Contralto a' loro Discepoli per non sapere in essi trovar il falsetto, o per isfuggire la fatica di cercarlo.' *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁰ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 16.

⁸¹ As most of the arias of Palmira in *Cosroe* are lost, this cannot be established with absolute certainty. Palmira's last aria, 'Benchè estinta, a farti guerra' (III, 15) likewise delivers a defiant challenge which might have invited the use of an *obbligato* trumpet.

⁸² Burney, *France and Italy*, 213-14.

istesso non se ne accorse; ma in seguito essendo stato avvertito, e riscaldandosi la gara si levò il romore grandissimo di chi favoriva questo, o quello; ma alla fine il musico a giudizio comune fu reputato superiore alla tromba, e degno di vie maggiore ammirazione.⁸³ (The evidence he [Farinelli] gave in the year 1722, the first when he sang in Rome, where he started to compete with a trumpet player almost by way of a joke, is memorable. For the first few nights, this competition passed unnoticed. In fact, the instrumentalist himself did not notice it; but once he had been made aware of it, and when the competition became more heated, people made the greatest noise as to who preferred the one or the other. But in the end, the singer was judged superior to the trumpet player by general consensus, and worthy of greater admiration.)

Although ‘Non sempre invendicata’ does not contain an *obbligato* trumpet solo per se, the voice and first trumpet do sustain a trill a third apart for a full bar in common time. During this trill, the strings play a scalar unison descent followed by a rest which is marked by a fermata (22). The orchestra is thus silent for an indefinite amount of time, so Farinelli and the trumpet player could have carried out their anecdotal battle of lungs during this fermata.⁸⁴ It must be acknowledged that Porpora had engineered his student’s victory by letting the trumpet part end with the sustained trill. However, the voice – after a quick, probably well disguised, breath during a sixteenth-note rest – continues in a downwards cascading *volatina radoppiata* followed by an octave leap to the penultimate note of the vocal part in the A section, which offers an opportunity for a cadenza with ‘most rapid and difficult divisions’.⁸⁵ While Farinelli’s triumph over the trumpeter may not have been quite what the audience perceived it to be, the score of *Adelaide* does attest to the circumstance that by 1723, at the age of barely 18,⁸⁶ Farinelli’s singing was indeed exceptional in all

⁸³ Giovenale Sacchi, *Vita di Don Carlo Broschi detto il Farinello*, ed. Alessandro Abbate (Napoli: Pagano, 1994), 35.

⁸⁴ The trumpeter does not have had other opportunities for swells in this aria. However, Farinelli did. So far, Burney’s and Sacchi’s accounts of the event have prompted scholars to search for an aria with an *obbligato* part and, as no such aria can be traced, the general consensus has been that the aria that is the subject of this anecdote has been lost. However, neither Burney nor Sacchi mention an *obbligato* aria, and in ‘Non sempre invendicata’, Farinelli did, though briefly, interact with a single trumpeter (since, of course, the trumpet parts were played one to a part). The circumstance that in Burney’s account, the audience only gradually took interest in the competition and in Sacchi’s the trumpeter was not even aware of it himself initially seem to support the identification of the aria as ‘Non sempre invendicata’. In an *obbligato* aria, the solo instrument (and a certain competitive element) would have been prominent from the start. In ‘Non sempre invendicata’, the competition could easily have begun inconspicuously, and the brevity of the interaction between the trumpet and voice could feasibly have required the audience to listen to the aria several times before picking it out.

⁸⁵ No fermata is notated on this note, but fermatas are most often not marked at this spot during this period as the practice of embellishing the dominant chord before the final tonic was well established. This is evident, for example, from Tosi’s impassioned rants against ‘modern’ singers’ practice of performing cadenzas with lengthy *passaggi* at important cadences while the orchestra waited in silence (*Opinioni*, 64-68 and 80-82). The final cadence of the A part of ‘Non sempre invendicata’, where all orchestral parts except the basso continuo and violas have rests, is perfectly suited for the type of cadenza decried by Tosi.

⁸⁶ Farinelli turned 18 during the 1723 carnival season, which fits with his age as given in Burney’s version of the anecdote.

regards. A final notable aspect is the circumstance that the prima donna role of Adelaide with its six arias, 3 accompanied recitatives and one duet indicates considerable overall stamina. Not only are some of the arias uncommonly long, but, due to the great length and number of the *passaggi*, they require much longer stretches of continuous singing than any of the other singers' arias. The continuous use of the voice throughout its entire range (aside from the bottom third) also requires more stamina than singing predominantly in the middle octave of one's range, as most singers did.

A few arias which appear to have been inserted into *Adelaide* during its run survive in a manuscript copy of arias sung in *Adelaide* by Farinelli and Gizzi.⁸⁷ One of these, 'Per te nel caro nido' would have had to replace 'Dal di che ti vedrai,' sung by Farinelli in the highly privileged position within the *scena ultima*. 'Dal di che ti vedrai' is an attractive and distinctive aria, accompanied by *pizzicato* strings and one of the very few arias in a minor key. In contrast, 'Per te nel caro nido' contains elaborate *passaggi* featuring *salti di terza*, numerous ascending octave leaps, several *trilli calanti* and *ribattuto* articulation instead of the mainly syllabic singing which predominates in 'Dal di che ti vedrai.' A substitution of the former aria by the latter would likely have been a response to the audience's appreciation of Farinelli's virtuosic singing. Interestingly, 'Per te nel caro nido' also contains a near quotation of the setting of the phrase 'la cara libert ' (8, 18) in 'Spero dal tuo valor' (I, 11) from *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* and, like 'La colomba imprigionata' (II, 16) from the same opera, employs a dove metaphor.⁸⁸ These features may constitute intentional references to Farinelli's successful debut in the previous year for the audience to recognise and enjoy.

Whilst it seems likely that Porpora was aware of his student's natural propensity towards vocal agility early on, this may not have been the only motivation for Porpora to foster it during Farinelli's studies and draw attention to it from the beginning of his stage career. In 1721, Faustina Bordoni had made her first appearance in Naples, in *Rosiclea in Dania* (Bononcini). She also sang numerous concerts in Rome at the Palazzo Colonna.⁸⁹ In the

⁸⁷ *D-Hs M A/460*. The collection is entitled 'Arie del Teatro Aliberti, Roma 1723'. All identifiable arias are from Farinelli's and Gizzi's roles in *Adelaide* and the texts of none of the three remaining arias occurs in the other opera performed in the 1723 carnival season of the Teatro Aliberti, so it seems likely that these three arias were inserted into *Adelaide*.

⁸⁸ In the aria from *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*, the bird is a 'colomba,' in the insertion aria for *Adelaide*, a 'tortorella.' Technically, the former is the Common Wood Pigeon, the latter the Turtle Dove. Even if 18th century audiences distinguished between the two (the Turtle Dove seems to be most associated with the idea of conjugal love and faithfulness), the two are closely related.

⁸⁹ Saskia Maria Woyke, *Faustina Bordoni* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 27.

following year, she performed in three further operas in Naples, *Arianna e Teseo* (Leo), *Partenope* (Sarro) and *Publio Cornelio Scipione* (Vinci). Faustina had made her stage debut in Venice in 1716. Her rise to fame had been rapid: by 1719 word of her as one of the best Italian singers had already travelled to England and by 1721 to Germany.⁹⁰

Vocally, Faustina was by all accounts a virtuoso singer. Her enormous success with her virtuosic singing style may have contributed to Porpora's decision to show off Farinelli's abilities in this regard to the greatest extent and the best effect possible, in order to establish him as a singer who could equal or, better still, outdo her. The prominent use of *note ribattute* and *martellato* (both in 'straight' and reverse form) may have been intended for this purpose as these were one of Faustina's specialties.⁹¹ The great increase in virtuosity between Farinelli's roles in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* and *Adelaide* could have been not only a reaction to audience response and Farinelli's increasing agility, but also to Faustina's success in Naples in 1722. Farinelli's own meteoric rise to fame may have had to do with his being able to not only match, but surpass the agility of the latest *virtuosa*.

1725-30: Increasing refinement and specialisation

A new feature of Farinelli's style in 1725 is a greater degree of rhythmic variety and refinement. In Porpora's early roles for him, both syllabic passages and *passaggi* are mainly 'on the beat'; *passaggi* consist mainly of smoothly flowing, regular patterns consisting of sixteenth, eighth and/or quarter notes, creating clear subdivisions of the main beat. Bouncy Neapolitan syncopations appear frequently, but are firmly rooted in common time. In Farinelli's part in *Tito Sempronio Graccho* (Stampiglia-Sarri), Rosanno, rhythm constitutes one of the main parameters responsible for the distinct character of each aria. In 'Ninfa amante' (I, 9; Appendix B 1.8), graceful dotted rhythms and fragmented phrases are juxtaposed with *passaggi* comprising of up to 11 bars of sixteenth-note triplets, illustrating a nymph's waiting for her lover at the seashore and her agitation when he is late in returning. Chains of syncopations that are excruciatingly prolonged for up to as many as nine bars constitute the musical parameter that most intensely conveys Rosanno's torment in 'Mi volete troppo misero' (II, 14; Appendix B 1.9),⁹² aided by expressive chromaticism (15-24, 42-49). In 'L'infelice usignolo' (III, 4; Appendix B 1.10), an eerie *lento* aria in

⁹⁰ Ibid., 26-27.

⁹¹ Quantz, 'Lebenslauf,' 241.

⁹² Chains of syncopations are already exploited in 'Come nave in ria tempesta' (II, 5) in *Semiramide regina dell'Assiria* (Zanelli-Porpora) in the previous year, though not to the same degree.

common time with muted string accompaniment,⁹³ syncopations and quick dotted rhythms in combination with *note ribattute* and trills require a high degree of finesse and precise control of articulation. The comfortable, settled *minuet* style and metre of Farinelli's last aria, 'Mi nasce in seno' (III, 9) are well suited to convey the affect of hopeful confidence. While a greater variety of rhythmic features and increased use of syncopations do not constitute additions to Farinelli's technical vocabulary, they do represent an increase in the level of complexity with which his technical vocabulary is applied, requiring an increased degree of precision and musicianship.

One of the vocal characteristics for which Farinelli became especially famous, i.e., a conspicuous exploration of an unusually wide range, also first occurs in 1725, in *Zenobia in Palmira* (Zeno/Pariati-Leo). From 1725, a vocal range of two octaves or above became typical of Farinelli's roles. But, as in *Zenobia in Palmira*, the use of the entire range was generally restricted to a few arias, and predominantly bravura ones. The vocal part of 'Son qual nave in ria procella' (III, 4; Appendix B 1.11), spans two octaves (b flat- b'' flat), of which a 13th is exploited ceaselessly throughout the aria. Though none of the *salti* exceeds the interval of an octave, extensive use of *cantar di sbalzo* (successive leaps of an octave, 12-13, 15-17, or a sixth, 36-38) and ubiquitous ascending and descending arpeggios put tremendous emphasis on the singer's range. The climax of the A section is a B flat major *passaggio arpeggiato* in which the voice first descends from b' flat to b flat and then ascends to b'' flat within the space of little over two bars (46-49), until a fermata is reached, which offers an opportunity for a cadenza. Variety of articulation underscores the virtuosity of the *salti*; a recurring rhythmic pattern of dotted *salti* is to be executed with *scivolato* articulation (9-11, 30-32, 46-49, 55, 63), the majority of octave leaps and arpeggios are marked *staccato*⁹⁴ while another arpeggio is decorated by successive trills (11-12). The latter take the *trillo cresciuto* and *trillo calante* to a further level of difficulty as the singer has to negotiate leaps rather than merely semitones or wholetones, while maintaining an even trill.⁹⁵ Similarly, a passage of inverted dotted or 'Lombard' rhythms,

⁹³ This aria is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

⁹⁴ This indicates crisper articulation than the default *battuto*.

⁹⁵ Mancini does not discuss successive trills in other than stepwise voice leading. However, his terminology can be adapted to label this kind of trill *trillo arpeggiato* (*calante* or *cresciuto* depending on the direction of the arpeggio).

which make their first appearance in Farinelli's repertory in *Zenobia in Palmira* (20-21),⁹⁶ requires precise and swift articulation at the aria's *spiritoso* tempo.

Although 'Son qual nave in ria procella' features the widest range of Farinelli's 1725 arias, the amplitude of its *salti* is surpassed by leaps in a number of arias from that year. All of Farinelli's arias in his last female role, Cleopatra in the *serenata*, *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, (Ricciardi-Hasse), contain leaps of at least an octave. In 'Qual candido armellino', the individual segments of a four-fold *volatina raddoppiata* are linked by *salti* of a ninth (18-20, 48-50).

Mus. Ex. 3-19: 'Qual candido armellino', *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, 17-20⁹⁷



Mus. Ex. 3-20: 'Qual candido armellino', *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, 47-50⁹⁸



In 'Morte col fiero aspetto', the affect of heroic defiance in the face of death is communicated to a great extent by relentless use of the aria's full range of d'-a'' and ample use of the juxtaposition of ascending chromatic scales and wide leaps. It is the majestic gesture of a leap of an 11th before the descent to the final cadence of the A section (39-40) in combination with the repetition of the final line of text that lends the end of the aria a strong sense of resolve and finality.

Mus. Ex. 3-21: 'Morte col fiero aspetto', *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, 36-40⁹⁹



“A Dio trono, impero a Dio” features 16th-note octave leaps to the highest notes of the total range of Farinelli's role, b'' and a'' (16 and 79 respectively); executed at *presto tempo*, they attest to the singer's firm command of the top of his range.

⁹⁶ Lombard rhythms also occur in 'Qual farfalla innamorata' (II, 7).

⁹⁷ Hasse, *Werke*, Series II Serenate, Feste teatrali, Vol. 1, *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, ed. Reinhard Wiesend (Stuttgart: Carus, 2001), 83-84.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁹⁹ Hasse, *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, ed. R. Wiesend, 26-27.

Mus. Ex. 3-22: "'A Dio trono, impero a Dio'", *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, 15-17¹⁰⁰**Mus. Ex. 3-23: "'A Dio trono, impero a Dio'", *Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra*, 78-80¹⁰¹**

A particular type of leap that was going to contribute to the amazement Farinelli's singing caused among his contemporaries also first occurs in 1725. This is a *salto* in excess of an octave not expected by the listener which often occurs shortly before or at the end of the a1, a2 or B sections of arias. For example, at the end of the a1 *passaggio* in 'Mi volete troppo misero' (*Tito Sempronio Graccho*, Sarri), the voice descends to d' in a *volatina raddoppiata*, setting up the expectation for a cadence consisting of the supertonic note¹⁰² over the temporary dominant and a return to the tonic d'¹⁰³. The 2-1 pattern is indeed executed, but displaced by an octave to e''-d'', following a 'surprise' leap of a ninth from d'-e'' (25).

Mus. Ex. 3-24: 'Mi volete troppo misero' (II, 14), *Tito Sempronio Graccho*, 24-25¹⁰⁴

An almost identical pattern occurs at the end of a2 in 'Qual con l'aura in mezzo al prato' (I, 2) in *Zenobia in Palmira*. The section's last phrase commences with a d'' which is sustained over a full common time bar and a dotted eighth (an opportunity for a *messa di voce*), after which the voice descends stepwise to a' and then leaps to d', but instead of proceeding to e' for the dominant and returning to d' for the final tonic, here, too, the voice leaps from d' to e'' and finishes the cadence an octave higher than expected (44-46).

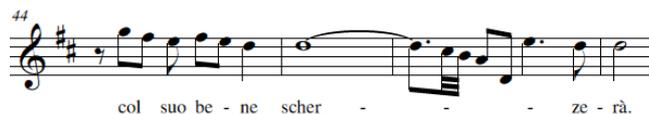
¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 66.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 72-73.

¹⁰² Like most major-key da capo arias, 'Mi volete troppo misero' modulates to the dominant within a1, in this case from the home key of G major to D major.

¹⁰³ I.e., typical 1-2-1 voice leading over a cadential I 6/4 – V – I cadence.

¹⁰⁴ I-Nc Rari 7.2.12, fol. 112r.

Mus. Ex. 3-25: 'Qual con l'aura' (I, 2), *Zenobia in Palmira*, 44-46¹⁰⁵

Within a musical landscape in which audiences listened to music from their own period (apart from some older repertory in church) and were thus exposed to a great deal of stylistic uniformity, details such as this, which may seem small in a 21st century context, must have been highly significant and perceptible. Farinelli's thwarting of audience expectations of voice leading by means of an unusually wide leap must have added considerably to the audience's interest in his vocal style. The fact that idiosyncrasies such as the 'pre-cadential surprise leap' began to appear in Farinelli's repertory in roles by different well-established composers such as Sarri and Leo shows that by the time Farinelli was about to take on engagements outside the Neapolitan-Roman orbit where he had received his education and gathered his first experiences, he was in the process of developing a distinctive, personal vocal profile.

The direct competition with Carestini at his first engagement in northern Italy, in the role of Niccomede in *I fratelli riconosciuti* (Frugoni-Capelli, Parma 1726), prompted Farinelli's most virtuosic bravura aria up to this point. As in 'Son qual nave in ria procella', incessant exploration of a wide range is foregrounded in 'Sarò trepido e costante' (II, 2; Appendix B 1.12), but the range has increased from the two octaves between b and b'' flat to two octaves and a third, a to c'''. The idea of leaps that gradually increase in size, which Farinelli had already used since 1723, is now taken to a different plane: the leaps begin at the interval of an octave and increase up to a 12th (21-22). A new idiosyncratic detail, the repetition of a music fragment or short phrase an octave above or below, appears for the first time in this aria (15-16). This, too, serves to draw attention to Farinelli's wide range. The pattern of an unexpected *salto* (here a 12th) shortly before a section ending is used here as well, but varied slightly; following *volatine* over two octaves, the leap takes place prior to, not onto the dominant chord and is followed by another *volatina* (42). While none of Farinelli's *passaggi* in Naples in 1725 had been quite as instrumental in character as those composed for him by Porpora in *Adelaide*, 'Sarò trepido e costante' exploits instrumental idioms to an extreme. Its six *passaggi* in a1, five *passaggi* in a2 and two *passaggi* in B, many of which consist of continuous sixteenth notes (*presto tempo* and common time),

¹⁰⁵ I-Nc Rari 7.3.9, fols. 12v-13r.

contain figurations that are familiar from instrumental concerti. It is not only the use of instrumental idiom, but also the great preponderance of coloratura over syllabic singing and the sheer length of the *passaggi* that cross contemporary boundaries of vocal style.

‘Freme il padre, e a vostro danno’ (III, 5; Appendix B 1.13) from *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata* (Pasquaglio-Orlandini, Bologna 1727) features a perhaps even more overtly instrumental approach to bravura singing. The main coloratura passages are dominated by a small number of distinct (and distinctly instrumental) patterns, similarly to instrumental concerti in which different solo episodes often explore different patterns at length. The most striking ones are repeated sixteenth-note *salti di terza* in a1 (55-57), repeated thirds, fourth and fifths in the first *passaggio* of a2 (99-105), wide leaps with upbeats in the second *passaggio* of a2 (118-124) and *martellato* groups in B (162-170). In A, these are contrasted with the perhaps most vocal of ornaments, the *messa di voce*; the first coloratura passages in both a1 and a2 are preceded by a note that is sustained over four bars (3/8 time, tempo marking *fiero*¹⁰⁶). Overall, there is a lesser emphasis on range in this aria, although it extends over two octaves (b flat – b’ flat). ‘Freme il padre, e a vostro danno’ was written for a similarly competitive situation to ‘Sarò trepido e costante’, forming part of Farinelli’s vocal arsenal at his first encounter with Antonio Bernacchi.¹⁰⁷ Common to both, and subsequently many other bravura arias for Farinelli, are frequent repetitions of 16th-note patterns and the sustaining of specific configurations over several bars. This contributes greatly to the instrumental character of such *passaggi*. It is especially typical of violin idiom as the number of repetition of patterns and duration of virtuosic passages for this instrument does not depend on the performer’s breath.

A clear illustration of Farinelli’s *legato* singing during this period is provided by ‘Ma almen se moro’ (*Antigona*, I, 12; Appendix B 1.13), one of his large-scale slow arias. Similarly to many of his bravura arias, the *passaggi* of this aria contain *ribattuto* pitches and patterns that resemble *martellato* configurations (16-17, 28 and 47) as well as a *volatina raddoppiata* before the end of a2 (35) and a three-fold *volatina raddoppiata* before the end of B (48-49). *Salti*, especially sixths and octaves, occur frequently both in syllabic and melismatic contexts. Both in A and B, the voice enters with a *messa di voce*

¹⁰⁶ ‘Fiero’ (proud or fierce) is an expressive marking rather than a tempo marking; it was also a synonym for ‘vivace.’ Both the affect of the text and character of the musical setting suggest a fast tempo.

¹⁰⁷ The third famous castrato in *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata* was Nicola Grimaldi ‘Nicolini’; however, by this time, the latter was no competition to Farinelli on a vocal level, whereas Farinelli was no competition for Nicolini with regard to acting.

(10-11 and 41-42, respectively); the *adagio* bar before the a2 cadence (36) offers another opportunity for a *messa di voce*. The first notes of individual phrases, often dotted quarter notes, are long in the context of the andante tempo and, properly executed, require small-scale *messa di voce*. Despite the melismatic setting of many words and the *passaggi*, it is not the florid nature of the vocal line that creates potential difficulty in communicating the aria text to the audience, but the tempo. The *passaggi* occur on the penultimate syllable of ‘pietade’ in A and the last syllable of ‘sospirar’ in B, so they do not create any impediment to the intelligibility of the text.¹⁰⁸ However, the slow pace stretches the poetic lines far beyond the duration in which they would be said if they were spoken. Given that the poem’s first stanza consists of a single sentence, one of the challenges the performance of this aria presents to the singer is to shape the phrases and connect them across rests in a manner that communicates the syntax of the text in order to convey its meaning.

In terms of vocal technique, the aria shows some technical skills in a different light than in an *allegro* context and also offers scope for demonstrating additional ones. The leaps and exploitation of the range of two octaves (d’-d’’) require an even tone across register breaks. Instead of the velocity of execution they would demonstrate in a bravura context, they demand an excellent *portamento di voce*, i.e., the ability to connect notes seamlessly and elegantly. And whereas in an *allegro* rendition of such sixteenth-note patterns as occur in the *passaggi* the emphasis would be on a clear separation of the notes to make them intelligible, at a slow tempo the focus is on graceful, refined execution as could be achieved by means of varying between *battuto* and *scivolato* articulation for different types of patterns. The connection between the first and second pitches of the first and third groups of sixteenth notes on the *passaggi* on ‘pietade’ and ‘sospirar’ (particularly on the latter word due to its meaning, ‘sigh’) also invites the use of a *strascino* (glide). The frequent use of inverted dotted rhythms (15-16, 18-19, 27, 34, 46), which sometimes alternate with sustained pitches, requires great agility and the ability to mix fast and slow note values without interrupting the flow of breath. The circumstance that Farinelli did not, like some singers, avoid arias such as ‘Ma almen se moro’, but that, on the contrary, these arias show a great degree of musical and technical sophistication, suggests that he was well capable of performing sustained *legato* pieces. The reason why not all his roles of this period contain arias that rely primarily on refinement and beauty of tone, may be

¹⁰⁸ As ‘pietade’ is a variant of ‘pietà’ (used by the poet in order to fill the *quinario* line with the requisite number of syllables), the listener comprehends the meaning of the word as soon as the penultimate syllable of the word is pronounced.

that Farinelli's bravura style was the most admired aspect of his singing on account of its sheer novelty, which stimulated amazement and incredulity in his audiences.

Altogether, command of the various elements of vocal technique was the first aspect of Farinelli's singing that was firmly in place. All of them appear already in his early Roman roles by Porpora. However, Farinelli continued to refine them and increase the level of difficulty of their application. Some elements, in particular *cantar di sbalzo* and presumably the *messa di voce*, were not solely reliant upon practice, musicality and professional knowledge, but co-depended on the physiological development of Farinelli's body. Therefore, the singer could only fully exploit them once he had reached his maximum range and breath capacity. Whilst there is no means of measuring the latter in notated music (since written-out sustained notes in phrases with a regular pulse did not make use of Farinelli's full breath capacity), the development of Farinelli's range is evident from his notated parts. In order to assess these systematically, it is necessary to give some consideration to performing pitch in the various cities in which he appeared during his career.

Range, pitch levels and keys

Throughout his career, Farinelli encountered various pitch levels in different countries, but also in different cities within Italy. Tosi advises voice teachers: 'Eserciti lo Scolaro studiando sempre sul Tuono di Lombardia, e non su quello di Roma non solo per fargli acquistare, e conservar gli acuti, ma perchè non sia incomodato mai dagli Strumenti alti, essendo lo stento di chi non può ascendere egualmente penoso, e a chi canta, e a chi sente.'¹⁰⁹ ('Let him [the teacher] always make the Scholar practice using the Pitch of *Lombardy* in his studies, and not that of *Rome*; not only to make him acquire and preserve the high Notes, but also that he may not find it troublesome when he meets with Instruments that are tun'd high; the Pain of reaching them not only affecting the Hearer, but the Singer.'¹¹⁰) In his English translation, John Galliard states in an explanatory footnote that 'the Pitch of *Lombardy* or *Venice*, is something more than half a Tone higher than at *Rome*.'¹¹¹ According to Bruce Haynes' research into performing pitch, the Roman

¹⁰⁹ Tosi, *Opinioni*, p. 16.

¹¹⁰ Tosi/Galliard, *Observations*, 26, with slight alterations.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, footnote to §27.

A was about a whole tone below modern A=440 Hz¹¹² whereas it seems that at Venetian opera houses, A had been a semitone below modern A since circa 1710,¹¹³ and opera was still performed at this pitch level in Venice around the middle of the century.¹¹⁴ This pitch level may have been used widely for opera in northern Italy for practical reasons as Venetian carnival operas were frequently repeated, either in full or as *pasticci*, in smaller cities in northern Italy that did not offer opera continuously and often engaged the same Venetian singers (and possibly instrumentalists) for these productions. In Naples, whose operatic culture was, of course, closely connected to that of Rome, opera was probably performed at the same pitch level as in the latter city.¹¹⁵ Haynes does not discuss reference pitches for opera in Munich and Vienna the German-speaking cities in which Farinelli sang, for the 1720s and 1730s, but locates the instrumental Viennese A at almost the modern frequency (A= 435 Hz) ‘by the late 1760s if not earlier’, so that ‘Gluck’s theater works of the 1750s were thus probably performed at this pitch.’¹¹⁶ As he dates the pitch rise to A=435 Hz to the period between 1752 and 1768, it is likely that Viennese pitch in the 1720s and 1730s was similar to that of northern Italy. In London, operatic pitch at Handel’s theatre had gone up to A=423 Hz (i.e., about halfway between Venetian operatic A and modern A) by the mid-1730s.¹¹⁷ Considering that the ‘Opera of the Nobility’ engaged (and was indeed co-founded by) singers who had previously sung for Handel, including Senesino and Cuzzoni, and recruited its orchestra from the same pool of instrumentalists as Handel’s company, the pitch level is very likely to have been the same as in Handel’s company. This means that Farinelli encountered higher performance pitch levels, first by a semitone in 1726 when he began to take on engagements in northern Italy and then by about a quarter tone in 1734 when he went to London. In the years 1726 to 1728, he had to adjust several times between the lower pitch level of Rome and the higher one of northern Italy since he sang in the Roman carnival seasons of 1727 and 1728, but in northern Italy outside the carnival seasons in 1726, 1727 and 1728.

¹¹² Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch. The Story of “A”* (Lanham, Maryland and Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 167-168. Discussing the performing pitches of Venice and several other cities, Haynes mentions differences between the reference pitches used at churches and in the opera houses, but he does not do so for Rome. In absence of evidence to the contrary, it will be assumed that ‘Roman pitch’ was valid in both the churches and theatres because this would fit with Tosi’s comment on the pitch difference between Rome and Venice (and Galliard’s explanation).

¹¹³ Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, 163, 368.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 168-169.

¹¹⁶ Haynes, *Performing Pitch*, 295-296.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 378.

The use of a higher pitch level in northern Italy may make one expect a slight lowering in both the ranges and tessituras of Farinelli's roles after 1726. However, this is not the case. On the contrary, Farinelli's range seems to have expanded at the high end in 1726 and 1727. A notated c'' first occurs in an aria written for him in *I fratelli riconosciuti* (Parma, 1726), and the highest note ever notated for Farinelli, d'', appears in *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata* (Bologna, 1727). The pitch differences also had no bearing on the keys in which he sang. Throughout his career, Farinelli sang in all keys that were in standard use; he did not show a marked preference for a specific key or note like Faustina, in whose voice 'E was a remarkably powerful note' so that 'we find most of her capital songs in sharp keys, where that chord frequently occurred'.¹¹⁸ Of a sample of 183 arias from his stage career, 79 are in sharp keys, 85 in flat keys and 15 in the neutral ones of C major (9 arias) and A minor (6 arias), which are all utilised rather evenly throughout the different stages of his career. As would be expected, the keys with a smaller number of accidentals are used more often than those with more accidentals:

Table 3-1: Use of keys in a sample of 183 arias sung by Farinelli

Major Keys	A flat	E flat	B flat	F	C	G	D	A	E
Number of Arias	-	18	31	20	9	28	25	16	9
Minor Keys	F	C	G	D	A	E	B	F sharp	C sharp
Number of Arias	6	2	7	5	6	-	1	-	-

Slight preferences do emerge, but these are likely to be more closely related to affect and the sound of the key than to preferred notes in Farinelli's voice. Almost all of the minor-key arias, for example, are in flat keys or A minor, and within the flat keys, B flat is treated somewhat preferentially, not only because of the number of arias, but also because they tend to be longer and more important pieces within Farinelli's roles.

Farinelli's range reached its widest extension in 1730. In 1730 and 1732 his notated range amounted to f sharp – c'' at northern Italian pitch (or f-b'' in modern pitch equivalent).¹¹⁹ In Italy 1733 and 1734, the highest notated pitch is a whole tone lower, b'' flat, and this is used very rarely; in fact, arias from these years rarely exceed g'' and the average tessitura becomes lower. The notes c'' and b'' no longer appear in writing. Whether they were still available to Farinelli at all, is of course impossible to tell, but it does seem as though they were in any case not as reliable as they had been until 1732. This is suggested, for

¹¹⁸ Burney, *General History*, 327, footnote o.

¹¹⁹ The source situation for 1731 is problematic as scores of none of the operas in which he performed survive in full and it is not always possible to match the music of individual surviving arias with specific productions as Farinelli had some aria texts set to new music.

example, by the fact that the leap to c'' in 'Parto qual pastorello' from the 1730 Venetian *Artaserse* is eliminated in the re-texted version of the aria, 'Parto seguendo amore', which Farinelli performed in the *pasticcio Orfeo* in London early in 1736. The latter version of the aria does not exceed a'' at the top. During Farinelli's engagement in London, the top end of the high range diminishes from b'' flat (which at London pitch would have been close to b'' natural at Lombard pitch) in 1735 and 1736 to g'' in 1737 (see table below).¹²⁰

Table 3-2: Farinelli's notated range by year

Year	Area/City	Total Notated Range	Modern Pitch Equivalent ¹²¹
1722	Rome	e'-a''	d'-g''
1723	Rome/Naples	b flat – b'' flat	a flat – a'' flat
1724	Rome	d'-a''	c'-g''
1725	Naples	b flat – b''	a flat – a''
1726	Parma	a-c''	a flat – b''
1727	Bologna	b flat – d''	a – c'' sharp ¹²²
1728	Parma, Munich	c'-b''	b-b'' flat
1729	Venice, Munich	a-b''	a flat – b'' flat
1730	Venice, Piacenza	f sharp – c''	f – b''
1731	Northern Italy	?	n/a
1732	Turin, Vienna	f sharp – c''	f – b''
1733	Venice, Bologna	g – b'' flat	f sharp – a''
1734	Northern Italy	b flat – g''	a – f'' sharp
1734	London	c'-g''	b+ – f sharp+'' ¹²³
1735	London	g-b'' flat	f sharp+ – a'' flat+
1736	London	g'-a''	f sharp+ – a'' flat+
1737	London	g-g''	f sharp+ – f'' sharp+
1750	Madrid	b-a''	b flat – a'' flat? ¹²⁴
(1753)	(Madrid)	(f - a''/b'' flat)	(e – a'' flat/a''?)
1756	Madrid	g-f'	f sharp - e''?

It is difficult to assess Farinelli's range after his retirement from the stage with certainty. The aria, 'Che chiedi? Che brami?', which bears the dedication 'Aria per la Maestà di Ferdinando VI Re Cattolico, da Carlo Broschi detto Farinello, Napolitano fatto Cavaliere di Calatrava', written in 1750 when Farinelli was inducted into the Order of Calatrava, has a range of b-a'', and one might expect Farinelli to have not only composed it for the king,

¹²⁰ None of the arias sung by Farinelli in London in 1734 exceed g'' at the top. This may either have been a matter of caution (as the singer was worried that the English climate might be adverse to his voice), pure coincidence or yet again lack of sources.

¹²¹ Based on Haynes, *Performing Pitch*.

¹²² This is based on the assumption that opera in Bologna was performed at the pitch typical of northern Italian opera performance although Bologna was part of the Papal States. That opera at Bologna was linked more closely to that in other northern Italian cities than to Rome is evident from the fact that the singers and composers involved in Bolognese opera productions rarely worked in Rome (if they did so at all), but travelled mainly between northern Italian cities and/or cities abroad. Moreover, operas often transferred between Bologna and other northern Italian cities (including Venice), but typically not between Bologna and Rome.

¹²³ The plus sign indicates that the pitch sounded about a quarter tone higher.

¹²⁴ The question marks indicate uncertainty about the exact pitch level used at the Spanish court in the 1730s to 1750s.

but also sung it for him. The main tessitura is b - f'' sharp, aside from brief ascents to g'' sharp towards the end of a1 and to a'' towards the end of a2.¹²⁵ The arias in the collection Farinelli sent to Maria Teresa in 1753 fall into two groups. The first three are arias, writes Farinelli in the dedication, have been 'destinate alla sola mia abilità' (intended for his unique abilities); these are in a range of f-a'' flat, with a great emphasis on the two octaves between f and f'', very few excursions to g'' and a single occurrence of a'' flat in a written-out cadenza. The other three arias are in the significantly higher range of e' - b'' flat and a higher tessitura overall. The dedication states that the manuscript contains 'una piccola scelta di quelle Ariette, che per una serie non interrotta di molti anni anno servito in bocca mia al privato sollievo di questi Sovrani miei Clementissimi Benefattori' (a small selection of those ariettas, which, in an uninterrupted series of many years, in my mouth have served the private recuperation of my Sovereigns, my most clement benefactors), but it is not possible to ascertain whether Farinelli sang them as late as 1753.

Haböck states 'daß er [Farinelli] auch in Spanien an Höhe nichts eingebüßt hat und dem dreigestrichenen c nicht aus dem Weg ging'¹²⁶ (that in Spain, too, his [Farinelli's] high register did not diminish, and that he did not avoid a c'''). This is based on the assumption that Farinelli sang the roles of Irene and Nice respectively in the *componimenti drammatici*, *La pesca* (Bonecchi-Conforto) and *La danza* (Metastasio-Conforto), in Madrid in 1756 because 'es ist anzunehmen, daß der am Titel zuerst genannte Sänger auch die zuerst genannte Partie [...] gesungen hat' (it can be assumed that the singer who is mentioned first on the title page also sang the first-mentioned role).¹²⁷ Otherwise Haböck bases his attribution of the roles of Irene and Nice to Farinelli on the facts that Irene's role demands a c'''' straight away and is of great technical difficulty, a 'Sintflut von Virtuosität'¹²⁸ (deluge of virtuosity), but musically not very attractive. Though not questioned by either Barbier or Cappelletto,¹²⁹ this is a rather tenuous way of allocating the roles. Given Farinelli's strong preference for a low mezzo soprano tessitura as early as the late 1730s (this is, for example, the tessitura of all of Duni's arias in *Demofonte* in London 1737) as well as the fact that the other singer in *La pesca* and *La danza* was

¹²⁵ I am not aware of research pertaining to the pitch level used at the Spanish court at the middle of the 18th century.

¹²⁶ Haböck, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, XLVI.

¹²⁷ In reference to *La pesca*. Ibid., XLVIII.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. XLVI.

¹²⁹ Barbier does not discuss the two 1756 *componimenti drammatici*; Cappelletto accepts Haböck's view. Cappelletto, *Voce perduta*, 97.

Gioacchino Conti ‘Giziello’ was never known as anything other than a high soprano, it is much more likely that Farinelli sang the lower roles of Elpino and Tirsi, both of which have a range of g to f’, somewhat lower than his range in his last season in London in 1737. Moreover, even in the years in which Farinelli did sing as high as c’’’ and d’’’, c’’’ always occurs in *passaggi*, never for syllabic text setting as in Irene’s first aria ‘Sempre rimproveri’. The aria ‘Che chiedi? Che brami?’ composed by Farinelli in 1750 is inserted into Nice’s role in *La danza*, and thus probably into Giziello’s part. In the context of the other arias of Nice and Irene, the aria has a comparatively low tessitura, which further supports the allocation of Nice to Giziello – writing most likely for himself in 1750, Farinelli would have written in a comfortable range, but in Nice’s role, the aria stands out for its low tessitura.

Haböck, who invested a tremendous amount of effort into his study of Farinelli’s music and whose admiration for the singer is evident from his work, seems to have interpreted the surviving scores according to his expectations, in the manner most favourable to Farinelli’s reputation. However, it seems that Farinelli’s voice, like that of Carestini, became significantly lower and that, contrary to Quantz’s assertion, he did lose a few pitches of his top range. It is possible, and the lesser use of high notes in the 1733 and 1734 seasons suggest as much, that Farinelli realised even before his departure for England that his wide notated extension of two octaves and a fifth might not be sustainable in the long run. Naturally, the singer was aware that his range had contributed significantly to his fame – his range is the only specific quality to which he draws attention in his dedication of the 1753 aria collection to Maria Teresa.¹³⁰ It is thus possible that the realisation that his top range was decreasing was partially responsible for Farinelli’s desire to leave the stage as soon as he could in order not to diminish his reputation.

Volume

Sound quality is one of the most elusive aspects of Farinelli’s voice. The adjectives used by Quantz, Burney and Mancini would have conveyed more meaning to an 18th-century reader than they do to a modern one, because the sounds of the various voices that formed an 18th-century reader’s framework of reference were those of female singers and castrati using 18th-century vocal production; these differed significantly from modern operatic

¹³⁰ ‘...rinovando forse nella mente della Cesarea Maestà vostra la idea della estensione, e delle altre qualità della mia voce’ (perhaps renewing in the mind of Your Imperial Majesty the memory of the range and the other qualities of my voice).

vocal production. Even so, for example, the ‘sweetness’ invoked by Burney would have carried little specific meaning even to an 18th-century reader; the word was ubiquitous in English-language descriptions of singers, and used as a synonym for ‘beauty’.

Nevertheless, there is one aspect of the sound quality of Farinelli’s voice, regarding which inferences can be made from the scores of his arias – its volume.

The fact that castrati made their debut long before they were fully grown makes it highly likely that their voices did not reach their maximum volume until several years into their careers. However, it appears that Farinelli’s voice was unusually voluminous from early in his career. Although only individual arias survive from Farinelli’s first two roles (1722), it is evident from the existing arias from *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* that the textures of Farinelli’s arias are no thinner than those of the 35-year-old primo uomo Gizzi. In both singers’ parts, extremely thin one- or two-part textures occur in which the basso continuo drops out, the unison violins double the voice and the violas contribute a few notes to fill in the harmony; these occur in vocal episodes, e.g. in Farinelli’s ‘La colomba imprigionata’ (II, 16) and Gizzi’s ‘Ad altro laccio’.¹³¹ But the texture of Farinelli’s ‘Numi voi che in ciel regnate’ (III, 9) is four-part throughout the A section and for most of the B section. No arias for Farinelli with wind accompaniment are in evidence as for Gizzi;¹³² however, the settings of those of Farinelli’s aria texts whose content most invites the use of a big orchestra (particularly ‘No, non sperar tiranno’ in I, 4) have not been transmitted.

Farinelli’s second role, Adelaide, clearly attests to a powerful, voluminous voice. Adelaide is a more heroic character than Placidia in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*, and the textures of her arias are fuller overall. Where thin textures are employed, e.g. in the vocal episodes of ‘Quel cor che mi donasti’ (I, 11) and ‘Quanto bello agl’occhi miei’ (II, 7), these serve to create musical contrast between other textures used within the same arias or between Adelaide’s different arias.¹³³ In ‘Nobil onda’ (I, 17), Porpora creates a vast soundscape illustrating the metaphor of the ‘noble wave, the illustrious daughter of the high

¹³¹ The same texture is also used in ‘Spera su la mia fè’ for *seconda donna*, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi.

¹³² ‘Il rio dal mar si parte’ (III, 9) is scored for strings and two oboes. III, 9 contains two arias.

¹³³ The care lavished by Porpora on creating different soundscapes in all of Adelaide’s arias through textures, orchestration and by other means, is remarkable. He scores one aria with 4-part strings plus *corni da caccia* and oboes, another with 5-part strings (with a separate double bass part) plus *corni da caccia* and oboes and yet another with 4-part strings plus 2 trumpets, *corni da caccia* and oboes. Of the remaining three, which are all scored with 4-part strings, one is the only aria in the opera in which the strings are instructed to play *pizzicato* as well as one of the few arias in minor mode and another is the only *siciliano*.

mountain,¹³⁴ by means of orchestration and textures. The orchestra is large: oboes and horns in addition to five-part strings (the double basses have a separate part). Strohm regards Porpora's use of orchestration and textures in 'Nobil onda' as a 'Huldigung an Farinelli's Stimmstärke' (hommage to the volume of Farinelli's voice)¹³⁵ and notes: 'Verblüffend ist in allen frühen Farinelli-Opern die Regelmäßigkeit, mit der man ihn gegen große, virtuos behandelte Instrumentalbesetzungen antreten läßt.'¹³⁶ (The regularity with which Farinelli is pitched against large, virtuosic orchestrations in all his early operas is astounding.)

In *Adelaide*, the clearest evidence for a remarkably strong voice is found in 'Non sempre invendicata' (III, 2; full score Appendix C 1.1). This is the most heroic of Adelaide's arias and the only instance in which the full string orchestra with the addition of pairs of trumpets, *corni da caccia* and oboes is used to accompany an aria sung by a female character¹³⁷ in the entire opera. It is also the only time this instrumentation is used in act III before its obligatory application in the *scena ultima*. Dramatically, Adelaide, imprisoned and in chains, challenges her enemies:

Non sempre invendicata	Not forever shall I
Io resterò così.	Remain thus unavenged.
Ma giunto è forse il dì	The day of my vengeance
Di mia vendetta.	May already have arrived.
La vostra tirannia	Heaven will punish
Il cielo punirà,	Your tyranny
E già sull'arco stà	And the fateful arrow
La rìa saetta.	Already waits on the bent bow.

Both in A and B, Adelaide's vocal line is frequently punctuated by interjections from the full orchestra, inviting continuous comparison between the relative volumes of both. The voice is used in opposition to the orchestra throughout, entering unaccompanied or in slight overlap with orchestral cadences in order to strike a sustained note during which the strings enter to play a scalic descent. The voice always emerges victorious, figuratively speaking, sustaining its pitch beyond the orchestral descent and finishing the phrase. The sustained notes would have had to be ornamented by a *messa di voce* or at least a crescendo, further

¹³⁴ The 'Nobil onda, / chiara figlia / d'alto monte' (Noble wave, pure daughter of the high mountain) is a metaphor for Adelaide herself.

¹³⁵ Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, I: 40. Strohm has analysed this aria comprehensively (40-41). It is reproduced in full score in Part II of *Italienische Opernarien* (63-73).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, I: 42.

¹³⁷ The use of trumpets was mainly associated with male characters. Of the other four arias in *Adelaide* accompanied by the entire orchestra including brass and woodwinds, two are sung by the character of the German emperor, Ottone (Luca Antonio Mengoni), and the other two by Berengario, the king of Pavia (Antonio Lauri), i.e., the two male rulers in the opera.

drawing attention to the balance between the orchestra and the voice and, thus, the volume of Farinelli's voice. This kind of relationship between voice and orchestra exists in no other aria in the opera. Moreover, at a time when a singer's high tessitura was used at softer dynamic levels than the middle or low range,¹³⁸ the fanfare-like use of a'' (13), the top note in Farinelli's notated range in *Adelaide*, as a sustained note approached on a strong metric position, is highly unusual. The unmistakable use of trumpet idiom both in the instrumental and vocal parts, the well established sense of opposition between voice and orchestra and the aria's heroic affect require the a'' to be delivered at a powerful dynamic in order to be musically effective.¹³⁹ As mentioned above, this aria is probably the origin of the famous anecdote of Farinelli's contest with a trumpet player. It is noteworthy that the Teatro Alibert, in which *Adelaide* was performed, was one of the largest 18th-century theatres, with a stage measuring 21.5 by 27.5 metres, large enough for the use of live horses, a pit that seated at least 900 listeners and seven tiers with 36 boxes each.¹⁴⁰ The size of the theatre made it especially suited for comparing the volume of Farinelli's voice with that of other singers and would presumably have allowed him to use his full dynamic range.

If one is to believe Burney's description of it, Farinelli's voice was most powerful when he was singing in Venice. It is not possible to ascertain the veracity of this claim, but 'Scenda dal cielo irato' from the 1733 *Nitocri* (I, 16) offers evidence of a powerful sound not only in the high range, but also of the lowest notes of Farinelli's voice, which he had acquired around 1730. In this aria, the vocal part extends from g to b'' flat. The aria is scored for two oboes, first and second violins, first and second violas, bassoon and basso continuo, i.e., very large forces for Venice at this time. The aria text conjures up the image of a sea

¹³⁸ Tosi advises: 'Quanto più le note son' alte, tanto più bisogna toccarle con dolcezza per evitar gli strilli.' (The higher the notes, the more it is necessary to attack them gently in order to avoid shrillness.) Tosi, *Opinioni*, 11-12). At the end of the century, Mancini still felt that it was natural for high notes to be softer than low ones: 'È naturale, che in se stessa la corda grave dev'esser vibrata, oppur sostenuta con forza, secondo il bisogno, eppure anche l'acuto, comunque si adoperi, convien sempre trattarlo con dolcezza, purchè fra l'uno e l'altro resti sempre conservata una proporzionata corrispondenza.' (Naturally, the low note must be attacked as necessary, i.e., supported with strength, but the high note, however it is used, always has to be treated gently, so that between the one and the other a proportionate relationship is preserved. Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 204-205). See also section 3 of Owen Jander, et al. 'Singing' (*Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed September 2, 2013), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25869>.

¹³⁹ The use of the voice in relationship to the orchestra may be understood as a metaphor for the dramatic situation in which *Adelaide*, though in chains, does not submit to her enemies' threats, but challenges them by proudly announcing the day of her vengeance.

¹⁴⁰ Markstrom, *Vinci*, 62-64.

tempest with thunder, lightning and raging waters, from amidst which Mirteo issues a challenge to his fate.

Scenda dal cielo irato Il fulmine tonante S'apra del mar sdegnato Il vortice spumante: E venga ad ogni passo, La morte ad incontrarmi.	May the thundering bolt of lightning Descend from the enraged heavens; May the foaming vortex Of the angry sea open: And may death come to meet me At every step.
Nel seno ho un cor di sasso Contre le rie vicende, Che sol l'istante attende Che venga ad isvenarmi.	In my breast, my heart is like a stone Against the blows of fate, Which only awaits the moment That shall come to end my life.

Throughout the A section, the aria makes ample use of dynamic contrasts, sometimes aided by orchestration,¹⁴¹ and contrasts of a rich variety of textures ranging from unison passages to six-part writing. As in 'Non sempre invendicata' ten years earlier, the protagonist's stance as conveyed by the aria text requires a powerful sound for a musically and dramatically convincing delivery. Here, too, the ritornello sets up an antagonistic relationship between the voice and the orchestra; rather than introducing the vocal theme, it develops a sea tempest soundscape into which the voice enters with an imperious descending octave leap. Various different textures are explored in accompanying the voice. Most remarkable from the viewpoint of volume and evidence of a powerful sound throughout Farinelli's range is that the leaps of a twelfth the singer executes in a1 (27-29: c'-g'', b flat – f'' and a- e'' flat) and of a thirteenth in a2 (69-71: c'-a'' flat, b flat – g'' and a flat – f'') are not supported by the orchestra at all, nor does the orchestra stay out the way of the voice. Instead, the first violins play rapid thirty-second-note runs while the second violins play on the E string and the violas on their middle strings, all above the lower notes of Farinelli's leaps, none of which are doubled by the basso continuo.

¹⁴¹ E.g., on various occasions, the oboes do not play on piano passages.

Mus. Ex. 3-26: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), *Nitocri*, 27-31¹⁴²

27

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

Bsn. (spuman te:)

Vc. c

Mus. Ex. 3-27: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), *Nitocri*, 68-72¹⁴³

68

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla. I p

Vla. II

Bsn. man te:)

Vc. c

The voice commences the arias's penultimate phrase on low g; the entrance (95) is marked forte. Whilst this is in essence an *all'unisono* passage, the violins and violas double the voice an octave above. For Farinelli's voice to cut through the higher strings and achieve a forte effect, it had to be resonant in the low range.

¹⁴² A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/I, fols. 29r-30r.

¹⁴³ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/I, fols. 35r-35v.

Mus. Ex. 3-28: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), *Nitocri*, 93-96¹⁴⁴

93

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

mi, ven - ga la mor - te, ven - ga ad in - con - trar - mi, ad in - con - trar -

Bsn.

B.c.

In another passage (81-83), dynamic effects are used during a *passaggio* that features leaps of a tenth. Here, the high strings play forte in a high range during Farinelli's descents below the staff.

Mus. Ex. 3-29: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), *Nitocri*, 81-84¹⁴⁵

81

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla. I

Vla. II

Bsn.

B.c.

¹⁴⁴ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/I, fols. 38r-38v.

¹⁴⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/I, fols. 36v-37r. The placement of the dynamic markings in the excerpt reproduces that in the score exactly. It was common practice to notate dynamic markings that apply to the entire orchestra in only one part, most often the first violin (as in this aria) or the basso continuo.

In contrast, in nearly all those instances in which Carestini, whose voice Quantz describes as ‘stark’ (strong),¹⁴⁶ descends to b, b flat or a below the staff in Handel’s *Arianna in Creta* and *Ariodante*, the vocal part is either doubled at the unison or the orchestral texture above it is very thin; sometimes the violins rest or descend below the vocal line. The manner in which Handel treats Carestini’s voice represents the standard way of dealing with the lower range of high male or female voices whereas Selitti’s vocal part of ‘Scenda dal cielo irato’ is one of the many instances in which Farinelli’s voice is treated in unusual ways, suggesting that it was indeed exceptional with regard to volume.

Ornamentation

Despite the fact that two of Farinelli’s arias survive replete with ornamentation in the singer’s own hand in the 1753 presentation manuscript the singer dedicated to Maria Theresa (*A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 19111), Farinelli’s improvisatory practice is another aspect of his singing that remains elusive to a certain extent. It should be noted that the term ‘improvisation’ is somewhat problematic. First, it implies that adhering to a musical text in performance is the norm and varying it constitutes a deviation from the norm. However, a face-value reproduction of the musical text of an aria would have been highly unusual, as, according to Tosi, the proper delivery of a da capo aria required ornamentation throughout, though at different levels of density of variation, and, ideally, arias were not to be sung twice in the same way:

Nella prima [parte] non chieggono, che ornamenti semplici, gustosi, e pochi, affinchè la composizione resti intatta: Nella seconda comandano, che a quella purità ingegnosa un artificio singolare si aggiunga, acciò chi se n’intende senta, che l’abilità di chi canta è maggiore: Nel dir poi le Arie da capo, chi non varia migliorando tutto quello, che cantò, non è grand’Uomo.

Si avvezzi dunque chi studia a replicarle sempre diversamente, che (se non m’inganno) un abbondante, benchè mediocre Vocalista merita assai più stima d’un migliore, che sia sterile, perchè questi non può dilettrar gl’intelligenti, che la prima volta, e quello se non sorprende colla rarità delle sue produzioni, almeno colla diversità alimenta l’attenzione.¹⁴⁷

(In the first [part], only simple, tasteful and few ornaments are needed, so that the composition remains intact. To this ingenious purity, a unique artfulness must be added in the second [part], so that the listener hears that the ability of the singer is greater. And when the da capo section is sung, he who does not improve on everything that he has sung before, does not amount to much.

¹⁴⁶ Quantz, ‘Lebenslauf,’ 234.

¹⁴⁷ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 59-60.

Therefore, students need to get accustomed to singing arias differently every time, for (if I am not mistaken) an inventive, though mediocre, singer merits much more esteem than a better one who is unimaginative because the latter can delight connoisseurs only the first time, but the former, although he may not surprise with the unusualness of his ornamentation, at least engages the [listeners'] attention by means of their variety.)

One might argue that the ability to vary an aria constituted the touchstone of a singer's professionalism, presumably distinguishing him from an amateur.

Second, the term 'improvisation' implies that departures from a musical text, whether these are additions or variations, are spontaneous. Indeed, spontaneity appears to have been the ideal – Tosi refers to ornamentation as 'produzioni improvvisate dell'ingegno'¹⁴⁸ (spontaneous inventions of the mind) and despises written-out ornamentation, particularly if it was not invented by the singer himself, because 'chi si avvezza ad essere imboccato diventa sterile, e si fa schiavo della sua memoria'¹⁴⁹ (he who gets used to other people putting [ornamentation] in his mouth becomes sterile, and he makes himself a slave of his memory). However, not only was this spontaneity subject to rules of taste, harmony and timing and conventions regarding the suitability of ornaments to aria types¹⁵⁰ as well as common pitch patterns. Competence at improvisation also required sound knowledge of counterpoint, which can only be achieved by means of careful study, as Tosi stresses several times. Moreover, much of singers' training was based on the repetition of formulaic exercises. Even if ornamentation manuals such as Giovanni Luca Conforto's *Breve e facile maniera d'essercitarsi*¹⁵¹ had fallen out of use by the early 18th century, voice teachers (which were, after all, most often composers) very likely supplied their students not only with vocal exercises, but also with diminution exercises, similar to Conforto's, for a variety of melodic and harmonic patterns. Therefore, one might argue that the spontaneity of 18th-century vocal improvisation resided to a considerable extent in the decision which of the clearly defined ornaments (e.g., trills) or melodic formulae with which the singer was familiar to apply in performance, and the manner in which this was done.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 3.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 56.

¹⁵⁰ For example, Tosi mentions the suitability of the *strascino* (i.e., the portamento in modern terminology) for arias in *stile patetico* (*Opinioni*, 114) and the unsuitability of trills and *passaggi* in *siciliano* arias (34-35).

¹⁵¹ Giovanni Luca Conforto, *Breve e facile maniera d'essercitarsi ad ogni scolaro* (Rome, 1592), I-Bc B60 667. Conforto's study manual provides multiple examples of *passaggi* for all of the common cadential patterns that were in use in the late 16th century. The *passaggi* for each cadential pattern are organised by the diminutions' level of complexity.

With regard to Farinelli's improvisatory practice, Sacchi gives a fairly detailed account:

Ogni mattina sedeva per lungo spazio di tempo al gravicembalo esercitando la voce, studiosamente ricercando le variazioni, e osservando diligentemente, in che più la natura lo aiutasse. Così ogni sera veniva al Teatro con passaggi nuovi, e cadenze nuove; né però variando, ed ornando le composizioni le guastava, come la più parte de' Musicisti fanno, e troppo è facile a fare; ma egli sapea molto bene collocare gli ornamenti suoi a luogo, e tempo, ed usava della libertà con giudizio, perché non era ignaro dell'arte del contrappunto, e sapea scrivere da sé, come egli fece ancora alcuna volta con lode non mediocre dell'intelligenti.¹⁵²

Every morning, he sat at the harpsichord for a long time, exercising his voice, assiduously trying out variations and observing carefully, to which ones nature had predisposed him. In this manner, he arrived at the theatre with new embellishments and cadenzas every night. However, he did not spoil compositions by varying and ornamenting them, as most singers do, and which is indeed easily done, but he knew very well how to apply his ornaments in the right place and tempo. He also exercised good judgment in taking liberties, as he was not ignorant of the art of counterpoint and could compose very well in his own right, as he did every now and then to more than average acclaim by connoisseurs.

It is not unlikely that Sacchi describes Farinelli's approach to improvisation accurately, as he could have consulted people who had observed Farinelli's private vocal study.

However, it is also possible that he wove information on what was generally considered to constitute good improvisatory practice obtained from connoisseurs or writings, including Tosi's treatise, into a narrative in order to flesh out his account of Farinelli as an artist. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily contradict the information provided by Sacchi since Quantz, Mancini and Burney (as mentioned in chapter 1) agree that Farinelli's excelled at improvisation.

According to Sacchi, then, Farinelli considered the possibilities for ornamentation offered by his arias carefully, presumably with their effect on the audience in live performance in mind. Farinelli's actual choice in a specific performance of which of the options he had tried out earlier could have been either spontaneous or premeditated. One might assume that, by dedicating so much time and care to improvisation, Farinelli acquired a sure command of patterns of variations and facility at coming up with suitable ornamentation that

¹⁵² Sacchi, *Vita*, 36.

allowed him to embellish an aria without prior detailed study, for example, in situations in which he was asked to sight-read.¹⁵³

Given that the 1753 aria collection for Maria Theresa was a presentation copy, for which Farinelli probably worked out the ornamentation very carefully, the question arises to what extent the manuscript represents the singer's practice in live performance. The fact that Maria Theresa, who in her youth had been an accomplished singer herself, heard Farinelli in Vienna in 1732 suggests that the manuscript is unlikely to contain too many departures from Farinelli's live performance practice as the dedicatee would surely have been able to detect them.¹⁵⁴ The presence of one additional staff containing an ornamented vocal part for both the A and B sections in the scores of two arias, 'Son qual nave' and 'Quell'usignolo' (Appendix D), probably indicates that Farinelli followed the practice outlined by Tosi, embellishing A sparingly (so that there was no need to notate two different ornamented versions of A and A'), B more amply and A' extensively.¹⁵⁵

It is noteworthy that Farinelli's *variazioni* of the vocal part stay entirely within the notated range of the arias and, for the most part, follow the contour of the original vocal line. In addition, the embellished version always remains within the tessitura of the original line. This is important as it differs significantly from the late 20th and early 21st-century – supposedly historically informed - performance practice of 18th-century music, whereby the vocal line in da capo sections often bears little resemblance to the original in terms of contour, tessitura and range employed.¹⁵⁶ Many of Farinelli's *variazioni* constitute very

¹⁵³ Shortly after his arrival in London in 1734, Farinelli was asked to sight-read several arias by Handel in the presence of the royal couple and princess Anne. Letter of 30 November 1734. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 132.

¹⁵⁴ The presence of the archduchesses at performances by Farinelli at the Viennese court in 1732 is mentioned specifically in his letters of 31 March and 26 April 1732. *Ibid.*, 100. In addition, Farinelli was undoubtedly aware that the manuscript would be studied by numerous other people at the Viennese court, many of whom might have heard him perform.

¹⁵⁵ Farinelli's additions to 'Quel usignolo' seem to be a complete or almost complete ornamentation for the aria (aside from the A section embellishments and some of the cadenzas), whereas in 'Son qual nave', he added ornamentation only to a2, though not throughout.

¹⁵⁶ There are several reasons for this. Among others, many arias from the early 18th century, even for virtuoso star singers such as Faustina and Carestini, remain within the compass of a ninth or tenth, prompting modern singers to exceed the notated range in order to show off their full range. Also, many roles in the operas of Handel, whose operas are more frequently revived than any other composer's of his time, are in a low mezzo soprano or contralto range. Due to differences between period and modern vocal production, modern singers typically feel comfortable in a somewhat higher tessitura than their period colleagues, and thus take the da capo section as an opportunity to raise the tessitura of their part. Also, modern singers, in whose training there is a greater emphasis on volume and tone than on subtlety and flexibility, would find it very difficult to perform rapid subdivisions of the kind found in Farinelli's ornamented arias.

small subdivisions of the beat, requiring extreme agility (e.g., ‘*Quel usignolo*’, 57-64) and the ability to maintain rapid figurations for many bars at a time. *Sbalzi* are often filled in with *volatine* and scalic ascents or descents are decorated either with *trilli cresciuti/calanti* or *volatine*.

In terms of 18th-century practice, Farinelli’s cadenzas are thoroughly modern in that each of them requires the orchestra to stop and wait for the singer to perform the cadenza *a suo piacere*, a practice considered highly offensive by Tosi,¹⁵⁷ but taken for granted by Mancini.¹⁵⁸ In the cadenzas, Farinelli exceeds the notated range of the arias by up to a minor third at the bottom and a major second at the top. It is difficult to say whether he might have exceeded it further still in the 1720s and 1730s; by 1753, the range of f-g’ used in ‘*Quel usignolo*’ might have represented the full range of pitches available to Farinelli.¹⁵⁹ In terms of musical content, *volatine raddoppiate*, *sbalzi* and long sustained notes, which offer opportunities for *messe di voce* and *trilli raddoppiati*, occur particularly frequently. Noteworthy is also the high number of cadenzas – Farinelli’s manuscript of ‘*Quel usignolo*’ contains seven written-out cadenzas, and the absence of notated cadenzas for two additional fermatas does not necessarily mean that the singer might not have ornamented these as well. Furthermore, he would probably have performed cadenzas on at least some of the fermatas in the course of the first statement of the A section. Whilst ‘*Quel usignolo*’ may contain unusually many cadenzas due to its birdsong metaphor, Tosi already states that ‘ogni Aria (per lo meno) ha tre Cadenze’ (every aria has at least three cadenzas).¹⁶⁰

Despite their virtuosity, Farinelli’s cadenzas do seem not to be intended only for vocal display. Some of the cadenzas appear to be conceived specifically to toy with the listener’s expectations. For example, the cadenza at the end of a2 (77-79), establishes a one-bar pattern consisting of four sixteenth notes followed by two quarter notes, the first of which is approached by means of a descending leap. The sixteenth-note pattern is stated four times, each time followed by a wider leap, a fourth (b’ flat-f’), a sixth (b’ flat-d’), an

¹⁵⁷ The fact that Tosi fulminates against this practice twice at length (*Opinioni*, 64-65 and 81-82) suggests that it was well established by 1723; indeed, in many arias from the early 1720s, rests are placed strategically in the orchestral parts to allow the singers to sing cadenzas at their leisure.

¹⁵⁸ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 183. Mancini’s comment that ‘restando la voce totalmente isolata dall prima sino all’ultima nota della cadenza’ (since the voice is completely unaccompanied from the first until the last note of the cadenza) indicates that by the 1770s, unaccompanied cadenzas were standard.

¹⁵⁹ ‘*Son qual nave*’ makes use of the two octaves from f to f’.

¹⁶⁰ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 92.

octave (b' flat-b flat) and an eleventh (b' flat-f) . The last time, the first quarter note is not repeated, but followed by an ascending leap of an octave and a major second (f-g''), which takes the listener by surprise. A short phrase then leads to the final cadential trill.

Mus. Ex. 3-30: 'Quel usignolo': Cadenza at the end of a2, 77-79¹⁶¹

The listener's suspense increases with the size of the leaps as, on the one hand, the repetitions of the sixteenth-note patterns create an expectation for further repeats, whilst, on the other hand, the expanding size of the leaps raises the question of how the phrase will continue once the singer has reached the limits of his range. The idea of setting up patterns in order to raise the listener's suspense ties in very well with rhetorical strategies Farinelli employed in his Venetian bravura arias (see chapter 7), which suggests that the ornamentation and cadenza notated in the 1753 aria collection do indeed reflect the singer's live practice. Cadenzas certainly seem to have been an important tool for him in establishing a relationship with his audiences, engaging them as active listeners. This might well have contributed to making Farinelli famous for an unusual degree of creativity in improvisation, especially, if one is to believe Tosi's claim that it was common for singers to 'tormentare gli ascoltanti con mille Cadenze tutte fatte a un modo'¹⁶² (torment the listeners with a thousand cadenzas that are all put together in the same way) and that the musical content of cadenzas was often arbitrary.¹⁶³

That Farinelli's cadenzas were certainly not arbitrary in the selection of musical material of which they were composed is also evident from the circumstance that they contain musical elements both from the original and the ornamented vocal line,¹⁶⁴ and there is a certain degree of consistency between cadenzas due to the recurrence of ornaments and specific figurations from the vocal line. This may have impressed Mancini, as his description of an ideal cadenza is applicable to Farinelli's or may even have been inspired by them:¹⁶⁵

La cadenza preparar si deve con la nota graduata, cioè messa di voce; e quanto siegue dev'essere un epilogo dell'aria, o altra composizione, e singolarmente

¹⁶¹ *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 19111 No. 1.

¹⁶² Tosi, *Opinioni*, 86-87.

¹⁶³ Mancini concurs with Tosi on this point. Tosi, *Opinioni*, 82-84, and Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 179-180.

¹⁶⁴ The cadenza for bar 68, for example, contains both dotted rhythms used earlier in the aria and figurations consisting of three sixteenth notes followed by two thirty-second notes which have previously been used as embellishments.

¹⁶⁵ Mancini had not only sung with Farinelli, as mentioned previously, but, as the singing teacher of the royal princesses at the Viennese court, he also had access to Farinelli's 1753 presentation aria collection.

dei passi e passaggi, che in essa contengono, i quali devono essere ben distribuiti, imitati e sostenuti di un sol fiato, accoppiandovi a tutto ciò il solito trillo.¹⁶⁶

(The cadenza has to be prepared by a swelled note, i.e., a *messa di voce*; and that which follows needs to be an epilogue to the aria or other composition, [consisting] only of phrases and *passaggi* that are contained in it; these must be well distributed, imitated and sung in one breath,¹⁶⁷ and to all this, the usual trill needs to be added.

Whilst it is difficult to assess the impact of Farinelli's improvisatory practice on that of other singers, it is very likely that his abundant use of extended cadenzas was similarly widely imitated as other aspects of his singing.

¹⁶⁶ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 179.

¹⁶⁷ Given that Farinelli was renowned for his extraordinary breath control, he was presumably able to perform his cadenzas in a single breath.

4 Style

The concept of style can, of course, be applied to a singer's repertory at different levels. An important distinction in 18th-century opera is that between different singing modes, such as the *parlante*, *cantabile*, *patetico*, and bravura styles, for example. The present section will examine larger stylistic developments in Farinelli's repertory during the course of his stage career, for, despite its relative brevity of 15 years, Farinelli's style was by no means monolithic, but changed in response to musical traditions in the different geographical areas in which he performed.

The New Neapolitan (Galant) Style

By the standards of Tosi and Marcello, Farinelli was a thoroughly modern singer. Although he was undoubtedly exposed to music in the old style during his training and at the beginning of his career, Farinelli's own teacher, Porpora, wrote in the fashionable style both Tosi and Marcello derided. Most composers who wrote roles for Farinelli between 1722 and 1725 were either not much older than Porpora (e.g. Sarri) or were younger (Predieri, Vinci, Leo and Hasse), and also wrote in the modern, *galant*¹ style.² Typical modern stylistic traits³ of instrumental writing in the early Roman and Neapolitan operas in which Farinelli sang are specific string textures (unison violins, violas *col basso* at the octave⁴, passages without the basso continuo in which the unison violins play *colla parte* and the violas sometimes play bass notes,⁵ and prolonged passages in which the strings merely provide harmonic support, playing repeated quarter, eighth or sixteenth notes⁶),

¹ Markstrom delineates the boundaries between the styles of the composers of the older generation, Gasparini and A. Scarlatti, and those of the younger generation, particularly Vinci and Porpora in some detail in his discussion of Vinci's *Farnace*, which contains elements of both styles. Markstrom, *Vinci*, 70-77. However, Scarlatti's arias for Farinelli in the 1723 *serenata*, *Erminia*, demonstrate that the composer was able and willing to write in the modern style. For discussions of the *galant* style throughout the 18th century, see Hertz, *European Capitals*, especially 16-23, and Hertz and Bruce Alan Brown, 'Galant', *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 21, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10512>.

² The works by the two of the three oldest composers who wrote for Farinelli, Giovanni Porta and Francesco Gasparini, do not survive. A surviving aria by the third, Antonio Pollarolo's 'Varchi un mar di scogli pieno' from the 1722 *Cosroe*, is in the modern style. Pollarolo had only begun to compose opera in 1719.

³ These traits were identified as modern by Marcello in his *Teatro della moda*.

⁴ Marcello, *Teatro*, 21.

⁵ Marcello, *Teatro*, 18-19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

sometimes relatively long ritornelli with unison violins⁷ and orchestral effects such as use of *pizzicato* or muted strings.⁸ In terms of closed numbers, there are few duets and choruses⁹ and even fewer, if any, basso continuo arias¹⁰ whilst fermatas for vocal cadenzas,¹¹ long *passaggi* (including on nouns¹²), syncopations and word repetitions¹³ are hallmarks of the vocal writing. These features were becoming typical of the modern style throughout Italy. In Rome, composers such as Porpora and Vinci replaced the former leading composers, A. Scarlatti and Gasparini.¹⁴ Meanwhile in Venice and its northern Italian orbit, Faustina's rapid rise to stardom by 1720 was in no small part due to her virtuosity, which was also greatly admired in Naples, where she appeared from 1721 to 1723.¹⁵

In the 1720s and 1730s, additional characteristics set apart the specifically Neapolitan idiom from the northern Italian style, or 'Lombard manner' (discussed below), but became increasingly representative of the *galant* style internationally, spread by leading singers and composers.¹⁶ These characteristics include a bouncy syncopated rhythmic pattern consisting of an eighth note followed by a quarter and two sixteenth notes (or slight variations thereof) in common time, increasingly frequently Neapolitan redicts (repetitions of short text fragments on the same musical phrase, sometimes with an open and a closed ending), mixture of duplets and triplets, clarity of phrasing and rhythmic patterns and use of the diminished third and other small-scale chromaticism for local expressive touches. The arias discussed in chapter 3 offer many examples of all these features. The compositional style of Porpora, who was, of course, the most important early influence on Farinelli, stands out as florid even among his Neapolitan colleagues. In terms of singing, what came to be known as the Neapolitan style was the virtuosic style of Farinelli and the

⁷ Marcello, *Teatro.*, 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹¹ I.e., points at which the orchestra stops playing in order for the singers to be able to take as much time as they wish to perform their cadenzas. *Ibid.*, 19.

¹² *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁴ Markstrom, *Vinci*, 66.

¹⁵ Giulia Veneziano, 'I viaggi a Napoli di Faustina', CD Liner notes for *I viaggi di Faustina*, Roberta Invernizzi and I Turchini, Antonio Florio, director (Glossa, 2013, GCD 922606), 34.

¹⁶ In the 1720s and 1730s, Italian audiences were well able to distinguish between Neapolitan and northern Italian vocal styles, and this distinction was of great importance for the reception of singers (see below). Retrospective definitions tend to emphasise the general characteristics of the fully developed *galant* style.

singers who followed suit, such as Porpora's younger student, Caffarelli. Aside from Gizzi,¹⁷ with whom Farinelli had sung during his first three seasons in Rome, Farinelli was its first male exponent who spread it beyond the Roman-Neapolitan orbit.¹⁸

*The 'Lombard Manner'*¹⁹

Whilst Farinelli's technical development was largely completed by 1725, his stylistic development continued. Already very early in his career, still under the guidance of Porpora, he may have responded to the vocal challenge of Faustina's singing by further increasing his own virtuosity; he certainly reacted to the vocal style he encountered in Northern Italy when he took his first engagements in Parma, Milano and Bologna in 1726 and 1727. Whereas the difficulty of the *passaggi* in 'Sarò intrepido e costante' (*I fratelli riconosciuti*, 1726) and 'Freme il padre, e a vostro danno' (*Antigona*, 1727) lies primarily in often extremely long stretches of continuous sixteenth notes and the instrumental nature of the coloratura patterns, particularly the swift execution of leaps, the *passaggi* in

¹⁷ Gizzi's style was virtuosic, and he took it to Northern Italy before Farinelli, singing in Venice in 1724, 1725 and 1728 as well as in Florence and Reggio (Emilia) in 1725 and in Genova in 1728. Despite a successful career, Gizzi remained a 'minor' star. A famous singer from the south who performed to greater acclaim in Venice was Marianna Benti-Bulgarelli 'La Romanina,' but she excelled more at acting than virtuosic singing.

¹⁸ According to Mamy, the first exponents of the modern Neapolitan style to reach Venice were Matteo Sassani 'Matteuccio' and Nicola Grimaldi 'Nicolini'; however she points out that the arias for these two singers 'n'en montrent [...] une volonté profonde de simplicité et de modération. Les vocalises sont courtes (deux à trois mesures) et placées dans des tessitures moyennes, n'exigeant pas de l'interprètes de grands efforts techniques' (show a profound preference for simplicity and moderation. The *passaggi* are short (two to three bars) and placed in the middle range, and do not require great technical efforts from the performers). Mamy, *Les grands castrats napolitains à Venise au XVIIIe siècle*, Liège: Mardaga, 1994, 77. It might be worth adding that in his Italian roles (unlike in his Handelian roles), Nicolini never showed a great propensity towards virtuosic singing as he was a stage performer who communicated first and foremost by means of acting and text delivery. At the time of the publication of his 1724 *Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni*, Tosi would probably have regarded Nicolini and Sassani as representatives of the old style.

Many 18th-century sources emphasise the seminal importance of Faustina's singing in spreading the modern style. However, a full assessment of her role in exporting the vocal characteristics of the Neapolitan style would require an in-depth analysis of her early roles (1716-1725) in order to determine in how far the style she had developed in northern Italy was affected by her collaboration with Neapolitan composers such as Leo, Vinci and Sarro between 1721 and 1723. To my knowledge, no one has tackled this so far. Woyke discusses Faustina's singing and technique in an overarching, rather than chronological, manner. In her highly differentiated discussion of Faustina's position between the old and modern styles, Woyke justly points out that Tosi does not associate Faustina directly with the modern style so despised by him, but accords her lavish praise (*Faustina Bordoni*, 144). However, she does not seem to take into consideration that Tosi's opinion of Faustina could only have been based on music sung by her prior to 1723, i.e., the year of the publication of his treatise.

¹⁹ The term 'Lombard Manner' is borrowed from a letter by Owen Swiney dated Venice 31 May 1726 to the Duke of Richmond, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Goodwood MS 105/401, 3. Quoted after McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion,' 340.

Farinelli's three bravura arias in *Medo* (Frugoni-Vinci, Parma 1728) are frequently broken by rests, are more conjunct overall and are characterised by a higher degree of rhythmic variety and subtlety. Their effective execution poses greater demands on the singer's precision of articulation than on his breath control, volume or range. This seems to have been the result of Farinelli's study of Northern Italian vocal style, which has commonly been interpreted as the result of his first encounter with Bernacchi on the basis of anecdotal evidence. According to Sacchi,

Fu chiamato nell'anno 1727 a cantare in Bologna insieme con Antonio Bernacchi chiarissimo cantore, e maestro di cantori chiarissimi. Il giovine Broschi cantando la prima volta insieme con lui privatamente giudicò che il suo valore non fosse uguale alla sua fama; onde con certa animosità giovanile cominciò a fare ostentazione della propria abilità, il che il più vecchio non faceva. Si accorse Bernacchi di essere provocato, ed accessosi alquanto, feceli sentire, che egli non era ancora a tempo di uguagliarlo, non che di superarlo. Questo accidente, che avrebbe disgiunto due altri, che fossero amici, congiunse questi due in amicizia, che fu poi indissolubile, perchè erano amendue di ottimo animo, e oltre a ciò fu questa una occasione a Farinello di farsi migliore che non era; perchè compresa la superiorità del Bernacchi nell'arte, il pregò che volesse riceverlo alla sua scuola. Subito poi trasferitisi amendue a cantare a Roma, quivi ogni mattina il Broschi frequentava la casa del Bernacchi, ed apprendea da lui quelle grazie sopraffine, delle quali non era ancora abbastanza fornito.²⁰

(In 1727, he was called to Bologna to sing together with Antonio Bernacchi, a vastly famous singer and teacher of vastly famous singers. The young Broschi, when singing together with him for the first time in private, judged that his merit was not equal to his fame. Therefore, with that certain animosity of youth, he began to show off his own abilities, which the older man did not. Bernacchi noticed that this was a provocation, and, somewhat angry, made him [Farinelli] feel that he could not yet equal him, let alone surpass him. This incident, which would have made enemies of other people, even if they had been friends, bound these two together in a friendship that was indissoluble from then on, because both were men of good spirit. Moreover, this was an opportunity for Farinelli to improve himself; for as soon as he had understood the superiority of Bernacchi in his art, he asked him to accept him into his class. Both went to Rome right away to sing there, and there Broschi visited Bernacchi's house every morning and learnt from him those exceedingly graceful refinements with which he was not yet sufficiently equipped.)

Sacchi's account was embellished by Fétis into a detailed dramatic account of an operatic singing showdown in a duet sung by Farinelli and Bernacchi.

En 1727 il [Farinelli] se rendit à Bologne: il y devait chanter avec Bernacchi. Fier de tant de succès, confiant dans l'incomparable beauté de sa voix et dans la prodigieuse facilité d'exécution qui ne l'avait jamais trahi, il redoutait peu l'épreuve qu'il allait subir. L'habileté de Bernacchi était telle, à-la vérité, qu'elle l'avait fait appeler *Le roi des chanteurs*; mais sa voix n'était pas belle,

²⁰ Sacchi, *Vita*, 37-38.

et ce n'était qu'à force d'art que Bernacchi avait triomphé de ses défauts. Ne doutant pas d'une victoire semblable à celle qu'il avait obtenue à Rome cinq ans auparavant [du trompette allemande], l'élève de Porpora prodigua dans le duo qu'il chantait avec Bernacchi tous les trésors de son bel organe, tous les traits qui avaient fait sa gloire. L'auditoire, dans le délire, prodigua des applaudissements frénétiques à ce qu'il venait d'entendre. Bernacchi, sans être ému du prodige et de l'effet qu'il avait produit, commença à son tour la phrase qu'il devait répéter, et redisant tous les traits du jeune chanteur, sans en oublier un seul, mit dans tous les détails une perfection si merveilleuse, que Farinelli fut obligé de reconnaître son maître dans son rival. Alors, au lieu de se renfermer dans un orgueil blessé, comme n'aurait pas manqué de faire un artiste ordinaire, il avoua sa défaite et demanda des conseils à Bernacchi, qui se plut à donner la dernière perfection au talent du chanteur le plus extraordinaire du dix-huitième siècle.²¹

In 1727, he [Farinelli] went to Bologna. There he was to sing with Bernacchi. Proud of so much success and confident of the incomparable beauty of his voice and the prodigious facility of execution, which had never let him down, he had little fear of the test he was about to undergo. The skills of Bernacchi, however, were such that they had earned him the appellation of *The King of Singers*; but his voice was not beautiful, and it had only been by the means of art that Bernacchi had triumphed over his deficiencies. Without doubting a victory similar to that which he had obtained five years earlier in Rome [over the German trumpet player], Porpora's student showed off all the treasures of his beautiful voice, all the flourishes that had made his fame, in the duet that he sang with Bernacchi. The enraptured audience responded with frenetic applause to what they had heard. Bernacchi, unperturbed by the display and the effect it had produced, took his turn at the phrase he had to repeat, and, reproducing all the flourishes of the young singer, without forgetting a single one, he put into each detail such marvellous perfection that Farinelli was obliged to recognise his master in his rival. Upon which, instead of reacting with wounded pride as an ordinary artist would have done, he admitted his defeat and asked advice from Bernacchi who was pleased to give the last polish to the talent of the most extraordinary singer of the 18th century.

Sacchi's or Fétis' versions of the encounter between Farinelli and Bernacchi, or a fusion of the two, have become one of the most famous anecdotes relating to Farinelli and have been repeated by all of his modern biographers.²² However, no contemporary evidence for Bernacchi's superior repetition of phrases or ornamentation sung by Farinelli can be found, nor does *Antigona* contain a duet for the two singers. In the only closed number in which they sing together, the trio 'Dopo il nembo un bel sereno' (III, 12; Appendix C 3), the brief four-/five-note phrases by Farinelli repeated by Bernacchi (109-113, 158-160) do not offer

²¹ François-Joseph Fétis, 'Broschi (Charles),' *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (1875), reprint of 2nd edition (Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), II:83.

²² In addition to the monographs by Haböck, Barbier and Cappelletto, these include the short biographies in volumes on castrato singers such as Angus Heriot's *The Castrati in Opera* (London: Calder Books, 1960) and Hubert Ortkemper's *Engel wider Willen-Die Welt der Kastraten. Eine andere Operngeschichte* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag/Bärenreiter, 1995).

much opportunity for virtuosic display by either. Bernacchi has an opportunity for a cadenza (a phrase in bars 80-81 is marked *ad libitum*), whereas Farinelli's part contains no fermatas, although he might feasibly have ornamented the cadence at the end of his first phrase (36-37). The grounds on which Fétis' account is built seem to be a vivid imagination and the romantic concept of art which emerges from his praise of Farinelli and Bernacchi for seeking and consenting to give advice: 'C'est quelque chose de beau et de digne, que ce double exemple de la conscience d'artiste qui écarte des deux cotés les considérations de l'amour-propre et d'intérêt personnel, pour ne songer qu'aux progrès de l'art.'²³ (It has something beautiful and dignified about it, this double example of artistic conscience that on both sides disregards the considerations of pride and personal interest in order to wish for nothing else but the progress of art.) Burney probably came closest to the truth, reporting after his visit to Farinelli in Bologna in 1770 that Farinelli 'went to Bologna where he had the advantage of hearing Bernacchi, a scholar of the famous Pistocchi, of that city, who was then the first singer in Italy, for taste and knowledge; and his Scholars afterwards rendered the Bologna school famous.'²⁴

Despite reproducing Fétis's anecdote, Haböck, Barbier and Heriot do not believe Sacchi with regard to Farinelli's studying formally with Bernacchi; in Heriot's version of the event, 'Bernacchi passed on some of his secrets to Farinelli'²⁵ and Haböck supposes '[e]s dürfte sich mehr um eine kollegiale Kritik und um das vorbildliche Beispiel Bernacchis als um ein eigentliches Studium gehandelt haben' (it was probably more a matter of collegial critique and Bernacchi's functioning as a model than of actual [vocal] studies)²⁶, while Barbier opines that Farinelli would have asked Bernacchi for advice.²⁷ The fact that Bernacchi and Farinelli were constantly engaged in different cities apart from their appearances together in Bologna in May 1727, Parma both in May 1728 and 1729 and Bologna in the spring of 1731, surely precluded formal studies. A sonnet written on the occasion of *Antigona* entitled *In favore del musico Bernacchi e contra il Farinello* provides evidence that the Bolognese audience was divided into supporters of Farinelli and

²³ Fétis, 'Broschi (Charles),' 84.

²⁴ Burney, *France and Italy*, 214-215.

²⁵ Heriot, *Castrati*, 89.

²⁶ Haböck, *Carlo Broschi Farinelli*, XIX.

²⁷ Barbier, *Farinelli*, 41.

Bernacchi,²⁸ and an element of competition between singers was, of course, extremely common.

Also it seems that Farinelli had indeed set his mind on studying northern Italian style at the time of the encounter with Bernacchi, and that this was known in musical circles.

Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata had been performed in May 1727; in a letter dated to the 31st of that month, Owen Swiney wrote to the Duke of Richmond:

I am just returned from Parma where I heard y^c Divine Farinelli (another blazing star) but I am sorry to tell you that Im'e affraid he'l not be p[e]rsuaded to goe for England these Two or three years yt, for he has a Mind to study y^c Lombard Manner, which will improve him Cent per Cent: I think I told y.^t Grace in My last lett.^t [not extant] that He was engaged to Sing in one of the Theatres of Rome The next Winter.²⁹

However, Swiney seems to refer to the style of Northern Italian more generally (as opposed to that of the new Neapolitan school of which Farinelli himself was one of the first exponents), rather than to that of Bernacchi specifically. Bologna, as Swiney would certainly have known, was not part of the Habsburg-ruled Duchy of Lombardy, but belonged to the Papal States during this period. In addition, Bernacchi only took up teaching at the end of his operatic career in the late 1730s to early 1740s.³⁰

While it is impossible to ascertain whether Farinelli intended to study the 'Lombard Manner' based on recognition of Bernacchi's superiority, he did appropriate elements that were typical of the style in which Bernacchi sang.³¹ By Tosi's standards, Bernacchi was certainly a modern, virtuosic singer. Four of Bernacchi's five arias in *Medo*, 'Quel fiume che in mente' (I, 2; Appendix B 2.1), 'Taci o di morte' (I, 8; Appendix B 2.2), 'Vengo a voi, funesti orrori' (II, 8) and 'Nella forresta Leon invitto' (III, 6; Appendix B 2.3) contain *passaggi*. For the most part, these are composed of small fragments that are treated sequentially and separated by rests. More often than not, the fragments consist of combinations of several different small note values, frequently including 'Lombard'

²⁸ This sonnet is discussed in chapter 5.

²⁹ Letter of Venice 31 May 1726. Quoted after McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion,' 340.

³⁰ See Dean, 'Bernacchi.' The widespread opinion that Bernacchi was the teacher of Carestini (see e.g. Dale Monson, 'Carestini, Giovanni [Cusanino]' in *Grove Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed August 22, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04924>), is incorrect and based on a misunderstanding, as shown by Claudia Maria Korsmeier in *Der Sänger Giovanni Carestini (1700-1760) und 'seine' Komponisten* (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 2000), 60-61.

³¹ The musical characteristics of the roles of northern Italian singers such as Bernacchi corroborate Markstrom's suggestions as to what elements constitute the Lombard style. See Markstrom, *Vinci*, 79.

Farinelli's arias in *Medo* show similar characteristics. These similarities between the two singers' arias cannot be attributed to the personal style of the composer, Vinci.³⁴ The second of the a2 *passaggi* of Farinelli's entrance aria, 'Scherzo dell'onda instabile' (I, 11; Appendix B 1.15), consists of minute fragments in conjunct motion that are separated by rests (40-45); 'Sento due fiamme in petto' (II, 4) makes ample use of 'Lombard' rhythms throughout; the *passaggi* in 'Navigante che non spera' (II, 16; Appendix B 1.16) show great rhythmic variety and rapid combination of very short note values (19-22, 35-41, 48-49); and 'Non è più folle lusinga' (III, 10; Appendix B 1.18) contains numerous syncopations combined with *note ribattute* (30-32, 69-71, 101-102), appoggiaturas and inverted dotted rhythms. Articulation markings, particularly *staccato* marks, are frequent in all arias, and occur both in *passaggi* and syllabic passages. Farinelli thus seems to have mastered the Lombard manner quickly; in light of the variety of articulation required as early as in *Adelaide* in 1723 and the rhythmic variety in arias in *Tito Sempronio Graccho* in 1725, this is not surprising. But whether Farinelli learnt these features from Bernacchi is questionable, as some such traits already occur in his roles in 1726 in Capelli's *I fratelli riconosciuti*³⁵ and in Orlandini's *Antigona*.³⁶ Farinelli's wide range and excellent breath control by 1725 suggest that his vocal *technique* was fully developed, but his close association with Porpora had surely made him well aware that valuable lessons about *style* could be learnt not only from other singers, but also from composers.³⁷

Although its features are clearly recognisable, none of the arias in *Medo* could be said to be entirely in the 'Lombard manner' because they are integrated with previous hallmarks of Farinelli's style such as the exploitation of a wide range, uncommonly long durations of the *passaggi*, an abundance of trills (ascending, descending and on *salti di terza*) and use of instrumental idioms. Moreover, some of the new features are raised to new level of difficulty. In 'Scherzo dell'onda instabile,' individual off-beat *staccato* pitches are added to the fragmented *passaggio* (39-43), demanding a high degree of precision in both

³⁴ Vinci himself was a leading composer in the Neapolitan style, but employed typically northern stylistic elements when writing for northern Italian singers. In *La caduta de' decemviri* (Stampiglia-Vinci, Naples 1727), for examples, he used them for Carlo Scalzi, Maria Giustina Turcotti and Antonio Barbieri.

³⁵ 'Quant'empietà ne mostri' (I, 4) and 'Mia bella rigida' (I, 11) both feature conjunct coloratura of great rhythmic variety, abundantly decorated with appoggiaturas.

³⁶ Farinelli's *passaggi* in 'Se vaporetto in nuvoletto' (I, 3) and 'Quante in selva son le foglie' are as conjunct and fragmented as Bernacchi's and 'Ma almen se moro' (I, 12) contains rapid upwards sweeps and numerous inverted dotted rhythms.

³⁷ While all professional singers were closely associated with composers, Farinelli seems to have taken more than common interest in composition and maintained friendships with several composers, including Orlandini, to whom he refers as 'l'amico Orlandini' in his letter to Sicinio Pepoli of 19 September 1731. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 88.

articulation and rhythm.³⁸ The rhythmic variety in ‘*Navigante che non spera*’ is not only extraordinarily great, but several difficult rhythmic patterns are chained together in one breath, some containing syncopations, others decorated with appoggiaturas, and performed at a quick tempo (17-23, 32-41). The *note ribattute* in ‘*Non è più folle lusinga*’ (30-32, 54-56, 69-71, 101-103) are extended and intensified over three bars. At the climax of a1, a2 and B and sung on the words ‘*adulando il mio desir*’ (flattering my desire) and ‘*dolce mio languir*’ (my sweet languishing), they take on an almost erotic character. Both this fusion of Farinellian idiosyncrasies and Lombard features and the circumstance that the latter do not appear in Vinci’s Neapolitan and Roman roles for Farinelli suggest that the composer made use of them at the singer’s request.

The fact that Farinelli continued to develop his voice and expand his stylistic vocabulary despite his great success from early on in his career has been pointed out as unusual by many commentators, and the anecdote about Farinelli’s defeat in the vocal contest with Bernacchi may to some extent have been created in answer to the question what motivated Farinelli’s quest for self-improvement. It is possible that Farinelli was aware of the local differences in taste in Italy and that he sought to adapt to the preferences of northern Italian audiences to some degree once he left the Roman-Neapolitan orbit. Another possible answer is that, like Paganini on the violin or Liszt on the piano, Farinelli realised that he had the ability to push the boundaries of his instrument and wanted to explore the limits of its possibilities. It is also important to keep in mind that in the 18th century, prior to the rise of romantic ideology, making music was not so much a matter of *l’art pour l’art* as of continuous competition for the best engagements and highest fees, especially for castrato singers whose fortune depended entirely on their voices. Though highly successful, Farinelli also knew that there was the danger of young singers eventually superseding him as he was superseding older singers himself. Moreover, it could not have eluded him that he did not excel as an actor and that his voice was his primary asset. Contrary to the still common view that most singers of *dramma per musica* were poor actors, contemporary sources evidence that singers with little talent for acting could only attain star status if their vocal gifts were exceptional. The only superstars of the 1720s and 1730s who were not deemed to be at least passable actors were Cuzzoni and Farinelli himself. By integrating the refinement of the Lombard manner with the vigorousness of the Neapolitan style as

³⁸ Vinci had used similar individual off-beat notes in the aria ‘*S’io non t’amassi tanto*’ (II, 2) for the tenor Antonio Barbieri in *La caduta de’ decemviri* (Naples, 1727), though within overall less complex *passaggi*. Barbieri, a virtuosic singer and a leading tenor in this period, was from northern Italy and also sang in the Lombard style.

well as his special vocal properties, Farinelli created a highly recognisable vocal profile that was unique because it was technically and stylistically comprehensive – aside from one aspect, the *stile patetico*.

*'A more plain and simple road'*³⁹

The aspect that is conspicuous by its near absence in Farinelli's roles until 1728 is the *stile patetico* championed by Tosi. The slowest tempo marking found consistently in Farinelli's arias of this period is *andante*; slower tempi are exceedingly rare.⁴⁰ Moreover, whilst Farinelli's slower arias (including arias with expressive markings such as *amoroso* or *affettuoso* which imply slower tempi) typically contain long-breathed legato phrases, they are consistently ornate. Most are in *cantabile* style and contain extended, often intricate and subtle, coloratura passages; some feature the combination of a greater proportion of *parlante* passages with local surface detail that results in a *grazioso* style. Arias with predominantly syllabic text setting, which, though in relatively small numbers, can be found even in the roles of virtuosic singers such as Bernacchi, are absent in Farinelli's roles. Syllabic text setting occurs only on individual phrases. Whilst many of Farinelli's slower arias are very attractive, only a few of them equal his bravura arias in terms of musical weight or performance duration.

Whether the predominance of virtuosic singing both in fast and slower arias in Farinelli's roles in northern Italy in 1726, as well as in 1729 when he first sang in Venice, was a matter of his personal preference or a response to the reception it elicited from his audiences is not clear. In any event, Conti's letters of 1729 attest to the fact that it was Farinelli's agility, velocity and wide range that prompted the most admiration, and these are the qualities that are most exploited in Farinelli's parts in both operas in the 1729 Venetian carnival season. The arias in the second of these, Mirteo in *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Metastasio-Porpora), employ a wide range of tempi (from *presto* to *lento*) and offer more opportunities than Leo's for legato singing, *messe di voce* and varied articulation, both in fast and slow tempi. In fact, Porpora deploys all the technical

³⁹ This phrase is borrowed from Burney's account of the advice Emperor Charles VI putatively gave Farinelli in 1732 (see below). Burney, *France and Italy*, 216.

⁴⁰ For example, *lento* is used for 'L'infelice usignolo' in *Tito Sempronio Graccho*, Naples 1725. 'Ma almen se moro' (*Antigona*, 1727) does not have a tempo marking, but *lento* seems suitable. In *Niccomede* (Lalli-Torri, Munich 1728), 'Amorosa rondinella' is marked *largo*.

elements of vocal technique found in Farinelli's roles to date, including trills in various forms, *volatine*, instrumental idiom and other things he had taught Farinelli himself, as well as the stylistic and technical elements Farinelli had acquired since 1724. The combination of Porpora's own propensity for highly ornate, florid writing and Farinelli's technical abilities results in arias that hardly contain a single line of poetry set syllabically. The greatest proportion of syllabic text setting occurs in the bravura aria in *presto* tempo, 'In braccio a mille furie' (III, 4; Appendix B 1.23). However, the musical interest of the *parlante* phrase is outweighed by breakneck *passaggi* in violin idiom that constitute the climaxes of a1, a2 and B. Moreover, few of the arias' main themes are tuneful and thus easily recognisable and memorable, because in most cases even the opening lines are heavily decorated.⁴¹ The exceptions are 'In braccio a mille furie' and 'Rondinella a cui rapita' (I, 15; Appendix B 1.21), a *cantabile* aria marked *con spirito*, which opens with a simple melody dominated by bouncy Neapolitan syncopations and nearly syllabic text setting.

Whereas this unusual degree of virtuosity was well received by most Italian listeners among the Venetian audience, it encountered criticism from the French as well as some of the English opera-goers. Following the production of *Semiramide*, Swiney wrote to England that 'Farinelli carried all, before him, at S.t Gio: Grisostomo's Theatre, tho'' Ime' [*sic*] persuaded, were he to sing in London, as he did, there [in Venice], this Winter, he wou'd, by no Means, please y.^e people of True Taste – He is certainly, a very, valuable man, but he wou'd be, much, more so, were he to moderate his manner.'⁴² This corroborates a comment by Colonel Elizeus Burges that 'y.^e whole town is so taken up with y.^e competition between Farinelli and Faustina that we think and talk of nothing else. Y.^e lady's strength lies chiefly among y.^e foreigners, especially y.^e English and French; but y.^e Eunuch has almost all y.^e Italians on his side, a powerful band, and esteem'd by much y.^e best judges of musick.'⁴³ Similarly, the francophile Antonio Conti, who described *Catone*

⁴¹ In contrast, though Leo's and Vinci's arias for Farinelli of 1728 and 1729 are virtuosic, their main themes are sufficiently plain and distinctive to be easily remembered.

⁴² Letter of 30 March 1729, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, Goodwood MS 105/435, 2. Quoted after McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion', 340. Swiney's opinion has even greater weight since he himself appreciated virtuosic singing as evident from his earlier comments on Farinelli's singing and his own contribution to bringing Faustina to London. Elizabeth Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728. The Institution and Its Directors* (New York and London, Garland, 1989), 70-71. English aversion to extreme virtuosity is discussed by Suzanne Aspden in "'An Infinity of Factions": Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9/1 (Mar., 1997), especially 13-19.

⁴³ Letter of 11 February 1729, *GB-Lpro*, SPV, Ser. 99, Box 63, f. 85v. Quoted after Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 406; I have omitted Selfridge-Field's editorial explanations. It is noteworthy that Faustina,

in Utica as ‘un concert à voix seule’ (‘a concert for solo voice’), found that Farinelli ‘surprend plus qu’il ne touche’ (‘surprises more than he touches [the listener]’) and ‘pour moy, Faustine me touche plus’ (‘for my part, Faustina touches me more’).⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Farinelli also had many admirers among the English attending the opera in Venice.⁴⁵ Although listeners’ perception of ‘true taste’ naturally depends on their points of reference (so that it is by no means surprising that the foreigners in Venice were less ready to approve of Farinelli’s virtuosity), Tosi’s treatise suggests that the debate about virtuosity in relation to taste was current among at least some Italians as well.

The most important among the foreigners who greatly admired Farinelli’s singing, but allegedly did not approve entirely of his virtuosity, was Emperor Charles VI, whom Farinelli encountered in Vienna in 1732. Burney reports Charles VI’s reaction to Farinelli’s singing as follows:

From thence he went to Venice, and from Venice to Vienna; in all which cities his powers were regarded as miraculous; but he told me, that at Vienna, where he was three different times, and where he received great honours from the Emperor Charles the VI, an admonition from that prince was of more service to him than all the precepts of his masters, or examples of his competitors for fame: his Imperial Majesty condescended to tell him one day, with great mildness and affability, that in his singing, he neither *moved* nor *stood still* like any other mortal; all was supernatural. “Those gigantic strides, said he; those never-ending notes and passages, *ces notes qui ne finissent jamais*, only surprise, and it is now time for you to please; you are too lavish of the gifts with which nature has endowed you; if you wish to reach the heart, you must take a more plain and simple road.” These words brought about an entire change in his manner of singing; from this time he mixed the pathetic with the spirited, the simple with the sublime, and, by these means, delighted as well as astonished every hearer.⁴⁶

Burney’s account has since been repeated by Farinelli’s biographers from Sacchi to Cappelletto; none of them have questioned the attribution of the change towards greater simplicity in Farinelli in the early 1730s to the influence of Emperor Charles VI.⁴⁷ The reliance upon Burney is not surprising; after all, Burney’s account was written following

who had previously been perceived as a primarily virtuosic singer in comparison with Cuzzoni in London, was considered by many English a touching singer in comparison with Farinelli in the 1729 carnival season in Venice. Her positive reception by the English may have been aided by their familiarity with her style.

⁴⁴ Letter of 30 December 1728, Conti, *Lettere*, 230.

⁴⁵ These are discussed in detail by McGeary in ‘Farinelli’s Progress to Albion’, ‘Farinelli in England’, ‘Farinelli’s Journey to England’ and ‘Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds: “tanto mio amico e patrone particolare”’, *Early Music* 30/2 (2002), 203-213.

⁴⁶ Burney, *France and Italy*, 215-216.

⁴⁷ See Sacchi, 38-39, Barbier, 56-57, Haböck, XXIII-XXIV and Cappelletto, 24-25.

personal visits and conversations with Farinelli. However, Burney's summary of Farinelli's career is not based solely on information he received from Farinelli himself, as manifest from references to some of Burney's sources.⁴⁸ Farinelli had actually discouraged Burney from writing his biography or including it in his history of music, professing himself to be unworthy of mention, and instead provided Burney with details about Domenico Scarlatti.⁴⁹ Farinelli's letters from the Viennese court to Pepoli, which are detailed and vivid, do not mention any musical advice from Charles VI.⁵⁰ Even if the passage about Charles VI was part of the information Farinelli related to Burney forty years later, the singer may have had reasons of his own to pass off the change in his style as Imperial advice.⁵¹ But the scores of his Venetian roles of 1730 prove this to be untrue.

Whether as a reaction to criticism from parts of the audience or because Farinelli tired of incessant virtuosity himself, his roles in the Venetian carnival of 1730, Farnace in *Mitridate* (Zeno-Giai), Dario in *Idaspe* (Candi/Lalli-Broschi) and Arbace in *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse) show a great increase in stylistic stratification between arias (see chapters 7 and 8). On the one hand, admirers of Farinelli's virtuosity were gratified by bravura arias that were unprecedented in terms of difficulty, proportions and range. On the other hand, critics could have been placated by slow arias, some of which are so simple in style that even Tosi might have labelled them *arie patetiche*, and others, *arie d'affetto*, whose extended *passaggi* primarily seem to serve the expressive purpose of intensifying the affect. Whereas in *Mitridate*, virtuosic singing still predominates, as three out of Farinelli's five arias are bravura arias of ample proportions, the balance is reversed in *Idaspe* and *Artaserse*, both of which contain only one large-scale bravura aria, though of epic dimensions and great novelty, and one less virtuosic *allegro* aria. The change away from predominantly virtuosic roles towards those that emphasise expressive singing thus already took place in 1730, two years before Farinelli encountered Emperor Charles VI. Nor are *Idaspe* and *Artaserse* atypical; they set a new pattern that remains in place for the roles Farinelli sang in Italy between 1730 and 1734. A few operas contain two virtuosic

⁴⁸ E.g., Burney acknowledges Riccoboni as the source of the information about Farinelli's reception in Paris. Burney, *France and Italy*, 217.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 223-224.

⁵⁰ One of Farinelli's letters, dated 31 March 1732, is incomplete, but it breaks off after describing Farinelli's gratitude for the praise he had received. It seems unlikely that Farinelli would have kept the Emperor's advice from Pepoli had he received it, both because of Farinelli's own respect for the Emperor and because Pepoli had correspondents at the Viennese court.

⁵¹ One only has to recall the memoirs of Goldoni and Casanova to eschew the temptation of relying too much on people's memories of their past lives.

arias; e.g. *Adriano in Siria* (Metastasio-Giacomelli, Venice 1733),⁵² but the 1734 pasticcio performed in Vicenza, in which Farinelli sings three sea tempest arias,⁵³ represents an exception. Some operas from 1730 to 1734 even contain two very substantial *lamenti*, e.g. *Merope* (Zeno-Broschi, Turin 1732).⁵⁴

The question arises as to what might have been Farinelli's motivation to justify his shift of focus towards more expressive singing, by referring to Charles VI - if indeed the anecdote originated with Farinelli himself. In the 1730s, Farinelli's social contacts with noble and royal personages increased greatly. At the Viennese court, he sang for the Imperial family as well as various aristocrats in informal private settings;⁵⁵ in London, he made music with the Prince of Wales;⁵⁶ in Spain, he was created *Familiar Criado mío* (my personal assistant)⁵⁷ of king Philip V and became a personal friend to Philip V's successor, Ferdinand VI and the Queen consort, Maria Barbara. In Italy, Austria, England and Spain, he spent much of his time in the company of aristocrats. During his retirement he continued to be associated with the Pepoli family and received visits from high-ranking persons, including Emperor Leopold II. Looking back on his career when he was visited by Burney in 1770, he may have felt reluctant to attribute the change towards a greater emphasis on expressive singing to criticism from parts of the paying audience in Venice. Or, if he had tired of virtuosity himself, the authority of an Emperor who was known to have had an excellent musical education might have seemed a better justification than his own personal preferences. Be this as it may, not even Farinelli could eschew the demands and preferences of paying audiences, which impacted on the stylistic traits of the music he performed in London.

⁵² 'Passagier, che incerto errando' (II, 7) and 'Amor... dover... rispetto' (II, 13), but these are very different from each other. The former makes use of echo effects, the latter is a straight-forward *aria di bravura*.

⁵³ These are a new aria by Gai, 'Scherza il nocchier talora' (I, 4), 'Navigante che sol spera' (I, 9), which may be an adaptation of the 'Navigante che non spera' from the 1728 *Medo*, and 'Son qual nave, che aggitata [sic],' probably a version of the aria by the same title from the 1730 *Mitridate*. Only the libretto of this production survives, but the sea tempest metaphors in all three suggest that they were bravura arias even if the texts had been set anew.

⁵⁴ 'Chi non sente al mio dolore' (I, 13) and 'Sposa, non mi conosci' (III, 6).

⁵⁵ Letters from Vienna, March to June 1732. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 98-105.

⁵⁶ The Prince of Wales played the violoncello while Farinelli sang. Letters of 30 November 1734 and 2 July 1735. *Ibid.*, 132 and 138 respectively.

⁵⁷ Translation of Farinelli's title by Henry Kamen. Kamen, *Philip V of Spain. The King who reigned twice* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 201.

Favourite Songs

By the time Farinelli went to London in 1734, there had been interest in hiring him to sing in England for eight years. Farinelli's decision to sign a contract for London had been influenced by English nobles and merchants who had befriended him in Italy, and his travel had been facilitated by his English connections.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Swiney's above-mentioned judgment that Farinelli's virtuosity was unlikely to please in England and the apparent support for Faustina of the majority of English listeners in Venice in 1729 suggest that, for all the English curiosity about Farinelli, he was not ideally suited to the English stage. Conti comments on the lack of musical understanding and taste of the English. While he disapproves of the Italians paying singers large fees, he censors even more harshly 'les Anglois qui n'ayant aucun goût pour la musique achètent (sic) si cher ce qu'ils n'entendent pas'⁵⁹ (the English, who, although they have no taste for music at all, buy at such a high price what they do not understand). While Conti shows himself biased against the English, it has to be acknowledged that in comparison with the Venetian opera audience, the London audience was much less educated about Italian opera. Although opera in London had not been confined to the experience of Handel's works, Handel had dominated to such an extent that the 'Opera of the Nobility' was founded to a large extent in opposition to his 'Dominion' of the London opera scene.⁶⁰ Theatregoers in London had heard a considerable number of excellent Italian singers, but not as many as the audiences of the large operatic centres in Italy; this was particularly the case with castrati, who in Italy also sang in the churches. More importantly, for London listeners, even those with a musical education, Italian music was foreign and different aesthetically as well as linguistically. The language barrier may have been underestimated to some extent by musicologists. In the first half of the 18th century, communication in opera took place primarily via the text, which was linked intimately with the conventional repertory of stage gesture. This was especially important in England with its strong tradition of spoken theatre. Conti, who preferred Faustina to Farinelli himself, opined, regarding the kind of music performed by Farinelli: 'Il me semble qu'on raffine trop et que l'on gâte la musique en voulant la perfectionner. Ce n'est plus une imitation de la voix qui accompagne ou

⁵⁸ McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion.'

⁵⁹ Letter of 29 September 1727. Conti, *Lettere*, 169.

⁶⁰ John West, seventh Baron Delawarr, in a letter to the Duke of Richmond, West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood Manuscript MS 103, ff. 173-75. Quoted in McGeary, *Politics of Opera*, 157.

relève des passions, mais une imitation du chant du rossignols et des sereins.⁶¹ (It seems to me that music is being refined too much and that it is being spoiled in the attempt to perfect it. It is no longer an imitation of the voice that accompanies or intensifies the passions, but an imitation of the song of nightingales and sirens.) As Conti was an admirer of French tragedy, for him, music served a function of supporting the drama and the words, rather than taking centre stage. Despite his unfavourable view of English taste, Conti's own taste was actually not dissimilar and was based on similar aesthetics. Milhouse and Hume quote several contemporary English sources suggesting that many English operagoers could not reconcile themselves to an opera singer who excelled in singing, but not acting.⁶²

Already one of the pieces that was incorporated into Farinelli's first role in England, Arbace in *Artaserse*, is in stark contrast with the arias he had sung in Italy and the German-speaking countries. 'Fortunate passate mie pene', which in the 1734 Walsh print of the *Favourite Songs in the Opera Call'd Artaxerxes* is titled 'A Celebrated Minuet in Artaxerxes Sung by Sign.^r Farinelli', was probably composed by Attilio Ariosti, possibly for his 1724 *Artaserse* performed at the Haymarket Theatre (Appendix B 1.40).⁶³ It stands out from among the other arias sung by Farinelli on account of its extreme simplicity and repetitiveness; it is a happy little tune and easy to remember (or rather, hard to forget for anyone who has ever heard the five first notes of the F-major scale). The phrases of the B section (the actual minuet) consist of two-bar segments and conclude with redicts. The phrases in the A section are longer, but uncomplicated due to the high degree of repetitiveness. In comparison to Farinelli's other arias, it might be called a ditty. Interestingly, the only aria in the Walsh print of *Artaxerxes* not sung by Farinelli is 'Pallido il sole' from the 1730 Venetian *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse), which is easily the simplest and catchiest tune in the entire opera, consisting of short fragmented phrases of one to two bars organised in period structures, with a syllabic, conjunct vocal line and a great deal of forward motion due to a *perpetuum mobile* orchestral accompaniment and Neapolitan syncopations in the vocal part.

⁶¹ Letter of 08 February 1729. Conti, *Lettere*, 234.

⁶² Milhouse and Hume, 'Construing and Misconstruing Farinelli in London', 372-375.

⁶³ The aria has been attributed to Ariosti. According to the RISM record of B-Bc/ 5498 (RISM ID no. 706001208), the aria (here in G major rather than F major as in the Walsh print) is from the 1724 *Artaserse* at the Haymarket Theatre.

In the *Favourite Songs* collections for *Artaxerxes* and *Polypheme*, the two most successful productions of Farinelli's first season in London, nearly all of Farinelli's arias are reproduced, so the relative popularity of his different arias cannot be deduced from these prints. One might question whether the *Favourite Song* collections represent the audience's preferences at all since they were not solely mementos of operatic productions, but also intended for consumption by amateur performers. They may not be an absolute measure of each aria's popularity, but, as they were commercial publications, Walsh would not have done himself a favour if he had not sought to cater to his target market as much as possible. In the *Favourite Songs* collections of subsequent productions, a pattern emerges. Most pieces sung by Farinelli are straightforward bravura arias (or arias with a bravura component) or relatively simple songs that are characterised by memorable tunes, periodic phrase structure, mainly syllabic text setting and low technical demands on the singer. Examples of the first kind include 'Amor, dover, rispetto' (*Adriano in Siria*, 1735), 'Per me il ciel ridea sereno' and 'Parto con l'alma in pene' (both *Siroe*, 1736) as well as 'Dall'amore più sventurato' (*Orfeo*, 1736) and 'Lusinghe più care' (*Sabrina*, 1737) in the subcategory of simple songs with bravura elements. 'Son pastorello amante' (*Orfeo*), 'Quando più alletta' and 'Rapide, sì, volate' (*Sabrina*) are typical of the second category. Most of the arias of the second type have pleasant, amorous affects; none of them is very sad or even tragic. The latter could have been performed by amateur singers, whereas the former could either simply have been admired or, possibly, performed by oboists, flautists or violinists, depending on their range. Occasionally, andante arias make their way into a Walsh print, such as 'Sempre a si vaghi rai' (*Orfeo*), but its main theme, too, is simple, memorable with short-breathed phrases, and the affect is pleasant. However, all of the pieces reproduced in these Walsh prints appear to be genuine opera arias, printed in their original keys.⁶⁴ Although the assessment of the *drammi per musica* mounted by the 'Opera of the Nobility' in their last three seasons is limited by the unfavourable source situation,⁶⁵ it seems as though the works performed became gradually less Italianate and catered more to an English preference for more tuneful arias, which stylistically constitute the simplest kind of the *galant*. The amply proportioned lament or *aria d'affetto* that seem to have become Farinelli's personal favourites from 1730 are nearly absent. The only piece from his London roles that Farinelli included in the 1753 Maria Teresa collection, the aria 'Al

⁶⁴ The texts of all the arias in *Favourite Songs* prints of the operas in which Farinelli sang in London appear in the operas' libretti, and their keys are plausible given the singers' respective ranges. Some contemporary Walsh prints of *Favourite Songs* from other operas contain transposed arias or even texted instrumental numbers.

⁶⁵ Many of the operas produced were probably revivals of Italian operas that were turned into *pasticci* (the printed libretti do not give the composers' names); the scores of most of these are lost.

dolor che vo sfogando'⁶⁶ from the *pasticcio Sabrina* (after Milton, London 1737), does not appear in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Call'd Sabrina*.

Divergences between Farinelli's own preferences and his London roles are evident elsewhere, too. Unlike his Italian roles of the 1730s, his London roles sometimes contain two or more duets; for example, in *Mitridate* (Zeno/Cibber-Porpora, 1736) he has to sing three, and in *Orfeo* two. In the latter as well as in *Polifemo* (Rolli-Porpora, 1735), lengthy scenes with prima donna Cuzzoni occur in which simple and accompanied recitative, ariosos and ariettas are intermingled (scenes I, 4/5⁶⁷ and II, 7 respectively). In Italy, Farinelli seems to have avoided duets; whether such scenes, particularly with Cuzzoni and Farinelli, both of whom Quantz criticised for lack of dramatic involvement,⁶⁸ were effective on stage from an English perspective is doubtful. No comments from Farinelli survive regarding the music he sang in London. But comparison with his Italian roles in general and the few arias he performed in more than a single operatic production suggests that in London, Farinelli had to adapt to the taste of the audience, trying to fulfil his function as the main attraction of the 'Opera of the Nobility', especially in the 1736-1737 season following the departure of Senesino and Cuzzoni. Whereas in Venice, Farinelli was able to count on the musical perceptiveness and expertise of the audience and build an artistic relationship with them (see chapter 7), there is no evidence of such musical interaction in London. Beyond the immediate novelty of the first season, Farinelli and the London audience seem not to have been well matched. In the last two seasons of the 'Opera of the Nobility', little remains of the specific vocal and dramatic profile Farinelli had refined in his Italian roles in the early 1730s. Planning to retire from the stage as soon as possible, Farinelli may have withdrawn artistically and left more musical decisions to the composers and arrangers in London who knew better than he the preferences of the local audience.

⁶⁶ However, due to Farinelli's propensity to recompose arias and have aria texts reset, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the version of 'Al dolor che vo sfogando' in the 1753 aria collection is identical with the version he sang in 1737.

⁶⁷ In *GB-LB* RM 22i11-13, it is I, 4; in *B-Bc* 5498-20, it is I, 5.

⁶⁸ Quantz, 'Lebenslauf', 234 (Farinelli), 240 (Cuzzoni).

PART II: AESTHETICS AND RHETORIC

5 *'Der Farinell der Vögel':*

Farinelli and the Aesthetics of Virtuosity

As Farinelli's name became synonymous with castrato virtuosity and still remains synonymous with it today, Farinelli's singing has frequently been the subject of aesthetic assessment from the point of view of the artistic merit of virtuosity. Tosi's rants against vocal virtuosity (though not directed against Farinelli in particular) originate from an aesthetic that recognises the primacy of the words in expressing affects, whereas music has a supporting and intensifying role. Tosi does not object to *salti* or *passaggi*; on the contrary, he demands technical perfection in the execution of difficult *passaggi* and *salti* as well as refinement of articulation from singers.¹ However, 'lo studio più necessario, e molto più difficile d'ogni altro per cantar perfettamente le Arie è quello di cercare il facile, e di ritrovarlo nella bellezza del pensiero'² (The study which is most necessary, and more difficult than any other for singing arias to perfection is that of seeking the simple and to find it in the beauty of the thought [i.e., the content of the aria text]). All technical proficiency must thus serve the primary aim of expressing the meaning and passion contained in the aria text. Singers drawing attention to themselves by any means, including that of (what Tosi considers) excessive virtuosity, puts them under the suspicion of vanity. Within the religious and moral framework of 18th-century Catholic Italy, this was not a mere criticism of personal behaviour or character, but severe censure.³

In the extremely competitive operatic culture of the 18th century, singers' careers unfolded in a field of tension between the censure of vanity and the need for self-assertion by means

¹ 'Dopo i Passaggi di grado gli faccia imparare colla maggior franchezza tutti quelli che sono rotti da ogni salto più difficile, imperciocchè intonati, che sieno con prontezza, e possesso meritano con giustizia d'esser distintamente considerati. Lo studio di questo insegnamento chiede più tempo, e fatica d'ogn'altro, non solo per le sue stravaganti difficoltà, che per le conseguenze premurose, che seco porta; E in fatti, non resta più sorpreso un Cantante, allorchè le note più scabrose gli sono famigliari.

Non trascuri d'istruirlo del modo di mischiar qualche volta ne' Passaggi il piano col forte, lo scivolo colle note battute, e di frapporvi il Metrotrillo [sic!; Mezzotrillo] specialmente su le note puntate, purchè non sieno troppo vicine, acciò conosca ogni abbellimento dell'Arte.' Tosi, *Opinioni*, 32-33. It is also noteworthy that Tosi has great praise for Faustina's virtuosity.

² Tosi, *Opinioni*, 62.

³ *Superbia* (pride or vanity) was generally considered the most serious of the Seven Deadly Sins because it was seen to be at the root of other sins and vices. The severity of the sin of *superbia* is also part of the ideological background of Farinelli's letters to Pepoli, in which the singer continuously points out to Pepoli that he does not want to be perceived as 'superbo' or 'vanaglorioso' (proud or vain) when accounting for his successes and gifts received in reward for his singing.

of their talents and skills. Continuous self-improvement was thus held up as the ideal work ethic: ‘il miglior Cantante del Mondo è Discepolo, e Maestro di se stesso’ (the best singer in the world is still a student, and his own teacher).⁴ In the highly stratified professional hierarchy of singers, singers’ display of their abilities was a necessity as every aspect of their performance was used to compare and rank them.⁵ Singing students were thus not taught the values of collaboration and collegiality, but the need to strive for the top at all times, for ‘[c]hi non aspira ad occupare il primo luogo già comincia a cedere il secondo, e a poco a poco si contenta dell’ultimo’.⁶ (He who does not aspire to the first rank already begins to cede the second, and before long he will content himself with the lowest.) This attitude is perfectly exemplified by Tosi’s brash statement in the preface to his treatise: ‘Se tu sei Cantante sei mio rivale’⁷ (If you are a singer, you are my rival.)

Words and Music: Aesthetics and Science

The aspect of Farinelli’s singing for which he seems to have been most admired, and which was thus the most useful means for the singer in promoting his career, was his virtuosity, presumably because it was highly novel and tied in well with the characteristics of the fashionable modern style. In Tosi’s view, excessive virtuosity is the perhaps most reprehensible manner in which a singer can draw attention to himself as it is seen to impede the intelligibility of the words. As he still conceives of music as an ancillary art, the thought that virtuosic passagework might be a matter of shifting the focus from the words to the music (and not only the singer producing it) for the sake of expression, does not yet occur to Tosi. The primacy of the words is a matter of crucial importance:

Corretta la pronunzia procuri, che profferisca le medesime parole in maniera, che senza affettazione alcuna sieno così distintamente intese, che non se ne perda sillaba, poichè se non si sentono, chi canta priva gli ascoltanti d’una gran parte di quel diletto, che il Canto riceve dalla loro forza: Se non si sentono, quel Cantore esclude la verità dall’artificio: E se finalmente non si sentono non si distingue la voce umana da quella d’un Cornetto, o d’un Haut-bois.

⁴ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 57. Tosi reiterates the need for continuous study throughout his treatise.

⁵ For examples, Tosi explains the need for varying da capo sections and doing so differently when singing the same aria several times as follows: ‘Senza variar l’Arte nell’Arie non si scoprirebbe mai l’intendimento de’ Professori, anzi dalla qualità della variazione facilmente si conosce fra due Cantori di prima sfera qual sia il migliore.’ (Without the art of embellishment in arias it would be impossible to judge the [musical] intelligence of singers, and from the quality of their variations one can tell who of two first-rank singers is the better.) *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, preface.

Questo difetto, benchè massimo in oggi è poco men che comune con notabile pregiudicio de' Professori, e della Professione; E pur non dovrebbero ignorare, che le parole son quelle, che li fanno prevalere a Sonatori, quando sieno d'eguale intendimento. Il Maestro moderno sappia servirsi dell'avviso, perchè la correzione non è stata mai tanto necessaria come adesso.⁸

After having corrected the Pronunciation, let him take Care that the Words be uttered in such a Manner, without any Affectation, that they be distinctly understood, and no one Syllable be lost; for if they are not distinguished, the Singer deprives the Hearer of the greatest Part of that Delight which vocal Musick conveys by Means of the Words. For, if the Words are not heard so as to be understood, there will be no great Difference between a human Voice and a Hautboy. This Defect, tho' one of the greatest, is now-a-days more than common, to the greatest Disgrace of the Professors and the Profession; and yet they ought to know, that the Words only give the Preference to a Singer above an instrumental Performer, admitting them to be of equal Judgment and Knowledge. Let the modern Master learn to make use of this Advice, for never was it more necessary than at present.⁹

Tosi's insistence on the primacy of the words and rejection of the new virtuosic style was not merely a matter of the inability of a conservative to accept and cope with new developments in musical style. Instead, it was rooted in fundamental principles regarding the purpose of art, the conceptualisation of art as mimesis,¹⁰ the manner in which art affected the human, which was contingent upon the makeup of the human body and its relationship with the mind, and even 18th-century views of the world order.

Whereas Tosi's treatise, conceived to give practical advice to teachers and students of singing, only hints at this framework, Antonio Conti discusses it in his 'Trattato dell'Imitazione',¹¹ published posthumously in 1756, but probably written more than twenty years earlier, with specific regard to the *dramma per musica*. Whilst the 'Trattato' outlines principles that Conti holds to be universally valid, it also serves Conti as a means to come to terms with the impact of Farinelli in Venice, theorising his own initial amazement as well as his criticism of Farinelli's singing. Conti constantly revisits memories and

⁸ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 35-36.

⁹ Tosi/Galliard, *Observations*, 58-59.

¹⁰ In Italian period writings, this concept is encapsulated in the terms 'imitazione' and 'verosimiglianza' (verisimilitude) and discussed e.g., by Gianvincenzo Gravina in *Della ragion poetica* (Rome: Gonzaga, 1708) and *Della tragedia* (Napoli: Naso, 1715) and Lodovico Muratori in *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (Modena: Soliani, 1706) and *Riflessioni sopra il buon gusto* (Venice, Pavina 1708). Particularly the first three treatises remained in currency throughout the 18th century and were frequently reprinted until the early 19th century. Metastasio expounded his views in his *Estratto dell'arte poetica d'Aristotile* (Paris: Hérissant, 1782). For a modern discussion of Descartes' concept of mimesis, see Kara Reilly, *Automata and Mimesis on the Stage of Theatre History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), chapter 2.

¹¹ Conti, 'Trattato dell'imitazione', *Prose e Poesie* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1756), 109-125. Conti's 'Trattato' remained unfinished.

thoughts he shared with his correspondent, Mme de Caylus, about Farinelli's debut season in Venice (1729), and also describes both the reaction of the Venetian audience to him and his own verdict in the 'Trattato': 'Prima che questi [Farinello] venisse a Venezia, non si credeva da alcun professore, che potesse farsi con la voce umana ciò che egli faceva; e tutta l'arte consisteva a passare per intervalli minimi dagli acuti ai gravi.'¹² (Before the latter [Farinelli] came to Venice, no musical professional had thought that one could do with the human voice what he did; and his whole art consisted in passing rapidly¹³ from the high to the low register.) Conti's reflections are highly relevant as they are detailed and grounded in his vast knowledge of both the sciences and literature which he acquired through study as well as international journeys and correspondence. A true universal genius, Conti, who mediated between Newton and Leibnitz in the controversy regarding the invention of calculus, was a leading physicist as well as art critic, historian and philosopher and author of tragedies.¹⁴ As such, he was able to provide a scientific basis for the discussion of matters of musical aesthetics, unlike Tosi.

Like Gluck and Calzabigi thirty years later, Conti genuinely believes in the power of music as described by Plato.¹⁵ At the same time, he was well familiar with current medical research and cites instances documented by the Académie royale des sciences in which disease was healed solely by music¹⁶ and explains the physical processes by which music acts upon the human: 'Tale dunque è la forza del suono armonico, che replicando le sue

¹² Conti, 'Trattato', 116.

¹³ The 'intervalli minimi' here are temporal intervals (i.e., short rhythmic values), not pitch intervals, though Conti, who refers to ancient Greek theories of the perception of sound alongside 18th-century theories of vibrations, recognised a connection between pitch and speed. According to ancient Greek theories regarding the perception of sound, the pitch of a sound related to the speed with which it was transmitted to the listener, with higher sounds traveling faster and lower sounds traveling more slowly. Francesco Pelosi, *Plato on Music, Soul and Body*, transl. Sophie Henderson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 166-67. However, given his close contact with Newton, Conti was very likely aware of the theory that sound traveled at a constant speed which Newton had developed in the 1680s.

¹⁴ In addition to his thorough familiarity with Italian writings on the arts and sciences, Conti was also steeped in the scientific research of France, England and Germany and travelled extensively in the two former countries as a prominent participant in cutting-edge scientific debates. See 'Notizie intorno la vita e gli studj del Sig. Abate Conti', Antonio Conti, *Prose e Poesie* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1756) 1-108. In Italy, Conti was highly regarded as a literary critic during his lifetime and beyond; Giambattista Bisso, for example, refers to him alongside Muratori, Gravina and Maffei. See Bisso, *Introduzione alla volgar poesia*, 3rd rev. edition (Venice: Orlandelli, 1788), 211.

¹⁵ Conti admits that he is unable to verify Plato's claims regarding the power of ancient music, but considers Plato trustworthy: 'Ma quando ancora non si capisce la perfezione che Platone dà alla musica Greca, ci deve bastare ch'egli lo dica; non essendo verisimile, ch'egli menta parlando a' Greci di cose che aveano sotto gli occhi, e delle quali ci sono rimasto molte istorie.' (But since the perfection Plato attributes to Greek music cannot yet be understood, it must suffice to us that he says so; for it is not verisimilar [i.e., logical] for him to lie when speaking to the Greeks of things that are before their eyes and of which many accounts have been transmitted.) Conti, 'Trattato', 114.

¹⁶ Ibid.

scosse ai nervi del petto, del ventre, del cervello, col mezzo degli uditivi, mette in moto tale i fluidi ed i solidi del corpo umano, che arriva a cangiare lo stato loro.¹⁷ (So great is, therefore, the power of harmonious sound that, transferring its shocks to the nerves of the chest, abdomen and brain by means of the auditory organs, it sets in motion the fluids and solids of the human body to such an extent that it effects a change of their state.) While Conti acknowledges the beauty of the variety created by writing in multiple parts and the use of instruments in the music of his time, he asserts that modern music cannot achieve the same effect on the listener as Greek monophonic music since this variety results in contradictory physical effects of the music on the body so that either no particular passion is aroused at all or any rising passion is confounded right away.¹⁸ Admitting that in his time, there is no precise understanding of the enharmonic system of the ancient Greeks and their threefold subdivision of tones, Conti deduces from ancient painting and sculpture that art which is rooted in nature works by increments, and that the Greeks divided tones into three increments which corresponded to the maximum, medium and minimum degrees of passion.¹⁹ Therefore Conti believes vocal lines in musical compositions should be conjunct – ‘l’anima non men, che tutte l’altre cose naturali, non ama di andar per salti’²⁰ (no less than all other natural things, the soul does not like to move by leaps).

Furthermore, it is not enough for music to arouse passions; together with the passions, music should awaken thoughts in the listener’s mind. According to Conti, ‘non può farci pensare la musica, che per via d’imitazione, nè puo in altra guisa imitare, che dando a’ nervi quelle stesse vibrazioni, che lor danno i suoni ch’escono dalle cose animate e inanimate’²¹ (music can only make us think by means of imitation; and it can only imitate by transmitting to the nerves the same vibrations that [the nerves] receive from the sound of animate and inanimate things). In the same manner, one instrument can imitate another. More than any instrument, it is the voice that gives pleasure to the listener because ‘più di

¹⁷ Conti, ‘Trattato’, 115.

¹⁸ Ibid. Plato already rejected simultaneous sounds on the grounds that the faster-moving sound of high pitches and the slower-moving sound of low pitches conflicted when they were transmitted within the human body. Pelosi, *Plato on Music*, 174-179.

¹⁹ Conti evades a precise explanation of the maximum, medium and minimum degrees of the ancient Greeks rather than hypothesising or relying on 16th- and 17th-century treatises on music. He states, ‘avendo noi perduto il sistema enarmonico degli antichi non sappiamo, come dividessero il tuono in tre parti; ma la nostra ignoranza non è una prova del contrario’ (since we have lost the enharmonic system of the ancients, we do not know how they divided tones into three parts; but our ignorance is no proof to the contrary. Ibid. 115.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 116.

tutte le altre è conforme al moto del nostro sangue²² (more than anything else it conforms to the motion of our blood). Due to physiological processes in the body²³, humans speak in different tones of voice when affected by different passions. In communicating these in song, the singer must adhere very closely to the passions, because ‘questi tuoni proprj delle passioni hanno le loro proporzioni determinate di vibrazioni, nè si possono imitare, che dandole alla voce che canta, così che il canto non distrugge il tuono appassionato, ma solo lo porti con più forza, e più vezzo all’orecchio’²⁴ (these tones of the passions [i.e., the sounds of the voice expressing different passions] have specific proportions that are determined by their vibrations and cannot be imitated; therefore, if they are to be given to a singing voice in a manner in which the singing does not destroy the tone of voice proper to the passion, [the voice] must only deliver it with greater force and greater beauty to the ear). Conti therefore holds *passaggi*, trills, *messe di voce* and other elements of virtuosic technique as unsuited for affects such as sadness or hatred as they stimulate the affects of joy and love.²⁵ Worse still is that their variety ‘non n’esprime alcuna determinatamente, e compone una nuova lingua che non intendiamo’²⁶ (expresses no single [passion] clearly, and creates a new language that we do not understand), but rather convoluted feelings that result in a passing frenzy. A more rational pleasure is to be preferred: ‘Non v’è uomo a mio credere così irragionevole, che possa preferir un piacer d’esser per un momento frenetico, a quello di sillogizar comparando la voce, che canta, con la passione, o con l’idea, che imita.’²⁷ (I do not believe that any man can be so unreasonable as to prefer the pleasure of feeling frenetic for a moment to that of drawing logical comparison between the voice that sings and the passion or the idea it imitates). Virtuoso singing is admirable and ought to be admired by members of the singing profession, but

l’ammirazione, benchè sia il principio delle passioni, non è passione; ed io non vado al teatro per ammirare il musico²⁸ che canta, ma per esser toccato, o per sentire la cosa che imita; e se non l’imita, o non convenevolmente, dopo aver

²² Conti, ‘Trattato’, 116.

²³ In the detailed description of the correlation between passions and tone of voice, Conti draws heavily on Descartes, whose theory of the passions and conceptualisation of the body as a machine he combines with his own (and possibly contemporary medical) theories on the manner in which the trachea is affected by different degrees of heat.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 117.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁸ In 18th-century usage, the term ‘musico’ does not necessarily only refer to castrati. However, the manner in which Conti describes the musico’s singing, not only in the ‘Trattato’, but his correspondence of 1728 and 1729, strongly suggests that he is referring to virtuosic castrati, in particular Farinelli.

ammirata l'abilità del musico, io mi stanco, perchè cessa l'ammirazione, quando è sazia la curiosità.²⁹

(Admiration, although it is the beginning of the passions, is not a passion itself; and I do not go to the theatre to admire the castrato who sings, but to be touched, or to hear the thing that he imitates. And if he does not imitate it, or does not do so properly, I get bored once I have admired the singer's skill, because once curiosity has been satisfied, the admiration passes.)³⁰

The intelligibility of words is a key issue in what constitutes proper imitation. In virtuosic singing, '[n]on s'ode altro che A, E, I, O, che corre precipitosamente per tutte le corde e per tutte le scale' (you hear nothing but [the vowels] a, e, i and o, which run precipitously through all the vocal chords³¹ and all the scales). Conti professes to be at a loss what to make of virtuosic vocal writing:

Qual nome devo dar ad una musica nella quale il compositore gareggia col modulatore, a chi più offuschi o confonda col canto il senso delle parole, offuscate già e confuse per metà dalla moltitudine degli strumenti? Non è questa certamente una musica nè Italiana, nè Latina, nè Ebraica, perchè coloro, che intendono queste lingue, nulla intendono le parole espresse dal modulatore, e perciò non hanno altro piacer nell'udirlo, che quel che avrebbe dal canto di un rossignuolo o un canarino, piacer tutto sensitivo, perchè tutto dipendente dalla macchina del corpo, e non piacer ragionevole perchè nulla ha dell'imitazione che si cerca. Quando si canta in un'Opera, o in una Chiesa, io non cerco d'udire un rossignolo, od [sic] altro, che mi solletichi, ma un uomo che parli dolcemente al mio cuore, alla mia fantasia, alla mia mente.³²

What name can I give to music in which the composer competes with the virtuoso³³ to determine who manages to better obfuscate or confound by means of singing the meaning of the words, which are already obfuscated and confounded due to the multitude of instruments? This is certainly neither Italian, nor Latin, nor Hebrew music, for those who understand these languages do not understand at all the words expressed by the virtuoso, and as a result, they derive no other pleasure from his singing than they would from the song of a nightingale or a canary, an entirely sensual pleasure, as it depends completely on the mechanic processes in the body, and an irrational pleasure,

²⁹ Conti, 'Trattato', 118.

³⁰ Conti's rejection of admiration as a passion constitutes a significant departure from Descartes who regards it as one of the six simple, fundamental passions. See René Descartes, *Les passions de l'âme* (Amsterdam: Louys Elzevier, 1650), 90-91, §§ 69-70. It seems possible that Conti does not regard admiration as a passion in itself as, according to Descartes, unlike all other passions, admiration does not bring about a physical alteration in the heart and blood (91, § 71).

³¹ According to Conti, Farinelli's singing stimulated theories as to the way in which the human voice produces pitches. The dominant theory seems to have been that each semitone was sung with a different vocal cord; Farinelli was believed to have forty of them. See Letter of 8 February 1729. Conti, *Lettere*, 235.

³² Conti, 'Trattato', 118.

³³ At this point, Conti uses the word 'modulatore' instead of 'musico' or 'cantante' or any other term that would normally be associated with the singing profession in order to express that the virtuoso does not fulfil the proper function of a singer in the *dramma per musica*. Therefore, 'modulatore' is translated here as 'virtuoso'.

because it contains none of the imitation that one is looking for. When someone sings in the opera house or in church, I have no desire to hear a nightingale or anything of the sort, which titillates me, but a man who speaks sweetly to my heart, imagination, and mind.

Conti dismisses those listeners who applaud the virtuoso as ‘il volgo’, i.e. the vulgar populace or rabble, who, he believes, ‘ode per l’altrui orecchie, come vede per gli occhi altrui, sente ancora sovente col cuore altrui’³⁴ (listen with the ear of others as they see through the eyes of others and often even feel with the hearts of others) and are not able to form a judgment of their own. Thus he creates a distinction between vulgar (one might say, popular) music, singers and listeners and proper and educated ones. His distinction is not one of class, but one of understanding. As he reports himself disapprovingly to Mme de Caylus with reference to Farinelli, ‘les plus sages sénateurs font la cour aux eunuques’ (the most sensible senators court the eunuchs).³⁵ According to Conti, Farinelli’s singing thus corrupts the minds of otherwise rational men and subverts the class hierarchy.

The Nightingale’s Song: Music, Reason and Worldview

One aspect of his theory Conti does not explore in detail is the reason for the importance of engaging the listener intellectually in the *dramma per musica*. Ostensibly Conti felt it was not worth exploring as the purpose of the *dramma per musica* as *exemplum virtutis* was sufficiently well known, having been discussed at length by such famous philosophers as Gianvincenza Gravina.³⁶ Virtuosity, which in Conti’s view is not suited to imitating and thus properly rendering the text, defies the purpose of vocal music, as the music can no longer appeal to the listener’s reason, and it is his capacity for reason that allows him to deduce moral principles from the lessons of history enacted in the *dramma per musica*. Another circumstance Conti might not have felt worth mentioning as it was universally known is that the imitation of birdsong, i.e., animal sounds, debases vocal music by running contrary to Christian world order. It was reason and man’s ability to formulate thoughts by means of language that set man above animals. Using the voice to imitate animals meant to debase the human to a place beneath the one he had been allocated by divine design. From this point of view, the virtuoso who uses his ability to serve his

³⁴ Conti, ‘Trattato’, 118.

³⁵ Letter of 5 February 1729. Conti, *Lettere*, 234.

³⁶ Conti himself refers to Gravina’s discussion of Greek tragedy. Conti’s failure to mention the title of Gravina’s treatise, *Della Tragedia* (1715), is presumably due to the work’s fame.

personal aims by seeking to advance his career chooses his own good over that of society on account of his vanity. By disregarding the place of the human in creation and his physical nature, he subverts the educational aim of the *dramma per musica* instead of serving it.

Conti's views were shared in other European countries. In England, one of the most frequent criticisms directed at Italian opera, and often at Farinelli himself, was that virtuosic singing did not constitute a rational, but merely a sensual entertainment that corrupted the listener. In Germany, Mattheson, though in all likelihood he had never heard Farinelli, voices his disapproval of the singer on several occasions. In aesthetic terms, Mattheson disparages Farinelli by equating his singing with that of the nightingale. Like Conti, Mattheson has a negative view of birds which he considers mere 'geflügelte Kunstpfeiffer'³⁷ (winged art-whistlers) and especially the nightingale, which he outlines by quoting from Gresset's *Discours sur l'harmonie*:

Toujours uniforme, le Rossignol n'a que les mêmes Sons inarticulés, Sons sans espression, sans ame & sans vie; il sçait plaire, il ne peut pas toucher ni passionner; incapable de ces inflexions pénétrants, & de cette variété d'accords que tu sçais conduire avec tant d'art, toujours différente de toi-même e toujours belle; chacun de tes Sons est un sentiment.³⁸

([Singing] always the same [song], the nightingale produces nothing but inarticulate sounds without expression, without soul and without life; it can please, but it cannot touch or arouse passions. [It is] incapable of those penetrating inflexions³⁹ and variety of tones that you [the human voice] can deploy so artfully, always differently and always beautiful; each of your sounds is a feeling.

Mattheson comments on this quote by saying, 'so lautet es vom Farinell der Vögel'⁴⁰ (so much about the Farinelli among the birds). Although his comment acknowledges Farinelli's preeminence among singers (just as the nightingale was regarded as the first

³⁷ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739), Vorrede, 11.

³⁸ John-Baptiste-Louis Gresset, *Discours sur l'harmonie* (Paris: Le Clerc, 1737), 84-85. Mattheson uses this quotation in the context of his discussion of the origins of singing to refute the theory that humans learnt to sing by imitating birdsong and replaces Gresset's direct address to the human voice by references to harmony, changing the quotation to 'incapable de ces inflexions penetrantes & de cette variété des Accords que l'Harmonie sçait conduire avec tant d'Art, toujours differente d'elle meme & toujours belle, chacun de ses sons est un sentiment' (Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister*, Hamburg: Herold, 1739, Vorrede, 11). He does so in support of his own theory that song was given to the humans by the angels. Making reference to harmony suits his aims better than retaining Gresset's address to the human voice, particularly as it is evident elsewhere that Mattheson still retains many of the ideas pertaining to Boethius' concepts of *musica mundana*, *humana* and *instrumentalis*.

³⁹ This a reference to the theory of the vibrations of sound acting upon the body to elicit passions also laid out by Conti.

⁴⁰ Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, Vorrede, 11.

among songbirds), it characterises Farinelli's singing as devoid of intellectual meaning and incapable of instilling passions, in short, not doing justice to the potential of the human voice.⁴¹ Both Conti's and Mattheson's treatises suggest that already in the 1730s, Farinelli's name had become synonymous with virtuosity in general, and the imitation of birdsong in particular, more than any other singer's.

By the middle of the 18th century, birdsong seems to have become a trope for virtuosity; Giovanni Antonio Bianchi in *De i vizi, e de i difetti del moderno Teatro*, published in 1753, frames his criticism of virtuosity in the *dramma per musica* in such terms.

Il canto umano... debbe servire ad esprimere con più forza gli umani affetti. Or parvi cosa da uomo, e che esprima sentimenti umani l'imitare nel canto gli animali? Ma pure i più bravi, e i più applauditi de i nostri cantori son quelli, che nelle cadenze dell'arie sanno meglio imitare co i loro ingorgiamenti il fischio, o il garrimento degli Uccelli, dell'Usignolo, del Cardello, del Passaro solitario, e che sò io: ed osservate, che nelle cadenze cessano gli strumenti, lasciando la libertà al cantore di ingorgiare, fischiare, e garrire a suo modo. Eppure con questa sorta di canto eccitando una stolido meraviglia nel Popolo si guadagnano applauso comune da quelli, che non del vero, o del verisimile, non del proprio, o naturale, ma dell'insolito, del nuovo, dello sforzato, e del maraviglioso si pascono. Or gli sforzi credo io di questi cantori barattieri, e ciarlatani, che vogliono rendersi maravigliosi colla lor voce, ha guasta del tutto, e corrotta la Musica teatrale, inducendo i Compositori di essa ad uscir fuori affatto di quel naturale, di quel semplice, di quel facile, e di quel bello, che pasce l'animo, e lo diletta nel fargli gustare i sentimenti de i Drammi.⁴²

Human song must serve to express the human passions with greater force. [Or] does imitating the song of animals seem to you a human thing, and does it express human feelings? And yet the most capable and applauded among our singers are the ones, who in the cadenzas of their arias excel most at imitating with their warbling the whistling or chirping of birds, the nightingale, goldfinch, thrush⁴³ and whichever else; and it should be noted that in the cadenzas, the instruments cease [to play], leaving the singer free to warble, whistle and chirp as he pleases. Yet, by exciting stolid amazement in the crowds with this kind of singing, they earn general applause from those, who do not feed on the true, the verisimilar, the proper or natural, but on the unusual, the novel, the forced and the marvellous. Now, I believe that the

⁴¹ This view of Farinelli contributes greatly to Mattheson's criticism of the singer since Mattheson cannot detect merit that - in his opinion - equals Farinelli's fame and fortune. Mattheson uses him as an example of greed and implies that his fortune is undeserved in his chapter 'Von der musikalischen Geschichtskunde' (On Music History). Mattheson, *Ibid.*, Chapter IV, 27.

⁴² Lauriso Tragiense [Giovanni Antonio Bianchi], *De i vizi, e de i difetti del moderno Teatro e del modo di correggerli e d'emendarli ragionamenti VI* (Rome: Pallade [Pagliarini], 1753), 114.

⁴³ Bianchi is referring to the blue rock thrush (*monticola solitarius*), which has an elaborate song reminiscent of the blackbird's and breeds in southern Europe and Northern Africa. 'Passero solitario' is its popular Italian name. Roger Peterson, Guy Mountfort and P.A.D. Hollom, *Die Vögel Europas*, 12th edition, Berlin and Hamburg: Paul Parey, 1974, p. 266 and Lars Svensson, Killian Mullarney and Dan Zetterström, *Der Kosmos-Vogelführer*, 2nd edition, Stuttgart: Franckh-Kosmos-Verlag, 2011, p. 296. 'Passero' alone translates to 'sparrow'.

efforts of these singing tricksters and charlatans has completely destroyed and corrupted theatrical music, inducing its composers to transgress far beyond the natural, simple, easy and beautiful which nourishes the mind and delights it, while letting it taste the sentiments of the *drammi*.

Whilst Bianchi's treatise shows that opposition towards the virtuosic style persisted, it also attests to the strong hold virtuosic singing had taken on the *dramma per musica* stage by the middle of the century, and that appreciation of it was still seen as corruption of the moral and aesthetic judgment of the listener. In a position of power, singers corrupt not only the audience, but also the composers.

Despite Conti's and Mattheson's dismissal of Farinelli, there are some ruptures in their theories relating to Farinelli's singing that they cannot consolidate. Conti and Mattheson genuinely believe in the healing power of music, both because of mythological and historical information they regard as evidence and based on the medical science of their time. Whereas Conti does not elaborate, Mattheson gives the medical power of music considerable consideration, citing contemporary medical research carried out at the universities of Paris and Göttingen.⁴⁴ He believes that '[d]ie Gesundheit ist so musicalisch, daß alle Krankheiten aus nichts anders, als aus lauter Mishelligkeiten und Dissonanzen bestehen'⁴⁵ (health is so musical that all diseases consist of nothing but disharmony and dissonances) and regrets that music is not used more in the treatment of illness.⁴⁶ His most detailed example of the healing power of music is its effect on Philip V of Spain:

Den 20. Julii 1737. erhielt ich einen Brief von besonders=guter Hand, mit der Nachricht, daß die Königin von Spanien ihrem Gemahl einen Geschmack an der Music beigebracht, um ihm dadurch alle schwarze Melancholie, darin er sonst unfehlbar wieder gefallen seyn würde, gänzlich aus dem Geblüte und Gemüthe vertrieben hätte: also daß alle Abend um zehn Uhr bey Hofe Concert gehalten würde, ehe man zur Tafel ginge. Ja, die Königin soll es so weit gebracht haben, daß der König selbst Hand anleget und die Music lernet.⁴⁷

On 20 July 1737,⁴⁸ I received a letter from a particularly reliable source with the news that the queen of Spain had instilled in her husband a taste in music, thereby completely driving from his mind and body all black melancholy into which he would otherwise have relapsed without doubt; to such an extent that [since then] a concert is given at court every evening at 10 before dinner. It is

⁴⁴ Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, Chapter 3, 14-15.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 15, footnote **.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁸ Mattheson must be mistaken about the date; the cure of Philip V from melancholy took place about a month later, when Farinelli first sang for him on 25 August 1737. See Barbier, *Farinelli*, 244.

said that the queen has been so successful at this that the king himself is getting involved and has started to learn music.

There can be no doubt that Mattheson, like all musical *interessati* in Europe, knew that it had been Farinelli's singing that had restored Philip V's mental health.⁴⁹ Even if his correspondent had not informed him, the story was well known. Yet Mattheson deliberately does not mention Farinelli's name. The reason for this is presumably that Mattheson cannot reconcile his view of Farinelli's singing (and virtuosic singing in general as expounded elsewhere by him) as devoid of expression and incapable of arousing the passions with its well-documented effect on the king of Spain, which, from an 18th-century perspective may have seemed similar to the story of David singing for king Saul, or the myths of Orpheus, Amphion and Arion.

The scientist Conti cannot ignore reports that he acknowledges to contradict his theories.

Si fa un'altra difficoltà, nel veder che coloro, i quali ignorano la lingua Italiana, nondimeno si dilettono molto del canto Italiano. Si persuadono alcuno, che nel canto umano non vi sia più perfezione che nel canto de' Rossignoli e d'altri uccelli che nulla imitano; e supposto ancora che imitassero, non altro imitano che le inflessioni della voce, i tuoni, gli accenti, i sospiri, ed altri sentimenti naturali dipendenti dalle idee, cui le parole sono affisse. Hanno sperimentato in oltre, che trasportando certa musica flebile a parole allegre e facete, hanno commosso le genti all'indegnazione, al pianto, ed altri affetti perturbati, seconda la qualità della musica in generale, e non d'una musica convenevole; quindi concludono, che le parole espresse col canto nulla servono all'imitazione, che si pretende esservi nella musica.⁵⁰

Another complication arises from acknowledging that those, who do not understand Italian, nevertheless greatly enjoy Italian vocal music. Some people persuade themselves that there is no more perfection in human song than in the song of the nightingale and other birds which do not imitate anything; and even if one were to suppose that they do imitate something, they imitate nothing but the inflections of the voice, its sound colour, its emphases, sighs and other natural expressions of feeling depending on the ideas to which the words have been attached. They [those people] have also conducted experiments in which sad music, after it had been fitted with happy and humorous words, had moved the listeners to feel indignation, to crying and other upsetting passions, in accordance with the general character of the music and not a music that is suited [to the words]; from this they conclude that the words to which the music is sung have no imitative function and that the latter is inherent in the music [alone].

⁴⁹ Though Philip V's recovery as a result of Farinelli's singing may seem somewhat unlikely from a modern perspective, no evidence to the contrary has been presented by modern historians. The fact that the Spanish monarchs not only paid Farinelli a large annual salary but offered him a permanent position although they were probably aware that this would result in deterioration of the already strained political relations with England suggests that his presence at the Spanish court was thought to be important and valuable.

⁵⁰ Conti, 'Trattato', 121.

Conti seeks to counter these arguments by pointing out the direct physiological effect of music on the human body that can give sensual, external pleasure but maintains that ‘solo coloro ne possono rimaner contenti, i quali non hanno l’idea del piacere interno e ragionevole, che dipende dall’imitation convenevole, che compie la vera definizione della musica⁵¹ (only those can be satisfied by this who do not understand the idea of internal and intellectual pleasure, which depends on well-suited imitation, which constitutes the true definition of music). Again, enjoyment of music that does not extend to the intellect is viewed as incomplete, thus invalidating the experience of opera in languages other than those the listener speaks.⁵² Of course, Conti is aware that the definition of true music as that music which stimulates both sensual and intellectual pleasure is an unsubstantiated claim so far. Therefore he cites the authority on which it is based, the definition of music by St. Augustine. Conti adds that, following St. Augustine’s argument, he has tested his definition thoroughly and found many examples to prove it correct, concluding that ‘colla Teoria della musica antica, la quale avendo noi perduto ci serve come di musica ideale che determina l’idea della vera musica’⁵³ (together with the theory of ancient music, which we have lost, [St. Augustine’s definition] serves us as the ideal of music which determines the concept of true music). In the end, therefore, Conti is unable to test all the parameters that have led to St. Augustine’s definition of music. The argument is thus closed by means of referring to the authority of one of the Church Fathers.

As in St. Augustine’s *City of God*, the place of each human in the hierarchical society of the first half of the 18th century is as closely defined and non-negotiable as the function of music. Therefore theorists like Mattheson, Tosi and Conti demand that artistic activity seek to fulfil its ideal, societal function. Within this theoretical framework, singers’ personal styles were considered acceptable as long as they did not transgress the boundaries of art as mimesis. However, the ideals of the theorists and the everyday reality of the theatrical mainstream are two different matters; what happened in the latter was determined by the interrelations between the creative activity of singers, poets and composers, the exigencies of the production process and the demands of audiences whose tastes more often than not did not align with the ideals of the theorists.

⁵¹ Conti, ‘Trattato’, 121.

⁵² Conti even goes further than this, asserting that people can only truly appreciate the music of their own nation. *Ibid.*, 121-122.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Farinelli's Nightingale Arias

According to Tosi, the pinnacle of expressive singing was the *stile patetico*, i.e. mainly syllabic singing in slow tempi that aimed at conveying the affect of the aria text; it is this style that best achieves the vocally simple ‘nella bellezza del pensiero’. The slow arias in Porpora’s roles for Farinelli in 1722 and 1723, in *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* and *Adelaide* respectively, come close to *stile patetico*. The A section of ‘Numi voi, che in ciel regnate’ from the former is in *stile patetico* aside from the long melismas. ‘Quanto bello agli occhi miei’ from the latter also features expressive syllabic singing in the A section, although it contains several characteristics of the modern style,⁵⁴ but the B section is entirely in *stile patetico*.

Mus. Ex. 5-1: ‘Quanto bello agli occhi miei’ (II, 7), B section⁵⁵

Vie - ni, vie - ni, e do - ve se - i, ca - ra mor - te, ca - ra, a - ma - to.og - get - to,

og - get - to.a - ma - to, l'ar - mi.im - pu - gna, vie - ni.a me, vie - ni.a me, vie - ni.a me.

However, Farinelli did not continue to cultivate this style between 1724 and 1729; this was most certainly due to his success with florid singing. Arias in a tempo slower than allegro are all in *grazioso* or *cantabile* style; in both a complete absence of *passaggi* is rare.

Instead, Farinelli was busy establishing his nightingale reputation. Already his role, Rosanno, in the 1725 *Tito Sempronio Graccho* contains a nightingale aria, ‘L’infelice rusignolo’, (III, 4; vocal part: Appendix B1.10.). The aria occurs in a highly unusual situation, which gives it great dramatic weight and contributes to making it memorable. The stage set is a *cortile con carceri con quattro concelli di ferro dentro de’ quali separatamente stanno Erminia, Rosanno, Lucinda, e Mario*⁵⁶ (courtyard with four prison cells with iron bars in which Erminia, Rosanno, Lucinda and Mario are locked up separately). Imprisoned, two pairs of lovers await their execution; after they have bid each other farewell, Rosanno sings ‘L’infelice rusignolo’ from inside his cell. The usual spot

⁵⁴ The most important of these are a unison passage (9-10), use of upper strings without the bass and the extended *trillo raddoppiato* on ‘aspetto’, preceded by *note ribattute* (19-20).

⁵⁵ D-Swi Mus 4294, fols. 98v-99r.

⁵⁶ *Tito Sempronio Graccho*, III, 4, I-Nc Rari 7.2.12, fol.131r.

for the delivery of an aria on the early 18th-century stage, down and centre, is thus left empty.

L'infelice usignolo	The unhappy nightingale
Che tra i ferri sta ristretto	Who is imprisoned in a cage,
L'aspro duolo che ha in petto	The deep sorrow in its breast
Lamentare ogn'or lo fà.	Causes him to lament all the time.
Chiuso in carcere si lagna	Locked in its prison he complains,
Sospirando afflito e solo	Sighing, sorrowful and lonely,
La perdita sua compagna	For his lost companion
E la cara libertà.	And his dear freedom.

The aria constitutes the musical and dramatic culmination of a moving scene that opens with an arioso and ensuing recitative shared between all four lovers followed by a very brief chorus in which they praise the sweetness of love and a recitative in which they bid each other their final farewell (or so they believe). The *lento* 'L'infelice rusignolo' expresses not only Rosanno's, but all four characters' collective grief. The use of unusual dramatic and musical parameters, empty centre stage and muted string accompaniment, make the aria highly poignant. The *passaggi* occur on the words 'rusignolo' (bb. 8-11) and 'lamentare' (bb. 17-20, 31-36 and 39-41), in A and 'libertà' (bb. 56-59) in B. Trills are most prominently used on the former, in imitation of the nightingale's song. The affective quality of 'lamentare' is expressed by continuous fluctuations between the major key of the aria and the minor mode, effected by local chromaticism, as well as almost sobbing rapid dotted rhythms. In the monothematic aria, the *passaggi* on 'libertà' echo the musical ideas used in the A-section *passaggi*, but also contain groups of two eighth notes in *scivolato* articulation (58), probably illustrating the nightingale's sighing for his freedom. Overall, the abundance of syncopations and dotted notes represents some of the unpredictability and rhapsodic nature (to human ears) of the nightingale's song, whereas the repetition of rhythmic patterns and the metronomic regularity of the *note ribattute* give the vocal part a stylised, instrumental character that contributes to the imitation of birdsong because it is unlike quintessentially vocal, 'human' style. Despite the high degree of difficulty of the aria in terms of vocal technique, rhythm and intonation and the fact that the *passaggi* might justly be criticised for impacting on the intelligibility of the text, the close match between the musical means and poetic content, the dramatic function of the aria as well as the singer's physical absence from the centre of the stage emphasise the aria's expressive qualities rather than the singer's virtuosity.

Two years later, perhaps the most striking aria in Farinelli's role in *Antigona* in Bologna is another nightingale piece, 'Il rosignuolo' (II, 8), in which Farinelli is joined by a solo violinist in the imitation of the nightingale's song (Appendix C 1.2).⁵⁷

Il rosignolo	The nightingale
Che va disciolto	Who is released
Da quella rete	From the net
Ov'era involto	In which he was entangled,
Vola cantando	Flies singing
Di ramo in ramo,	From branch to branch,
E par che dica	And it seems as though he said
In sua favella:	In his language:
'Oh selva amica,	Oh friendly forest,
Oh cara, e bella	Oh my dear and lovely
Mia libertà.	Freedom.
Così il mio core	Thus my heart,
Ch'or senza speme	Which now has no hope,
Servendo amore	While serving love
Languisce e geme.	Languishes and sighs,
S'andrà slegato	If it is unbound
Al nuovo stato,	To a new state,
Oh come lieto	Oh how happy
All'or sarà.	It then will be.

Overall, the aria is conceived as a contest between the voice and the violin, offering ample opportunities for echoing each other and for both parts to perform cadenzas individually as well as together.⁵⁸ However, this relationship does not unfold immediately. Neither the notated violin solo nor the vocal parts are at an unusually high level of technical difficulty; in fact, throughout a1, the vocal part is predominantly syllabic and conjunct, in a leisurely *andante* tempo. The aria commences with an *adagio* section in which the violin takes on the role of the nightingale straight away; the stationary basso continuo and the warbling violin immediately establish the nature metaphor. All the melodic material played by the solo violin in the 51-bar opening ritornello also forms part of the vocal line in the course of the aria, much of it from the syllabic phrases of the vocal part. The violin's role as the nightingale 'impersonator,' in combination with the repetition of this melodic material by

⁵⁷ In the surviving score, GB-Lbl Add. 16066, the violin solo part is not marked as such, although there are frequent 'violoncello solo' and 'tutti' markings in the basso continuo system. However, the way the two parts in violin clef are written suggests that the top stave is an *obbligato* part. It is left on its own for a 9-bar *adagio* section over a stationary bass note, echoes, interacts with and moves in thirds with the voice and is the only part aside from the basso continuo that plays at cadential points of a1 and a2. Moreover, as is typical for arias with *obbligato* instruments, it is silent throughout the B section. The second part in violin clef is presumably intended for the remaining first and second violins *all'unisono*.

⁵⁸ This aria, as well as Farinelli's other four, were newly written by Orlandini for this production of the opera. Orlandini had originally composed the opera in 1718, but lived in Bologna in 1728. (See John Walter Hill and Francesco Giuntini, 'Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 23 May, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20473>). Four of Farinelli's arias are settings of new aria texts that do not appear in the libretti of previous productions of the opera. The remaining text, 'Se vaporetto in nuvoletto' had been newly written for Domenico Gizzi in the 1724 Venetian production. However, it is unlikely that Farinelli also sang the musical setting created for Gizzi. Gizzi did not sing above g'', but the setting performed by Farinelli ascends to b''. Transposition of the aria is improbable, owing to the relatively wide range of d'-b'', although not entirely impossible.

the singer with syllabically set, and thus clearly intelligible, text (62-91, 98-110, 143-154) results in the impression that rather than imitating birdsong, the voice interprets or translates into human language the meaning of the nightingale's song.⁵⁹ Rather than the human utterance being lowered to the level of an animal's, the bird's song thus seems to be validated by means of language.

However, the focus gradually shifts from the elucidation of the metaphor to virtuosic singing. The *passaggi*, which comprise most of a2 (43 of 55 bars), are clearly instrumental in nature. They make use of musical means that are employed in violin music to imitate bird song, for example, in the opening movement of Vivaldi's Concerto Op. 8, No. 1 in E major, RV 269, 'La primavera,' i.e., repeated notes or measured oscillation between two pitches, trills, dotted rhythms, repetitions of small musical fragments, small fragments composed of upbeat figures leading to a longer pitch and a high tessitura (the vocal line ascends to the rarely notated c'''), while the basso continuo and rest of the orchestra are often silent. Moreover, text is almost absent in the a2 *passaggi* (which are essentially vocalises on the vowel 'a' for a duration of 24 and 8 bars in 2/4 metre respectively), the cadenzas at the end of a1 and a2 and the *adagio* vocal entrance at the beginning of a1.⁶⁰ For a significant part of the aria, the voice thus acts like an instrument. Throughout the A section, including the mainly syllabic a1, the aria is not so much a contest of agility as a test of artistic invention and musicianship of the performers' ability to improvise, react to each other, copy or outdo each other, all of which require on-the-spot musical thinking and an excellent ear. At the same time, the aria is a competition as to whether the violin, with whose bird song imitations listeners were well familiar by the late 1720s, or the voice is

⁵⁹ The voice enters with a repetition of the violin's initial *adagio* section, singing the words 'il rusignolo'. At this point, the voice does not yet take over the role of the nightingale; stating the bird's name seems rather like a matter of informing the audience about the species of bird represented by the violin so far.

⁶⁰ A further reference to instrumental music is the use of texture; like in a *concerto grosso*, combinations of soloists (violin and violoncello in the ritornelli and voice and violin in the vocal episodes) are contrasted with the larger orchestral forces.

more apt at emulating the foremost of songbirds.⁶¹ In this context, it is noteworthy that ‘Il rosignuolo’ offers the singer numerous opportunities for performing *messe di voce*.⁶²

According to Tosi,

Una bella messa di voce in bocca d’un Professore, che ne sia avaro, e non se ne serva, che su le vocali aperte non manca mai di fare un’ottimo effetto. Pochissimi sono adesso que’ Cantanti, che la stimino degna del loro gusto, o per amare l’instabilità della voce, o per allontanarsi dall’odiato antico. Gli è però un torto manifesto, che fanno al rosignolo,⁶³ che ne fu l’inventore, da cui l’umano ingegno non può vocalmente imitar altro, quando fra’ que’ canori Augelletti non se ne udisse qualcheduno, che cantasse alla Moda.⁶⁴

(A beautiful *Messa di Voce*, from a Singer that uses it sparingly, and only on the open Vowels, can never fail of having an exquisite Effect. Very few of the present Singers find it to their Taste, either from the Instability of their Voice, or in order to avoid all Manner of Resemblance of the *odious Ancients*. It is, however, a manifest Injury they do to the Nightingale, who was the Origin of it, and the only thing which the Voice can well imitate. But perhaps they have found some other of the feathered Kind worthy their Imitation, that sings quite after the New Mode.⁶⁵)

All of the opportunities for *messe di voce* in ‘Il rosignuolo’ occur either on the word ‘rosignuolo’ (nightingale) or ‘cantando’ (singing), i.e., on those words that make direct reference to the nightingale and its song, correctly placed on open vowels. While the aria certainly served as a vehicle for Farinelli’s talents, in particular his skills at improvisation, it is impossible to ascertain whether the young, ambitious Farinelli wished to use this aria to prove Tosi wrong, by showing that exponents of the modern style were well able to execute the *messe di voce* and that it was possible to imitate the nightingale’s song in ways other than with this ornament.

However, there is no doubt that once a2 is reached the first time, the emphasis in ‘Il rosignuolo’ is on the music. Moreover, the connection between the aria text and the dramatic situation is tenuous. In order to connect it to the dramatic situation at all, the

⁶¹ Virtuoso nightingale arias featuring birdsong imitation were not unprecedented. For example, ‘Canta e di caro usignolo’, sung by Faustina in *Traiano* (Biavi-Mancini) in the Neapolitan carnival of 1723, contains elaborate *passaggi* on the word ‘canta’ (sings) both in a1 and a2. It is not possible to ascertain whether Farinelli knew this aria. Whilst the music sung by Faustina in the Naples in 1723 would have been of great interest to the young singer, he was in performing in the Roman carnival during the run of *Traiano*. However, Farinelli could have had access to a manuscript copy of music from *Traiano*. Similarly, Faustina could have been aware of the music Farinelli sang in Rome in 1722 and 1723.

⁶² There are at least three such opportunities in A, twice as many in performance with the da capo repetition of A. It is impossible to say whether Farinelli used all of these in any one performance of the aria for this purpose.

⁶³ Sic. A multitude of spellings were in use during this period.

⁶⁴ Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni*, 17.

⁶⁵ Tosi, transl. Galliard, *Observations*, 27-28.

preceding recitative has been re-written, and the B section takes up the content of the last line of recitative in which Ceraste considers breaking ‘the chain of love in order to live in freedom and without pain’ (‘perchè d’amor non spezzo or la catena, e libero non vivo, e fuor di pena’⁶⁶). This constitutes a significant dramatic change in comparison with previous versions of the opera in which Ceraste professes his steadfast love for Giocasta.⁶⁷ While the image of the nightingale enjoying its freedom after escaping from a net in which it had been entangled in the first stanza of ‘Il rosignuolo’ is a metaphor for the sentiments expressed in the second stanza, the keyword pertaining to the dramatic context, i.e., libertà, is overshadowed by the musical imitation of the nightingale’s song. ‘Il rosignuolo’ thus does little to fulfil the conventional functions of a *dramma per musica* aria, i.e., expressing an affect, commenting on the action or furthering the plot. This is emphasised by the fact that Ceraste is alone on stage in this scene, focusing the audience’s attention completely on the vocal and instrumental performance and, furthermore, by the sheer duration of the piece. The longest aria in the opera, its performance duration of circa nine to ten minutes (depending on the length of cadenzas) was unusual at the time and easily equalled that of a multi-movement instrumental concerto.

In Bologna, Farinelli’s singing style encountered criticism as manifest from a sonnet entitled *In favore del musico Bernacchi, e contro il Farinello (In Favour of the Singer Bernacchi and Against Farinelli*, see Figure 1),⁶⁸ written in Bologna on occasion of the two singers’ appearances in *Antigona*. It praises Bernacchi for not firing off fireworks or imitating nightingales and finches; the former presumably refers to Farinelli’s bravura aria, ‘Freme il padre’ (III, 5) and the latter, of course, to ‘Il rosignolo’. Further criticism of Farinelli’s singing resides in the remark ‘that one cannot go beyond la’;⁶⁹ indeed, Farinelli’s ascents to b’’ (‘Se vaporetto in nuvoletto’), c’’ (‘Il rosignolo’) and d’’ (‘Ma almen, se moro’) were exceptional at the time, exceeding the range of high voices (which generally did not extend above a’’) by a fourth. However, the fact that the sonnet is directed at those who prefer Farinelli’s singing over Bernacchi’s suggests that Farinelli was well enough received by a sufficiently substantial part of the audience for it to raise

⁶⁶ *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata*, II, 8.

⁶⁷ *Antigona*, IV, 4 (the opera was originally in 5 acts, which were retained in Venice in 1718, 1721 and 1724). Orlandini’s opera was widely known. Between its premiere in Venice in 1718 and 1727, there had been two more productions at different theatres in Venice in 1718, 1721 and 1724, as well as Pesaro 1723, Braunschweig 1724, Wolfenbüttel 1725 and earlier in 1727 in Turin. The Bologna 1727 production was probably nearest to the Turin production in which Bernacchi had also sung the role of Osmene.

⁶⁸ *I-Bu Ms 3710*.

⁶⁹ For an explanation of this phrase, see footnote 72 below.

concern among those who disapproved of his style. The insulting of Farinelli's supporters as 'dogs that dishonour the sciences' reveals the author's intellectual view of music as a science and his pride in Bologna, which was famous as a learned city. The sonnet's conservative vantage point might have been influenced by Tosi's *Opinioni*.

