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Are we all castrati?

**Venanzio Rauzzini: ‘The Father of a New
Style in English Singing’**

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Abstract

Though the castrato has been absent from the operatic stage since the nineteenth century, this voice is often described as the mysterious link in understanding the vocal techniques attributed to bel canto. The mystery lies in the fact that the voice of the operatic castrato cannot be heard by modern ears; and yet its legacy can be seen in the vocal tuition of several successful opera singers at the turn of the nineteenth century. What is unusual about this period is that some of the most successful singers of the day, including Nancy Storace, John Braham and Elizabeth Billington were British and shared the same vocal teacher. The castrato Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810) began his career as a primo uomo on the continent and while he established himself in various areas of musical activity, his main contribution and legacy was as a vocal teacher. During his residency in Britain from 1774 until his death, he trained several leading British professional singers who were the stars of opera in London and on the continent. They each demonstrated a use of techniques associated with the castrato vocal aesthetic and popularised a new vocal style, which can be traced to Rauzzini.

Through this thesis, I will draw attention to the importance of Rauzzini's impact on vocal teaching practice in Britain and his wider influence on the development of vocal style. I will demonstrate that Rauzzini should be considered part of the vocal teaching canon to which Pier Francesco Tosi (c.1653-1732), Nicola Porpora (1686-1768) and Manuel García II (1805-1906), three other foreign vocal teachers, who were resident in Britain, already belong. By examining exactly what the expected vocal aesthetics were for all singers, castrato, non-castrated male and female during the period in which Rauzzini was active, I will demystify the castrato technique and provide a more tangible understanding of what this encompassed,

demonstrating that many of these techniques were learned, performed and popularised by other voice types such as the female soprano and the male tenor.

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Author's Declaration



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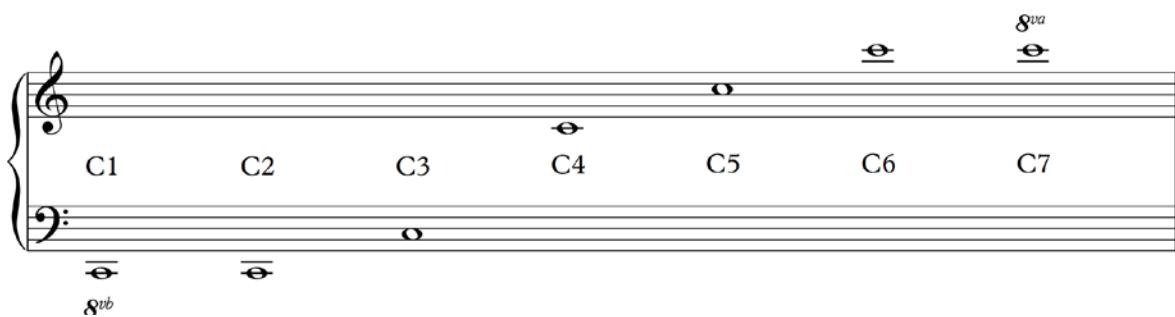
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General Remarks

Editorial Practice (Musical examples): In the text, short examples from the vocal line have been inserted into the text; however, the original edition of the song or aria has been included in the appendix. In general, the vocal line appears as it does in the original score and historical spelling and punctuation has been maintained. In scores 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, but the note beaming usually reflects the syllable-pitch alignment. Where this is not the case, the underlay is set to match the metric patterns of the text to that of the music. Bar numbers have been added to assist in identifying particular features, and any other additions to the vocal line have been marked with square brackets.

Editorial Practice (Text): Historical spellings have been preserved in all prose quotations. Any deviation from historical spelling or additions to allow the prose text to make grammatical sense has been marked with square brackets.

Indication of pitch: Throughout the text, where there is an indication of pitch the scientific pitch notation has been used:



Terminology: In treatises and other historical texts there are many terms used to describe the vocal teacher including ‘preceptor’, ‘master’ and ‘tutor’. It is unknown which term Rauzzini chose to describe himself, but ‘teacher’ has been used throughout the discussion with all other terms generally avoided.

Dates of composers and authors: The dates of singers, composers and authors follow those given in *Grove Online* or the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* unless stated otherwise.

Titles: Titles of songs and arias are marked with inverted commas, while larger works such cantatas, oratorios and operas appear in italics. All other titles including treatises and periodicals appear in italics.

Chapter 1 Introduction

'A singer untutored by Rauzzini is only half taught' (*The Bath Chronicle*, August 30, 1792c, p. 3).

In her 2006 study, which explores modern methods of vocal tuition Janice Chapman, stated, 'the current system of teaching is based on a past model that has not yet sufficiently changed to meet today's needs' (Chapman, 2006, p. 253-254). This statement was one of the inspirations behind Tara Leipar's thesis in 2012, and she used this to launch into an in-depth study of modern teaching practice drawing on scientific and psychological theories of learning, with only a brief discussion on past models of vocal teaching practice prior to scientific inquiry (Leipar, 2012, p. 10).

However, Gordon Stewart in correspondence with Chapman stated:

Exactly what training of singers was in the past and how it achieved its successes without the benefit of later scientific knowledge is a project for major research (Chapman, 2006, p. 254).

Some scholars have examined historical singing techniques: for example Robert Toft's 2013 book *Bel Canto: A performer's guide*, John Potter's 2012 co-authored study *A History of Singing*, his earlier 2006 book *Vocal Authority: Singing Style and Ideology* and Sarah Potter's 2014 doctoral thesis *Changing Vocal Style and Technique in Britain during the Long Nineteenth Century*. These are among the more recent studies, but they focus on interpreting specific historical vocal techniques and how these can be taught to modern-day singers rather than examining the teaching practice of past vocal pedagogues. Other explorations have examined famous historical singers such as Giusto Tenducci, Giovanni Battista Rubini, Gaetano Guadagni and Farinelli, but these studies are, by their nature, biographical examinations of the singer's life with only a brief discussion of their vocal training and no in-depth interrogation of the practice of the teacher nor the impact of the student-teacher relationship on the

success of the vocalist's career.¹ Yet, the student-teacher relationship is a key component highlighted by Leipar as a method of transmission between past and present teaching models. She states:

The power and influence of the performer-teacher is immense, especially if the performer is well-known and respected (Leipar, 2012, p. 11).

This thesis seeks to meet Gordon Stewart's challenge to Janice Chapman to examine the vocal training that singers received prior to scientific inquiry, and it will place the teacher at the heart of that examination.

Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810) was an influential, historical vocal pedagogue who taught many of the most successful opera singers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Both Kenneth James in his 1990 journal article and Paul F. Rice in his most recent 2015 study on Rauzzini go further to say that during his lifetime Rauzzini was the most sought-after vocal pedagogue in Britain (James, 1990, p. 101; Rice, 2015, p. 187). As well as a vocal teacher of note, Rauzzini was a castrato and had a successful singing career, obtaining the high status of *primo uomo*, a leading man of the Italian opera. He was also a successful composer and concert manager in both London and Bath and it is in these three areas where most studies have focussed their attention.² Though both James' article and Rice's book highlight the importance of Rauzzini's teaching career and the wider impact on British singing, the purpose of these studies are more of a biographical examination, exploring key aspects of

¹ These studies include *The Castrato and His Wife* (Berry, 2011); *Giovanni Battista Rubini and the Bel Canto Tenors: History and Technique* (Marek, 2013); *The Modern Castrato: Gaetano Guadagni and the Coming of a New Operatic Age* (Howard, 2014); and '*'Il novello Orfeo' Farinelli: vocal profile, aesthetics, Rhetoric*' (Desler, 2014).

² Such studies include 'Venanzio Rauzzini. Singer, Composer, Traveller' (Sands, 1953); 'Rauzzini at Bath' (Sands, 1953); 'Venanzio Rauzzini and the Search for Musical Perfection' (James, 1990); 'Venanzio Rauzzini: "The First Master for Teaching in the Universe"' (Hodges, 1991); *The Early Music Show: Venanzio Rauzzini* (Bott, 2010); and *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain. Castrato, composer, and cultural leader* (Rice, 2015).

Rauzzini's musical life, including his compositional output and concert management. This thesis however, is an in depth study of Rauzzini's teaching career and though Rauzzini's contributions to vocal pedagogy have largely been ignored until now, there is sufficient evidence that his contribution and impact continue to be relevant to modern singers.

Deborah Rohr stated that English musicians did not achieve notable success in Italian opera, bar a few exceptions: Elizabeth Billington, John Braham, Maria Dickons, Michael Kelly and Nancy Storace (Rohr, 2001b, p. 105). All of these named exceptions were students of Rauzzini. They all had hugely successful careers throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, both on the continent and in Britain. These singers performed and starred in premier productions of operas that remain in the modern operatic repertory such as *Le Nozze di Figaro* and, as will be shown throughout this thesis, they were influential in the compositional shaping of these productions. Rohr failed to acknowledge that all of these singers were linked to one teacher. This fact means that there are a number of questions that must be asked about Rauzzini's teaching practice. Most importantly, these concern his manner of teaching and how this differed from vocal teaching available in Britain during the same period. Furthermore, Rohr's list includes both male and female singers. The female singers were just as successful in their careers as the male singers listed, which suggests that gender did not have a significant impact on the way in which Rauzzini taught. He trained many more professional female students than male, and this is an area that requires careful examination and contextualisation. John Rosselli, who provided an extensive examination of singers of the Italian opera, highlighted that Italian female performers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

often had to endure the possibility of being arrested or thrown into a convent. He stated:

When [female singers] gradually established themselves as skilled musicians they remained suspect: they still flouted the first rule of the society, woman's dependence on man. (Rosselli, 1995b, p. 56)

However, Susan Rutherford suggested that women's emergence as acceptable artists was in the period 1800-1840, which overlaps with the time when Rauzzini was training his female students (Rutherford, 2006, p. 162).

The emergence of female singers as performing artists will be discussed later in this chapter, but it should be noted that any investigation of Rauzzini's teaching career is also an examination of a period of cultural and musical change. The castrato was a voice type that had dominated Italian opera across Europe throughout the eighteenth century. However, by the time of Rauzzini's death in 1810 the use of the castrato in opera was in significant decline. While this voice cannot be heard by modern ears, the castrato is a significant phenomenon in music history and it continues to be a fascinating topic for researchers.³ Katherine Bergeron stated that 'the figure of the castrato offers a kind of chilling embodiment of that truth, a poignant testimony to things that can never be recovered', and yet Michel Poizat pointed out that 'there is every reason to expect that attempts to yield something that may once more conjure up its echo will continue' (Bergeron, 1996, p. 167; 1992, p. 95). Without the physical embodiment of this voice type, there are many limitations in constructing what the castrato voice may have sounded like and yet the lasting legacy of the phenomenon is of significant importance to opera due to the dominance

³ The recording of the last *castrato* Alessandro Moreschi (1858-1922) is not truly reflective of an operatic *castrato* as he was a singer of the Sistine Chapel and never performed on the operatic stage. Also, Simon Ravens argues in his 2014 book argues that, at the time the recording was made in 1903, the equipment did not capture the beauty of his voice (Ravens, 2014, p. 187).

of the castrato during the development of the genre and, by extension, the development of vocal education.