Figure 1-1: *In favore del musico Bernacchi, e contro il Farinello (I-Bu Ms 3710)*

Original Text (Bolognese dialect)	Modern Italian translation⁷⁰	English translation
Avrè ch'am dsessi coss'è mai st' gran fiacch ch'a fa Person cun st' vostr Farinell Per crispl, av'digh ch'avi pers al cervell: E s'en l'ó dir ch'al canta mei Bernacchi!	Vorrei che mi diceste cos'è mai questo gran rumore Che la gente fa con questo vostro Farinelli! Per Cristo, vi dico che avete perso il cervello: E vi dico che canta meglio Bernacchi!	I'd like you to tell me what's this great noise People make about your Farinelli! For Christ's sake, I tell you, you've lost your mind: And I tell you that Bernacchi sings better!
Quest' en spara di Razz, ne di tichtacch e s'en fà da Lusgnol, nè da Franguell, L'è un Cappon ch'è castrá quse ben uguel ch'int' la vot, an s'po trovar intacch -	Questo non spara nè razzi nè mortaretti. E non imita nè l'usignolo nè il fringuello! E' un cappone che è castrato così ben ugualmente Che nella sua voce non si può trovare intaccatura.	The latter does not light fireworks or firecrackers. And he neither imitates the nightingale nor finch! He is a capon who has been so well castrated That in his voice no incision ⁷¹ [i.e. imperfection] can be found.
Doncha chi ha dla passion, s'vada arpiatar es ló dir à sti tal, ch'un in error che quand'è dett Bernacch, d'più in là n'po andar.	Pertanto, chi ne è dispiaciuto si vada a nascondere E dico a questi tali che sono in errore, Che quanto si è detto [di] Bernacchi, più in là non si può andare.	Therefore, whoever dislikes him should go and hide And I'll tell them that they're in error. For whatever is said about Bernacchi, beyond him no one can go. ⁷²
Dega chi vol Bulogna en n'ha Scador e qué nart al di mustazh cun al cullar ch'in tutt el scienzi i portin vij l'unor.	Dicano ciò che vogliono: a Bologna non danno fastidio E ciò alla faccia dei cani Che disonorano tutte le Scienze!	Let them say what they want: at Bologna, they're not taken seriously And this to the face of those dogs Who dishonour all the sciences!

⁷⁰ Translation from Bolognese dialect to modern Italian by Gabriele Musenga, http://www.haendel.it/interpreti/old/bernacchi_aneddoti.htm (accessed 2 August 2013).

⁷¹ This is a pun referring to the singer's castration.

⁷² This line has a double meaning; *più in 'la'* (with grave accent) means 'beyond that point'; without the grave accent, it means 'beyond [the note] "la"'. Given that the sonnet emphasises that Bologna is a city of learning and that Tosi in his 1723 treatise (published in Bologna) dismisses the French use of seven note names, defending the Italian use of the six syllables *ut, re, mi, fa sol and la* (*Opinioni*, 10-11), this appears to be a reference to the traditional hexachord system. The latter may be a metaphor for the rules of music in general and those of singing in particular. This poetic line, which essentially says that one cannot go beyond the gamut or hexachord system (*la* is the highest note of the gamut, which consisted of a series of seven overlapping hexachords), thus appears to be a criticism of Farinelli's transgression of the traditional boundaries of vocal style. It may refer to the unusually wide range he employed in *Antigona* (b flat-d'') as well as his virtuosity, which has already been thematised in the first two stanzas.

Farinelli's reception in Bologna in 1727 needs to be understood in the context of the city's intellectual and musical culture. Heriot was probably not too far off the mark when he voiced the suspicion that 'it [was] likely that his [Bernacchi's] being a local boy contributed to his success'.⁷³ Local pride still persists strongly in Italian cities today. More importantly, however, Bologna, nicknamed 'la dotta e la grassa' (the Learned and Fat), on account of its renowned university and its wealth, was a centre of learning. In Bologna, with its prestigious Accademia Filarmonica, music was – and perhaps more so than in many other cities – still regarded as a science in the old medieval and renaissance tradition rather than as mere entertainment. In terms of the immediate context, Tosi's *Opinioni* had been published in Bologna only four years prior to Farinelli's debut in the city. Tosi very likely knew important members of the musical circles of Bologna where his treatise was surely discussed, and his treatise might have been regarded as part of the musical learning of Bologna. In the competition between Bernacchi and Farinelli, Bernacchi (though in Tosi's view surely an exponent of the modern style) represented the well-familiar northern Italian style – he had first sung in Bologna seventeen years earlier in 1710, was a famous son of the city and had been a member of the Accademia Filarmonica since 1722.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the young newcomer, Farinelli, with his virtuosic Neapolitan style, was admired sufficiently well to find a powerful patron in Count Sicinio Pepoli. The circumstance that Farinelli did not sing again in Bologna until 1731 was more likely related to the circumstances that no operas were performed at the Teatro Malvezzi in 1728 and 1729 and that Farinelli was in high demand elsewhere than to Bolognese opposition.⁷⁵

Criticism did not deter Farinelli from performing further birdsong arias; many of his roles contain arias about birds, especially doves, whose flight or laments are emulated in sound. Farinelli's most famous nightingale aria, 'Quel usignolo' (II, 4) from *Merope* (Zeno-Giacomelli, Venice 1734), was written for his last season in Venice and repeated in the

⁷³ Heriot, *Castrati*, 89.

⁷⁴ Dean, 'Bernacchi'.

⁷⁵ All three productions in Bologna in which Farinelli appeared (1727, 1731 and 1733) took place at the Teatro Malvezzi, whose management was overseen by Pepoli. Farinelli's last engagement in Bologna was temporarily threatened by other offers made to the singer (see letters of 31 January and 08 February 1733, Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 114-115). In the summer of 1730, *Artaserse* was produced at the Teatro Malvezzi; as Nicolini (who had sung Artabano in the 1730 Venetian Hasse setting) performed in it, it is highly likely that this was a revival of Hasse's setting. Farinelli's role was sung by Pietro Morigi (listed as 'Murigi' in the Bologna libretto), who made a career of singing Farinelli arias and roles in medium and smaller theatres.

1736 London *Merope* pasticcio.⁷⁶ One of the reasons for the lasting association of Farinelli with the nightingale, aside from its having become a general metaphor for vocal virtuosity, is Sacchi's report that in Spain, Farinelli sang the same three or four arias every evening, one of them a nightingale aria:⁷⁷

Cantava ogni sera tre o quattro arie; e ciò che appena sembra credibile a dirsi, quelle medesime sempre. Due erano del Signor Hasse: *Pallido il sole; E pur* [sic] *questo dolce amplesso*. La terza era un minuetto, che egli usava di variare a suo piacimento; la quarta una simitudine presa dal rosignolo, non so di qual Poeta, né da chi posta sotto le note. Quali arie mai si può dire, che fossero più fortunate di queste? E se per caso (che tuttavia era molto raro) omettevansi le altre, l'aria del rosignolo non si ometteva giammai.⁷⁸

(He sang three or four arias every evening; and though it seems hardly believable to say so, always the same [arias]. Two were by Signor Hasse, 'Pallido il sole' and 'Per questo dolce amplesso'. The third was a minuet that he [Farinelli] used to vary at his pleasure; the fourth was a nightingale metaphor aria, I don't know by what poet or who set it to music. Which arias ever can be said to have been more fortunate than these? And if the others were omitted (which, in any event, was very rare), the nightingale aria was never omitted.)

Many authors have commented on the likelihood of Farinelli's singing the same three or four arias every night for ten years.⁷⁹ In any event, Haböck identified the nightingale aria as 'Quel usignolo' based on Farinelli's inclusion of the aria in the Maria Teresa 1753 aria collection as an example for his ornamentation practice⁸⁰ and the collection's dedication in

⁷⁶ As for most other *pasticci* produced at the 'Opera of the Nobility', no score survives, so it is not possible to say with certainty that Farinelli did not perform a new setting of the aria text in London. However, the fact that he sang it at the Spanish court for many years and included the aria in the 1753 Maria Teresa collection suggests that he kept the piece in use.

⁷⁷ Sacchi himself may have taken the information about the first three arias from Burney. Burney claims to have received the information from Farinelli himself: 'He told me, that for the first ten years of his residence at the court of Spain, during the life of Philip the Vth, he sung every night to that monarch the same four airs, of this two were composed by Hasse, *Pallido il sole*, and *Per questo dolce amplesso*. I forget the others, but one was a minuet which he used to vary at his pleasure.' Burney, *France and Italy*, 218. If the nightingale aria had special status, Farinelli would surely also have mentioned it to Burney, and it seems somewhat odd that the music historian Burney would have forgotten about the most highly favoured aria. Sacchi's source regarding the nightingale aria is unclear, though it is possible that it came from Farinelli himself or people who knew him.

⁷⁸ Sacchi, *Vita*, 41-42.

⁷⁹ On 16 February 1738, Farinelli writes to Pepoli: 'Mi conviene pregare Iddio che mi conserva in salute per continuare la vita presente: mi bevo tutte le sante sere 8 in 9 arie in corpo, non v'è mai riposo... per qualche riposo bisogna pregare l'attacco di poca febbre.' (I need to pray to God to preserve me in good health in order to [be able to] continue this life: every single evening I sing eight or nine arias, there is no time to rest... to get some rest I have to pray for the onset of a little fever.) Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 143-44. This does not contradict the story of the repetition of three or four arias in principle. However, considering that Pepoli was well informed about the music Farinelli had sung on stage, mention of specific pieces that were so strongly favoured at the Spanish court as to be performed every day would have constituted an interesting detail for Pepoli. Altogether, it is unlikely that the question of the repeated arias will be resolved.

⁸⁰ Farinelli wrote representative *variazioni* and cadenzas on extra systems and in red ink above the vocal line.

which Farinelli states that he had sung the arias at the Spanish court for many years. Haböck included the 1753 version replete with ornamented vocal line in his anthology. As one of the two arias that give detailed insight into Farinelli's singing due to the added ornamentation, it counts among the pieces that are most responsible for the image of Farinelli in scholarship during the last century.

Farinelli's Virtuosity: Reception in modern scholarship

By the 20th century, of course, the tables had turned with regard to the respective status of libretto and music on the one hand and singer and composer on the other hand.⁸¹ By this time, the responsibility, or even the right to the act of musical creation had come to be seen as an inalienable part of the composer's domain. The singer, whose creative responsibility had been asserted time and again by Tosi, had become a medium or servant of art, ephemeral in relation to both composer and work. Any singer's attempt at influencing the compositional process had come to be regarded as illicit interference a view that still prevails in scholarship today (see chapter 6). This is particularly true with regard to virtuosic pieces, ever since Mozart's comment that he had had to make concessions to the agile throat of Caterina Cavalieri⁸² when writing the arias for Konstanze in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* had been misconstrued as the complaint of a musical genius about the impositions of an ignorant singer. From this perspective, arias that are written for a specific performer must be regarded as inherently flawed. It is no longer the singer's supposed disregard of principles of nature and world order, but his overstepping of artistic boundaries by claiming the composer's creative, rather than the performer's subservient role, which is seen to interfere with the true purpose of art and results in the reproach of vanity. With regard to Farinelli, this emerges clearly in the article on singing in the 1968 dictionary, *La Musica*:

Il soprano Carlo Broschi Farinelli, ventitreenne, toccava, si dice, più di tre ottave, dal basso al soprano. Aveva esordito a Roma, così narrano le cronache, nel Teatro Aliberti, gorgheggiando nella sonorità e nella durata dei fiati con un potente trombettiere. Favolosa pratica strumentale, indubbiamente. Non si intravede qual servizio abbia reso alle vere e proprie opere d'arte. Se si cerca il valore delle arie, che scritte espressamente anche da ottimi artisti o

⁸¹ The reasons for these developments (Romantic ideology, the establishing of a musical canon, etc.) are too well known to require explanation.

⁸² Patricia Lewy Gidwitz, 'Cavalieri, Catarina', *Grove Music Online* (*Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed September 13, 2013), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05201>.

volutamente ornate, meglio giovavano a stupire i pubblici di tutta Europa e a dar fama ai prodigioso castrati (l'antologia dell'Haböck è perciò dimostrativa), l'impressione della pochezza o della nullità dell'arte è profonda.⁸³

(Reportedly, the soprano Carlo Broschi Farinelli, at the age of twenty-three, commanded more than three octaves, from bass to soprano range. The chronicles state that he had debuted at the Teatro Aliberti in Rome, warbling with [equal] sonority and breath capacity with a famous trumpet player. Fabulous instrumental ability, no doubt. But it is unfathomable what service this would have rendered to true and real works of art. If one seeks to determine the merit of the arias, which, written specifically [for Farinelli] even by excellent artists or deliberately ornamented, served better to dazzle audiences in all of Europe and to spread the fame of the prodigious castrati (Haböck's anthology is a case in point), one arrives at a profound impression of the triviality or nullity of the art.

Similarly, Sylvie Mamy describes the first *a2 passaggio* in 'Qual guerriero in campo armato' (*Idaspe*, Venice 1730) as 'passaggio molto caratteristico nello scatenato libertinaggio della disposizione vocale'⁸⁴ (a *passaggio*, which is very typical in its unleashed debauchery of [Farinelli's] vocal disposition). The 1968 dictionary article and Mamy's comment are symptomatic and representative of the image of Farinelli's singing for most of the 20th century. The aesthetic evaluation is based on samples from his most virtuosic arias.⁸⁵ In this manner, Farinelli's singing is reduced to virtuosic singing – Mamy even admits that 'Qual guerriero in campo armato' is a 'caso limite' (extreme case),⁸⁶ but nevertheless uses it as a 'typical' example, approaching it from a composer-and work-centred perspective that is not germane to the *dramma per musica*.

As in the 18th century, Farinelli's nightingale arias elicited criticism in the 20th century. In terms of application to Farinelli's singing, this is evident from the frequently quoted writings of Mamy, who entitles her extensive introduction to the facsimile edition of Giacomelli's 1734 setting of *Merope* (which contains 'Quel usignolo'), 'Il teatro alla moda dei rosignoli. I cantanti napoletani al San Giovanni Grisostomo, (*Merope*, 1734)'. The combination of the title of Marcello's satirical treatise, *Il teatro alla moda*, with a reference to the nightingale signals Mamy's critical view of the Neapolitan singers she discusses,

⁸³ Guido M. Gatti and Alberto Basso (eds.), 'Canto', section V, *La Musica: Parte Seconda: Dizionario*, Vol. 1 (Torino: UTET, 1968), 722.

⁸⁴ Sylvie Mamy, 'Il teatro alla moda dei rosignoli. I cantanti napoletani al San Giovanni Grisostomo, (*Merope*, 1734)', introduction to the facsimile edition of Zeno/Lalli-Giacomelli, *Merope* (Milano: Ricordi, 1984), LXXXII.

⁸⁵ As mentioned previously, Haböck's anthology is dominated by bravura arias and excerpts of the most difficult *passaggi*. It, too, contains 'Qual guerriero in campo armato'.

⁸⁶ Mamy, 'Il teatro alla moda dei rosignoli,' LXXXII.

especially Farinelli. This vantage point sometimes results in rather biased analysis. Mamy comments on Farinelli's ornamentation of 'Quel usignolo' (Appendix D):

Questa ornamentazione scritta da Farinelli su un'elegante aria di Giacomelli mostra come il pensiero del compositore, a volte come in questo caso sobrio e delicato, sia tenuto in conto di semplice canovaccio. La melodia di base è pressoché irroconoscibile, la poesia diviene un modestissimo supporto fonetico della vocalizzazione. L'accompagnamento strumentale viene contenuto nei limiti del ruolo del puro riempitivo e del sostegno accordale del canto, con qualche unisono al canto stesso, quando tecnicamente possibile. Lo stile d'improvvisazione così sviluppato ci lascia ben vedere i frutti del lavoro sul foglio di studi del Porpora, e l'aria nel suo complesso può essere interpretata come un continuo ricorrere delle antiche esercitazioni napoletane.⁸⁷

(These ornaments written by Farinelli for an elegant aria by Giacomelli shows how the composer's idea, sometimes, as in this case, well moderated and sensitive, is treated like a simple canvas. The underlying melody is almost unrecognisable, the poetry becomes the merest phonetic support for the vocalisation. The instrumental accompaniment is confined to the role of purely filling in the harmony and supporting the voice, with some unison doubling of the voice when this is technically possible. The style of the improvisation which is developed in this manner allows us to distinguish clearly the fruit of the labour over Porpora's study sheet, and the aria [Farinelli's ornamented version] in its totality can be interpreted as continuous recurrences of the old Neapolitan exercises.)

The phrase 'il pensiero del compositore' is the key to Mamy's judgment of Farinelli's improvisation. Whereas Tosi considers ornamentation an essential aspect of a singer's art, to the extent of asserting that a mediocre singer with good skills in embellishment is preferable over a better one without such skills,⁸⁸ Mamy takes offence at the singer's alterations of the composer's musical text. However, in those phrases in which the words are set syllabically, Farinelli adds only very small individual embellishments, almost without exception, sometimes subdividing eight notes into two sixteenth notes or turning a group of two sixteenth notes into a triplet (e.g. 19-21, 32). Sometimes he even simplifies the vocal line (e.g. 48-49) or leaves it unadorned (e.g. 26, 42-43, 50-51.3, 69-70). His alterations do not change the main contour of the musical line, nor do they impact on the intelligibility of the text.⁸⁹ The two- and three-bar *passaggi* on 'innamorato' (21-22) and 'canta' (23-25) in a1 that potentially affect the audience's understanding of the text since they occur before the aria text's first stanza has been stated in full, are already present in Giacomelli's version. Farinelli's ornamentation of these passages is moderate and follows

⁸⁷ Mamy, 'Il teatro alla moda dei rosignoli,' LXXXII.

⁸⁸ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 60.

⁸⁹ The vocal line in the syllabically set phrases in 51.3-54 and 73-74.5 does not match Giacomelli's as it has been newly composed by Farinelli.

the general contour of the melody. The *passaggi* on the last syllable of the word of the A-section stanza, ‘crudeltà’, make no difference to the intelligibility of the text – as soon as the syllable ‘tà’ is sung, the text has been stated in full. Only on these *passaggi* on ‘crudeltà’ does Farinelli decorate the vocal part in great detail. If Giacomelli’s musical line is not recognisable here, this is hardly surprising – Farinelli has recomposed both the vocal and orchestral parts of the three long *passaggi* in the A section (28-39, 56-65, 71-78) as well as the entire B section of the aria,⁹⁰ which Mamy seems not to have noticed.⁹¹ In those portions of the orchestral accompaniment Farinelli retains from Giacomelli’s version, the role of the orchestra remains necessarily unchanged, but in his newly composed portions of A, too, the same relationship between the voice and orchestra is retained. This has been necessary in order not to create breaks between Farinelli’s and Giacomelli’s writing. Mamy can hardly blame Farinelli for the orchestra’s filling in the harmony or playing *colla parte* – or Giacomelli for that matter, as this is simply the default role of the string orchestra in the vocal episodes of *dramma per musica* arias of the period.

Interestingly, Farinelli makes more differentiated use of the orchestra in the B section than Giacomelli does, letting the violins play melodic material that is entirely independent of the vocal part twice, over sustained notes by the voice (91-93, 113-115) and giving the viola a rare opportunity to emerge, when it plays in thirds with the voice on a *passaggio* (103-109). Mamy’s description of the ornamented (and recomposed) aria as a regurgitation of Porpora’s old vocal exercises denies the singer any creative ability of his own and characterises his work as derivative, repetitive and unimaginative.⁹²

The criticism of scholarly commentators such as Mamy has exerted little influence on the recent reception of Farinelli’s singing by a wider audience, as evident from his iconic

⁹⁰ The fact that the tessitura of the newly composed *passaggi* is on average a third lower than Giacomelli’s 1734 version suggests that Farinelli rewrote them in order to make the aria more comfortable to sing after his voice had become lower. His decision to recompose B very likely resides in the near perfunctory brevity of Giacomelli’s B section, which consists of 12 bars in common time and retains the *spiritoso* tempo of the A part, while Farinelli’s comprises 40 bars in 3/8 time in moderato tempo. Farinelli’s B section provides a much better balance both in terms of performance duration and musical contrast to the very large A section, improving the piece’s musical architecture.

⁹¹ Mamy acknowledges that Farinelli preserves elements of the vocal line, pointing out details without distinguishing between the newly composed portions and those retained from Giacomelli’s 1734 setting. In fact, she opines that, in terms of ornamentation, the B section has been ‘un po’ trascurata’ (a bit neglected). Mamy, ‘Il teatro alla moda dei rosignoli,’ LXXXII.

⁹² Mamy repeats this view in *Les grands castrats napolitains à Venise au XVIII^e siècle*, stating in reference to ‘Qual guerriero in campo armato’ that ‘le castrat a bien appris la leçon napolitaine’ (the castrato has learnt his Neapolitan lesson well. Mamy, *Les grands castrats*, 101. This view suggests a lack of historical perspective as Farinelli’s vocal abilities constituted a great novelty at his time and were perceived as such by his audiences.

status today⁹³ as well as the uninterrupted flow since the late 1980s of recordings bearing Farinelli's name and/or image by various mezzo sopranos and countertenors. Whilst recordings of his arias have increasingly included expressive arias as well, Farinelli is still first and foremost associated with virtuosic singing. However, in the context of the revival of opera from the first half of the 18th century, virtuosity is currently received favourably.

A Singer's Vanity?

Both in the 18th and the 20th centuries, the assumption that leads to the evaluation of Farinelli's singing as artistically insignificant, even immoral, is that his virtuosity served only as a means of self-display, thus serving only Farinelli's vanity. Undoubtedly, Farinelli did use virtuosity to distinguish himself and further his career; he also took great pride in his achievements. Whilst it is impossible to gauge the extent to which the young and ambitious Farinelli aimed at gaining lasting fame even beyond his lifetime, there can be little doubt that he did know of singers who had achieved this kind of reputation, for example, Baldassare Ferri (1610-1680). Ferri, who had been a favourite of Władisław IV of Poland, Christina of Sweden and the Holy Roman Emperors Ferdinand III and Leopold I, and was knighted for his achievements as a singer by the Republic of Venice,⁹⁴ had inspired eulogies such as Bontempi's in *Historia musica*:

Cioche non ha spiegato con la voce un sì sublime Cantore non pensi alcuno di poterlo mostrare. Poiche egli, oltre la chiarezza della voce, la felicità dei passaggi, il battimento de' trilli, l'agilità d'arrivar dolcemente a qualsivoglia corda; dopo la continuatione d'un lunghissimo e bellissimo passaggio, sotto la qual misura, altri non havrebbe potuto contener la respiratione, Egli prorompeva senza respiro in un lunghissimo e bellissimo trillo, e da quello passava ad un altro passaggio assai piu lungo e piu vigoroso del primo, senza movimento alcuno ne di fronte, ne di bocca, ne di vita, immobile come una Statua. Il discendere con un trillo da hemituono in hemituono senza alcuna incisura, e con voce leggiadramente rinforzata dall'ottava della Nete (aaa) e Paranete (ggg) alla stessa Nete (aa) e Paranete (gg) del Tetracordo hiperboleon; operatione, se non affatto impossibile, almeno di grandissima difficoltà a qualsivoglia altro valoroso Cantore; al Ferri era un nulla; poiche da quello passava senza respiro ad altri trilli, e passaggi, e meraviglie dell'Arte. Fè piu volte sentire da hemituono ad hemituoni senza respiro o incisura alcuna, e con voce sempre soavamente rinforzata anche il crescimento del trillo; cosa non piu sentita, ne praticata. E pure, con tutta l'ineffabilità del suo talento, non

⁹³ Farinelli's image and name are used as marketing tools, even for products that hardly relate to him at all. More importantly, the singer has inspired numerous modern cultural artefacts, such as Corbieau's 1994 film and a number of novels.

⁹⁴ Galliano Ciliberti. 'Ferri, Baldassare.' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 24, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09539>.

esprese altri intervalli minori giammai che il maggiore e minore hemitono. E non creda il Musico Lettore, esser favoloso il presente raccontamento, per contener cose impossibili a praticarsi: al Ferri non solo erano possibili: ma facilissime; poich'egli, per non haver come gli altri la piegatura nel Diafragma, tanto piu vigoroso degli altri aveva le viscere spiritali, e naturali. Et havendo il petto intero e grande, è da persuadersi ancora ch'avesse il polmone fongoso e raro, & il temperamento piu frigido; ond'era che piu degli altri poteva contener lo spirito, e far sentir i miracoli dell'Arte; co' quali si rendeva maggiore della maraviglia, & quasi eccedeva il possibile della humanità. Onde ha meritato di servire prima tre Re di Polonia, e poi due Imperadori; d'esser creato Cavaliere di S. Marco da' Venetiani; d'esser mandato a prendere con Nave particolarmente da Christina Regina di Suetia; d'essere applaudito in Roma, e chiamato Fenice de' Musici; d'esser coronato Re de' Musici in Vienna; e d'esser stipendiato in vita dalla Sacra Maestà di Leopoldo Imperadore. Gli Epiteti d'un nuovo Anfione, d'Arione e d'Orfeo, di Fenice de' Cigni, e de' Cantori, e di Sirena Perugina sono stati i minori Encomi.⁹⁵

(That which such a sublime singer has achieved with his voice, no one else may think of being able to demonstrate. For he, beyond the clarity of his voice, the success of his passagework, the execution of trills, the agility in arriving gently at any note whatsoever, after the continuation of the longest and most beautiful coloratura, the duration of which others could not have supported with their breaths, he, without breathing, burst forth into the longest and most beautiful trill, and from this he proceeded to another coloratura, still much longer and more vigorous than the first one, without any movement of his forehead, nor his mouth, nor his waist, immobile like a statue. Descending with a trill from one semitone to another semitone without any incision, and with a lightly enforced voice over the range of an octave from a'' to a' or g'' to g', an operation, which, if not impossible altogether, at least extremely difficult for any other valorous singer, was nothing to Ferri. And from this he proceeded without a breath to other trills and coloraturas and marvels of art[fulness]. Many times he brought to ear [the descent] from semitone to semitone without breath or any incision, and, with an always sweetly reinforced voice, also a crescendo on a trill; something that is no longer heard and no longer practised. And yet, with all the ineffability of his talent, he never sang intervals smaller than the major and minor semitone. And the musical reader should not think the present account to be fictitious as it relates things that are impossible to execute: for Ferri, they were not only possible, but extremely easy; for, since he did not, like others, have a fold in his diaphragm, he had more vigorous entrails, both spiritual and natural,⁹⁶ than others. And since he had a complete and large breast, one can also deduce that he had spongy [i.e., voluminous] and permeable⁹⁷ lungs and a colder temperament, so that he could take in more breath than others and produce miracles of art with which he rendered himself greater than marvel and essentially exceeded the humanly possible. Thus he earned [the privilege of] serving first three kings of

⁹⁵ Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi, *Historia musica* (Perugia: Costantini, 1695), 110-111.

⁹⁶ This is a reference to the Galenian theory of the body according to which physiological processes in the body were governed by three types of spirits, vital, natural and animal spirits.

⁹⁷ In the context, 'raro' literally translates as 'thin'. According to John Florio's 1611 Italian-English dictionary, one of the contemporary meanings of 'rarità' was 'spongy hollowness'. Like 'fongoso', 'raro' describes the physiological properties that make Ferri's lungs particularly capacious.

Poland and then two Emperors, being styled Knight of San Marco by the Venetians, to have a ship sent for him especially by Christina, Queen of Sweden, being applauded in Rome, and called ‘Phoenix of Musicians’, [and] being granted a lifelong stipend from the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold. The epithets of a new Amphion, Arion and Orpheus, Phoenix of Swans and of Singers, and Perugian Siren have been the smaller among the encomiums bestowed upon him. [This is followed by a list of panegyrics by notable intellectuals and poets from Perugia.]

Although there is no hard evidence that Farinelli took inspiration from Bontempi’s or other contemporaries’ account of Ferri, it is striking how easily Bontempi’s description of Ferri’s singing could be applied to Farinelli.⁹⁸ Not only did Farinelli, as outlined previously, exceed his contemporaries in terms of the length of continuous coloratura passages and, thus, breath control, as well as agility, which corresponds to the description of Ferri in a general way. But the *trillo calante* (and *cresciuto*), often framed by coloratura passages, was also a hallmark of Farinelli’s personal style. Bontempi praises Ferri’s ability to perform a *trillo calante* over the octave a’’ to a’’ or g’’ to g’; the ornamentation Farinelli notated to remind Empress Maria Teresa of his singing show him performing trills over two octaves, a *trillo cresciuto arpeggiato* in the cadenza for a1 in ‘Quel usignolo’ and a stepwise *trillo cresciuto* in the a2 cadenza of ‘Son qual nave’, both from f to f’’. The crescendo on a trill described by Bontempi was of course frequently executed by Farinelli within his famous *messa di voce*.⁹⁹ Aware that contemporary intellectuals knew Bontempi’s book, which during his stage career was current and recent, Farinelli may have intentionally chosen to perform such passages to demonstrate that he was not only Ferri’s equal, but surpassed him. Noteworthy also is Bontempi’s description of Ferri’s standing immobile like a statue while singing, which might have served Farinelli as inspiration or justification to do so, too. Although Farinelli’s acting was often perceived as a deficit, standing still focused the audience’s attention on his voice and made his performances memorable because, unlike him, most other star singers were good, some even excellent actors.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ The fact that Mancini states that Farinelli ‘senza contrasto si può chiamare il Baldassare *Ferri* del nostro secolo’ (can be called the Baldassare Ferri of our century without [raising] objections) evidences that the two singers were compared with each other in the 18th century. Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 152.

⁹⁹ Bontempi’s phrase ‘il crescimento del trillo’, does not refer to the *trillo cresciuto*, but to a trill with a crescendo. That Bontempi does not use the term *messa di voce* may be explained by gradual changes in the terminology relating to vocal technique in the period between Bontempi’s and Tosi’s treatises.

¹⁰⁰ Contrary to the common view of acting in the *dramma per musica* as unimportant and singers of the genre as poor actors, contemporary descriptions of singers suggest that until at least the middle of the century, acting was an important skill without which extremely few singers attained star status. For example, of the singers Quantz discusses in his ‘Lebenslauf’, he considers more than two thirds good, very good or outstanding actors and only one third mediocre or poor. Farinelli and Cuzzoni were the only star singers in the latter category.

If Ferri was known as the Phoenix or Swan of Perugia, Farinelli might have wanted to be remembered as the Nightingale of Naples. However, it appears that the epithet ‘Rosignolo di Napoli’ was already held by Matteo Sassani ‘Matteuccio’ (c.1667-1737).¹⁰¹ Matteuccio, who, like Ferri, had been a favourite at the Imperial court and ennobled,¹⁰² was vastly famous in Naples during Farinelli’s youth. Famous for the beauty of his voice, he had served at the Spanish court between 1695 and 1700, assuaging the melancholy of Charles II of Spain.¹⁰³ This constitutes an almost uncanny resemblance to Farinelli’s own career. On 21 November 1724, the young Farinelli sang with Matteuccio, who by then had long retired from the stage, on the occasion of Emilia Carafa’s taking the veil.¹⁰⁴ In addition to the sheer beauty and sonority of his voice, Matteuccio was renowned for his mastery at ornamentation, but apparently, he was not particularly accomplished at producing trills.¹⁰⁵ However, arias such as his *siciliano* ‘Ma il mio ben, che fa, dov’è’ (I, 4, *La caduta de’ decemviri*, Stampiglia-Scarlatti, Napoli 1697), suggest that he possessed excellent command of the *messa di voce*.

Studying in the city in Italy that produced the greatest number of famous castrati in its four conservatories, raised within the competitive work ethic summarised in Tosi’s treatise, aware of the famous singers of his time – whether from live performances, the reports of teachers and patrons, or books – and dependent upon his voice to earn a living, the young Farinelli had to be, and no doubt was, ambitious. Whether or not he sought direct comparison with star singers of the past and present such as Matteuccio and Ferri, Farinelli’s nightingale arias served to establish metaphorical associations that increased his fame. It is likely that Farinelli favoured nightingale arias not only because of the bird’s status as the most virtuosic of songbirds, but also because it has long been associated with

¹⁰¹ Domenico Confuorto uses this appellation in an entry dated 18 February 1696 in the *Giornale di Napoli* as though it was a well-known sobriquet. Domenico Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLXXIX al MDCIC*, 3 volumes, ed. Nicola Nicolini (Naples: Lubrano, 1930), II: 18 February 1695, quoted in Grazia Carbonella, ‘Matteo Sassani, il rosignolo di Napoli’, *La Capitanata*, 21 (June 2007), 238.

¹⁰² Carbonella, ‘Matteo Sassani’, 237-41.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 241.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 247.

¹⁰⁵ In his travel diary, the Dutch traveller and connoisseur, Jan Alensoon, who heard Matteuccio on 6 April 1724, reports that Matteuccio ‘has a beautiful voice, improvises wonderful ornaments, but cannot trill.’ *Nl-Au XV-E-25*, p.234, quoted after Kees Vlaardingerbroek, ‘Faustina Bordoni Applauds Jan Alensoon: A Dutch Music-Lover in Italy and France in 1723-4’, *Music & Letters*, 72/4 (November 1991), 549. Farinelli, who surely compared his own voice and abilities to Matteuccio’s, probably spotted this weakness in his older colleague’s singing as well. As Matteuccio’s voice remained as clear, flexible and agile as a young man’s until late in his life (Manicini, *Riflessioni*, 18), it is unlikely that this was due to vocal deterioration.

love. Both aspects were eminently suited to the artistic persona Farinelli began to forge as soon as he had shed his female costumes in 1724, and Tosi's claim that the nightingale was the origin of the *messa di voce* provided another connection between the bird and Farinelli's singing.

From the perspective of Farinelli's using his virtuosity to create associations that would help build his career and perpetuate his fame, one might thus say that virtuosity served his vanity. However, this does not mean that its function was limited to this purpose. An alternative interpretation of Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias from the vantage point of artistic contribution and authorship that takes into consideration the 18th-century conceptualisation of the processes at work and purpose of the creation of *drammi per musica* will be offered in chapter 7. Virtuosity was not limited to bravura arias, of course. Some of the longest *passaggi* (in terms of performance duration) occur in Farinelli's slow arias. The use of *passaggi* in these pieces, the question whether *passaggi* serve a purpose beyond virtuosic display, and, if so, what this might be, will be examined in chapter 8.

6 'Le mie arie': Ownership and Authorship, Composition and Performance

Previous chapters have shown that Farinelli's roles were highly idiosyncratic and that the singer continued to develop his style after he had already achieved stardom. This raises the question of the authorship of the music he sang, for the influence he exerted over composers was artistic in nature rather than merely a matter of imposing technical parameters such as vocal range or preferred musical features; this will be demonstrated in this and the next two chapters by means of analysis of the *dramma per musica* production process and Farinelli's large-scale bravura and expressive arias. Farinelli certainly felt himself to be the owner of his arias and acknowledged other singers' ownership of their arias. Having been asked by Marquis Guido Bentivogli to sing Carestini's bravura piece 'Vo solcando un mar crudele' (I, 15) from Vinci's 1730 Roman setting of Metastasio's *Artaserse* in the 1731 Ferrara *Artaserse pasticcio* produced in celebration of the Marquis' wedding,¹ Farinelli wrote to Pepoli,

per l'aria che desidera il signor marchese Bettivogli [sic] 'Vo solcando il [sic] mar crudele' supplico Vostra Eccellenza a persuadere il suddetto Cavaliere, che in stanza o fuori di teatro la canterò quante volte il medesimo mi comanderà; ma per cantarla in teatro prego a lasciarmi in libertà, mentre da che faccio la professione, non v'è mai stato caso ch'io abbi in scena cantato arie altrui massimamente di quel soggetto glorioso, sicché io godo che gl'altri cantano le mie in teatro ed io aver il contento d'ascoltarle, come più volte mi è successo e così non desidero che qualche soggetto vanaglorioso si possa vantare che Farinello canti le sue arie.²

(regarding the aria that Marquis Bentivogli desires, 'Vo solcando un mar crudele', I implore Your Excellency to persuade this gentleman that in the chamber or outside the theatre I will sing it as many times as he commands me to; but I pray that he will not oblige me to sing it in the theatre, because for as long as I have been in the profession, it has never been the case that I have sung other singers' arias on stage, least of all of that vain subject [Carestini]. I enjoy it when others sing my arias in the theatre and I have the pleasure of listening as has happened to me several times, thus I do not wish for some vainglorious subject to be able to boast that Farinello is singing his arias.)

Not only was ownership of one's arias a matter of professional pride and hierarchy, as indicated by Farinelli's refusal to sing a Carestini aria, but it was singers' duty to perform

¹ Commentary by Carlo Vitali, *Solitudine amica*, 288.

² Letter of 26 September 1731. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 90.

original material. Tosi points out that ‘il copiare è da Scolaro, e l’inventar è da Maestro’³ (It is for the student to copy and for the master to invent), rejecting the idea of a singer performing another’s aria not only because of the laziness and ignorance it implies and the inferior artistic result it yields, but also because he considers it a matter of dishonesty:

Cosa dovrà dirsi mai della debolezza di que’ Vocalisti, che in vece d’inventare copiano non solo le Arie intere degli Uomini, ma anche quelle delle Femmine? O gran cecità che toglie il lume al buon senso! Supposto un’impossibile, cioè, che un Cantante arrivasse a copiare in maniera, che non si conoscesse l’originale, crederebb’egli forse di poter attribuirsi un merito che non è suo, e di star sulle gale cogli abiti altrui senza temer di restare ignudo?⁴

(What would one have to say of the weakness of such [male] singers, who, instead of inventing, copy entire arias not only of male [singers], but even of female ones? Oh great blindness that bereaves common sense of light! Supposing an impossible thing, i.e., that a singer should manage to copy in such a manner that one could not tell [his copy] from the original, does he perhaps think he could claim as his own a merit that which is not his own and stand on stage in someone else’s clothes without fear of remaining naked?)

From a modern perspective, Tosi’s rant makes it sound as though singers had been supposed to compose their arias entirely by themselves. This was, of course, not the case. However, despite the fact that Farinelli respected composers and regarded many as friends, his way of thinking about alterations of arias shows that he considered the newly commissioned arias for the 1731 Ferrara *Artaserse pasticcio* essentially as raw material that had to be adapted to his personal style before they were ready for him to perform. In reference to these arias, he states: ‘Circa le arie le condurrò meco, mentro non ho avuto tempo di farmele fare a mio modo.’⁵ (As to the arias, I will bring them with me, though I have not yet had time to have them adapted to my style.) That Farinelli did not make the alterations himself was presumably not because he was unable to do so, but a matter of the division of labour between composer and singer and, possibly, professional hierarchy.⁶ Farinelli writes about the aria alterations as though they were a service, just like the designing and sewing of the new stage costume which he asks Pepoli to order for him in the same letter,⁷ and which, presumably would also have undergone final alterations before Farinelli could have worn it on stage. Moreover, the passing manner in which Farinelli

³ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 98. Tosi’s bias against women is not relevant in this context; he considered performing other singer’s arias bad practice both in men and women.

⁵ Letter of 26 September 1731. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 90.

⁶ The great difference in fees for star singers on the one hand and composers (as well as poets) on the other suggests as much.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

refers to the process indicates that it was by no means unusual and that he habitually intervened in the arias he sang.

This was the case not only for the musical, but also for the poetic texts. In his preceding letter to Pepoli, dated one week earlier, Farinelli gives instructions regarding three aria texts he intends to use in Ferrara, including where they are to be inserted,⁸ probably to enable the printing of the libretto for the production.⁹ The first of these, ‘Fra cento affanni e cento’ (I, 1) remains unaltered, the second is entirely new, and the third has been altered to make it possible to insert into the third act of *Artaserse* an aria Farinelli had sung in Fano earlier the same year.¹⁰ Aside from ‘Fra cento affanni e cento’, Farinelli had sung none of the Ferrara aria texts in previous productions of *Artaserse*.¹¹ Of the two aria texts for act II, which Farinelli promised to send separately, one was yet again new,¹² the other an original Metastasian text that had been replaced in Venice and Lucca.¹³ The overall impression arises that, contemplating his role for Ferrara, Farinelli studied the libretto of Vinci’s setting,¹⁴ decided which aria texts he would utilise, discarded the others and commissioned (or wrote) replacement texts for new settings and an adapted version for a favourite aria he wanted to insert. In other words, he treated the texts as well as the musical settings of his arias as his artistic property.

In addition, iconographic evidence suggests that Farinelli also felt a sense of authorship with regard to his arias. Already in the first surviving print portrait of the singer, an

⁸ Letter of 19 September 1731. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 88-89.

⁹ The libretto was in fact printed in Bologna.

¹⁰ Farinelli had sung ‘Giusti cieli, eterni Dei’ in *L’innocenza giustificata* (Silvani-Orlandini) in July 1731. The alterations are substantial. The second line of the three-line A section has been rewritten and the B section has been replaced entirely.

¹¹ The only aria text from the 1730 Venetian *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse) that is included in Ferrara in 1731 is ‘Fra cento affanni e cento’ (I, 2). In the libretto of both these productions and in the Lucca 1730 revival of the Venetian version, the text ‘Perchè tarda è mai la morte’ (III, 1) is printed, but only in the 1730 Venetian settings is it marked as omitted. Since no scores survive of either the Lucca revival nor of the Ferrara productions (whose music was attributed to Vinci, but which was surely a *pasticcio*), it is impossible to say with certainty whether Farinelli sang a setting of this text. However, the fact that he does not mention the aria to Pepoli with regard to the Ferrara version and that he sent Pepoli the aria text for ‘Giusti cieli, eterni Dei’, a long slow aria for the same scene, essentially rules out that he sang a da capo setting of ‘Perchè tarda è mai la morte’ as he would not have sung two slow da capo arias in a single scene. Nevertheless, the first stanza of ‘Perchè tarda è mai la morte’ could have been set as an *arioso*.

¹² ‘Per placarti, o Padre amato’ (II, 11).

¹³ ‘Mi scacci sdegnato’ (II, 2).

¹⁴ The music of the Ferrara production is attributed to Vinci in the libretto. However, as Farinelli did not sing any Vinci arias, the opera was a *pasticcio* at least with regard to his role.

engraving by Gasparo Massi of 1727,¹⁵ Farinelli is shown both with sheet music, a common element of musicians' portraits, and an inkpot, which characterises Farinelli not only as a performer, but also as an author of either music or poetry, or both. An inkpot also features in Bartolomeo Nazzari's 1734 portrait of Farinelli commissioned by the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Leeds¹⁶ (see figure 1 below). The painting is a bold artistic statement, focusing the viewer's attention on Farinelli's double role as composer and performer by displaying iconographic symbols for both, i.e., the composer's quill and inkpot, and the actor's white glove on Farinelli's left hand, placed on his left hip in a posture he employed on stage when singing arias.¹⁷ These symbols are unified by the sheet music sitting on a harpsichord, presumably produced and performed by him.¹⁸

¹⁵ Berta Joncus, 'One God, so many Farinellis: Mythologising the Star Castrato', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28/5 Farinelli (2005), 444.

¹⁶ The Earl of Essex and the Duke of Leeds commissioned one copy each of the same painting; the one that survives in the Royal College of Music belonged to the latter. McGeary, 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds', 344.

¹⁷ Whilst this was a common arm position, in the portrait of Farinelli in the role of Epitide (*Merope*), the singer's left hand is placed on his left hip in a similar fashion. The latter painting, in the private collection of Leo Schofield (Sydney), is reproduced on the title page of *Il Fantasma del Farinelli*, ed. Luigi Verdi (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005). Farinelli's use of this arm position was satirised by Roger Pickering in his *Reflections upon Theatrical Expression in Tragedy* (London: Johnston, 1755): 'Then with long strides advancing a few Paces, his left Hand settled upon his Hip, in a beautiful Bend, like that of the *Handle of an old fashion'd Caudle-Cup*, his Right remained unmoveable across his manly Breast, 'till Numbness called its Partner to supply the Place; when, it relieved itself in the Position of the other *Handle* to the *Caudle-Cup*' (63-64).

¹⁸ According to Joncus, 'the presence/absences of the gloves [Farinelli wears a white glove on his left, but not on his right hand] depicted simultaneously the sitter's polite status and his readiness to take up quill and compose'. 'One God', 444-445. Whilst Jocus is undoubtedly right that the portrait was intended to 'dignify [its] subject and thereby legitimate the patron's veneration' (446), it seems more likely to me that the glove refers to his profession as a stage performer, as 'it was common practice for eighteenth-century actors and actresses to wear white gloves.' Dene Barnett, 'The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century Part II: The Hands', *Theatre Research International*, 3/1 (October 1977), 19. That the portrait was not commissioned by Farinelli himself, but by patrons who presumably first and foremost viewed him as a singer, and that he is not shown wearing gloves in any of his portraits which postdate his stage career may support this interpretation.

**Figure 6-1: Bartolomeo Nazari, *Portrait of Farinelli*, Venice c. 1734
Oil on canvas, Royal College of Music, London¹⁹**



The earliest composition whose text and music can safely be attributed to Farinelli is his *Ossequioso ringraziamento per le cortesissime Grazie ricevute nella Britannica Gloriosa Nazione*, a recitative and aria written before his departure from England in 1737, but he very likely contributed compositions of his own to operas before that date. The arietta ‘Son pastorello amante’, sung by Farinelli as Orfeo in the eponymous *pasticcio* (Rolli-arr. Porpora, London 1736) is shown on a folio of sheet music in Corrado Giaquinto’s painting of Farinelli of c.1753, with a clear attribution to the singer.²⁰ No evidence of Farinelli’s authorship from the time of the performance survives; however, whilst sheet music is a feature of almost all portraits of Farinelli, the only other piece depicted in a painting (the c. 1751 group portrait of Metastasio, Teresa Castellini, Farinelli and Jacopo Amigoni²¹) that is marked with Farinelli’s name was undoubtedly composed by the singer.²²

In addition, the collection of arias Farinelli dedicated to Maria Theresa in 1753 provides evidence of Farinelli both newly composing and reworking arias. The last three arias of

¹⁹ Source of image: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/bartolomeo-nazzari-28300/paintings/slideshow/#/4>, accessed 01 December 2013.

²⁰ Daniel Hertz, ‘Farinelli and Metastasio: rival twins in public favour’, *Early Music* 12 (1984), 362 and 365. The inscription above ‘Son pastorello amante’ is ‘Il Cav. Dⁿ Carlo Brosco Far.’.

²¹ According to Annalisa Scarpa Sonino, the painting was executed between 1750 and 1752. Scarpa Sonino, *Jacopo Amigoni* (Soncino: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1994), 160.

²² Farinelli’s authorship emerges from his correspondence with Metastasio. The two men exchanged settings of the *canzonetta* text ‘Ecco quel fiero istante’ from Metastasio’s *La partenza*. The sheet music shown in the Amigoni group portrait bears Farinelli’s initials. Hertz, ‘Metastasio and Farinelli’, 362.

the collection, ‘Io sperai del porto in seno’, ‘Vuoi per sempre abbandonarmi’ and ‘Non sperar, non lusingarti’ (the latter preceded by a recitative) are by Farinelli; the first, ‘Quel usignolo’ is the previously mentioned, much adapted version of the aria as sung by Farinelli in *Merope* (Zeno-Giacomelli, Venice 1734) and the third, ‘Son qual nave’, is so thoroughly rewritten that it bears relatively little resemblance to the versions of the aria as performed by Farinelli in *Mitridate* (Zeno-Giai, Venice 1730) and *Artaserse* (Metastasio-pasticcio, London 1734), respectively. The text of the second aria in the collection, ‘Al dolor che vo sfogando’, appears in the libretto of the 1737 *Sabrina* (arr. Pescetti, London), the penultimate production of the ‘Opera of the Nobility’. *Sabrina* was a *pasticcio*; three of the five numbers from the opera contained in Walsh’s *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Call’d Sabrina* have been attributed to Hasse and Pescetti²³ in surviving manuscript copies.²⁴ Whilst no source for ‘Al dolor che vo sfogando’ from 1737 has been transmitted to which the 1753 setting could be compared, it is possible that Farinelli composed the aria for the 1737 production. But even if the text had originally been set by someone else, the fact that all other arias in the Maria Teresa collection are either newly composed or substantially reworked by Farinelli makes it highly unlikely that he did not at least subject the aria to significant changes. Without further evidence, one cannot simply assume the Maria Theresa collection, compiled more than 15 years after Farinelli’s withdrawal from the operatic stage, to be representative of his working practice in the late 1720s and 1730s. However, in the few cases in which arias that Farinelli extracted from one opera and inserted into another survive in both the earlier and the later version, the music never remains unchanged. Similarly, the majority of re-used aria texts are altered even when this is not required by the dramatic context. Many of these changes are small and it seems unlikely that, after having sung, read and heard many hundreds of aria texts, Farinelli would have felt it necessary to consult a poet rather than making them himself. Altogether, there is clear evidence for Farinelli’s authorship of musical pieces from the end of his stage career and beyond. However, close analysis of Farinelli’s roles is required if it is to be determined whether the inkpot claims of compositional and possibly poetic authorship in Farinelli’s 1727 and 1734 portraits do indeed refer to authorial contributions to his operatic

²³ ‘Trovì per te, ben mio’, sung by Maria Antonia Marchesini in II, 6, is attributed to Hasse in B-Bc ms 5268. The duet ‘Bel astro de’ giorni’, sung by Farinelli and Marchesini in the *scena ultima* of III, is by Pescetti according to B-Bc ms 5269. Pescetti is also named as the author of Margherita Chimenti’s ‘La nube del timor’ (II, 3) in D-B/ Mus.ms.autogr. Heinichen, J. D. 3 N (4). The latter aria also exists in a copy at GB-Lgc/ G. Mus. 432, which contains no reference to its composer.

²⁴ The complete score of *Sabrina* is lost; the Walsh print is the most comprehensive source; otherwise only the above-mentioned individual arias have been transmitted.

roles during this period, or, to be more precise, whether Farinelli participated in the making of his roles as a co-creator of both the poetry and music.

The Singer-composer relationship

The question of 18th-century star singers' artistic contributions to the *dramma per musica* has been subject to much debate in the last decade. The issue is complex mainly for two reasons. First, the relationship between each individual singer, poet and composer was determined by combinations of myriad factors (such as professional status of each contributor, time available, level of artistic experience, venue and purpose of the production, patrons' demands and so forth) making generalisation difficult. Second, discussions of this relationship are primarily based on two of the most influential – and intrinsically related – premises of musicology, the composer- and work-centred approach and the fundamental and related dividing line between composition and performance, although these are only partially compatible with the *dramma per musica*. Of the two, the work concept, which poses the lesser problem because it can be mostly consolidated in the *dramma per musica* as long as it is understood that *dramma per musica* performances did not merely render a fixed musical text,²⁵ has received greater attention. However, the division between composition and performance, the concomitant assigning of relative values to the two activities and allocation of the narrowly defined categories of composer, poet and performer to the creative participants in the *dramma per musica*, is incompatible with the genre. It confines these participants' contributions to unrealistic boundaries and creates an equally unrealistic and unsuitably fixed hierarchy.

²⁵ As Strohm justly points out, 'Werkcharakter und feststehender Notentext können in Opern ebensogut mit ereignishafter Flexibilität der Aufführung koexistieren (man denke zum Beispiel an die Druckausgaben bereits von Opern des 17. Jahrhunderts) wie in anderen Musikgattungen.' (In opera just as in other musical genres, work character and a fixed musical text can coexist with an event-type flexibility of the performance; one might think, for example, of the printed editions of 17th-century operas). Reinhard Strohm, 'Wer entscheidet? Möglichkeiten der Zusammenarbeit an Pasticcio-Opern', "*Per ben vestir la virtuosa*". *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*, eds. D. Brandenburg and T. Seedorf, (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011), p. 63, n. 3. Of course, one needs to bear in mind that the musical text of *drammi per musica* did not remain fixed in performance and that few *dramma per musica* scores from the first half of the 18th century (even in manuscript) have survived that can be demonstrated to have been intended to preserve an opera primarily as a work. The scores of Hasse's operas, destroyed in the Prussian siege of Dresden in 1760, would have been rare examples. Nevertheless, one might argue for a dual existence of *drammi per musica*, similarly to that of their poetic texts, which existed both as representations of performances (as libretti) and as works with a fixed text (in the numerous literary editions of *drammi* by poets such as Zeno and Metastasio). However, there can be little doubt that a work-centred approach to the analysis of the *dramma per musica* alone cannot yield a comprehensive understanding of the genre.

Composition is traditionally understood as a creative act that produces a musical text, a work, which is fixed, transcendent and self-sufficient, and exists independently of performance. Performance is understood as an act of interpretation that is dependent on the musical text. And as it does not alter the musical text, it is ephemeral, whether or not it is recorded. In this conventional view, the creative act, composition, requires artistic genius, whereas the interpretative act, performance, requires mere training and skill. Consequently, composition is more highly regarded than performance – even idolised performers such as Toscanini, Horowitz or Callas rank below Mozart, Beethoven or Verdi.²⁶ Performance essentially constitutes a ‘loan’ of a musical text whose intellectual ownership remains the composer’s. Artistic and intellectual ownership derives from authorship. In this Romantic ideological framework, the relationship between 18th-century singers and composer was (and often still is) reduced to that of a genius artist, the composer, suffering at the hands of tyrannical singers lacking in artistic judgement and musical education, arrogant, lazy and greedy. Accordingly, singers’ demands on composers have been considered undesirable interference with the compositional process, interference that has generally been framed in moralising terms, as it is understood as a transgression of the boundaries of singers’ roles and the station they occupy in the artistic hierarchy.

Postulating a fundamental, even revolutionary change of approach in the mid-1980s, Strohm discussed the *dramma per musica* as a genre in which ‘the performer has to become the creator’²⁷ and stated that

what was clearly fixed and predetermined about any production in those days had so little to do with the score and so much to do with the presentation of the drama by a single, individual singer that a revival of an *opera seria* today should really concentrate less on what Handel or Hasse wrote than on what Senesino or Farinelli did with the chief role.²⁸

Strohm’s ideas have inspired debate regarding the relationship between composer and singer in the *dramma per musica*,²⁹ but in the course of the ongoing debate regarding the

²⁶ The strong influence of Romantic ideology on musicology is also evident from the fact that composers’ interventions into poetic texts have been considered justified based on the view that poetic texts that are intended to be set to music are artistically inferior. Accordingly, composers have also been ranked above poets even in cases such as Zeno’s or Metastasio’s, where this is highly anachronistic. The resulting artistic hierarchy is evident from the distinction between ‘poet’ and ‘librettist’, for which there is no equivalent for the composer’s profession.

²⁷ Reinhard Strohm, ‘Towards an understanding of the *opera seria*’, *Essays on Handel and Italian opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 98.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ The preceding quotation has served as a starting point for many an article on the subject.

work concept, Strohm himself subsequently returned to a more composer- and work-centred approach,³⁰ although he acknowledges singers' crucial role in actual performance. In one of his more recent writings, based on a case study of *Zenobia* (Hasse-Metastasio, Dresden 1761), Strohm critiques Cone's, Abbate's and Barthes' notions of 'voices' in opera, proposing a model of his own which theorises the process of producing and performing an *opera seria* as a 'conglomeration of voices'.³¹ Whilst Strohm concedes that star singers make an authorial contribution to the *dramma per musica* in performance, he retains and confirms the dividing line between composition/composer and performance/performer: 'The performers may be co-authors, not so much because they may influence the work itself, but through their acting and their voices ... The way in which ... performers sang their parts in the opera was legitimately an authorial contribution, not to the libretto or to the score, but to what was heard.'³²

However, other current scholarship perpetuates the romantically tinted view of the relationship between composer and singer and the cliché of the vain, arrogant *primo uomo*, demonstrating how deeply this ideology is engrained in musicological thought. For example, in her study of Gluck's collaboration with the star singers Angelo Monticelli, Gaetano Guadagni and Giuseppe Millico, Irene Brandenburg arrives at the conclusion that

Diese Art der wechselseitigen Beeinflussung, bei der Persönlichkeit und Werk des Komponisten die Sänger formen und prägen, während umgekehrt die vokale Kompetenz der Interpreten deutliche Spuren im kompositorischen Œuvre hinterlässt, ist ein grundlegendes Charakteristikum jeder künstlerischen Zusammenarbeit zwischen Komponist und Interpret.³³

(This kind of reciprocal influence, whereby the composers' personality and work form and imprint the singers, whereas conversely the interpreter's vocal

³⁰ In his analysis of different possibilities of interaction between composers and singers in *pasticci*, Strohm acknowledges that singers often exerted a strong influence over their roles in *pasticci*, but shows particular interest in composers (and, to a much lesser degree, librettists) and their authorship. For example, he points out that composers and librettists did 'keineswegs immer' (by no means always) aim at creating a work that was to be transmitted to posterity (meaning that more often they did), and that it should be clear that 'kompositorische Urheberschaft in hohem Maße auch in einem Produkt mit relativ niedrigem Werkcharacter vorhanden sein konnte' (a high degree of compositional authorship could exist even in a product with relatively little work character). Strohm, 'Wer entscheidet?', 63.

³¹ Reinhard Strohm, 'Zenobia: voices and authorship in opera seria', *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Zeit*, ed. Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002), 53-82.

³² *Ibid.*, 80.

³³ Irene Brandenburg, "'Für die Singstimme mehr in den natürlichen Tönen der menschlichen Empfindungen zu schreiben.'" Glucks Kastratenpartien im Kontext der Opernreform', *"Per ben vestir la virtuosa". Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*, eds. D. Brandenburg and T. Seedorf (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011), 150. It is noteworthy that Brandenburg generalises, claiming that the relationship described by her is applicable to *all* artistic collaboration between composer and performer.

competence leaves clear traces in the compositional oeuvre, is a fundamental characteristic of any artistic collaboration between composer and interpreter.)

Brandenburg's linguistic choices confirm the notion of the performer as a passive medium for the composer's intentions: The composer and his work (although the latter is an inanimate object, a product), are the artistic agents that shape the singer, whose contribution is seen to reside in no more than 'traces' of his or her 'vocal competence'. The relative values of the composer's and singer's work is signalled by the opposition of 'oeuvre' and 'competence.' Accordingly, Brandenburg dismisses any disagreement of Monticelli, Guadagni and Millico with Gluck's compositional ideas as lack of understanding or vanity and egotism.³⁴

Thomas Seehofer appears to re-evaluate the relationship between singer and composer when he states that 'in einer Zeit, in der die Entstehung und Aufführung einer Oper in der Regel einen Akt komplexen sozialen Handelns darstellte, war es sogar unabdingbar, daß beide Seiten [Sänger und Komponist] in einer Art Symbiose miteinander wirkten.'³⁵ (At a time when the creation, production and performance of an opera generally constituted an act of complex social interaction, it was even indispensable for both parts [singer and composer] to work together in a kind of symbiosis.) Although in this symbiotic relationship according to Seehofer, the performer is accorded greater importance than in the predominantly text-centred approach to music, here too the composer's role remains that of the author, the singer's that of the interpreter. Seehofer's re-evaluation of the relationship between singer and composer does not affect its nature; it merely constitutes a shift of emphasis:

Der Komponist bedarf des Sängers, um sein Werk zum Klingen bringen zu können; der Sänger aber kann dann am überzeugendsten als Vermittler zwischen Komponist und Publikum auftreten, wenn die Musik, die er zu singen hat, für ihn ein hohes Maß an Identifikationsmöglichkeiten enthält... Dem Zuhörer schließlich präsentiert sich das Werk als eine in sich stimmige Einheit

³⁴ E.g. 'Folgt man der Überlieferung, die auch hier zwar anekdotisch, aber dennoch glaubhaft ist, so wehrte sich der an die klassischen Kastratenpartien gewöhnte, eitle und ichbezogene Millico gegen die Partie des Orpheus.' (According to a period account, which, though anecdotal, is nevertheless plausible, the vain and self-centred Millico, used to the classical castrato roles, resisted the part of Orpheus.) Two details are significant. Firstly, Millico's supposed vanity is Brandenburg's own interpretation of Johann Friedrich Reichardt's (a composer's) report that Millico felt that the role of Orfeo was not a *primo uomo* role according to Italian custom; secondly, Brandenburg deems anecdotal evidence reliable when it serves to prove a singer's vanity. Brandenburg, 'Gluck's Kastratenpartien', 147.

³⁵ Thomas Seedorf, "'Wie ein gutgemachts kleid". Überlegungen zu einer mehrdeutigen Metapher (nebst einigen Randbemerkungen zu Mozart)', *"Per ben vestir la virtuosa."* *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*, eds. D. Brandenburg and T. Seedorf, (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011), 16-17.

von Text und Ausführung, deren Wirkung maßgeblich auf der Qualität des Zusammenspiels beider Elemente beruht.³⁶

(The composer needs the singer in order for his work to be translated into sound;³⁷ and the singer will appear most convincing as a mediator between the composer and the audience when the music he has to sing offers him a great amount of opportunity to identify with it... In the end, the work is presented to the listener as a coherent unity of text and performance whose effectiveness depends to a decisive degree on the quality of the interplay of both elements.)

Seedorf's view is shared widely. Accordingly, studies of singers have been mostly confined to accounting for their vocal ranges, competence in the execution of particular elements of vocal technique and singers' preferences with regard to affects or coloratura patterns.³⁸ By approaching singers' roles in this manner, scholars remain safely within a model that conceives of the work as separate from performance and according to which the act of composition engenders authorship and thus intellectual ownership. After all, a singer's range, or strength or weaknesses in different aspects of vocal technique no more constitutes an artistic contribution to the music than the range and technical capabilities of an oboe, violin or harpsichord; instead such aspects might be considered limitations imposed upon the composer's creativity. And although this approach attests to an interest in performance, what it really does is explain particular features of specific musical texts and, potentially, give insight into the circumstances of their origins.

In the context of a critique of the application of the analytical methodologies of classical music (e.g. Schenkerian theory) to music by popular music artists such as Led Zeppelin and Madonna,³⁹ Nicholas Cook postulates an approach that is 'predicated on multiple texts and multiple authorship', explaining that this

means trying to understand performances in their own terms, rather than immediately referring to whatever they are supposed to be performances *of*; a perhaps useful way to express this is that we need to attend to the illocutionary force of rock texts, to what they *do* rather than what they represent... Just as we traditionally understand performances in terms of the works they are

³⁶ Seedorf, "Wie ein gutgemachtes Kleid", 16.

³⁷ Seedorf's choice of words suggests the influence of Mattheson's discussion of concept of 'Klangrede' in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*.

³⁸ For example, see Panja Mücke, 'Farinelli, Caffarelli und Rocchetti. Zum Einfluss der Sänger auf Hesses Drammi per musica', "Per ben vestir la virtuosa." *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*, eds. D. Brandenburg and T. Seedorf, (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011), 80-89, and Clapton, 'Farinelli'.

³⁹ Nicholas Cook, 'Music Minus One: Rock, Theory, and Performance', *New Formations* 27 (Winter 1995-1996), 23-41.

performances of, so we need to understand works in terms of the performances they emerge from.⁴⁰

His critique of rock analysis serves Cook as a paradigm to illustrate his wider-reaching claim that ‘until we know how to theorise musical performance, we cannot reasonably claim to have an adequate theoretical approach to rock, or to the art tradition either.’⁴¹ Cook’s point is particularly applicable to the *dramma per musica*, which shares some of popular music’s characteristics. First, the process that culminated in the production of a *dramma per musica* was no less segmented than the ‘collaboration and negotiation between songwriters, composers, band members or solo stars, producers, engineers, and record company personnel’⁴² that leads to the production of albums, which have been theorised as the primary texts of popular music.⁴³ A minimum of five parties were involved in the negotiations, i.e., the impresario, poet (either in charge of adapting a pre-existing libretto or writing a new one), composer (like the poet, either altering previously used or writing new material) and, at the very least, the two or three leading singers in the cast.⁴⁴ Second, as in popular music today, star singers were crucial to both the production and reception of the *dramma per musica*.⁴⁵ Third, both in popular music and in the *dramma per musica*, the audience exert significant influence on what musical products assume work character, acting as canonisers.⁴⁶ Fourth, the most immediate aim of all

⁴⁰ Cook, ‘Music Minus One’, 39-40.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴³ See Allan F. Moore. *Rock: The Primary Text. Developing a Musicology of Rock* (London: Ashgate, 2001).

⁴⁴ This figure is still higher if the visual dimensions of the stage production of a *dramma per musica*, i.e., the sets and other production-related aspects as well as the ballets, concertos or *intermezzi* that took place between the *dramma per musica*’s three acts, completing the performance event, are taken into consideration. The interactions between the visual and musical elements of the *dramma per musica* merit a separate study; in the context of this article, I will focus on the musical and, to some extent, the poetic aspects.

⁴⁵ See Berta Joncus, ‘Producing Stars in *Dramma per musica*’, *Music as Social and Cultural Practice – Essays in honour of Reinhard Strohm*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 275-293; also Martha Feldman, Chapter 2 ‘Arias: Forms, Feelings, Exchange’, *Opera and Sovereignty* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 42-96, and most recently, Suzanne Aspden, *The Rival Sirens – Performance and Identity on Handel’s Operatic Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁴⁶ For canonisation processes in popular music, see Anne Desler, ‘History Without Royalty? Queen and the strata of the popular music canon’, *Popular Music*, 32/3 (October 2013), 385-405. With regard to the *dramma per musica*, the role of the audience as a canoniser in a period in which an accepted canon of great (secular) musical works did not yet exist would merit a separate study. However, successful operas were far more likely than unsuccessful ones to be copied in full or in part and to be revived subsequently. Both Vinci’s and Hasse’s 1730 settings of *Artaserse* assumed work status due to their success with the audience. It is also possible that the libretti of well-received operas were more likely to be preserved. The transmission of the texts of works is, of course, a pre-requisite to canonisation.

participants involved was to endow the *dramma per musica* with the illocutionary force that would make an operatic production a success with the audience, which is fundamentally similar to the way in which popular music artists and producers collaborate to appeal to their target audience.⁴⁷ In each case, the audience thus constitutes an additional and powerful participant in the process as it determines musical products' fortune or failure. As to the illocutionary force of the *dramma per musica*, from an 18th-century perspective it is perhaps most suitably described in terms of rhetoric.

Rhetoric

In the past two decades, there has been an increasing interest in applying the principles of rhetoric to 18th-century music in order to 'get into the minds of those who composed, performed and heard the compositions of past centuries'.⁴⁸ However, the main focus of such studies has been the influence of rhetoric on composers' working practice and compositional processes (i.e. rhetoric's poietic level or its concern with *inventio* and *dispositio*) rather than pieces' illocutionary force and communication between performers and audiences. The perspective that emerges in the opening paragraph of the *Grove Online* article, 'Rhetoric and Music' is representative in this regard:

Composers have... generally been influenced to some degree by rhetorical doctrines governing the settings of texts to music, and even after the growth of independent instrumental music, rhetorical principles continued for some time to be used not only for vocal music but for instrumental works, too. What remains to be fully explained is how these critical interrelationships often controlled the craft of composition.⁴⁹

Accordingly, the last two of the five stages (or canons) of rhetoric,⁵⁰ *memoria* and *pronuntiatio* or *actio*, have received the least attention from musicologists and are sometimes deliberately excluded from discussion.

⁴⁷ 'Illocutionary force' is the intention a speaker seeks to communicate when making an utterance. The concept forms part of J.L. Austin's speech-act theory, which he first introduced in his lectures at the universities of Oxford and Harvard in the 1950s. John Langshaw Austin, *How To Do Things With Words* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975).

⁴⁸ Michael Talbot, *The Finale in Western Instrumental Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 85.

⁴⁹ Blake Wilson, et al. 'Rhetoric and Music', *Grove Online* (*Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press), accessed 12 December, 2012, <http://oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43166>.

⁵⁰ In ancient oratory, on which 18th-century rhetoric was founded, these five stages or canons are *inventio* (coming up with ideas), *dispositio* (arranging these ideas in a logical, strategic order), *elocutio* (choosing suitable rhetorical devices to communicate the ideas), *memoria* (memorisation) and *actio* (delivery of the finished product with appropriate recitation, facial expression and gestures). Cicero already points out that *actio* is sometimes labelled *pronuntiatio*; the former puts more emphasis on physical delivery, the latter on the use of the voice.

As his application of the principles of rhetoric specifically to music in *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*⁵¹ constitutes a period example of an 18th-century composer-theorist's rhetorical thinking, Johann Mattheson has raised particular interest among scholars of 18th-century music. Moreover, his approach to the use of rhetoric in music has been congenial to a work- and composer-centred perspective as Mattheson's main aim in his discussion is that of theorising both the compositional process and musical structures,⁵² equating sections of musical compositions with those of a well-conceived speech and musical devices with literary ones.⁵³ However, as Dreyfus points out in his discussion of the usefulness of applying rhetorical principles to Bach's approach to composition, Mattheson's rules

are better understood as attempts to confer a quasi-scientific status on musical composition. There could be no more eloquent witness to the purely academic nature of this theory than Mattheson himself, who, in a remarkable aside, concedes that "authors might sooner have thought on their death than on such guidelines, especially composers." This is a startling admission by any account and must be taken seriously if one is not to overestimate the relationship between Mattheson's ruminations and the practical world of a German composer. At best, then, Mattheson's oratorical procedures must be read as a translation of musical commonplaces into the metalanguage of rhetoric, an effort that obscured genuine musical insights with both literary pretensions and a good deal of wishful thinking.⁵⁴

Dreyfus's point raises the question regarding the usefulness of applying the principles of rhetoric to musical genres altogether. The main reason for Dreyfus's scepticism of Mattheson's theories of musical rhetoric is the fact that Bach is known to have had limited training in rhetoric and 'seems in fact to have stressed rigorous musical skills to the utter

⁵¹ Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, particularly 235-244.

⁵² Although Mattheson is known for his compositional and performance activities at the Hamburg opera house until 1708, his views on the relationship between composers and performers, especially singers, in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) do not reflect the practice at the Gänsemarktoper. From 1718 to 1728, Mattheson had been the director of music at Hamburg's main church, the Michaeliskirche, a post that he had to abandon after his work was boycotted by his singers following a serious argument. See Jürgen Neubacher, 'Die Sänger in Matthesons Kirchenmusik und sein Scheitern als Domkantor. Ursache und Wirkung eines selbstverschuldeten Boykotts', *Johann Mattheson als Vermittler und Initiator: Wissenstransfer und die Etablierung neuer Diskurse in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Bernhard Jahn (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010).

⁵³ Mattheson is fairly comprehensive in his musical rhetoric, going into great detail regarding the musical equivalents of punctuation, poetic metres, rhetorical figures and so forth. He goes so far as to invent a new term for a musical composition that encapsulates his concept of the applicability of rhetoric to music - 'Klangrede' (sound speech).

⁵⁴ Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 7-8.

exclusion of *any* book learning'.⁵⁵ However, unlike in the mainly instrumental works composed by Bach analysed by Dreyfus, several players were involved in the creation of *drammi per musica*. Even if opera composers might not necessarily have been familiar with the details of rhetorical theory, poets certainly were. Moreover, both the theory and practice of 18th-century acting as used on both the sung and spoken stage was embedded within and inseparable from rhetoric. However, the widely-taught principles of rhetoric that underpinned 18th-century literary composition and acting are a far cry from Mattheson's idiosyncratic theories. Whilst the former can yield genuine insight into the 18th-century understanding of the creation of the *dramma per musica*, the latter cannot.

Yet the theories expounded by Mattheson are nevertheless attractive to modern musicologists due to his distinction between composer and performer:

Zu einer jeden Vollziehungs=Music werden gemeinlich zweierley Leute erfordert. Erstlich solche, die ein Werck erfinden, setzen, verfassen oder vorschreiben (*compositeurs*) und hernach solche, die es mit Singen und Klingen vortragen (*executeurs*).... Die ersten sind Urheber; die anderen Leser oder Vorleser von einerley und allerley Melodien.⁵⁶

(Generally speaking, two types of people are required for any musical performance⁵⁷. Firstly, those who invent, write out the parts, make, author or prescribe a work (composers). Secondly those, who perform it by means of singing or playing (performers). The first-mentioned are authors; the others are people who read or recite many different pieces.)

This division between *compositeur* and *executeur* persists in Seedorf's application of rhetoric to the relationship between composer and singer in the production of the *dramma per musica*:

Allein in den Zuständigkeitsbereich des Komponisten fallen die Bereiche 'inventio' und 'dispositio'; er entwickelt die "nackten Gedanken" und schafft aus ihnen ein formales Gerüst. Im Bereich der 'elocutio' handelt der Komponist implizit gemeinsam mit dem Sänger; aus dessen Vokalprofil leitet er einen Katalog von Kriterien ab, der einige Entscheidungen bei der Ausarbeitung der Partitur bestimmend prägt. Hat der Komponist eine Textgrundlage geschaffen, mit der der Sänger sich identifizieren kann, sind die Voraussetzungen für die optimale Wirkung durch 'pronuntiatio' und 'actio'

⁵⁵ Dreyfus, *Bach*, 9. Nevertheless, Dreyfus utilises Mattheson's fivefold division of the rhetorical process in his analysis of music by Bach although he notes that 'one does not have to adopt Mattheson's scheme to reach essentially the same analysis'. *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁶ Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, Chapter 2, §32, 7.

⁵⁷ The term 'Vollziehungs=Music' is Mattheson's translation of Boethius' term 'musica instrumentalis', i.e., audible or art music in general, but here Mattheson speaks of music in practice, i.e., music performance. In §26 he notes that he regards composition equally much as part of music performance as of the theoretical application of music.

gegeben. Footnote 27⁵⁸: In dem, was der Zuhörer wahrnimmt, sind demnach Komponist und Sänger funktional vereinigt.

(The stages of ‘inventio’ and ‘elocutio’ are the remit of the composer alone; he develops the ‘naked thoughts’ and uses them to create a formal structure. At the stage of ‘elocutio’, the composer acts implicitly together with the singer; from the latter’s vocal profile, he deduces a catalogue of criteria that exert decisive influence on some decisions in devising the score. Once a composer has created the basis of a musical text with which the singer can identify, the conditions are ideal for [achieving] an optimal effect by means of ‘pronuntiatio’ and ‘actio.’ From the point of view of audience perception, the functions of the composer and the singer are thus conflated.’)

Seedorf assigns all authorial decisions in the first three stages of the five-step process of rhetoric to the composer, for at the stage of *elocutio*, where in his model the composer and singer intersect, the active party is also the composer – he analyses the singer’s profile and acts upon his findings.⁵⁹ Thus Seedorf’s model simply maps the traditional view of the composer’s and singer’s respective roles onto the rhetorical process. Nevertheless, Seedorf at least takes into serious consideration the rhetorical process as a whole, in contrast to McVeigh and Hirshberg, in whose discussion of the Italian solo concerto Mattheson’s theories also feature prominently.⁶⁰ They state that ‘the last two [stages of rhetoric according to Mattheson’s model] – ornamentation and performance⁶¹ – will scarcely concern⁶² them in their discussion of the Italian solo concerto. Accordingly, the authors concentrate on pure, largely decontextualised score analysis.

Such an approach would probably have left rhetoricians both from antiquity and the 18th century utterly bewildered. The compositional process was a means to an end and would not have been undertaken without a performance in mind.⁶³ In ancient oratory, it was

⁵⁸ Seedorf, “‘Wie ein gutgemachts kleid’”, 18. In footnote 27, the author explains that he has replaced the fourth stage of the Ciceronian model of rhetoric, *memoria*, with *pronuntiatio*. However, doing so makes little sense, as *pronuntiatio* is another term for labelling the last stage of rhetoric, *actio*. Seedorf’s elimination of *memoria* while acknowledging that memorisation is the singer’s responsibility in a footnote suggests that he perceives the composer’s contribution to the process as more significant than the singer’s. It may also indicate that in Seedorf’s view, the process of creating the score is completed at the stage of *elocutio*.

⁵⁹ Seedorf stresses that ‘anders als der Redner ist der Sänger aber nicht Autor und Ausführer zugleich’ (but differently from the orator, the singer is not both author and performer). *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶⁰ Simon McVeigh and Jehoash Hirshberg, *The Italian Solo Concerto, 1700-1760: Rhetorical Strategies and Style Histories* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2004).

⁶¹ Mattheson replaces *memoria* with *decoratio* (decoration, i.e., ornamentation).

⁶² McVeigh and Hirshberg, *Solo Concerto*, 27.

⁶³ It is well known that Vivaldi often performed violin concerti between the acts of *drammi per musica*. Aside from this, the solo concerto was no less a vehicle for instrumental virtuosos than the aria was for singers, and McVeigh and Hirshberg acknowledge that concerti were identified with their performers.

actio, the last of the five stages of the rhetorical process, which was considered the most important:

Sed haec ipsa omnia perinde sunt ut aguntur. Actio, inquam, in dicendo una dominatur; sine hac summus orator esse in numero nullo potest, mediocris hac instructus summos saepe superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum, huic secundas, huic tertias.

(But the effect of all these oratorical devices depends on how they are delivered. Delivery, I assert, is the dominant factor in oratory; without delivery the best speaker cannot be of any account at all, and a moderate speaker with a trained delivery can often outdo the best of them. The story goes that when Demosthenes was asked what is the first thing in speaking, he assigned the first role to delivery, and also the second, and the third.)⁶⁴

This is so not only because *actio* is the culmination of the process, but because the purpose of rhetoric is to persuade the audience of whatever it is the orator seeks to convey.

Consequently the ability of the orator to communicate efficiently with the audience determines the success of his performance, and the audience's emotional and intellectual reference framework is central to both the conception and delivery of any speech.

In this regard, 18th-century rhetoricians adhered closely to the ancient writers.

Giannangelo Serra's explanation of the essence of rhetoric in his popular *Compendio della Rettorica*, which relies on Aristotle, is representative in this regard.

Che cosa sia Rettorica.

La Rettorica si diffinisce da Aristotile, che *sit facultas videndi quod in quaque re fit ad persuadendum accommodatum*. (a) Che vale a dire, come spiega il Cavalcanti: la Rettorica è facultà di parlare accomodatamente per persuadere in ogni materia. (b) Per intendere questa diffinizione, conviene spiegare, che cosa importi persuadere. Il persuadere pertanto, a differenza del solo e semplice argomentare, egli è un argomentare per dar fede, e per guadagnarsi l'affetto: dove che il solo argomentare è argomentare per generar opinione, e per manifestare il probabile.

Quindi il Dialettico si accosta più alla dimostrazione, che il Rettorico, e tratta le cose per via di Disputazione, manifestando la verità di esse; ma il Rettorico le tratta per via di Consultazione, manifestando piuttosto la bontà delle cose, che la verità; e questo perchè il Rettorico a differenza del Dialettico si propone di manifestare la bontà della cosa più per muovere gli Uditori ad abbracciarla perchè buona, che per convincerli perchè vera.

... Il grande in fatti dell'Oratore, per cui si distingue dal Dialettico consiste nel farsi, discorrendo, intendere dal popolo; il che si fa colle proposizioni

⁶⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De oratore*, book III, section LVI in Cicero, *De oratore*, Vol. II, rev. edition, transl. H. Rackham, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1948; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), 168.

particolari, sensibili, e popolari, che è quanto a dire cogli esempi, colle similitudini, colle comparazioni, che sono d'ordinario i luoghi, donde si cavano i mezzi termini più proprij dell'Oratore: imperocchè negli esempi, nelle similitudini, nelle comparazioni, e per dir breve nelle proposizioni singolari, le stesse universali non s'intendono solamente, ma si veggono, si odono, diventano sensibili, e perdono quella acutezza, che hanno, allorchè si enunciano in astratto, e non sono più oggetti del solo intelletto, ma oggetti del senso, che è quella parte, a cui aspira l'Oratore, perchè per mezzo del senso si fa strada all'affezione, e commossa l'affezione, vien anche a muoversi la volontà. E in questo consiste l'ufficio di uno, il quale voglia persuadere, cioè indirizzare il parlar suo alla volontà, e non al solo intelletto, come fanno coloro, i quali son vaghi di dire cose dotte, acute, e sottili.

Questa è la ragione, per la quale Aristotile altrove insegna, che le prove Oratorie devono prendersi da argomenti popolari e sensibili.⁶⁵

(Definition of rhetoric.

Aristotle defines rhetoric as *the faculty of understanding what is suitable in order to persuade [when talking] about any subject matter*. (a) Which is to say, as Cavalcanti explains: rhetoric is the faculty of speaking in a suitable manner in order to persuade [when talking] about any subject matter. In order [for the reader] to understand this definition, it is necessary to explain, what it means to persuade. Persuading, differently from simple reasoning, is reasoning with the aim of instilling trust and to earn affection, whereas simple reasoning is reasoning with the aim of generating opinion and revealing the probable.

Therefore the dialectician tends more towards demonstration than the rhetorician, and deals with things by manner of disputation, demonstrating their being true; however, the rhetorician deals with them by manner of consultation, demonstrating rather the goodness than the truth of things. And this [is so] because, differently from the dialectician, the rhetorician sets out to demonstrate the goodness of a thing with the aim of impelling the listeners to embrace it because it is good, rather than convincing them [to embrace it] because it is true.

In fact, the main [aspect] in which the orator differs from the dialectician consists in making himself understood by the people when speaking; this he does with particular [specific] propositions that can be perceived by the senses and are familiar to people, in other words, with examples, metaphors and comparisons, which are normally the sources from which the orator's most suitable means are drawn. For in examples, metaphors and comparisons, in short in singular [specific] propositions, the same universal things are not only understood, but can be seen, heard; they become perceptible to the senses and lose the intellectual quality [acutezza]⁶⁶ that they have when they are named as abstracts; and they are no longer objects of the intellect alone, but objects of

⁶⁵ Giannangelo Serra, *Compendio della Rettorica*, 2nd Venetian ed. (Venice: Bortoli, 1756), 1-2. The first edition had been published in 1749; after several reprints amounting to the then-unusual number of 5,000 copies, the second, corrected edition was published because of continuous demand (see printer's preface, iii). The work was widely acclaimed (printer's preface, 3-5).

⁶⁶ 'Acutezza' is 'quickness of wit, subtlety, shrewdness'. See. F. Altieri's *Dizionario Italiano ed Inglese*, 2nd rev. edition, ed. Evangelist Palermo, Vol. I (London: Innys, 1749).

the senses, which is the part aimed at by the orator, because the senses are the way to the heart, and once the heart has been moved, the will [volontà]⁶⁷ comes to be moved as well.

And in this consists the duty of him who wishes to persuade, in other words, in addressing his manner of speaking to the mind, not just to the intellect alone, as do those who love to speak of erudite, shrewd and subtle things.

This is the reason why Aristotle teaches elsewhere that in oratory, evidence must be derived from subject matter that is familiar to people and appeals to the senses.

In short, the essence of rhetoric from this mid-18th-century Italian point of view, based on ancient doctrine, is communication between the orator and his listeners that serves the former to persuade the latter. This was achieved by speaking in a manner that made strategic use of conventions and images that were familiar to the audience. All the aspects of the art described in typical 18th-century treatises on rhetoric⁶⁸ serve to enhance the orator's understanding of human emotions and intellect and the manner in which best to appeal to them. The orator's aim is not to argue the truthfulness of facts, but to 'sell' the contents of his speech, and, by extension, himself. The issue of authorship is important primarily inasmuch as any speech is devised to suit the orator, exploiting his strengths and avoiding exposing his weaknesses. But whilst the orator often created his own speeches, Cicero already recounts numerous instances in which rhetoricians delivered orations written by other authors.⁶⁹

Serra's definition of rhetoric is not specific to music, but represents the mainstream understanding of rhetoric in the first half of the 18th century. Serra's *Compendio della rettorica* was intended 'tanto per il pulpito, quanto per il Foro'⁷⁰ (as much for the pulpit as for the forum [i.e., both for sacred and secular oratory]) and used for instruction in schools.⁷¹ A modern attempt at trying to 'get into the minds of those who composed,

⁶⁷ 'Volontà' was defined as 'potenza motiva dell'anima ragionevole, per la quale l'huomo desidera come buone le cose intese, o le rifiuta come malvage' (motor force of the reasoning soul, by means of which man accepts things he has heard as good or rejects them as evil) and can be translated as '*the will, a faculty of the soul*'. The word's semantic field includes the notions of spontaneity, willingness and desire. See Altieri, *Dizionario Italiano*.