John Potter theorised that throughout the eighteenth century castrati were responsible for the development and cultivation of the art of singing. He further suggested that the loss of the castrato voice and their ‘irrecoverable skills’ created the ‘myth of bel canto’ (2007, p. 99). This idea is also put forward in an article entitled ‘Medicine and Music: The Castrati in Opera’ written by Enid Rhodes Peschel and Richard Peschel in 1986. They stated that ‘the castrati’s art was quintessential bel canto’; however, they went on to say that aspects of the art appear in early nineteenth-century operas by composers such as Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti (1986, p. 36). Roldolfo Celletti stated ‘Bel canto, [was] based on an abstract aesthetic, which came to an end when romanticism took as its motto the search for veracity’ (Celletti and Fuller, 1991, p. 188). Examining the operas of Verdi and Wagner, he suggested that the expected vocal sound for these operas was in opposition to the bel canto aesthetic (Celletti and Fuller, 1991, p. 191). Romantic operas sought ‘dramatic truth’ that encouraged a more declamatory style of singing, opposite to the bel canto style, which was associated with florid, virtuosic ornamentation. He further proposed that singers such as Renata Tebaldi (1922-2004) and Maria Callas (1923-1977) prompted a vocal and ‘musicological revolution’ which encouraged a restoration of the ‘pre-Verdi’ voice and thus the resurrection of bel canto (1991, pp. 205-206). As is already evident, there are a considerable number of scholars who, for the past twenty years, have discussed the castrato and bel canto and the topic continues to attract scholarly interest. What becomes apparent is that discussions of the castrato are closely intertwined with discussions of bel canto, yet the castrato is consistently cited as the

missing protagonist in the history of vocal technique, with bel canto positioned as a mythical ideal, whose existence is continually in question.

Features such as virtuosity and floridity are frequently presented as characteristically bel canto, and this is clearly evident in the studies cited above. However, the early twentieth-century resurrection of bel canto added another layer of complication to the meaning of the term. The term itself was never used throughout the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, only starting to appear in the later nineteenth century, yet it is connected to an earlier golden age of singing in which the castrato reigned supreme. Potter highlighted that 'by the middle of the eighteenth century the castrat[i] were taking virtuoso singing into realms that we can now barely imagine' (Potter, 2007, p. 97). Research into individual biographies of castrato singers tends to concentrate on discussing the individual's virtuosity. In relation to Farinelli, the anecdote about his virtuosic feats when competing with a trumpet in his early years as a professional singer are recounted repeatedly in research, strengthening the idea that virtuosity was an in-built skill of the castrato.

However, James Stark proposed in his study on the history of bel canto that the aesthetic techniques would have developed even without the castrato phenomenon, which directly contradicts many scholars who have written on the subject. He suggested that bel canto grew out of the courtly music of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but not in the singing of men and rather in the singing of women: specifically those who came from Ferrara and in the vocal teaching of Giulio Caccini (1551-1618) (Stark, 2003, p. 197). Stark is referring to the female virtuosi of Ferrara who were better known as the *Three Ladies of Ferrara* (1580-1597). Anthony Newcomb has explored the singing style of these three ladies and has made it clear that their command of vocal diminution at that time was unrivalled by any other

singers. Quoting Caccini, Newcomb drew attention to their vocal sound, stating 'they sing so miraculously, it seems to me impossible to do better' (Newcomb, 1980, p. 90). However, although Stark argued that the 'rise of the castrato was a gradual one' and that those castrati who were in existence in the sixteenth century were 'scarce', Richard Sherr's article regarding the same time period would suggest a different perspective. He examined the letters of Giuliano Gonzaga (1538-1587) and observed that the Duke of Mantua for many years sought to employ castrati in his court for the purposes of musical entertainment (Stark, 2003, p. 198). Though Sherr did not examine how virtuosic the castrati at this time may have been, he noted from one of the responses by Negri to Gonzaga 'that there were not more than six really excellent [castrati] in the entire country, and they could command salaries of at least five hundred ducats a year' (Sherr, 1980, p. 36). It is possible that the six castrati were thought of as 'excellent' owing to their virtuosity which was gaining popularity throughout this period. Therefore, these men were greatly desired for their particularly talent in this area.

It can also be argued that the Three Ladies of Ferrara were just as rare as these castrati, considering that there was a Papal ban on female singers which prevented women from public performance within Papal States. This was briefly lifted in 1590 before being reinstated in 1676 and it continued in place until the early eighteenth century (Senelick, 2000, p. 177). Many studies carried out into female musicians, continually cite the struggles of the female performer to maintain a respectable image, free from common assumptions of immorality. The struggle of the female singer dates back to the sixteenth century, as suggested by Lucy Green in her study into gender and music education. The question of whether women and girls should be allowed to sing was the subject of widespread debate, which arose with particular

concentration in the middle of the sixteenth century and continued to be the source of controversy for some two or three hundred years (Green, 1997, p. 32).

The Three Ladies of Ferrara were protected from the papal ban as they were performing within the private court. On the other hand, when opera as a public performance developed throughout the seventeenth century, Stark pointed out that there was a 'dramatic increase in the importance of castrato singers' and due to this they went on to 'epitomise the bel canto ideals in a way that no other singers could' (Stark, 2003, pp. 198-199). This was a direct result of the ban imposed on female singers, which placed a barrier on women from being directly associated with the development of the florid aesthetic, allowing the castrato to become directly associated with the progression of virtuoso singing.

Potter even suggested that as a result of the castration operation, these men were better equipped to perform long, florid phrases directly associated with the aesthetic. He stated that 'many [castrati] could sing complex divisions for more than a minute without drawing breath' and attributes this to the castrato's large chest, an anomaly that occurred as a result of the operation. Caricature drawings of castrati in eighteenth-century operas depict enormously tall creatures with tiny heads and a huge barrel chest and Potter theorised that this barrel chest provided the castrato with greater reserves of air which allowed him to sing extremely long phrases and have a wide dynamic range (Potter, 2007, p. 99). Potter interpreted the castrato as a creature with attributes that aided his ability to sing virtuosic phrases better than any other male or female singer. The basis of this argument is made in his PhD thesis, where he stated:

Castrato singing was beyond the reach of ordinary men. These singers, more than any of their predecessors, legitimise their performance as high art (Potter, 1994, p. 116).

By suggesting that the operation allowed the castrato singer to supersede the 'ordinary man', such virtuosity could not be learned or achieved by any other voice type. However, Patrick Barbier completely disagreed with the 'barrel chest' theory, stating this is in fact an incorrect 'assumption' (Barbier, 1996, pp. 16-17). He suggested that the castrati were able to command extremely long phrases as a result of long and intensive training. By disregarding the theory that the unique features of the castrato's anatomy accounted for his virtuosity or singing ability, Barbier humanised the castrato, and proposed that his vocal virtuosity was a learned skill.

Nicholas Clapton attempted to provide a middle ground explanation:

The ability to produce sounds of this brilliance was largely due to the castrati's anomalous anatomy: a lack of testosterone in the growing adolescent castrato's body prevented the epiphyses (bone joints) hardening; thus the ribcage continued to grow, and this, combined with the rigorous training young castrati underwent from the age of about eight, produced a sound unlike any other (Clapton, 2005, p. 325).

Examining the caricature drawings and reading descriptions of the castrati, it would appear the anatomical anomalies, which occurred as a result of the castration operation adapted the castrato for the specific purposes of singing. Yet not all boys who were castrated developed beautiful singing voices, even if they did have a voice prior to the operation. There is no evidence of any castrati who achieved success without intensive vocal training. This leads to the idea that training is the key to success and a necessary endeavour in order to unlock the beauty of the castrato voice.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that boys who were castrated did not receive intensive musical training. Roger Freitas stated that the Italian castrato stood as the image of a musician, a creature specifically created for the purposes of music, when examining the life of seventeenth-century castrato Atto Melani' (Freitas, 2009, p. 71). As a musical servant the castrato arguably received more intensive and rigorous

training than any other voice type. Rosselli also cited the same theory in his study, stating 'castration, actual or in prospect, implied a total commitment to the singing profession' and quotes an eleven-year-old applicant to one of the Naples conservatories: 'since he is a eunuch, music [...] is the only profession to which he wishes to apply himself' (Rosselli, 1995b, p. 41). It is clear that the castrato singer was an important commodity; therefore, the music education they received was designed to develop these singers to their maximum potential. Several scholars have suggested what a typical day of training a castrato or a boy destined for castration may have been like. Clapton in discussion of Farinelli believed that castrati would have trained for six hours a day, and that this training would involve the study of counterpoint and literature:

One hour of work "singing pieces of difficult and awkward execution", another studying passaggi (ornamentation) and another singing exercises in front of a mirror in the presence of the teacher, to practise deportment and gesture, and to avoid pulling faces while performing (Clapton, 2005, pp. 323-324).

Barbier quoted a frequently cited anecdote about the famed vocal pedagogue Nicola Porpora (1686-1768), who taught many castrato singers in the early eighteenth century including Farinelli and Caffarelli, to the effect that he would have his singers repeat the same exercises for many hours a day for many years and this repetitive work allowed the singer to develop an excellent technique (Barbier, 1996, p. 54). With such intensive training, even those castrati who were considered less apt performers would have obtained a well-grounded knowledge in music and vocal technique, and this is most likely why, as Potter suggested, that 'many (if not most) singers of the [eighteenth century] were taught by *castrat[i]*' (Potter, 2007, p. 98).

As a result of the castrato's popularity on the operatic stage, aspects of his technique, which includes possessing a flexible voice able to command virtuosic lines,

were sought by other singers. It is only logical that non-castrated singers wishing to achieve high virtuosity would seek out a teacher strongly associated with the aesthetic. In fact, Potter alluded to this, stating in his 2007 article that developments in soprano singing throughout the eighteenth century allowed the female soprano ‘to equal and eventually supersede’ the castrati, and he comes to the same conclusion in his 2012 publication, noting that the female coloratura soprano came to supersede the castrato (Potter, 2007, p. 97; Potter and Sorrell, 2012, p. 119). In neither publication does Potter examine the direct connection between the female soprano and the castrato, though in his article ‘The Tenor Castrato Connection (1760-1860)’ he does suggest that the castrato was a direct influence on the development of the tenor voice (Potter, 2007). Poizat concurred, saying that ‘women supplanted the castrato’, but once again does not attempt to explain how or even why this occurred (Poizat, 1992, p. 119). While these studies do not provide in-depth analyses regarding the direct connections to the similarity in developments of virtuosity to the castrato, it is clear that there is a connection. The castrato, therefore, established a vocal aesthetic to which all professional singers were expected to aspire, and this continued to be a standard maintained even after the castrato’s demise.