⁶⁸ These typically contained definitions of literary genres, rhetorical figures, poetic metres and categorisation of the passions in addition to a general outline of the purpose of rhetoric, the stages of composition and performance, compositional structure and sometimes a discussion of important sources.

⁶⁹ Cicero, *De oratore*, Book III, section LVI.

⁷⁰ Serra, *Compendio*, title page.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, printer's preface, vi.

performed and heard the compositions of past centuries⁷² by means of applying the principles of rhetoric to music would have to consist in seeking to understand 1) how these principles might have enabled performers to communicate with their audience and 2) how the foundations for such communication were laid at the compositional stages. The former issue will be discussed in chapter 7 based on an analysis of the *arie di bravura* sung by Farinelli in Venice. To achieve the latter, modes of collaboration between at least the principal performers, poet and composer need to be considered.

For this purpose, it is useful to map the stages of rhetoric onto the production process of the *dramma per musica*. This can be done both at a macro- and a micro-level. The macro-level constitutes the creation of the opera as a whole; the micro-level that of individual scenes (see Tables 6-1 and 6-2 below).⁷³ This model is, of course, highly flexible; the extent to which each participant exerted influence at each of these stages differed at least to some extent in every production.

⁷² Michael Talbot, *The Finale in Western Instrumental Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

⁷³ In this context, several other parameters, e.g. the sets and entertainments between the acts are not taken into consideration.

Table 1-1: Macro-level of rhetorical model of the *dramma per musica*

	<i>inventio</i> choice of subject matter/existing libretto; creating/casting characters	<i>dispositio</i> creating/adapting structural of libretto; large-scale planning	<i>elaboratio</i> creation of individual scenes	<i>memoria</i> rehearsal process	<i>actio/pronuntiatio</i> actual performance
singer	star persona crucial in determining suitability of subject matter/roles	star persona and influence deriving from professional status crucial in determining number and distribution of arias and structural planning	stages 1-3 of micro-level	vocal and physical memorisation of role; raw preparation of ornamentation/ improvised elements; dramatic and musical rehearsals	dramatic and musical enactment of role; spontaneous improvisation/ ornamentation; ⁷⁴ communication with the audience
poet/ arranger	inventing/ finding suitable subject matter/ libretto	creating/ adapting structural outline by consolidating requirements of singers with those of the drama (plot) and music and principle of <i>chiaroscuro</i>	stages 1-3 of micro-level	rehearsal scheduling/ coordination; stage direction (stage action largely determined by conventions of 18 th -century acting, but coordination was still necessary)	present in the printed libretto: performative element of libretto – omitted scenes usually printed for the audience to read; audience awareness of presence of poet(s) multilayered due to indications of alterations to original text
composer/ music director-arranger	potential collaboration with poet and singers	large-scale musical planning in collaboration with poet and singers; adaptation of pre-existing score	stages 1-3 of micro-level	directing musical rehearsals with singers and instrumentalists	directing performance and performing himself (also including improvisation)
impresario/ agent	negotiation between interests of all parties in light of business considerations	negotiation between interests of the parties involved	generally no direct involvement	organisation, negotiation as necessary	gathering feedback for future decisions, e.g., commissions, casting, subject matter
audience	audience preferences important determinant in choice of subject matter; audience perception of star persona important determinant in casting	audience preferences of particular singers, musical/ singing styles important determinant in large-scale planning	no direct involvement, but meeting audience expectations is aim of stages 1-3 of micro-level	listeners at rehearsals not uncommon; potential feedback to singers, composer and poet	reception; determining success or failure of production

⁷⁴ Non-spontaneous but non-notated ornamentation, prepared by the singer prior to a performance, falls under the heading *memoria*.

Table 1-2: Micro-level of rhetorical model of *dramma per musica*

	<i>inventio</i>	<i>dispositio</i>	<i>elaboratio</i>	<i>memoria</i>	<i>actio</i>
singer	(negotiated) decision whether or not to insert a pre-existing aria; approval of aria text or choice of subject matter for a new one, all in keeping with requirements of maintaining/developing singer's persona	approval or negotiation of poetic and musical decisions, including active contributions to musical and poetic contents		= macro-level	= macro-level
poet/ arranger	creation of new aria or recitative text (taking into consideration requirements of plot, music and star persona)	structural decisions (length of text, arrangements of ideas, etc.)	detailed decisions (use of poetic devices, choice of individual words, e.g. for rhymes, words for coloratura passages or <i>messe di voce</i> , etc.)	= macro-level	= macro-level
composer/ music director- arranger	choice of musical parameters appropriate to the poetic text (e.g. key, meter, tempo, thematic idea, instrumentation) based on knowledge of singer's technical characteristics, style and star persona	structural decisions (duration/proportions of arias, modulations, use or omission of ritornelli ⁷⁵ , vocal and instrumental entrances, changes of texture, etc.)	surface details; writing out the vocal and instrumental parts	= macro-level	= macro-level

⁷⁵ This decision depended to a great extent on the dramatic context and staging – e.g. ritornelli are typically omitted when a character is agitated or angry; long ritornelli can be required if a character has to traverse the stage to arrive at the front in order to take advantage of the better acoustics or more pleasing visual effect in relationship to the sets. Nevertheless, the duration of the opening ritornello also related to the importance of the aria – large-scale arias for the principal singers typically had long introductions regardless of dramatic requirements.

Inventio and dispositio: Choosing and structuring the subject matter

With regard to the *dramma per musica*, *inventio* and *dispositio* are almost impossible to separate in practice. Both in determining the subject matter for a new libretto and the selection of a pre-existing one, the possibility of dramatic situations at suitable structural points was a key factor - the use of formal conventions to explicate the cast hierarchy, a feature of considerable interest to the audience, is one of the genre's salient features. Accordingly, singers' negotiation over the choice of libretto or alterations of its structure and/or their roles, together with the number of arias a singer was to perform, were not mere manifestations of vanity. From a rhetorical point of view, they were valid artistic choices that were crucial in creating the illocutionary force of a *dramma per musica* as they capitalised upon singers' personal strengths. Equally importantly, apposite role choices and/or alterations of pre-existing roles also served to create consistency across different roles performed by a singer, thus shaping and maintaining singers' personae,⁷⁶ which were vital to the relationship between singers and audiences and the manner in which the *dramma per musica* was perceived by the latter.

Singers' influence on the choice of libretti, the dramatic properties of newly written libretti and alterations of pre-existing ones as well as role allocation (all of which were crucial to the cultivation of consistent artistic profiles) was commensurate with their professional status. The revival of libretti and, at times also musical settings, were often motivated by the success of a leading cast member in an earlier production.⁷⁷ Singers of the *ultima parte*, young singers who were in the process of establishing themselves in the operatic circuit and older singers who had not risen to the top level of the professional hierarchy, often had to consent to perform widely different roles, for libretto choices and casting were usually negotiated between impresarios and principal cast members only. However, they,

⁷⁶ See Joncus, 'Producing Stars', Aspden, *Rival Sirens*, Strohm, 'Zenobia', C. Steven LaRue, *Handel and His Singers. The Creation of the Royal Academy Operas, 1720-1728* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) and Anne Desler, 'From Castrato to Bass: The late roles of Nicola Grimaldi "Nicolini"', *Gender, Age and Musical Creativity*, ed. Lisa Colton and Catherine Haworth (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming). Strohm uses the term 'voice' instead of 'persona.' In rhetorical terms, singers typically specialised in a role type, i.e., a character with a particular ethos.

⁷⁷ This is case for numerous operas in which Nicolini performed, ranging from *L'Idaspe fedele*, (London 1710), *Ambleto* and *Antioco* (both London 1711), whose title roles he had previously performed in Naples in 1705 and Venice in 1705, to three of the Metastasian roles he created, Siface (*Siface*), Enea (*Didone abbandonata*) and Siroe (*Siroe*), which he all performed twice or more. Similarly, nearly half of the *drammi per musica* in which Farinelli sang in London were revivals of operas or new settings of libretti in which he had sung in Italy in the preceding years, and several of the productions of the 'Opera of the Nobility' in the 1734-35 season were revivals of operas in which Senesino and Cuzzoni had previously been successful.

too, could shape their roles at least to some extent by means of text alterations and musical choices. Prima donnas and *primi uomini* typically specialised in role types.⁷⁸ Senesino, Gizzi and Carestini, for example, preferred to appear as heroic lovers; Farinelli, Carlo Scalzi and Gioacchino Conti ‘Gizziello’ as *galant* lovers; Vico, Tesi and Lucia Facchinelli in heroic roles, both female and male;⁷⁹ Teresa Cotti, Antonia Negri ‘La Mestrina’ and Teresa Peruzzi as amorous princesses or loyal wives. Tenors and basses were generally somewhat less likely to specialise in role types.⁸⁰

The importance star singers accorded to the dramatic suitability of their roles emerges from surviving evidence documenting communications between singers and impresarios. Senesino, for example, rejected the role of Ulisse in *Achille in Sciro* in negotiations for an engagement in Reggio Emilia in 1740 as he considered it incompatible with his dramatic abilities, whilst acknowledging that the role of Achille was an excellent choice for Tesi, who had also been consulted and approved her role.⁸¹ Similarly, Margherita Gualandi insisted on the addition to her contract for her engagement as prima donna in Naples in 1726 of a clause that ensured her right to choose the role that suited her best as ‘s’incontra delle volte che la prima parte non è la più forte e così tocca a lei adattarsi quella che conviene’ (it happens at times that the first part [i.e., the prima donna role] is not the best, and for that reason she must have the right to adapt [to her needs] the part that suits her best’).⁸² Despite her fear of Handel, Anastasia Robinson, who conceived of herself as a ‘peacable Creature’ and ‘Patient Grisell’, considered it necessary to request changes to her

⁷⁸ This is true for both singers of 18th-century comic and serious opera. Gianni Cicali discusses role types in the former in *Attori e ruoli nell’opera buffa italiana del Settecento*, Storia dello spettacolo 9, Saggi (Florence: Le Lettere, 2005).

⁷⁹ Their female roles not infrequently contained an element of male disguise, and their female roles often had a tragic dimension.

⁸⁰ This may have had to do both with the smaller number of roles for low male voices in the *dramma per musica* in comparison with those for high voices and the fact that tenors and basses very often ranked below the prima donna and *primo uomo* in the cast hierarchy. Insistence on specialisation might have limited their employment opportunities. However, a degree of specialisation was implicit in the strong association between the low male voice and the roles of fathers (kings, noblemen or generals), villains and confidants. Nevertheless, there are examples of quite coherent dramatic profiles; Giuseppe Maria Boschi, for example, had a strong preference for tyrants, barbarians and villains.

⁸¹ Letter of 21 June 1739 from Senesino to his agent, Luca Casimiro degli Albizzi. William C. Holmes, *Opera Observed. Views of a Florentine Impresario in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London, Chicago University Press, 1993), 229. The negotiations are discussed in detail in chapter 8, ‘Senesino Returns’, 131-150.

⁸² Letter of 8 April 1726 from Luca Casimiro degli Albizzi in Florence on behalf of Gualandi to Andrea Nozzoli in Naples. Quoted after Holmes, *Opera Observed*, 216. See also chapter 6 ‘Margherita Gualandi and the Scandal in Naples’, 105-117.

role, Matilda, in *Ottone* (1723), as she found it ‘impossible’ to ‘act the Termagant’ and ‘an abominable Scold’.⁸³

Poor casting could result in dissatisfaction both among the singers and the audience. Farinelli reported to Pepoli from the 1731 Milan production of *Arianna e Teseo*, in which he sang the heroic role of Teseo and Tesi that of the helpless, suffering Arianna: ‘Qui l’opera seguita con applauso, ma il libro non lo possono soffrire, ed a causa dello stesso siamo sacrificati, non avendo nessuno parte adatta al suo personale’⁸⁴ (Here the opera proceeds with applause, but they [the audience] cannot stand the libretto, and we suffer on account of the latter, as no one has a part that suits their character [i.e., persona]). Whilst it is not known why a libretto whose leading two roles were so obviously at odds with the personae of both the *primo uomo* and the *prima donna* was chosen for the 1731 production of *Arianna e Teseo*, it is important to bear in mind that even star singers’ preferences could be overruled by those of patrons, especially in court settings.

Singers’ dramatic preferences are not always obvious from the names of the roles performed by them in the course of their careers because libretto alterations and new musical settings could completely transform a character’s ethos, as, for example, in the case of Nicolini’s and Farinelli’s respective portrayals of Siroe, Ezio and Teseo.⁸⁵ In each case, Nicolini’s characters are heroic, imposing and assertive, whereas Farinelli’s are *galant*, generous and restrained.⁸⁶ Such dramatic refocussing of roles was achieved primarily by means of alterations or substitutions of aria texts and different musical

⁸³ Robinson’s Letters to the diplomat Giuseppe Riva, whose assistance she entreated in negotiations on her behalf. Quoted after LaRue, *Handel and His Singers*, 126. Robinson’s letter suggests that she felt wronged at a personal level by being cast in a role she considered unwomanly, even immoral.

⁸⁴ Letter of 19 September 1731. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 87. The audience may well have questioned the choice to eliminate one of the key scenes, the battle between Teseo and the Minotaur, and transfer the event off-stage. This decision was undoubtedly due to Farinelli’s dislike for on-stage duels; Nicolini, who relished them, had exploited the battle to great effect in his renditions of Teseo in *Arianna* (Naples 1722), *Arianna e Teseo* (Venice 1727) and *Arianna e Teseo* (Florence 1728) in earlier productions of Pariati’s libretto. Even after alterations, Farinelli still had to deliver a duel with Tauride in the *scena ultima*. In the 1728 Florence production, Farinelli had sung the much more appropriate role of the *galant* lover Alceste, Teseo’s friend.

⁸⁵ Nicolini created Siroe in Metastasio’s eponymous *dramma per musica* in Venice in 1726 (set by Vinci) and subsequently sang it in in Milano in 1727 (Porta) and again in a revival of the 1726 setting in Venice in 1731; he also created Ezio in *Ezio* (Metastasio-Porpora, Venice 1728). Farinelli sang the title roles in *Siroe re di Persia* in Bologna in 1733 (Hasse) and London in 1736 (possibly an adapted revival of Hasse’s setting) and *Ezio* in Turin in 1731 (R. Broschi).

⁸⁶ In the case of Teseo, the alterations to Farinelli’s role were problematic as the Theseus myth was extremely well known. Consequently, transforming the character’s ethos from a military hero into a *galant* suitor resulted in a lack of verisimilitude. Similar changes were much less (if at all) problematic if administered to obscure characters, be they historical or fictional.

choices in their settings,⁸⁷ but also by cuts and alterations in the recitatives and stage directions. Arias were particularly important in delineating characters' ethoi inasmuch as they commanded greater attention from the audience overall, accounted for a larger amount of the performance duration of a *dramma per musica* than the recitatives and were more specific than the latter to singers' vocal profiles.⁸⁸

From the audience's perspective, it was not only of interest whether a *dramma's* subject matter matched the fashion and preferences that predominated in a city, but also whether the structural decisions made in each *dramma* corresponded to the audience's perception of individual star personae. Features such as the number, placement of arias and participation in a duet or trio demonstrated the professional hierarchy among the cast. This was of considerable interest to the audience who evaluated the relative importance of individual roles based on their knowledge of the conventions of aria distribution and the formal structure of the *dramma per musica* and engaged in factionalism in support of their preferred performers.⁸⁹ An 18th-century star singer was expected to sing an aria in a privileged slot such as the end of an act, just as a headline pop or rock act today is expected to appear after, not before, a warm-up act (to use a modern-day comparison). Thus, structural features played an important role in the relationship between singers and audience as they quantified the success of each individual singer very similarly to singers' fees, which were subject to star-related gossip in personal letters, newspapers and treatises. The negotiations for such structural choices were strongly influenced by the audience's response to current and earlier productions. Altogether, the audience exerted at least indirect influence on the *dramma per musica* at the stage of *dispositio*, as a singer's popularity with the audience strengthened his or her position in the negotiations for more arias or better aria slots.⁹⁰ Farinelli's enormous success and resulting popularity in his first

⁸⁷ For an example of the vastly different pathos of Nicolini's 'La sorte mia tiranna' (*Siroe*, I.13) in comparison with Farinelli's, see chapter 8.

⁸⁸ Composers were frequently sent sample arias of singers with whose vocal profiles they were not familiar in order for them to be able to compose well for their voices. See e.g., Holmes, *Opera Observed*, 108.

⁸⁹ Aspden demonstrates that the supposed brawl between Cuzzoni and Faustina in *Astianatte* (Haym?-Bononcini, London 1727) on 6 June 1727 probably never took place; instead it was the factionalism of the audience (expressed by whistling, hissing, catcalling and applause) that necessitated the termination of the performance (Aspden, *Rival Sirens*, 46-50 and 68). It is possible that factionalism was expressed with less restraint in London than Italy, but examples of audiences' partisanship are also known from Italy (see chapter 4 regarding audience partisanship in supporting Bernacchi versus Farinelli and chapters 4 and 7 regarding Farinelli versus Caffarelli).

⁹⁰ The number of arias sung by the different members of the cast signalled the singers' relative positions in the cast hierarchy. More arias indicated higher status, as did participation in duets, trios or quartets. The last scene of acts I and II were considered particularly privileged slots. Therefore act-ending numbers were typically sung by high-ranking singers, i.e., *primi uomini*, prima donnas or the principle tenor or

season in Venice, for example, are evident from the fact that in the *pasticcio* for the last evening of the carnival of 1729, *L'abbandono d'Armida*, he sang four arias (twice as many as any other singer), two of which occupied the privileged last aria slots in both parts of the bi-partite entertainment. Similarly, in his second season in Venice, in the unusual five-act 1730 *Mitridate* (Zeno-Giai), Farinelli sang the arias ending acts I and III as well as the only duet and the last aria in the final act.

The *drammi* in which Farinelli appeared in Venice provide useful examples for decisions made at the stages of *inventio* and *dispositio*. They ranged from the very old to the very new, though none of them were written specifically for any of the Venetian productions in which Farinelli sang. The choice of the oldest of them, the 27-year-old *Idaspe* (Candi-Broschi, Venice 1730), can be attributed to Nicolini, who had been fêted in the heroic title role, which he had first performed 25 years earlier, in Naples, London and Venice.⁹¹ The libretto was overall a good fit as *Idaspe* also contained a suitable prima donna part, Berenice, for Cuzzoni as well as the role of the Persian prince, Dario, which could be adapted to that of a *galant* lover. As mentioned previously, Farinelli liked to take this type of role, while an older castrato appeared as the heroic lover. This constellation, which had occurred frequently in the 1720s (previous to *Idaspe*, in all four operas in which Farinelli and Nicolini appeared together⁹²), meant that dramatically, Farinelli often took the *secondo uomo* role. However, this suited him as the dramatic weight (often including onstage battles, as in *Idaspe* and *Arianna e Teseo*) rested on the shoulders of another singer, whilst the greater flexibility of dramatically less significant roles allowed for the insertion of solo scenes in which Farinelli was at leisure to deliver virtuosic arias, whether fast or slow. In other words, such a configuration allowed Nicolini, 'le plus grand acteur'⁹³ in Italy, who by this time spoke more than he sang,⁹⁴ to act the role of the dramatic *primo uomo* and Farinelli to sing the role of the musical *primo uomo*. Since in previous productions in

baritone; sometimes, these slots were given to singers of *parti secondi* or even the *ultima parte*, either to compensate them for a low number of arias or, possibly, to prevent or resolve disputes between star singers. By the 1730s, arias or duets in the *scena ultima* had become rare; these were reserved for star singers.

⁹¹ Nicolini had sung *Idaspe* in the 1705 *Gli amanti generosi* in Naples (libretto with dedication by Nicola Serino, new scenes by Silvio Stampiglia and arias by Giulio Connò, music by Mancini), in his own adaptation of the Neapolitan production for London in 1710, renamed after his own character, as well as in Venice in 1714. The 1710 London production had been one of the most successful in London's operatic history.

⁹² *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata* (Bologna 1727), *Arianna e Teseo* (Florence 1728), *Catone in Utica* (Venice 1729) and *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Venice 1729).

⁹³ Letter of 29 Sep 1727. Conti, *Lettere*, 129.

⁹⁴ 'Il parle plus qu'il ne chante'. Ibid.

which Nicolini had sung *Idaspe*, he had been the only star castrato, sharing only some of the attention with the respective prima donnas,⁹⁵ and Farinelli outranked Nicolini professionally,⁹⁶ the casting of Farinelli as Dario required structural alterations of the libretto (i.e. interventions at the stage of *dispositio*). The most privileged slots, the act-ending scenes, were thus rearranged. Whereas Nicolini had sung the last scene of act I in earlier settings of *Idaspe*, in the Venetian 1730 version, several scenes at the end of the act were reordered in order to transfer the last scene to Farinelli's Dario. Similarly, the end of the second act, which had been sung by Berenice, the prima donna, was modified. A duet for *Idaspe* and Berenice that had occurred several scenes before the last of act II was omitted, and, after the re-ordering and adaptation of other scenes, replaced with a trio for *Idaspe*-Nicolini, Dario-Farinelli and Berenice-Cuzzoni.

The newest of the libretti in which Farinelli appeared in Venice were *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Metastasio-Porpora) and *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse), both of which were presented at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo only a matter of weeks after the premiere of their respective first settings, both by Vinci for Rome. In the case of these two, the authorship of Metastasio, whose earlier libretti of the 1720s had all proven immediate successes, as well as a certain rivalry between Venice and Naples, were important factors in the choice of Metastasio's new *drammi*. Metastasio was thus writing for two casts simultaneously, although he was focused more closely on the Roman productions and his collaboration with Vinci. Whilst Farinelli's role in *Semiramide riconosciuta*, Mirteo, underwent no structural changes and contains the smallest number of substitute texts of all his Venetian roles (three out of six texts), his role in *Artaserse*, was altered significantly. This was mainly due to the circumstance that the dramatic profile of Carlo Scalzi, who sang Mirteo in the Roman production of *Semiramide riconosciuta*, was similar to Farinelli's, whereas that of Giovanni Carestini, the Roman Arbace in *Artaserse*, was not. As for Mirteo, an Egyptian prince and *galant* lover, it was a relatively easy task for Metastasio to supply a role whose general character suited both Scalzi and Farinelli. The role only had to be fine-tuned to Farinelli's specific needs (see below). The self-sacrificing, unremittingly loyal Arbace was more problematic. Overall, the character's

⁹⁵ These were Caterina Galerati in the 1705 Naples version and Margarita de L'Epine in the 1710 London production.

⁹⁶ In an undated letter (sent between 19 November and 04 December 1728), Conti informs Mme de Caylus that the managers of the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo were planning to outdo the productions at the Teatro San Cassiano with Faustina and Senesino in the 1729 carnival season 'par le seul Farinello' (by means of Farinelli alone), despite the circumstance that Nicolini was part of the San Giovanni Grisostomo cast and popular with the audience. Conti, *Lettere*, 223.

overall traits align better with the preferred role type of Farinelli than that of Carestini. The latter had a strong preference for heroic roles⁹⁷ and was an excellent, impassioned actor.⁹⁸ The general lack of opportunity for heroic action for Carestini is to some extent compensated by his arias in act II.⁹⁹ One of the structural differences between the Roman and the Venetian versions is significant for Farinelli's role. In Rome, act I concludes with a sea tempest aria for Carestini¹⁰⁰ following a scene in which Arbace is angrily rejected by his beloved, Mandane. In Venice, Mandane (Cuzzoni) sings the act-ending lament, 'Che pena al mio core', following an aria in which Arbace avows his love for her. Roland Schmidt-Hensel suggests that in Venice, Cuzzoni's claiming the prestigious aria slot at the end of the act was 'Ausdruck für die Kräfteverhältnisse'¹⁰¹ (an expression of the power relations) within the cast. However, this is unlikely.¹⁰² Instead, the Venetian solution to the end of act I suited both Farinelli and Cuzzoni in dramatic terms. Cuzzoni's substitute aria text, 'Che pena al mio core', enabled her to make use of her greatest asset, singing in *patetico* style.¹⁰³ Similarly, the penultimate aria in the act allowed Farinelli to indulge in

⁹⁷ Farinelli's and Carestini's role choices in *Catone in Utica* are instructive in this regard. Metastasio wrote the heroic role of Cesare (Julius Caesar) for Carestini for the libretto's first setting (Vinci, Rome 1728). Singing in the second setting in Venice one year later, Farinelli chose the role of the *galant* lover, Arbace, over that of Cesare, which was then sung by Domenico Gizzi.

⁹⁸ Quantz states: 'Seine Action war sehr gut, und so, wie sein Singen, feurig.' (His acting was very good and, like his singing, fiery' [i.e., in the context of the Galenian understanding of the body, impassioned and convincing]). Quantz, 'Lebenslauf', 235.

⁹⁹ 'Mi scacci sdegnato' (II, 2) is a reproachful aria in *senari*, a meter that was associated with the affect of anger. 'Per quel paterno amplesso' is heroic in sentiment, emphasising Arbace's loyalty to his sovereign and the patriotic dimensions of his self-sacrifice (see chapter 8 for a discussion of the changes in the version of the latter aria sung by Farinelli).

¹⁰⁰ This was 'Vo solcando un mar crudele', the aria Farinelli refused to sing in Ferrara in 1731.

¹⁰¹ Roland-Dieter Schmidt-Hensel, "La musica è del Signor Hasse detto il Sassone...". *Johann Adolf Hasses 'Opere serie' der Jahre 1730 bis 1745. Quellen, Fassungen, Aufführungen. Part I: Darstellung* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009), 196.

¹⁰² Judging from the general absence of references to Cuzzoni's performances in the 1730 carnival, she seems have been overshadowed by Farinelli during this season. The balance sheet of the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo for the 1730 season (reproduced both by Schmidt-Hensel, *Hasse*, Vol I, 46 and Mamy, *Grands castrats*, fig. 8a) seems to indicate that Cuzzoni commanded a higher fee than Farinelli since a higher figure appears next to her name. However, it represents Cuzzoni's payment for four operas, whilst Farinelli's payment was for only three, resulting in a higher fee per opera for Farinelli (6,200 lire rather than Cuzzoni's 5,500 lire). Other evidence suggests that Cuzzoni was not as popular in Italy as she was in England. In 1727, Conti reports to Mme de Caylus that 'les Anglois sont partagés entre elle [Faustine] et la Cusoni. Mais la Faustine a toute l'Italie pour elle' (the English are divided between her [Faustina] and Cuzzoni. But Faustina has all of Italy behind her). Letter of 29 September 1727, Conti, *Lettere*, 169. Moreover, Cuzzoni did not sing an act-ending aria in either of the other two carnival operas with the same cast, *Idaspe* and *Mitridate*, although the latter, a five-act opera, offers four such opportunities. Also, in both the second and third operas of the 1730 carnival, *Idaspe* and *Artaserse*, she sang one less aria than Farinelli. It is, however, possible that Cuzzoni was given the act-ending aria in *Artaserse* partially in order to put into relief her prima donna status and thereby ensure peaceful collaboration with her.

¹⁰³ 'Che pena al mio core' replaces the rage aria 'Dimmi che un empio sei'. In the Venetian 1730 *Artaserse*, Cuzzoni still had to sing a rage aria, 'Va tra le selve ircane' in II, 12, which employs her declamatory style and lends musical variety to her role. However, two such arias in one opera would have uncharacteristic of her persona and vocal style.

his new penchant for slow expressive arias with ‘Se al labro mio non credi’. However, Farinelli’s passing up the opportunity for a sea tempest aria at the end of act I of *Artaserse* entailed further changes in order to create an opportunity for an *aria di bravura*, both to satisfy the audience and to enable Farinelli to demonstrate every aspect of his vocal artistry. Accordingly, a lament for Arbace in III, 1 was omitted, and the order of the ensuing arias for Artaserse and Arbace reversed, resulting in a solo scene in III, 2 to accommodate Arbace’s bravura aria.

These alterations, as well as the changes in the role of Nicolini, were certainly not made over the singers’ heads by the poet and composer. In fact, it seems that the singers’ demands, particularly Nicolini’s, exceeded Metastasio’s willingness to comply by making adaptations. Whereas some of the changes between the Roman and the Venetian version, including Farinelli’s aria text, ‘Se al labbro mio non credi’ appear to have been made by Metastasio himself,¹⁰⁴ the most extensive alterations were made in Venice. They include, most famously, an *ombra* scene at the end of act II for Nicolini as Artabano, who has a vision of the execution of his son, Arbace, and the apparition of his ghost, followed by the celebrated aria, ‘Pallido il sole’. Whilst it is perfectly possible that this scene was written in its entirety by one of the two house poets of the San Giovanni Grisostomo, Domenico Lalli and Giovanni Boldini, it is also imaginable that it was devised by Nicolini, at least in part. The latter was in the habit of shaping his roles¹⁰⁵ and more than 30 years’ stage experience as a singer as well as professional activity as an arranger and director had probably furnished him with the requisite skills to provide a *scena* for himself.¹⁰⁶

The preferences of the Venetian audience were undoubtedly another critical factor in the libretto revisions. Dramatically, the alterations at the end of act I of *Artaserse* shift the focus from Mandane’s filial duty to that of her and Arbace’s love. Extensive cuts in the recitative of I, 1 have the same effect as well as the benefit of relieving Farinelli and

¹⁰⁴ See Schmidt-Hensel, *Hasse*, I: 194-198. This particular text is not marked as a substitute text and was still attributed to Metastasio when Mozart set it in 1778 (K. 295).

¹⁰⁵ See Stefan Brandt, “...um die Oper der Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums noch würdiger zu machen.” Zum Einfluß des sängerischen Personals auf Arienkompositionen bei Porpora und Händel’, *Barocktheater heute. Wiederentdeckungen zwischen Wissenschaft und Bühne*, ed. Nicola Gess, Tina Hartmann and Robert Sollich, *Literalität und Liminalität*, Vol. 7 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2008), 105-119.

¹⁰⁶ Rhetorically speaking, the final scene of act II is an instance of *ekphrasis* (*descriptio*, in this case of an event) geared towards the display of virtuosic acting abilities, requiring the actor to conjure up a horrific scene and execute rapid transitions between strong passions. Making no attempt at matching the poetic style of Metastasio and defying his aesthetics as well as the principle of verisimilitude, this scene is conceived to serve as a performance vehicle for Nicolini, no less than any bravura aria written for Farinelli.

Cuzzoni, the star singers with the least inclination for acting, of the necessity to deliver a lengthy dialogue. Unlike the Roman audience, who favoured subject matter dealing with the greatness of ancient Rome and/or extolling classical Roman virtues (even in oriental settings), the Venetians had an appreciation for plots with strong passions, especially amorous ones, and *ombra* scenes. This is evident from the nature of both the subject matter of libretti that were newly written for Venice and alterations made to imported libretti.¹⁰⁷ In fact, prior to Farinelli's arrival, Conti did not believe that the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo would be able to compete in the 1729 season, partially due to the plots that were characteristic of the *drammi* performed there, which Conti described as 'très romanesques'¹⁰⁸ (very Roman). *Semiramide riconosciuta* did not require substantial changes, not only because the roles suited the cast, but also because of its Venice-friendly plot, which revolves around the conflicts and eventual marriage of Semiramide, disguised as her own son, Nino, and her former betrothed, Scitalce, as well as the intrigues arising from three suitors' competing for the hand of Semiramide's protégé, Tamiri.

Elaboratio: Creating individual scenes

Of course, the stages in the proposed model of application of rhetoric to the *dramma per musica* are interlocked. With regard to aria texts, no matter whether newly written ones or substituted or altered versions of pre-existing texts, making decisions is both a matter of *dispositio* at the macro-level and *inventio* at the micro-level due to the necessity of satisfying musical and dramatic conventions and taking into consideration singers' personae as well as audience expectations. Both need to be enabled by macro-level

¹⁰⁷ Early 18th-century libretti written for Venice typically foreground the amorous aspects of the storyline rather than its political implications, possibly due to the oligarchical structure of the Republic of Venice as well as its unique culture. Chivalric and mythological subject matter, which lends itself particularly well to such a focus seems to have been more prevalent in Venice in this period than in papal Rome or Italian court cities. Indeed, some of the libretti that explore violently contrasting passions and extreme emotional states, including madness, were written for Venice, for example, *Ambaleto* (1705), *Orlando furioso* (1713) and *Orlando finto pazzo* (1714), which thematise madness, the latter two on account of love. Libretti that feature scenes in which characters suffer an extreme degree of emotional torture for their lover's sake were often produced multiple times in Venice (e.g., *Ariodante*, in which the title hero attempts suicide, *Didone abbandonata*, in which the heroine commits suicide and *Idaspe*, in which the female protagonist faints during her lover's fight with a lion in an amphitheatre). Such emotional torment was often expressed in *ombra* scenes, in which characters have visions of their own or a loved one's death, which often occur in libretti written for Venice, e.g., *Merope* (1711). That this topos was popular with the Venetians is suggested by the frequent insertion of one or more *ombra* scenes into libretti performed there; among the operas in which Farinelli appeared, this is the case for *Artaserse* (1730), *Idaspe* (1730) and *Nitocri* (1733).

¹⁰⁸ Letter of 24 September 1728. Conti, *Lettere*, 222.

inventio. For example, in the case of Dario in *Idaspe*, none of the pre-existing aria texts, which deal predominantly with affects of ambivalent hope, love and fear of loss, could accommodate the extremes of Farinelli's stylistic palette, i.e., bravura and legato singing. Thus two of them were replaced by 'Qual guerriero in campo armato' (I, 16) and 'Ombra fedele anch'io' (II, 11) respectively. As these were to be large-scale arias, they needed to be integrated at apposite structural points. This could only be achieved if the plot offered suitable dramatic situations at such structural points, and since this was not the case, the revisions of *Idaspe* had to be extensive. Dario's remaining texts were replaced with new ones that were more specific to Farinelli's preferences and persona than the previous texts, i.e., 'Tutto amore al caro bene' (I, 4; about passionate, faithful love) and 'Pastorel che trova al fine' (III, 5; containing a pastoral metaphor). As these texts were intended for arias that would be smaller in proportions and lighter in terms of musical weight, and thus somewhat less specific in terms of the singer's vocal profile,¹⁰⁹ there was more flexibility in their integration into the *dramma*.

While new aria texts for a pre-existing libretto were generally supplied by a house poet, the specificity of the dramatic preferences of singers such as Farinelli and Nicolini suggests that they also contributed to the creation of aria texts at the three first stages of rhetoric at the micro-level which, according to the model suggested here, correspond to the stage of *elaboratio* in the creation of a *dramma per musica* as a whole. The poetic choices affected the subsequent musical ones. In terms of *inventio*, the choice of the content and affect and/or metaphor, it has been mentioned previously that Farinelli had a decisive preference for some affects and an apparent dislike for others.¹¹⁰ His virtuosic arias are in their vast majority metaphor arias, which offered the opportunity of employing musical figures and means that were associated with non-musical phenomena. These are so widely known that no general discussion is required in this context. Singers' intervention was also likely at the stage of *dispositio*, the distribution of ideas in the respective A and B sections and decisions regarding the length of aria texts. For example, on average, Farinelli preferred shorter aria texts, Nicolini longer ones. Also, especially for large-scale important arias,

¹⁰⁹ A differentiation according to musical and dramatic weight between different arias in a singer's role was necessary in order to convey the relative importance of dramatic events. In the case of Farinelli, a virtuosic singer, his most important two or three arias (between 1730 and 1734, these were his main bravura aria and adagio or largo) contained the greatest technical challenges, resulting in the most idiosyncratic musical texts. The idea of reserving certain aspects of technique and style for specific arias accords with Tosi's advice not to make show of all of one's talents in a few arias in order not to quickly lose the audience's interest in one's singing. Tosi, *Opinioni*, 61.

¹¹⁰ The vast majority of Farinelli's roles contain an aria about constant love and a complaint of his lover's ingratitude of cruelty; pastoral metaphors also occur frequently.

Farinelli favoured aria texts whose second stanza contrasted strongly with the first in terms of affect and whose metric properties enabled the composer to use a different metre in the B section.

That the substitution of arias was not an isolated occurrence in Farinelli's case is manifest from the high number of new aria texts in his Venetian roles (see Table 6-3). In eight of his ten Venetian roles, none or only a single pre-existing text remains. The minimum number of substitute texts – and, as mentioned above, in a role whose dramatic profile suited Farinelli well, i.e., Mirteo in *Semiramide riconosciuta* – is three out of six, i.e., half of the texts. This suggests a high degree of involvement of the singer in shaping the poetic texts of his parts as well as a great deal of specificity of what he considered to be artistically suitable for him. These aria substitutions affected not only individual scenes, but the ethos of Farinelli's role as a whole. This, in turn, also impacted on the nature of Farinelli's character's relationships with other characters, affecting the dramatic content of the *dramma* as a whole.

Table 1-3: Substitute arias in Farinelli's Venetian roles

Year	Opera	Number of arias	Number of substitute texts
1729	<i>Catone in Utica</i> (Metastasio-Leo)	5	3 ¹¹¹
	<i>Semiramide riconosciuta</i> (Metastasio-Porpora)	6	3
	[<i>L'abbandono di Armida (pasticcio)</i>] ¹¹²	N/A	N/A
1730	<i>Mitridate</i> (Zeno-Giai)	6	4
	<i>Idaspe</i> (Candi/Lalli-Broschi)	5	5
	<i>Artaserse</i> (Metastasio-Hasse)	5	4 ¹¹³
1733	<i>Nitocri</i> (Zeno-Selitti)	5	4
	<i>Adriano in Siria</i> (Metastasio-Giacomelli)	5	4
1734	<i>Berenice</i> (Lalli after Salvi-Araia)	5	5 ¹¹⁴
	<i>Artaserse</i> (Metastasio-Hasse/ <i>pasticcio</i>)	5	4/5 ¹¹⁵
	<i>Merope</i> (Zeno-Giacomelli)	5	5 ¹¹⁶

In terms of *elaboratio*, the choice of poetic devices, rhyme words and words suitable for coloratura singing, different singers also had varying requirements. Nicolini preferred poetic devices that enabled declamation and acting, such as exclamations, apostrophes,¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Leo's is the second setting of *Catone in Utica*; the reference point is therefore the first setting, i.e., Metastasio-Vinci, Rome 1728 (rather than Metastasio's later, revised version as published, e.g. in the Hérissant edition of 1780-82). 'Che legge spietata' is preserved, but transferred from I, 3 to I, 13. The sententious 'È in ogni core' (I, 13) is omitted; instead 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' is inserted into I, 3. 'So che pietà non hai' (II, 3) remains unaltered. 'Che sia la gelosia' (II, 16) is printed in the first edition of the Venetian libretto, but no setting is known; it was replaced by 'Cervo in bosco' from *Medo* (Frugoni-Vinci, Parma 1728). 'Combattuta da tante vicende' (III, 3) is substituted by 'Sarebbe un bel diletto', which was substituted by 'Scherzo dell'onda instabile' (also from *Medo*) in the second edition of the Venetian libretto.

¹¹² *L'abbandono di Armida* was only performed once to celebrate the last evening of the carnival; the arias were taken from the two carnival operas.

¹¹³ One of these, 'Se al labbro mio non credi' (I, 14) is not marked as a substitute text by means of a *stelletta* like the other substitute texts in the printed libretto. This may be an oversight, but it is also possible that Metastasio provided the text himself. See also note 91.

¹¹⁴ *Berenice* is a thorough reworking by Lalli of Salvi's *Berenice Regina d'Egitto*, which had last been set by A. Scarlatti and Porpora for Rome in 1718. Lalli retained the general outline of the plot but rewrote most of the recitative and all of the arias.

¹¹⁵ In comparison with the 1730 Venetian *Artaserse*, Farinelli retains only one aria text, 'Lascia cadermi in volto' (II, 2) which had been a substitute text in 1730. Handwritten annotations in a copy of the libretto of the 1734 *Artaserse* (*I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 00811) indicate that three of the substitute arias whose texts are printed were themselves replaced (either during the run of the opera or shortly before the opening night). In one case (II, 12), such a replacement seems to reinstate an original text by Metastasio ('Per quel paterno amplesso') that had been altered for the 1730 Venetian setting ('Per questo dolce amplesso', see chapter 8). The circumstance that all replacement aria texts are copied into the back of the libretto in full suggests that the owner of the libretto copied them from other libretti in his or her collection; it is possible that Farinelli actually sang the 1730 'Per questo dolce amplesso' but the owner copied the text of 'Per quel paterno amplesso'. Farinelli could also have sung a new setting of 'Per quel paterno amplesso'. It is unlikely for him to have sung Vinci's setting of the text for Carestini as he had previously refused to sing an aria composed for Carestini on principle (see Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, Letter of 26 September 1731, 91, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter).

¹¹⁶ Farinelli keeps only 'Sposa, non mi conosci' (III, 7) from the 1732 setting by R. Broschi of *Merope* and its 1733 revival. 'Sposa, non mi conosci' (III, 6 in the 1732 and 1733 versions) is a substitute text that underwent further changes (see chapter 8).

¹¹⁷ I.e., addressing either present or absent characters, which required a gesture of address.

antitheses,¹¹⁸ and enumerations.¹¹⁹ Towards the end of his career, when Nicolini appears to have been short of breath, his texts often either consist of short lines or longer lines that are consistently subdivided into two halves by internal caesuras.¹²⁰ In Farinelli's arias, both such poetic devices and types of poetic lines occur far more rarely.

Evidence suggests that at least some singers made active creative contributions to their aria texts at different stages. In Farinelli's case, the small-scale changes in his slow arias, between newly written substitute aria texts in printed libretti and actual musical settings (discussed in more detail in chapter 8) could easily have been made by the singer himself prior to or while discussing the musical setting with the composer. They could also have been made by the composer, but the frequency with which such small alterations occur in Farinelli's aria texts regardless of who set them to music suggests that they were made by Farinelli himself. Arias sung by him, such as 'Chi non sente al mio dolore' and 'Son qual nave', which survive in different versions that can be traced to known operatic productions, show gradual changes in the text. In any event, it seems unlikely that either a singer or composer would have felt it necessary to consult a poet to change a word or even a line in an aria text. Similarly, Farinelli very likely specified metaphors for his aria texts.¹²¹

Memoria: Rehearsing

One of the main reasons for the division between composition and performance in musicology resides of course in the formation of a canon of great works of the past which resulted in the increasing separation between the composer on the one hand and the music director or conductor on the other, professions with distinct and specialised skill sets. In literary studies, the same is true for playwrights and directors. Opera scores and libretti

¹¹⁸ An antithesis, a figure of speech consisting of two contrasting elements, required gestures illustrating each of the two elements.

¹¹⁹ In enacting an enumeration (whether of verbs, i.e., actions, or nouns), illustrative or expressive gestures could be employed.

¹²⁰ Both prompt the composer to write short phrases, allowing Nicolini to take frequent breaths. Such texts usually contain either antitheses (e.g. 'Passagier che sulla sponda,' *Semiramide riconosciuta*, II, 13) or enumerations (e.g. 'Pallido il sole,' *Artaserse*, II, 15).

¹²¹ Whilst metaphors relating to, e.g., tempests and birds, are common in the *dramma per musica*, the number of Farinellian metaphor aria texts alluding to the Orpheus myth is noteworthy. Iconographic evidence suggests that creating an association with Orpheus was a part of Farinelli's construction of his artistic persona. Farinelli's association with the figure of Orpheus is discussed in chapter 8.

have essentially frozen their composers and poets in their roles as authors. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that these specialisations, in terms of both profession and educational paths, were almost non-existent in the 18th century and that opera composers and librettists¹²² played crucial roles at the stages of *memoria* in the operatic production process. Neither was *actio/pronuntiatio* the sole domain of the singer-performer, as the composer both directed and performed as well. This is important inasmuch as evidence for dramatic and musical continuity and unity, which have so long served as a touchstone for the artistic quality of stage works, have been sought by musicologists primarily in musical texts, although to a great extent it was the composers', poets' and performers' work at the rehearsal stage that determined the musico-dramatic effectiveness of a stage production. A wealth of fascinating – and often amusing – information on the operatic rehearsal process survives. What might seem like no more than an intermediary stage could significantly impact on the illocutionary force of a *dramma per musica*, for example, if lack of preparation compromised the quality of an operatic performance. Moreover, it is highly likely that some final decisions regarding the musical and compositional text were made at this stage.¹²³ The intricacies of the 18th-century opera rehearsal process merit a study of their own, but a few points on the most important differences between the period and modern practice may be useful in the discussion of singers' artistic contribution to opera.

Whereas the composer's role seems not to have differed substantially from that of modern music directors once the musical text had been agreed, the poet's role as a dramatic director was overall more wide-ranging than that of his modern counterpart. Assuming his readers' familiarity with the poet's being in charge of leading dramatic rehearsals, Marcello outlines the responsibilities of the poet in the rehearsal process, though in satirical inversion. The poet communicates and explains 'l'intenzione sua'¹²⁴ (his intention) regarding the plot and their roles to the singers, corrects poor pronunciation if necessary¹²⁵ and instructs the 'Personaggi per qual Parte debbano entrare, uscire, mover le Braccia, e come vestirsi'¹²⁶ (singers from where they should enter, where they should exit,

¹²² Amateur librettists were not necessarily involved in opera rehearsals, in which case either theatre poets or singers took on the responsibilities outlined below.

¹²³ Later in the century, examples pertaining to Mozart's operas of revisions at the rehearsal stage are documented. See John Rice, *Mozart on the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), Chapter 7, 'Rehearsal, revision and promotion', 135-160.

¹²⁴ Marcello, *Teatro*, 11 and 13.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

how to move their arms [i.e., advise them as to which gestures to use], and what to wear). Poets' taking on of these and other tasks, which in modern terms encompass those of the director, acting and language coaches as well as some of the stage manager, production assistant and sometimes even costume designer, is borne out by the letters of Metastasio. The latter give insight into Metastasio's liaising with costume and set designers, calling and directing rehearsals, preparing, rehearsing and keeping records of blockings and doing individual character work with singers.¹²⁷ That Metastasio accorded an importance to the directorial and managerial aspects of a theatre poet's work equal to that he accorded to his literary talents emerges from his recommendation of Giovanni Migliavacca for a position in Lisbon in 1752. Metastasio's verdict regarding the quality of Migliavacca's poetry suggests no extraordinary talent¹²⁸ and Migliavacca yet had to write his first *dramma per musica*. Nevertheless, Metastasio holds him perfectly capable of filling the position on account of his organisational skills, which he had proven as Metastasio's assistant in Vienna:

Tutto questo non v'assicura un poeta eccellente, ma dove si trova costui? Il teatro che costi si erige ha bisogno di chi regoli tutta l'operazione, di chi tagli, aggiunga, supplisca, e guasti a talento de' maestri di cappella, de' musici e delle circostanze del tempo, del luogo e del piacere di chi comanda; e per questo non bisogna un Sofocle o un Euripide. Il nostro raccomandato è ottimo strumento per questo e forse lo diverrà ancora per comporre di nuovo.¹²⁹

(All this does not guarantee you an excellent poet, but where can one be found? The theatre that is being set up is in need of someone who can manage the entire operation, who can cut, add to, supplement and spoil [the *dramma*] according to the talents of the composer and singers as well as the exigencies of the time, venue and preferences of whoever orders [the production]; and for this, you do not need a Sophocles or Euripides. The man I recommend is an excellent instrument for this, and maybe he will also become one for writing new *drammi*.)

At the same time, both the composer's and the poet's rehearsal work depended on the time and effort put into learning their parts by each singer in a cast as well as singers' willingness to collaborate both with them and with each other. In the case of *Berenice* (Salvi-Araja, Venice 1734), Caffarelli's exceedingly late arrival in Venice caused the

¹²⁷ Roger Savage, 'Staging and Opera: Letters from the Caesarian Poet', (*Early Music*, 26/4 (November 1998), Metastasio, 1698-1782, 585-589.

¹²⁸ 'Ho letto due sue serenate e un oratorio, e l'ultimo particolarmente di questi eccede considerabilmente i limiti del mediocre.' (I have read two of his *serenate* and an oratorio, and particularly the latter of these exceeds the limits of the mediocre to a considerable degree.) Letter 585, 2 September 1752, to Alessandro Lodovico Laugier. Metastasio, *Opere* (Brunelli), III: 749.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

owners of the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo great consternation,¹³⁰ and his attempts at disrupting later rehearsals by pulling faces and bringing in supporters to applaud him in order to try and show himself as superior to Farinelli seem to have contributed to the opera's failure.¹³¹ Well known examples of Caffarelli's uncollegial behaviour both at rehearsals and in performance,¹³² anecdotes about disagreements between singers and composers and, equally importantly, treatises on opera have shed a negative light on *dramma per musica* rehearsals, but the large number of productions that were mounted successfully in short periods of time suggests that the process was generally efficient and professional.

One of the numerous aspects that illustrate the flexibility of *dramma per musica* production is that, especially in productions of pre-existing libretti, experienced singers, both male and female, could take on the stage director's role instead of a poet. For example, Benti-Bulgarelli directed an (all male) cast in *Demetrio* (Metastasio-Giai) at the Teatro delle Dame in Rome in 1732. Trusting in her experience and abilities, Metastasio felt it unnecessary to advise her aside from a few details on the placement of chairs in two scenes.¹³³ Evidence of the success of Nicolini's directorial work attests that his outstanding talent extended beyond the role of actor-singer; in Naples in 1719, newspaper reports singled out Nicolini's direction as an important factor for the enthusiastic reception of the carnival operas.¹³⁴ Similarly, *Rosiclea in Dania* (Silvani-Bononcini, Naples 1721)

riesce a meraviglia e da total gusto di questa Nobiltà, sì per le nuove Scene e vaghi Vestimenti, sì anche per l'unione de' Virtuosi, che la cantano non avendo tralasciato di renderla più magnifica e dilettevole il genio, & buon gusto del Cavalier Nicolò Grimaldi, che l'ha diretta, avendo in questo il suddetto una spezial abilità, che parimente l'ha dimostrata in tutti gli altri Teatri così d'Italia come di fuori, ne i quali ha plausibilmente recitato.¹³⁵

(has turned out marvellously and completely to the taste of the local nobility, because of the new sets and handsome costumes as well as the union among

¹³⁰ Letters of 12 and 19 December 1733. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 125 and 127 respectively. *Berenice* had its opening night on 26 December 1733; Caffarelli arrived in Venice between 12 and 19 December.

¹³¹ Letter of 02 January 1734. *Ibid.*, 128.

¹³² Particularly famous is Caffarelli's duel with the above-mentioned Migliavacca in Vienna in 1749, the culmination of the singer's provocative behaviour and undermining of the poet's authority at an opera rehearsal. Metastasio vividly described the incident in a letter to Anna Francesca Pignatelli di Belmonte. Letter 319, 05 July 1749. Metastasio, *Opere* (Brunelli), III: 405-408.

¹³³ Letter 37, 12 January 1732. *Ibid.*, III: 60.

¹³⁴ Dennis Libby, 'The Singers of Pergolesi's *Salustia*', *Studi Pergolesiani* 3 (1999), 174.

¹³⁵ *Gazzetta di Napoli*, 14 October 1721. Griffin, *Musical References*, 98-99. Also quoted by Libby in 'Pergolesi's *Salustia*'.

the singers that perform in it; while, with his genius and good taste, the Cavaliere Nicolò Grimaldi, who directed it [the opera], has taken great care to render it more magnificent and delightful, since he has special skill in this [directing], which he has demonstrated equally in all the other theatres at which he has performed to great acclaim, both in Italy and abroad).

In view of Nicolini's directorial work in Naples as well as in London, where he also adapted and arranged the libretti and scores of Italian operas for the Queen's Theatre, it seems quite possible that he acted in a similar capacity in Venice in the carnival seasons of 1729 and 1730, despite the involvement of Lalli.¹³⁶ Not only had Nicolini already directed *Idaspe* in London, but, alongside Benti-Bulgarelli, he had worked very closely with Metastasio during the latter's early career. Having created the male protagonists in Metastasio's first four *drammi*, *Siface* (1723), *Didone abbandonata* (1724), *Siroe* (1726) and *Ezio* (1728), he was eminently suited to oversee the staging of the three Metastasian libretti of the 1729 and 1730 Venetian carnival seasons, *Catone in Utica*, *Semiramide riconosciuta* and *Artaserse*. Farinelli, too, later took on such responsibilities in a number of *dramma per musica* productions during his tenure as manager-director of the Spanish court theatre. Despite his personal disinclination for acting,¹³⁷ he apparently achieved excellent results.¹³⁸

Actio/Pronuntiatio: Performing

In the context of the *dramma per musica*, the term *actio* may be considered to represent the dramatic and visual element, *pronuntiatio* the musical and audible one. The stage they denote, the actual performance, was a collaborative event in which all participants and aspects of opera were united. Although the poet did not take as prominent a role in the

¹³⁶ The dedications of all the operas in which Farinelli appeared in Venice are signed by Domenico Lalli, with the exception of *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse, 1730) and *Merope* (Zeno-Giacomelli, 1733), which are anonymous, and the entertainment *pasticcio* for the last evening of the 1729 carnival, *L'abbandono di Armida*, for which Giovanni Boldini takes credit.

¹³⁷ As Savage points out, Metastasio assisted Farinelli in directing his libretti from afar by sending him stage directions for pre-existing libretti and adding unusually numerous and precise stage directions to the newly written *Nitteti* and *L'isola disabitata*, which he wrote specifically for the Spanish court at Farinelli's request. Savage, 'Staging and Opera', 592-594.

¹³⁸ For example, answering the letter in which Farinelli gives a report of the opening night of *Nitteti*, Metastasio mentions that several accounts of its enthusiastic reception had reached him within a week of its premiere (Letter 979, 6 November 1756. Metastasio, *Opere* (Brunelli), III: 1146-47). The circumstance that *Nitteti* was set seven times within two years suggests that its first production was indeed considered a success. Similarly, Metastasio tells Farinelli that he has received numerous letters praising the magnificent production of *Demofonte* in Madrid in 1750 (Letter 340, 8 January 1750. Ibid. III: 465).

performance as the singer and composer,¹³⁹ the audience was continuously reminded of his artistic presence by means of the printed libretto. If, as in the majority of cases, the libretto had been adapted for use at the local theatre and the changes were indicated by the usual *virgolette* (marking omitted text) and *stelletta* (denoting added text), the libretto in fact let emerge the contribution of both the original author and the arranger. Moreover, the indications of changes drew attention to the interaction between poets and singers and the latter's personae as well as potential preferences in the taste of the local audiences, in comparison with those of the city in which the libretto had first been produced. Dedications, in court operas also *licenze*, contain a performative element in that they position the poet and/or adaptor of the libretto in relationship to his patrons within the socio-political framework of each *dramma*.

Whilst the highest-ranking singers were the main focus of the audience's interest,¹⁴⁰ the composer-music director's role was crucial as it was his responsibility to maintain the musico-dramatic timing and bind together the individual personae and vocal styles of the singers by means of a coherent musical performance aesthetic, throughout arias and recitatives. Instances in which the composer clearly emerges as a performer in his own right, such as in Armida's 'Vò far guerra e vincer voglio' in *Rinaldo* (Rossi-Handel, London 1711), whose opening and closing ritornello are designed to display Handel's talent at improvising on the harpsichord, are rare. However, given that *dramma per musica* scores offer keyboard players and violinists ample opportunities to foreground themselves and Handel as well as Vivaldi are known to have used them, composers' contributions as performers may have been more conspicuous than it might be assumed today.

The sole focus on the composer's authorial role on the one hand and disregard for his roles as a performer (as leader of the musical rehearsal and director-instrumentalist in an actual performance) on the other hand are key to Strohm's assessment of the differences between accompanied recitatives and arias with regard to their respective work statuses. This is significant as this focus is at the root of Strohm's view that singers' authorial contribution to the *dramma per musica* was confined to their participation in performance. Having

¹³⁹ Poets could take on the role of stage manager.

¹⁴⁰ Various aspects of audience's interest in *dramma per musica* star singers have been analysed by a number of scholars, including the effects of singer's performances on the listener, e.g. Martha Feldman in *Opera and Sovereignty* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007) and political and social commodification, e.g. Aspden in *Rival Sirens* and McGeary in *Politics of Opera* as well as 'Verse Epistles'.

remarked earlier on some precise performance instructions in an accompanied recitative in *Zenobia* (Metastasio-Hasse, Warsaw 1761), Strohm states:

There is almost a paradox in the fact that Hasse endeavoured so much to direct and control recitatives when his long, richly composed arias contain almost no performance directions such as tempo changes, fermatas, interruptions, and so forth. After the initial ritornellos (which sometimes do exhibit independent gestures), Hasse's arias seem to "run" without his authorial interference, although as a composer he has contributed more to them than to the recitatives. The often-noted contrast between recitative and aria in opera seria seems to undergo a change here which inverts their respective work-status. While the author intrudes into the recitative and the dramatic action with *accompagnatos* and scenic gestures of the orchestra, the aria remains a haven of audience-performer relationships.¹⁴¹

Rather than being a paradox, the relatively high number of performance instructions in accompanied recitatives in comparisons to arias can be explained by performance conventions. There was no need to mark tempo changes, interruptions and fermatas in arias as these occurred at conventional structural points with which the orchestral musicians were familiar, prompting them to watch out for directorial instructions at such points without written reminders. In contrast, accompanied recitatives follow no specific form, so that it was necessary to alert the orchestral musicians (whose parts typically did not contain the vocal line) to crucial musical events. Moreover, arias are also subject to far fewer rhythmic and tempo fluctuations than recitatives. Finally, the frequently interactive relationship between the solo voice and the orchestra often results in the singer's determining the tempi and setting tempo changes, whereas the composer, in Hasse's case at the harpsichord, established the tempo wherever ritornellos precede the singer's entrance.¹⁴² The performance of the *recitativi semplici*, which account for long stretches of the dramatic action, were a locus of intense collaboration between composers directing from the harpsichord and the singers, which required all participants to act and react to each other, propelling the musico-dramatic pace by means of continuous interplay.

An approach that focuses on opera as represented by its music score rather than by a musico-dramatic performance is also in evidence in the remark that the composer 'contributed more'¹⁴³ to the aria than to the recitative. Rather than being a question of quantity, it is a matter of the nature of the composer's – and the singer's – contribution. While it is unlikely that composing the much rarer and often very elaborate accompanied

¹⁴¹ Strohm, 'Zenobia', 80.

¹⁴² Accordingly, performance instructions indicating the tempo can often be found at the end of recitatives that precede an aria that begins without an opening ritornello.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

recitatives required less effort than writing arias from a musical perspective,¹⁴⁴ the former certainly placed higher demands on the composer's dramatic insight as it necessitated careful consideration of the character in whose role the accompanied recitative occurred as well as detailed analysis of the scene in order to achieve a verisimilar portrayal of the character in a dramatic key moment.¹⁴⁵ In addition, one may argue that in most regards, aside from that of melodic writing, the accompanied recitative tested the composer's musical inventiveness to a greater degree than the established form and harmonic structure of arias. Thus the accompanied recitative emphasises both the composer's and singer's dramatic skills, whereas the aria focuses on their musical and vocal qualities, not only at the compositional stages of *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elaboratio*, but also at those of *memoria* and *pronuntiatio/actio*. However, readings of opera scores can also reveal the illocutionary force of arias and give insight into singers' authorial contributions at the compositional stages - if the scores are not grouped by composer, but by singer - since they were designed to enable the singer to communicate with and persuade his audience. Because of the specificity of this relationship (neither singer nor audience was interchangeable), the most effective way of making rhetorical strategies in arias emerge is to analyse a group of pieces performed within a relatively stable creator-performer-audience constellation. One such group of pieces, Farinelli's *arie di bravura* for Venice, will be scrutinised to this effect in the following chapter.

Altogether, it seems that the approach that locates composers' and poets' authorial contributions in the score and the singers' in the performance (as proposed by Strohm, Seedorf and others) is too rigid and divisive. It accounts neither for the collaborative nature of the *dramma per musica* nor for singers' authorial contributions to the opera score and poets' and composers' to the performance. It is not the aim of this study to substitute this approach with a similarly inflexible one. The activities listed in the tables above for each participant in the *dramma per musica* production process show only some of the possible ways in which singers, composers and poets might collaborate. The actual degree

¹⁴⁴ The reason that Hasse's 'Eccomi in fine in libertà del mio dolor' at the end of act II of *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse, Venice 1730), has become the perhaps most famous non-Handelian accompanied recitative from this period is precisely the ingenuity and vivacity with which Hasse underscores the dramatic action.

¹⁴⁵ Metastasio's letter on the consistency and verisimilarity of two of the characters in *Demofonte* (10 June 1747 to Giuseppe Bettinelli, Letter 260, Metastasio, *Opere* (Brunelli), III: 305-309) as well as his detailed explanations of characterisation and thoughts regarding the musical setting of *Attilio Regolo* (Letter 328, 20 October 1749 to Hasse, *Ibid.*, 427-436) give an idea of the level of analytical interrogation of the dramatic text that was necessary for the insightful text-setting for which Hasse was particularly renowned.

of their interaction and influence at each stage could differ considerably depending on a large number of factors, both internal, i.e., according to the relative skills, interests and status of individual participants, and external, resulting in a highly dynamic process.

7 *'C'étéoit un ange ou un diable qui chantoit':*

Rhetoric in Farinelli's Venetian Bravura Arias

Since early in his career, the most severe criticism levelled at Farinelli, both as an individual singer and as the most famous representative of castrato singing, has been that of indulging in 'empty virtuosity', i.e., virtuosity devoid of artistic meaning or function beyond satisfying the singer's vanity and soliciting adulation from the audience by instilling the sensation of amazement. Farinelli's bravura arias are particularly liable to such criticism as the unprecedented proportions and level of difficulty in his passagework seem to justify their classification as 'excessive', i.e., in violation of the boundaries within which virtuosity is acceptable as a mimetic tool. The ensuing analysis of Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias, which include some of the most technically challenging pieces written for the voice, considers the function of Farinelli's virtuosity in live performance and in relation to the pressures of commercial opera in Venice. It shows how, within the context of a relatively stable relationship between a singer and his audience, strategic use of specific coloratura figurations could imbue these with rhetorical significance. Once their significance was established, these patterns could be used creatively to either fulfil or thwart the audience's expectations, encouraging active listening and stimulating and/or retaining audience interest in the singer. However, this analysis does not aim at establishing generally valid correlations between rhetorical figures and musical features. Indeed, within the highly uniform 18th-century operatic soundscape,¹ star singers needed to cultivate vocal and musical idiosyncrasies in order to distinguish themselves from each other and to develop or maintain a well-defined personal musical style.² Singers necessarily had to draw both on musical gestures that were associated with certain meanings and on the repertory of vocal techniques an accomplished singer was expected to master, but star singers might execute or utilise these in a manner that was specific to them.

¹ Due to the degree of uniformity of 18th-century audiences' listening experiences, which were essentially confined to music from their own period with the obvious exception of older sacred polyphony and chant, subtle musical differences were presumably more recognisable to 18th-century listeners than modern ones. This is suggested, for example, by Metastasio's strong reaction to Gluck's setting of his *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Vienna 1748), whose music he considered 'arcivandalica insopportabile' (unbearably archvandalist). Letter 284, 29 June 1748, Metastasio, *Lettere* (Brunelli), III: 353.

² The vocal and stylistic differences between Cuzzoni's and Faustina's singing were a main factor enabling the discourses of rivalry between the two singers in London. See Aspden, *Rival Sirens*.

Most of the musical features described below could only fulfil a rhetorical function precisely because of the consistency with which Farinelli deployed them.

As a by-product, so to speak, this analysis of Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias will also take up the contested issue of singers' authorial contribution to the *dramma per musica*, as discussed in the previous chapter. That Farinelli was without doubt an exceptional singer emerges from both laudatory and deprecatory contemporary accounts of him, but this does not mean that the nature of his relationship with composers and poets differed fundamentally from that of other star singers. Nevertheless, neither Farinelli's nor any other singer's example can function as a paradigm for the *dramma per musica* star per se. However, what Farinelli's example can do is illustrate possible ways in which star singers made authorial contributions to *drammi per musica*, not only at the stage of *actio/pronuntiatio*, but also at the three compositional stages, at both the macro- and micro-level. In this regard, Farinelli's 'inimitable' virtuosity is extremely useful, as it is this aspect of his singing which renders it possible to pinpoint musical features that, when he first used them, were unique to him rather than part of the catalogue of musical gestures shared by a majority of singers. The fact that many of these were widely imitated within only a few years attests to their effectiveness in performance, i.e., in engaging the audience and 'earning their affection',³ thus carrying the rhetorical process to successful completion.

For several reasons, the bravura arias Farinelli sang in Venice constitute a particularly useful sample for this investigation.

- 1) There is a high degree of specificity in terms of performer and audience, as Farinelli only performed at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo and only during the carnival seasons, providing a stable singer-audience relationship during the seasons when Farinelli appeared in Venice, i.e., in 1729, 1730, 1733 and 1734.
- 2) The sample is consistent. Farinelli's audience very likely had specific expectations of specific types of arias, therefore it is useful to compare arias of the same type.
- 3) Contemporary sources show that it was Farinelli's bravura arias that attracted the most attention from the audience. It can be assumed that everyone involved in the creation of the Venetian *drammi per musica* was well aware of this so that it is likely that special care was lavished on these pieces.
- 4) Although, like other arias, bravura arias were varied and ornamented in performance, scores of bravura arias yield a greater amount of relevant information

³ 'Guadagnarsi l'affetto'. Serra, *Compendio*, 1.

about the performance of an aria than scores of other types of arias. For example, tone colour, subtle dynamic changes and phrasing in slow arias and enunciation, facial expression and action in *parlante* arias (i.e., non-notated parameters), are of relative greater importance for the performance as a whole than in bravura arias, in which a great deal of their main aspect - virtuosic singing - is fixed in writing in order to ensure coordination between singer and orchestra.⁴

- 5) On the one hand, Farinelli's singing was met with unprecedented adulation from the majority of the Venetian audience. On the other hand, at least Farinelli's initial reception was to a great extent based on the amazement his virtuosic singing instilled in the listeners. Amazement is a reaction to novelty and novelty is likely to wear off relatively fast.⁵ The enormous success of Farinelli's bravura singing put him (together with the composers and poets) under great pressure to produce increasingly complex pieces that would enable them all to sustain a high level of success.
- 6) In all of the operas in which Farinelli sang in Venice, he was more prominent than the composer.⁶ Thus his bravura arias were created in a situation where he had maximum leverage and could exert as much influence as any star singer of this period.

Farinelli's Arrival in Venice: An Operatic Backdrop

As Serra points out his *Compendio della Rettorica*, Aristotle had already recognised the fact that the rhetorician's effectiveness depends on his ability to utilise his knowledge of the audience's framework of reference as it is this which enables him to choose apposite

⁴ This is not to say that Farinelli could not have departed significantly from the musical text in performance, especially in the da capo section. However, the use of the rhetorical strategies discussed below suggests that he mostly sang what was written in the first statement of the A section.

⁵ See Conti's remarks in his 'Trattato' (chapter 5).

⁶ In 1729, Farinelli was the centre of attention in his debut opera, *Catone in Utica*, although Leo had been enjoying a successful career in Naples for 15 years and composed the successful *Argeno* for Venice earlier in 1728 (Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 400). The most prominent among the composers who wrote for Farinelli in Venice at the time was Porpora. His three most recent operas performed in the city, *Ezio* (1728), *Arianna e Teseo* (1727) and *Meride e Seliunte* (1727), had been well received (Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 403, 398 and 391, respectively), after his *Siface* had been overshadowed by Vinci's *Siroe* in the 1726 carnival (Quantz, 'Lebenslauf', 231). In 1730, all three composers, R. Broschi, Hasse and Giai, were engaged in Venice for the first time; the same is true for Selitti in 1733 and Araja in 1734. Giacomelli had produced three previous operas for Venice and was held in general esteem, but so far, there is no evidence that he was a star composer.

means to appeal to their senses and intellect.⁷ Consequently, the analysis of Farinelli's arias must not be decontextualised, but based on a consideration of the operatic scene of Venice at the time of his arrival in the city, in order to gain insight into the manner in which the Venetian audience's perception of his singing was formed.

During the first decades of the 18th century, Venice had continued to attract the most famous singers of the time despite its gradual economic decline. Faustina, Cuzzoni, Tesi, Benti Bulgarelli, Vico, Nicolini, Bernacchi, Senesino, Carestini, Caffarelli and Scalzi had all appeared there within the three years preceding Farinelli's debut in 1729. By this time, the star castrati of the older generation, born in the 1670s and 1680s, Nicolini, Bernacchi and Senesino, had been known to the Venetian audience for 28, 19 and 21 years respectively. The situation was similar for the female singers of this generation, Vico and Benti Bulgarelli.⁸ The younger female star singers, born between 1697 and 1700, Cuzzoni, Faustina and Tesi, had all been singing in Venice for ten or more years. Whilst they were much admired by the Venetian audience, their artistic profiles and vocal styles were highly familiar not only through these singers' own performances, but also through those of younger female singers and castrati who emulated them.⁹ Among the singers of Farinelli's generation (i.e., born in the first decade of the century), the majority of the female singers who had risen to prominence in Venice during the mid-1720s, including Lucia Facchinelli, Anna Girò and Lucia Lancetti, were local singers. They had made their debut in Venice at an early age and gradually advanced to prima donna roles. Among the castrati of approximately the same age, Scalzi, after initial engagements in smaller roles between 1719 and 1721, had sung *primo uomo* roles in Venice during the 1724 and 1725 carnival seasons, but not since; and neither Carestini¹⁰ nor Caffarelli¹¹ had yet sung a *primo uomo*

⁷ Serra, *Compendio*, 1-2.

⁸ By the time they were last heard in Venice (in 1726), they had performed in the city for 19 and 18 years respectively.

⁹ E.g., Carestini's style in the 1720s shows similarities with that of Bernacchi, Facchinelli's was inspired by Tesi's and Faustina was imitated by several younger sopranos, including Antonia Negri.

¹⁰ After his Venetian debut in a small role (Ottaviano, one of the two shortest roles in *La Mariane* (Zeno-Porta, Teatro Sant'Angelo, Autumn 1724), Carestini had appeared in *secondo uomo* roles at the Teatri Sant'Angelo and San Samuele in 1725. The first production of Metastasio's *Siroe* (music by Vinci) at the San Giovanni Grisostomo had been highly successful, apparently particularly on account of the libretto (Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 385). Carestini's next appearance in Venice was a brief appearance in the less prestigious Ascension fair season in 1729 at the Teatro San Samuele. This suggests that in *Siroe*, Carestini as the *secondo uomo*, Medarse, had been outshone by the *primo* couple, Nicolini and Benti Bulgarelli, who were both renowned for their acting. Carestini only returned to Venice after Farinelli's debut there. It appears that he did not meet with a particularly positive reception in Venice until the 1740s, since between 1729 and 1743, he only made one other isolated appearance there in 1731, again in the Ascension fair season at the Teatro San Samuele.

role in Venice or made a great impact with their respective debuts. Altogether, given that 1) the older star castrati were in their 40s and 50s, 2) the younger ones yet had to achieve fame and 3) the Venetian operatic scene was dominated by female singers (due to the fact that the Teatro Sant'Angelo, one of the most active theatres at the time, had been casting female singers rather than castrati in male roles in order to keep costs down¹²) Farinelli arrived in Venice at a time of scarcity for young star castrati.¹³

Further factors contributed to creating high expectations among the Venetian audience. It was exceptional for an Italian singer to rise to stardom without engagements in Venice. For all of the above-mentioned singers, their initial Venetian appearances had constituted important career moves, stepping stones for establishing themselves at the top of the professional hierarchy. The debut of a singer of international reputation was thus unusual in the extreme. Moreover, reports about Farinelli's performances elsewhere must have raised expectations; Conti records that 'Senesino qui n'a jamais loué personne avoué après avoir entendu Farinello à Parme que c'étoit un ange ou un diable qui chantoit'¹⁴ (Senesino, who has never praised anyone before having heard Farinelli sing in Parma, vows that it has been either a devil or an angel who sang), a reference to Farinelli's performance as Giasone in Frugoni-Vinci's *Medo* in May 1728.¹⁵ Senesino's perception of Farinelli's singing as somehow superhuman had special weight as Senesino was a leading virtuoso of his time, who had performed alongside all contemporary stars and presumably knew all the secrets of the profession.

¹¹ Caffarelli had made his Venetian debut in the pastoral *Nerina* (Creta/Lalli-Pollaroli) in the Ascension Fair in the spring of 1728 in the role of the shepherd Alcasto, which was smaller than that of the two female characters in the piece, performed by Antonia Negri and Teresa Peruzzi. At eighteen, Caffarelli was still in the process of making his way to the top, singing *secondo uomo* roles at larger venues and *primo uomo* roles in provincial theatres. This is reflected in Conti's report about his debut season, which attests to anticipation regarding the appearance of Negri, not Caffarelli. On 1 May 1728, Conti writes: 'On se prépare ici aux fêtes de l'Ascension et aux operas où il y aura une nouvelle chanteuse dont on parle beaucoup.' (Here, preparations are in course for the Ascension celebrations and the operas in which a new female singer will perform of whom people talk a lot. Conti, *Lettere*, p. 196.) Conti does not mention the singer's name, but Eleanor Selfridge Field's suggestion that he is referring to Negri is plausible as she is the only likely candidate (Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 402).

¹² Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 350.

¹³ The reason for the absence of a discussion of low male voices is the circumstance that, although leading tenors too achieved star status, the audience's interest seems to have focused more on female singers and castrato voices. In any event, castrati were typically not compared with tenors. This aside, the most accomplished tenors of the time (such as Antonio Barbieri and Giovanni Paita) frequently appeared in Venice as well.

¹⁴ Letter of 4 December 1728. Conti, *Lettere*, 226.

¹⁵ Senesino could not have heard Farinelli in Silvani-Capelli's *I fratelli riconosciuti* in the spring of 1726, as he had been London singing in Rolli-Handel's *Scipione* and *Alessandro*.

Altogether, the general excitement about Farinelli's engagement in Venice is not surprising. The images evoked by the description of his arrival resonate with the popular modern-day comparison of castrati with rock stars: 'La plus grande nouvelle de ce pays toujours oisif est l'arrivée de Farinelli. 300 personnes le suivoient l'autre jours dans la place de S^t Marc. Imaginez-vous quel sera le concours la nuit de Noël dans cette Eglise, où il doit chanter avec Senezino'.¹⁶ (The greatest news in this city, which does not know anything but leisure, is the arrival of Farinelli. 300 people followed him around St. Mark's Square the other day. Imagine what the crowd will be like on the evening of Christmas Day in that church [St. Mark's], where he will sing with Senesino.) By this time, visual representations of Farinelli had already become available in Venice.¹⁷

There can be little doubt that it was Farinelli's virtuosity that most stimulated the curiosity of the majority of the Venetian audience. Whereas in London, Cuzzoni was at least as eminent as Faustina, the latter seems to have been preferred by the Venetian audience on account of her virtuosity,¹⁸ and the anticipation of the stage debut of Antonia Negri in 1728 (see footnote 11) can probably be attributed to a large extent to the fact that her style was very florid.¹⁹ In any event, Farinelli's virtuosity seems to have been the feature that struck the listeners most immediately, alongside the sound quality and range of his voice. Conti reports the tenor of first reactions to Farinelli's voice in Venice,²⁰ stating that

les connoisseurs prétendent qu'on n'a jamais entendu une voix pareille depuis qu'on chante sur le théâtre. Il touche toutes les cordes quelquefois dans la même air avec une agilité surprenante, et la voix qu'on appelle *di petto* est aussi forte et variée que celle *di testa* est sçavante et harmonieuse²¹

¹⁶ Letter of 4 December 1728. Conti, *Lettere*, 226.

¹⁷ In the same letter, Conti advises Mme de Caylus that her son will be able to obtain an image of Farinelli from Antonio Maria Zanetti, who had made a 'portrait' (a caricature) of the singer. *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Regarding popularity, see Conti's comment that Faustina had all of Italy behind her (chapter 6, footnote 89). Regarding Faustina's virtuosity, see Aspden on Benedetto Marcello's satirical recitative, *Lettera del Sig.^r Carlo Antonio Benati scritta alla Sig.^{ra} Vittoria Tesi à Venezia* (Aspden, *Rival Sirens*, 2-3) as well as Aspden's and Woyke's discussions of Faustina's vocal style (Aspden, *Rival Sirens*, 29-37, and Woyke, *Faustina Bordoni*, 110-126). A *passaggio* of 4.5 bars from 'Gelosia, spietata Aletto' from *Admeto* (Aureli/anon.-Handel, London 1727), reproduced both by Aspden and Woyke, is one of the longest and most difficult *passaggi* written for Faustina by Handel.

¹⁹ Negri's stage name 'La Mestrina' suggests that she originated from Mestre, i.e., mainland Venice. If this is the case, it is likely that her teacher or protectors were well able to spread news of her abilities and characteristics in the Venetian musical circle prior to her stage debut at the Teatro San Samuele in 1728.

²⁰ It appears that Farinelli sang in private or semi-private settings before the opening of *Catone in Utica* on 26 December 1729, as the beginning of December would have been rather early for rehearsals for *Catone*. Farinelli's appearance with Senesino at San Marco occurred on the day preceding his operatic debut in Venice.

²¹ Letter of 4 December 1728. Conti, *Lettere*, 226.

(the connoisseurs opine that no equal voice has ever been heard on stage. He touches all the cords,²² sometimes in the same aria, with surprising agility, and his *voce di petto* is as strong and varied as his *voce di testa* is refined and harmonious).

As a result, Farinelli's virtuosic arias, especially the main bravura aria of each role, were of particular importance. This is reflected by the fact that the texts of all of these in his Venetian roles are newly written (see table 1 below) - with the only exceptions of 'Rondinella a cui rapita' and 'In braccio a mille furie' from *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Metastasio-Porpora, Venice 1729). As mentioned in chapter 6, the latter was the opera with the smallest number of substitute arias for Farinelli, as it had been conceived for both him and Scalzi, who had similar dramatic preferences. Farinelli seems to have developed the habit of arriving in Venice at least four weeks before the carnival season,²³ possibly in order to allow sufficient time for both text and music for all carnival operas to be created or adapted to his specifications.²⁴

²² Here Conti expresses astonishment regarding Farinelli's range. In 1729, scientists had not yet arrived at a precise explanation of the vocal mechanism. Conti's letter of 8 February 1729 shows that in Venice speculations circulated according to which humans had multiple vocal cords (apparently one each for each semitone they could produce). Conti, *Lettere*, 234-235. The earliest singing treatises that offer precise scientific explanations of the vocal mechanism are those by Alexis de Garaudé (*Méthode complète du chant*, 1841) and Manuel Garcia (*Traité complet de l'art du chant*, 2 Vols., 1840 and 1847 respectively). See John Potter and Neil Sorrell, *A History of Singing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 120-128.

²³ Conti's letters suggest that Farinelli arrived in Venice at the end of November in 1728. In 1732, a letter to Pepoli shows that he had been in the city for at least several days by 6 December, and in 1733, he reports that rehearsals for the 1734 carnival season were under way by 12 December. No information dating his arrival for the 1730 carnival season has come to light so far.

²⁴ This also depended on the arrival dates of composers and poets, unless they were resident in the city, although some alterations were also made from afar. Farinelli's arrivals in Venice were certainly very timely; generally speaking, contemporary correspondence between impresarios and singers suggests that the latter were expected to be present for rehearsals about three weeks, but no less than two weeks, prior to the opening night of an opera.

Table 7-1: Arias in fast tempi sung by Farinelli in Venice²⁵

1729		
Catone in Utica (Metastasio-Leo)		
	['Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' (I, 3) ²⁶]	substitute text, ²⁷ cantabile aria
	'Che legge spietata' (I, 13), allegro	
*	'Cervo in bosco' (II, 16), ²⁸ (allegro)	from <i>Medo</i> , Parma 1728
	'Sarebbe un bel diletto' (II, 3), allegro e staccato	substitute text
	'Scherzo dell'onda instabile' (II, 3), allegro	from <i>Medo</i> , Parma 1728, replaces 'Sarebbe un bel diletto' in the second edition of the libretto
Semiramide riconosciuta (Metastasio-Porpora)		
*	'Rondinella a cui rapita' (I, 15), con spirito	
*	'In braccio a mille furie' (III, 4), presto	
L'abbandono di Armida (pasticcio)		
*	'Cervo in bosco' (II, 10), (allegro)	from <i>Medo</i> , 1728, and <i>Catone in Utica</i> , 1729
1730		
Mitridate (Zeno-Giai)		
	'Se mi toglie quella' (I, 11), (allegro)	
*	'Son qual nave che agitata' (III, 13), allegro	substitute text
	'Liberò ruscelletto' (V, 7), vivace assai	substitute text
Idaspe (Candi/Lalli-Broschi)		
*	'Qual guerriero in campo armato' (I, 16), allegro	substitute text
	'Pastorel che trova al fine' (III, 5), allegro assai	substitute text
Artaserse (Metastasio-Hasse)		
*	'Parto qual pastorello' (III, 2), allegro	substitute text
1733		
Nitocri (Zeno-Selitti)		
*	'Scenda da cielo irato' (I, 16), allegro	substitute text
	'No, traditor non sono' (II, 8), allegro ma non troppo	substitute text
Adriano in Siria (Metastasio-Giacomelli)		
	'Già presso al termine' (I, 2), spiritoso	original text, moved to a different scene
	'Passagier, che incerto errando' (II, 7), (allegro)	substitute text; echo aria
*	'Amor... dover... rispetto' (II, 13), allegro	substitute text
1734		
Berenice (Salvi-Araia)		
*	'Cadrò, ma qual si mira' (II, 4)	probably substitute text
	'Son fedele al idol mio' (III, 2), allegro-andantino	probably substitute text
Artaserse (Metastasio-Hasse/pasticcio)		
	'Quell'ardor che il sen m'accende' (?) ²⁹ no surviving score of an allegro aria	substitute text
Merope (Zeno-Giacomelli)		
	'Dono d'amica sorte' (I, 3)	substitute text
*	'Quell'usignolo' (II, 4), spiritoso	substitute text
	'Chi condanna il regio sangue' (II, 11)	substitute text

²⁵ Asterisks indicate the main bravura arias in the different *drammi per musica*.

²⁶ In the libretto, the aria's first line is printed as 'Mi lusinga il dolce affetto.'

²⁷ The text was already used by Farinelli in *Alcina*, Rome, 1728.

²⁸ 'Cervo in bosco' replaces the original aria text, 'Che sia la gelosia'; notes pertaining to this substitution and giving the full text of 'Cervo in bosco' are printed at the end of both the first and second editions of the libretto.