Whether the body of the castrati, the rigorous training they received or a combination of the two allowed them to develop incredible feats of virtuosity, it is apparent that the castrato is responsible for the development and popularity of the aesthetic. As the reputation of castrato virtuosity grew, their methods of rigorous music training became ingrained in vocal educational practice across Europe. Rauzzini belonged to this school of learning and it is necessary to explore what aspects of Rauzzini’s teaching practice (if any) were linked to his own early vocal training. Yet, Rice in his 2015 book noted that one of the hallmarks of Rauzzini’s

compositional style evident throughout his career was his lack of floridity in the vocal lines. Rice indicated that Rauzzini's music was strongly influenced by Gluck in that it was based on 'economy of means and simplicity of expression' (Rice, 2015, p. 137). His music is attractive but does not capitalise on virtuosity, which could indicate that Rauzzini had a preference for vocal simplicity over extravagance. It is therefore necessary to question whether this is evident in his teaching, and what impact it had on the abilities and career of his vocal students.

Furthermore, Rauzzini lived and worked in Britain for over thirty-five years, with many of his students having successful careers in English opera as well as Italian. Scholars such as Theodore Fenner and Rohr highlighted in their studies the growing British unrest with the number of Italian musicians immigrating to Britain throughout the eighteenth century. Given the high fees these Italian musicians were being paid, there was little incentive for them to leave Britain (Fenner, 1994b, p. 66; Rohr, 2001a, p. 13). Rauzzini is included as one of these Italian immigrants, as he came to Britain and remained in the country to sing, compose and teach until his death in 1810. While it is possible that Rauzzini continued to teach in the style he had experienced as a young musician in Italy, it is equally possible that he assimilated aesthetics of singing associated with Britain into his teaching practice. After all, several of his students held successful positions at the English opera house in Drury Lane, which made a point of only performing stylistically English opera.

A study of this nature will explore several layers of culture, teaching practice and vocal technique and will contextualise the role of a late eighteenth-century music teacher and the impact this teacher had on the success (or indeed failure) of his students. In chapter two, I will examine Rauzzini's early training in Italy and the early days of his own teaching career with his first student Caterina Schindlerin, and

analyse whether aspects of Rauzzini's vocal teaching practice recall his own vocal education.

In chapter three, I will examine Rauzzini's vocal treatise publications and contextualise these treatises within the vocal education of Britain by analysing other vocal treatises that were available throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I will determine the differences in the style of publications between British authors and Italian, and identify any crossover advice or techniques that appeared in both traditions.

Chapter four will explore Rauzzini's first successful student, Nancy Storace, examining the close student-teacher relationship these two shared and the effect this had on Storace's early and later career. Storace became strongly associated with the Italian style, though she received the majority of her training in Britain, albeit from an Italian castrato. She will be compared with Rosemond Mountain, another of Rauzzini's students, who was strongly associated with a British national style of singing. These two styles will be examined in detail, questioning whether Rauzzini's teaching practice assimilated more of the British style the longer he stayed in the country.

Chapter five will continue to discuss style as I examine two of Rauzzini's students, Gertrude Mara and Elizabeth Billington. These two students attended lessons with Rauzzini after having established careers, and I will question what they felt was to be gained by attending lessons with Rauzzini. I will also analyse the various stylistic terms commonly used throughout the period, for example the bravura and pathetic genres, drawing attention to how these two genres became part of Mara's and Billington's vocal aesthetic.

In chapter six, I will examine two tenor singers who attended lessons with Rauzzini, John Braham and Charles Incledon. I will compare their vocal education to that of the women discussed in previous chapters, assessing what differences there were in the vocal education these male singers received. Style will continue to be a theme of this chapter, as these two singers were similarly associated with opposing national singing styles: Italian and British. I will draw attention to the reasons behind each singer developing his own particular style.

Through this study I will outline the importance of Rauzzini's impact on vocal teaching practice and on the development of vocal style. I will demonstrate that Rauzzini should be considered part of the vocal teaching canon to which Nicola Porpora and Manual García II already belong. By unpacking what the expected vocal aesthetics were for all voice types (castrato, non-castrated male and female) during the late eighteenth century, I will de-mystify the idea of the castrato technique and provide a more tangible understanding of what this encompassed. Many of these techniques were learned by star singers during this period and their popularity committed these into standardised vocal tuition. The castrato may be an extinct creature, whose voice and vocal aesthetic has been mythicised, but I will explore is the possibility that these aspects are not lost, and have in fact shaped modern opera singing and teaching practice.

Chapter 2 The Singing Career of Venanzio Rauzzini: Establishing his teaching ideology

2.1 Introduction

In 1589, Pope Sixtus V published the official bull *Cum pro nostro pastorali munere*, which allowed for the recruitment of castrati by the church (Milner, 1973, p. 250). This sparked the reorganisation of all the Papal church choirs to include castrato singers, a tradition that would continue until the early twentieth century. These operations effectively became an industry to supply mutilated boys to these choirs. They were considered a better alternative to the ‘artificial’ voices of the falsettists (men who specifically trained the falsetto register of their voice) and women, who were banned from public performance in the Papal States (Berry, 2011, p. 15). The tradition may have begun as a way of supplying castrati to church choirs, but as the popularity of the voice gained momentum, castrati were sought by opera houses and concert venues across the continent.