²⁹ No score of the 1734 *pasticcio* survives; the only aria text in Farinelli's role that is retained from the 1730 Venetian setting is 'Lascia cadermi in volto' (II, 2). The only text whose affect strongly suggests a bravura setting is 'Quell'ardor che il sen m'accende', although in Italian operas between 1730 and 1734, Farinelli's allegro arias at the end of the third act were typically not of large dimensions. 'Se penso al tuo periglio' (I, 2) was a *contrafactum* of 'Se al ciglio lusinghiero' from *Siroe* (Metastasio-Hasse, Bologna 1733), an aria in *grazioso* style. Farinelli's main aria slots (at the end of act I, in the second half of act II and at the beginning of act III) are all filled with slow arias, at least two of them *patetico-cantabile* hybrids (see chapter 8), 'Chi non sente al mio dolore' (I, 15) and 'La sorte mia tiranna' (II, 11). The latter is a slightly adapted version of the aria by the same title also from the 1733 *Siroe*, and the former a new setting by Hasse of an aria text Farinelli had sung previously in the 1732 Turin and 1733 Lucca productions of Zeno-R. Broschi's *Merope*. Regarding the sources of the surviving arias from the 1734 Venetian *Artaserse pasticcio*, see Schmidt-Hensel, *Hasse*, II: 75.

Farinelli's Venetian Debut: Catone in Utica

Farinelli made his Venetian debut in the carnival season of 1729 as Arbace in Leo's setting of Metastasio's *Catone in Utica*. This was the second setting of the libretto after Vinci's for Rome the preceding year. Unusually for Farinelli, his role included an aria from a previous opera, 'Cervo in bosco' from the 1728 *Medo*, which was inserted in the privileged spot at the end of act II (scene 16) and, quite possibly, even a second one, 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' from *L'isola di Alcina* (Fanzaglia-R. Broschi, Rome 1728).³⁰ Farinelli was not in the habit of using 'suitcase arias' except in *pasticci*, which by definition consist at least partially of pre-existing material. On the contrary, even in revivals of operas in which he had previously performed the same role, Farinelli often sang new settings of his aria texts or arias that were different both in terms of text and music.³¹ In other words, Farinelli tended to sing new music even in productions in which retaining the arias from the operas' first versions would have been perfectly feasible and would have saved him time and effort. This departure from his habits suggests that Farinelli, too, considered his Venetian debut an occasion of great import.

In this light, two circumstances are of special interest. First, the insertion of 'Cervo in bosco' is conspicuous. Whilst all singers' roles in *Catone* contain substitute aria texts, Farinelli's 'Cervo in bosco' is the only one whose text is printed at the end of the libretto's first edition. All other substitute aria texts, including Farinelli's, are printed in the scenes

³⁰ The aria is transmitted in two sources, both complete copies of *Catone in Utica* as performed in Venice in 1729 by two different copyists, one in B-Bc (Ms 2194) and one in GB-Lam (Ms 75). In both copies, the aria text is identical with the aria text Farinelli had sung in *L'isola di Alcina*, with the exception of the opening line, which reads 'Mi lusinga il dolce affetto' in the Roman libretto, but 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' in both *Catone* scores. Small changes between subsequent versions are common in Farinelli's arias, however (see chapter 8). More importantly, the B section text of the *Alcina* aria does not suit the dramatic context of *Catone* (Ruggiero in *Alcina* has reason to doubt the identity of Bradamante, whereas Arbace in *Catone* is in no doubt as to Marzia's identity whatsoever). In the printed libretto of *Catone*, the B section has been altered to suit the context. Altogether, this suggests that the two surviving *Catone* scores were copied from a working score into which a fascicle with 'Mi lusinga il dolce affetto' (with the small alteration to 'cor' in the first line) from *Alcina* had been inserted. It should be noted that in the score in GB-Lam, the scribe has given the indication 'di Vinci' at the top left of the page, but this is most likely a mistake. 'Cervo in bosco', which can safely be attributed to Vinci, is not marked out in this manner, so the scribe may have misunderstood or misremembered which of the arias was composed by Vinci. However, given that Farinelli often sang new settings of favourite aria texts, the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that the aria in *Catone* is a new setting composed by Leo, although it would have been unusual not to adapt a text to a new dramatic context before it was given to the composer. In another *Catone in Utica* (Metastasio-Hasse, Torino, carnival 1732), Farinelli sang 'Mi lusinga il dolce affetto' in a new setting by Hasse (D-DI/ Mus.2477-F-107) with the adapted text as printed in the libretto of the Venetian 1729 production. See also Strohm, *Opernarien*, 2: 185.

³¹ Importing arias by a different composer into an otherwise newly composed opera was altogether unusual for Farinelli. Strohm too states that Farinelli's two arias in *Catone* are the only such case identified by him. Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, 1: 249.

in which they occur and marked by a *stelletta*.³² In the second edition of the libretto, another aria text is added at the end as a substitute text, again an aria for Farinelli, 'Scherzo dell'onda instabile', which, like 'Cervo in bosco', was from his role in *Medo*; in contrast an aria text for Negri which was also replaced between the first and second editions of the libretto is printed in the proper scene.³³ It is, of course, quite likely that the poetry of Farinelli's *arie aggiunte* from *Medo* was typeset separately because the decision to insert them was made too late to print it otherwise, for example as late as the rehearsal stage, at the request of a patron.³⁴ Another explanation might be that the texts of the *arie aggiunte* were intentionally made conspicuous, potentially because reports from the *Medo* production had stimulated interest among the Venetians to hear the arias that had utterly astonished Senesino and probably other listeners who had made the journey from Venice to Parma.³⁵

Second, Farinelli did not sing 'Cervo in bosco' unaltered. In comparison with the Parma 1728 version of the aria in *Medo* (Appendix B 1.16), the vocal line of the Venice 1729 version (Appendix B 1.20) contains cuts at the end of both a1 and a2 (see Musical Examples 7-1 and 7-2).³⁶ Since it is highly unlikely that anyone would have demanded that Farinelli cut the aria, the omitted material is neither unpleasing nor vocally too taxing, and the deletion of three bars each at the end of both a1 and a2 does not affect the performance duration substantially, the only plausible explanation for the deletions is that they were made in order to increase the effectiveness of the aria in performance, most likely by Farinelli himself.

³² Following extensive alterations of the end of act III by Metastasio in response to the negative reaction of the Roman audience to the tragic and unusual end of the *dramma* (Markstrom, *Vinci*, 218-19 and 230-31), these substitute arias were added to *Catone in Utica* (ostensibly by Lalli, the author of the libretto's dedication).

³³ In III, 10, Negri's role contains the substitute aria text 'Chi mai saper desia' in the first edition; this is replaced by another new text, 'Naqui agli affanni in seno', in the second edition.

³⁴ Strohm mentions the possibility for aria changes at the rehearsal stage at the request of patrons in 'Wer entscheidet', 79.

³⁵ This aria may also have been chosen to emphasise Farinelli's virtuosity by means of alluding to programmatic violin concerti on a hunting metaphor by Vivaldi, who frequently performed solo concerti between the acts of his operas and was renowned for his astounding virtuosity. RV 293 'L'autunno' from *I quattro stagioni* and RV 362 *La caccia*, both published in the two-volume *Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'inventione*, Op. 8, had been published a few years earlier, in 1725.

³⁶ This is not a matter of faulty copies or variants. The sources of the arias in the 1729 Venetian version all contain these cuts whilst none of the scores of the 1728 Parma version do.

Mus. Ex. 7-2: 'Cervo in bosco' (I, 13), *Medo*, 53-82³⁹Cuts administered to the end of a2 for the insertion of the aria into *Catone in Utica*, II, 16

53 [va.]

57 [va.] al pra - to va. Var-ca.il col - le, cer-ca.il fon - te, dal - la val - le.in pra -

64 to va, var-ca.il col - le, cer-ca.il fon-te, dal - la val - le al pra - to

69 va, al pra - to va, al pra - to va.

9 Fine

The cut before the end of a2 in the Venetian version omits a corresponding arpeggiated *parlante* phrase as well as a scalic descent and ascent, though now in the tonic key (66-68 in Musical Example 7-2).⁴⁰ As in a1, suspense is built by the repetition of a familiar group of four sixteenth notes, and relieved by a ‘surprise leap’ and scalic descent, though this time the scale precedes the leap (63). The B section is also concluded by a descending scale (106-108). Interestingly, the cut at the end of a2 deletes an opportunity for Farinelli to sing a cadenza both in A and in A’ although he was renowned for his musical inventiveness, and the abundance of notated fermatas and other suitable places for cadenzas in his roles attests to his liking for singing cadenzas.

How, then, can these cuts enhance the effectiveness of ‘Cervo in bosco’ in performance? A possible explanation is that Farinelli considered a straight charge to the final cadence without the triadic flourish of the arpeggiated *parlante* phrase and cadenza more suitable for the musical imitation of the aria’s metaphor, the flight of a mortally wounded deer. Another possibility, particularly within the charged atmosphere of Farinelli’s debut in Venice, is that a straight charge to the end was more audience-friendly. In terms of technical difficulty, Farinelli’s *passaggi* exceed those sung by the most virtuosic singer who had been heard in Venice to date, Faustina, who seems to have served as a touchstone for bravura singing as well as popularity in Venice. Not only do Farinelli’s *passaggi* contain numerous *note ribattute* (for which Faustina was famous),⁴¹ but also numerous

³⁹ I-MC I-A-18, fols. 48r-49v.

⁴⁰ The corresponding passage at the end of a1 is in the dominant in keeping with the usual modulation to the dominant key within a1 in a standard da capo aria.

⁴¹ See Woyke, *Faustina Bordoni*, 123-125.

ascending octave leaps, violin idiom (21), arpeggios (44) and three successive bars of *salti di terza* decorated with trills (53-55) while utilising a range of nearly two octaves (c'-b'''). Descriptions such as that of the competition between Farinelli and the trumpet player in *Adelaide* (see chapter 4) suggest that 18th-century opera audiences applauded immediately following a particularly noteworthy performance element rather than waiting for the end of an aria or even a section. On the spoken stage, too, 18th-century audiences were known to applaud elegant poses or well-executed transitions between passions of actors even in the middle of important monologues.⁴² The cut at the end of a1 in 'Cervo al bosco' leaves an opening for applause directly after the end of the *passaggi* and their culmination in the ascending 'surprise leap' of a ninth (30).⁴³ As to the second cut, which was to some extent necessitated by the first, Farinelli may have felt that maintaining the rhythmic energy and excitement of the aria until the end of A/A' in this aria to be more effective than interrupting its flow by a cadenza. Directing the audience's attention towards the elements of speed, agility and range in this section whilst foregrounding Farinelli's skill in improvising cadenzas in the lento B section as well as other, more suitable moments in his role in terms of affect and musical context,⁴⁴ throws the individual aspects of the singer's technique and voice into sharper relief, making them more discernible for an audience who was encountering him for the first time.

A third possible explanation for the cuts is that they may have been intended to bring 'Cervo in bosco' in line with musical features occurring in 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' (I, 3), Farinelli's entrance aria in *Catone in Utica*. In 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' (I, 3; Appendix B 1.19), a cantabile rather than a bravura aria,⁴⁵ a descending *volatina semplice* occurs at the end of both a1 and a2 (36 and 75, though followed by a brief extension in a2), and a stepwise descent from g'' to d' also ends B. Another similarity between 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' and 'Cervo in bosco' is the building up of suspense throughout the long

⁴² Roach, *Player's Passion*, 69.

⁴³ Such considerations could have been informed by the reaction of the original audience in Parma in 1728.

⁴⁴ For example, in 'Che legge spietata' (I, 13), two fermatas are notated on the word 'penar' (44 and 47) and the aria offers further, non-notated opportunities for cadenzas (19, 25 and 37).

⁴⁵ In the only source (B-Bc Ms 2194), no tempo marking is given, but other *cantabile* arias for Farinelli in cut time are most often marked *andante*. Nevertheless, due to the small note values used in the *passaggi*, the aria requires nearly as much agility as 'Cervo in bosco', though it is less overtly virtuosic. Herr opines that, despite the absence of a tempo marking 'das Allegro ist aber eindeutig' (Herr, *Kastraten und Falsettisten*, 205). This judgement is based on a lack of understanding of tempo in cut-time arias, which is also evident from her discussion of Nicolini's 'Dovea svenarti allora' (II, 13), and performance practice in general. At allegro tempo, the 16th and 32nd notes (74) in 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' would be unperformable. However, due to the predominance of small note values, the aria is virtuosic and seems to move quickly despite its *andante* pulse.

passaggi and the manner in which this is achieved. The a1 *volatina* is preceded by the repetition of a syncopated rhythmic fragment (a single pitch for the duration of one bar each, 33-35) which is linked to the *volatina* by means of a 'surprise leap'. In a2, several suspense-raising and unexpected features are employed in succession; first a four-part rising, chromatically inflected sequence (68-71), the longest sustained pitch in the aria (on the dominant scale degree, 72-73), which is then followed by the fourfold statement of a rapidly repeated fragment utilising the shortest note values in the aria (74). This finally connects to the descending *volatina* by means of an ascending 'surprise leap' of an octave.

Thus, a descending scale or *volatina* is used as a closing device at or shortly before important section endings in both arias. Repeated fragments of different kinds create suspense on the one hand by raising the question of what will come next, but on the other, their leading to closing scales also give both them and the connecting 'surprise leap' the function of annunciators of an impending ending. However, recognition of the latter function requires familiarity with the manner in which these musical features are used and combined; this is built up gradually as the listeners hear increasingly more arias containing these devices.

Moreover, the arias establish a formal characteristic of Farinelli's bravura arias, i.e., an extension of a2. In 'Cervo in bosco', a2 could feasibly end at the dominant-tonic cadence in bar 55. In fact, the circumstances that the A-section text has been restated in its entirety, culminating in a long *passaggio*, and that this cadence is reached by means of a descending scale and the repeated *salti di terza* preceding it (52-54), suggest that it will. However, a2 is extended by a repetition of the last two lines of the A section text and an additional *passaggio*. The same strategy is used in 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto', which, instead of terminating at the perfect cadence in bars 64-65, restates the last line of the A section of the aria text and launches into another coloratura passage, though, unlike in 'Cervo in bosco', the 'false ending' is preceded only by a repeated fragment (61-62), but no scale. Whilst the use of extensions in a2 was not unique to Farinelli, it was still relatively uncommon in the late 1720s and was more often found in the arias of virtuosic singers than singer-actors.⁴⁶ As such, these extensions may have been perceived as manipulations of the standard aria form.

⁴⁶ In *Catone in Utica*, Negri is the only other singer in whose role this feature can be found. However, other singers showed specific formal preferences as well. For example, two of the arias sung by Facchinelli, who was renowned for her acting, omit the opening ritornello, allowing for continuity of dramatic action from the recitative into the aria.

Rhetorical Strategies

Analysis of Farinelli's subsequent Venetian roles reveals that such devices, local as well as structural, were utilised increasingly consistently, particularly in his bravura arias, suggesting that they are manifestations of a rhetorical strategy. The basis for the latter consists in the audience's existing knowledge of general musical conventions as well as their familiarity with the personal styles of other performers, both singers and instrumentalists. Within this framework, certain musical features that could be learnt to be recognised as elements of Farinelli's personal idiom are introduced and established by repetition, thus building additional knowledge of musical conventions that were specific to Farinelli.⁴⁷ The audience's expectations arising from their combined knowledge of generic and star-specific conventions could then be either fulfilled or thwarted, avoiding fulfilling expectations so often as to make arias become too predictable on the one hand and abstaining from thwarting them so often that the framework of familiarity ceases to lose its referential function on the other hand. In addition, new vocal and musical elements were gradually introduced into Farinelli's arias to satisfy the 18th-century demand for novelty. The appearance of particular devices primarily in bravura arias can be explained by their special suitability to arias with extended *passaggi*. Farinelli's slow arias make use of a different set of features (see chapter 8); in this manner, clear boundaries were created between different aspects of his singing.

One might be able to apply the names of linguistic devices that are defined and described in many Italian treatises on rhetoric of the time to these musical features; however, the usefulness of doing so is questionable, simply because correlating specific figures of speech and musical features would involve guesswork since no contemporary Italian treatises on the *dramma per musica* describe such correlations. In Germany, Mattheson would certainly have liked to see composers make such connections as the relationship between linguistic and musical rhetorical devices was evident to him:

§ 46.

Was ist wol gebräuchlicher, als die Anaphora in der musikalischen Setz-Kunst, wo eben dieselbe Klang-Folge, die schon vorgewesen ist, im Anfange

⁴⁷ Using Farinelli's 'Son qual nave' as an example, Feldman discusses the relationship between singer and audience in terms of ritual, describing the singer as a 'magus'. See *Opera and Sovereignty*, chapter 2, 'Arias: Form, Feeling, Exchange', 69-82.

verschiedener nächsten Calusel[n] [sic; recte Clause[n]] wiederholet wird, und eine relationem oder Beziehung macht.

[musical example]

Die Epanalepsis, Epistrophe, Anadiplosis, Paronomasia, Polyptoton, Antanaclasis, Ploce, etc. haben solche natürliche Stellen in der Melodie, daß es fast scheint, als hätten die griechischen Redner sothane Figuren aus der Ton=Kunst entlehnet; denn sie sind lauter repetitiones *vocum*, Wiederholungen der Wörter, die auf verschiedene Weise angebracht werden.⁴⁸

(What could be more common than the anaphora in musical composition, in which precisely the same succession of notes that has been used earlier is repeated at the beginning of different ensuing phrases, thus establishing a *relatio* or relationship.

[example of a musical anaphora]

The epanalepsis, epistrophe, anadiplosis, paronomasia, polyptoton, antanaclasis, ploce, etc. have such a natural place in music that it almost seems as though the Greek orators had borrowed these figures from music; for they are all *repetitiones vocum*, repetitions of words, which are applied in various ways.

Mattheson goes on to discuss other rhetorical figures. According to him, features such as Farinelli's 'surprise leap', would be musical applications of the paradox. His opinion that 'die Paradoxa, welche was unvermuthetes vortragen, kan man fast mit Händen greiffen'⁴⁹ (you can almost grasp paradoxa, which represent something unexpected, with your hands) indicates not only that they were conspicuous phenomena, but also that in their case the analogy between literary and musical rhetorical devices seemed particularly obvious. While Mattheson insists on creating specific connections between musical features and literary figures of speech, that most other musicians did not is suggested by the fact that, despite the thoroughness of his treatise in other matters, he does not go to the trouble of either defining the various figures of speech or giving musical examples for them, with the exception of the anaphora. His anticipation of the response of composers reading his treatise provides further evidence:

Viele werden hiebey dencken, wir haben dergleichen Dinge und Figuren nun schon so lange angebracht, ohne zu wissen, wie sie heissen oder was sie bedeuten: können uns auch forthin wol damit behelffen, und die Rhetorik an den Nagel hängen. Diese kommen mir noch lächerlicher vor, als der bürgerliche Edelman bey Moliere.⁵⁰

(Reading this many will think 'we have used such features and figures already for such a long time not knowing what they are called and what they [their names] mean, and so we can get by in the same manner in the future and leave

⁴⁸ Mattheson, *Capellmeister*, 243.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 243-244.

rhetoric be.' To me, such people are even more ridiculous than Moliere's bourgeois gentilhomme.)

Whilst Mattheson's obvious resentment suggests that he considered it unlikely his approach would find widespread application, the imaginary response of his opponents indicates that he recognised that composers considered the rhetorical functions of the musical means they employed, though they did not hold it necessary to label them.

What Mattheson does not recognise is the impracticality of labelling combinations of pitches as though they were combinations of words. Being less specific with regard to meaning, music cannot be described in the same terms as language. The definitions of most rhetorical figures rely on words' semantics, which are more specific and thus more unambiguously identified and understood by the listener. Different musical figures can be employed to serve the same rhetorical function, depending on the context. However, this does not mean that Mattheson's Italian contemporaries, singers as well as composers, did not approach music in terms of the principles of rhetoric or that they were unfamiliar with literary figures of speech. The study of 'lettere' played an important role in male singers' (presumably also in composers') education in the Neapolitan conservatories, in addition to acting.⁵¹ Given that rhetoric was central both to the study of literature and acting, it is unlikely that singers did not acquire at least the foundations of rhetoric within several hours of daily study of 'lettere' over a number of years.

In Farinelli's Venetian roles, the devices employed in *Catone in Utica* discussed above continued to be established in the second opera of the 1729 season, *Semiramide riconosciuta*. Unlike in *Catone in Utica*, all of Farinelli's arias in *Semiramide* were newly composed, so whereas in the former opera, musical means with specific functions could be introduced by Farinelli himself through his choice and adaptation of *arie aggiunte*, they now had to be integrated into the score by the composer, Porpora. Farinelli's *cantabile-bravura* aria⁵² in *Semiramide*, 'Rondinella a cui rapita' (Appendix B 1.21) at the end of act I (I, 15) utilises means found in *Catone*.

⁵¹ According to Bontempi, two hours a day were dedicated to 'lettere', i.e., language and literature, and one hour to acting. Bontempi, *Historia musica*, 170.

⁵² Though a showpiece marked *con spirito*, the aria is *cantabile* in style, in keeping with the portrayal of the *galant*, sentimental Mirteo.

Mus. Ex. 7-3: 'Rondinella a cui rapita' (I, 15), *Semiramide riconosciuta*, 53-72⁵³

la - - - - - gna in - tor - no, al ni - do dell' in - fi - do, dell' in - fi - do - - - - - cac - cia - tor,

si la - - - - - gna in - tor - no, al ni - do dell' in - fi - do, dell' in - fi - do - - - - - cac - cia - tor.

As in 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto', the prolongation of a pitch, here by means of syncopations which turn into repetition (54-56), and the ensuing 'surprise leap' and descending scale (56-57) seem to announce the end of a2 at the perfect cadence in bar 57. However, the orchestra does not enter with the opening motive of the ritornello, but a phrase that is repeated by the voice (59) which then launches into another *passaggio* on 'si lagna,' extending a2 with an additional statement of the last two lines of the aria's A stanza. A repetition of bars 54-57 concludes a2, confirming their closing function. However, unlike in *Catone*, these procedures do not occur at the end of a1, but are reserved for the large section ending (A).

Overall, the features first employed in Farinelli's two main arias in *Catone* are confirmed in *Semiramide*. An extension of a2 also occurs in 'Bel piacer saria d'un core' (I, 7), in which the final cadence is also preceded by a repetition of a repeated fragment. As in 'Rondinella a cui rapita', sections end on scales/*volatine* in 'Bel piacer saria d'un core' (B) and 'Siete barbari, amate stelle' (II, 9; a2). In the latter, the final descending scale is preceded by a 'surprise leap'. Prolongation of a single pitch prior to a section ending also occurs in B of 'Si pietoso il tuo labro ragiona' (II, 5; Appendix B 1.22). However, altogether, the functions of these features are somewhat less clearly delineated than in *Catone*, as they are used in four of Farinelli's six arias rather than being confined to the two main virtuosic arias, as in *Catone*. This may suggest that the formation of a clear rhetorical strategy was a process that emerged only gradually, possibly in response to audience reactions, and was refined in successive roles and seasons.

The main sections of the presto 'In braccio a mille furie' (III, 4), the only fast aria in Farinelli's role in *Semiramide* aside from 'Rondinella a cui rapita,' all end in rapid *parlante* passages, only one of which (a1) forms a nearly complete scale. The aria does not

⁵³ GB-Lam MS 82, fols. 76v-77r.

use any of the familiar means to create suspense, either. The reason can be assumed to reside in the aria's content and dramatic context. The plot revolves around the suit of three men, Scitalce, Mirteo and Ircano, for the hand of Semiramide's protégé, Tamiri, and Semiramide's eventual reunion with Scitalce, her former lover. The latter represents the role type of the heroic mature prince, Ircano represents that of the irascible barbarian king, and Mirteo (Farinelli), is the almost overly refined, forbearing, *galant* suitor.⁵⁴ After two acts of exemplary restraint and propriety, the news that his rival Scitalce is the man who twenty years earlier eloped with his sister, Semiramide, provokes an impassioned outburst from Mirteo. 'In braccio a mille furie' serves to vent both his immediate reaction and pent-up jealousy. The musical setting accounts for the unusualness of unrestrained anger for Mirteo – and, in fact, for the dramatic persona of Farinelli, in whose repertory rage arias are rare.⁵⁵ Not only is it the only aria that makes extensive use of rapid *parlante* text delivery, but its rhythmically square *passaggi* are cast in violin idiom throughout (evoking tempest concerti), whereas all other five arias are composed of leisurely, expansive phrases abounding in highly subtle, florid surface detail. The absence of musical features that are to form a repertory of typical gestures is thus not surprising. However, the whirling, conjunct, partially scalic passages before the cadential *parlante* phrases at the end of A and B were to recur in the ensuing seasons, serving to maintain the forward drive of *passaggi* that were significantly longer than those in 'In braccio a mille furie'.

Conti's letters attest to Farinelli's fulfilling the high expectations of the Venetian audience; at the beginning of February 1729, by which time *Catone* had been running for six weeks, Conti still did not 'dare' to voice his preference for Faustina and Senesino in public 'dans un tems où la constellation du fanatisme musical domine de manière que les plus sages sénateurs font la cour aux eunuques'⁵⁶ (at a time when the constellation of musical fanaticism dominates in such a manner that the most sagacious senators court eunuchs). However, as in Bologna, Farinelli also encountered criticism. According to Elizeus Burges,

y^e whole Town is so taken up with y^e diversions of y^e Carnival and y^e competition between Farinello and Faustina, that we think and talk of nothing else. y^e Lady's strength lies chiefly among y^e Foreigners, especially y^e English

⁵⁴ In terms of the then still current theory of temperaments, Scitalce stands for the sanguine, Ircano for the choleric and Mirteo for the phlegmatic temper.

⁵⁵ Even so, the aria puts greater emphasis on the passion of torment than on that of anger as the *passaggi* occur on the verb 'tormentano' (torment).

⁵⁶ Letter of 5 February 1729. Conti, *Lettere*, 243.

and French; but y^e Eunuch has allmost all y^e Italians of his side: a powerful Band and esteem'd by much y^e best Judges of Musick.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, Farinelli also counted a significant number of English among his admirers.⁵⁸ The preference of the French and many English as well as francophile Italians such as Conti for Faustina can probably be explained by the latter's outstanding acting which made her vocal virtuosity more palatable to patrons who favoured a text- and action-centred aesthetic as a result of their familiarity with their own countries' theatrical traditions.⁵⁹ In fact, Farinelli's static approach to delivering arias seems to have been acknowledged more widely than just by his critics. Even before his debut, Conti states quite generally that 'on convient qu'il n'est pas acteur et que tout son fort consiste a chanter des airs d'une manière qu'on n'a jamais entendue'⁶⁰ (people agree that he is not an actor and that his strength consists entirely in singing arias in an unheard-of manner).

Based on his own verdict that Farinelli 'surprend plus qu'il ne touche'⁶¹ (surprises more than he touches [the listener]), Conti expected the Venetian Farinelli-craze to be short-lived. That he was proven wrong was probably due in part to a continuous increase in the technical difficulty and virtuosity of Farinelli's bravura arias. Already, the arias Farinelli sang in *Catone* were perceived as unprecedentedly virtuosic to such a degree as to raise the question as to what was humanly possible with regard to singing: 'on vous dit que la voix est d'avoir plusieurs cordes et que Farinello en a 40, qu'il passe de l'un à l'autre par des nuances imperceptibles, enfin qu'il execute ce que les plus grands maîtres de l'art n'auroient pas meme soupçonné possibles'⁶² (people say that the voice has multiple cords and that Farinello has 40 of them, [and] that he passes from one to the other by imperceptible degrees, and thus executes things which the greatest masters of the art would not have thought to be possible). A continuous increase in technical difficulty ensured that

⁵⁷ Letter of 11 February 1729, London, Public Record Office, SP 99/63, f.85v. Quoted in McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion,' 341.

⁵⁸ See McGeary, 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion' and 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds.'

⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that according to Burges, Farinelli is championed by 'y^e best Judges of *Musick* [emphasis mine]'. To the francophile Conti, the dramatic and production aspects of the operas were of greater importance: 'Pour moy, Faustine me touche plus, et l'opéra de San Cassano est meilleur pour le rapport aux decorations et à la representation de tout l'opéra. En un mot, à San Grisostomo, on a un concert à voix seule et à San Cassano, on a un opera. Le sujet en est plaisant.' (For my part, Faustina touches me more [than Farinelli], and the opera at San Cassiano is better in terms of the relationship [of the subject matter] to the sets and to the production and performance of the opera as a whole. In short, at San Grisostomo, you get a concert for solo voice, and at San Cassiano, you get an opera. Its subject matter is agreeable.) 30 December 1728. Conti, *Lettere*, 230.

⁶⁰ Letter of 18 December 1728. *Ibid.*, 229.

⁶¹ Letter of 30 December 1728. *Ibid.*, 230.

⁶² Letter of 8 February 1729. *Ibid.*, 235.

Farinelli's 1730 Season in Venice: Pushing the Boundaries of Singing Conventions

It is unlikely that Farinelli was unaware of the criticism that his singing only surprised rather than touched the listener. In fact, a stratification of his singing style into extremes of expressive singing in slow arias on the one hand, and virtuosic singing in bravura arias on the other, occurred in his 1730 Venetian roles. This stratification may have been intended to satisfy the admirers of his virtuosity whilst disproving the allegation of his critics.

In Farinelli's first role of the season, Farnace in *Mitridate*, the balance is still decidedly tipped towards virtuosity; each of his three bravura arias (out of a total of five arias) exceeds the difficulty and proportions of coloratura singing listeners could have expected from the most virtuosic singers up to 1730 apart from Farinelli himself. However, the musical features already employed by him in the 1729 season are now confined to the fast arias and deployed in a manner that seems to draw on listeners' familiarity with arias from the previous season while creating connections between the fast *Mitridate* arias themselves. The first of these, 'Se mi togliete quella' (I, 11; Appendix B 1.25) might be considered to function as a reminder of Farinelli's 1729 arias. Whilst a1 ends with a descending scale followed by a 'surprise leap' to the final cadence (24-26), the same features are used to prepare a false ending in a2 (41-43). A harmonic sidestep to the tonic minor (G minor) leads to an extension of a2, which finally ends with an ascending *volatina raddoppiata* to a fermata before a mostly scalic approach to the final cadence of the vocal part (49-51). The suspenseful elements of the voice's stalling on one pitch or repeating fragments occur briefly prior to each of the above-mentioned cadences, but are not foregrounded.

In contrast, they are exploited extensively in 'Son qual nave che agitata' (III, 13; Appendix B 1.27), the musical centrepiece of the entire opera and of Herculean proportions,⁶⁶ though almost exclusively in the a2 extension. Descending *volatine* and 'surprise leaps' serve to close a1⁶⁷ (32-33) and arrive at a false ending in a2 (54-55), confirming the procedures of which the audience have been reminded in 'Se mi togliete quella'. Up to the false ending, 'Son qual nave' is, within the context of Farinelli's previous fast arias in Venice, a

⁶⁶ 'Son qual nave' amounts to 187 bars; Farinelli's other two bravura arias in *Mitridate*, which are by no means short, consist of 130 and 145 bars respectively.

⁶⁷ At the end of a1, an arpeggio replaces or fills in the 'surprise leap'.

conventional bravura piece, but the a2 extension makes it the most virtuosic aria performed by any singer in Venice so far. Unlike all previous a2 extensions, the one in 'Son qual nave' neither falls into individual phrases nor does it contain any syllabic text setting or text repetitions aside from its first three syllables (56).⁶⁸ Instead, it consists of a *passaggio* of the unprecedented length of 17.5 bars, prolonged by two fermatas (70 and 73).

Following a sequence (56-59) and a *trillo calante*, sustained over three bars, the *passaggio* is composed entirely of familiar suspense-creating features designed to keep the listener on tenterhooks by pushing the boundaries of virtuosity beyond the hitherto imaginable. The *trillo calante*⁶⁹ leads to a fragment that is first repeated at pitch and then sequentially (63-64), but thwarts the expectation of the continuation of the sequence by leading to a *ribattuto* fragment stated four times in the course of two bars (65-66). This is replaced by another instance in which a repeated fragment seems to turn into a sequence (67), but again this expectation is foiled, this time by means of a stalled c'' (68-70), which raises the suspense to an extreme by means of both rhythmic (syncopation) and harmonic instability (the voice is stalled on the seventh of the dominant seventh chord). The fermata at the end of this offers the singer the opportunity to intensify the suspense in live performance.

Rather than proceeding to the final cadence, the voice launches into a cascade of *volatine*. Here the piece toys with the listener's familiarity with the descending scale or *volatina* as a closing device: the descending second and third *volatine* (71) seem to announce the final cadence, but this expectation is yet again thwarted by an ascending *volatina raddoppiata* which ends on another fermata (72-73). This is followed by the final cadence of a2. The final *passaggio* of a2 is thus prolonged in a manner that the audience was probably intended to perceive as sheer endlessness. This impression would have been strengthened by the comparative proportions of the extension in relation to a1 and the beginning of a2. In Farinelli's five previous arias featuring extensions, a2 up to and including the false ending is marginally shorter than a1 (typically by one to three bars) and the extension measures approximately half the size of the a1 and a2 sections.⁷⁰ That of 'Son qual nave' is twice as long, i.e., equal in duration to a1 and the first part of a2 in terms of the number

⁶⁸ Whilst it looks as though there is syllabic text setting at the final cadence (73-74), Farinelli would have been likely to embellish these words, rendering the text setting melismatic.

⁶⁹ The *trillo calante* has previously been established as a feature of the aria in 27 and 53, in which it consisted of one bar and four pitches; in the a2 extension, it is augmented threefold.

⁷⁰ Only in 'Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto' does the extension amount to approximately two thirds of the a1 and a2 sections.

of bars and presumably much longer in performance due to its two or three fermatas,⁷¹ thus defying listeners' expectations with regard to balance.

'Son qual nave' seems to have been extremely successful. Farinelli himself sang it at his debut in London in 1734 as well as in Italian *pasticci*⁷² and, as is evident from the collection of arias dedicated to Maria Theresa in which it is included, he frequently sang it at the Spanish court.⁷³ Moreover, the young and ambitious Caffarelli appears to have used it to compete against Carestini in the 1731 *Artaserse pasticcio* in Milano based on Vinci's setting. The large number of surviving copies further attests to its popularity. In addition, the aria text was reused by other singers.

Farinelli's last aria in *drammi per musica* is typically of significantly smaller proportions than the main bravura or slow aria; 'Liberò ruscelletto' (V, 6; Appendix B 1.28), a bravura aria with *passaggi* in oboe idiom of up to nearly 8 bars, is no exception. Due to the previous use of descending scales as a closing device, the opening phrase of the vocal part, a cascade of *volatine* over the tonic chord, might have been perceived by some listeners as a kind of musical joke, though it is well suited to imitate the metaphor of a freely flowing brook. Otherwise, the closing and suspense figures are used sparingly except where they establish the false ending of a2.⁷⁴ In terms of form, it is noteworthy that the a2 extension essentially amounts to an additional section, a3 (50-58), as the A stanza of the aria text is stated in full and it is harmonically an independent unit, starting and ending on the tonic. In light of the massive a2 extension in 'Son qual nave,' it is possible that restating the aria text of 'Liberò ruscelletto' from its very beginning and employing much of the musical material of the opening of a1⁷⁵ was to raise the expectation of another long third section in order to surprise the listener with an a3 that only slightly exceeds the relative proportions of previous a2 extensions, aside from that of 'Son qual nave.'

⁷¹ A1: 20 bars, a2: 18 bars, extension: 19 bars. The fact that the violins and violas rest during the last three beats of bar 73 suggests that the final cadence was designed to give Farinelli another opportunity to sing a cadenza on the dominant before the final tonic.

⁷² In *Artaserse* (Lucca 1730) and *Demetrio* (Vincenza 1734).

⁷³ It is noteworthy that he kept refining and altering both the musical and poetic text of this as well as several other arias which he sang in more than one production (see also chapter 8).

⁷⁴ At the end of a1 (28-29), only a descending scale occurs and prior to the final cadence of A (54-57), somewhat disguised descending scales are followed by a series of three leaps. However, the false ending of a2 (48-49) is preceded by repeated fragments and two *volatine* connected by a 'surprise leap'.

⁷⁵ Much more commonly, the opening phrase of a1 is restated at the beginning of a2.

'Qual guerriero in campo armato' (I, 16; Appendix B 1.29a and 1.29b) from *Idaspe* suggests that in terms of virtuosity, Farinelli was operating in accordance with the Olympic motto 'citius -altius-fortius' (Higher, Faster, Stronger) during the 1730 carnival season. Unlike in *Mitridate*, and probably entirely unexpectedly for the audience, it is Farinelli's only bravura aria in *Idaspe*. However, with the exception of the *trillo calante* and *messa di voce*, all the difficulties of the three *Mitridate* bravura arias are not only concentrated in it, but exceeded (see table 2 below). Whilst the *passaggi* in 'Son qual nave', particularly the last one, are extraordinary with regard to length, they are not very difficult technically (aside from the *ribattuto* passage and long *trillo calante*), being mostly conjunct and scalar in nature.⁷⁶ Technical elements such as *arpeggiato* singing and instrumental idiom are reserved for 'Se mi togliete quella' (violin idiom) and 'Liberò ruscelletto' (oboe idiom), ostensibly in order to endow each aria with a distinctive character. Whilst the longest *passaggio* in 'Qual guerriero' is shorter than that in 'Son qual nave' (14 instead of 16.5 bars and with the opportunity for only one cadenza), the former aria exceeds the latter by c.20% both in the total number of bars (228 versus 187 bars) and the number of bars of *passaggi* (100 versus 77 bars).⁷⁷

A particularly conspicuous feature of 'Qual guerriero' is its great emphasis on range; at least on paper, it surpasses that of Farinelli's previous bravura arias for Venice by a fourth. Neither the aria's total range nor the highly violinistic manner (see especially 63-66) in which it is exploited has a precedent in vocal writing.⁷⁸ Nearly every pitch in the aria, including the extremes, g and c'', is approached by leaps in excess of an octave. Especially noteworthy is the great number of ascending *sbalzi* (whose execution is much more demanding than that of descending leaps), among them leaps of a 14th (62) and two octaves (70-71) in sixteenth-note values at allegro tempo. Both *arpeggiato* idiom and consecutive *volatine* cover a wider range than in the *Mitridate* arias as well. Already the vocal opening line utilises the technique of repeating a phrase at the octave (17-19) introduced in 'Rondinella a cui rapita' (*Semiramide*, 1729), immediately calling attention to Farinelli's wide range. Further uses of this feature (52-53 and 54-55) as well as the octave displacement of small groups of pitches (38-39 and 117-118) sustain the idea

⁷⁶ This is ostensibly the reason why this aria was taken up by singers not only in Farinelli's lifetime, but also in recent years; numerous recordings of this aria of varying quality exist.

⁷⁷ The performance duration of both can differ depending on how many opportunities to perform cadenzas (notated as well as non-notated) the singer chooses to realise and the cadenzas' durations.

⁷⁸ Farinelli himself had sung a similar passage in 'Freme il padre' in *Antigona* (Bologna 1727), but none of the leaps there exceed the range of an octave and the tempo was probably somewhat slower.

throughout the aria. In the surviving manuscript copy, the emphasis on ambitus is represented visually by means of numerous clef changes between violin, soprano, alto, tenor and bass clefs (Appendix B 1.29b). Farinelli's ability to sing both in alto and soprano range is also thematicised in his main largo, 'Ombra fedele, anch'io' (II, 11), whose A section is in alto tessitura (a-e'') and notated in alto clef (with short phrases in mezzo-soprano and bass clefs) whereas the B section is in soprano tessitura (d'-f'') with an emphasis on g'-f'') and, accordingly, written in soprano clef.

Table 7-2: Elements of Vocal Technique in the bravura arias in *Mitridate* and *Idaspe*

	Technical Element	<i>Mitridate</i>			<i>Idaspe</i>
		'Se mi togliete quella'	'Son qual nave'	'Libero ruscelletto'	'Qual guerriero'
1. a	<i>volatina</i> (number of successive <i>volatine</i>)	2 (8-49)	5 (70-73)	3 (16-17) 2 (47-48)	7 (67-70)
1. b	<i>volatina</i> (range covered in successive <i>volatine</i>)	8va	11 th (d'-g'')	12 th (c'-g'')	2 8vas + 3 rd (g-b'')
2. a	<i>salti/sbalzi</i> ≥8va (number) ⁷⁹	2x8va 1x9th	5x8va	3x8va	24x8va 2x9th 8x10th 1x12th 2x13th 1x14th 1x2 8vas
2. b	<i>salti/sbalzi</i> ≥8va (range covered)	d'-g'')	c'-g'')	f'-b'' flat	g-c''')
3. a	arpeggios (number)	6 (38-39) 6 (47-48)	1 (eighth notes, 95-96)	-	8 (96-99)
3. b	arpeggios (range covered per arpeggio)	5 th /6 th	2 8vas (b-b'')	-	8va
4. a	<i>trillo cresciuto/calante</i> (number)	-	3 (27, 53 and 60-62) 1 <i>trillo</i> over <i>salti</i> (92-95)	-	-
4. b	<i>trillo cresciuto/calante</i> (range covered)	n/a	4 th (twice), 6 th 8va	n/a	n/a
5.	<i>messa di voce</i> (number)	-	1	-	-
6.	total range	11 th (d'-g'')	2 8vas (b-b'')	2 8vas (b flat – b'' flat)	2 8vas+4 th (g-c''')

The figurations in the *passaggi* of 'Qual guerriero', which eclipse any composed previously for the voice in terms of difficulty of execution, seem to issue a challenge to the violin as the most virtuosic instrument, exploring a variety of patterns commonly found in the solo episodes of violin concerti (e.g. 35-36, 75-80 and 84-87). The long chains of *volatine*, which cover the entire range of the violin in first position, recall tempest concertos such as performed by Vivaldi at the Teatro Sant'Angelo in the same period. Altogether, 'Qual guerriero' dwarfs arias such as 'Cervo in bosco', which had already instilled incredulity in listeners such as Senesino and prompted Conti to describe *Catone* as

⁷⁹ Only leaps of an octave or more within phrases are accounted for.

‘un concert à voix seule’⁸⁰ (a concerto for solo voice). Unfortunately, the latter's correspondence with Mme de Caylus terminated with her death in 1729 and no specific reactions to Farinelli's singing in the 1730 season by him have been transmitted.

In relationship to the Venetian audience, the wide range and relentless instrumental nature of the vocal part in ‘Qual guerriero’ constitute the elements of novelty needed in order for Farinelli to amaze the audience yet again following *Mitridate*. At the same time, the aria utilises the already established closing, annunciatory and suspense-creating figures, though ostensibly with the aim of infusing these, too, with the flavour of novelty, in often more elaborate ways than in *Mitridate*. At the end of a1, for example, the repeated figure that typically precedes the closing descending scale now comprises a full bar (rather than only a group of four or eight sixteenth notes), consisting of an ascending *volatina* followed by two quarter notes with trills (41-43); the descending *volatina* before the cadence is repeated as well. At the final cadence of A (102-103), the vocal part is composed of a single descending *volatina* and a ‘surprise leap’ preceded by the voice stalling on the pitch b – but the b is delivered as a series of nine consecutive leaps between b’ and b’’. Instead of one a2 extension, ‘Qual guerriero’ features two. The first false ending is established by means of a seemingly endless cascade of six descending *volatine* (spanning the range of two octaves and a minor third, g-b’’ flat) and a ‘surprise leap’ of two octaves (62-71). As the vocal part cadences in the relative minor (G), the audience could presumably identify the cadence as a false ending, particularly as they were bound to expect an extension in a Farinellian bravura aria. However, the strings enter with the vocal opening phrase in the tonic key (72-73) as though they were starting off the closing ritornello, thus momentarily suggesting that the previous cadence had indeed been final. But, imitating the violins, the voice enters again and launches into the first extension (73-91). The false ending of this is set up by the fourfold statement of a short fragment (88), the last two of which take an unexpected turn from the tonic chord to the diminished seventh of the dominant, as well as an ascending *volatina* and descending scalic fragments to a cadence in the tonic. This time, the cadence is not connected to an extension; instead a homorhythmic *piano* passage is interpolated which momentarily shifts the focus from the battle metaphor of the aria to the idea of the protagonist's suffering enamoured heart (91-94) before the final *passaggio* commences. In retrospect, the ‘proper’ use of closing devices before the final cadence (96-102) exposes the preceding cadence as false. ‘Qual guerriero’ thus satisfies the attentive

⁸⁰ Letter of 30 December 1728. Conti, *Lettere*, 230.

listener by means of a highly creative use of established features, which serve their rhetorical guidepost function while delightfully toying with the listener's expectations.

These functions are confirmed in Farinelli's last aria in *Idaspe*, 'Pastorel che trova alfine' (III, 5; Appendix B 1.31), whose A section ends duly with a descending scale that follows upon a 'surprise leap' of a seventh (82-83). However, this piece, too, seems to be intended to subvert the listeners' expectation. Given that Farnace in *Idaspe* was the first role in which Farinelli performed only a single *aria di bravura*, the audience would probably have expected another, especially as, closing act I, 'Qual guerriero' occurs relatively early in the opera for the star singer's only display piece. The allegro assai tempo and long duration (35 bars in 3/4 meter) of the opening ritornello of 'Pastorel che trova al fine' seem to promise a brilliant aria of substantial proportions, though of a light-hearted kind due to the *galant*, dance-like quality of the melodic material and thin two-part texture (*violini all'unisono* and *viola col basso*). However, the A section's form is highly anomalous. Unlike any other aria in the opera, it does not feature the standard subdivision into opening ritornello, a1, ritornello, a2 and closing ritornello - except Berenice's 'Vieni o sonno' ('Come, o sleep', II, 4) in which the non-completion of the form is motivated dramatically by Berenice's falling asleep. After what must have appeared to the first-time listener as only the a1 section due to the proportional relationship between the opening ritornello and the vocal section,⁸¹ the closing ritornello commences and concludes the A section. It seems possible that withholding an a2 and ending the aria quasi prematurely instead may have produced a slightly comical effect. This and the fact that the aria presents very few technical difficulties might indicate that the aria was perhaps a witty comment on the audience's expectation of more virtuosic singing from Farinelli.

Farinelli's role in *Idaspe* had another surprise in store for the audience: the above-mentioned 'Ombra fedele anch'io' (Appendix B 1.30), which is not only Farinelli's first large-scale, expressive '*patetico-cantabile* hybrid' for Venice (see chapter 8), but also his first aria in alto range. The idea of the same singer performing arias both in soprano and alto range was entirely unheard-of and must have seemed extraordinary, even supernatural, to the audience. A surprise of a very different kind was probably that Farinelli sang only four arias in *Idaspe* (rather than five as in *Catone* or six as in *Semiramide riconosciuta* and *Mitridate*) and that only one of them was a true bravura piece. Altogether, in spite of an

⁸¹ The opening ritornello consists of 35, the vocal section of 50 bars, i.e., the ritornello would be rather long even if the aria had an a2 section, but such as it is, it is significantly oversized.

increasing familiarity with elements of his vocal idiom, the audience probably came to expect the unexpected from Farinelli.

In the last opera of the 1730 carnival season, *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse), Farinelli yet again sang only a single large bravura aria, 'Parto qual pastorello' (III, 2; Appendix B 1.32). Its late placement in act III may have raised the listeners' expectations. By now, his other allegro aria, 'Fra cento affanni e cento' (I, 2), which could have been another star singer's main display piece in terms of duration and difficulty, seems small in comparison. That of the remaining three arias, two are *patetico-cantabile* hybrids, one in (mezzo-) soprano and one in alto tessitura, and the third is an aria in *grazioso* style in soprano range,⁸² establishes both the overall shift of emphasis in Farinelli's singing from the virtuosic to the expressive and the stratified use of different tessituras, except in important bravura arias, which utilised his full extension.

'Qual guerriero' essentially left no room for a further increase of vocal difficulty, and indeed, 'Parto qual pastorello' is technically less demanding than 'Qual guerriero'. Instead, it focuses the listener's attention on the range of Farinelli's voice almost throughout the notated portions,⁸³ suggesting that this had been the aspect of his role in *Idaspe* that had elicited the most admiration. In fact, 'Parto qual pastorello' is the aria with the widest notated range in Farinelli's repertory, f sharp to c''', one additional semitone at the bottom compared to 'Qual guerriero'. Accordingly, the *passaggi* are dominated by *arpeggios* covering a 10th or 12th (34-38, 73-74, 96-98), *sbalzi* of up to a 14th (e.g. 34-36, 66-67, 73 and 98-99) and chains of *volatine* (41-43, 63-70 and 81). In addition, the characteristic repetition of a musical phrase at the octave makes an appearance in the a2 extension (78-79). The extension follows upon a tonic-dominant cadence that occurs at the end of the second statement of the A stanza text but is not preceded by any of the customary annunciatory or closing devices. The end of the a2 extension, a *passaggio* ending in a descending *volatina raddoppiata* (81), whose last note offers the opportunity for a cadenza, followed by a repetition of the last line of the A stanza text over another descending scale, confirms the latter's familiar function as a closing device.⁸⁴ However, it is the only one of the annunciatory and closing devices retained from Farinelli's previous

⁸² These are 'Se al labbro mio non credi' (c'-g'' with an emphasis on e'-e'', I, 14), the famous 'Per questo dolce amplesso' (a-f' sharp, II, 11) and 'Lascia cadermi in volto' (d'-g'', II, 2) respectively.

⁸³ In addition, 'Parto qual pastorello' offers more opportunities for cadenzas than 'Qual guerriero' (although these are not marked by fermatas) and opens with Farinelli's famous *messa di voce*.

⁸⁴ Similarly, the final cadence in a1 is approached by way of a descending scale (43-44).

arias. The absence of the 'surprise leap' could be explained by the numerous *sbalzi* in the *passaggi*. The lack of repeated fragments or instances of stalling on a repeated pitch may be due to the aria's metaphor, a shepherd who rushes to save his flock before the river breaks its banks, but as the aria contains several other features with which the audience would by now have been familiar, it might also have been a matter of avoiding too much predictability. That *Artaserse* was a tremendous success by all accounts and Farinelli reused 'Parto qual pastorello' as a *contrafactum*, 'Vado seguendo amore' (II, 5), in the *pasticcio*, *Orfeo* (London 1736), suggests that the aria was well received.

Farinelli's 1733 and 1734 Seasons in Venice: Infusing the familiar with the novel

The 1730 bravura arias left no room for a further increase of technical difficulty or expansion of range. One may suspect that the sensational quality of 'Son qual nave', 'Qual guerriero' and 'Parto qual pastorello' had raised the audience's expectations regarding the extent of novelty in Farinelli arias. In this sense, the 1730 bravura arias were probably a 'tough act to follow' even for Farinelli himself because in order to yet again amaze the audience, other ways of infusing operas with the requisite quality of novelty had to be found. In 1733, orchestration proved to be a useful means. In 1734, the engagement of the up-and-coming, ambitious and quarrelsome Caffarelli provided excitement of a more disruptive kind.

Following a two-year absence from Venice,⁸⁵ Farinelli's roles in the 1733 carnival, Mirteo in *Nitocri* (Zeno-Selitti) and Farnaspe in *Adriano in Siria* (Metastasio-Giacomelli), continue the trend of *Idaspe* and *Artaserse* towards parts in which the bravura singing is concentrated in a single aria.⁸⁶ 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (*Nitocri*, I, 16; Appendix B 1.34) matches the massive proportions 'Qual guerriero' and, like the latter, features *sbalzi* as well as *passaggi* of extraordinary duration (up to 13 bars). Novel in comparison to Farinelli's previous arias for Venice is its orchestration. The scoring for five-part strings

⁸⁵ In the 1731 and 1732 carnival seasons, he appeared at the Turin court.

⁸⁶ As mentioned in chapter, 4, the shift of emphasis in Farinelli's repertory was thus not occasioned by a comment by Charles VI whom Farinelli first met in 1732, but predates it.

(two violas), two oboes and bassoon,⁸⁷ which are exploited extensively for dramatic dynamic contrasts, serves both to imitate the aria's sea tempest metaphor and showcase the, by all accounts, unusual volume of Farinelli's voice. Within the context of contemporary Venetian musical culture, this aria may have reminded the audience of sea tempest concerti, not only because of the aria's metaphor, but also because of the clear distinction between the fully scored ritornellos and the reduced scoring during the coloratura passages, and the instrumental idiom employed in the latter as well as in the B section.⁸⁸ If so, this association may have also served as a reminder of the extraordinary quality of Farinelli's virtuosity – if any was needed.

In terms of text treatment, form and proportions, 'Scenda dal cielo irato' diverges from the pattern established in the large-scale 1730 bravura arias. In the latter, the A stanza of the aria text is first stated in a reasonably syllabic fashion in each section and interrupted by no more than one relatively modest *passaggio* before the first substantial coloratura passage commences. In 'Scenda dal cielo irato', extended *passaggi* on the rhyme words of the first four lines (all adjectives) occur already before the text has been stated in full, by way of wordpainting, either in a1 or a2 or both.

Scenda dal cielo irato	Let from the angry skies
Il fulmine tonante	The thundering lightning bolt descend,
S'apra dal mar sdegnato	Let the enraged ocean's
Il vortice spumante;	Churning vortex open up;
E venga ad ogni passo	And let at every step
La morte ad incontrarmi.	Death come to meet me.

Only the repetition of the final two lines of the A section text serves as the basis for an uninterrupted, relatively long declamatory passage in both a1 (45-52) and a2 (89-96). The prolongation of both a1 and a2 by means of this declamatory passage constitutes a departure from the previously established form, resulting in different internal proportions than in Farinelli's Venetian bravura pieces of 1729 and 1730. Whilst in the earlier arias, the relationship between the a1 and extended a2 sections amounts to approximately 1/3 to 2/3, the a1 and a2 sections in 'Scenda dal cielo irato' are of almost identical length. The circumstance that much of the musical interest of the declamatory section is created by contrasting dynamics and textures provides further evidence for a focus on the volume of Farinelli's voice; after all, the singer's outstanding breath control and stamina had already

⁸⁷ 'Cervo in bosco' (*Catone*) and 'Ombra fedele anch'io' (*Idaspe*) are the only arias in Farinelli's previous Venetian roles that include separate parts for instruments (horns in both cases) other than the string orchestra. However, this does not mean that oboes and bassoon could not have been used for the doubling of string parts in other arias.

⁸⁸ Oboe idiom dominates in a1 and at the beginning of the main a2 *passaggio*, violin idiom for most of the a2 *passaggi* and in B.

been established in previous seasons. A phrase in which the singer is required to enter at forte volume on low g, followed by a *sbalzo* of nearly two octaves to a'' flat, demonstrates his ability to sing at a high volume level both in a low alto and a high soprano range and is one of the most unusual passages of the period (see also chapter 4, *Volume*).

Mus. Ex. 7-6: 'Scenda dal cielo irato' (I, 16), *Nitocri*, 95-99⁸⁹

Although they are not foregrounded, elements familiar from earlier bravura arias, such as the descending scale (54 and 97-98 in an elaborated version) and 'surprise leap' (52, 99) before section endings, repetition of fragments (76-80) and the repetition of a phrase at the octave in a2 (91-92 and 95-96) occur in 'Scenda dal cielo irato.' The wide-ranging arpeggios seem inspired by those in 'Parto qual pastorello,' as does a four-fold descending *volatina raddoppiata* (85-87) that leads to an extended pitch over the dominant chord, inviting a cadenza on its fermata (87-88).⁹⁰ However, unlike in prior bravura arias, in 'Scendo dal cielo irato' the dramatic climaxes occur on the declamatory passages (Mirteo's exclamations defying death) rather than on *passaggi*.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the presence of familiar devices establishes idiomatic continuity between the vocal line of this and Farinelli's other bravura arias. The combination of novel and known elements in 'Scenda dal cielo irato' may well have contributed to the success of *Nitocri*.⁹²

In *Adriano in Siria*, too, instrumentation is used to aid in presenting the audience with a type of aria the Venetian audience had not yet heard Farinelli sing. Several other aspects, such as contrasts between unison and thick textures and forte and piano dynamics, that are prominent in 'Scenda del cielo irato' also figure importantly in 'Passaggier che incerto errando' (II, 7; Appendix C 1.4), scored for solo violin, violins I and II, viola, violoncello (doubled by bassoon) and double basses. However, far removed from the turmoil of a sea

⁸⁹ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/I, fols. 38v-39r.

⁹⁰ Similar passages occur in 'Parto qual pastorello' (68-70, 80-82) albeit fermatas are not marked on the equivalent pitches at the ends of these phrases.

⁹¹ It is noteworthy that Nicolini, who had cultivated a highly declamatory style and appeared alongside Farinelli in the 1729 and 1730 seasons, was not part of the 1733 carnival cast; he had died in 1732. Farinelli might have utilised this musical parameter both because of its effectiveness and because there was no longer a need to avoid infringing upon the boundaries of Nicolini's - by that time limited - stylistic means.

⁹² On the day after the opening night of *Nitocri*, Farinelli reported to Pepoli that even more tickets were being sold than in his first season in Venice and that he was very well received. Letter of 27 December 1732. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 111.

tempest, 'Passaggier che incerto errando' foregrounds the interaction between Farinelli and the solo violinist, who provides echo effects in imitation of the aria's metaphor.

Passaggier che incerto errando
Va chiamando; sente l'Eco
Dallo speco che risponde
E fa il bosco risonar.

The traveller, who wandering about lost,
Calls out; he hears the echo
From the cave which responds
And makes the woods resound.

Accordingly, the aria makes ample use of the Farinellian octave repetition of phrases, not only within the vocal part (23-24, 44-46, 56-57), but also between the voice and the solo violin (21-22, 26-28, 43, 54-55) and between the high and low strings (11-12, 34, 66-67). But whereas in the 1723 'Non sempre invendicata' (*Adelaide*) the relationship between Farinelli and the Roman trumpet player had been competitive, a showdown of breath control and stamina, the solo violin in 'Passaggier che incerto errando' is nothing but Farinelli's echo. Unlike in other obbligato arias, the violin imitates the voice – never vice versa. The small, delicate fragments that are the object of imitation suggest that the aria is to test whether a highly accomplished player of the most virtuosic instrument, the violin, is able to match Farinelli's finesse and precision in the execution of articulation and rapid ornaments. Athletic, high-tempo and high-energy coloratura singing is reserved for Farinelli's 'real' bravura aria, 'Amor... dover... rispetto' (II, 12; Appendix B 1.35).

'Amor... dover... rispetto' exploits the rhetorical devices introduced in 1729 and 1730 more extensively than the two last-mentioned arias. In the absence of instrumental effects, the audience's attention on the vocal part is undivided, facilitating the recognition of such devices. An especially clear example is the treatment of a suspense-raising repeated fragment. Measuring a bar and a half (longer than similar fragments in earlier arias) and consisting of an upbeat, composed of eleven sixteenth-notes, to a half note which is approached by leap (24-28), it accounts for the bulk of the last and longest a *passaggio* (24-31). Its final notes form the easily recognisable pattern of a series of ascending semitones; i.e., the size of the leaps decreases by a semitone in each statement.

Mus. Ex. 7-7: 'Amor... dover... rispetto' (II, 12), *Adriano in Siria*, 22-32⁹³

22 cor, ad a-gi - tar-mi il pet-to, a la-ce-rar - - - - -

28 mi.il cor.

A2 seems to culminate in a ten-bar coloratura passage (47-56): the combination of a repeated four-note fragment (consisting of descending sixteenths) first with two ascending

⁹³ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/II, fols. 117r-118r.

volatine and then a descending *volatina* (54-56) appears to announce the impending ending of the section; and indeed, it leads to a full cadence in the tonic key (E major). However, the voice immediately launches into a third statement of the entire A stanza text whose *passaggio* takes up the repeated fragment from the a1 section (62-66). As in a1, the leaps begin to form a series of ascending semitones; however, by way of a surprise leap, the last of them is displaced downwards by an octave (66).

Mus. Ex. 7-8: 'Amor... dover... rispetto' (II, 12), *Adriano in Siria*, 61-71⁹⁴

This leads to a *volatina radoppiata* (67), but instead of proceeding to the cadence, the voice stalls on a series of repetitions of the four descending sixteenth notes from the previous a2 *passaggio*. At last, this turns into a descending *volatina* towards a tonic-dominant cadence (69-70). A second downwards scale and cadence (70-71) confirms this ending as final. This combination of one fragment each from the a1 and a2 *passaggi* to form the a3 coloratura passage raises the musical tension until it is relieved by the section ending and ties together motivic ends. Depending on the level of their musical expertise, 18th-century listeners would have been likely to recognise and enjoy at least some of these features, especially considering that many opera-goers attended multiple performances of the same opera.

The success of *Adriano in Siria*⁹⁵ may account for the similarities between Farinelli's bravura aria, 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira' (II, 4; Appendix B 1.37) in the first carnival opera in the 1734 season, *Berenice* (Salvi-Araja), and 'Amor... dover... rispetto.' The 1734 cast included the 23-year-old Caffarelli, who was desirous of establishing himself as a *primo uomo* and had previously attempted to do so by trying to show that he could match Farinelli's virtuosity.⁹⁶ Therefore, it might have seemed to be in Farinelli's interest to sing

⁹⁴ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/II, fols. 120r-121r.

⁹⁵ A week and a half after the opening night, Farinelli reports that *Adriano* 'fa un gran numero di biglietti la sera' (sells a great number of tickets [at the door] at night). Letter of 8 February 1733, Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 116. The main bravura aria of the most virtuosic singer in the cast was likely to have contributed to the opera's positive reception.

⁹⁶ As the *secondo uomo*, Artaserse, in an *Artaserse pasticcio* based on Vinci's 1730 setting for Rome (Milano 1731), Caffarelli seems to have sung Farinelli's 'Son qual nave' (no score survives, but the text in the printed libretto matches that in the 1730 *Mitridate* exactly), probably to upstage Farinelli's rival, Giovanni Carestini, the production's *primo uomo*. In the 1733 *Siroe* (Metastasio-Hasse, Bologna), Caffarelli had even sung an aria ('Torrente cresciuto', III, 14) that included coloratura passages that were

an aria that was based on a tried-and-tested recipe, although he seems not to have worried about competition from Caffarelli.⁹⁷ In any event, 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira' features an a2 extension rather than an a3, but in this aria, too, the A section's final cadence is prepared by a restatement of the repeated fragment from the end of a1 (compare 78-81 and 158-161). In addition, the section ending of A is confirmed by a repetition of the cadential gesture in both arias. Several musical features seem to have been borrowed from Farinelli's previous Venetian bravura arias. For example a repeated descending arpeggio of an octave range (151 and 153) and the unexpected turn to the minor at the second appearance of the above-mentioned repeated fragment (158-161) previously occur in 'Qual guerriero' (96-99 and 88 respectively).⁹⁸ As in 'Amor... dover... rispetto', the first full dominant-tonic cadence in a2 (133-134) is preceded by repetitions of fragments consisting of four sixteenth notes (120-127), although this time they are not intermingled with *volatine* and the fragments are stated four rather than only two times. The *trillo calante* (109-113, 154-157), which had last been used extensively in 'Son qual nave', as well as the *trillo cresciuto* (74-77, in arpeggiated form, and 128-130) feature importantly in 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira'. In addition, long-established rhetorical devices (including the descending *volatina* and surprise) are used as well.

Altogether, 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira' offers little by way of novelty aside from the specific manner in which familiar structural elements and surface details are combined – and a number of piano-forte contrasts within the coloratura passages (52-58), which were unusual at this time.⁹⁹ Whether the aria was well received is not entirely clear. According to Farinelli, *Berenice* 'andò a terra senza riparo. Fortunatamente due mie arie colpirono, a segno tale se non v'erano quelle la seconda sera non si rappresentava altro'¹⁰⁰ (failed irrevocably. Fortunately, two of my arias pleased to such an extent that, if there had not

largely borrowed from Farinelli's 'Parto qual pastorello'. See Anne Desler, 'Orpheus and Jupiter in the Limelight: Farinelli and Caffarelli share the stage', *Studies in Musical Theatre*, 4/1 (1 August 2010), 27-44.

⁹⁷ Despite his first-hand experience of Caffarelli's ambition after sharing the stage with him in the 1733 *Siroe* (Letter of 19 December 1733; also Vitali's entry on the Teatro Malvezzi, Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 127 and 317-18), Farinelli had obviously not refused to sing in the same cast with him in Venice in 1734, although it was not uncommon for star singers to decline collaborating with specific colleagues.

⁹⁸ In 'Qual guerriero', the minor third is even employed on the same pattern of an eighth note followed by two descending sixteenth notes, though the eighth note is decorated with an appoggiatura (an ornament Farinelli could easily have added in the performance of 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira').

⁹⁹ Dynamic contrasts typically occur between more or less syllabic phrases. Early 18th-century vocal technique did not enable the singers to produce dynamic contrasts in rapid passages that would have created significant effects within large venues such as theatres. Smaller venues offered more opportunities for gradations of dynamics.

¹⁰⁰ Letter of 2 January 1734. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 127.

been these two, nothing would have been performed at all the second night), but the singer does not mention the arias' titles. From Farinelli's description of opening night, however, it seems as though 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira' may not have been one of them.¹⁰¹ This might explain why Farinelli's role in the second carnival opera, a *pasticcio* based on the 1730 *Artaserse*,¹⁰² appears not to have included a sizeable bravura aria initially¹⁰³ and why his showpiece in the third carnival opera, *Merope* (Zeno-Giacomelli), 'Quel usignolo' (II, 4; Appendix B 1.38) is not a coloratura aria of the athletic kind, but harkens back to the *cantabile* 'Rondinella a cui rapita' from the 1729 season (*Semiramide riconosciuta*).

To a point, 'Rondinella a cui rapita' seems to have served as a model for 'Quel usignolo'. The similarities between the arias begin with their texts. Both utilise the metaphor of solitary birds who sing to express their unhappy love – the nightingale because he has not yet attained his beloved, the swallow because he has lost her.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ If one is to believe Farinelli's report to Pepoli, Caffarelli, the *secondo uomo* in *Berenice*, had brought a claque to the orchestral rehearsals in an attempt to outdo Farinelli, and it seems as though Farinelli had intentionally sung poorly in rehearsal. On the opening night, Caffarelli's first aria [I, 4] was much applauded, but had been followed by two arias [I, 6 and I, 12] for Farinelli, which were still more admired than those in 1729. Having failed to upstage Farinelli, Caffarelli no longer wanted to return to the stage to sing. 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira' is Farinelli's third aria; however, his account may be inaccurate. In any event, aside from the latter, only two more of Farinelli's arias from *Berenice* (and none for other singers) are transmitted, 'Povero amante core' (I, 6) and 'Son fedele all'idol mio' (III, 2). According to Farinelli, *Berenice* failed not only due to its disrupted first night, but also because of its libretto and music. Letter of 2 January 1734. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 127-128.

¹⁰² Only the printed libretto of the 1734 production survives. Farinelli retained only one aria text from the 1730 production, 'Lascia cadermi in volto' (I, 2); he may have kept the setting as well. 'La sorte mia tiranna' (II, 11) may have been sourced from Farinelli's role, Siroe, in the eponymous opera (Metastasio-Hasse, Bologna 1733; I, 13). The aria text 'Chi non sente al mio dolore' (I, 15), which Farinelli had sung twice as Epitide in *Merope* (Zeno-Broschi, Turin 1732 and Lucca 1733; I, 13), was set anew by Hasse (Schmidt-Hensel, *Hasse*, II: 94-95). It is possible that Hasse also provided settings of the remaining two texts, but these have not been transmitted. 'Se penso al tuo periglio' (I, 2) and 'Quell'ardor che il sen m'accende' (III, 10) could theoretically have been set as bravura arias, although the former text would not lend itself very well to this kind of musical treatment due to its affect (sorrow), which calls for a slow, expressive aria. However, a large-scale bravura aria placed this early in the first act or late in the third would have been quite anomalous. The information given by Selfridge-Field (*New Chronology*, 439) that arias added by Galuppi exist in I-CF must be in error (I-CF responded negatively to inquiries).

¹⁰³ An opera without a substantial bravura aria for Farinelli may not have been to the audience's taste, however. Handwritten annotations in a copy of the libretto (I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 811) suggest that as many as 13 of the arias whose texts were printed were substituted during the run of the performance, including three in Farinelli's role. Of these, 'Quando freme altera l'onda' (replacing the *moderato ma non troppo* 'Chi non sente al mio dolore' at the end of act I) was surely a virtuosic sea tempest aria. However, no settings of any of the substitute arias can safely be connected with Farinelli.

It seems possible that the attraction of the 1734 *Artaserse* production, aside from the much admired libretto, may have resided in the 'jukebox' character arising from the substitute arias, which were uncommonly numerous even for a *pasticcio*. Though it is unknown how decisions regarding substitutions were made, it is possible that they responded to patrons' requests.

¹⁰⁴ This reflects the respective states of mind of Epitide and Mirteo and the different dramatic situations. Accordingly, the B section text of 'Quel usignolo' is hopeful, that of 'Rondinella a cui rapita' resigned in sentiment.

Quel usignolo Che innamorato, Se canta solo Tra fronda, e fronda Spiega del fato La crudeltà.	The nightingale, Who is in love, When it sings alone Amidst the foliage, Expresses the cruelty Of fate.
S'ode pietoso Nel bosco ombroso, Chi gli risponda, Con lieto core Da ramo in ramo Cantando va.	If it hears a compassionate voice In the shady woods Which answers him, With a happy heart, He bounds singing From branch to branch.
Rondinella a cui rapita Fù la dolce sua compagna Vola incerta, va smarrita Dalla selva alla campagna, E si lagna intorno al nido Dell'infido cacciator. Chiari fonti, apriche rive Più non cerca, al di s'invola; Sempre sola e finché vive Si rammenta il primo amor.	The little swallow who has been deprived Of his dear companion Flies in uncertainty, wanders lost From the forest to the open land And around its nest he complains About the perfidious hunter. Clear fountains, sunlit banks He no longer seeks and flees the daylight, Always solitary, and as long as he lives, He remembers his first love.

Opening with main themes containing characteristic 'Neapolitan' syncopations, both arias are delivered at the same pace (*con spirito* for 'Rondinella a cui rapita' and *spiritoso* for 'Quel usignolo') and resemble each other in terms of form. Of course, as outlined earlier, a2 extensions (as in 'Rondinella a cui rapita') or a3 sections (as in 'Quel usignolo') are typical of Farinelli's showstopper arias. But in both arias, the cadence concluding a1 differs melodically from that at the end of a2, whereas the melodic formula at the cadences of a2 (55-57) and the a2 extension (63-65) in 'Rondinella a cui rapita' and the a2 (68-70) and a3 (79,3-82,1) in 'Quel usignolo' respectively, are identical. These cadential formulae comprise mainly of two of the rhetorical devices established early on in Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias, i.e., suspenseful syncopations (in most cases stalling on a single pitch) and descending *volatine*. A difference consists in a restatement of the last cadential phrase in 'Quel usignolo' (82-83), creating yet another opportunity for a cadenza in an A section that already provides five previous ones.¹⁰⁵ In keeping with the idea of birdsong, the focus in the respective vocal parts is on refinement and subtlety as well as ornamentation. Both arias abound with trills of various kinds, grace notes, varying articulation and rhythmically complex surface detail.

However, the different choice of birds for the two arias' metaphors is significant. Whereas the swallow is most associated with faithful love (which, accordingly, is thematised in the aria text), the nightingale, as the foremost songbird, represents singing itself. This explains divergences in the musical settings of the two texts. For example, among the most striking

¹⁰⁵ Two of these are marked by fermatas (24, 73).

features of 'Rondinella a cui rapita' are melancholy turns to the parallel minor in the course of *passaggi* on 'lagna' (complains, 24-25) and 'compagna' (companion, 42-43); among those of 'Quel usignolo' are extended *a piacere* passages¹⁰⁶ with fermatas (22-24, 71-73), which provide opportunities for the imitation of birdsong. But the emphasis on the musical imitation of a passion on the one hand, and the vocal imitation of the nightingale's song on the other hand, point to a substantial contrast between the broader implications of the two arias. 'Rondinella a cui rapita,' despite its virtuosity and the part it plays in introducing the audience to Farinelli's personal style and role profile, is little more than an aria in a specific musico-dramatic situation. 'Quel usignolo' might be understood as an artistic statement by Farinelli in response to aesthetic debates about opera in Venice, a meta-aria about singing. Already during the run of *Catone in Utica*, Conti referred to Farinelli's singing as 'une imitation du chant du rossignols et des sereins'¹⁰⁷ (an imitation of the song of nightingales and sirens), one of the many instances in which the song of the nightingale is used as a metaphor for vocal virtuosity in discussions of operatic aesthetics (see chapter 5). Farinelli could hardly have been unaware of this. Instead, it seems likely that he chose the nightingale metaphor precisely because of this connotation already in *Antigona* (Bologna 1727). At the same time, 'Quel usignolo' may well have been a matter of Farinelli's asserting his professional status. Caffarelli's renewed attempt to outshine him in *Berenice* had failed¹⁰⁸ and Farinelli remained the nightingale among the songbirds or, to speak with Metastasio, the 'patriarca di tutta la gerarchia canora'¹⁰⁹ (patriarch of the entire mellifluous hierarchy).

Another aspect of 'Quel usignolo' seems notable. Although the aria would lend itself perfectly to the addition of an obbligato instrument – it even includes a short moment of imitation between the singer and the first violins of the kind that is typically found in

¹⁰⁶ These are not marked *a piacere* in the score, but this is not necessary as it is implied in the writing and the endings of these phrases on fermatas. In 22-24, the orchestra *tacet* altogether and in 71-73, the voice and first violin imitate each other over a tonic pedal from the basso continuo (in quarter notes on the first and third beat of the bar).

¹⁰⁷ Letter of 8 February 1729. Conti, *Lettere*, 235. This was presumably before Conti had heard 'Rondinella a cui rapita' as *Semiramide riconosciuta* opened only on 12 February (Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, 407), unless he attended a rehearsal.

¹⁰⁸ Caffarelli's arias from *Berenice* do not survive. In the 1734 *Artaserse*, he could have sung some arias from Vinci's 1730 Roman setting for Raffaele Sigorini in terms of range and difficulty; he apparently inserted an aria from his own part in the 1733 *Siroe* ('Se tu mi vuoi felice'). None of these could rival any arias sung by Farinelli. Another aria inserted by Caffarelli in *Artaserse*, 'L'onda dal mar divisa', could have been Vinci's 1730 setting for Carestini, but this, too, does not match the virtuosity of Farinelli's pieces. In *Merope*, Caffarelli seems to have been put back into his place: his part is clearly a *secondo uomo* role in terms of aria durations and technical demands in relationship to Farinelli's. In a cast without Farinelli, it could easily have passed for a *primo uomo* part, however.

¹⁰⁹ Letter 318, 28 June 1749. Metastasio, *Opere* (Brunelli), III: 404.

obbligato arias (71-73),¹¹⁰ no solo instrument is used. Instead, there are numerous repetitions of melodic fragments as well as phrases within the vocal line, offering Farinelli the opportunity to increase the complexity of each statement, to imitate, interact with and surpass only himself.¹¹¹ It might be possible to explain the absence of an obbligato instrument in 'Quel usignolo' with one having been used only the preceding season in 'Passaggier che incerto errando'. However, already in *Adriano in Siria*, the obbligato violin is mainly a sound effect rather than a virtuosic competitor; as mentioned previously, the solo violin is an echo, and not 'Passaggier che incerto errando', but 'Amor... dover... rispetto' is Farinelli's bravura aria. It seems as though, after he had shown the full possibilities of the voice, raising its technique to a level that 'les plus grands maîtres de l'art n'auroient pas meme soupçonné possibles'¹¹² (even the greatest masters of the art [of singing] had not thought possible), Farinelli no longer needed an instrumentalist, not even a violin virtuoso, as a foil for his virtuosity. Strohm suggests as much already in reference to Farinelli's 1723 'Nobil onda' (*Adelaide*):

Farinellis Technik war eine letzte Herausforderung an instrumentales Virtuosität; daß die Auseinandersetzung zu seinen Gunsten ausging, zeigt schon die vorliegende Arie, bei der die anderswo zuweilen noch auf die Spitze getriebene Konfrontation mit einer Solotrompete oder Solovioline von vornherein ausbleibt... So hat Farinelli's Auftreten mit dazu geführt, der Tradition der Arie mit konzertierendem Instrument ein Ende zu setzen.¹¹³

(Farinelli's technique constitutes a last challenge to instrumental virtuosity; that the showdown ended in Farinelli's favour is already evident from the present aria, in which the confrontation with the solo trumpet or violin, which is carried to an extreme elsewhere, is absent from the start... In this manner, Farinelli's appearance contributed to the end of the tradition of the aria with *obbligato* solo instrument.)

If the cadenzas and embellishments of the vocal line Farinelli provided in the 1753 collection dedicated to Maria Theresa (Appendix D) were representative of his performance practice in 1734, an instrumental soloist would indeed only have been in his way. Altogether, the singer's decision to include 'Quel usignolo' among a group of arias representing his art seems only logical.

¹¹⁰ Although it is feasible to reduce the instrumentation at times even when this is not indicated in scores, the piano marking in the violin I part (71) suggests that this passage is to be performed by the violin section rather than a soloist.

¹¹¹ That repeated phrases were supposed to be embellished is evident from instances in which ornamentation is notated in the score (54). The same occurs, e.g. in 'Rondinella a cui rapita,' (24-25).

¹¹² Letter of 8 February 1729. Conti, *Lettere*, 235.

¹¹³ Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II: 42.

'Loaded' Virtuosity

Rather than being instances of 'empty virtuosity' or mere 'vocal pyrotechnics', i.e., devoid of content or meaning beyond vocal display, Farinelli's bravura arias are 'loaded' with rhetorical devices that are designed to make strategic use of the listener's knowledge of musical conventions in general and his personal style in particular. In a stable setting such as at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in which such knowledge could be assumed, it was possible to establish and cultivate such detailed singer-specific characteristics. Whilst Farinelli extending the boundaries of vocal technique is noteworthy, his approach to communication in vocal music is perhaps still more significant. The contemporary mimetic aesthetic required musical settings to serve the poetry by imitating and enhancing its content. Farinelli's bravura arias certainly achieve this aim, but they do more. They establish intellectual communication with the listener by means of a musical rhetoric that is largely independent of the text.

However, even within such a stable setting, the ability of the audience to detect and appreciate the full extent of musical detail depended on the degree of their musical expertise. This, as well as their respective aesthetic priorities, explains the divided reception of Farinelli by Conti and Mancini. By his own admittance, Conti's artistic expertise did not extend to music.¹¹⁴ As a francophile literary critic and poet (as well as scientist), his interest in opera focused on the parameters of text delivery and acting. Lacking the necessary knowledge to analyse music aurally, Conti's assessment that Farinelli's bravura singing merely instilled the sensation of amazement in his listeners, providing sensual, rather than intellectual pleasure, is entirely plausible from his perspective. In contrast, Mancini, a singer himself, was able not only to admire the technical achievement of Farinelli's singing, but to perceive it as highly expressive.

Not enough of Farinelli's non-Venetian roles between 1731 and 1734 survive intact for it to be possible to establish with certainty whether he used the rhetorical devices discussed above in all of the other cities in which he appeared. In Parma in 1729 (*Lucio Papirio*, Frugoni-Giacomelli) and Piacenza in 1730 (*Scipione in Cartagine nuova*, also Frugoni-Giacomelli), these characteristics occur in the respective main bravura arias, 'Bel cader qual'or pugnando' (II, 12) and 'Fin sull'adustre arene' (I, 13). This may be to do with the

¹¹⁴ Throughout his correspondence with Mme de Caylus, Conti writes of musical connoisseurs in the third person and ridicules them occasionally.

relative proximity of these cities, both located in the Duchy of Parma, to Venice – some patrons were prepared to travel the 150 miles. In his bravura arias in Munich (*Edippo*, Lalli-Torri, 1729), Bologna (*Siroe*, Metastasio-Hasse, 1733) and in two of the operas in which he sang in Turin,¹¹⁵ i.e., in cities that were more than 250 miles from Venice, he only employed these features intermittently, although in Turin he worked with the same composers as in Venice.¹¹⁶ The consistent presence of the devices in Venice on the one hand, and their intermittent use or even complete absence in cities far removed from Venice on the other hand, seems to constitute additional support for Farinelli's intentional development of an overarching rhetorical strategy in Venice between 1729 and 1734. Venice was the only city in which he performed regularly and the audience's recognition of specific musical features required a level of familiarity with his musical profile that could not be gained in isolated productions such as those in Bologna and Munich.¹¹⁷ Moreover, in no city were there more professional musicians among the audience than in Venice.

The Question of Authorship

A few salient points arise from the analysis of Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias that indicate that his arias were to a significant degree created not *for* him, but *by* him in collaboration with composers and audiences.

First, nearly all of his bravura arias – and a high percentage of his other arias – are based on substitute texts. As manifest from the pertinent 'disclaimer' in printed libretti, aria texts

¹¹⁵ Farinelli was engaged in Turin in the carnival seasons of 1731 and 1732. In each of these, he performed in two operas, *Ezio* (Metastasio-R. Broschi) and *Poro* (Metastasio-Porpora) in 1731 and *Catone in Utica* (Metastasio-Hasse) and *Merope* (Zeno-R. Broschi) in 1732. Only the last-mentioned survives complete; of the others only very few individual arias each have been transmitted. 'Destrier che all'armi usato' (*Poro*; II, 11) and 'Sì, traditor tu sei' (*Merope*, II, 16) do not use the ending *volatine/scales*, whereas 'Non ha più pace amor geloso' (*Catone in Utica*; II, 16) does.

¹¹⁶ Admittedly, in reference to the impending production of the 1733 *Siroe* for which Pepoli acted as impresario, Farinelli assured Pepoli that 'tutta Venezia sarà all'opera di Bologna'. Letter of 8 February 1733. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 115-16. However, the many superlative descriptions of all participants in the production and predictions of a 'felicissimo incontro' (enthusiastic reception) suggest that Farinelli is using hyperboles in an attempt to assuage Pepoli who was still angry with him because Farinelli had considered prioritising an engagement in Piacenza over the one in Bologna. The number of patrons who journeyed from one city to another to attend an operatic production very likely declined in proportion to the distance.

¹¹⁷ In Bologna, Farinelli appeared in June 1727 and the spring of 1731 and 1733 and in Munich in October 1728 and 1729, in each case in a single production only. Moreover, whereas the vocal lines for Farinelli in the Munich operas, *Niccomede* and *Edippo*, both composed by Pietro Torri, are perfectly suitable for displaying his vocal assets, they are not equally idiomatic to his style as the music composed for him by composers who were resident in Italy and with whom he collaborated routinely.

were replaced if their prospective singers so required. That Farinelli was uncommonly fastidious about aria texts is evident from the large number of substitute texts in his roles, the level of detail of changes and the continuous modification of many aria texts he retained and sang in multiple settings. Whilst Farinelli may not have written the texts himself,¹¹⁸ there would have been little need for him to reject one aria text unless he was going to make specific requests for the new poem. Thus he undoubtedly influenced their creation at the stages of *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elaboratio*, though probably to varying degrees. In this regard, his artistic contribution to arias as a whole started even before their texts passed into composers' hands. After all, the properties of aria texts guided the choice of fundamental musical parameters such as metre, key, instrumentation and musical means associated with the imitation of certain metaphors, i.e., the stage of *inventio* of musical composition, even when these were not discussed specifically by the composer and singer.