Venanzio Rauzzini became a part of this long tradition at some point in the 1760s when his soprano voice was artificially created through the castration operation. The operation was considered an investment and these young castrati were precious commodities, who were looked after more carefully than other non-castrated students of music. Burney observed during his 1770 visit to the *Conservatorio di St. Onofrio* that the sixteen castrati boarding in the conservatory lived upstairs in warmer apartments ‘for fear of colds, which might not only render their delicate voices unfit for exercise ... but hazard the entire loss of them for ever’ (Burney, 1771, p. 270). Though undergoing the operation did not guarantee success, fame or even a beautiful voice, the music education many of these boys received could lead to a comfortable career in music. Even those castrati who achieved great fame and success, such as Giuseppe Aprile (1731-1813), Gaspare Pacchierotti (1740-1821)

and Giusto Tenducci (c.1736-1790), were also active teachers, which suggests that teaching was not considered a lesser alternative career which unsuccessful performers fell into (1792a, p. 9, Berry, 2011, p. 207; Kelly and Hook, 1826). Paul F. Rice, on the other hand, in his evaluation of Rauzzini's teaching career, implies that teaching was a way of making money quickly and not as important as performing or composing. He states that it was only in Rauzzini's later career, after settling in Bath, that he devoted an increasing amount of time to teaching as a way of offsetting losses at his Bath concerts (Rice, 2015, p. 184).

However, I will demonstrate that Rauzzini's teaching career was an important part of his overall life as a musician and was not considered of secondary importance to his other musical aspirations. Furthermore, in order to better understand Rauzzini's ideas on teaching it is necessary to analyse his early music education and subsequent singing career. His career spans a period of cultural and musical change as the castrato slowly disappeared from the operatic stage and was replaced by the female soprano and male tenor. It is necessary to consider whether Rauzzini's early ideas on teaching also changed, as wider cultural and musical deviations from earlier traditions emerged.

2.2 Rauzzini's early musical training: The church choir in Rome, training with Giuseppe Santarelli (1710-1790) and debunking the Porpora link

Mollie Sands states in her 1942 article that Rauzzini was taught by the famous singing teacher Nicola Porpora (1686-1768) who is known to have trained many of the most famous operatic castrati during eighteenth century including Carlo Broschi (1705-1782) better known as Farinelli and Gaetano Majorano (1710-1783) otherwise known as Cafarelli (Sands, 1942, p. 74). In a later article written by the same scholar,

she writes: 'it is said that [Rauzzini] studied music under a member of the Papal Choir'. In this article, there is no mention of Rauzzini engaging in tuition with Porpora, which is odd considering the article attempts to provide a detailed examination of Rauzzini's career (Sands, 1953b, p. 15).

Furthermore, there is no link between Rauzzini and Porpora in primary source material; in fact, an account of the early tuition of Rauzzini provides strong evidence that he was never trained by the legendary teacher. Domenico Corri (1746-1825) states that he was apprenticed to Porpora after having obtained music training in Rome. He notes that Rauzzini and Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), who would go onto to become a composer, musical director, music publisher and teacher, were his fellow students in Rome, prior his apprenticeship to Porpora in Naples: 'At Naples, I lived and boarded with Porpora for five years [...] and at his death returned again to Rome' (Corri, 1810, p. 2). Porpora was already quite elderly by the time Corri began his apprenticeship, and died in 1768 while Corri was still his student. This was three years after Rauzzini had made his début on the operatic stage, so it is unlikely that Rauzzini ever received tuition from Porpora. It would seem that Sands was attempting to establish a vocal lineage for Rauzzini, linking him to some of the most famous castrati of the period, and scholars continue to cite Sands and make similar connections when examining Rauzzini's early career.⁴

While Corri may not establish a link between Rauzzini and Porpora, he and Clementi do provide evidence of Rauzzini's early music tuition. Corri and Clementi both owed much to the church in terms of their early musical education: Corri had initially been entrusted to Cardinal Portocarrero, the Ambassador of Spain who lived

⁴ This information has been repeated in the article on Rauzzini on *Grove Music Online* and Rice's 2015 book about Rauzzini, though both these references point to Sands' 1942 article rather than a primary source (Hansell; Rice, 2015, p.1).

in Rome and who paid for Corri's early music education (Corri, 1810, p. 1).⁵ Clementi's music teachers in Rome are listed as Gaetano Carpani (1692-1785), a church composer who was considered 'the most profound contrapuntist of his day in Rome' and Giuseppe Santarelli, a teacher of singing (Sainsbury and Choron, 1827, p. 137). However, an 1833 obituary states that Santarelli '[was] considered by the Italians the last great master of the vocal school'; although there is no obvious cross-over that could provide a clear indication of a teacher whom each of these three musicians shared, Santarelli was the *Maestro di Cappella* of the Sistine Chapel, and it is likely that Rauzzini was a singer in Santarelli's choir (1833a, p. 37; Burney, 1773b, p. 277).

Santarelli was also a castrato and had been an opera singer in his youth, but later joined the Augustine order and committed himself to the church and to the reading of musical history (Van Boer, 2012, p. 496). He taught singing while in the order, and Burney accompanied him on a visit to one of his students. He described her abilities thus:

[She] sings divinely; with more grace, taste and expression than any female in public or private I ever heard [...]. She has a good shake and well-toned voice, an admirable portamento, with great compass and high finishing in all she attempts. Indeed she does infinite credit to her master (Burney, 1771, p. 221).

Burney informs us that Santarelli had studied music and its history 'more profoundly than any other', and describes the long conversations they shared regarding works by composers such as Allegri and Palestrina (Burney, 1771, p. 232). Santarelli wrote a treatise on church music entitled *Della Musica del Santuario e della Disciplina de' suoi Cantori* ('A Historical Dissertation on Church Music'), which

⁵ This was most likely Joaquín Fernández de Portocarrero y Mendoza (1681-1760) who was the Spanish Ambassador in Rome from 1746 to 1760 (Stumpel et al., 1999, p. 308).

discussed the history of church music since approximately 1400, but also described the training of singers within the Papal choirs (Burney, 1771, pp. 229-230).⁶ His cultivated knowledge of musical theory and history would have allowed him to provide his students with a deep understanding of the subject in all aspects, not just singing.

Rauzzini himself demonstrated a great enthusiasm to cultivate a wide range of musical skills, which is evident throughout his career. He was frequently praised for his skill in all areas of music, and was even considered more accomplished than his castrated operatic colleagues. He was also an accomplished harpsichord player with Burney even declaring that he was a ‘more excellent’ a harpsichordist than was usual for Italian singers (Burney, 1771, p. 47). There is evidence of Rauzzini’s skill as a keyboard player in his compositions: in an aria composed for Maria Parke (1772-1822), the accompanying line appears highly complex and fast-moving, but sits very well under the fingers, showing that he understood how to compose for this instrument.

⁶ Suzanne J. Beicken notes in her edition of John Adam Hiller’s *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation* that a copy of *Della Musica del Santuario e della Disciplina de’ suoi Cantori* was with the printers in 1764 but it was never distributed due to lack of funds (Beicken, 2001, p. 179). This is perhaps why no edition of this treatise appears in large library database such as Copac, Worldcat or RISM.



Figure 1: Example of Rauzzini composing challenging music for piano in his aria composed for Miss Parke. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Library Research Annexe (Store HQ01137) (Rauzzini, 1800, p. 49).

Although Rauzzini would make his initial fame as a singer, Burney commented that Rauzzini's voice suffered a lack of vocal power due to the fact that he spent too much time bent over a harpsichord playing and composing (Burney, 1782b, p. 501). A brief examination of Rauzzini's career shows that he was interested in many other areas of music, not just vocal performance. In addition to composing several songs and arias, which will be discussed throughout this study, he published several solo and duet sonatas for the piano.

Table 1: Table of solo duets and sonatas for piano composed by Rauzzini

Work	Date	Publisher
Six Favourite Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with an accompaniment for a violin ... Opera prima.	1777	London: John Welcher (Welcker)
Six quartettos for the piano forte or harpsichord with accompaniments for two violins and a bass. Opera vi	1780	London: John Welcker
Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin. Opera viii	1780	Dublin: John Lee
Three grand duets for two performers on one piano-forte or harpsichord : Opera xii Composed & humbly dedicated to Mrs. Dayrolles	1785-1789	London: Robert Birchall
Three Sonatas and a Duet for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with an accompaniment for the Violin ad libitum. Opera xv.	1786	London: Birchall and Andrews

Burney stated that '[Rauzzini's] knowledge of harmony [was] far beyond that of any great stage-singer', and there is a frequently quoted anecdote that further attested to Rauzzini's abilities as it is said: 'he was able to sight-read the most difficult instrumental music upside down' (Parke, 1830, p. 245). These skills are consistent with Rauzzini having had training from a teacher such as Santarelli with a broad approach.

While there are obstacles in constructing Rauzzini's vocal lineage before establishing himself as an opera singer, there is evidence that he was a well-rounded musician equally skilled in multiple areas of music including composition, instrumental playing and singing. This well-rounded knowledge, established during his training and early career, would later assist him in becoming one of the most sought-after teachers of the period as will be explored in more detail throughout this chapter.

2.3 First engagements and commission at the court of Bavaria

In the year 1765, an eighteen-year-old Rauzzini made his operatic début at the *Teatro Della Valle* in the leading female role of Clarice in Piccinni's *Il finto astrologo*, and went onto perform eight other leading female roles in the same year.⁷ Valeria Finucci in her 2003 book theorises that if a castrato lacked sufficient power and quality they would tend to be cast in a female role (Finucci, 2003, p. 236). However, Anne Desler in her 2014 thesis notes that Farinelli also débuted in a leading female role and this was not due to a lack of vocal quality; rather for any singer to be cast in the leading

⁷ Rice notes that Rauzzini was convincing in the nine female roles he performed due to his youthful good looks and the fact that he did not appear to suffer from macroskelia, a condition frequently caused by the castration operation, which elongated the limbs (Rice, 2015, p. 2).

role required a high level of vocal ability.⁸ The six prima donna roles that Farinelli sang established his fame as a singer and allowed him to transition smoothly into the more prestigious primo uomo position (Desler, 2014, pp. 37-40). Similarly, the female roles that Rauzzini sang successfully established him as a singer of merit, allowing him to gain enough fame to make the move from leading female to leading male. One year after his operatic début, he was granted a salaried position at the Bavarian court as their primo uomo.

Rauzzini was employed for six years at the Bavarian court and was granted opportunities to display his talents as a singer and as a composer (Burney, 1773a, p. 47). He composed and starred in three operas *Piramo e Tisbe* (1769), *L'Ali d'amore* (1770) and *L'Eroe cinese* (1771).⁹ Composing operas in which he assumed the role of primo uomo allowed Rauzzini to ensure that he was exhibiting his best vocal skills, and this would come to be a key feature of his teaching philosophy.