Second, Farinelli's bravura arias contain recurring formal features and rhetorical devices that were unique to him and affected arias at all levels of construction. While these were developed within the context of Farinelli's collaboration with composers, they became hallmarks of Farinelli's style that he must have communicated to each composer – for it must be borne in mind that all of the *drammi per musica* in which Farinelli appeared in Venice were set by different composers, except *Adriano in Siria* and *Merope* (both by Giacomelli). In practical terms, Francesco Araja, for example, certainly did not hear the productions of the operas containing the arias from which his 'Cadrò, ma qual si mira' almost seems to have been pieced together, and it would have been impractical for him to gain access to their scores on his own. It seems likely that Farinelli not only showed composers earlier arias, but also pointed out specific features which he wanted to see included and the manner in which he wanted them to be used. At least in this manner, he exerted influence on the creation of arias at the musical stages of *dispositio* and *elaboratio* as well.

Third, some of the features of Farinelli's bravura arias are unprecedented, for example, the *a2 passaggio* of 'Son qual nave' or the technical difficulties of 'Qual guerriero.' Even in a relationship as close as that between Farinelli and the composer of the latter aria, his brother Riccardo Broschi, at least consultation or even collaborative exploratory experimentation would have been required in order to determine the feasibility of the pieces in performance. Similarly, it is hard to imagine that Antonio Gai in his first

¹¹⁸ It seems, however, possible that he sometimes administered changes to them (see chapter 8).

collaboration with Farinelli would have written *passaggi* of unparalleled length without prior discussion. Especially with regard to arias that push boundaries of technique and stylistic conventions, it seems likely that Farinelli, who demonstrably continued to develop and perfect his vocal technique, made substantial contributions to his vocal parts, whether in a creative or editorial capacity or a combination of both.

The view of singers' influence on the compositional process as undesirable interference inappropriately diminishes singers' contributions, based on the assumption that base motivations such as vanity disqualify their validity. Composers, too, displayed their skills to their best advantage – to a great extent by demonstrating their ability at writing well for singers – in order to advance and maintain their careers. And both depended on a positive reception from the audience for their success. Still in the second half of the 18th century, when experiments in reforming the *dramma per musica* that sought to assert dramatic principles over star singers' artistic preferences were carried out in Vienna, Parma, Stuttgart, Munich and other cities, Giambattista Bisso writes that for theatrical poetry 'non si può dar altra regola, che il piacere, e l'applauso del popolo... in altre cose i Filosofi insegnano al popolo; ma nelle cose del Teatro il popolo è quello, che insegna ai Filosofi'¹¹⁹ (one cannot give rules other than the pleasure and applause of the audience... in other things, the philosophers teach the audience, but in matters of the theatre, it is the audience who teach the philosophers). This was no less true in the 1720s and 1730s, neither for poetry nor for music. As the foundering of *Berenice* demonstrates, the line between success and failure was fine, even for star singers. The pressure on Farinelli, in particular, was great, not in spite of his fame, but because of it. Not only did his success inspire envy among colleagues and incite younger singers such as Caffarelli to challenge his primacy, but unless he was able to maintain his success, the only way from the top was down. Indeed, Farinelli's report of *Berenice*, despite its mockery of Caffarelli, betrays some anxiety: 'Se Iddio non mi assiste li giuro che si perdeva in quest'anno qualche gloria avuta'¹²⁰ (If God had not helped me, I swear that this year I would have lost some of the glory I had gained previously).

However, the circumstance that many of the consistent features of Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias have a rhetorical purpose, in that they act upon the listener's musical expectations, proves Farinelli's contributions to be of a kind that even within a composer-

¹¹⁹ Giambattista Bisso, *Introduzione alla volgar poesia*, 3rd rev. edition (Venice: Orlandelli, 1788), 239-240.

¹²⁰ Letter of 2 January 1734. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 128.

and work-centred approach would have to be considered genuinely artistic. Moreover, the creation of a recognisable style benefitted the *drammi per musica* not only by means of contributing to their positive reception, but also artistically. Individual singers' styles and personae, both dramatic and musical, were crucial elements of character delineation in the *dramma per musica*, with its limited number of plot and role types and manifold conventions. In rhetorical terms, singers' artistic profiles constituted the ethos of their roles. Notably, Farinelli's influence on his arias does not necessarily interfere with the composers' personal styles – the idioms of Porpora, Hasse and Leo,¹²¹ for example, remain recognisable, coexisting harmoniously with Farinelli's.

To be sure, not all *dramma per musica* singers invested themselves in the creative process to a similar degree as Farinelli, and the extent of Farinelli's own involvement in different operas may have varied depending on a number of factors. But whilst Farinelli's participation in devising his roles may have been unusual, it was not unique. Nicolini's interest in shaping the dramatic and musical parameters of his roles was no less keen,¹²² and research into other star singers' careers may reveal similar exertion of influence. One of the impediments in the study of singers' contributions to poetic and musical texts is, naturally, the scarcity of documentary evidence. It will never be possible to draw an absolute line between the relative artistic contributions of Farinelli and Riccardo Broschi, Faustina and Hasse or Marianna Benti Bulgarelli and Metastasio in the creation of new material; but association between artistic personnel did not even have to be quite so close to fail to generate any physical evidence, much less any that was deemed important enough to be preserved. Not all *dramma per musica* singers may have been both creative and performing artists from the viewpoint of the traditional distinction between the two activities. However, the evidence that is embedded within the libretti and scores of his roles suffices to demonstrate that Farinelli was involved in the creation of his roles at all stages of the rhetorical process, from *inventio* to *actio/pronuntiatio*. His claim to authorship, signalled by the inclusion of inkpots and quills in his portraits, is thus justified.

¹²¹ In the cases of composers by whom only few works survive, it is obviously more difficult to make generalisations about their personal styles.

¹²² See Stefan Brandt, "...um die Oper der Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums noch würdiger zu machen". Zum Einfluß des sängerischen Personals auf Arienkompositionen bei Porpora und Händel', *Barocktheater heute. Wiederentdeckungen zwischen Wissenschaft und Bühne*, ed. Nicola Gess, Tina Hartmann and Robert Sollich, Literalität und Liminalität, Vol. 7. Bielefeld: transcript, 2008; Dennis Libby, 'The Singers of Pergolesi's *Salustia*', *Studi Pergolesiani* III (1999), 173-181; Joseph R. Roach, 'Cavaliere Nicolini: London's First Opera Star', *Educational Theatre Journal*, 28/2 (May 1976), 189-205; and Desler, 'From Castrato to Bass'.

8 *'Il cantare al cuore'*:

Text and Music in Farinelli's Slow Expressive

Arias

In 1730, a marked change occurred in Farinelli's roles. Rather than being florid and using a wide range overall, Farinelli's arias became very distinct from each other, resulting in significant musical variety within his roles and a much greater emphasis on expressive singing. Furthermore, Farinelli began to sing an aria in the contralto range in each opera, which are invariably in slow tempi. Altogether, this resulted in a greater stylistic stratification of arias. As mentioned in chapter 4, Farinelli himself justified this change with the advice of Emperor Charles VI to seek to touch rather than amaze his listeners, but if such advice was given, it certainly postdated the new roles sung by Farinelli. This stratification may well be indicative of a change in Farinelli's own aesthetic preferences, possibly as a result of the expansion of his low range. It is also likely that the stylistic re-thinking was Farinelli's attempt to disprove the criticism directed at him in the 1729 carnival season in Venice by Faustina's supporters, who opined that Farinelli surprised more than he touched the listener.¹ Although attendance at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo was to some degree limited by its high ticket prices,² there was a large segment of the audience who were able to choose between performances at different theatres according to their preferences, and the necessity of appealing to the audience, a fundamental principle of rhetoric, was of paramount importance in opera production at the time. In addition, Farinelli may have realised that there was a danger of novelty and amazement wearing off when singing to the same audience in several roles in successive years. Moreover, he may have recognised that the juxtaposition of equally weighty expressive and bravura arias put the stylistic features of both aria types into sharper relief.

¹ Letter of 30 December 1728. Conti, *Lettere*, 230. See also chapter 7.

² The Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo 'was a notoriously expensive house'. Selfridge-Field, *Song and Season. Science, Culture and Theatrical Time in Early Modern Venice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 165. The 'most prestigious' theatre in Venice, it 'catered especially for the tastes of dignitaries visiting from lands important to Venice's political interests'. Giulio Ongaro, et al. 'Venice'. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed June 20, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41311>.

This shift of emphasis from virtuosic to expressive singing seems to have been intended to refocus the ethos of Farinelli's artistic persona in a manner that demonstrated that he could not only astonish, but also touch his audience. It is highly significant that also in 1730, and, in fact, in Farinelli's very first expressive *contralto largo*, references to Orpheus started to appear in his aria texts, for the essence of the Orpheus myth is the singer's ability to move with his song – move not only divine and human listeners, but also animals, plants and inanimate objects. Given that Orpheus' power over his listeners derived solely from his singing, Farinelli may have evoked the Thracian demigod partially in order to validate his practice of largely dispensing with gesture during arias.³

From the vantage point of 18th-century Italian rhetoric, which followed Cicero in this regard, the ability to touch an audience was considered essential, as it was seen as the most potent among the orator's modes of persuasion:

Quegli, dice Tullio nel suo libro intitolato *Orator*, è il vero eloquente, il quale *in foro causisque civilibus ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat*; (a) che sono i tre ufficj dell'Oratore, cioè provare, dilettere, e muovere. Il primo ufficio cioè il provare *necessitatis est*; il secondo *suavitatis*, il terzo *victoria*; *nam id unum ex omnibus ad obtenendas causas potest plurimum*.⁴

In his book entitled *De Oratore*, [Marcus] Tullius [Cicero] says that he is a true rhetorician who both in the forum and in court speaks in such a manner that he convinces [by giving proof], delights and moves. The first duty, i.e., to convince, is a matter of necessity; the second a matter of pleasantness; the third a matter of victory; for of all [three] it is the one that has the greatest power to obtain things [i.e., to persuade the listener].

The availability of music as an expressive tool in the *dramma per musica* raises the question of how exactly a singer should try to achieve the aim of moving his audience. Tosi and Conti would undoubtedly have answered that this was to be done by means of communicating the text in an intelligible, expressive manner, aided by suitable action and supported by music. Whilst the texts of the slow, expressive arias sung by Farinelli from 1730 clearly employ strategies used in contemporary oratory, their musical settings suggest that Farinelli's answer might have differed somewhat, although they do enable comprehensible text delivery.

³ As is well known, Orpheus accompanied himself on the lyre, which largely precluded the use of gesture as a communicative agent.

⁴ Serra, *Compendio*, 10.

Text setting

The most important change in Farinelli's arias in 1730 is a new approach to text setting and *passaggi*. Even in 1729, the latter had been used as illustrated, for example, by 'Si pietoso il tuo labbro ragiona' (II, 5) from *Semiramide* (Metastasio-Porpora, Venice 1729; Appendix B1.22).

Si pietoso il tuo labbro ragiona	So compassionately speaks your mouth
Che quest'alma non teme che finga.	That my soul does not fear that it might pretend.
S'abbandona	It [my soul] abandons itself
Alla dolce lusinga, ⁵	To the sweet blandishment
E contenti sognando si v`a.	And immerses itself in dreams of [future] happiness.
Care pene, felici martiri	Dear [would be my] sorrows, blessed [my] torments
Se mostrasse l'ingrata Tamiri	If the ungrateful Tamiri were to show
Qualche parte di questa piet`a.	Just a [small] part of your compassion.

In this *cantabile* aria, the text setting alternates between syllabic and melismatic. In A, one word in each of the first three lines as well as two words of the last line are set to *passaggi*. In B, one word each of the second and third *decasillabi* prompt *passaggi*. In some cases, the *passaggi* can be considered to serve an emphatic or expressive function. Mirteo sings his aria in response to Semiramide's reassuring him that he will eventually win the hand of princess Tamiri (who has previously rejected him) and that she will help Mirteo's suit as he is closer to Semiramide's heart than he realises.⁶ Although 'e' is a vowel that, according to Tosi, should be avoided for *passaggi*,⁷ embellishment of the word 'contenti' (28-29, 55-58) emphasises Mirteo's hope for future happiness with Tamiri. The long *passaggi* on 'sognando' (30-35, 59-64) give the impression of Mirteo's getting lost in his dreams of happiness, thereby conveying the literal meaning of the aria text musically. In the B section, the *passaggio* on 'l'ingrata' (76-78) which emphasises Tamiri's ungratefulness (out of three suitors she has chosen the two unlikely ones, but not Mirteo) is plausible. However, in the case of 'labbro' (13-15), 'ragiona' (16), and 'alma' (19-20) in A and 'parte' (81-85) in B, the meaning of the words does not offer any apparent motivation for *passaggi*. Instead, it seems as though they had been set in a florid manner because they offer stressed 'a' and 'o' vowels, which are the most suitable vowels for non-syllabic singing. In other words, the words are exploited for their phonetic properties rather than their meaning in order to offer opportunities for the display of technical features of the *cantabile* style, such as the *portamento*, different kinds of trills, rhythmic patterns and

⁵ The transcription follows the printed libretto for the 1729 Venetian production, in which 'S'abbandona alla dolce lusinga' is broken up into two lines for the sake of the rhyme between 'abbandona' and 'ragiona'. However, in terms of poetic metre, it constitutes a single *decasillabo* line.

⁶ Unbeknownst to Mirteo, because Semiramide is disguised as king Nino, he is her brother.

⁷ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 34.

articulations. 'Teme' is set to an ascending scale that is well suited for ornamentation with a prolonged *trillo cresciuto* even though it does not contain a suitably open vowel (48-49).

'Sì pietoso il tuo labro ragiona' is a very attractive piece of music whose musical affect appositely communicates the idea of Mirteo being lost in his dreams, but it does run afoul of the early 18th-century aesthetic of text being the primary means of communication. The sentences of which the aria text consists are long in any event, two *decasillabo* lines each in A and three *decasillabo* lines in B.⁸ Also, the incorporation of three *passaggi* into the first sentence, two much longer ones into the second and two similarly long ones into the third draw out the sentence beyond the limits of intelligibility. Moreover, the use of *passaggi* for words whose meaning does not offer an obvious explanation for melismatic singing obscures the communicative potential of *passaggi* that serve to illustrate the content of key words. Whilst by the late 1720s, the modern style was firmly established, a great number of arias sung by Farinelli (such as 'Sì pietoso il tuo labro ragiona') in 1728 and 1729 are uncommonly florid and violate the principle of communicating the text clearly.

Starting in 1730, such arias become very rare in Farinelli's roles. In the first Venetian carnival opera of 1730, *Mitridate* (Zeno-Giai), the first statement of the aria text in the A section still contains *passaggi* that impact on the intelligibility of the text in two bravura arias, 'Son qual nave che agitata' (III, 13; Appendix B1.27) and 'Libero ruscelletto' (V, 6; Appendix B1.28). However, in the remaining bravura aria, 'Se mi togliete quella' (I, 10; Appendix B1.25), and the slow arias, 'Lascia, deh lascia almeno' (I, 5; Appendix B1.24) and 'Dona un guardo' (II, 4; Appendix B1.25), the aria text is stated in full before any substantial *passaggi* are introduced.⁹ Also, *passaggi* now occur mostly either on the main key words and/or verbs of motion or nouns whose contents were traditionally associated with melismatic writing:¹⁰ 'pace' (peace), 'face' (torch, i.e., fire) in 'Lascia, deh lascia almeno'; 'raggio' (ray) in 'Se mi togliete quella'; 'piacer' (pleasure) in 'Dona un guardo'; 'nave' (ship), 'mar' (sea) and 'naufragar' (shipwreck) in 'Son qual nave'; and 'ruscelletto' (brooklet), 'inondar' (inundate) and 'andar' (go) in 'Libero ruscelletto'. The use of the

⁸ The *decasillabo* is rarely used in aria texts; its long lines lend themselves well to establishing the gentle, dreamy affect of the aria text.

⁹ In 'Se mi togliete quella', the first *passaggio* occurs on the penultimate syllable of the last word of the A section text, 'saranno', and in 'Dona un guardo', the first *passaggio* occurs on the final syllable of the last word of the A section text.

¹⁰ For example, *fioriture* on the word 'raggio' are common in 16th-century madrigals as well as *seconda pratica* solo madrigals and in 17th-century opera.

auxiliary 'saranno' ([they] will be) in 'Se mi togliete quella' is an exception, and may attest to the attempt to delay the main *passaggio* of the section until the aria text has been stated (almost) in full. Farinelli's role in *Mitridate* is still decidedly virtuosic, but 'Dona un guardo' approaches *stile patetico* with its predominantly syllabic text setting, short and technically simple *passaggi* (for Farinelli) and restraint in terms of technical difficulty and interval size. However, being an aria of small proportions in comparison with Farinelli's first and second bravura arias (these precede and follow 'Dona un guardo' in Farinelli's part), it is of lesser relative weight in his role than arias that put greater emphasis on virtuosity.

The patetico-cantabile hybrid

In the second carnival opera of 1730, *Idaspe* (Candi/Lalli-Broschi), the relative weighting of bravura and slow arias differs greatly. Farinelli's part in *Idaspe*, Dario, consists of a medium-sized largo, 'Tutto amore al caro bene' (I, 4), a gigantic bravura aria, 'Qual guerriero in campo armato' (I, 16; Appendix B1.29), a vastly expansive largo, 'Ombra fedele anch'io' (II, 11; Appendix B1.30), and a medium-size allegro aria, 'Pastorel che trova al fine' (III, 5; Appendix B1.31). In terms of musical weight, the main largo, 'Ombra fedele anch'io', matches the main bravura aria, 'Qual guerriero'; it even exceeds it in terms of performance duration. Except in 'Pastorel che trova al fine', the text of both the A and B sections is stated largely syllabically, and thus entirely intelligibly, before any *passaggi* are introduced. In some of Dario's arias, the first *passaggio* occurs on the penultimate syllable of the last word of an A or B section stanza or line. For example, in a1 in 'Tutto amore al caro bene,' the first *passaggio* is sung on the first syllable of 'amo' in the first statement of the last line of the text, and on the first syllable of 'bramo' in B.

Tutto amore al caro bene	All love for my dear beloved
Vò spiegar col pianto mio,	I go to show her with my tears
Che l'amai, che ancor io l'amo.	That I loved her and love her still.

Già tacendo le sue pene	Keeping silent about its sufferings
Per la forza del desio,	Because of the intensity of its desire,
Par che dica nostro amore[:]	It seems as if our love was saying:
Idol mio te solo io bramo.	My idol, it is only you I want.

In 'Qual guerriero in campo armato', a short *passaggio* is placed on the second-to-last syllable of the word 'innamorato.' However, the coloratura does not impact upon the comprehensibility of the text as it requires no stretch of imagination from the audience to mentally supply the last syllable of any of these words; the listener recognises the words as soon as the *passaggio* commences, in the case of 'amo' and 'bramo' because of the

context, in that of 'innamorato' because of the length of the word, which renders it unambiguous. In each case, the rhyme scheme facilitates comprehension as well. In this manner, the aria text is conveyed to the listener first, establishing the affect at a rational level before the emphasis shifts towards the voice. Moreover, the *passaggi* now occur on the words with the most affective content, the most important words in the aria text. These are 'amo' and 'bramo' in 'Tutto amore al caro bene', in which Dario's love for Mandane is revealed, and 'battaglia' in 'Qual guerriero in campo armato',¹¹ in which Dario describes the battle between his love for Mandane and his disdain for Artaserse, who wants to take her from him.

The *passaggi* in 'Tutto amore al caro bene' are not of unusual length (a1: 2.5 bars, a2: 3 bars, B: 1 bar) and therefore require no motivation beyond the *affettuoso* character of the text and musical setting. Those in 'Ombra fedele anch'io' are longer (a1: 4.5 bars, a2: 3.5 bars ending in a fermata, B: 7 bars in 3/8 ending in a fermata). Because of the largo tempo, their performance duration approximates that of the extensive *passaggi* in 'Qual guerriero in campo armato'. The main largo and main bravura arias occur in analogous dramatic situations; each time, Dario thinks he has lost Mandane in the preceding scene and is left alone on stage to vent his feelings. In the case of 'Qual guerriero in campo armato', Dario reacts to Artaserse's announcement that he will marry Mandane himself by expressing his torment and conflicting feelings; in the case of 'Ombra fedele anch'io', Mandane leaves Dario, telling him that she prefers the throne to his love. After an initial outburst of anger and resentment, Dario realises that he still loves Mandane:

Vanne ingrata, spergiura, ed infedele.
Non sempre andrai superba
Del Diadema e del Trono. Il Cielo ch'è giusto
Vendicherà l'amor... Ma nò; ch'ancora
L'amo bene sleale; e vò costante
Morir, qual vissi, di Mandane amante.

Go then, ungrateful, perjured and unfaithful woman.
You will not forever walk in pride
Of your crown and throne. The heavens are just,
And will avenge [my] love... But no; for I still
Love my disloyal darling; and I will die
As I lived - as Mandane's constant lover.

Ombra fedele anch'io
Sul margine di Lete
Seguir vò l'Idol mio
Che tanto adoro.
Che bella pace¹² è questa
Che a consolar sen resta
Il mio martoro.

As a faithful shade
To the banks of Lethe
I, too, shall follow my beloved
Whom I adore so much.
What beautiful peace this [thought] gives me,
[It is all] that remains to console
My anguish.

¹¹ In the context, the *passaggio* on 'innamorato' is negligible, as it is short. Nevertheless, the word is important as his love is the source of Dario's torment, and musically, the *passaggio* creates a contrast between the syllabic introduction of the idea of the battlefield and the reference to Dario's enamoured heart.

¹² In the libretto, this line is printed as 'Che bella gioia è questa' (What beautiful joy this [thought] gives me). The substitution with 'pace' (peace) in the score changes the affect of the B section, making it contained rather than extroverted.

The scenes containing 'Ombra fedele anch'io' and 'Qual guerriero in campo armato' are the most emotionally charged in Dario's role, and in both coloratura singing is used as an expressive means. This is established by the same process in both arias, so 'Ombra fedele anch'io' can serve as an example for both. After the ritornello establishes a suitable mood,¹³ the aria text is stated in full. Noteworthy is the manner in which the A stanza of the aria text is treated in terms of rhythm. The setting of the first two lines approximates speech rhythm, within the parameters of slow *patetico* delivery (8.3-10.1). The first words of the last line, 'seguir vò l'idol mio', are set to equal note values (eighth notes, 10.2-10.4), but 'mio che' are set to sixteenth notes, so that the first, emphasised syllable of 'tanto' lands on the weak second beat of the bar, creating a rhetorical disruption in the hitherto perfect alignment of word stresses and natural metric patterns. This, as well as its duration and pitch level – it is both the longest and highest note of the phrase (a quarter-note b') – put a strong emphasis on 'tanto', giving the text delivery of the phrase an emotionally charged quality. The sudden ascent to b' for 'che tan-' and sinking back to d' (the interval of sixth is the largest so far in the vocal line) suggest a sigh at Dario's thought of the extent and intensity of his love for Mandane. This is followed by a repetition of the second and third lines of text, each sung on the same hopefully rising and gently falling phrase, building up musical intensity that it then released into the long *passaggio* on 'tanto'. The procedure is essentially the same in the B section. The entire text is stated, then the emotional pitch is raised by means of text repetition until the keyword, 'martoro', is reached, which is then set to a *passaggio*. This treatment of 'martoro' might represent Dario's realisation that his resolve to remain faithful alone cannot bring him peace of mind, prompting him to pull himself together again and motivating the da capo return of the A section. The combination of syllabic, expressively declamatory text setting with extensive *passaggi* makes this aria a stylistic hybrid in which the *patetico* syllabic section and the florid *cantabile* sections complement each other.

In terms of affect, 'tanto (so much)' is the keyword of the A-section text: the aria expresses a love that is great enough for the suitor to want to follow his beloved to the Underworld although she has rejected him, an honourable and appealing idea presumably

¹³ In 'Ombra fedele anch'io', the vocal theme is introduced in the ritornello; in 'Qual guerriero in campo armato' it is not. Although it is easy to read too much into this circumstance (after all there are only the two options to either introduce the theme in the ritornello or not), it should be noted that these choices make sense in terms of the metaphor used in the aria texts. In 'Qual guerriero', the battle noise introduction without vocal theme sets up a suitably antagonistic relationship between the voice and the orchestra, whereas in 'Ombra fedele', the introduction of a simplified (rather than literal) version of the vocal theme by the violins with the unusual addition of two *trombe da caccia* (horns) conjures up the image of a shade, which the voice can then follow figuratively in the vocal episodes.

intended to touch the listener. Although the aria text does not say so directly, it implies that Dario hopes to be united with Mandane after death. It is this thought or hope that, as stated in the B section, gives him peace. Strohm comments on 'Ombra fedele anch'io' that 'the lugubrious type of the so-called 'ombra aria' was not germane to the singer's [Farinelli's] stage *persona*'.¹⁴ However, 'Ombra fedele anch'io' demonstrates that *ombra* arias are not necessarily lugubrious. Instead it is amorous,¹⁵ making use of Farinelli's favourite affect,¹⁶ and shows Dario as a faithful lover in adversity, generous and loving even when rejected, which accords perfectly with the stage persona Farinelli cultivated. Moreover, not only was the aria text specifically written for Farinelli, but the circumstance that the first line of the newly written text was changed in the score suggests that the aria text was fine-tuned even after the libretto was printed, very likely by Farinelli himself. The *ombra* topos itself is one of the several strategies employed in this aria to touch the Venetian audience, as *ombra* scenes were particularly popular in Venice.

Perhaps still more importantly, the metaphor of the faithful lover who follows his beloved to the Underworld is a reference to the Orpheus myth. The evocation of the image of Orpheus, whose song moves the gods of the Underworld to restore his wife to him, encourages the audience to perceive Farinelli's aria as an instance of similarly touching expression. Rhetorically speaking, the use of this metaphor conforms to Aristotle's principle of seeking to persuade the listener by means of familiar images.¹⁷ It amplifies the emotional intensity of the dramatic situation. In terms of the relationship between Farinelli and his Venetian audience, one might also argue that the singer's creation of an association between himself and Orpheus serves as an explanation and/or justification for the reduction of the number of virtuosic arias in *Idaspe*.

¹⁴ Reinhard Strohm, 'Who is Farinelli?', CD Liner notes for *Arias for Farinelli*, Vivica Genaux and the Akademie für Alte Musik Berlin, René Jacobs, director (Harmonia Mundi, 2002, HMC 901778), 26.

¹⁵ These two affects belong to the two opposing groups of affects recognised in the 17th and 18th centuries. The lugubrious falls into the category of the *taedium* and the amorous into the category of *voluptas* affects. See Corinna Herr, *Medeas Zorn. Eine 'starke Frau' in Opern des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Herbolzheim: Centaurus, 2000), Chapter 2.

¹⁶ The same is true for Farinelli's main expressive aria in the third opera of the 1730 Venetian carnival season, 'Per questo dolce amplesso' from *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse), which also employs the *ombra* topos. This aria is discussed below in the section 'Text alterations'.

¹⁷ Serra, *Compendio*, 2.

Communicating the passions: Actor-singer versus vocal virtuoso

Comparison between two settings of the same aria text, one for the actor-singer, Nicolini, and one for Farinelli, lets the latter's use of both text delivery and coloratura singing as expressive devices emerge particularly clearly. In Bologna in 1733, Farinelli first sang Siroe in the eponymous opera (Metastasio-Hasse); the role had been created by Metastasio for Nicolini for the Venetian carnival season of 1726 and set by Vinci. Cosroe, the king of Persia, wants to make his deceitful younger son, Medarse, his successor to the throne as he prefers him to his older son and heir, the aloof warrior, Siroe. Siroe is to be married to Laodice, a foreign princess, whom he rejects on account of his love for Emira. In male disguise, Emira has managed to become Cosroe's confidant, but plans to assassinate him in revenge for her father's death, prioritising vengeance over her love for Siroe. Siroe tries to protect his father without betraying Emira's true identity by writing him a letter stating that someone he trusts intends to murder him. Made suspicious by Siroe's refusal to swear an oath that would signify his renunciation of the throne as well as by Medarse's insinuations and false accusations by the offended Laodice, Cosroe accuses Siroe of being the traitor and is seconded by Emira. Unable to defend himself without incriminating Emira, Siroe sings 'La sorte mia tiranna' (I, 13) in the presence of Cosroe, Medarse, Laodice and Emira.

Figure 8-1: Excerpt from *Siroe* (I, 13), Venice 1726 (Metastasio-Vinci)

Sir. Tutti reo mi volete, e reo non sono.
 La forte mia tiranna
 Farmi di più non può.
 M'accusa, e mi condanna
 Un'empia, & un germano,
 L'amico, e il genitor.
 Ogni foccorfo è vano,
 Che più sperar non ò.
 Perché fedel son'io,
 Questo è il delittio mio,
 Questo diventa error.
 La &c. *parte.*

Figure 8-2: Excerpt from *Siroe* (I, 13), Bologna 1733 (Metastasio-Hasse)

Sir. Tutti reo mi volete, e reo non fono.
 La forte mia tiranna
 Farmi di più non può;
 M'accusa, e mi condanna
 Un'Empia, ed un Germano;
 L'Amico, e il Genitor;
 Che barbaro rigor!
 Che grave affanno.
 Ogni foccorfo è vano,
 Che più sperar non hò,
 Perché fedel son'io,
 Questo è il delitto mio,
 Questo diventa error,
 Tanto contro me può
 Sdegno, ed inganno. *La forte &c.*

Aside from some punctuation and capitalisation, the 1733 Bologna text follows the one from Venice 1726 closely, even preserving a mistake, which is, however, rectified by both composers in the respective scores.¹⁸ The setting sung by Farinelli retains the aria text in full, but two lines each are added to both the A and B sections.

¹⁸ This is a misprint in line 2 of the B section 'Che più sperar non ò' in the Venetian libretto and 'Che più sperar non hò' in the Bologna libretto (instead of 'Che più sperar non sò'). Another misprint in the Venetian aria text is the period at the end of this line that separates the ensuing dependent clause from the main clause. This is corrected in the Bolognese version. The stage direction *parte* [exits] is not printed after any of the arias in the Bologna libretto, presumably because singers' leaving the stage after their arias is assumed. It is, however, printed where characters exit during or after recitatives.

Tutti reo mi volete, e reo non sono.	You all want me to be guilty, but guilty I am not.
La sorte mia tiranna	My tyrannical fate
Farmi di più non può.	Can do no greater evil to me.
M'accusa, e mi condanna	I am accused and condemned
Un'empia, & un germano,	By a perfidious woman, my brother,
L'amico, e il genitor.	My friend and my father.
(Che barbaro rigore!)	(What barbarous harshness!)
(Che grave affanno.)	(What intense anguish.)
Ogni soccorso è vano,	Any assistance is in vain
Che più sperar non [s]ò[.]	For I can hope no more
Perchè fedel son'io	Because I am loyal;
Questo è il delitto mio	This is my crime,
Questo diventa error.	This becomes wrongdoing.
(Tanto contra me può)	(So much power have)
(Frode ¹⁹ , ed inganno.)	(betrayal and deceit against me.)

The setting for Nicolini (Appendix C 2.1) is an agitated *parlante* aria with entirely syllabic textsetting aside from occasional passing tones. The affect is the shocked incredulity of the innocently accused Siroe. Nicolini communicates the affect entirely by means of text declamation and acting. In several cases, text repetition is used for the sake of emphasis; this is particularly obvious in the case of the repetition of the line 'questo è il delitto mio' (40-43) at a higher pitch level. Rhythmically, the vocal line appears bland and unexpressive on the page; however, the indistinct eighth-note values did not constitute a rhythmical straight jacket, but merely provided Nicolini with a metrical framework within which he would have declaimed the text as he saw fit. In some instances, the notated rhythms closely follow the speech rhythms of the words, e.g. on 'questo è il delitto mio' (40-43) and 'Sorte tiranna, tiranna!' (23-24), but in the latter case, this is a matter of necessity due to the unison accompaniment of this phrase. Whilst neither the libretto nor the score contain stage directions, these are inscribed in the musical setting (not just the notes, but also Vinci's use of punctuation) at least in a2 (18-32). After the middle ritornello (15.4-18.3), the regular pulse and theme of the aria suddenly freeze. The words 'germano', 'empia', 'amico' and 'genitor' are extracted from their original sentences. By being turned into questions (question marks are notated in the score), they become direct addresses in second person singular, whereas in the original text, they are in third person singular. Upon the first of these, 'Germano?' (18-19), the aria turns into an accompanied recitative. Siroe's addressing each of the other characters present on stage unaccompanied is answered by forbidding dotted-rhythm interjections from the orchestra, presumably signalling his being rejected,²⁰ soliciting a physical response from the character Siroe is speaking to. In each case this is followed by a fermata that leaves Nicolini time to turn

¹⁹ In the score of Farinelli's aria, the word 'sdegno' has been replaced by 'frode'. The substitution of a word referring to a passion ('sdegno', i.e., disdain) with one referring to a deliberate, immoral act increases the potential of the B section to elicit sympathy with Siroe's plight from the audience and summarises the dramatic situation in a more pointed manner.

²⁰ The aria follows upon Siroe's being accused of treason by each of the characters present.

towards the next character to be addressed with a suitable gesture (19-22).²¹ At the same time, the lack of accompaniment on the words 'germano', 'empia', 'amico' and 'genitor' allows him to modulate his voice and choose apposite dynamics, leaving ample room for varying the affect when he addresses e.g., his brother, whom he knows to be a liar, and his lover. Siroe voices his exasperation or despair at rejection by all in the exclamation 'Sorte tiranna, tiranna!' (23-24), another instance in which individual words of the aria text are extracted from their original context. At this dramatic climax, *tessitura* is used to support the text declamation; it is the only occurrence of e'' flat, and d'' is used only one other time, in the dramatic climax of the B section, where Siroe acknowledges the conundrum that in his situation loyalty becomes a crime or is interpreted as one (42-43). In the A section, the regular pulse and theme of the aria resume once the aria text is again used in its original form on the phrase 'M'accusa, e mi condanna' (25). In this setting of 'La sorte mia tiranna', performed by Nicolini, who was widely considered the greatest actor of his time,²² the musical setting serves to enable the singer not only to convey the affect by means of declamation and acting, but to use these two parameters to determine and vary the affect within the aria.²³ The setting is intensely text-centred; the music serves first and foremost to enhance the persuasive potential of the poetry.

The setting performed by Farinelli (Appendix B 1.36) is marked *adagio*, and, like 'Ombra fedele anch'io', it is a *patetico-cantabile* hybrid. In a1, the entire aria text is sung syllabically (9-17). By the time the last line is repeated and Siroe begins his *passaggio* on its last word, 'affanno', the affect is thus clearly established. The two lines added to the A stanza of the aria text are crucial in establishing the illocutionary force of the aria. Firstly, they spell out Farinelli's interpretation of the affective content of this section. The first added line, 'Che barbaro rigore!', summarises Siroe's view of the behaviour of Cosroe, Emira, Medarse and Laodice towards him. It is noteworthy that exclamations were among

²¹ The typical distribution of characters on stage in a semicircle and the circumstance that Siroe speaks of the other characters on stage in third person in the aria text suggests that he addresses the audience in a1. The change to accompanied recitative for the beginning of a2 as well as the shift of direction in delivering the aria from the audience to the individual character would have been a highly dramatic effect.

²² There are numerous contemporary comments to this effect. For example, Conti considered him 'le plus grand acteur de nos théâtres' (the greatest actor in our theatres). Letter of 29 September 1727. Conti, *Lettere*, 169. In England, Joseph Addison described him as 'the greatest performer in dramatic Music that is now living, or that perhaps ever appeared on a stage'. *The Spectator*, No. 405 (14 June 1712). Addison even promoted Nicolini as a model for English actors on the spoken stage, stating, 'I have often wished that our tragedians would copy after this great master of action'. *The Spectator*, No. 13 (15 March 1710-11).

²³ Hence it is impossible to determine whether, for example, the phrase 'Sorte tiranna, tiranna!' is an outraged, desperate or defiant outcry.

the rhetorical figures that were deemed most suited to moving an audience.²⁴ An exclamation, it is set to a short forte outburst and syllabically (15, 28), directed at the other characters. The forte dynamics quickly give way to piano for the second of the additional lines, 'Che grave affanno', which describes Siroe's own emotional response to the dramatic situation as though Siroe were uneasy of making an accusation in his turn, or as though he were feeling his own anguish more acutely than anger at the other characters. The piano dynamics for the second line suggest that it is personal and directed at himself. Secondly, the addition of the two new lines contrasts Siroe and the other characters. They, though all guilty in some way, display barbarous harshness; he, though innocent, suffers intense anguish. Emphasising this contrast accords with the aim of tragedy to move the audience to feel sympathy with the virtuous and innocent protagonist. Thirdly, the second of the new lines supplies a word that is suitable for a *passaggio* with expressive purpose (where there was none before) in that it contains a stressed open vowel ('affanno') and describes the main affect Farinelli seems to have wished to convey. Whereas the B section for Nicolini communicates a resigned acceptance of his fate, the insertion of two additional lines of text in the setting sung by Farinelli again emphasises his innocence by spelling out that his misfortune is the result of betrayal and deceit. As in 'Ombra fedele anch'io', the new lines have been subject to a further alteration, apparently after the libretto went into print. The word 'sdegno' in the libretto has been replaced by 'frode' in the score, suggesting that here, too, Farinelli may have been very particular about the text he was going to sing. The word 'frode' (51), as well as 'questo' (47 and 48), are brought out by means of expressive metric displacement whereby a strong syllable and/or sustained note commences on a weak beat, a device also employed in 'Ombra fedele anch'io' and many other of Farinelli's arias. Altogether, these expressive means, the renewed emphasis on Siroe's innocence and use of a higher tessitura and piano dynamics almost throughout the B section give the setting for Farinelli a distressed, anguished (rather than resigned) affect that suits the monothematic aria. Although the aria text is set mainly syllabically in both arias, Farinelli's vocal line, with its Lombard rhythms, appoggiaturas and sudden dynamic contrasts shows a much greater degree of vocal sophistication than Nicolini's.

The text-music relationship in the settings of 'La sorte mia tiranna' sung by Nicolini and Farinelli, respectively, is fundamentally different. In Nicolini's setting, the music serves a predominantly ancillary function, enabling the singer-actor to communicate affect by means of declamation and action. In Farinelli's setting, the parameters of declamation and

²⁴ Serra, *Compendio*, 341.

action have been translated into musical expression for the most part. The text is still of great importance to be sure. However, one might say that in Farinelli's aria the text serves the purpose of motivating or creating suitable dramatic conditions for musical expression. In 'La sorte mia tiranna' and 'Ombra fedele anch'io', as in Farinelli's subsequent important largo and andante arias (as well as many bravura arias), the affect is established by means of syllabic delivery and then intensified to an emotional pitch at which the text seems no longer to be able to contain the affect or sufficient to express it, so it is poured into 'pure' vocalisation and communicated in a wordless fashion. Indeed, the *passaggi* in 'La sorte mia tiranna' and 'Ombra fedele anch'io' do not make use of any specific idiom that is associated with the musical representation of a non-musical phenomenon. Thus they do not 'imitate' any specific image; the music takes over from the text as expressive force. The music is not an entirely abstract quantity, but emanates from the singer.²⁵ The audience's attention is guided towards the singer not only through the absence of text but also through his physical presence centre stage. Once the fermatas, and thus the cadenzas, are reached, he and his voice become the sole focal point²⁶ and agent of communication. This is particularly true for Farinelli. His tendency to cease using gestures during arias resulted in a further concentration on the music because he did not employ physical means as a communicative tool, except – presumably – facial expression. One might argue that the circumstance that arias' cadenzas and embellishments of the B and da capo sections were unique to each performance and carried out in the singer's personal style effected a conflation of the character with the performer. This could have invited the audience to perceive his singing as a matter of personal rather than histrionic expression.

Text alterations

Whether Farinelli intended to create a 'nuova lingua' and use music as an expressive parameter that was, at least temporarily, unchained from the text, cannot be established with certainty. It seems as though Farinelli did not disagree fundamentally with the common view (as expounded by Tosi and Conti) that the primary purpose of singing was

²⁵ This is not to say that the orchestral part is unimportant, but it played a subservient role.

²⁶ According to Tosi, who believes that *passaggi* cannot touch the listener (*Opinioni*, 30), using fermatas to sing *passaggi* while the orchestra is silent is singers' most serious abuse as it is committed knowingly and in cold blood for the sake of soliciting applause from the audience, therefore serving the singers' vanity. *Opinioni*, 84.

mimetic, i.e., communicating the meaning and affect of the aria text, and that the intelligibility of the text was crucial. As Sacchi reports,

A queste doti straordinarie del canto, che appagano il senso, univa il Broschi ancor quelle, che riguardano la intelligenza, perché egli rendeva le parole chiarissimamente, e con grande efficacia, e verità esprimeva qualunque affetto, o passione, così quelle, che importano tardità, o languore, come quelle, che vogliono vivacità, rapidità, leggierezza. Quando egli parlava dell'arte sua, tanto inculcava la espressione degli affetti, e la pronunziatione intera delle parole, e le avvertenze a ciò necessarie nell'aprire decentemente la bocca, e ben governare il fiato, e i moti delle labbra, e della lingua, che pareva in ciò collorare tutta la perfezione del canto.²⁷

(With these extraordinary vocal gifts, which delight the senses, Broschi united those that appeal to the mind, for he rendered the words in the clearest possible manner, and with great efficiency and truthfulness he expressed every affect or passion, be it the ones that require slowness or languor, or the ones that demand vivacity, rapidity and lightness. When he spoke of his art, he put such great emphasis on the expression of the affects and the precise pronunciation of the words and on explanations of the necessity of the correct manner of opening the mouth, managing the breath and the movement of the lips, that it seemed that it was in these things that he considered the entire perfection of singing to reside.)

Whilst Sacchi did not gather information about Farinelli before c.1780, the manner in which Farinelli's aria texts were altered evinces that text delivery and the expression of the affect were of paramount importance to the singer during his stage career.²⁸ 'La sorte mia tiranna' and 'Ombra fedele anch'io' constitute but two of many examples. An especially famous one is 'Per questo dolce amplesso' (II, 11) from *Artaserse* (Metastasio²⁹-Hasse, Venice 1730). Metastasio's aria text was performed in its original version by Carestini as Arbace in Vinci's setting in Rome, just a few weeks before the Venetian premiere of the libretto in Hasse's setting. The dramatic situation of 'Per quel paterno amplesso' is much the same as that of 'La sorte mia tiranna'. Arbace is falsely accused and rejected by all who are dear to him; his best friend, Artaserse, the new king of Persia; his beloved and Artaserse's sister, Mandane; and his own sister Semira. His father, Artabano, who has murdered Artaserse's and Mandane's father, king Serse, framed Arbace for the crime and

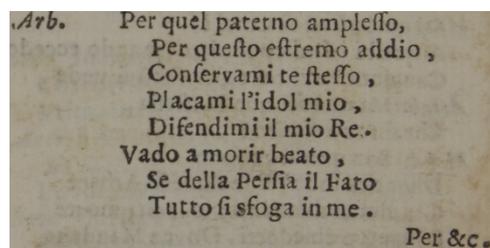
²⁷ Sacchi, *Vita*, 37. Whilst Sacchi's facts are often not reliable, the phrase 'quando egli parlava dell'arte sua' suggests that Sacchi had a conversation with Farinelli or someone who knew him well on this subject.

²⁸ Text alterations also had another effect; they personalised the aria, signalling the singer's ownership.

²⁹ Although Metastasio seems to have made some changes to this libretto for its 1730 Venetian premiere, it underwent further alterations in Venice, probably by one of the poets associated with the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, Domenico Lalli or Giovanni Boldini. Most of the changes occur in the roles of Arbace, sung by Farinelli, and Artabano, sung by Nicolini. Like Farinelli, Nicolini was extremely particular about the text of his roles and exerted direct influence on the adaptation of his roles to suit him. See Libby, 'The Singers of Pergolesi's *Salustia*', and Brandt, "...um die Oper der Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums noch würdiger zu machen".

is planning to assassinate the rest of the royal family in order to put Arbace on the throne, has just pronounced his son's death sentence.

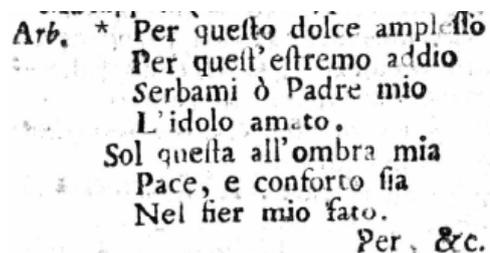
Figure 8-3: Excerpt from *Artaserse* (II, 11), Rome 1730 (Metastasio-Vinci)



For the sake of this paternal embrace,
For the sake of this last farewell,
Safeguard yourself,
Placate my beloved,
Defend my king.

I go to my death happily
If the fate of Persia
Runs its course with me alone.

Figure 8-4: Excerpt from *Artaserse* (II, 11), Venice 1730 (Metastasio-Hasse)



For the sake of this sweet embrace,
For the sake of this last farewell,
Protect, o my father,
My dearest beloved.

This alone shall give peace and solace
To my shade
In my cruel fate.

In Metastasio's original text, Arbace uses his last farewell to ask Artabano, without incriminating him,³⁰ to abandon his plans of killing Mandane and Artaserse, thus saving himself as well. Arbace's self-sacrifice for his father, king and friend and his beloved as well as the good of Persia emphasises his heroic qualities. In the altered Venetian version performed by Farinelli, heroism is replaced by *galant* tenderness and the focus shifts entirely to Arbace's love for Mandane. The 'paternal' embrace becomes a 'sweet' embrace and Artabano is addressed affectionately as 'padre mio', though not without a sigh. The B section, while, as in 'Ombra fedele anch'io' appealing to the Venetian predilection for *ombra* scenes, serves to account for the extent of Arbace's love for Mandane, as the thought of her safety alone will suffice to give him peace and solace. The reference to his cruel fate draws attention to his innocence. All the changes are designed to turn an aria that is intended to instil admiration for Arbace's courage in the audience into one that is designed to move an audience that preferred amorous over heroic subject matter to compassion. In addition, the last word of the A section stanza, 'amato', provides a word that contains an open vowel and is emotionally charged, and thus eminently suited for expressing the intensity of Arbace's love for Mandane by means of an expressive *passaggio*. Its rhyming word, 'fato', is suited for Arbace to bewail his fate in the B section *passaggio*. Like 'La sorte mia tiranna' and 'Ombra fedele anch'io', 'Per questo dolce

³⁰ The suffix '-mi' (for me) at the end of 'conservami', 'placami' and 'difendimi', intensifies Arbace's plea to his father; Arbace entreats Artabano to take all these actions for him, i.e., for the sake of Arbace's self-sacrifice, by which he is protecting Artabano. It also imbues the son's plea to his father with a sense of intimacy.

amplesso' is a *patetico-cantabile* hybrid. Given that 1) 'Per questo dolce' amplesso was only the second aria of its kind as well as Farinelli's second aria in contralto range in Venice and that 2) the previous production of the 1730 carnival, *Idaspe*, was still fresh in the audience's mind, it is possible that the reference to Arbace's 'ombra' was meant to serve as a reminder of 'Ombra fedele anch'io' and its Orpheus imagery. The pastoral metaphor of Farinelli's main bravura aria in *Artaserse*, 'Parto qual pastorello' (III, 2) may also suggest as much.³¹

In none of Farinelli's aria texts is the obligation of the onlooker to be touched by the sorrow of a person in distress spelt out more clearly than in 'Chi non sente per chi langue' (II, 2), a new aria text for Farinelli in the role of the Greek prince, Merione, in *Farnace* (Lucchini-Porta, Bologna 1731).³² Imprisoned and fearful for her brother and his family, Selinda entreats Merione to use his influence with Berenice to make her act mercifully.

After her departure, Merione and his general, Arbante, comment on the situation:

II, 2	<i>Merione, e Arbante</i>	
<i>Merione</i>	Arbante, se d'un forte, e stretto laccio Non mi tenesse Amor il cor legato, Costei l'avrebbe al suo voler soggetto,	Arbante, if Amor was not holding my heart Tied by a strong and tight chain, It would be the subject of this woman's will.
<i>Arbante</i>	Benchè ne' casi aspri di guerra avezzo Anch'io sento dolor di sue sventure. <i>e parte.</i>	Although I am used to the harsh conditions of war, I, too, am aggrieved by her misfortune. <i>He leaves.</i>
<i>Merione</i>	Ma se per lei sentir non posso amore, A tanta gentilezza, e a tal beltate Non vo', ch'io nol potrei, negar pietate.	But if I cannot feel love for her, I neither would nor could deny such dignity And such beauty my pity.
	Chi non sente per chi langue Entro il petto Qualche affetto di pietà, Vada pure infra le Selve Tra le belve ad abitar. Amabil pregio è la pietà, E un cor gentile altro non hà, Che più sia degno Di farsi amar.	Whoever does not feel for him who languishes A stirring of pity In his heart, May as well go to the forest To live among wild animals. Pity is an loveable virtue, And a noble heart has nothing More worthy For making itself loved.

Merione's aria solicits sympathy for Selinda from the audience; pity, both a moral obligation and a Christian virtue, is a sign of a noble heart. The message is reinforced by the compassion of Arbante, a hardened warrior. The aria text is intended to provide Farinelli with an opportunity to sing an expressive adagio.

The 1731 *Farnace* provides a prime example of the extent to which libretti had to be adapted to Farinelli's particular requirements, for not only this aria text is changed. Since Vinci's first setting of *Farnace* for Rome in 1724, in which Farinelli had sung Berenice,

³¹ The association between the Orpheus myth and the pastoral will be discussed below.

³² In the libretto, the new arias are not marked by an asterisk as was common practice in many cities, but the aria is not part of earlier versions of the libretto.

Lucchini's *dramma* had become popular through revivals of both Vinci's setting³³ and Vivaldi's setting of 1726, which was also revived several times.³⁴ However, Porta's 1731 setting is based on an altered version of the libretto set by Orlandini (Milan, 1728) that had been produced only once. In this version, the character of the Greek prince, Merione, replaces that of the Roman Proconsul of Asia, Pompeo, in order to refocus the role from a solemn military leader and statesman to a *galant* prince and loyal lover for Carlo Scalzi. As mentioned previously in reference to *Semiramide riconosciuta* (see chapter 7), Scalzi's dramatic preferences were not unlike Farinelli's.³⁵ In this version of the libretto, an aria such as Farinelli's 'Chi non sente per chi langue', which appeals to the audience's moral and emotional sensibility, is dramatically suited (or verisimilar) to the character of Merione.³⁶ But it is noteworthy, that although the libretto had already been revised to create a character that corresponded to Farinelli's role preferences, he nevertheless had all aria texts in his part replaced with new ones. The anonymous author of the dedication (and possibly the new aria texts) draws attention to the substantial changes stating that

il Dramma non comparisce come nuovo, e però non aspetta da questa rappresentazione l'esito di sua fortuna. Ognun sà quanta sempre, benchè in varie guise mutato, incontrasse Lode, ed applauso. Pur questa volta ancora, diverso dalle paßate in alcune parti apparisce, ma tanto solo, quanto è convenuto adattarlo agli Egregi Attori, che il rappresentano, e cantano, a cui per comodo della Musica è costretta la Poesia a servire, più che a se stessa.³⁷

(The *dramma* is not performed in its new [i.e. original] form, and therefore its fortune does not depend on this production. Everyone knows with how much praise and applause it has always met, even though [it was] altered in many

³³ Florence, 1726 and Naples 1729.

³⁴ Venice 1727, Prague 1730 and Pavia, 1731.

³⁵ Like Farinelli, Scalzi preferred *galant* over heroic roles. There were also some vocal similarities between the two singers. One of Farinelli's arias in *Medo* (Frugoni-Vinci, Parma 1728), 'Innamorata dolce mia fiamma' (III, 3), is a *contrafactum* of Scalzi's 'Con forza ascosa' from *La caduta de' decemviri* (Stampiglia-Vinci) for Naples the previous year (Markstrom, *Vinci*, 249). It is not clear whether Farinelli was aware of this. Scalzi appears to have sung Farinelli's 'Quante in selve son le foglie' (II, 12) from *Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata* (Pasqualigo-Orlandini, Bologna 1727) in Orlandini's 1728 setting of *Farnace* for Milan (II, 1). No score of the aria in this production survives, but the text in the printed libretto is entirely the same.

³⁶ The only surviving manuscript of Porta's setting of *Farnace* (*D-Hs* Ms. ND VI 2627) is a score of the 1740 revival in Munich rather than the 1731 setting for Bologna. In Munich, the role of Merione was taken by the alto castrato, Domenico Galletti. It seems very likely that the setting of 'Chi non sente per chi langue' in the 1740 score is the one originally composed for Farinelli as the aria text is the same and Farinelli's adagio arias of this period are often in contralto tessitura. The vocal idiom, too, suggests that the aria performed by Galletti had originally been sung by Farinelli, but this cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty. The aria is a *patetico-cantabile* hybrid. Here the text is not stated in full syllabically before the first *a1* *passaggio* (which occurs on 'belve'), but in *a2*, a shorter *passaggio* occurs on the expressive word, 'langue', and the main *passaggio* on the last word of the A stanza text, 'abitar,' so the text setting procedures are very similar to those employed by Broschi and Hasse in the previously mentioned arias.

³⁷ *Farnace*, dedication, 3-4.

ways. This time, too, it appears different from former [versions] in several places, but only inasmuch as it was necessary to adapt it to the egregious performers, who act and sing it, and whom the poetry is obliged to serve more than itself for the sake of the music.)

Whilst comments on the adaptation of *drammi* to the circumstances of the theatre, especially to singer's preferences, are entirely commonplace, the comment that the poetry is obliged to serve the performers and their musical preferences demonstrates awareness of a change of the relative functions of music and poetry on the operatic stage. The circumstance that the most drastic dramatic alterations occur in the role performed by Farinelli attest to his close association with this change.

Sententious aria texts such as 'Chi non sente per chi langue' are rare in Farinelli's roles. The singer may have been conscious of the fact that proffering examples of characters whose situation elicits the audience's sympathy is more effective than direct reminders of the listeners' moral duties; teaching by positive example, of course, is the poetic *raison d'être* of the *dramma per musica*. Nevertheless, Farinelli evidently liked the aria text's clear intention of moving the audience. In altered forms, he sang settings of the text³⁸ on several other occasions; these were the first production (Turin 1732) and a revival (Lucca 1732) of *Merope* (Broschi-Zeno) as well as in a *pasticcio* revival of *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse, Venice 1734) in which it replaced 'Per questo dolce amplesso'.

The text of an altered version of 'Chi non sente per chi langue', the aria 'Chi non sente al mio dolore' (I, 13; Appendix B 1.33) in the 1732 Turin *Merope* (Zeno-R. Broschi), still openly solicits sympathy, but Epitide is now singing of his own sorrow ('mio dolore') in first person singular. Moreover, the aria's B stanza abandons the sententious praise of pity, and instead gives the character, Epitide, the opportunity to summarise his misfortune and implore the gods.

Chi non sente al mio dolore	Whoever does not feel some anguish in his heart
Qualche affanno dentro al core,	At [the sight of] my sorrow
Vada pure ne' foschi orrori	May as well go to sigh
Fra le valli a sospirar.	In the vales among the gloomy horrors.
Il mio bene, il padre, il Regno	Unworthy fate has robbed me of
M'ha rapito fàto indegno.	My beloved, my father, my kingdom.
Sommi Dei, se giusti siete,	Gods on high, if you are just,
Fin ponete al mio penar.	Put an end to my suffering.

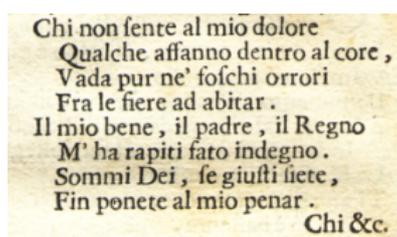
In 'Chi non sente per chi langue', the audience is presented with a character who expresses his pity for another, absent character, i.e., with an example of virtue that is worthy of

³⁸ As only the score of the 1732 *Merope* survives, it is impossible to tell whether Farinelli sang the same setting on all these occasions because he had several of his favourite aria texts set more than once.

emulation. In contrast, in 'Chi non sente al mio dolore', a closer relationship between the character on stage and the audience is established as it is the innocently suffering Epitide himself who becomes the object of the audience's pity. Moreover, the new B section employs rhetorical strategies that were commonly employed to instil pity in the listener, namely pointing out the effects of the evil suffered³⁹ in the first half and using an apostrophe,⁴⁰ i.e., a direct address, and an imploration⁴¹ in the second half. The changes in the aria text thus aim at moving the audience to compassion, to feel with the protagonist. Although in both aria texts meaning is first conveyed by means of text, the sententious earlier text appeals mainly to the listener's intellect, whereas the 1732 version appeals more directly to the listener's heart.

'Chi non sente al mio dolore', too, shows evidence of last-minute fine-tuning of the text, small changes with great impact.

Figure 8-5: Excerpt from *Merope* (I, 13), Turin 1732 (Zeno-Broschi)



In the printed libretto, the last line of the A stanza reads 'Fra le fiere ad abitar'. The substitution of 'fiere' (wild animals) with 'valli' (vales) makes the metaphor somewhat vague or possibly creates a different one. The printed text conjures up the image of a dark forest inhabited by wild animals, preserving the metaphor of the source text, 'Chi non sente per chi langue' (*Farnace*, 1731). The altered line evokes the image of horrid vales, possibly those of the Underworld, effecting an intensification of the affect. Musically, it motivates the descent of the voice into the alto tessitura (18, 38-40 and 58). Although the text of the A section refers to the onlookers, not Epitide himself, the substitution of 'abitar' (live) with 'sospirar' (sigh) provides Epitide with a suitable word for pouring out his anguish, i.e., the overall affect of the A section, in an extended *passaggio*. The aria follows the pattern of the previously discussed *patetico-cantabile* hybrids. In this particular case, the *patetico* portion is simpler than ever, whereas the *passaggi* on 'sospirar' explore a variety of musical means of imitating sighs, including Lombard

³⁹ Serra, *Compendio*, 337.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 341.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

rhythms (24 and 26), off-beat notes separated by rests (27), leaps and syncopations (49-53).⁴² Even though conservatives like Tosi or Conti might have been able to maintain that ‘il passaggio non abbia in se forza che basti al produrre quella soavità, che s’internà, nè sia considerato per lo più, che per ammirar in un Cantante la felicità d’una voce flessibile’⁴³ (*Divisions* have not Power sufficient to touch the Soul, but the most they can do is to raise our Admiration of the Singer for the happy Flexibility of his Voice⁴⁴), it would have been hard even for them to deny that the ‘sospirar’ *passaggi* in ‘Chi non sente al mio dolore’ were at least intended to touch the soul.

Dramatic Placement

Farinelli’s *patetico-cantabile* hybrids usually occur in one of two types of dramatic situation. One of these is the solo scene, as, for example, in the cases of ‘Chi non sente al mio dolore’ and ‘Ombra fedele anch’io.’ Here, the singer can address the audience only, without any obligation to interact with or show awareness of the presence of other characters. This is also the kind of dramatic situation in which characters tend to express their passions more directly and openly than in the presence of other characters in observance of codes of propriety, and it is thus especially suitable for arias with great intensity of affect. However, this was also the kind of scene that was regarded as the least verisimilar.⁴⁵ The other is an ensemble scene in which Farinelli’s character is in the presence of several other characters who have in some manner rejected his, e.g., in ‘Per questo dolce amplesso’ and ‘La sorte mia tiranna’. In these arias, the tragic moment is heightened by the circumstance that Farinelli’s innocently accused character is alone, albeit surrounded by the people with whom he is most closely connected. Dramatically, this type of situation is conceived to make the audience censure the other characters for their lack of pity; by implication, the audience is obliged to feel sympathy themselves if they are not to act in an equally reprehensible manner as the characters on stage.

⁴² A noteworthy detail of ‘Chi non sente al mio dolore’, *Merope* 1732, is the circumstance that the ritornello with its rise from the tonic (d’) to the dominant above (a’’) to the upper tonic (d’’) over the course of the first three bars in eighth-note triplets recalls that of ‘Ombra fedele anch’io’ (*Idaspe*, Venice 1730), which suggests both that the latter aria was well received and that Farinelli liked it.

⁴³ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 30.

⁴⁴ Tosi/Galliard, *Observations*, 51.

⁴⁵ Giambatista Bisso, *Volgar poesia*, 209.

In a few cases, such arias require interaction with the other characters. At least the A section text of 'Per questo dolce amplesso' is addressed to Artabano, Arbace's father. In 'Sposa... non mi conosci', an aria text first used by Farinelli in the 1732 *Merope* (Zeno-Broschi, Turin, 1732),⁴⁶ Epitide has to address his mother and bride in turn at various points in the aria and sing asides to the heavens expressing his feelings at their rejection.⁴⁷

Sposa... non mi conosci.	My bride... you do not recognise me. [<i>To Argia</i>] ⁴⁸
Madre... tu non m'ascolti.	Mother... you do not listen to me. [<i>To Merope</i>]
(Cieli, che feci mai?)	(Heavens, what could I have done?) [<i>To the heavens</i>]
E pur son il tuo cor,	And yet, I am your heart, [<i>To Arg.</i>]
Il tuo figlio, il tuo amor, la tua speranza.	Your son [<i>To Mer.</i>], your love [<i>To Arg.</i>], your hope. [<i>To Mer.</i>]
Parla... ma sei infedel.	Speak... but you are disloyal. [<i>To Arg.</i>]
Credi... ma sei crudel.	Believe me... but you are cruel. [<i>To Mer.</i>]
Morir mi lascerai?	You would let me die? [<i>To either</i>] ⁴⁹
Oh Dio manca il valor, e la costanza.	Oh god, my courage and fortitude are failing me. [<i>To the heavens</i>]

Nevertheless, regardless of its setting, the aria text of 'Sposa... non mi conosci' requires significantly less acting than, for example, Nicolini's above-mentioned 'La sorte mia tiranna' because there is little variance in the affect in the A section. Epitide's apostrophes to Argia and Merope as well as the rhetorical question directed at the heavens are entreaties for compassion. His reminders of his relationship with them do not change the affect, either, but serve to intensify it. The B section text is rhetorically more varied, consisting of one more apostrophe each to Argia and Merope, another rhetorical question and, finally, an exclamation. However, the comparative brevity of the B sections both in the 1732 and 1734 settings reduces the amount of dramatic time that requires variety in acting and skill in enacting different passions to a short moment.

As in the cases of previously mentioned *patetico-cantabile* hybrids, the text of 'Sposa... non mi conosci' was altered, probably during the production process. Whilst the main text of the *dramma* had apparently already been typeset, there had still been time to include the re-written text on the page facing the first page of the beginning of act I.

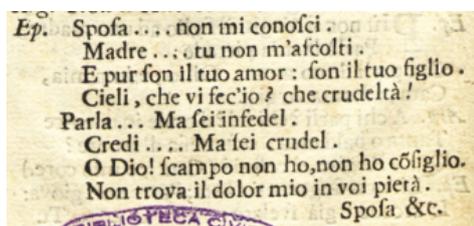
⁴⁶ One of his favourite aria texts, Farinelli sang 'Sposa... non mi conosci' (III, 6) from *Merope* in at least two settings; one by his brother, R. Broschi, composed for the 1732 carnival in Turin and revived in Lucca in 1733, and another by Giacomelli for the Venetian carnival of 1735. He also sang the aria in a London production of *Merope* in 1735, but neither the score nor information as to the composer survives.

⁴⁷ The extent to which stage directions, particularly such as can be deduced from the text as in the case of this aria, are printed in libretti is inconsistent. In the 1732 Turin *Merope* libretto, no stage directions are printed for the text; in the 1733 Lucca libretto, stage directions are printed both for the A and B sections; and in the 1734 Venice libretto, stage directions are given for the A section only. Both from the singers' and listeners' point of view, the stage directions for this aria are gratuitous as they depend on the conventions of contemporary acting practise which were inscribed in the text (e.g., addressing a person requires a gesture of address).

⁴⁸ I have added a complete set of stage directions in accordance to 18th-century acting practice for this aria; some of these are included in the 1733 Lucca and 1734 Venice libretti of *Merope*.

⁴⁹ In the second setting of this text sung by Farinelli (by Giacomelli for Venice, 1734), this line is repeated (in inverted word order), allowing Epitide to direct this question at both women in turn, preserving the visual symmetry of the scene.

**Figure 8-6: Excerpt from *Merope* (III, 6), Turin 1732: Original aria text
Printed on page 56**



My bride... you do not recognise me.
Mother... you do not listen to me.

And yet, I am your heart; I am your son.
Heavens, what have I done to you? What cruelty!

Speak... but you are disloyal.
Believe me... but you are cruel.
O god, there is no rescue, no counsel.
My sorrow finds no pity in you.

**Figure 8-7: Excerpt from *Merope* (III, 6), Turin 1732: Altered aria text
Printed on page facing page 1**



My bride... you do not recognise me.
Mother... you do not listen to me.
(Heavens, what could I have done?)
And yet, I am your heart,
Your son, your love, your hope.

Speak... but you are disloyal.
Believe me... but you are cruel.
You would let me die?
Oh god, my courage and fortitude are failing me.

The changes to the A stanza intensify its pleading tone and eliminate the exasperated or desperate exclamation ‘Che crudeltà’, giving the section a more *affettuoso* tone in whose context ‘speranza’ is better suited to a beautiful and expansive *passaggio* than ‘crudeltà’. The new B section text is more poignant in that it draws attention to the mortal danger⁵⁰ in which Epitide finds himself and describes his state of mind.

When ‘Per questo dolce amplesso’, which, as mentioned above, occurs in an ensemble scene in the 1730 *Artaserse*, was replaced by ‘Chi non sente al mio dolore’ in the 1734 Venetian *pasticcio* revival of *Artaserse*, it was delayed until the act-ending solo scene.⁵¹ Farinelli’s predilection for ‘Sposa non mi conosci’ is evident from the fact that it was the only aria text he retained in more than two of the four *Merope* productions in which he sang (Turin 1732, Lucca 1733, Venice 1734 and London 1735). The frequency with which Farinelli’s *patetico-cantabile* hybrids are placed either in solo or in ensemble ‘rejection’ scenes such as in these three arias attests to a strong preference for these two dramatic situations. The former facilitates fulfilling the aim of moving the audience by means of its intimate nature, which focuses the audience’s undivided attention on the protagonist; the latter does so by means of putting the protagonist’s suffering into relief by means of exposing to view the contrast between him and his unjust accusers.

⁵⁰ This is another instance of introducing a rhetorical device for moving the audience to compassion. Serra, *Compendio*, 337.

⁵¹ Here, the aria text is fitted with a new B stanza in order to draw attention to Arbace’s innocence, which is of paramount importance at this moment in the drama.

'Una nuova lingua'

The only time Farinelli singles out an aria as 'bellissima' in his surviving correspondence with Pepoli is in reference to 'Giusti cieli, eterni Dei' (Appendix C 1.3), first sung by Farinelli in the 1731 production of *L'innocenza giustificata* (Silvani-Orlandini) in Fano, which was revived in Florence in the summer of 1734.⁵²

Giusti cieli, eterni Dei,	Just Heavens, eternal Gods,
Assistete a' pensier miei,	Lend help to my design,
Fulminate il traditor.	Strike down the traitor with bolts of lightning.
L'innocenza difendete,	Defend innocence,
E all'impresa voi agete [sic]	And strengthen my arm and heart
Questo braccio e questo cor.	For this enterprise.

This aria largely fits into the mould of the *patetico-cantabile* hybrid, although its vocal line is not quite as syllabic as in the aforementioned arias. Short melismas of up to four notes occur in the statements of the A stanza, both in a1 and in a2. However, these are short enough not to impede the intelligibility of the text. The only *passaggio* before the A stanza is stated in full is a very traditional imitative device, illustrating the word 'fulminate' (strike down with a lightning bolt). Still, 'fulminate' can be comprehended by the listener as the *passaggio* is sung on the penultimate syllable. Communicating the idea of the destruction of Astiage's enemy, the aria could easily have been set to create a more vengeful, aggressive tone. However, the floating expansive phrases of the vocal line emphasise that the aria text is in fact a prayer. Although preparing to take revenge, Astiage is portrayed not as warlike, but as pious and respectful of divine power; putting his faith and revenge into the hands of the gods, the musical setting of his prayer suggests serenity and peace of mind as a result of trust in the gods, which fits very well with the persona cultivated by Farinelli.

The aria's main *passaggi* are very long (7.5 bars in a1 [44-51], 14 bars in a2 [63-77] and 9.5 bars in B [108-116] in 3/4 time at tempo) and technical difficulties abound. These include leaps of up to a tenth (the latter in 26-28, 63-65, 74-76), repeated *volatine* (26-28, 74-76), *martellato* (47-50, 66-67), arpeggios and figurations in oboe idiom (64-66, 69-73), the breath control required by the long phrases as well register management in a range of c' to a''. However, 'Giusti cieli, eterni Dei' is not a display, but an expressive, piece. Due to the andante tempo and serenity of the musical affect, the emphasis lies not on the technical

⁵² 'Aria bellissima dell'amico Orlandini' (a most beautiful aria by my friend Orlandini). Farinelli sends Pepoli three aria texts for the 1731 *pasticcio* revival of *Artaserse* in Ferrara in autumn, requesting that Pepoli get the music for 'Giusto cieli, eterni Dei' from Orlandini and have one of the aria texts fitted to it. Letter of 19 September 1731, Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 88.

accomplishment, but on beauty of tone. Whereas the first short *passaggi* (26-28) and the beginning of the main a2 *passaggio* (63-65) are clearly instances of word painting, depicting the throwing of lightning bolts by means of descending *volatine* and arpeggios, the rest of the coloratura passages have no obvious imitative function. This is particularly true for the B section *passaggio* on 'braccio' (arm), a word, which is not associated with any particular kind of musical representation.

Here, the text almost seems to become a 'supporto fonetico della vocalizzazione'⁵³ (phonetic support for the vocalisation), to speak with Mamy. These *passaggi* might perhaps be best described as instances of wallowing in the beauty of the musical setting and the voice. This, however, does not necessarily make them devoid of meaning or significance. In *passaggi* such as these, Farinelli creates a 'nuova lingua',⁵⁴ to speak with Conti. To be sure, Conti used this phrase to describe a language that no human could understand as it did not tally with human physiology and the human mind as he understood them. One might say that Conti was too erudite to understand it – his cutting-edge scientific knowledge prevented him from considering the possible validity of a kind of text-music relationship that differed from the one he could conceptualise by means of science. If not in terms of science, Farinelli's 'nuova lingua' can be explained in terms of period rhetoric.

Rhetorical treatises theorise verbal communication. However, in the *dramma per musica*, music is of essential importance because it is extremely efficient at carrying out the function of Cicero's second mode of persuasion, i.e., delighting the audience. In Farinelli's *patetico-cantabile* hybrids, first the rhetorical means of verbal communication (as exemplified by the use of the various rhetorical figures mentioned above) are deployed in the syllabically set sections. These appeal to the listener's mind, creating an affective framework for the interpretation of the ensuing *passaggi*. In the *passaggi*, the focus shifts to the beauty of the singer's voice and phrasing, the refinement of his execution and originality of ornamentation. By these means the singer appeals to the audience's senses, which is the most efficient way to 'guadagnarsi l'affetto'⁵⁵ (win [the audience's] affection). This is important, as the orator's ability to move the audience to compassion is contingent upon three conditions, one of which is that the object of compassion – in the case of

⁵³ Mamy, 'Il teatro alla moda dei rosignoli', LXXXII.

⁵⁴ Conti, 'Trattato', 117.

⁵⁵ Serra, *Compendio*, 2.

Farinelli's *patetico-cantabile* hybrids, almost always the character singing the aria – is 'qualche persona a noi cara'⁵⁶ (someone who is dear to us). In the fictional context of the *dramma per musica*, the audience members sympathise with particular characters because of their ethos and actions, i.e., plot-related elements. However, they are also likely to side with those characters which are portrayed by their favourite singers, in other words, singers who have won their affection already. In Farinelli's *patetico-cantabile* hybrids, verbal and non-verbal communication thus complement each other, and both parameters were demonstrably shaped by him with great care and the clear intention to move the audience.

This manner of communication did not fit into the aesthetic framework established by rationalist and early Enlightenment thinkers – the commonest criticism of the *dramma per musica* was that it was decadent and effeminate because it appealed to the senses more than to reason. But judging from the fact, that 'Giusti cieli, eterni Dei' was one of Farinelli's few true suitcase arias,⁵⁷ it appealed to that part of the audience which conservatives like Conti dismiss as 'il volgo' – and not just to the general public, but also to musicians. Having performed alongside Farinelli in Lucca in the 1733 *Merope*, in which Farinelli sang 'Chi non sente al mio dolore' (I, 13), 'Giusti cieli, eterni Dei' (II, 14) and 'Sposa...non mi conosci' (III, 6),⁵⁸ Mancini was in a perfect position to comment on Farinelli's expressive singing. His judgment was that 'l'intonazione perfettissima, lo spianare, e spander di voce, il di lei portamento, e l'unione, l'agilità sorprendente, il cantare al cuore, ed anche nel genere grazioso, ed un perfetto e raro trillo furono i di lui pregi uguali'⁵⁹ (absolutely perfect intonation, the unfolding and spinning out the voice, his *portamento*, the union [of registers], surprising agility, his singing to the heart and also in *grazioso* style, as well as a perfect and exquisite trill were of equal merit). In other words, Mancini rated Farinelli's ability to sing to the heart as highly as his virtuosic singing.

Farinelli's importance in the aesthetic shift in vocal music between the beginning and the end of the 18th century is corroborated by the difference between what Tosi and Mancini regard as the essence of expressive singing. For Tosi, it is the *stile patetico*, 'la delizia più

⁵⁶ Serra, *Compendio*, 337.

⁵⁷ He inserted it into the *Artaserse pasticcio* performed in Ferrara in 1731 and the revival of the 1732 Turin *Merope* (Zeno-Broschi) in Lucca in 1733.

⁵⁸ For one character to sing three large-scale slow arias in a single opera was, of course, highly unusual. It showed Farinelli's own preference for this aria type and suggests that it was also well received by the audience.

⁵⁹ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 153.

cara dell'udito, la passione più dolce dell'animo, e la base più forte dell'armonia'⁶⁰ (the dearest delight of the ear, the sweetest passion of the mind, and the strongest base of harmony). Reminiscing about the past, he continues,

altre volte udivansi in Teatro diverse Arie sù quel dolcissimo metodo precedute, ed accompagnate da' armoniosi, e ben modulati Strumenti, che rapivano i sensi a chi ne comprendeva l'artificio, e la melodia; Se poi erano cantate da quelle cinque o sei persone illustri, che nominai,⁶¹ allora non era possibile, che al moto violento degli affetti l'umanità negasse la tenerezza, e le lagrime.⁶²

(Then, one could hear various arias in this, very sweetest, style,⁶³ accompanied by harmonious, and well regulated instruments that ravished the senses of those who understood their artifice and melody. And if they were sung by those five or six illustrious persons I mentioned previously, it was not possible that humanity denied to the violent motion of the passions sympathy and tears.)

Though Tosi acknowledges that some singers could move the audience more than others, he locates the essence of expressive singing and touching the heart in the style of composition and delivery. Moreover, the music's appeal to the intellect is essential in his opinion. Mancini's view differs drastically. Referring to the need to learning how to create an even sound across the different registers, Mancini states that 'quest'istesso lo porrà poi in istato di cantare con facilità e piacere in ogni genere di stile; ed acquistando così la robustezza del petto, e la facilità di passare gradualmente da una nota all'altra, egli verrà a fare un impasto di voce così perfetto, che si potrà dire: *Egli canta al cuore*'.⁶⁴ (this enables him to sing with facility and ease in any vocal style; and by thus acquiring strength in his chest and facility at passing gradually from one note to another, he will be able to give his voice such perfect smoothness that one can say: 'He sings to the heart.')

According to Mancini, it is not the style that matters; in fact, he implies that a singer can move the audience with arias in any style. For Mancini, it is the quality of the voice that speaks to the heart, the beauty arising from perfect command of vocal technique. And it is Farinelli whom Mancini cites not only as a model of perfection in all aspects of singing, but as the 'tutelar nume della nostra professione'⁶⁵ (the guardian god of our profession).

⁶⁰ Tosi, *Opinioni*, 68.

⁶¹ These are Francesco Antonio Pistocchi, Giovanni Francesco Grossi 'Siface', Giovanni Buzzoleni, Luigi Albarelli 'Luigino', Francesca Vanini Boschi and Santa Stella Lotti. *Ibid.*, 65-66.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 69.

⁶³ Tosi's 'dolcissimo metodo' refers to the *stile patetico*.

⁶⁴ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 141.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 154.

That Mancini ranked Farinelli above all other singers suggests that Farinelli's style exerted a profound aesthetic influence on Mancini and his concept of the 'cantare al cuore'.

'Il novello Orfeo'

Indeed, in the second half of the 18th century and well into the 19th century, Farinelli was frequently described as the 'modern Orpheus' or 'novello Orfeo'.⁶⁶ To a great extent, the lasting association between Farinelli and Orpheus derived from his appointment at the Spanish court in 1737 on account of the remedial effect of his singing on Philip V, which was perceived as proof for the uncommon power of his voice. However, as mentioned earlier, Farinelli himself had cultivated this association since 1730. The references to the Orpheus myth in his roles are typically subtle,⁶⁷ rather than ostentatious, possibly in order to avoid provoking the criticism of vanity. It seems likely that the pastoral imagery that starts to appear in Farinelli's arias in 1730 also refers to the figure of Orpheus. The longstanding association between Orpheus and the pastoral topos in opera, which dates back to Peri's and Monteverdi's works on the subject, was still current in Italy. In the most recent *Orfeo* in Venice (Minelli-anonymous), a 1702 *dramma pastorale*, Orfeo was also a shepherd. Likewise, the cast list of the 1736 *pasticcio Orfeo* (Rolli-arr. Porpora), in which Farinelli sang the title role, lists Orfeo as 'Pastore Semideo di Tracia' (Thracian Shepherd and demi-God). It is likely that Farinelli was responsible for the choice of subject matter. The first act thematises both the power of Orfeo's voice to move hearts and his being a simple shepherd: he wins the love and hand of Euridice with his singing although she is also wooed by the king of Arcadia, Aristeo. The circumstance that Farinelli reused the bravura aria from the 1730 *Artaserse*, 'Parto qual pastorello' (III, 2) in the 1736 *Orfeo*⁶⁸ might also indicate that the aria carried Orpheic connotations for Farinelli already in 1730. That Farinelli wanted to be remembered as a 'modern Orpheus' is suggested by the inclusion of the sheet music of an aria he had sung and probably composed for the 1736

⁶⁶ One English and one Italian example among many are Joseph Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa Through England, Portugal, Spain and France* (London: Davies, 1770), II: 89 and G.B.G. Grossi, 'Carlo Broschi detto Farinelli', *Biografia degli uomini illustri del regno di Napoli*, Vol. 6, ed. Nicola Gervasi, (Naples: Gervasi, 1819). [The volume is organised alphabetically and has no page numbers.]

⁶⁷ In the A section text of 'Spesso tra vaghe rose' (II,3), for example, Siroe tries to warn his father, Cosroe, of hidden danger by referring to a snake that is concealed between pretty roses.

⁶⁸ Due to the different dramatic situation, this aria, 'Vado seguendo amore' (II, 6), has been fitted with a new text.

London *pasticcio*, 'Son pastorello amante' ('I am a loving shepherd') in his grandest portrait, that by Corrado Giaquinto (c. 1755).⁶⁹

The stratification of Farinelli's style and the importance of both his bravura and expressive arias is eulogised in Tommaso Crudeli's *Ode in lode di Carlo Broschi detto Farinello, eccellente cantore*.⁷⁰ The ode, addressed by Orpheus to Harmony, praises Farinelli as 'Orfeo novello', who, 'Seguito dalle grazie, e dagli amori ... Di celeste dolcezza asperge i cuori' (followed by the Graces and Cupids ... lets divine sweetness trickle into the hearts).⁷¹ The virtuosity of Farinelli's 'agil voce alata' (agile, winged voice) is compared, among other things, to the rainbow-coloured cape of Iris and is celebrated for the delight it brings the listener.⁷² However, the 'Semplicetta, e leggierra /L'arietta lusinghiera'⁷³ (simple, light and charming aria) moves all who hear it: it relieves the sorrow of unhappy lovers, calms Theatrical Envy, who is described like a Medusa, and soothes the suspicions of Jealousy. Cupid abandons all his tasks and

	Indi sopra la testa	Then above your head,
	Di Te, nobile Cantore,	Noble singer,
	Il legghier volo arresta.	He arrests his flight.
155	Qui librato sull'ali,	Here, poised on his wings,
	E di mirto, e d'alloro	A crown woven from
	Intrecciata corona	Myrtles and laurel
	Con la man pargoletta alto sostiene[;]	He holds up high in his small hand.
	La faretra, e gli strali a punta d'oro,	He sees the quiver and the gold-tipped arrows,
160	La face coll'altre armi coricide	The torch and the other heart-slaying weapons
	Sparsa intorno al tuo piè mira, e sorride. ⁷⁴	Lie scattered at your foot and smiles.

The lavish praise is, of course, typical of the literary genre.⁷⁵ A variation on the theme of the ode is a portrait by Jacopo Amigoni of Farinelli, painted and exhibited in London in 1735,⁷⁶ which was commissioned by Farinelli and intended to shape the public perception

⁶⁹ Daniel Hertz, 'Farinelli and Metastasio: Rival Twins', *Early Music*, 12/ 3 (August 1986), 358-366. Hertz comments on the tension between the ostentatious grandeur of the portrait and the modesty implied by Farinelli's self-identification as a simple shepherd.

⁷⁰ In *Poesie del dottor Tommaso Crudeli*, 2nd ed., Naples 1767 [no publisher is given], 7-17. The ode was first published by Crudeli in Florence in 1734. McGeary, 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds,' 204.

⁷¹ Crudeli, *Ode*, 9.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁵ Crudeli's motivation for composing his ode is not known, but it was not uncommon for admirers of singers to commission poetry in their praise or reward poets for their work. The Duke of Leeds is known to have paid 20 *zecchini* for the dedication of a sonnet to Farinelli. McGeary points out that an ode is unlikely to be confused with a sonnet, but surmises that the Duke's payment may have been related to the second part of the ode, which was added to commemorate the departure of Farinelli for London. McGeary, 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds', 204.

⁷⁶ Scarpa Sonino, *Amigoni*, 88-90.

of his image.⁷⁷ Joncus interprets it as a representation of Farinelli 'as the poet-singer Orpheus'.⁷⁸

**Figure 8-8: Jacopo Amigoni, *Portrait of Farinelli*, London 1735
Oil on canvas, National Art Museum Bucharest**



Given that Farinelli went to considerable length to influence his public image and that by 1734 (at the latest) he was determined to leave the stage as soon as he was able, it is possible that the shift of emphasis from virtuosic to expressive singing with the clear intention to move the audience was partially motivated by a concern about his reputation as a singer after his retirement from the stage. Farinelli, educated and in contact with intellectual circles,⁷⁹ very likely understood well that popular success, i.e., popularity with the audience, was more ephemeral than the esteem of learned men. The former was, if at all, recorded mainly in predominantly transient types of documents such as letters and newspapers, whereas the latter was preserved in publications that were intended for a long shelf life.

⁷⁷ Joncus, 'One God', 442, 444.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 444.

⁷⁹ Both Farinelli and his brother, Riccardo Broschi, were admitted to the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna in 1730, for example. Michael F. Robinson and Ellen T. Harris. 'Broschi, Riccardo'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed June 12, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04076>.

Regardless of the reasons that prompted Farinelli to introduce the *patetico-cantabile* hybrid into his roles, these arias are very significant, though overall few in number. Undoubtedly, the spectacular popular success of Farinelli's outrageously difficult bravura arias had an enormous impact on Italian singing style, raising the bar of the technical accomplishment required of any singer who aspired to star status. In terms of bravura singing, Farinelli was much imitated, but by all accounts never matched, in the 18th century. However, his slow arias with their *passaggi*, in which music takes on the function of primary expressive agent, were no less widely imitated than his bravura arias; owing to their lesser technical difficulty, perhaps even more so. Farinelli's legendary reputation already during his lifetime made acceptable a performance mode in which physical action ceased and the sole focus became the music, the sound of the voice, which, for long passages at a time, was unchained from the text. Farinelli thus emerges as a pivotal figure in the emancipation of music from text and the concomitant shift in the conceptualisation of dramatic music in the second half of the 18th century from a text-centred *dramma per musica* to a music-centred genre.

Conclusion: Farinelli's Impact

On 01 August 1750, thirteen years after Farinelli had retired from the stage to serve at the Spanish court, Metastasio wrote to him:

In Italia presentemente regna il gusto delle stravaganze e delle sinfonie con la voce, nelle quali si trova qualche volta il bravo violino, l'eccellente oboé, ma non mai l'uomo che canta: onde la musica non sa più muovere altro affetto che quello della meraviglia. La cosa è in un tale eccesso che conviene ormai che si cambi; o noi diventeremo con ragione i buffoni di tutte le nazioni. Già a quest'ora i musici ed i maestri, unicamente occupati a grattar le orecchie e nulla curando il core degli spettatori, sono per lo più condannati in tutti i teatri alla vergognosa condizione di servir d'intermezzi ai ballerini, che occupano ormai la maggiore attenzione del popolo e la maggior parte degli spettatori. Voi, padron mio, non avete picciola colpa in questo inconveniente: la vostra felicità meravigliosa con quale avete dotata *l'espressione* ha invogliato un mondo di zoppi a seguitarvi: ma ci vogliono buone gambe a tenervi dietro, e fin ora non si trova che le abbia.¹

At present there reigns in Italy the fashion for extravagances and symphonies of the voice, in which at times you find the accomplished violin[ist] and the excellent oboe[ist], but never the man who sings; therefore, music is unable to give rise to any passion except amazement. This has become so excessive that it must be changed or we will rightly become the laughing stock of all nations. Even now, singers and composers in all the theatres, busying themselves solely with titillating the ear without caring about the audience's heart, are, for the most part, already condemned to the shameful condition of serving as *intermezzi* to the ballet dancers, who now attract the greatest attention of people in general and the majority of the audience. You, dear sir, are to blame for this inconvenience to a not inconsiderable degree: the marvellous excellence² with which you have endowed *expressiveness* has spurred a world of lame people to want to follow you; but one would need good legs to keep up with you, and so far, there is no one who has got them.

One might be tempted to attribute Metastasio's assessment of Farinelli's impact and the difference between Farinelli and his imitators to Metastasio's friendship for him, or to a certain sentimentality induced by the poet's indisposition on 1 August 1750, which made

¹ Letter 399, 1 August 1750. Metastasio, *Opere* (Brunelli), III: 555-56.

² Burney translates the phrase 'la vostra felicità meravigliosa con quale avete dotata *l'espressione* ha invogliato un mondo di zoppi a seguitarvi' as 'it is your happy and wonderful powers, which all are striving in vain to imitate'. Charles Burney, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio. In which are incorporated Translations of his Principal Letters* (London: Robinson, 1796), I: 376.

him crave a 'dose of Farinello'.³ Or one might want to read it as an instance of elegant flattery issuing from the facile pen of the courtier Metastasio. However, it seems unlikely that Metastasio was in such dire need of gifts of expensive vanilla and tobacco as to have to reiterate that he ranked Farinelli above all other singers of the period – by no means only in this letter – unless he was convinced of the truthfulness of his judgment. Farinelli himself was probably too perceptive not to have detected falsehood in this regard. Similarly, the friendship and obligation Mancini may have felt towards Metastasio⁴ are unlikely to account for his writing about Farinelli in his *Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato* in very similar terms as the poet's in his letters. Unlike Metastasio's letters to Farinelli, Mancini's treatise subjected his professional expertise to public scrutiny and, by the time of its publication in 1772,⁵ within ten years of the death of both Farinelli and Metastasio, the immediate influence of both in the musical world had waned.

The artistic distance between Farinelli and his imitators is partially engendered by the difference between the master and the student, i.e., between the musician who creates and the one who merely copies⁶ – both Mancini and Metastasio stress that Farinelli was inimitable. More important still is another factor. The manner in which the linguistic virtuoso, Metastasio, describes Farinelli's singing ('la vostra felicità meravigliosa con quale avete dotata l'espressione'), evidences that Metastasio perceived expression to be the primary purpose of Farinelli's singing and virtuosity as a means of embellishing or enhancing expression. Similarly, Mancini regarded Farinelli's 'cantare al cuore'⁷ (singing to the heart) to be of equal merit to the beauty of his voice and his technical perfection.⁸ Farinelli's complete command of all aspects of singing, in combination with musical creativity and intelligence, enabled him to use virtuosity as an expressive means; and the prioritisation of expressiveness rendered his virtuosity meaningful to musically educated listeners such as Metastasio and Mancini.

³ Earlier in the same letter, Metastasio states: 'Ho bisogno per i miei flati iponcondriaci di quando in quando qualche presa di Farinello, altrimenti il mio umore si renderebbe insopportabile.' (Every now and then, I need a dose of Farinello for the spirits of my spleen, otherwise my bile would become insufferable.) The poet is using medical terminology, referring to the 'dose of Farinello' as though it was a medication.

⁴ Metastasio had helped him settle into his position as singing teacher at the Imperial court in 1757. Letter 1034, 29 December 1757. Metastasio, *Opere* (Brunelli), IV: 55.

⁵ The second edition was published in 1777.

⁶ This distinction is an important concern for both Tosi (*Opinioni*, 97-99) and Quantz ('Lebenslauf', 244-45).

⁷ Mancini, *Riflessioni*, 153.

⁸ *Ibid.*

In contrast, the challenge of overcoming the technical difficulties of Farinelli's style seems to have prevented his imitators from reaching a degree of control that allowed them to focus on interpretation and communication rather than execution. Indeed, adaptations of Farinelli arias to the abilities of other singers corroborate Metastasio's and Mancini's judgment. For example, in the 1740 Dresden production of *Artaserse* (Metastasio-Hasse), much of the 1730 Venetian setting is retained, including Farinelli's arias. However, the latter have been simplified: The *passaggi* in both A and B of the adagio, 'Se al labro mio non credi', have been shortened, the contralto *patetico-cantabile* hybrid, 'Per questo dolce amplesso', has been transposed up by a third (from E to G major), and some of the surface detail has been eliminated. The 1740 Arbace was Ventura Rocchetti, an internationally renowned castrato during the 1740s and 1750s.⁹ Similarly, in 'Passaggier che sulla sponda' in the 1739 Neapolitan *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Metastasio-Porpora), a *contrafactum* of Farinelli's bravura aria 'Senti il fato' from the 1735 *Polifemo* (Rolli-Porpora), the *passaggi* in A have been reduced significantly. Its singer, the famous Caffarelli, was regarded as the foremost castrato in Italy after Farinelli's departure for London. Of course, many instances are known in which Farinelli arias were inserted into the roles of other singers without alterations in the musical text. However, this does not mean that the vocal lines were not altered in performance. Also, a musical text itself can give no conclusive evidence of the degree of technical or interpretative competence with which it was performed. Farinelli enjoyed listening to other singers' renditions of his arias,¹⁰ possibly because they confirmed that no one else could sing his music as well as he could himself.

Another factor very likely impacted on the perception of other singers' imitation of Farinelli. As suggested by the discussion of Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias, the rhetorical effectiveness and meaning of his virtuosity depended to a great extent on the coherence of his personal style. This coherence was lost both when other singers performed individual Farinelli arias and when the imitation of his singing had become so widespread that it could no longer be recognised as unique and proprietary to any performer. Farinelli's Venetian bravura arias represent an instance in which very specific features of the singer's musical persona can be detected in musical texts. However, it

⁹ Panja Mücke, 'Farinelli, Caffarelli and Rocchetti. Zum Einfluß der Sänger auf Hasses Drammi per musica', "Per ben vestir la virtuosa." *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*, ed. Daniel Brandenburg and Thomas Seedorf (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011), 81.

¹⁰ Letter of 26 September 1731. Broschi Farinelli, *Solitudine amica*, 90.

should be remembered that notated features only represent one of several aspects that gave Farinelli's artistic profile cohesiveness – equally, or perhaps more important, ones, such as the sound quality of his voice, his improvisatory practice, stage presence and appearance, as well as off-stage image, elude notation. In other words, the widespread imitation and transferral of musical features of Farinelli's music into different contexts reduced their effectiveness as rhetorical tools.

Farinelli's impact on Italian opera and singing was tremendous. Metastasio was certainly not mistaken that Farinelli 'non [aveva] picciola colpa' with regard to the great surge in virtuosic singing by the middle of the century. Indeed, it seems as though Farinelli's first two seasons in Venice effected a veritable explosion of virtuosity. In the operas of Vivaldi, for example, who tended to engage and write for younger and/or less famous singers, extensive use of violin idiom and an increase of the range and duration of *passaggi* occur after 1730, in bravura arias such as 'Destino avaro' (*La fida ninfa*, Maffei-Vivaldi, Verona 1732), 'Siam navi all'onde argenti' (*L'Olimpiade*, Metastasio-Vivaldi, Venice 1734) and 'Agitata da due venti' and 'Scocca dardi' (both *Griselda*, Zeno-Vivaldi, Venice 1735). That Vivaldi studied Farinelli's arias is evident from his use of arias from Farinelli's roles in *Ezio* (Metastasio-Broschi), *Siroe* (Metastasio-Hasse, Bologna 1733), *Idaspe* (Candi-R. Broschi, Venice 1730) and *Merope* (Zeno-Giacomelli, Venice 1734), in the *pasticcio*, *Il Tamerlano*, which he arranged for Verona in 1735. Some of the singers with whom Vivaldi worked, such as Mariano Nicolini 'Marianino' and Margherita Giacomazzi, who debuted in the 1735 carnival season in Verona singing Farinelli arias,¹¹ went on to have long and successful careers, disseminating Farinelli's virtuosic style throughout Italy and beyond. Farinelli's virtuosity seems to have affected the style of contemporary star singers as well. Faustina's roles, for example, show an increase in the duration of *passaggi* during the period in which she sang with Farinelli,¹² and probably the most virtuosic arias for Carestini were those written by Handel in the 1734-35 season in London, in direct competition with Farinelli. Porpora's contribution to the surge of florid singing, both by means of his compositional work and teaching several other virtuosic

¹¹ Giacomazzi performed 'Qual guerriero in campo armato' from *Idaspe* and 'Sposa son disprezzata,' a *contrafactum* of 'Sposa non mi conosci' from *Merope* (Venice 1734) in *Tamerlano*.

¹² Riccoboni's often-quoted comment that 'il [M. Carlo Broschi dit Farinello] chante dans le goût de *Faustina*' (he sings in the style of Faustina) is an oversimplification unless it is made clear that, as evident from Riccoboni's discussion of Faustina's singing, he refers to the new virtuosic style. It should not be taken out of context, either, as Riccoboni immediately modifies it, continuing, 'mais de l'aveu des plus grands Connoisseurs, il est sans comparaison au-dessus d'elle, étant parvenu au dernier degré de la perfection' (but, according to the greatest connoisseurs, he far exceeds her, having attained the last degree of perfection). Riccoboni, *Réflexions historiques*, 50.

singers, both male and female, was no doubt strongly influenced by his attempt to model subsequent students on the image of his first and most successful pupil. The relentless competition between singers, egged on by audience's factionalist listening habits, further impelled singers to acquire a virtuosic style. That traits which had become ubiquitous by the middle of the century (including *sbalzi*, wide-ranging arpeggios and an increase in both the duration of *passaggi* and the variety of coloratura figurations) in fast as well as slow arias, had first appeared in Farinelli's arias suggests that his style was the most important single source of this development.

However, Farinelli's impact on dramatic performance aesthetics is arguably still more significant. The massive proportions of both his bravura arias and *patetico-cantabile* hybrids preclude continuous action according to the precepts of early 18th-century rhetoric and acting in which words and stage action were inextricably linked. The associations between words and gesture as well as facial expression were so specific that 'a deaf man might go along with'¹³ the meaning of the physical aspects of a masterful actor-singer's performance. This specificity of the relationship between words and action made it impossible to act out the numerous text repetitions in Farinelli's large-scale arias without violating the rule against repeating the same action. Moreover, the arias of the vocal virtuosos of the 1710s and 1720s had sometimes already stretched the temporal alignment between words and action to the limit; but the duration of the *passaggi* in Farinelli's arias routinely overextend it to a point at which apposite physical movement could no longer be carried out at a pace that could still be perceived as 'natural', even within the formal framework of 18th-century gesture.

The fact that, aside from Cuzzoni, Farinelli was the only star singer whose acting skills were not deemed at least passable suggests that his 'stand-and-deliver' approach was only accepted on account of his singing.¹⁴ As has been shown, this was only the case for two groups of listeners: those who admired the novelty and level of complexity of Farinelli's singing and those whose musical understanding made them responsive to arias in which the music rather than words and gesture constitutes the primary communicative agent. Farinelli's pre-eminence validated his approach to stage performance, making it viable for

¹³ John Steele in reference to Nicolini. *The Tatler*, No. 115, 3 January 1709-10.

¹⁴ An especially clear example is Roger Pickering's comparison of Farinelli and Senesino in his acting treatise, *Reflections Upon Theatrical Expression In Tragedy* (London: Johnston, 1755). Pickering ridicules the former's 'see-saw Clumsiness' (64) and praises 'the graceful, the correct, the varied Deportment' (64) and 'Variety of Expression' (65-66) of Senesino.

virtuosic singers who tried to emulate his vocal style – at least from the perspective of the majority of musicians and audiences, though not among poets and theorists, as is evident from the calls for operatic reform around the middle of the century. In this context, it seems significant that the demands for reform occurred at the juncture when musical and spoken drama began to diverge to such an extent that the *dramma per musica* gradually came to be acknowledged as an independent dramatic genre, rather than as an imperfect subgenre of spoken tragedy, as which it is classed in important period treatises. Both in spoken drama and opera, the importance of the word and, therefore, declamation as the primary communicative parameter decreased, but due to an increase in the importance of two very different expressive means: on the spoken stage, the physical expressivity of the actor's face and body;¹⁵ on the operatic stage, the expressive quality of the music.¹⁶ It appears that this change in the conceptualisation of opera is indebted to the shift from using physical and verbal, to musical expression for the communication of arias' illocutionary force that Farinelli introduced to the *dramma per musica* stage.

A more general issue that emerges from the study of Farinelli's music pertains to modern historiography. To a great extent, the modern view of the *dramma per musica* has been shaped by critical writings ranging from satire to literary and philosophical treatises. As most of these promote reformist agendas, usually with the aim of restoring the *dramma per musica* to an earlier (often hypothetical) state of perfection, they necessarily shed a negative light on actual theatrical practice and, concomitantly, on the taste of both performers and audiences. Theoretical writings constitute a convenient source of contemporary aesthetic vantage points; but overreliance upon them results in a rather single-sided perspective on the genre, for it does not take serious the perceptions of the majority of the audiences for whom *drammi per musica* were produced, nor of the practitioners whose artistic profiles were integral to the creative process.

In addition, the study of Farinelli's music evidences that, due to the centrality of the singer in the *dramma per musica*, the composer- and work-centred approach must be complemented with a performer-centred one if a well-rounded understanding of the genre

¹⁵ See Roach, *Player's Passion*, chapters 3 to 5. A similar development took place in dance, which saw the rise of narrative pantomime ballet. See, for example, Jean-Jacques Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (Lyon: Delaroche, 1760) and Gasparo Angiolini, *Dissertation sur les ballets pantomimes des anciens* (Vienna: von Trattner, 1765).

¹⁶ This is evident, for example, from the continuous increase of accompanied recitative, longer duration of closed musical numbers and demands on singers' vocal abilities as well as the introduction of overtures that were connected to the rest of the opera, rather than being interchangeable.

is to be attained. However, a performer-centred approach must not confine the singer's authorial contribution only to the act of performance and the extra-musical meaning brought to an opera production by his or her star persona. Instead, the singer needs to be approached as a co-author throughout the creative process of the *dramma per musica*, though to extents which are as variable as the historical backdrop, power relations and other contingencies of every individual operatic production.

Appendices

Appendix A: Farinelli's Career 1720-1737: Chronology, Casts, Sources consulted

Year/Date	City, Venue	Title	Poet, Composer	Role	Cast List	Sources consulted
1720 4 September	Naples Palace of the Principe di Torella	<i>Angelica e Medoro, serenata</i>	Pietro Metastasio Nicola Porpora	Medoro? Tirsi?	Marianna Benti Bulgarelli (Angelica), Domenico Gizzi, Carlo Broschi, Santa Marchesini	S: GB-Lbl Add. 14120 S: A-Wn HS 17050
1721 28 January	Naples	<i>L'Andromeda, serenata</i>	Francesco Ricciardi? Domenico Natale Sarri	Clisauro	D. Antonio Manna (Fetonte), Margherita Zani (Andromeda), Marianna Benti Bulgarelli (Perseo), Santa Marchesini (Amesside), Francesco Vitale (Fineo), Carlo Brosco (Clisauro)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 6006
1721	Naples	<i>Il Glorioso S. Giuseppe sposo della Beata Vergine¹, oratorio</i>	?	Angelo	?	

¹¹ This work is listed in Sartori's entry for Farinelli in the singers' index; however, there is no entry for the work in the libretto index, and I have not been able to locate the libretto anywhere.

1722 February, carnival	Rome, T. Alibert ²	<i>Flavio Anicio Olibrio</i>	Apostolo Zeno /Pietro Pariati Porpora	Placidia	Stefano Romani, detto Pignattino (Flavio Anicio Olibrio), Carlo Broschi (Placidia), Francesco Vitale (Ricimero), Giovanni Battista Perugini (Teodelinda), Domenico Gizzi (Olderico), Giovanni Carestini (Fausto), Angelo Cantelli (Massimo)	L: I-Bc Lo.04317, I-Vc ROLANDI ROL.0551.06 S: B-Bc 4658, 4660, 4664, 4667, 4668, 4671, 4673, 4674
1722 carnival	Rome, T. Alibert	<i>Sofonisba</i>	Francesco Silvani Luca Antonio Predieri	Sofonisba	Francesco Vitali (Scipione), Stefano Romani, detto Pignattino (Siface), Carlo Broschi (Sofonisba), Giovanni Carestini (Candaule), Domenico Gizzi (Masinissa), Giovanni Battista Perugini (Getilde), Angelo Cantelli (Demetrio)	L: I-Bc Lo. 4432
1723 carnival	Rome, T. Alibert	<i>Adelaide</i>	Antonio Salvi Porpora	Adelaide	Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Adelaide), Antonio Lauri (Berengario), Agostino Marchetti (Matilde), Domenico Gizzo (Idelberto), Luca Antonio Mengoni (Ottone), Andrea Guerri da Pisa (Everardo), Francesco Maria Venturini (Clodomiro), Antonio Rapinzi (Esegindo)	S: D-Hs MA 460, D-Swi Mus 4294 L: I-Vc ROLANDI ROL.0551.08
1723 carnival	Rome, T. Alibert	<i>Cosroe</i>	Zeno Antonio Pollarolo	Palmira	Antonio Lauri (Ormisda), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Palmira), Domenico Gizzi (Arsace), Andrea Guerri (Cosroe), Agostino Marchetti (Artenice), Luca Antonio Mengoni, (Mitrane), Francesco Maria Venturini (Erismeno)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 2152 S: D-Müs SANT Hs 174 (Nr. 2)
1723	Naples Palace of the Principe di Stigliano	<i>Erminia</i> ³	A. Scarlatti	Erminia	Carlo Broschi, detto Fariniello (Eriminia), Andrea Pacini (Tancredi), Annibale Pio Fabri (Polidoro) Antonio Manna (Pastore)	
1723	Naples Palace of the Principe di Montemiletto	<i>Imeneo</i>	Silvio Stampiglia Porpora	Tirinto	Antonia Merighi (Imeneo), Marianna Benti Bulgarelli, detta la Romanina (Rosmene), Anna Bombaciara Fabbri (Clomiri), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Tirinto), Annibale Pio Fabbri (Argenio)	

² From 1726, the Teatro Alibert was known as the Teatro delle Dame.

³ According to the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, 15 June 1723, No. 25, which lists the cast and gives the composer's name. Griffin, *Musical References*, 108.

1724 2 January	Rome, Palazzo de Mello de Castro	<i>La Tigrena, favola pastorale</i>	? Francesco Gasparini	Titiro	Carlo Broschi (Titiro), Giacinto Fontana, detto Farfallino (Tigrena), Giovanna Magnacase, detto la Cittadini (Eurilla), Domenico Federici (Alcindo). Negli Interedj: Maddalena Barlocchi (Lilla), Girolamo Bartoluzzi, detto il Reggiano (Elpino), Pietro Mozzi (Alfeo)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 4587
1724 8 January, carnival	Rome T. Alibert	<i>Farnace</i>	Antonio Maria Lucchini Leonardo Vinci	Berenice	Domenico Gizzi (Farnace), Filippo Finazzi (Tamiri), Domenico Rumi (Selinda), Carlo Broschi (Berenice), Luca Mengoni (Gilade), Domenico Federici (Pompeo), Raffaele Baldi (Aquilio)	S: D-Müs SANT Hs 4243 L: I-Vc ROLANDI ROL.0650.05
1724 carnival	Rome T. Alibert	<i>Scipione</i>	Predieri	Salonice	Luca Mengoni (Publio Scipione), Domenico Gizzi (Lucindo), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Salonice), Raffaele Baldi (Cardenio), Filippo Finazzi (Elvira), Domenico Federici (Marzio), Domenico Rumi (Trebellio)	L: I-Bc Lo.4434
1724 19 May	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>Semiramide regina dell'Assiria</i>	After I. Zanelli, Nino Porpora	Nino	Diana Vico (Semiramide), Francesco Guicciardi (Attalo), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Nino), Anna Maria Strada detta la Stradina (Zomira), Anna Guglielmi (Idaspe), Catarina Leri (Arbace)	L: I-Bc Lo.4319
1724 1 October	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>Eraclea</i>	Silvio Stampiglia Leonardo Vinci	Damiro	Vittoria Tesi (Eraclea), Francesco Guicciardi (Marcello), Diana Vico (Decio), Anna Maria Strada, detta la Stradina (Flavia), Anna Guglielmi di Bologna (Irene), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Damiro), Caterina Leri (Iliso)	
1724 3 December	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>Turno Aricino</i>	Silvio Stampiglia <i>pastico</i> (Vinci, Leo et al. ⁴)	Geminio	Vittoria Tesi (Egeria), Diana Vico (Turno), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Geminio), Francesco Guicciardi (Lucio), Anna Maria Strada, detta la Stradina (Livia), Anna Guglielmi (Ottavio), Caterina Leri (Ascanio)	L: I-Bc Lo.7296
1725 January	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>Tito Sempronio Gracco</i>	Stampiglia Domenico Natale Sarri	Rosanno	Francesco Guicciardi (Tito Sempronio), Vittoria Tesi (Climene), Anna Maria Strada (Erminia), Diana Vico (Mario Alfio), Anna Guglielmini di Bologna (Lucinda), Carlo Broschi (Rosanno), Catarina Leri (Fulvio)	S: I-Nc Rari 7.2.12

⁴ The recitatives in act 1 are by Vinci, the recitatives in acts 2 and 3 by Leo. The arias are by various composers including Leo, Vinci, Porpora, Vivaldi, Lotti and Giacomelli.

1725 13 May	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>Zenobia in Palmira</i>	Zeno/Pariati Leo	Decio	Diana Vico (Odenato), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Decio), Annamaria Strada, detta la Stradina (Aspasia), Francesco Costanzi (Farnace), Vittoria Tesi (Zenobia), Celeste Resse (Elia), Giacchino Corrado (Tullo)	S: I- Nc Rari 7.3.9.
1725 winter (February or March)	Carmignano estate near Naples	<i>Marc'Antonio e Cleopatra, serenata</i>	Francesco Ricciardi Johann Adolf Hasse	Cleopatra	Vittoria Tesi (Marc'Antonio), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Cleopatra)	L and S: Hasse, <i>Werke</i> , Series II Serenate, Feste teatrali, Vol. 1, ed. Reinhard Wiesend. Stuttgart: Carus, 2001.
1725 1 October, birthday of Charles VI	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>Amore e fortuna</i>	Francesco Passarini Giovanni Porta	Aristeo	Vittoria Tesi (Arnea), Diana Vico (Ismero), Carlo Broschi, detto il Farinello (Aristeo), Anna Maria Strada, detta la Stradina (Ormonda), Gio. Francesco Costanzi (Creonte), Celeste Resse (Serpilla), Giacchino Corrado (Bacocco)	
1725	Naples	<i>Il Florindo, serenata</i>	? Sarri	Florindo	Vittoria Tesi (Diana), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Florindo), Diana Vico (Tersilla), Anna Guglielmini (Elpino), Vittoria Tesi (Dori)	S: D-Müs SANT Hs 4262
1725	Naples	<i>Serenata da cantarsi in casa Santoro</i>	? Francesco Corradini	Pietà	Vittoria Tesi (Giustizia), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Pietà), Caterina Politi (Pace), Filippo Giorgi (Sebeto)	L: I-Lurago Sormani
1725 2 December	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>Astianatte</i>	Antonio Salvi Vinci	Oreste	Vittoria Tesi (Andromaca), Diana Vico (Pirro), Carlo Broschi (Oreste), Anna Maria Strada (Ermione), Agostino Marchetti (Clearte), Francesco Pertici (Pilade), Celeste Resse (Urania), Corrado Gioacchino (Clito)	
1726 carnival	Naples T. S. Bartolomeo	<i>La Lucinda fedele</i>	Zeno Porta	Ernando	Francesco Pertici di Firenze (Vincislao), Diana Vico (Casimiro), Anna Strada, detto la Stradina (Erenice), Vittoria Tesi (Lucinda), Agostino Marchetti (Alessandro), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Ernando), Gioacchino Corrado (Gildo e Pancrazio), Celeste Resse (Fiammetta)	
1726 May	Parma T. Ducale	<i>I fratelli riconosciuti</i>	Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni Giovanni Maria Capelli	Niccomede	Giovanni Paita (Tiridate), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Niccomede), Giovanni Carestini (Attalo), Diana Vico (Arsinoe), Lucia Facchinelli (Laodicea), Margherita Staggi (Farnace)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 2451 S: GB-Cdu Mackworth Collection Vol. 15

1726 28 August	Milano T. Ducale	<i>Il Ciro</i>	Pariati? Francesco Ciampi	Idaspe	Annibale Pio Fabri (Astiage), Diana Vico (Ciro), Teresa Cotti (Mandane), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Idaspe), Anna Maria Mangani (Emirena), Elisabetta Uttini (Sibari)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 6038
1727 7 January	Rome T. Capranica	<i>L'amor generoso</i>	Zeno Giovanni Battista Costanzi	Aldano	Gio. Battista Pinacci (Frilevo), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Aldano), Domenico Ricci (Girita), Giacomo Vitali (Alvida), Giuseppe Gallicani (Sivardo), Domenico Antonio Angelini (Asmondo)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3710
1727 10 February	Rome T. Capranica	<i>Il Cid</i>	G. G. Alborghetti Leo	Rodrigo	Gio. Battista Pinacci (Ferdinando), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli, napoletano (Ferdinando), Giacomo Vitali (Leonora), Domenico Ricci (Cimene), Giuseppe Gallicani (Duarte), Gaetano Lauzzi (Diego), Domenico Antonio Angelini (Garzia)	
1727 2 June	Bologna T. Malvezzi	<i>Antigona ovvero La fedeltà coronata</i>	Benedetto Pasqualigo Giuseppe Maria Orlandini	Ceraste	Antonia Merighi (Antigona), cav. Nicola Grimaldi napoletano (Creonte), Antonio Bernacchi bolognese (Osmene), Teresa Cotti (Giocasta), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Ceraste), Gian-Battista Minelli (Evalco), Francesco Costanzi (Ormindo)	S: GB-Lbl Add. 16066
1728 carnival	Rome T. Capranica	<i>Cesare in Egitto</i>	Bussani Predieri	Tolomeo	Paolo Mariani d'Urbino (C. Giulio Cesare), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Tolomeo), Domenico Ricci (Cornelia), Biagio Erminj (Cleopatra), Stefano Pasi (Lentulo), Domenico Antonio Angelini (Achilla)	L: B-Bc 19632
1728 carnival	Rome T. Capranica	<i>L'isola d'Alcina</i>	Fanzaglia Broschi	Ruggiero	Domenico Ricci (Alcina), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Ruggiero), Stefano Pasi (Bradamante), Biagio Marini (Morgana), Annibale Imperatori (Oronte), Domenico Antonio Angelini (Melissa)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3535
1728 opened probably late August (c.19 August), closed 20 September	Florence T. della Pergola	<i>Arianna e Teseo</i>	Domenico Lalli after Pariati, <i>Teseo in Creta</i> Porpora	Alceste	Maria Maddalena Pieri (Arianna), Nicola Grimaldi (Teseo), Felice Novello (Minosse), Benedetta Soresina (Carilda), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Alceste); Anna Maria Faini (Tauride)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 2531

1728 May	Parma T. Ducale	<i>Medo</i>	Frugoni Vinci	Climaco = Giasone	Vittoria Tesi (Medea), Antonio Bernacchi (Medo), Giovanni Paita (Perseo), Costanza Pusterla (Asteria), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Giasone), Dorotea Lolli (Artace)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 4538 and 6092 S: I-MC I-A-18, I-A-19, I-A-20; D-Müs SANT Hs 4262
1728 October	Munich Court Theatre	<i>Nicomede</i>	Lalli Pietro Torri	Nicomede	Francesco Cignoni (Prussia), Elisabetta Casolani (Arsinoe), Maria Catterina Gianettini (Laodice), Carlo Broschi, detto il Farinello (Nicomede), Agostin Galli (Attalo), Gioanne Perprich Cleonzio)	S: D-Mbs Mus. Ms 214
1729 26 December 1728, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Catone in Utica</i>	Metastasio Leo	Arbace	Nicola Grimaldi (Catone), Domenico Gizzi (Cesare), Lucia Facchinelli (Marzia), Antonia Negri (Emilia) Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Arbace), Giuseppe Maria Boschi (Fulvio)	L: 1st edition: D-Mbs/I-R.Ist. Germanico Rar. Libr. Ven. 631/637; I-Vnm dramm. 1038.4 and 3555.1; 2nd edition: I-Vnm dramm. 1038.5, 1237.1 and 3555.2 S: B-Bc 2194, GB-Ram MS 75
1729 12 February, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Semiramide riconosciuta</i>	Metastasio/Lalli Porpora	Mirteo	Lucia Facchinelli (Semiramide), Antonia Negri (Tamiri), Nicola Grimaldi (Scitalce), (Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Mirteo), Domenico Gizzi (Sibari), Giuseppe Maria Boschi (Ircano)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 4330 S: GB-Lam MS82, GB-Lcm 510
1729 27 February, last evening of the carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>L'abbandono di Armida, trattenimento scenico</i>	Giovanni Boldini? Pasticcio	Rinaldo	Lucia Facchinelli (Armida), Antonia Negri (Erminia), Catterina Giorgi (Clorilda), Nicola Grimaldi (Tancredi), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Rinaldo), Domenico Gizzi (Ubaldo)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3078
1729 Spring	Parma T. Ducale	<i>Lucio Papirio dittatore</i>	Zeno/Frugoni Giacomelli	Quinto Fabio	Francesco Borosini (Lucio Papirio), Antonio Bernacchi (Marco Fabio), Faustina Bordoni (Papiria), Antonia Negri (Rutilia), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Quinto Fabio), Andrea Pacini (Cominio), Lucia Lancetti (Servilio)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 4172 S: GB-Lam MS 71

1729 22 October	Munich Court Theatre	<i>Edippo</i>	Lalli Torri	Edippo	Faustina Bordoni (Giocasta), Carlo Broschi, detto il Farinello (Edippo), Elisabetta Casolani (Ismene), Agostino Galli (Filoteto), Francesco Cignoni (Meneceo), Giovanni Perprich (Sorete), Bartolomeo Strapparapa (Corifo)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3346 S: D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 154
1730 26 December 1729, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Mitridate</i>	Giaij/Zeno	Farnace	Nicolino Grimaldi (Mitridate), Francesca Cuzzoni Sandoni (Aristia), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Farnace), Maria Maddalena Pieri (Laodice), Antonia Negri (Apamea), Castoro Antonio Castoreo (Dorilao), Filippo Giorgi (Gordio), Caterina Giorgi (Ostane)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3098 S: GB-Lcm 209
1730 25 January, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Idaspe</i>	Giovanni Pietro Candi/Lalli Broschi	Dario	Filippo Giorgi (Artaserse), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Dario), Francesca Cuzzoni Sandoni (Berenice), Maria Maddalena Pieri (Mandane), Nicolino Grimaldo (Idaspe), Castore Antonio Castori (Ircano), Caterina Giorgi (Arbace)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3128 S: A-Wn Hs 18281
1730 11 February, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Artaserse</i>	Metastasio/Boldini Hasse	Arbace	Filippo Giorgi (Artaserse), Francesca Cuzzoni Sandoni (Mandane), Nicolino Grimaldi (Artabano), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Arbace), Maria Maddalena Pieri (Semira), Castoro Antonio Castori (Megabise)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 804 S: D-Müs SANT Hs 1933, GB-Lam MS 72
1730 spring	Piacenza Nuovo Ducal Teatro	<i>Scipione in Cartagine nuova</i>	Frugoni Giacomelli	P. Cornelio Scipione	Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (P. Cornelio Scipio), Giuseppe Galletti (C. Lelio), Anna Bagnolesi (Argea), Pietro Baratti (Armene); Francesca Cuzzoni Sandoni (Elvira), Giovanni Carestini (Lucejo), Caterina della Parte (Indibile)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 4368 S: D-Mbs Mus. Hs. 159
1730 autumn	Lucca T. di Lucca	<i>Artaserse</i>	Hasse	Arbace	Andrea Pacini (Artaserse), Anna Maria Peruzzi (Mandane), Pellegrino Tomy (Artabano), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Arbace), Lucia Lancetti (Semira), Giovanni Ossi (Megabise)	L: I-Vgc ROLANDI-Hasse- A-B
1730 autumn	Lucca T. di Lucca	<i>La Ninfa riconosciuta</i>	Silvani	Silvio	Pellegrino Tomy (Ergasto), Anna Maria Peruzzi (Dori), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Silvio), Lucia Lancetti (Alba), Andrea Pacini (Mirtillo)	I-Vgc ROLANDI ROL.0687.04
1731 carnival	Turin T. Regio	<i>Ezio</i>	Metastasio Broschi	Ezio	Anna Bagnolesi (Valentiano III), Faustina Hasse (Fulvia), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Ezio), Anna Girò (Onoria), Angiolo Amorevoli (Massimo), Antonio Montagnana (Varo)	L: I-Tci L.O.79

1731 carnival	Turin T. Regio	<i>Poro</i>	Metastasio (<i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i>) Porpora	Poro	Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Poro), Faustina Hasse (Cleofide), Anna Girò (Erissena), Anna Bagnolesi (Gandarte), Angiolo Amorevoli (Alessandro), Antonio Montagnana (Timagene)	L: I-Tci L.O.80
1731 spring	Bologna T. Malvezzi	<i>Farnace</i>	Antonio Maria Lucchini Porta	Merione	Antonio Bernacchi (Farnace), Francesca Cuzzoni (Tamiri), Vittoria Tesi (Berenice), Carlo Broschi (Merione), Giacomina Ferrari (Selinda), Pellegrino Tomj (Gilade), Alessandro Veroni (Arbante)	L: I-Bc Lo.4359 S: D-Hs ND VI 2637 (1740 Munich setting)
1731 7 July	Fano T. della Fortuna	<i>L'innocenza giustificata</i>	Silvani Orlandini	Astiage	Pellegrino Tomj (Presaspe), Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (Statira), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Astiage), Cecilia Bellisani Buini (Rosane), Castori Antonio Castori (Arbace), Alessandro Veroni (Artabano)	S: GB-Lbl 31592 (M2100)
1731 28 August	Milan T. Ducale	<i>Arianna e Teseo</i>	Pariati Broschi	Teseo	Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (Arianna), Carlo Broschi (Teseo), Pellegrino Tomj (Minosse), Giacomina Ferrari (Carilda), Filippo Finazzi (Alceste), Agata Elmi (Tauride)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 1227
1731 autumn	Ferrara T. Bonacossi	<i>Artaserse</i>	Vinci (pasticcio)	Arbace	Francesco Bilanzone (Artaserse), Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (Mandane), Andrea Pacini (Artabano), Carlo Broschi detto Farinelli (Arbace), Antonia Negri, detta la Mestrini (Semira) Alessandro Alessandrini (Megabise)	L: I-Bc Lo.5525
1732 26 December 1731, carnival	Turin T. Regio	<i>Catone in Utica</i>	Metastasio Hasse	Arbace	Filippo Giorgi (Catone), Vittoria Tesi (Marzia), Francesco Bilanzoni (Cesare), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Arbace), Antonia Negri (Emilia), Caterina Giorgi (Fulvio)	L: I-Tci L.O.82
1732 carnival	Turin T. Regio	<i>Merope</i>	Broschi	Epitide	Filippo Giorgi (Polifonte), Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (Merope), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Epitide), Antonia Negri (Argia), Francesco Bilanzoni (Trasimede), Caterina Giorgi (Anassandro), Maria Caterina Bussolana (Liciso)	L: I-Tci L.O.81 S: A-Wgm IV 27709 (Q1222)
1732 27 March	Vienna Hofkapelle	<i>Sedecia, oratorio</i>	Zeno Caldara	Sedecia	Signor Farinello (Sedecia), Signora Reutter (Amital), Signor Gaetano (Geremia), Signor Praun (Nabucodonosor), Signor Domenico (Ismael), Signor Borghi (Godolia)	S: A-Wn Hs 17105

1732 8 April	Vienna Hofkapelle	<i>La morte d'Abel figura di quella del nostro Redentore, oratorio</i>	Metastasio Caldara	Abel	Signor Praun (Adamo), Signora Reutter (Eva), Signor Gaetano (Caino), Signor Farinello (Abel), Signora Pisani (Angelo)	S: A-Wn Hs 18202
1733 26 December 1732, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Nitocri</i>	Zeno Giuseppe Selitti	Mirteo	Antonia Merighi (Nitocri), Rosa Bavarese (Emirena), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Mirteo), Filippo Giorgi (Ratese), Catterina Giorgi (Manete), Rosa Cardina (Imofi)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 2873 S: A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/I
1733 30 January, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Adriano in Siria</i>	Metastasio Giacomelli	Farnaspe	Antonio Barbieri (Adriano), Filippo Giorgi (Osroa), Antonia Merighi (Sabina), Anna Rosa Bavarese (Emirena), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Farnaspe), Catterina Giorgi (Aquilio)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 2815, 2835 S: A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/II
1733 2 May	Bologna T. Malvezzi	<i>Siroe re di Persia</i>	Metastasio Hasse	Siroe	Filippo Giorgi (Cosroe), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Siroe), Gaetano Majorana, detto Caffariello (Medarse), Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (Emira), Anna Maria Peruzzi, (Laodice), Elisabetta Uttini (Arasse)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 4272 S: A-Wn Hs 17256, facsimile published as H. Mayer-Brown, ed., Italian Opera 1640-1770, Vol. 59 (New York & London: Garland, 1977)
1733 23 August	Lucca T. di Lucca	<i>Merope</i>	Broschi	Epitide	Angelo Amorevoli (Polifonte), Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (Merope), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Epitide), Antonia Negri Tomy, detta la Mestrina (Argia), Gregorio Babbi (Anassandro), Giam Battista Mancini (Trasimede), Pellegrino Crescini (Licisco)	L: I-Bc Lo.Villa58
1734 26 December 1733, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Berenice</i>	Salvi/Lalli Francesco Araya	Demetrio	Lucia Facchinelli (Berenice), Maria Teresa Pieri, fiorentina (Selene), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Demetrio), Gaetano Majorana, detto Gafariello (Alessandro), Francesco Tolve (Fabio), Antonio Baldi (Arsace)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3065 S: B-Bc 5259, 5260, 5262

1734 30 January, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Artaserse</i>	Hasse	Arbace	Gaetano Majorana [sic], detto Gafariello (Artaserse), Lucia Facchinelli (Mandane), Francesco Tolve (Artabano), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Arbace), Teresa Pieri (Semira), Antonio Baldi (Megabise)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 811
1734 20 February, carnival	Venice T. S. Giovanni Grisostomo	<i>Merope</i>	Giacomelli	Epitide	Francesco Tolve (Polifonte), Lucia Facchinelli (Merope), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Epitide), Maria Teresa Pieri (Argia), Gaetano Majorana, detto Gafariello (Trasimede), Catterina Giorgi (Licisco), Antonio Baldi (Anassandro)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 3241 S: Milano: Ricordi, 1984 (facsimile print of B-Bc/2110), introduction by S. Mamy
1734 May	Vicenza Nuovo T. delle Grazie	<i>Il Demetrio</i>	Metastasio <i>pasticcio</i> ; new arias by Francesco Araia	Alceste	Lucia Facchinelli (Cleonice), Catterina Giorgi (Barsene), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Alceste), Filippo Giorgi (Fenicio), Francesco Bilanzoni (Olinto)	L: I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 2232
1734 summer, running on 4 September	Florence T. della Pergola	<i>L'innocenza giustificata</i>	Silvani? Orlandini?	Astiage	Angiolo Amorevoli (Feraspe), Vittoria Tesi Tramontini (Statira), Carlo Broschi detto Farinello (Astiage), Caterina Fumagalli, detta la Romanina (Rosane), Giovanna Guaetta (Arbace), Lorenzo Saletti (Artabano)	
1734 29 October	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Artaserse</i>	Metastasio (possibly arr. Rolli) <i>pasticcio</i> , arr. Porpora or R. Broschi, with arias by J.A. Hasse, Porpora, (Broschi)	Arbace	(Antonio Montagnana (Artaserse), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Arbace), Francesca Cuzzoni (Mandane), Francesco Bernardi (Artabano), Semira (Francesca Bertolli), Megabise (Maria Segatti)	L: GB-Lbl 1342.k.21. and 11714.aa.21.(12.) S: WFS, facsimile print, Bologna: Forni, 1980
1734 10 December ⁵	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Ottone</i>	Haym (after Pallavicino); <i>pasticcio</i> , arias from Handel's	Adelberto	Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Ottone), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Adelberto), Francesca Cuzzoni (Teofane), Antonio Montagnana (Emireno), Maria Segatti (Gismonda), Francesca Bertolli (Matilda)	L: D-HV1 Op. 4,8

⁵ According to McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 344, n104.

1735 1 February	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Polifemo</i>	Paolo Antonio Rolli Porpora	Aci	Antonio Montagnana (Polifemo), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Aci), Francesca Cuzzoni (Galatea), Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Ulisse), Francesca Bertolli (Calipso), Maria Segatti (Nerea)	L: GB-Lbl 11714.aa.21(11), 163.g.20, 639.d.21(7); 907.i.11(1) (1735 ed.) S: GB-Lbl Add. 14115, US- Lauc: WFS
1735 8 April	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Issipile</i>	Metastasio/Angelo Maria Cori Pietro Giuseppe Sandoni	Giasone	Antonio Montagnana (Toante), Francesca Cuzzoni (Issipile), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Giasone), Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Learco), Francesca Bertolli (Eurinome), Maria Segatti (Rodope)	L: GB-Lbl 11714.aa.23(4), 163.g.47 S: WFS
1735 3 May	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i>	Zeno/Rolli Porpora	Achille	Francesca Cuzzoni (Ifigenia), Francesca Bertolli (Clitennestra), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Achille), Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Agamemnone), Maria Segatti (Ulisse), Antonio Montagnana (Calcante)	L: GB-Lbl 907.i.2(5)
1735	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Artaserse</i>			(Antonio Montagnana (Artaserse), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Arbace), Francesca Cuzzoni (Mandane), Francesco Bernardi (Artabano), Semira (Francesca Bertolli), Megabise (Maria Segatti))	L: GB-Lbl 639.d.22 (2)
1735 25 November	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Adriano in Siria</i>	Metastasio/Cori Francesco Maria Veracini	Farnaspe	Francesco Bernardo, detto Senesino (Adriano), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinelli (Farnaspe), Francesca Cuzzoni (Emirena), Francesca Bertolli (Sabina), Santa Tasca, detta la Santina (Idalma), Antonio Montana (Osroa)	L: GB-Lbl 163g31 (1735); 11714 aa,12 Vol4 (1735) S: GB-Mp MS f520VL61; WFS, facsimile print, Bologna: Forni, 1975; WDelizie D-Hs MB/2775:2
1736 24 January	London King's Theatre Haymarket,	<i>Mitridate</i>	Zeno (Colley Cibber) Porpora (pasticcio?)	Sifare	Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Mitridate), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Sifare), Francesca Cuzzoni (Semanda), Francesca Bertolli (Farnace), Santa Tasca detta la Santina (Ismene), Antonio Montagnana (Archelao), Bernardo Palma (Arcante)	L: GB-Lbl 162. e 54

1736 2 March	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Orfeo</i>	Rolli Pasticcio, arr. Porpora with arias by Porpora, Vinci, Araia, Hasse	Orfeo	a list of the characters is given in the libretto, but there is no cast list; however, the following role distribution is plausible: Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Orfeo), Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Aristeo), Francesca Cuzzoni (Euridice), Antonio Montagnana (Pluto), Autonoe and Proserpina sung by Santa Tasca, Francesca Bertolli or Maria Segatti	L: GB-Lbl 163.g.19 S: GB-Lbl RM 22i/11-13; US-LAuc (WFS), WDelizie D-Hs MB/2775:2
1736 13 April	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Onorio</i>	Lalli/Boldini Ciampi	Eucherio	Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Onorio), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Eucherio), Francesca Bertolli (Ormonte), Antonio Montagnana (Stilicone), Francesca Cuzzoni (Termanzia), Maria Segatti (Placidia)	L: GB-Lbl 11714.aa.22(1); 639.d.22(3)
1736 4 May	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>La festa d'Imeneo, serenata</i>	Rolli Porpora	Imeneo	Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Imeneo), Francesco Bernardi, detto Senesino (Apollo), Antonio Montagnana (Nettunno), Francesco Tolve (Mercurio), Francesca Cuzzoni (Venere), Elisabetta du Parc, detta la Francesina (Pallade), Margherita Chimenti, detta la Droghiera (Bellona)	L: GB-Lbl 163.g.13 S: GB-Lbl 163 G 13
1736 23 November	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Siroe</i>	Metastasio (Hasse?)	Siroe	Francesco Tolve (Cosroe), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Siroe), Margherita Chimenti (Medarse), Antonia Merighi (Emirena), Elisabetta du Parc (Laodice), Antonio Montagnana (Arasse)	L: GB-Lbl 907.i.2(7)
1737 8 January	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Merope</i>	Zeno/Cori Broschi? Giacomelli?	Epitide	Antonia Merighi (Merope), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Epitide), Francesco Tolve (Polifonte), Elisabetta du Parc, detta la Francesina (Argia), Margherita Chimenti, detta la Droghierina (Trasimede), Antonio Montagnana (Anassandro)	L: GB-Lbl 907.i.2(6)
1737 12 February	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Il Demetrio</i>	Metastasio/Cori Giovanni Battista Pescetti	Alceste	Antonia Merighi (Cleonice), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Alceste), Francesco Tolve (Fenicio), Margherita Chimenti, detta la Droghierina (Olinto), Elisabetta du Parc, detta la Francesina (Barsene), Antonio Montagna (Mitrane)	L: GB-Lbl 907.i.3(4) WDelizie D-Hs MB/2775:2
1737 12 April	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i>	Metastasio/Cori Veracini	Sesto	Francesco Tolve (Tito Vespasiano), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Sesto), Antonia Merighi (Vitellia), Margherita Chimenti, detta la Droghierina (Annio), Elisabetta du Parc, detta la Francesina (Servilia), Antonio Montagnana (Publio)	L: D-Hs M/A 401

1737 26 April	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Sabrina</i>	after Milton <i>pasticcio</i> (Pescetti, Hasse, C. Broschi?); arr. Pescetti	Brunalto	names of characters, but no cast list given in libretto; not enough arias survive to match all roles safely to performers; Carlo Broschi Farinelli, detto Farinello (Brunalto), Maria Antonia Marchesini (Sabrina), Margherita Chimenti (Belcore), Antonia Merighi (probably Grandalma), Francesco Tolve (probably Crindoro), Elisabetta du Parc (possibly Comaspe), Antonio Montagnana (possibly Tirsi)	L: GB-Lbl 11714.aa.23(7); 907.i.3(2) S: B-Bc 5480 (WFS), WDelizie D-Hs MB/2775:2
1737 24 May	London King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Demofonte</i>	Metastasio/Cori Egidio Duni	Timante	Francesco Tolve (Demofonte), Carlo Broschi, detto Farinello (Timante), Antonia Merighi (Dircea), Elisabetta du Parc, detta la Francesina (Creusa), Maria Antonia Marchesini, detta la Lucchesini (Cherinto), Margherita Chimenti, detta la Droghierina (Matusio)	L: D-Hs M A/401 S: GB-Lbl E 156

B1.2

B-Bc 4667

III, 9 Numi voi, che in ciel regnate

Flavio Anicio Olibrio, Rome 1722

N. Porpora
A. Zeno/P. Pariati

Placidia *Andante* **5**

Nu - mi voi, che in ciel re - gna - te, per pie - tà, per pie -
 10 tà non mi ser - ba - - - - te a si fie - ro in - giu - sto af - fa - - - -
 17 no in - giu - sto af - fa - no. Per pie - tà, non mi ser - ba - te,
 23 nu - mi voi, che in ciel re - gna - te, per pie - tà non mi ser - ba - te a si fie - ro in - giu - sto af - fan -
 28 no, in - giu - sto af - fan - no. **4** *Fine*
 39 *Allegro*
 Pria, ch'e - stin - to, o fra ca - te - ne io ri - mi - ri il mi - o te - so - ro u - no
 44 stra - le a me vi - bra - te, che mi tol - ga al - le mie pe - ne, che m'in - vol - - - -
 48 li al rio ti - ran - no, u - no stra - le a me vi - bra - te, che mi tol - ga dal - le
 53 pe - ne, che m'in - vo - - - - li al rio ti - ran - - - - no.

B 1.3

D-Swi Mus 4294, fols. 44r-50v

I, 11 Quel cor, che mi donasti

Adelaide, Rome 1723

N. Porpora

A. Salvi

Adelaide

10
Quel cor che mi do - na - sti, ri - pi - gliati, ri - pi - gliati mio ben, e con due co-ri.in

15
sen com - bat

21
ti, com - bat - ti.e spe - ra. Quel cor, quel cor che mi do -

28
na - sti, ri - pi - gliati, ri - pi - gliati, mio ben, mio ben, e con due co-ri.in sen, e con due co-ri.in sen com -

33
bat

38
ti,

43
Fine
com - bat - ti.e spe - ra, com - bat - ti e spe - ra. Se .ij mio che m'in - vo - la - sti di spir - to man - che - rà, man - che - rà,

50
dal tuo ri - ce - ve - rà vir - tù guer - rie - ra,

55
dal tuo ri - ce - ve - rà vir - tù guer - rie - ra. *da capo*

B 1.5

D-Swi Mus 4294, fols. 97r-99v

II, 7 Quanto bello agl'occhi miei

Adelaide, Rome 1723

N. Porpora

A. Salvi

Adelaide

Andante

5

Quan - to bel - lo, a - gli oc - - - - - chi mie - i

9 *(simile)*

fi - a di mor - te il tor - vo as - pet - to se u - nir dee quest' al - ma, quest' al - ma, a te.

14 *(simile)*

Quan - to bel - lo a - gli'oc - chi mie - i fi - a di mor - te il tor - vo as - pet -

19 *tr tr tr* *Fine*

- - - to se, u - nir dee quest' al - - - ma, a te.

28

Vie - ni, vie - ni, e do - ve se - i, ca - ra mor - te, ca - ra, a - ma - to, og - get - to,

38 *(simile)* *da capo*

og - get - to, a - ma - to, l'ar - mi, im - pu - gna, vie - ni, a me, vie - ni, a me, vie - ni, a me.

B 1.6

SANT Hs 4243, Act I, fols. 79v-82v

I, 13 Mi brami spietata

Farnace, Rome 1724

L. Vinci
A.M. Lucchini

Berenice

Allegro assai 11

Mi bra - mi spie - ta - ta, spie - ta - ta mi bra-mi? Mi bra-mi spie - ta - ta, spie -

19 ta - ta sa - rò, spie - ta - - - - - ta, spie - ta - ta sa - rò.

35 Mi bra-mi spie - ta - ta, spie - ta - ta? Spie - ta - ta sa - rò, spie - ta - ta, spie - ta - ta sa - rò.

47 *Fine* 8 S'hai tol-to.al pe - ri - glio lo spo-so.ed il fi - glio, d'en-tram - bi le pe - - -

65 *da capo* - ne in te - vol - ge - rò, d'en-tram - bi le pe - - - - ne in te - vol - ge - rò.

B 1.7

SANT Hs 4243, Act III, fols. 49r-54v

III, 12 Voglio che mora, si

Farnace, Rome 1724

L. Vinci
A.M. Lucchini

Berenice

Allegro

Vo-glio che mo-ra, sì. È giun-to.il tuo de - stin, più ma-dre non ti son, bar-ba-ro tra-di-

7 tor, bar - ba - ro tra - di - tor, per - fi - da fi - glia, tra - di - tor, tra - di - tor, per - fi - da - - fi - glia!

13 Vo-glio che mo-ra, sì, vo-glio che mo-ra, sì. È giun-to.il tuo de - stin, è giun-to.il tuo de - stin, per-fi - da,

18 bar - ba - ro, più ma - dre non ti son, più ma - dre non ti son, bar - ba - ro tra - di - tor, bar - ba - ro tra - di - tor,

23 *Fine* 3 per - fi - da, tra - di - tor, tra - di - tor, per - fi - da fi - glia! Mor-

raì, cru - de - le.al - fin, re - sta col tuo fu - ror, e tu col tuo do - lor - - - - - và, ti con - sig - lia, mor -

36 *da capo* 2 raì, cru - de - le, cru - de - le, e tu col tuo do - lor và, ti con - si - glia!

B 1.8

I-Nc Rari 7.2.12, fols. 41v-44v

I, 9 Ninfa amante

Tito Sempronio Graccho, Naples 1725

D.N. Sarro
S. Stampiglia

Rosanno

Andante 11

Nin - fa.a - man - te, che.as - pet³ - ta sul li - do il suo fi - do, che

18 tor - ni dal ma - re, tut - ta pe - na se ve - de che tar - da, pen - sa, guar - da, e a - gi -

27 tan - - - - -

34 do sen va. Nin - fa.a - man - te, che.as - pet - ta sul

46 li - do il suo fi - do, che tor - ni dal ma - - - - -

54 re, tut - ta pe - na se ve - de che tar - da, pen - sa, guar - da, e a - gi -

63 tan - - - - -

70 do sen va, pen - sa, guar - da,

78 e a - gi - tan - - - - - do sen va. 10 *Fine*

94 Il do - lo - re quant' o - pra.in un co - re, che sos - pi - ra se non mi - ra,

102 chi pe - na - - - - - re d'a - mo - re la fa,

111 chi pe - na - - - - - re d'a - mo - re la fa. *da capo*

B 1.9

I-Ne Rari 7.2.12, fols. 111r-114r

II, 14 Mi volete troppo misero
 Tito Sempronio Graccho, Naples 1725

D.N. Sarro
 S. Stampiglia

Rosanno

Vivace 7

Mi vo - le-te trop-po mi-se-ro, trop-po mi-se-ro, cru-di___ cie-li in-giu-sti___

13

de-i, as-tri___ rei, ti - ran-no a - mor, ti-ran - - - - -

19

25

tr no.a - mor. **5** Mi vo - le-te trop-po, trop - - - po mi-se-ro,

35

mi vo - le-te trop-po, trop - - - po mi-se-ro, cru-di___ cie-li.in - giu - sti De-i, a - stri___

41

rei, ti - ran-no.a - mor, ti-ran - - - - -

47

tr no.a - mor, ti-ran - - - - -

52

tr *tr* *tr* *tr*

58

tr **6** *Fine*
 no.a - mor, ti - ran - no.a - mor.

69

Con - giu - ra - ti.in - sie-me.i fa - ti la mia spe-me af - fat - ta.uc - ci - se-ro, l'al - ma___ mi - a, l'al - ma___ mi - a da

75

tr *tr* *tr* *tr* *da capo*
 me. di - vi - se-ro, e mo - rir non pos-so.an - cor, non pos - so.an - cor, no, non pos - so.an - cor.

B 1.10

I-Nc Rari 7.2.12, fols. 135v-138v

III, 4 L'infelice usignolo
Tito Sempronio Graccho, Naples 1725

D.N. Sarro
S. Stampiglia

Rosanno

Lento 6

L'in-fe - li - ce ru - si - gno - - - - -

11 *tr tr* lo che tra i fer-ri sta ri - stret-to l'as-pro duo-lo che ha in pet - to

17 la - men - ta - - - - - re ogn' or lo fa, ogn' or lo fa.

23 2 L'in-fe - li - ce ru - si - gno-lo che tra i fer-ri sta ri - stret-to,

29 l'as-pro duo-lo che ha nel pet - to la - men - ta - - - - -

34 re ogn' or lo fa, ogn' or lo fa, la - men - ta -

40 *tr tr* re.ogn' or lo fa. *3* *Fine* Chiu-so in car-ce - re si la - gna

49 sos - pi - ran - do af - flit - to, e so - lo la per - du - ta sua com - pa - gna e la ca - ra li - ber -

54 tà, e la ca - ra - li - ber - tà,

58 *tr tr* la ca - ra li - ber - tà, *tr tr* li - ber - tà. *da capo*

B 1.11

I-Nc Rari 7.3.9, fols. 132v-135v

III, 4 Son qual nave in ria procella

Zenobia in Palmira, Naples 1725

L. Leo

A. Zeno/P. Pariati

Decio

Son qual na-ve.in ria pro-cel - - - - - la,
 quan-do Bo-rea più s'in - cal - za, ch'or l'af - fon-da.ed or l'in - al - - - - - za, or la por-ta.a nau - fra - gar,
 a - - - - - nau - fra - gar.
 Son qual na-ve.in ria pro-cel - - - - -
 - la, quan-do Bo-rea più s'in - cal - za, quan-do Bo-rea più s'in - cal - za, ch'or l'af - fon-da.ed or l'in - al - -
 - - - - - za, or la por-ta.a nau - fra - gar,
 - - - - - or la por-ta.a nau-fra-gar, - - - - - la por-ta.a nau-fra-gar. *Fine*
 Splen - de so - lo.inciel mia stel - - - - - la, per-ch'io veg - ga.il mio pe - ri - glio, ma sen - z'ar - te ne con - si - glio
 già.ho la tom - ba.inmez-zo.al mar,
 già.ho la tom - ba.in mez-zo.al mar, - - - - - in mez - zo.al mar. *4 dal segno*

B 1.12

GB-Cdu, Mackworth, Vol. 15, pp. 65B-70B

II, 2 Sarò intrepido e costante
I fratelli riconosciuti, Parma 1726

G.M. Capelli
 C.I. Frugoni

Nicomede *Presto* 10

Sa - rò.in - tre - - - - -

15 pi - do.e cos - tan - - - - - te co - me

21 sco - - - - -

26 - glio.in mez-zo.al mar quan-do l'on-de sa sprez-za - - - - -

31 - - - - - re che gli fan cru-del bat -

35 ta - - - - -

40 - - - - - 8 - - - - - glia.

52 Sa - rò.in - tre - - - - - pi - do.e cos-tan - - - - - te

59 co - me sco - - - - - glio.in mez - zo.al

64 mar quan-do l'on-de sa sprez-za - - - - -

68 - - - - - re che gli

B 1.13

GB-Lbl Add. 16066, fols. 61rv-63v

I, 12 Ma almen se moro

Antigona, Bologna 1727

G.M. Orlandini

B. Pasqualigo

Ceraste

Ma almen se moro co sì ta cen do spe ro mo ren do, mio bel te so ro, dol ce pie ta de, pie ta de, dol ce pie ta de in te de star. Ma almen se moro co sì ta cen do spe ro mo ren do, mio bel te so ro, dol ce pie ta de in te de star, se mo ro, mio bel te so ro, co sì ta cen do dol ce pie de spe ro in te de star. Spe ro lan guen do ve der ti al quan to mol le di pian to e me sta ge me re e so spi rar, e so spi rar.

Adagio *(a tempo)* **3** *Fine*

3 *dal segno*

B 1.14

GB-Lbl Add. 16066, fols. 132v-136v

III, 5 Freme il padre

Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata, Bologna 1727

G.M. Orlandini

B. Pasqualigo

Ceraste

Fiero **23**

Fre - me il pa - dre, e a vo - stro dan - no tut - ti ac - cen - de i fu - ror suo - i,

32
ma son l'al - me de - gli e - ro - i, de - gli e - ro - i men - tre i ven - ti, men - tre l'on - de guer - ra fan - no

44
quer - cia in Al - pe, e sco - glio in mar,

57
e sco - glio in mar.

67 **6**
Ma son l'al - me de - gli e - ro - i men - tre i ven - ti, men - tre l'on - de guer - ra fan - no, fan - no guer - ra

85
quer - cia in al - pe, e sco - glio in mar,

96

106
e sco - glio in mar, e quer - cia in al - pe, e sco - glio in mar,

117
e sco - glio in mar,

126 **7** *Fine*
e sco - glio in mar, e sco - glio in mar.

141
Fra - gil pian - ta, e de - bil na - ve con ra - gio - ne — l'i - ra pa - ve — di Net - tu - no e

151
— d'A - qui - lo - ne, e al - la fi - ne l'u - na al suo - lo gia - ce dis - te - sa, l'al - tra cor - re a nau - fra -

162

gar,

170

179

da capo

a nau - fra - gar, a nau - fra - gar.

Detailed description: This image shows three staves of musical notation in G minor (one flat). The first staff (measures 162-169) begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. It features a melodic line starting on a half note G4, followed by eighth-note patterns. The second staff (measures 170-178) continues the melodic line with eighth-note patterns and rests. The third staff (measures 179-186) concludes the phrase with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The lyrics 'gar,' are under the first staff, and 'a nau - fra - gar, a nau - fra - gar.' are under the third staff. The instruction 'da capo' is placed above the final measure of the third staff.

B 1.16

I-MC I-A-18, fols. 44r-51r

I, 13 Cervo in bosco

Medo, Parma 1728

L. Vinci

C.I. Frugoni

Giasone

11
Cer - vo in bo - sco se l'im - pia - - - - -

17
ga dar - do ra - pi - do e mor - ta - - - - -

21
- - - - - le var - ca il col - lo e cer - ca il fon - te, dal - la val - le al pra -

27
to va, _____ al

32
pra - to va, var - ca col - le, cer - ca fon - te, dal - la val - le al pra - to va, _____ al pra - to va.

41
Cer - vo in bos - co se l'im - pia - - - - - ga

47
dar - do ra - pi - do e mor - ta - - - - le, var - ca il col - le, cer - ca fon - te, dal - la val - le al pra - to va, _____

53
[va.] _____

57
[va.] _____ al pra - to va. Var - ca il col - le, cer - ca il fon - te, dal - la val - le in pra -

64
to va, _____ var - ca il col - le, cer - ca il fon - te, dal - la val - le al pra - to

69
va, _____ al pra - to va, _____ al pra - to va. *Fine*

I, 13 Cervo in bosco

83

Pro - va al - fin — men - tre di va - ga er - - - ba o - nor d'a - pri - co — mon - te,

92

o - nor d'a - pri - co — mon - te che gu - sta - ta l'em - pio stra - le dal suo

100

fian - co ca - der fà, che gu - sta - ta l'em - pio stra - le dal suo fian - co

109

ca - der fa, — ca - der — fa, dal suo fian - co ca - der fa. *da capo*

B 1.17

I-MC I-A-19, fols. 54v-58v

II, 15 Navigante che non spera

Medo, Parma 1728

L. Vinci

C.I. Frugoni

Giasone

13
Na - vi - gan - te che non spe - ra - - - - - più toc - car lon - ta - na ter - ra

17
se il suo le - gno a sor - te af - fer - ra nuo - va spiag - gia lu - sin - ghie - - - - -

22
ra si con - for - ta, e si ri - sto - ra, e si ri - sto - ra, e si ri - sto - ra.

28
2
Na - vi - gan - te che non spe - ra - - - - - più toc - car lon - ta - na ter - ra se il suo

33
le - gno a sor - te af - fer - ra nuo - va spiag - gia lu - sin - ghie - - - - -

38

41
ra si con - for - ta, e si ri - sto - ra, e si ri - sto - ra se il suo le - gno a

46
sor - te af - fer - ra nuo - va spiag - gia lu - sin - ghie - - - - -

51
ra si con - for - ta, e si ri - sto - ra, e si ri - sto - ra. 6 *Fine*

Lie - to scen - de e va - gheg - gian - do la bel - tà dal suol no - vel - lo al - tro li - do - non cu -

65
ran - do sol di quel - lo s'in - na - mo - ra d'al - tro li - do non cu - ran - do sol di quel - lo s'in - na - mo - ra, - - - - - s'in - na - mo - ra. *tr da capo*

B 1.18

I-MC I-A-20, fols. 27v-29v

III, 10 Non è più folle lusinga
Medo, Parma 1728

L. Vinci
C.I. Frugoni

Giasone

14
Non è più fol - le lu - sin - ga che d'in - tor - no al cor s'ag -

21
- gi - ri, con - so - lan - do i miei sos - pi - ri, a - du - lan - - - -

30
- - - - do il mio de - sir. Non è più fol - le lu -

40
- sin - ga che d'in - tor - no al cor - s'ag - gi - ri, con - so - lan - do i miei sos - pi - ri,

49
a - du - lan - do il mio de - sir, a - du - lan - - - - do il

58
mio de - sir, con - so - lan - do, a - du - lan - do, i miei - sos - pi - ri, il mio de -

67
sir, a - du - lan - - - - do il mio de - sir. **12** *Fine*

88
Ma tu stes - sa, o ca - ra se - i che vi - ci - no mi pro - met - ti la mer - cè dei

98
fi - di, af - fet - ti e del dol - - - - ce mio lan - guir. *da capo*

B 1.19

GB-Lam MS 75, fols. 26v-30v

I, 3 Mi lusinga il cor d'affetto

Catone in Utica, Venice 1729

L. Leo
P. Metastasio/D. Lalli

Arbace

15
Mi lu - sin - ga il cor d'af - fet - to col - l'as - pet - to del mi - o

23
be - ne, pur chi sa, chi sa? Te - mer con - vie - ne che m'in - gan - ni

31
a - man do.an cor.

39
5
Mi lu - sin - ga il cor d'af - fet - to col - l'as - pet - to del mio be - ne, pur chi

52
sa, chi sa, chi sa? Te - mer con - vie - ne che m'in - gan - ni a - man

59
do.an cor, che m'in -

66
gan - ni a - man - do.an - cor, a - man

74
do.an - cor, a - man - do.an - cor.

86 *Andante*
Ma se quel - la fos - se ma - i che ad - o - ra - i, e l'ab - ban - do - no, in - fe - de - le, in - gra - to so - no, son cru -

93
de - le. e tra - di - tor, e tra - di - tor, e tra - di - tor, in - fe - de - le, in - gra - to so - no, son cru - de - le. e tra - di - tor,

101
son cru - de - le, in - fe - de - le e tra - di - tor, e tra - di - tor. **7** dal segno

I, 13 Cervo in bosco

75



Pro - va al - fin___ men - tre di va - ga er - - - ba o - nor d'a - pri - co___ mon - te,

84



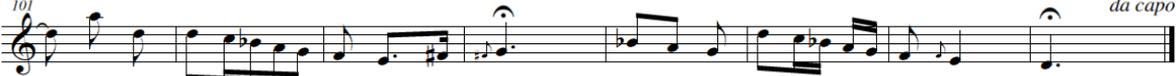
o - no d'a - pri - co___ mon - te che gu - sta - ta l'em - pio stra - le dal suo

92



fian - co ca - der fà, che gu - sta - ta l'em - pio stra - le dal suo fian - co

101



ca - der fà, ca - der fà, dal suo fian - co ca - der fà. *da capo*

B 1.21

GB-Lam MS 82, fols. 74r-78r

I, 15 Rondinella a cui rapita
Semiramide riconosciuta, Venice 1729

N. Porpora
 P. Metastasio

Mirteo

Con spirito 11

Ron-di - nel - la a cui ra - pi - ta fu la dol - ce sua com - pa - - -

15 gna vo - - - - - la in - cer - ta,

19 va - - - - - smar - ri - ta dal - - - - la sel - va al - - - - la cam - pa - gna

23 e si la - - - - - gna in - tor - no al ni - do dell' in -

28 fi - do, dell' in - fi - do cac - - - - - cia - tor.

33 6

Ron-di - nel - la a cui ra - pi - ta fu la dol - ce sua com - pa - - - -

43 gna vo - - - - - la in -

48 cer - ta va - - - - - smar - ri - ta dal - - - - la sel - va al - - - - la cam - pa - gna e si

53 la - - - - - gna in - tor - no al ni - do dell' in - fi - do, dell' in - fi - do - - - - - cac - cia - tor,

58 si la - - - - - gna in -

63 6 *Fine*

- tor - no al ni - do dell' in - fi - do, dell' in - fi - do - - - - - cac - cia - tor.

73

Chia-re____ fon-ti, a-pri- che ri- ve più non cer-ca, al di s'in-vo- - - la

78

sem-pre____ so-la, so-la, so-la e fin-ché vi-ve, fin-ché vi-ve si ram-men -

82

- - - - - ta, si ram-men - - - - - ta, il pri-mo.a-mor, si ram-men -

86

- - - - - ta, si ram-men - - - - - ta il pri-mo.a-mor. *da capo*

B 1.22

GB-Lam MS 82, fols. 104v-108r

II, 5 Sì pietoso il tuo labro ragiona
Semiramide riconosciuta, Venice 1729

N. Porpora
 P. Metastasio

Mirteo

Andante 10

Sì pie - to - so, il tuo la - - - - - bro ra - gio - - - na che

18 quest' al - - - - - ma non te - me che fin - ga; s'ab - ban - do - na, al - la dol - ce lu -

27 *tr tr* sin - ga e con - ten - - - - - ti so - gnan - - - - -

32 do mi v à.

37 5 *tr tr* Sì pie - to - so, il tuo la - - - - - bro ra - gio - na che quest' al - ma non te -

49 *tr* - - - - - me che fin - ga; s'ab - ban - do - na al - la dol - ce lu - sin - ga e con -

55 ten - - - - - ti so - gnan - - - - -

61 *tr tr tr tr* do mi v à. **4** *Fine*

71 Ca - re pe - ne, fe - li - ci mar - ti - ri, se mos - tras - se l'in - gra - - - - -

78 *tr tr tr tr tr* ta Ta - mi - ri qual - che par - - - - -

83 *tr tr tr* te di que - sta pie - tà, di que - sta pie - tà. *da capo*

B 1.23

GB-Lam MS 82, fols. 149r-152r

III, 4 In braccio a mille furie
Semiramide riconosciuta, Venice 1729

P. Metastasio
 N. Porpora

Mirteo

Presto **6**

In brac-cio.a mil-le fu - ri - e sen-to che l'al-ma fre - me, sen-to che.u-ni-te.in-sie - me col-

11
 le pas-sa-te.in-giu - ri-e tor-men - - - ta-no il mio cor, tor-men - - -

16
 - - - ta-no, tor-men - ta-no il mio cor, tor-men - ta - no. il mio cor.

21 **4**
 In brac-cio.a mil-le fu - ri - e sen-to che l'al-ma fre - me, sen-to che.u-ni-te.in - sie - me col-le pas-sa-te.in-

29
 giu - ri - e col - le pas - sa - te.in - giu - ri - e tor-men - - -

33

37 **4** *Fine*
 - - ta-no, tor - men - ta - no il mio cor, tor - men - ta - no il mio cor.

Quel-la fa - mor sprez - za - to den - tro.al pen - sier mi de - sta e mi ram - men - ta que - sta, e que - sta mi ram - men - ta l'in - ven - di -

50 *da capo*
 ca - - - - - to, l'in - ven - di - ca - to, o - nor, l'in - ven - di - ca - to, o - nor.

B 1.24

GB-Lcm 209, fols. 27v-30v

I, 5 Lascia, deh lascia almeno
Mitridate, Venice 1730

G. A. Gai
 A. Zeno

Farnace *Larghetto* 10

La - scia, la - scia, deh la - scia, al - me - no a que - sto a - man - te se - no de'

14
 dol - ci, af - fet - ti mie - i la bel - la pa - ce, la bel - la pa -

17
 ce, la bel - la pa - ce. La - scia, deh la - scia, al - me - no, al - me - no a que - sto se - no, a - man - te

23
 se - no, la bel - - 6 - la pa - - 6 - - - 6 - - - ce dei dol - ci, af

26
 fet - ti mie - i la bel - la pa - ce, deh la - scia dei dol - ci, af - fet - ti mie - i la bel - la pa -

30
 ce, la bel - la pa - ce. *tr* **4** *Fine*

Pa - dre, e Si - gnor mi se - i, ma del mio a - mor non de - i to - glie - re a que - sto cor la ca - ra fa - - 6 -

41
 ce, la ca - ra fa - - *tr* **3 dal segno**
 ce, la ca - ra fa - ce.

B 1.25

GB-Lcm 209, fols. 49v-54v

I, 11 Se mi togliete quella

Mitridate, Venice 1730

G.A. Gai

A. Zeno

Farnace

10

Se mi to-glie-te quel - la ch'è vo - stro do - no, o De - i, al - ma.in - no - cen - te.e

14

bel - la, tut - te le col - pe mi - e vos - tre sa - ran - no, al - ma.in - no - cen - te.e bel - la, vos - tre sa - ran - no.

19

23

no, tut - te le col - pe mi - e vos - tre sa - ran - no.

29

Se mi to - glie - te quel - la ch'è vos - tro do - no, o De - i, al - ma.in - no - cen - te.e bel - la, tut - te le col - pe mi - e vos -

34

tre sa - ran - no, al - ma.in - no - cen - te.e bel - la, vos - tre sa - ran - no.

38

42

no, vos - tre sa - ran - no, tut - te le col - pe mi - e vos - tre sa - ran - no.

47

no, vos - tre sa - ran - no.

53

A voi non fan - no.ol - trag - gio i ca - sti.af - fet - ti mie - i; an - zi.ad - o - ran - do.in le - i del vos - tro lu - me.un

63

rag gio, o - nor vi fan - no, an - zi.ad - o - ran - do.in le - i del vos - tro lu - me.un rag

68

gio, o - nor, o - nor vi fan - no.

da capo

B 1.26

GB-Lcm 209, fols. 62v-64v

II, 4 Dona un guardo
Mitridate, Venice 1730

G.A. Giai
A. Zeno

Farnace

Largo 9

Don-na un guar - do, o ca - ro Pa - dre, al ris - pet - to del mio, a - mo - re

18 *p* che sol a - ma col tuo co - re il su - o be - ne, e il suo pia - cer,

28 *f* e' l suo pia - cer. Do - na un guar - do, o ca - ro Pa - dre, al ris - pet - to del mio, a -

41 *p* mo - re che sol a - ma col tuo co - re il suo ben e' l suo pia - cer,

51 *f* [cer,] il suo ben e il suo pia - cer, e' l suo pia - cer. *3* *Fine*

64 In om - mag - gio al tu - o ri - po - so can - giò af - fet - to, e sa - rò spo - so e sa - prò va - sal - lo, e

74 *tr* fi - glio ris - pet - ta - re il tuo do - ver, ris - pet - ta - re il tuo do - ver. *da capo*

B 1.28

GB-Lcm 209, fols. 183v-188r

V, 6 Libero ruscelletto
Mitridate, Venice 1730G.A. Gai
A. Zeno

Vivace assai 14

Farnace

Li-be-ro ru-scel-let - - - - - to fuor del na-tio suo let-to scor-re su-per-bo.i

20

cam - pi, e.i pra-ti.ad in - on - dar,

25

[dar,] e.i pra - ti ad in - on - dar, ad in - on - dar.

30

6

Li - be - ro ru - scel - let - to, ru - scel - let - - - - - to fuor del na-tio suo let - to scor - re su - per - bo i

40

cam - pi e.i pra - ti.ad in - on - dar,

44

e.i pra - ti.ad

49

in - on - dar. Li - be - ro ru - scel - let - to, ru - scel - let - - - - - to scor - re su - per - bo.i cam - pi e.i pra - ti.ad in - on - dar,

54

ad in - on - dar, i pra - ti ad in - on - dar. **11** *Fine*

Tal no - stro.a - man - te co - re fuor d'o - gni rio ti - mo - re del li - be - ro suo.af - fet - to or può con - ten - to.an - dar,

76

or può con - ten - to.an - dar, del li - be - ro suo.af - fet - to or può con - ten - to - an - dar,

81

3 or può con - ten - to.an - dar. **8** *dal segno*

84

 ta

89

 gli, nel mio co - re in - na - mo - ra - to sde - no, e a -

94

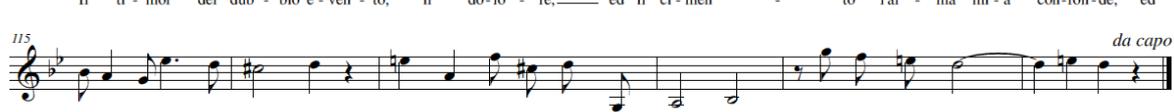
 mo - re fan - no bat - ta - gli, fan - no bat - ta

99

 gli. *Fine*

109

 Il ti - mor del dub - bio e - ven - to, il do - lo - re, ed il ci - men - to l'al - ma mi - a con - fon - de, ed

115

 ab - ba - gli, l'al - ma mia con - fon - de, ed ab - ba - gli, con - fon - de, ed ab - ba - gli. *da capo*

B 1.29b

A-Wn Mus.HS.18281, fols. 62v-69v

I, 16 Qual guerriero in campo armato

Idaspe, Venice 1730

R. Broschi

P. Candi

Dario

15 Qual guer - rie - ro in cam - po ar - ma - to, in cam - po ar - ma - to, pien di

20 for - za e di va - lo - re, nel mio co - re in - na - mo - ra - - - - - to sde - gno, e a -

27 mo - re fan - no bat - ta - glia, sde - gno, e a - mor fan - no bat - ta - - - - -

31

36

41

50

55

60

63

68

71

77

glia, nel mio —

82

 co - re.in-na-mo - ra - to fan-no bat - ta

87

 gia, nel mio co - re.in-na-mo - ra-

93

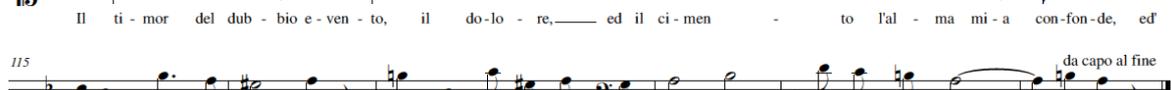
 to sde - no, e.a - mo - re fan - no bat - ta - gia, fan - no bat - ta

99

 gia. **Fine**

109

 Il ti - mor del dub - bio e - ven - to, il do - lo - re, ed il ci - men - to l'al - ma mi - a con - fon - de, ed

115

 ab - ba - gia, l'al - ma mia con - fon - de, ed'ab - ba - gia, con - fon - de, ed'ab - ba - gia. **da capo al fine**

B 1.30

A-Wn Mus.HS.18281, fols. 117v-124v

II, 11 Ombra fedele anch'io

Idaspe, Venice 1730

R. Broschi

P. Candi

Dario

Largo 7

Om - bra fe - de - le - an - ch'i - o sul mar - gi - ne di Le - te se - guir vò l'i - dol

11

mio che tan - to a - do - ro, sul mar - gi - ne di Le - te se - guir vò l'i - dol mi - o che tan - - - -

15

to a - do - ro.

19

2

Om - bra fe - de - le - an - ch'i - o sul mar - gi - ne di Le - te, sul mar - gi - ne di Le - te se -

24

guir vò l'i - dol mi - o che tan - - - -

28

to, che tan - to a - do - ro, che, che tan - to a - do - ro.

36

Che bel - la pa - ce. è que - sta che a con - so - lar - sen re - sta il mio mar - to - ro, che a con - so - lar sen

46

re - sta il mio mar - to - - - - ro, il mi - o mar - to - ro.

da capo

B 1.31

A-Wn Mus.HS.18281, fols. 155v-158v

III, 5 Pastorel che trova al fine

Idaspe, Venice 1730

R. Broschi

P. Candi

Allegro assai

Dario

35

Pa - sto - rel che tro - va.al_ fi - ne lo smar - ri - to_ ca - ro.a -

44

gnel - lo spie - ga.al col - le,e.al fiu - mi - cel - lo_ la_ sua gio - ia,e il suo pia - cer, il

53

suo pia - cer. Pa - sto - rel che tro - va.al fi - ne lo_ smar - ri - to ca - ro.a -

63

gnel - lo spie - ga.al col - le,e.al fu - mi - cel - lo_ la_ sua gio - a,e il

70

suo_ pia - cer, il suo_ pia - cer, la_ sua gio - a,e il suo_ pia - cer,

79

il_ suo pia - cer, il_ suo_ pia - cer. **27** *Fine*

114

Il_ ti - mor_ del rio_ con - si - glio, del_ rio_ con - si - glio, più_ non

121

sen - te.e so - lo.at - ten - de_ con_ mi - gior_ lie - to_ con - si - glio

128

la_ sua pa - ce ben_ go - der, a ben_ go - der. *da capo*

B 1.32

GB-Lam MS 72, fols. 144r-151v

III, 2 Parto qual pastorello

Artaserse, Venice 1730

J.A. Hasse

P. Metastasio

Arbace *Allegro* 18

Par - - - - to, par - to qual pa - sto - rel - lo, qual pa - sto -

rel - lo pri - ma che rom - pa. il fiu - me e a que - sto col - le e a quel - lo s'en fug - ge, s'en fug - ge e i ca - ri ar -

men - ti s'af - fan - na a ri - ser - bar,

e i ca - ri ar - men - ti s'af - fan - na a ri -

ser - bar, a ri - ser - bar.

Par - to qual pa - sto - rel - lo, qual pa - sto - rel - lo, par - to qual pa - sto - rel - lo, qual pa - sto - rel - lo pri - ma che rom - pa. il

fiu - me, pri - ma che rom - pa. il fiu - me e a que - sto col - le e a quel - lo s'en fug - ge e i ca - ri ar - men - ti s'af -

fan - na a ri - ser - bar,

e i ca - ri ar - men - ti s'af -

fan - na a ri - ser - bar, a ri - ser - bar, s'en fug - ge a

que - sto, s'en fug - ge a quel - lo e i ca - ri ar - men - ti s'af - fan - na a ri - ser - bar,

s'af - fan - na a ri - ser - bar. *Fine*

92

 Il tu - te-lar suo nu - me in - vo-ca, ad is - fug - gi - re quel mal che può ve - ni - re, quel duol che può as - pet - tar,
 97

 quel
 102

 duol che può a - spet - tar, quel mal che può ve - ni - re, quel duol che può a - spet - tar, che può a - spet - tar. **12** *dal segno*

B 1.33

A-Wgm IV 27709 (Q1222), fols. 127-135

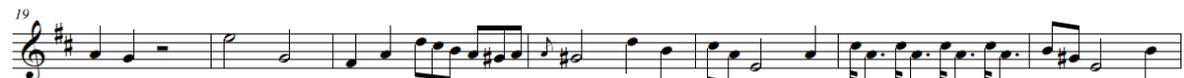
I, 11 Chi non sente al mio dolore

Merope, Turin 1732

R. Broschi

A. Zeno

Largo **12**
 Epitide

 Chi non sen - te al mio do - lo - re qual - che af - fan - no den - tro al co - re va - da pur tra fo - schi, or -
 19

 ro - ri tra le val - li a so - spi - rar,
 26

 a sos - spi - rar. **3**
 34

 Chi non sen - te al mi - o do - lo - re qual - che af - fan - no den - tro al co - re
 42

 va - da pu - re tra fo - schi, or - ro - ri tra le val - li a so - spi - rar,
 49

 a so - spi -
 57

 rar, va - da pur tra fo - schi, or - ro - ri a so - spi - rar, a so - spi - rar. **6** *Fine*

 Il mio be - ne, il pa - dre, il re - gno mi ha ra - pi - to fa - to in - de - gno, som - mi De - i, se giu - sti
 77

 sie - te, fin po - ne - te al mio pe - nar, fin po - ne - te al mio pe - nar. *da capo*

B 1.34

A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/I, fols. 25v-42v

I, 16 Scenda dal cielo irato

Nitocri, Venice 1733

G. Selitti

A. Zeno

Mirteo *Allegro* 13

Scen - da dal cie-lo.i ra - to, dal cie - lo.i-ra - to, il ful-mi-ne to-

19
nan - te, s'a - pra nel mar sde - gna - to, sde - gna - to - il vor - ti - ce spu - man -

24

28
te; e ven - ga ad o - gni pas - so la

34
mor-te.ad in - con - trar

39

43
mi, ven - ga la mor - te, ven - ga.a.in - con - trar - mi, ad in - con - trar

49
mi, ven - ga la mor - te, ven - ga.a.in - con - trar - mi, ad in - con - trar

55
mi. Scen - da dal cie - lo.i - ra - to il ful - mi - ne to - nan

62
te, s'a - pra nel mar sde - gna

67
to il vor - ti - ce spu - man

72
te, E ven - ga.ad o - gni pas - so la mor - te.ad in - con - trar

78

82

86

92

97

114

120

mi, ven-ga la mor-te, ven-ga a.in-con-trar - mi, ad in-con-

trar - mi, ven-ga la mor - te, ven-ga a.in-con - trar - mi, ad in - con - trar -

mi, ad in-con-trar - mi.

Nel se-no.ho.un cor di sas - so con - tro le rie vi - cen - de che sol l'i - stan-te.at-ten - de, e sol l'i -

stan-te.at - ten - de, che ven - ga i - sve -

nar - mi, ad i-sve - nar - mi.

p *f* *Largo* *tr* **3** *Fine* *tr* *Largo* *da capo*

B 1.35

A-Wn Mus.Hs.17566/II, fols. 115v-122r

II, 13 Amor, dover, rispetto

Adriano in Siria, Venice 1733

G. Giacomelli

P. Metastasio

Farnaspe *Allegro* **10**

A-mor, do-ver, ri-spet-to, do-ver, ri-spet-to, tut-ti vi veg-go-ar-ma -

15

ti ad a-gi-tar - - - - - mi il pet-to, a la-ce-rar -

20

mi il cor, ad a-gi - tar-mi il pet-to, a la-ce-rar -

25

30 *tr* **3**

mi il cor. A-mor, do-ver, ri-spet-to, do-

38

ver, ri-spet-to, tut-ti vi veg-go-ar-ma - - - - - ti ad a-gi-tar-mi il pet-to,

43

a la-ce-rar-mi il cor, a la-ce-rar - - - - - mi il cor, a la-ce-rar -

48

53 *tr*

mi il cor, a-mor, do-

58

ver, do-ver, ri-spet-to, tu-ti vi veg-go-ar-ma-ti ad a-gi-tar-mi, a la-ce-rar -

63

68 *tr* *tr* **5** *Fine*

mi il cor, a la-ce-rar - mi il cor.

78

Con-tro di me sde-gna-ti si bar-ba-ri ti-ran-ni van re-pli-can-do af-fan-no, van

86 *da capo*

re-pli-can-do af-fan-ni al mio in-fe-li-ce a-mor, al mio in-fe-li-ce a-mor.

B 1.36

A-Wn Mus.Hs.17256, pages unnumbered

I, 13 La sorte mia tiranna

Siroe, Bologna 1733

J.A. Hasse

P. Metastasio

Siroe

La sor-te mia ti - ran-na far - mi di più non può, far - mi di più non
 può; m'ac-cu - sa, e mi con - dan - na un' em - pia, ed un ger - ma - no, l'a - mi - co, e il ge - ni - tor; che bar - ba-ro ri -
 go - re! Che gra - ve, af - fan - no, che gra - ve, af - fan - no!

La sor-te mia ti - ran-na far - mi di più non può, m'ac-cu - sa, e mi con - dan - na un' em - pia, ed un ger -
 ma - no, l'a - mi - co, e il ge - ni - tor; che bar - ba-ro ri - go - re! Che gra - ve, af - fan - no!

no! M'ac - cu - sa un'

em - pia, mi con - dan - na l'a - mi - co, l'a - mi - co, e il ge - ni - tor; che gra - ve, af - fan - no! Che gra - ve, af - fan - no!

O - gni soc - cor - so, e va - no, che più spe - rar non so, per - chè fe - del son i - o que - sto e il mio de -
 lit - to que - sto di - ven - ta, er - ror, que - sto di - ven - ta, er - ror. Tan - to con - tro me può fro - de, ed in - gan - no!

B 1.37

B-Bc 5259, pp. 73-85

II, 4 Cadrò, ma qual si mira

Berenice, Venice 1734

F. Araia

A. Salvi

Demetrio *[Allegro]* **27**

Ca - drò, ma qual si mi - ra par - te ca - der dal mon - te del - la sas - so - sa fron - te,
 che, quan - d'a lei s'op - po - ne, ur - ta, fra - cas - sa e se - co pre - ci - pi - tan - do va [va]
 pre - ci - pi - tan - do va, pre - ci - pi - tan - do va,
 pre - ci - pi - tan - do va. Ca - drò, ma qual si mi - ra par - te ca - der dal mon - te
 che, quan - do a lei s'op - po - ne, ur - ta, fra - cas - sa, e se - co pre - ci - pi - tan - do va,
 ur - ta, fra - cas - sa e se - co pre - ci - pi - tan - do va,
 do va, pre - ci - pi - tan - do va.

38
51
59
68
82
96
109
120
128
138
151
162 **18** *Fine*

190  **3**
 E se non re-sta op - pres - so dal - la fa - tal ru - i - na, sen - te da lun - ge an - ch'es - so at - to - ni - to il pa -

202 
 sto - re lo stre - pi - to del col - po che im - pal - li - dir lo - fa, [fa]

210  *da capo*
 che im - pal - li - dir lo - fa.

B 1.38

B-Bc 2110, pp. 195-205

II, 4 Quell'usignolo che innamorato

Merope, Venice 1734

G. Giacomelli

A. Zeno

Spiritoso 18

Epitide

Quell' u - si - gno - lo, che in - na - mo - ra - - - - -

23

to, se can - - - - ta so - lo, tra fron - da e fron - da

29

spie - ga del fa - to la cru - del - tà, _____

34

spie - ga del fa - to la cru - del - tà, _____ (*simile*)

39

[tà,] _____

44

[tà,] _____ la cru - del - tà. _____ 2 _____

Quell' u - si - gno - lo, che in - na - mo - ra - - - - -

51

to, se can - ta so - lo, so - lo, so - lo, tra fron - da e

56

fron - da, tra fron - da e fron - da spie - ga del fa - to la cru - del - tà, _____

62

[tà,] _____

67

[tà,] _____ la cru - del - tà, quell' u - si - gno - -

73

- lo, che in - na - mo - ra - to, se can - ta so - lo tra fron - da e fron - da spie - ga del fa - to la cru - del - tà, _____

79

_____ la cru - del - tà, la cru - del - tà. _____ 4 *Fine*

S'o - de pie - to - so nel bo-sco,om - bro - so chi gli ri - spon - da con lie - to co - re di ra - ma in
 93 ra - mo, di ra - mo in ra - mo con lie - to co - re can - tan - do va, _____
 97 [va.] con lie - to co - re can - tan - do va. **11** *dal segno*

B 1.39

B-Bc 2110, pp. 342-349

III, 7 Sposa non mi conosci

Merope, Venice 1734

G. Giacomelli

A. Zeno

Largo 18
 Epitide Spo - sa... non mi co - no - sci. Ma - dre... tu non m'as - col - ti. (Cie -
 26 - li, che fe - ci mai? Cie - li che fe - ci mai?) E pur so - no il tuo cor, il tuo fi - glio, il tuo a -
 34 mor, la tua spe - ran - - - za. Spo - sa... non mi co - no - sci.
 47 Ma - dre... tu non m'as - col - ti. (Cie - li, che fe - ci mai? Cie - li, che fe - ci mai.) E
 56 pur so - no il tuo cor, il tuo fi - glio, il tuo a - mor, la tua spe - ran - - -
 62
 69 za. Spo - sa... ma - dre... e pur so - no il tuo cor, e pur so - no il tuo a - mor, il tuo fi - glio, il tuo a -
 77 mor, la tua spe - ran - - - za, la tua spe - ran - za. **5** *Fine*
 91 Par - la... ma sei in - fe - del. Cre - di... ma sei cru - del. Mo - rir mi la - sce - ra - i? Mi
 100 *dal segno* **8**
 la - sce - rai mo - rir? Oh Dio! man - ca il va - lor, man - ca il va - lor e la co - stan - za.

B 1.40

Walsh, London (c.1734), pp. 17-18

III, Ultima 'Fortunate passate mie pene'

Artaserse, London 1734

A Celebrated Minuet in Artaxerxes Sung by Sig.^r Farinellipasticcio
aria attr. A. Ariosti

Allegro

Arbace

7

For-tu - na - te pas-sa - te, pas - sa-te mi-e pe-ne, pas - sa-te mi-e pe-ne,

12

se un bel lac - cio, bel lac - cio or in brac - cio al mio be - ne, più co - stan - te,

16

più a - man - te, a - man - te mi fà, più co - stan - te, più a - man - te mi fà,

21

— un bel lac - cio co - stan - te più a - man - te, a - man - te mi fà, più co - stan - te a -

26

man - te, a - man - te, più a - man - te mi fà, più a - man - te mi fà.

Fine

36 *Minuet*

Sia pur d'a - mo - re fie - ra l'a - sprezz - za bre - ve dol - cez - za lo pla - che - rà, lo pla - che -

45

rà, lo pla - che - rà. Son gra - te al co - re l'a - spre vi - cen - de quan - do s'ar - ren - de

54 *da capo*

quan - do s'ar - ren - de cru - del bel - tà, cru - del bel - tà, cru - del bel - tà.

B 2: Arias sung by Bernacchi

B 2.1

I-MC I-A-18, fols. 5r-8v

I, 1 Quel fiume, che in mente

Medo, Parma 1728

C.I. Frugoni
L. Vinci

Medo

11
Quel fiu-me che in men-te ti de-sta ter-ro-re, ti de-sta ter-ro-re coi lim-pi-di-u-

17
mo-ri, con l'on-da in-no-cen-

23
te al mar se n'an-drà. *tr* 2
Quel fiu-me che in men-te di de-sta ter-ro-re, ti de-sta ter-ro-re

31
col lim-pi-do-u-mo-re, con l'on-da in-no-cen-te al mar se n'an-drà, *tr* *tr* *tr* *tr*

36
ti de-sta ter-ro-re col lim-pi-do-u-mo-re, ti de-sta ter-ro-re con l'on-da in-no-cen-te al mar se n'an-dra

42
al mar se n'an-

48
dra, al mar se n'an-dra. *tr* 2 *Fine*
E il ri-schio so-gna-to che l'al-ma t'in-gom-bra, che l'al-ma t'in-

56
gom-bra, dis-per-so, fu-ga-to qual so-gno, qual om-bra da

63
te spa-ri-rà, spa-ri-rà, qual so-gno, qual om-bra da te spa-ri-rà, da te spa-ri-rà. *da capo*

B 2.2

I-MC I-A-18, fols. 26v-29v

I, 8 Taci, o di morte
Medo, Parma 1728L. Vinci
C.I. Frugoni

A tempo giusto

Medo

Ta - ci, o di mor - te non mi par - lar, la - bro vez - zo - so, se il mio ri - po - so non vuoi tur -

bar, _____

[bar.] _____ non vuoi tur - bar. Ta - ci, o di mor - te non mi par - lar, la - bro vez - zo - so, se il

mio ri - po - so non vuoi tur - bar, _____

[bar.] _____ se il mio ri - po - so, la - bro vez - zo - so, la - bro vez - zo - so, non vuoi tur - bar, la - bro vez - zo - so, se il mio ri - po - so, non

vuoi tur - bar, _____ non vuoi tur - bar.

Più lie - ta sor - te fam - mi spe - rar, se il cor dub - bio - so, la - bro a - mo - ro - so, vuoi con - so - lar,

[lar.] _____ vuoi con - so - lar,

la - bro a - mo - ro - so, se il cor dub - bio - so vuoi con - so - lar, _____ vuoi con - so - lar.

Fine

da capo

B 2.3

I-MC I-A-20, fols. 17r-19v

III, 6 Nella forresta Leon invitto

Medo, Parma 1728

L. Vinci
C.I. Frugoni

Medo

10

Nel - la for - re - sta le - o - ne.in - vit - to ge - me tra - fit - to, pia - ga - to fre -

19

- - - me, del suo la - men - to la spiag - gia.e.il ven - to fà ri - so - nar,_____

27

[nar,]_____

35

la spiag - gia.e.il ven - - - to fà ri - so - nar, fà ri - so - nar.

49

Nel - la for - re - sta le - o - ne.in - vit - to ge - me tra - fit - to, pia - ga - to fre - me,

57

del suo la - men - to la spiag - gia.e.il ven - to fà ri - so - nar,_____

66

[nar,]_____ la spiag - gia.e.il ven - to fà ri - so - nar, ge - me tra - fit - to

75

le - o - ne.in - vit - to, del suo la - men - to la spiag - gia.e.il ven - to fà ri - so - nar,

83

la spiag - gia.e.il ven - - - to fà ri - so - nar, fà ri - so - nar. *Fine*

104

Ma più si la - gna e più s'ad - i - ra, se.av - vin - ta mi - ra la sua com -

111

pa - gna fra.i lac - ci.an - dar, fra.i lac - - ci.an - dar, fra.i lac - ci.an - dar. *da capo*

Appendix C: Full Scores

C 1: Arias sung by Farinelli

III, 2 'Non sempre invendicata'
Adelaide, Rome 1723

D-Swi Mus 4294, fols. 147r-151r

N. Porpora
A. Salvi

Trumpet in C 1

Trumpet in C 2

Horn in D 1

Horn in D 2

Oboe 1

Oboe 2

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Adelaide

Basso Continuo

Non sem-pre in - ven-di-ca - ta

III, 2 'Non sempre invendicata'

10

C Tpt. 1

C Tpt. 2

D Hn. 1

D Tpt. 2

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

10

10

io re-ste-rò co - sì, ma giun-to-è for-se il dì di mia ven - det - ta. Non sem-pre in-ven-di - ca -

B.c.

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score for a symphony, specifically the third movement, second section titled 'Non sempre invendicata'. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with ten staves. The top four staves are for woodwinds: C Trumpets 1 and 2, D Horns 1, and D Trumpets 2. The next two staves are for Oboes 1 and 2. The bottom four staves are for strings: Violins I and II, Viola, and Bassoon. The music is in a key with two sharps (D major) and a 2/4 time signature. The score begins at measure 10. The woodwinds and strings play rhythmic patterns, while the vocal line (B.c.) enters with the lyrics 'io re-ste-rò co - sì, ma giun-to-è for-se il dì di mia ven - det - ta. Non sem-pre in-ven-di - ca -'. The vocal line features a melodic phrase with some grace notes and a final cadence.

III, 2 'Non sempre invendicata'

C Tpt. 1
 C Tpt. 2
 D Hn. 1
 D Tpt. 2
 Ob. 1
 Ob. 2
 Vln. I
 Vln. II
 Vla.
 B.c.

La vo-stra ti-ran - ni - a il cie-lo pu - ni - rà, pu - ni - rà, e già sul-far-co sta, e già sull' ar-co sta _____ la ria sa

This musical score is for the third movement, second section, 'Non sempre invendicata'. It features a full orchestra and a vocal soloist. The instruments listed are C Trumpets 1 and 2, D Horns 1 and 2, Oboes 1 and 2, Violins I and II, Viola, and Bassoon. The vocal line is written in a single staff with lyrics in Italian. The score is in a key signature of two sharps (D major) and a common time signature. The vocal line begins with the lyrics 'La vostra tirannia al cielo punirà, punirà, e già sull'arco sta, e già sull'arco sta' followed by a long line of underscores.

III, 2 'Non sempre invendicata'

da capo

34

C Tpt. 1

C Tpt. 2

D Hn. 1

D Tpt. 2

Ob. 1

Ob. 2

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.c.

et - ta, e già sull' ar-co sta la ria sa-et - ta.

C 1.2

GB-Lbl Add. 16066, fols. 97v-102v

II, 8 Il Rosignolo

Antigona ovvero la fedeltà coronata, Bologna 1727

G.M. Orlandini

B. Pasqualigo

Violin solo *Adagio* *Andante*

Violin

Viola

Ceraste

B.C. *Violoncello solo*

12

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

22

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

Il rosignolo

31

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

42

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

Tutti

52 Adagio

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

Il ro - si - gnuo - - - - - lo, il

63 Andante

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

ro - si - gnuo - lo che va di - sciol - to da quel - la re - te

Il rosignolo

72

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

ov' e - ra in - vol - to vo - la - can - tan - do di ra - mo in ra - mo, e par che di - ca

81

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

con sua fa - vel - la: 'oh sel - va - a - mi - ca, oh ca - ra, e bel - la, ca - ra, ca - ra, e bel - la (mia) li - ber -

91

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

tà: e par che di - ca

100

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

con sua fa - vel - la - 'oh sel - va - a - mi - ca, oh ca - ra, e bel - la, ca - ra, ca - ra, e bel - la mia li - ber - tà'. Il

Il rosignolo

111

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

ro - si - gnuol vo - la can - tan

tr tr tr tr

121

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

131

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

141

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

do, e par che di - ca in sua fa - vel - la: 'oh sel - va. a - mi - ca, oh ca - ra. e bel - la,

Il rosignolo

151

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

ca - ra, ca - ra, e bel - la mia li - ber - tà,

(simile)

161

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

mia li - ber - tà.

170

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

Il rosignolo

188

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

Co - si, il mio co - re, ch'or sen - za spe - me ser - ven - do, a - mo - re lan - gui - sce, e ge - me

196

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

se an - drà sle - ga - to al nuo - vo sta - to, oh co - me lie - to, lie -

204

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

to, lie - to al - l'or sa - rà, al -

212

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

B.C.

for sa - rà.

Il rosignolo

220 *(Adagio)*

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

220

Il ro - si - gnolo,

220

229 *Andante*

Vln. solo

Vln.

Vla.

229 *dal segno*

229

il

The image shows a page of a musical score for 'Il rosignolo'. It consists of four systems of staves. The first system (measures 220-228) includes a Violin solo part, Violin, Viola, and Bass/Contrabass parts. The lyrics 'Il ro - si - gnolo,' are written under the vocal line. The second system (measures 229-236) includes Violin solo, Violin, Viola, and Bass/Contrabass parts. The lyrics 'il' are written under the vocal line. The tempo markings are '(Adagio)' and 'Andante', and the performance instruction 'dal segno' is present.

Giusti cieli, eterni Dei

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

ful - mi na

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

te, ful - mi - na-te il tra - di - tor, il tra - di - tor.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Giu - sti Cie - li, giu - sti Cie - li, e - ter - ni De - i,

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

ful - mi na

Giusti cieli, eterni Dei

68

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

74

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

te il tra - di - tor, il tra - di - tor, il tra - di -

80

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

tor,

f

86

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Fine

Giusti cieli, eterni Dei

92

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

L'in - no - cen - za di - fen - de - te e al - l'im - pre - sa voi a -

100

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

ge - te que - sto brac - cio, e que - sto cor, e que - sto cor, que - sto

108

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

brac

114

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

da capo

cio e que - sto brac - cio, que - sto brac - cio e que - sto cor, e que - sto cor.

C 1.4

A-Wn Mus.Hs. 17566/I, fols. 98v-109r

II, 7 'Passagier che incerto errando'

Nitocri, Venice 1733

G. Giacomelli

P. Metastasio

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Violin, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Mirteo, Violoncello and Bassoon, and Double Bass. The second system includes staves for Vln. (Violin), Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla. (Viola), Mirteo, Vc. (Violoncello), and D.B. (Double Bass). The score is in common time (C) and features various musical notations including trills (tr), dynamics (p, f), and articulation marks. The Mirteo part is mostly silent, indicated by a long dash.

II, 7 'Passagier che incerto errando'

Musical score for the second movement, 'Passagier che incerto errando'. The score is arranged for Violin (Vln.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Double Bass (D.B.). The piece begins at measure 9 and continues through measure 14.

The first system (measures 9-14) features a complex texture with trills (tr) and dynamic markings of *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). The Violin parts play a melodic line with trills, while the Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass provide a rhythmic accompaniment. The Violin I and II parts also play a melodic line with trills.

The second system (measures 14-19) features a vocal line (Vc.) with the lyrics: "Pas - sag - gier che in - cer - to er - ran - do, che in - cer - to er - ran - do va chia - man". The vocal line is accompanied by the Violin, Viola, and Double Bass. The Violin parts play a melodic line with trills, while the Viola and Double Bass provide a rhythmic accompaniment. The vocal line is marked *p* (piano).

The third system (measures 19-24) features a vocal line (Vc.) with the lyrics: "senza fagotto". The vocal line is accompanied by the Violin, Viola, and Double Bass. The Violin parts play a melodic line with trills, while the Viola and Double Bass provide a rhythmic accompaniment. The vocal line is marked *p* (piano).

II, 7 'Passaggier che incerto errando'

19

Vln.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

do, sen - te l'e - co dal - lo spe - co che ri -

23

Vln.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

spen - de, che ri - spon - de, e fa il bo - sco ri - suo - nar,

II, 7 'Passagier che incerto errando'

Vln. ²⁷ *tr* *f* *p*
 Vln. I *f* *p*
 Vln. II *f* *p*
 Vla. *f* *p*
 Vc. ²⁷ [nar.] *f* *p*
 D.B. *f* *p*

Vln. ³¹ *tr* *f* *p*
 Vln. I *f* *p*
 Vln. II *f* *p*
 Vla. *f* *p*
 Vc. ³¹ *tr* *f* *p*
 D.B. *f* *p*

ri - suo - nar.

f tutti

Musical score for II, 7 'Passagier che incerto errando'. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for Violin (Vln.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Double Bass (D.B.). The second system includes staves for Violin (Vln.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Double Bass (D.B.). The score features various musical notations, including trills (*tr*), dynamics (*f*, *p*), and articulation (*f* tutti). The lyrics 'ri - suo - nar.' are written below the Vc. staff in the second system.

II, 7 'Passagier che incerto errando'

35

Vln. *f* *tr*

Vln. I *f* *tr* *p*

Vln. II *f* *tr* *p*

Vla. *f*

Vc. *f* *senza fagotto*

D.B. *f*

Pas - sag - gier che in - cer - to er - ran - do, che in -

39

Vln. *tr* *f*

Vln. I *f* *p*

Vln. II *f* *p*

Vla. *f*

Vc. *tr* *tr* *tr* *tr* *f* *p*

D.B. *f* *p*

cer - to er - ran - do, va chia - man - - - do dal - lo spe - co sen - te

II, 7 'Passagger che incerto errando'

44

Vln. *f* *p*

Vln. I *f* *p*

Vln. II *f* *p*

Vla. *f* *p*

Vc. *f* *p*

D.B. *f* *p*

l'e - co che ri - spon - de, che ri - spon - de, e fa il bo - sco ri - so -

48

Vln. *pp*

Vln. I *pp*

Vln. II *pp*

Vla. *pp*

Vc. *pp*

D.B. *pp*

nar

II, 7 'Passagger che incerto errando'

52

Vln.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

tr tr tr tr

ri - so - nar, sen - te l'e - co dal - lo spe - co che ri - spon - de,

57

Vln.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

f *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

che ri - spon - de, e fa il bo - sco ri - suo - nar,

II, 7 'Passagger che incerto errando'

69

Vln. *p* *f* *p*

Vln. I *p* *f* *p*

Vln. II *p* *f*

Vla.

Vc. *senza fagotto*

D.B.

Se poi qual - che pa - sto - rel - la lo rap - pel - la si con - fon - de, e sol cre - de al pri - mo in - gan -

73 *da capo*

Vln.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

no che lo se - gue ad in - sul - tar, ad in - sul - tar.

C 2: Aria sung by Nicolini

GB-Lam MS 82, fols. 54v-57v

I, 13 La sorte mia tiranna

Siroe, Venice 1726

L. Vinci
P. Metastasio

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Siroe

B.C.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Siroe

B.C.

La sor - te mia ti - ran - na, ti - ran - na, ti - ran - na, far - mi di più non

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Siroe

B.C.

può, nò, nò, non può. M'ac - cu - sa, e mi con - dan - na un em - pia, ed un ger - ma - no,

(simile)

I, 13 La sorte mia tiranna

13

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

f

f

f

f

l'a - mi - co, e il ge - ni - tor, *f* e il ge - ni - tor,

17

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

Ger - ma - no? ... Em - pia? A - mi - co? Ge - ni -

22

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

p

p

tor[?] Sor - te ti - ran - na, ti - ran - na[!] M'ac - cu - sa e mi con - dan - na un'

I, 13 La sorte mia tiranna

27

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

em - pia, ed un ger - ma - no, l'a - mi - co, il ge - ni - tor, l'a - mi - co,

B.C.

31

Fine

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

il ge - ni - tor.

B.C.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

O - gni soc - cor - so, e va - no, che più spe - rar, che più spe - rar non _

B.C.

I, 13 La sorte mia tiranna

39

Vln. I *p* *f* *p* *f*

Vln. II *p* *f* *p* *f*

Vla. *p* *f* *p* *f*

so per - che fe - del son' i - o, que - sto.è il de - lit - to mi - o,

B.C. *p* *f* *p* *f*

42 *da capo*

Vln. I *p* *f* *p*

Vln. II *p* *f* *p*

Vla. *p* *f* *p*

que - sto.è il de - lit - to mi - o, que - sto di - ven - ta.er - ror, di - ven - ta.er - ror.

B.C. *p* *f* *p*

C3: Trio sung by Farinelli, Merighi and Bernacchi

GB-Lbl Add. 16066, fols. 132v-171v

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

Antigona, Bologna 1727

G.M. Orlandini

B. Pasqualigo

Allegro

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Ceraste

Antigona

Osmene

B.C.

10

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

10

B.C.

10

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

21

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Do-po il nem-bo un bel se-re-no più gio-con-do in cie-lo ap-par,

B.C.

31

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

in cie-lo ap-par.

Vie-ni lie-to, o ca-ro, ca-ro spo-so,

B.C.

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

42

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

ca-ro, ca-ro spo-so, che più man - ca al tuo spe - rar, al tuo spe - rar.

Son noc - chier, ch'in mez - zo al por - to, in

B.C.

53

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

mez - zo al por - to non si — fi-da, — non si — fi-da an - cor del mar, —

B.C.

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

64

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

64

A voi — rie - de — o - ra la — sor - te, o - ra la — sor - te.

A noi — rie - de — o - ra — sor - te, o - ra la — sor - te.

an - cor del mar.

B.C.

75

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

75

Nò, che tem - po è da go - der, è tem - po

Nò, che tem - po è da go - der, è tem - po

ad libitum

Ah, che trop - po, trop - po è da te - mer, è da te - mer, ah! è

B.C.

a tempo

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

85

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Vla.

85

da go - der.

da go - der. O ca - ro, ca - ro spo - so,

da te - mer.

85

B.C.

95

Vln. I *(mf)*

Vln. II *(mf)*

Vla. *(mf)*

95

Nò, che tem-po.è da go - der, è da go - der, è tem-po da go - der,

ca-ro, ca-ro spo-so! Nò, che tem-po.è da go - der, è da go - der, è tem-po da go - der,

Son noc - chier, che in mez - zo al por-to, ah! è da te - mer

95

B.C. *(mf)*

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

106

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

106

nò, nò, nò, nò, è da go - der è da go - der.

nò, nò, nò, nò, nò. Vie - ni lie - to, lie - to, lie - to!

ah! ah! ah! ah! è da te - mer, è da te - mer, è trop-po da te -

B.C.

118

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

118

Nò, è tem - po da go - der, da go - der, è tem - po da go - der, è tem - po da go - der, è da go - der.

Nò, è tem - po da go - der, da go - der, è tem - po da go - der, è tem - po da go - der, è da go - der.

mer, ah! è da te - mer, è da te - mer, è da te - mer.

B.C.

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

128 *Fine*

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

137

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.C.

Lie - ti an - diam, vi chia - ma il

Tu la man mi por - gi, o ca - ro.

La tua ba - cio, i - do - lo a ma - to.

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

148

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

148

fa - to, fi - da cop - pia, og - gi a re - gnar, og - gi a re -

B.C.

148

158

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

158

gnar, gra-zie ad' a - mo - re.

Gra-zie al ciel.

Gra-zie a te, che il cor mi strin - gi, e il puoi so - la - ral - le - grar,

B.C.

158

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

169

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

169

Tu al cor sei — gio-ia, e pia -

ral - le - grar.

B.C.

179

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

179

f *p*

f *p*

f *p*

Ve-ro a - mor tan-to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, ve - ro a-mor — tan - to ha po-

cer, — gio-a, e pia - cer, tu al cor sei gio-ia, e pia - cer, gio-ia, e pia - cer, gio-ia, e pia - cer, sei al cor gio - a, e pia-

Ver-ro a - mor tan-to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, ve - ro a - mor tan - to ha po-

B.C.

f *p*

III, 13 Dopo il nembo un bel sereno

189 *da capo*

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

189

ter, tan-to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, ve - ro a - mor, _____ tan - to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, tan - to ha po - ter.

cer, gio - ia, e pia - cer, gio - ia, e pia - cer, sei al cor gio - ia, e pia - cer, gio - ia, e pia - cer, gio - ia, e pia - cer.

ter, tan-to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, ve - ro a - mor tan - to ha po - ter, tan-to ha po - ter, tan - to ha po - ter.

189

B.C.

Appendix D: Farinelli-Giacomelli: 'Quel usignolo' (1753)¹

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19111 No. 1

N.º J.º

ARIA

Violini

Viola

Voce

Basso

5

¹ Autograph, Carlo Broschi Farinelli.

10

Musical score for measures 10-13. The score is written on six staves. The first staff contains the main melodic line, starting with a *for* dynamic marking. The second staff features a complex rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth notes. The third and fourth staves are mostly empty, with some rests. The fifth staff contains a bass line with some sixteenth-note patterns. The sixth staff is empty.

14

Musical score for measures 14-17. The score is written on six staves. The first staff contains a melodic line with a *for* dynamic marking. The second staff has a complex rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth notes and some double bar lines. The third and fourth staves are mostly empty, with some rests. The fifth staff contains a bass line with some sixteenth-note patterns. The sixth staff is empty.

19

Colta pe

p

pp

B

Quell'usignolo che innamora

L.^o

Detailed description: This page of the musical score contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with the lyrics 'Colta pe'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line, starting with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The third and fourth staves continue the piano accompaniment, with a 'B' marking in the third staff. The fifth staff is a vocal line with the lyrics 'Quell'usignolo che innamora'. The piece concludes with a 'L.^o' (Lento) marking.

22

Asuo
Pincere

to.

to, secari

ta solo, tra

Detailed description: This page of the musical score contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with the lyrics 'Asuo Pincere'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment line, starting with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The third and fourth staves continue the piano accompaniment, with a 'to.' marking in the second staff. The fifth staff is a vocal line with the lyrics 'to, secari' and 'ta solo, tra'. The piece concludes with a 'to.' marking.

26

fronda e fronda spiega del fato la cru- della

This page contains a musical score for page 26. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics "fronda e fronda spiega del fato la cru- della". The piano part consists of arpeggiated chords and rhythmic patterns. The score is written on a grand staff with treble and bass clefs.

30

Quell' usignolo si canta

This page contains a musical score for page 30. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics "Quell' usignolo si canta". The piano part consists of arpeggiated chords and rhythmic patterns. The score is written on a grand staff with treble and bass clefs.

33

9

Solo spiega del fatto la Crudelta!

This page contains the first system of a musical score, spanning measures 1 through 8. It features a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "Solo spiega del fatto la Crudelta!". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments. A box containing the number "33" is located at the top left of the page. A small number "9" is written in the top right corner.

Cadenza
la
crudelta!

37

la *crudel* *ta!*

This page contains the second system of the musical score, spanning measures 9 through 16. It begins with a "Cadenza" section for the vocal line, featuring a complex melodic line with many ornaments. The lyrics "la crudelta!" are written below the notes. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and rhythmic patterns. A box containing the number "37" is located in the middle of the page. The lyrics "la crudel ta!" are written at the bottom of the page.

41

Musical score for page 41, measures 41-45. The score consists of five staves. The first staff contains the vocal line with lyrics: "Quell' usignolo che innamorà." The second staff contains a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third staff contains a piano accompaniment with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff contains a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fifth staff contains a piano accompaniment with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

45

Musical score for page 45, measures 46-50. The score consists of five staves. The first staff contains the vocal line with lyrics: "col pe". The second staff contains a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third staff contains a piano accompaniment with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff contains a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The fifth staff contains a piano accompaniment with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

48

Musical score for page 48, featuring vocal and instrumental staves. The lyrics are: *Solo Solo Solo tra fronda e fronda tra fronda e fronda.*

52

Musical score for page 52, featuring vocal and instrumental staves. The lyrics are: *Spiega del fato la Crudelia!*

55

Musical score for measures 55-58. The score consists of five staves. The first staff contains a melodic line with slurs and a fermata. The second staff contains a bass line with a fermata. The third staff features a complex, rapid sixteenth-note passage. The fourth and fifth staves provide harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

59

Musical score for measures 59-62. The score consists of five staves. The first two staves show a melodic line with slurs. The third staff contains a very dense and fast sixteenth-note passage. The fourth and fifth staves provide harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

63

Musical score for page 63. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has two staves, and the second system has four staves. The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics "la Cruel - la" are written below the bottom staff of the second system. There are various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *for*.

66

Musical score for page 66. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has two staves, and the second system has four staves. The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The lyrics "Quell' usigno lo, Che innamorato" are written below the bottom staff of the second system. There are various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *lo.* and *for*.

70

Musical score for page 70, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The score is written on five staves. The vocal line is on the top staff, and the piano accompaniment is on the bottom four staves. The music is in a minor key and features a complex rhythmic pattern. The lyrics are: *tra fronda e fronda se can ta solo spiega del*.

74

Musical score for page 74, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The score is written on five staves. The vocal line is on the top staff, and the piano accompaniment is on the bottom four staves. The music is in a minor key and features a complex rhythmic pattern. The lyrics are: *fato la cru = delta*.

77

Allegretto
cruel-ta
for
la crudel-ta
for

81

Moderato
S'ode pie

86

Allegro
sere *so.*

so nel bosco, Ombroso, nel bosco, ombro *so.*

94

chi gli risponde chi gli risponde con Ticto

99

Core di ramo iiramo Cantan

105

do un Con. fiato

111

Ho! Piacere

So.

Core nel bosco ombro

So.

Can =

117

Cadenza

Cantando

dona!

tan do na Cantando na de

Selected Bibliography

Reference

Languages

- Altieri, F. *Dizionario italiano ed inglese*, 2nd ed. London: William Innys, 1749.
- Coles, Elisha. *A Dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English*. London: Collins, 1711.
- Ebers, John. *The New and Complete Dictionary of the German and English Languages*. 3 volumes. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel [sic], 1796-99.
- Florio, John. *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611) [Italian-English dictionary], facsimile print. Menston: Scholar Press Limited, 1968.
- Veneroni. *Dictionnaire italien et françois*. 2 volumes. Venice: Malaquin [Malachini], 1731.

16th- to 19th-Century Sources

(including 17th- and 18th-century editions of ancient sources as well as modern facsimile prints and editions of 17th-19th-century documents)

- Addison, Joseph. *The Spectator*. No. 405 (14 June 1712).
- Addison, Joseph. *The Spectator*. No. 13 (15 March 1710-11).
- Algarotti, Francesco. *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica*. Venice, 1755.
- Angiolini, Gasparo. *Dissertation sur les ballets pantomimes des anciens*. Vienna: von Trattner, 1765.
- Anonymous [attributed to Teresa Constantia Muilman]. *The happy courtezan: or, the prude demolish'd. An epistle from the celebrated Mrs. C- P-, to the angelick Signior Far--n—li*. London, 1735.
- Anonymous. 'Notizie intorno la vita e gli studj del Sig. Abate Conti.' Introduction to Antonio Conti, *Prose e Poesie*, 1-108. Venice: Pasquali, 1756.
- Aristotle. *Rettorica d'Aristotele fatta in lingua toscana*. Translated by Annibal Caro. Venice: Bassaglia, 1732.
- Arteaga, Stefano. *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente*. Revised 2nd ed. Venice: Palese, 1785.
- Austin, Gilbert. *Chironomia: or a Treatise on Rhetorical Delivery: comprehending many precepts, both ancient and modern, for the proper regulation of the Voice, the Countenance, and Gesture. Together with an Investigation of the Elements of Gesture, and a New Method for the Notation thereof; illustrated by many figures*. London: Cadell and Davies, 1806.
- Baretti, Joseph. *A Journey from London to Genoa Through England, Portugal, Spain and France*. 2 vols. London: Davies, 1770.
- Bianchi, Giovanni Antonio. *De i vizi, e de i difetti del moderno Teatro e del modo di correggerli e d'emendarli ragionamenti VI*. Rome: Pallade [Pagliarini], 1753.
- Bisso, Giambatista. *Introduzione alla volgar poesia*. 3rd revised edition. Venice: Orlandelli, 1788.

- Blair, Hugo. *Lezioni di rettorica e belle lettere*. Translated by Francesco Soave. 4th edition. 3 vols. Venice: Foresti e Bettinelli, 1819.
- Bonlini, Giovanni Carlo. *Le glorie della poesia, e della musica contenute dell'esatta notizia della città di Venezia*. Venice: Bonarigo, 1730.
- Bontempi, Giovanni Andrea Angelini. *Historia musica*. Perugia: Costantini, 1695.
- Broschi Farinelli, Carlo. *La solitudine amica: lettere al conte Sicinio Pepoli*. Ed. Carlo Vitali. Palermo : Sellerio, 2000.
- Brosses, Charles de. *Lettres historiques et critiques sùr l'Italie*. 3 vols. Paris: Ponthieu, 1799.
- Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music From the Earliest to the Present Period*, Vol. 4. London: Burney, 1789.
- Burney, Charles. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio in which are incorporated Translations of his Principle Letters*. 3 vols. London: Robinson, 1796.
- Burney, Charles. *Music, Men and Manners in France and Italy, 1770: Being the Journal Written by Charles Burney during a Tour through Those Countries*, edited by Herbert Edmond Poole. London: Folio Society, 1969.
- Burney, Charles. *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*. London: Beckett and Strand, 1773.
- Cibber, Colley. *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian and Late Patentee of the Theatre-Royal. With a Historical View of the Stage during his Own Time*. London: Dodsley, 1740.
- Conforto, Giovanni Luca. *Breve e facile maniera d'essercitarsi ad ogni scolaro*. Rome, 1592. I-Bc B60 667.
- Conti, Antonio Schinella. *Il Cesare, tragedia del Signor Abate Antonio Conti con alcune cose concernenti l'opera medesima*. Faenza: Archi, Gioseffantonio.
- Conti, Antonio Schinella. *Lettere da Venezia a Madame la Comtesse de Caylus, 1727-1729*. Fondazione Cini, Venice, Linea Veneta 17. Edited by Sylvie Mamy. Florence: Olschki, 2003.
- Conti, Antonio Schinella. *Prose e Poesie*, 109-125. Venezia: Pasquali, 1756.
- de' Crescimbeni, Giovanni Mario. *La bellezza della volgar poesia*. Rome: Buagni, 1700.
- Davies, Thomas. *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq. Interspersed with Characters and Anecdotes of his Contemporaries. The Whole Forming a History of the Stage which includes a Period of Thirty-Six Years*. 2 vols. London: Davies, 1784.
- Descartes, René. *Les passions de l'âme*. Amsterdam: Louys Elzevier, 1650.
- Fétis, François-Joseph. 'Broschi (Charles).' *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*. Reprint of the 2nd edition (1875), 2:82-88. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963.
- Fontanini, Giusto. *Della eloquenza italiana*. Rome: Gonzaga, 1706.
- Francavilla, Tomaso Luigi. *Il novizzo a scuola. Fiori di rettorica, cioè è scelte massime per l'arte oratoria*. Venice: Poletti, 1692.
- Galeazzi, Francesco. *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica*. 2 vols. Rome: Cracas, 1796.
- Goldoni, Carlo. *Mémoires de M. Goldoni, pour servir a l'histoire de sa vie, et a celle de son théâtre*. 2 vols. Paris: Duchesne, 1787.
- Gravina, Gianvincenzo. *Della ragion poetica*. Rome: Gonzaga, 1708.

- Gravina, Gianvincenzo. *Della Tragedia*. Naples: Naso, 1715.
- Gravina, Gianvincenzo. *Prose*. Edited by Paolo Emiliani-Giudici. Florence: Barbèra, Bianchi e Comp., 1857.
- Gresset, John-Baptiste-Louis. *Discours sur l'harmonie*. Paris: Le Clerc, 1737.
- Grossi, G.B.G. 'Carlo Broschi detto Farinelli.' *Biografia degli uomini illustri del regno di Napoli*. Vol. 6. Edited by Nicola Gervasi. Naples: Gervasi, 1819.
- Hiller, Johann Adam. *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musiker und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*. Leipzig, 1784.
- Hiller, Johann Adam. *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*. 5 vols. Leipzig 1766-1770.
- [Latini, Bruno]. *L'etica d'Artistotile e la tettorica di M. Tullio aggiuntovi il libro de' costumi di Catone*. [Translated by Bruno Latini.] Florence: Manni, 1734.
- Lee, Vernon [Violet Paget]. *Studies of the 18th Century in Italy*. London: W. Satchell, 1880.
- de Maligny, B. [Aristippe]. *Théorie de l'art du comédien*. Paris: Leroux, 1826.
- Mancini, Giambattista. *Riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato*. Vienna, 1774.
- Mancini, Giambattista. *Riflessioni pratiche sul canto figurato*, 3rd revised, corrected and enlarged edition, Milan 1777, facsimile print. Bologna: Forni, 1996.
- Marcello, Benedetto. *Il teatro alla moda*. Venice, 1720.
- Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*. 5 vols. Berlin 1754-78.
- Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1760-64.
- Martello, Pier Jacopo. *Della tragedia antica e moderna*. Bologna: dalla Volpe, 1735.
- Martini, Giovanni Battista. *Storia della Musica*. 3 vols. Bologna, 1757, 1770 and 1781.
- Mattheson, Johann. *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*. Hamburg: Herold, 1739.
- Metastasio, Pietro. *Drammi*. 12 vols. Paris: Hérissant, 1780-82.
- Metastasio, Pietro. *Estratto dell'arte poetica d'Aristotile*. Paris: Hérissant, 1782.
- Muratori, Lodovico. *Della perfetta poesia italiana*. Modena: Soliani, 1706.
- Noverre, Jean-Jacques. *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets*. Lyon: Delaroche, 1760.
- Lodovico Muratori. *Riflessioni sopra il buon gusto*. Venice, Pavina 1708.
- Perucci, Andrea. *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso*. Edited by Anton Giulio Bragaglia. Florence: Sansoni, 1961.
- Pickering, Roger. *Reflections Upon Theatrical Expression In Tragedy*. London: Johnston, 1755.
- Quantz, Johann Joachim. 'Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen.' *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpur, 197-250. Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützen's selige Wittwe, 1754.
- Riccoboni, Luigi. *Réflexions Historiques et Critiques sùr les Différentes Théâtres de l'Europe*. Paris: Guerin, 1738.
- Sacchi, Giovenale. *Vita di Don Carlo Broschi detto il Farinello* [1784]. Edited by Alessandro Abbate. Napoli: Pagano, 1994.
- Scheibe, Johann Adolph. *Der critische Musikus*. Hamburg: Beneke, 1745.
- Serra, Giannangelo. *Compendio della rettorica*. Second edition. Venice: Bortoli, 1756.
- Sharp, Samuel. *Letters from Italy, Describing the Customs and Manners of That Country*. London: Henry and Cave, 1766.

- Siddons, H. *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action, adapted to the English Drama from a Work on the Subject by M. Engel*. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1826.
- Soave, Francesco. *Istituzioni di rettorica, e belle lettere, tratte delle lezioni di Blair*. 3 vols. Naples: de Bonis, 1815.
- Steele, John. *The Tatler*, No. 115 (3 January 1709-10).
- Tosi, Peter Franz [Pier Francesco]. *Anleitung zur Singekunst*. Translated by Johann Friedrich Agricola. Berlin: Winter, 1757.
- Tosi, Pier Francesco. *Observations on the Florid Song or, Sentiments on the ancient and modern Singers*. Translated by John Ernest Galliard. London: Wilcox, 1743.
- Tosi, Pier Francesco. *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni, o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato*. Bologna: dalla Volpe, 1723.
- von Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad. *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*. 3 vols. Ulm: Gaumische Handlung, 1754.
- Walker, John. *Elements of the Art of Elocution. Being the Substance of a Course of Lectures on the Art of Reading*. London: Walker, 1781.
- Ward, John. *A System of Oratory delivered in a Course of Lectures Publicly Read at Gresham College, London*. 2 vols. London: Ward, 1759.
- Zeno, Apostolo. *Lettere di A. Z., Cittadino veneziano Istorico e Poeta Cesareo*. Venezia, 1752.
- Zeno, Apostolo and Pietro Pariati. *Poesie drammatiche di Apostolo Zeno*. Vol. 9. Orléans: Couret de Villeneuve, 1786.

Libretti

- Anonymous. *Antigona*. Milano 1732. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 06071/003.
- Anonymous. *Orfeo*. Venice 1702. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 00367.
- Anonymous. *Semiramide regina dell'Assiria*. Bergamo 1678. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 01348.
- Broschi, Riccardo. *Bradamante nell'isola d'Alcina*. Parma 1729. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 02178.
- Gasparini, Francesco. *Merope*. Venice 1711. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 03056.
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald. *Demofonte*. Milano 1742. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 00654.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Arminio*. Milano 1730. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 06040.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Artaserse*, Verona 1733. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 03487.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Cajo Fabricio*. Venice 1735. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 00748.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Demetrio*. Venice 1732. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 00456.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Demetrio*. Verona 1733. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 02227.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Euristeo*. Lubljana 1733. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 03621, *I-Bc Lo.*2489.
- Jommelli, Nicolò. *Demofonte*. Padova 1743. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 04493.
- Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria. *Antigona*. Venice 1718. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 02267.
- Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria. *Antigona*. Venice 1721. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 00815.
- Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria. *Antigona*. Venice 1724. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 00814.
- Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria. *Berenice*. Milan 1728. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 0639.
- Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria. *L'innocenza difesa*. Verona 1714. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 03584.
- Pollaroli, Antonio. *Lucio Papirio dittatore*. Venice 1721. *I-Mb Racc. Dramm.* 03264.
- Porpora, Nicola. *Germanico in Germania*. Rome 1732. *I-Bc Lo.*4332.

- Porpora, Nicola. *Meride e Seliunte*. Venice 1744. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 03237.
- Porta, Giovanni. *Farnace*. Munich 1740. *D-Mbs* Bavar.4015-16, 1/4#Cah.1.
- Sandoni, Francesco, arr. *Adriano in Siria*. Genova 1734. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 01451.
- Sarri, Domenico Natale. *L'Endimione*. 1721. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 04224.
- Sartorio, Antonio. *Orfeo*. Venice 1673. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 0997.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Artaserse*. Rome 1730. *I-Vc* ROL.0650.08.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Artaserse*. Milan 1731. *I-Lurago Sormani*.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Catone in Utica*. Rome 1729. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 04201.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Didone abbandonata*. Rome 1726. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 02297.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Semiramide riconosciuta*. Rome 1729. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 03381.
- Vinci, Leonardo (*pasticcio*). *Artaserse*. Naples 1738. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 00658.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *Adelaide*. Verona 1735. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 04198.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *Farnace*. Venice 1726. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 02920.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *Olimpiade*. Venice 1734. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 03254.
- Vivaldi, Antonio, arr. *Il Tamerlano*. Verona 1735. *I-Mb* Racc. Dramm. 03653.

Scores

- Handel, George Frideric. *Werke*. Edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Chrysander. Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1858-94.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. 'Non ha più pace l'amor geloso.' *Cajo Fabricio*, Rome 1732. *I-Nc* Cantate 156.13.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Artaserse*. Dresden 1740. *D-Hs* M A/1568.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Attalo*. Naples 1728. *D-Hs* ND VI 2930.
- Hasse, Johann Adolf. *Leucippo*. Venice 1749. *I-Nc* Rari 7.4.18.
- Jommelli, Nicolò. *Cajo Mario*. Milan 1765. *I-Nc* Rari 7.7.8.
- Jommelli, Nicolò. *Demetrio*. Parma 1769. *I-Nc* Rari 1.6.34.
- Leo, Leonardo. *Andromaca*. Naples 1742. *I-Nc* Rari 1.6.16.
- Leo, Leonardo. *Ciro riconosciuto*. Turin 1739. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.2.
- Leo, Leonardo. *Demetrio*. Castello di Torremaggiore 1735? *I-Mc* Nosedà F92.
- Leo, Leonardo et al. *Demofonte*. Naples 1735 *I-Nc* Rari 7.7.21.
- Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista. *L'Olimpiade*. Rome 1735. *F-Pn* R.2002.452.1.
- Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista. *Adriano in Siria*. Naples 1734. *I-Nc* Rari 7.5.19.
- Porpora, Nicola. *Germanico in Germania*. Rome 1732. *I-Rsc* 12.A.15.
- Sarri, Domenico Natale. *Arsace*. Naples 1718. *I-Nc* Rari 7.2.2.
- Sarri, Domenico Natale. *Berenice*. Naples 1732. *I-Nc* Rari 7.2.4.
- Sarri, Domenico Natale. *Didone*. Naples 1730. *I-Nc* Rari 7.2.5.
- Sarri, Domenico Natale. *Le gare generose*. Naples 1706. *I-Nc* Rari 7.2.7.
- Sarri, Domenico Natale. *Valdemaro*. Rome 1726. *I-Nc* Rari 7.2.13.
- Scarlatti, Alessandro. *La caduta de' decemviri*. Naples 1697. *I-Nc* Rari 6.7.15.
- Scarlatti, Alessandro. *Cambise*. Naples 1719. *I-Nc* Rari 6.7.24.
- Scarlatti, Alessandro. *Muzio Scevola*. Naples 1698. *I-Nc* Rari 7.1.7.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Alessandro nell'Indie*. Rome 1729. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.11.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Artaserse*. Rome 1730. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.12.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Artaserse*. Rome 1730. *I-Vnm* 9815.

- Vinci, Leonardo. *La caduta de' decemviri*. Naples 1727. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.14.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Catone in Utica*. Rome 1728. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.15 and *D-Müs* Santini Hs 4241.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Ernelinda*. Naples 1726. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.17.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Semiramide riconosciuta*. Rome 1729. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.18.
- Vinci, Leonardo (*pasticcio*). *Siface*. Napoli 1734. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.19.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Silla dittatore*. Naples 1723. *I-Nc* Rari 7.3.20.
- Vinci, Leonardo. *Siroe*. Venice 1726. GB-Lam MS 82.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *La Griselda*, RV 718. Venice 1735. *Italian Opera 1640-1770*. Series editor Howard Mayer Brown. Facsimile print of *I-Tn* MS Foà 36. New York and London: Garland 1978.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *L'Olimpiade*, RV 725. Venice 1734. *I-Tn*.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *L'Orlando furioso*, RV 728. Venice 1727. *I-Tn*.
- Vivaldi, Antonio. *La Sen[n]a festeggiante*, RV 693. Venice 1726. *I-Tn*.

20th - and 21st Century Books

- Ariès, Philippe and Roger Chartier, eds. *A History of Private Life. Volume 3: Passions of the Renaissance*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Aspden, Suzanne. *The Rival Sirens. Performance and Identity on Handel's Operatic Stage*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Auslander, Philip. *Performance: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Austin, John Langshaw. *How To Do Things With Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Barbier, Patrick. *Farinelli. Der Kastrat der Könige*. Düsseldorf: ECON, 1995.
- Barbier, Patrick. *Histoire des Castrats*. Paris: Grasset, 1989.
- Barnett, Dene. *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th-Century Acting*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1987.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo and Giorgio Pestelli, eds. *Geschichte der italienischen Oper*. Volumes 4-6. Laaber: Laaber, 1990-92.
- Bohlmann, Philip V. 'Musicology as a Political Act.' *The Journal of Musicology* 11/ 4 (Autumn, 1993): 411-436.
- Bouvier, René. *Farinelli, le chanteur des Rois*. Paris: Michel, 1943.
- Bucciarelli, Melania. *Italian Opera and European Theatre, 1680-1720: Plots, Performers, Dramaturgies*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- Bucciarelli, Melania and Berta Joncus, eds. *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honor of Reinhard Strohm*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007.
- Buelow, George J., ed. *Man and Music: The Late Baroque Era*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993.
- Burrows, Donald. *Handel*. The Master Musicians Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Celletti, Rodolfo. *A History of Belcanto*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

- Cappelletto, Sandro. *La voce perduta: vita di Farinelli evirato cantore*. Torino: EDT, 1995.
- Cicali, Gianni. *Attori e ruoli nell'opera buffa italiana del Settecento*. Storia dello spettacolo 9 Saggi. Florence: Le Lettere, 2005.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *De Inventione* (c. 87 BC). Translated by H.M. Hubbell. London: Heinemann, 1949.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *De oratore*, Vol. II. Revised edition. Translated by H. Rackham, The Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann, 1948; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948.
- Cotticelli, Francesco and Paologiovanni Maione. *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli durante il Viceregno Austriaco (1707-1734)*. Naples: Luciano, 1993.
- Dean, Winton. *Handel's Operas 1726-1741*. Woodbridge, UK, Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006.
- Dean, Winton and Merrill Knapp. *Handel's Operas 1704-1726*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Dorris, George E. *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London, 1715-1744*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton: 1967.
- Dreyfus, Laurence. *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Feldman, Martha. *Opera and Sovereignty. Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- Freeman, Robert. *Opera Without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera, 1675-1725*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- Fumaroli, Marc. *Héros et Orateurs. Rhétorique et dramaturgie cornéliennes*. Geneva: Droz, 1990.
- Gibson, Elizabeth. *The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728. The Institution and Its Directors*. New York and London: Garland, 1989.
- Gillio, Pier Giuseppe. *L'attività negli ospedali di Venezia nel Settecento. Quadro storico e materiali documentari*. Florence: Olschki, 2006.
- Gjerdingen, Robert O. *Music in the Galant Style. Being an Essay on Various Schemata Characteristic of Eighteenth-Century Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Goring, Paul. *The rhetoric of sensibility in 18th century culture*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Goldin, Daniela. *La vera Fenice: Librettisti e libretti fra sette e ottocento*. Turin: Einaudi, 1985.
- Griffin, Thomas. *Musical References in the Gazzetta di Napoli 1681-1725*. Berkeley: Fallen Leaf Press, 1993.
- Haböck, Franz. *Die Gesangskunst der Kastraten. I. Notenband: Carlo Broschi Farinelli: eine Stimmbiographie in Beispielen*. Wien: Universal-Edition, 1923.
- Haböck, Franz. *Die Kastraten und ihre Gesangskunst*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1927.
- Hall, Rupert. *Isaac Newton. Adventurer in thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hawcroft, Michael. *Rhetoric: Readings in French Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

- Hawcroft, Michael. *Word as action. Racine, rhetoric and theatrical language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Haynes, Bruce. *A History of Performing Pitch – The Story of “A”*. Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002.
- Heartz, Daniel. *Music in European Capitals. The Galant Style 1720-1780*. New York and London: Norton, 2003.
- Heriot, Angus. *The Castrati in Opera*. London: Calder Publications, 1956.
- Herr, Corinna. *Gesang gegen die ‘Ordnung der Natur’? Kastraten und Falsettisten in der Musikgeschichte*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013.
- Herr, Corinna. *Medeas Zorn. Eine ‘starke Frau’ in Opern des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Herbolzheim: Centaurus, 2000.
- Hill, John Walter. *The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1979.
- Holmes, William C. *Opera Observed: Views of a Florentine Impresario in the Early Eighteenth Century*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993.
- Kamen, Henry. *Philip V of Spain. The King Who Reignd Twice*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Kirkpatrick, Ralph. *Domenico Scarlatti*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Korsmeier, Claudia Maria. *Der Sänger Giovanni Carestini (1700-1760) und ‘seine’ Komponisten*. Eisenach: Verlag der Musikhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 2000.
- Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex. Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- LaRue, C. Steven. *Handel and His Singers. The Creation of the Royal Academy Operas, 1720-1728*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Le Huray, Peter and James Day, eds. *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Mamy, Sylvie. *La musique à Venise et l’imaginaire français des Lumières: d’après les sources vénitiennes conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale de France*. Paris : Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1996.
- Mamy, Sylvie. *Les grands castrats napolitains à Venise au XVIIIe siècle*. Liège: Mardaga, 1994.
- Marchese, Angelo. *dizionario di retorica e di stilistica. arte e artificio nell’uso delle parole - retorica, stilistica, metrica, teoria della letteratura*. 4th edition. Milan: Mondadori, 1984.
- Markstrom, Kurt Sven. *The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano*. Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2007.
- McGeary, Thomas. *The Politics of Opera in Handel’s Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- McVeigh, Simon and Jehoash Hirshberg. *The Italian Solo Concerto, 1700-1760: Rhetorical Strategies and Style Histories*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2004.
- Metastasio, Pietro. *Tutte le opere*. Edited by Bruno Brunelli. 5 vols. Milan: Mondadori, 1943-54.
- Milhous, Judith and Robert D. Hume. *A Register of English Theatrical Documents*. Vol. 2: 1714-1737. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991.

- Millner, Frederick. *The Operas of Johann Adolf Hasse*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1974.
- Moindrot, Isabelle. *L'opera seria ou le règne des castrats*. Paris: Fayard, 1993.
- Moore, Allan F. *Rock: The Primary Text. Developing a Musicology of Rock*. London: Ashgate, 2001
- Ortkemper, Hubert. *Engel wider Willen. Die Welt der Kastraten. Eine andere Operngeschichte*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuchverlag/Bärenreiter, 1995.
- Pelosi, Francesco. *Plato on Music, Body and Soul*. Translated by Sophie Henderson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Peterson, Roger, Guy Mountfort and P.A.D. Hollom. *Die Vögel Europas*, 12th edition. Berlin and Hamburg: Paul Parey, 1974.
- Potter, John. *Vocal Authority. Singing Style and Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Potter, John and Neil Sorrell. *A History of Singing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Reilly, Kara. *Automata and Mimesis on the Stage of Theatre History*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Rice, John. *Mozart on the Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Roach, Joseph R. *The Player's Passion. Studies in the Science of Acting*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
- Robinson, Michael F. *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Rosselli, John. *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Sala di Felice, Elena. *Metastasio – Ideologia, drammaturgia, spettacolo*. Milano, 1983.
- Sala di Felice, Elena. *Sogni e favole in sen del vero. Metastasio ritrovato*. Rome: Aracne, 2008.
- Sartori, Claudio. *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*. 5 vols. Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990-94.
- Scarpa Sonino, Annalisa. *Jacopo Amigoni*. Soncino: Edizioni del Soncino, 1994.
- Schmidt-Hensel, Roland Dieter. “*La musica è del Signor Hasse detto il Sassone... “*. *Johann Adolf Hasses ‘Opere serie‘ der Jahre 1730 bis 1745*. 2 Vols. Göttingen: v&r unipress, 2009.
- Schnoebelen, Ann. *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna*. New York: Pendragon Press, 1979.
- Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. *A New Chronology of Venetian Operas and Related Genres, 1660-1760*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. *Song and Season. Science, Culture and Theatrical Time in Early Modern Venice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.
- Somerset-Ward, Richard. *Angels and Monsters: Male and Female Sopranos in the Story of Opera 1600-1900*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Strohm, Reinhard. *Dramma per musica: Italian Opera of the Eighteenth Century*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Strohm, Reinhard. *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Strohm, Reinhard. *Die italienische Oper im 18. Jahrhundert*. Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1979.

- Strohm, Reinhard. *Italianische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*. 2 vols. *Analecta musicologica* 16. Cologne: Volk, 1976.
- Strohm, Reinhard. *The Operas of Antonio Vivaldi*. 2 vols. Florence: Olschki, 2008.
- Svensson, Lars, Killian Mullarney and Dan Zetterström. *Der Kosmos-Vogelführer*. 2nd edition. Stuttgart: Franckh-Kosmos-Verlag, 2011.
- Talbot, Michael. *The Finale in Western Instrumental Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Talbot, Michael, ed. *The Musical Work – Reality or Invention?* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.
- Tateo, Francesco, ed. *Partenope in scena. Studi sul teatro meridionale tra Seicento e Ottocento*. Bari: Cacuci, 2007.
- Valeri, Chiara. *Metrica e retorica*. Florence: Uniedit, 1977.
- Verdi, Luigi, ed. *Il Farinelli e gli evirati cantori*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in occasione delle manifestazioni per 300° anniversario della nascita di Carlo Broschi detto il Farinelli. Lucca, 2007.
- Verdi, Luigi, ed. *Il fantasma del Farinelli*. Centro Studi Farinelli (1998-2003), Saggi e Conferenze. Lucca, 2005.
- Villari, Rosario, ed. *L'uomo barocco*. Economica 142. Bari: Laterza, 1998.
- Weaver, Robert Lamar and Norma Wright Weaver. *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theater, 1590-1750*. Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, No. 38. Detroit, Michigan: Information Coordinators, 1978.
- West, Shearer. *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Wood, Gillen D'Arcy. *Romanticism and Music Culture in Britain, 1770-1840: Virtue and Virtuosity*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Woodfield, Ian. *Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London. The King's Theatre, Garrick and the Business of Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Woyke, Saskia Maria. *Faustina Bordoni. Biographie-Vokalprofil-Rezeption*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010.

Articles

- Aspden, Suzanne. "‘An Infinity of Factions’": Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society'. *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9/1 (Mar., 1997): 1-19.
- Aspden, Suzanne. 'Ariadne's Clew: Politics, Allegory, and Opera in London (1734)'. *The Musical Quarterly* 85/4 (2001): 735-770.
- Belcastro, Maria Giovanna et al. 'Hyperostosis frontalis interna (HFI) and castration: the case of the famous singer Farinelli (1705-1782)'. *Journal of Anatomy* 219 (2011): 632-637.
- Bergeron, Katherine. 'The castrato as history.' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8/2 (1996): 167-184.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo. 'Condizione Sociale e intellettuale del Musicista di Teatro ai Tempi di Vivaldi.' In *Antonio Vivaldi, Teatro Musicale e Società*. Edited by L. Bianconi e G. Morelli, 369-388. Firenze: Olschki, 1982.

- Boris, Francesca and Giampiero Cammarota. 'La collezione di Carlo Broschi detto Farinelli.' *Accademia Clementina: Atti e memorie* 27 (1990): 183-237.
- Brandenburg, Irene. "Für die Singstimme mehr in den natürlichen Tönen der menschlichen Empfindungen zu schreiben." Glucks Kastratenpartien im Kontext der Opernreform. "Per ben vestir la virtuosa." *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*, 130-150. Edited by Daniel Brandenburg and Thomas Seedorf. Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011.
- Brandt, Stefan. "...um die Oper der Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums noch würdiger zu machen." Zum Einfluß des sängerischen Personals auf Arienkompositionen bei Porpora und Händel. *Barocktheater heute. Wiederentdeckungen zwischen Wissenschaft und Bühne. Literalität und Liminalität*, Vol. 7. Edited by Nicola Gess, Tina Hartmann and Robert Sollich, 105-120. Bielefeld: transcript, 2008.
- Candiani, Rosy. 'Sull'epistolario di Pietro Metastasio: note e inediti,' *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 169,1 (1992): 49-64.
- Grazia Carbonella. 'Matteo Sassani, il rosignolo di Napoli.' *La Capitanata* 21 (June 2007): 235-260.
- Celletti, Rodolfo. 'La vocalità al tempo del Tosi.' *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 3 (1967): 676-84.
- Cervantes, Xavier. "'Let'em Deck Their Verses with Farinelli's Name': Farinelli as a Satirical Trope in English Poetry and Verse of the 1730s." *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28/3 Farinelli (2005): 421-436.
- Cervantes, Xavier. "'Tuneful monsters": the castrati and the London operatic public 1667-1737.' *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 13 (1998): 1-24.
- Ciliberti, Galliano. 'Ferri, Baldassare.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09539> (accessed January 24, 2014).
- Clapton, Nicholas. 'Carlo Broschi Farinelli: Aspects of his Technique and Performance.' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28/3 Farinelli (2005): 323-338.
- Cook, Nicholas. 'Music Minus One: Rock, Theory, and Performance.' *New Formations* 27 (Winter 1995-1996): 23-41.
- Corp, Edward. 'Farinelli and the Circle of Sicinio Pepoli: A Link with the Stuart court in exile.' *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 2/2 (September 2005): 311-319.
- Dean, Winton. 'Bernacchi, Antonio Maria.' *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press)* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02838> (accessed September 23, 2013).
- Dean, Winton. 'Strada del Pò, Anna Maria.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26887> (accessed August 30, 2013).
- Desler, Anne. 'From Castrato to Bass: The late roles of Nicola Grimaldi 'Nicolini.' *Gender, Age and Musical Creativity*. Edited by Lisa Colton and Catherine Haworth. Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming.

- Desler, Anne. 'From "Oh virtù che innamorala!" to "Son pastorello amante": Farinelli and Metastasio's *Artaserse*.' In *Music Observed. Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes*, edited by Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi, 117-138. Warren, MI: Harmony Park Press, 2004.
- Desler, Anne. 'History Without Royalty? Queen and the strata of the popular music canon.' *Popular Music* 32/3 (October 2013): 385-405.
- Desler, Anne. 'Orpheus and Jupiter in the Limelight: Farinelli and Caffarelli share the stage.' *Studies in Musical Theatre*, 4/1 (1 August 2010): 27-44.
- Dickens, Charles. 'Singing to Some Purpose.' *All Year Round* 7:151 (15 March 1862): 21-24.
- Fanelli, Jean Grundy. 'A Sweet Bird of Youth: Caffarelli in Pistoia.' *Early Music* 27/1 Music and Spectacle (February 1999): 55-63.
- Finn, Geraldine. 'Bodies that Sing Mutilation, Morality, and Music: In the Case of Farinelli.' *International Studies in Philosophy* 31/1 (1999): 47-60.
- Feldman, Martha. "Magic Mirrors and the Seria Stage: Thoughts toward a Ritual View." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48/3 (1995): 423-484.
- Frati, Ludovico. 'Metastasio e Farinelli.' *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 20 (1913): 1-32.
- Frati, Ludovico. Antonio Bernacchi e la sua scuola di canto.' *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 29 (1922): 443-491.
- Gatti, Guido M. and Alberto Basso, eds. 'Canto,' *La Musica: Parte Seconda: Dizionario*. Vol. 1. Torino: UTET, 1968.
- Freeman, Robert. 'Apostolo Zeno's Reform of the Libretto.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21/3 (1968): 321-341.
- Freeman, Robert. 'Farinello and his repertory.' In *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel*. Edited by Robert L. Marshall, 301-330. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974.
- Freitas, Roger. 'The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato.' *The Journal of Musicology* 20/2 (Spring 2003): 169-249.
- Gidwitz, Patricia Lewy. 'Cavalieri, Catarina', *Grove Music Online (Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press*,
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05201> (accessed September 13, 2013).
- Gilman, Todd S. 'The Italian (castrato) in London.' In *The Work of opera: genre, nationhood, and sexual difference*. Edited by Richard Dellamore and Daniel Fischlin, 49-70. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Gullo, Giuseppe. 'La fabbrica degli angeli (I). La voce, l'aspetto fisico e la psiche dei castrati attraverso un approccio medico integrato.' *Hortus Musicus* III/9 (January-March 2009): 50-55.
- Gullo, Giuseppe. 'La fabbrica degli angeli (II). Dalla Medicina ad una nuova Estetica della voce del castrato.' *Hortus Musicus* III/11 (April-June 2002): 80-82.
- Gullo, Giuseppe. 'La fabbrica degli angeli (III). Per una iconografia scientifica del castrato.' *Hortus Musicus* III/11 (July-September 2002): 34-38.
- Hansell, Sven H. 'Stage Department and Scenographic Design in the Italian *Opera Seria* of the *Settecento*'. In *Report of the Eleventh Congress, Copenhagen 1972*, of the International Musicological Society. Edited by Henrik Glahn, Søren Sørensen and Peter Ryom, 1:415-424. Copenhagen: Edition Wilhelm Hansen, 1974.

- Heartz, Daniel. 'Caffarelli's Caprices.' In *Music Observed. Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes*, edited by Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi, 195-207. Warren, MI: Harmony Park Press, 2004.
- Heartz, Daniel. 'Farinelli and Metastasio: rival twins in public favour.' *Early Music* 12 (1984): 358-366.
- Heartz, Daniel. 'Farinelli revisited.' *Early Music* 18 (1990): 430-443.
- Heartz, Daniel. 'From Garrick to Gluck: the Reform of Theatre and Opera in the mid-Eighteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 94th Sess., (1967 - 1968): 111-127.
- Heartz, Daniel. 'Hasse at the Crossroads: *Artaserse* (Venice, 1730), Dresden, and Vienna.' *Opera Quarterly* 16 (2000): 24-33.
- Heartz, Daniel and Bruce Alan Brown. 'Galant', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10512> (accessed June 21, 2014).
- Heller, Wendy. 'Reforming Achilles: Gender, "opera seria" and the Rhetoric of the Enlightened Hero.' *Early Music*, 26/4 Metastasio (November 1998), 562-568+571-572+574-575+577-578+580-581.
- Hennessey, Leslie G. 'Friends Serving Itinerant Muses: Jacopo Amigoni and Farinelli in Europe.' In *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Shearer West, 20-45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Henze-Döhring, Sabine. "'One God, one Farinelli!'" Kastratengesang des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts. Seine Verschriftlichung als arkane Kunst und öffentliche Präsentation in London.' *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 24 Kunst als ästhetisches Ereignis (1997): 271-279.
- Hill, John Walter and Francesco Giuntini. 'Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press,
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20473> (accessed 23 May, 2013).
- Hortschansky, Klaus. 'Die Rolle des Sängers im Drama Metastasio: Giovanni Carestini als Timante im *Demofonte*.' In *Metastasio e il mondo musicale*, edited by Maria Teresa Muraro, 207-234. Florence : Olschki, 1986.
- Jander, Owen et al. 'Singing.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press,
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25869> (accessed September 2, 2013).
- Joncus, Berta. 'One God, so many Farinellis: Mythologizing the Star Castrato.' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28/3 Farinelli (2005): 437-496.
- Joncus, Berta. 'Producing Stars in *Dramma per musica*.' *Music as Social and Cultural Practice – Essays in honour of Reinhard Strohm*. Edited by Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus, 275-293. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007.
- Jones, Andrew V. 'Staging a Handel Opera.' *Early Music* 34/2 (): 277-288.
- King, Richard G. "'How to be an emperor": acting Alexander the Great in *opera seria*.' *Early Music* 36/2 (cvsahj): 181-202.

- Libby, Dennis. 'Italy: Two Opera Centres.' In *Man and Music, The Classical Era: From the 1740s to the end of the 18th century*, edited by Neal Zaslaw, 15-60. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989.
- Libby, Dennis. 'The Singers of Pergolesi's *Salustia*.' *Studi Pergolesiani* 3 (1999): 173-181.
- Malkiewicz, Michael. 'Zur Verkörperung des Kastraten im Musiknotat.' In *Verkörperung*, edited by Erika Fischer-Lichte, Christian Horn and Matthias Warstat. Tübingen: Francke, 2001.
- Mamy, Sylvie. 'Il Teatro alla moda dei rosignoli. I cantanti napoletani al San Giovanni Grisostomo.' Introduction to the Facsimile Edition of Zeno-Giacomelli's *La Merope*, IX-CV. Milano: Ricordi, 1984.
- McGeary, Thomas. 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds: "Tanto mio amico e patrone particolare."' *Early Music* 30 (2002): 202-213.
- McGeary, Thomas. 'Farinelli in England: "the blazing star" over Albion.' *Il fantasma del Farinelli*. Ed. Luigi Verdi, 9-24. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005.
- McGeary, Thomas. 'Farinelli in Madrid: opera, politics, and the war of Jenkins' ear.' *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 383-421.
- McGeary, Thomas. 'Farinelli's Journey to England.' *Il Farinelli e gli evirati cantori*. Ed. Luigi Verdi, 97-109. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2007.
- 'Farinelli's Progress to Albion: The Recruitment and Reception of Opera's "Blazing Star"', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28/5 Farinelli (2005): 339-360.
- McGeary, Thomas. 'Verse Epistles on Italian Opera Singers, 1724-1736', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 33 (2000): 29-88.
- McGeary, Thomas. "'Warbling eunuchs": opera, gender, and sexuality on the London stage, 1705-1742.' *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research* 7/1 (1992): 1-22.
- McGeary, Thomas and Xavier Cervantes. 'From Farinelli to Monticelli; an opera satire of 1742 re-examined.' *The Burlington Magazine* 141 (1999): 287-289.
- Milhous, Judith and Robert D. Hume. 'Construing and Misconstruing Farinelli in London.' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28/3 Farinelli (2005): 361-386.
- Milhous, Judith and Robert D. Hume. 'Opera Saleries in Eighteenth-Century London.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. 46/1 (Spring 1993): 26-83.
- Monelle, Raymond. 'Recitative and Dramaturgy in the *Dramma per Musica*.' *Music & Letters* 59/3 (July 1978): 245-267.
- Monson, Dale. 'Carestini, Giovanni [Cusanino].' *Grove Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04924> (accessed August 22, 2013).
- Mücke, Panja. 'Farinelli, Caffarelli and Rocchetti. Zum Einfluß der Sänger auf Hesses *Drammi per musica*.' "*Per ben vestir la virtuosa*." *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*. Edited by Daniel Brandenburg and Thomas Seedorf, 80-89. Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011.

- Musenga, Gabriele. Translation of 'Avrè ch'am dsessi coss'è mai st' gran fiacch.'
http://www.haendel.it/interpreti/old/bernacchi_aneddoti.htm (accessed 02 August 2013).
- Neubacher, Jürgen. 'Die Sänger in Matthesons Kirchenmusik und sein Scheitern als Domkantor. Ursache und Wirkung eines selbstverschuldeten Boykotts.' In *Johann Mattheson als Vermittler und Initiator: Wissenstransfer und die Etablierung neuer Diskurse in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Edited by Wolfgang Hirschmann and Bernhard Jahn. Hildesheim: Olms, 2010.
- Niemann, Nils. 'Hasse als Komponist für das Theater. Bemerkungen zum Inszenierungsstil und zur Schauspielkunst in der opera seria.' In *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart*. Studia et Dissertationes Instituti Musicologiae Universitatis Varsoviensis, Seria B, Tom XII. Edited by Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 99-121. Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002.
- Ongaro, Giulio et al. 'Venice'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press,
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41311> (accessed 20 June 2014).
- Peters, Anne. 'Flying Childers'. Thoroughbred Heritage Portraits.
<http://www.tbheritage.com/Portraits/FlyingChilders.html> (accessed 21 June 2014).
- Petrobelli, Pierluigi. 'Un cantante fischiato e le appoggiature di mezza battuta. Cronaca teatrale e prassi esecutiva ala metà del '700.' In *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel*, edited by Robert L. Marshall, 363-376. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974.
- Peschel, Enid Rhodes and Peschel, Richard. 'Medicine and Music: The Castrati in Opera.' *Opera Quarterly* 4 (1986): 21-38.
- Roach, Joseph. 'Cavaliere Nicolini: London's First Opera Star.' *Educational Theatre Journal* 28/2 (May 1976): 189-205.
- Roach, Joseph R. 'Garrick, the Ghost and the Machine.' *Theatre Journal* 34/4 (December 1982): 431-440.
- Robinson, Michael F. 'The Governors' Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria di Loreto, Naples.' *Research Chronicle of the Royal Music Association* 10 (1972): 1-97.
- Robinson, Michael F. and Ellen T. Harris. 'Broschi, Riccardo.' *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press,
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04076> (accessed June 12, 2013).
- Ross, Stephanie. 'Painting the Passions: Charles LeBrun's Conference Sur L'Expression.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45/1 (January- March 1984): 25-47.
- Rosselli, John. 'Mancini, Giovanni Battista.' *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press,
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O007306> (accessed August 27, 2013).
- Rosselli, John. 'From princely service to the open market: Singers of Italian opera and their patrons, 1600-1850.' *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1/1 (March 1989): 1-32.
- Rosselli, John. 'The castrati as a professional group and a social phenomenon, 1550 – 1850.' *Acta musicologica* 60 (1988): 143-179.

- Savage, Robert. 'Getting by with a Little Help from my Twin: Farinelli with Metastasio at his Right Hand, 1747-1759.' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28/3 Farinelli (2005): 387-410.
- Savage, Robert. 'Staging an Opera: Letters from the Cesarian Poet.' *Early Music* 26/4 (1998): 583-595.
- Seedorf, Thomas. "Wie ein gutgemachts kleid." Überlegungen zu einer mehrdeutigen Metapher (nebst einigen Randbemerkungen zu Mozart). 'Per ben vestir la virtuosa.' *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*. Edited by Daniel Brandenburg and Thomas Seedorf, 11-21. Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011.
- Sheldon, David A. 'The concept *galant* in the 18th century.' *Journal of Musicological Research* 9 (1989): 89-108.
- Sheldon, David A. "Exchange, Anticipation, and Ellipsis: Analytical Definitions of the *Galant* Style." In *Music East and West: Essays in Honor of Walter Kaufmann*, edited by Thomas Noblitt, 225-241. New York: Pendragon Press, 1981.
- Solomon, Nicholas. 'Signs of the Times: A Look at Late 18th-Century Gesturing.' *Early Music* 17/4 (1989): 551-562.
- Spoel, Philippa M. 'The Science of Bodily Rhetoric in Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia*.' *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 28/4 (Autumn 1998): 5-27.
- Strohm, Reinhard. 'Towards an understanding of the *opera seria*.' *Essays on Handel and Italian opera*, 93-105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Strohm, Reinhard. 'Wer entscheidet? Möglichkeiten der Zusammenarbeit an Pasticcio-Opern.' "Per ben vestir la virtuosa." *Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*. Edited by Daniel Brandenburg and Thomas Seedorf, 62-79. Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2011.
- Strohm, Reinhard. 'Who is Farinelli?.' CD Liner notes. *Arias for Farinelli*. Vivica Genaux and the Akademie für Alte Musik Berlin. Directed by René Jacobs, 22-27. Harmonia Mundi, 2002, HMC 901778.
- Strohm, Reinhard. 'Zenobia: voices and authorship in opera seria.' Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart. Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik. *Studia et Dissertationes Instituti Musicologiae Universitatis Varsoviensis, Series B, Vol. XII*. Edited by Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 53-82. Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002.
- Termini, Olga. 'The Role of Diction and Gesture in Italian Baroque Opera.' *Performance Practice Review* 6/2 (1993): 146-157.
- Veneziano, Giulia. 'I viaggi a Napoli di Faustina'. CD Liner notes. *I viaggi di Faustina*. Roberta Invernizzi and I Turchini. Directed by Antonio Florio, 32-38. Glossa, 2013, GCD 922606.
- Verdi, Luigi. 'Farinelli in Bologna.' *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 28/3 Farinelli (2005): 411-420.
- Vitali, Carlo. 'Da "schiavottiello" a "fedele amico": lettere (1731-1749) di Carlo Broschi Farinelli al conte Sicinio Pepoli.' *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 26/1 (1992): 1-36.

- Vitali, Carlo. 'Una fonte inedita per la biografia di Farinelli: il carteggio Pepoli presso l'Archivio di Stato di Bologna.' *Accademia Clementina: Atti e Memorie* 27 (1990): 239-250.
- Vlaardingerbroek, Kees. 'Faustina Bordoni Applauds Jan Alensoon: A Dutch Music-Lover in Italy and France in 1723-4.' *Music & Letters* 72/4 (November 1991): 536-551.
- Watson, F.J.B. 'A Portrait of Farinelli by Bartolommeo Nazari.' *The Burlington Magazine* 92/570 (September 1950): 266-267+269.
- Wiesend, Reinhard. 'Metastasio's Revisionen eigener Dramen und die Situation der Opernmusik in the 1750er Jahren.' *Archiv für Musicwissenschaft* 40/4 (1983): 255-275
- Wilson, Blake et al. 'Rhetoric and Music.' *Grove Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press
<http://oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43166> (accessed 12 December, 2012).
- Wilson, Gladys. 'One God! One Farinelli! Amigoni's portraits of a famous castrato.' *Apollo. The International Magazine of the Arts* (September 1994): 45-51.

Websites

- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*D-Mbs*). Münchner Digitalisierungszentrum, Digitale Bibliothek. <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de>
- BBC-Your Paintings [Online database of oil paintings in the UK. Joint initiative between the BBC, the Public Catalogue Foundation and participating collections and museums from across the UK]. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/>
- Biblioteca nazionale braidense (*I-Mb*), Milano. Raccolta drammatica.
http://www.braidense.it/cataloghi/catalogo_rd.php
- Fondazione Giorgio Cini Onlus. Code <X>ml [Digital Objects from the collections of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini (*I-Vc*)]. Searchable via <http://polovea.sebina.it>
- Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna (*I-Bc*). Digital Collection searchable via Gaspari online at <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it>
- Opac SBN. Catalogo del servizio bibliotecario nazionale. <http://www.sbn.it/>
- Pietro Metastasio. Drammi per musica. Università degli studi di Padova.
<http://www.progettometastasio.it>
- RISM (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales). <http://opac.rism.info/>