As will be examined in chapter three, Rauzzini encouraged his students to develop their own individual style of singing even advising that teachers should select songs best suited to the abilities of their students. Rauzzini often opted to compose or revise arias to suit the voice of his student (Rauzzini, 1808, p. 2). In his own singing career, though he would also perform arias and songs written by other composers, he frequently chose to compose his own arias to suit his own attributes. During his début in London in the pasticcio opera *Armida* he composed all of his own arias for this

⁸ In 1783, as Rauzzini was nearing the end of his professional vocal career, he once again performed a leading female role: Thamiris in the opera *Amintas*, with the leading male role being taken by the *castrato* Giusto Tenducci (ca. 1736-1790). While this may point to Rauzzini's voice being in a state of decline, unsuited to a leading male role, this performance was billed as a 'benefit night' for Tenducci, therefore, it would have been more appropriate for Tenducci to be cast as the primo uomo and Rauzzini the prima donna, rather than this being any indication of vocal ability (1783, p.1).

⁹ All of these operas were revised and performed in London in later years to great acclaim. *Piramo e Tisbe* was revised and performed for three separate seasons in London: 1775, 1776 and 1781 (Rauzzini and Rice et al, 2014, p. 6).

performance and received favourable reviews for doing so: ‘those of Signor Rauzzini, though of his own composition sufficiently capitol to shew so excellent a singer in a proper point of view’ (1774b, p. 2).

Rice, in his 2015 book on Rauzzini, has given a detailed examination of one of Rauzzini’s first opera compositions, *Piramo e Tisbe*, and notes that the style is lacking in the pyrotechnics often associated with the vocal style of the castrato. Those songs and arias of Rauzzini’s own composition, however, appear to reveal more about his preference of genre than actual ability. *Piramo e Tisbe* is similar in style to Christoph Gluck’s 1774 reworking of his opera *Orfeo e Euridice*, as the vocal lines are composed in an expressive style rather than a virtuosic one (Rice, 2015, p. 44).¹⁰ This could suggest that Rauzzini lacked the flexibility of voice for vocal virtuosity, but in examining arias written specifically for him by other composers, this appears not to be the case. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in 1772 composed the role of Cecilio for Rauzzini in the opera *Lucio Silla*. Mozart prided himself on his ability to compose music specifically suited to his operatic cast; his father Leopold Mozart wrote in a letter, which stated the young Mozart did not begin composing any of Rauzzini’s arias for the opera until the castrato had arrived to begin rehearsals for the production (Mozart and Eisen, 1772). In addition, Mozart composed the solo motet *Exultate Jubilate*, which provides clear evidence that Rauzzini was capable of singing great displays of vocal virtuosity as well as in a less florid and more expressive style.

The opening of the motet begins at the upper end of the soprano range, soaring to an F5 but within a few bars descends to a D4. As the aria progresses, rapid

¹⁰ Burton D. Fisher in his 2003 study on Gluck’s *Orfeo ed Euridice* highlights that his reworking of the opera was a ‘reaction against the complication Metastasian plots that had dominated the opera seria, and had reduced the art form to a spectacle of absurdities’. Thus Gluck removed da capo arias, which served to display a singer’s vocal virtuosity and produced a work that expressed a more subtle sense of drama (Fisher and Ebrary, 2003, p. 40). In a similar manner, da capo arias do not feature in Rauzzini’s operas and he provides little opportunity for feats of virtuosity.

and virtuosic runs demonstrate Rauzzini's vocal flexibility, and are not always intuitive or simple to navigate, allowing the castrato to show his accuracy and neatness of articulation.

Mus. Ex. 1: Virtuosic runs from the allegro aria in *Exultate Jubilate* (Mozart, 1992, p. 4)

The second aria shows an alternative side of Rauzzini's singing, which does not capitalise on pyrotechnics, but focusses more on vocal expression. The aria has a simple yet beautiful melody line featuring descending slurred thirds, which required the same accuracy of articulation and intonation to be effective.

Mus. Ex. 2: Andante aria from *Exultate Jubilate* written in a more expressive style that does not utilise virtuosic runs (Mozart, 1992, p. 11).

The differing characters of these two arias represent the two vocal styles of Rauzzini: the first, a rapid execution of runs, which was most likely the expected vocal style of a castrato and the second, a less extravagant but equally challenging and expressive style. Rauzzini was at the Bavarian court when Charles Burney toured to Munich and he too noted the castrato's keenness to perform and show his understanding of singing different genres:

[Rauzzini] was so obliging as to sing to me a great number of excellent songs, in different styles, among which there were many of his own composition. As to his abilities in singing [...] he is a charming performer; his taste is quite modern and delicate; the tone of his voice

sweet and clear; his execution of passages of the most difficult intonation amazingly neat, rapid and free [...] I am told he is an excellent actor (Burney, 1773a, p. 54).

Burney's comments are remarkably similar to the advice Rauzzini would give in his treatise almost thirty years later. Rauzzini highlights on multiple occasions throughout the introductory comments in his treatise the importance of accurate and easy execution of rapid passages, particularly accuracy of intonation. Furthermore, he states that 'extravagant passages may create surpris[e] but seldom pleasure', emphasising the importance of improving one's ability to sing expressively rather than relying on vocal pyrotechnics to impress.

Even in Rauzzini's early career as a singer, he was developing philosophies that would come to define his teaching practice. Yet it would seem that during his first experiences in teaching, while he was keen to develop a more expressive side of singing in his students (an area he would continue to promote), allowing them to develop their own individual style was not as yet fully integrated into his teaching practice, which was perhaps to the detriment of his first student Caterina Schindlerin (1753-c.1788).

2.4 London: The case of Caterina Schindlerin, and Rauzzini's failures as a teacher

Rauzzini arrived in London in October 1774, and though he was initially engaged as the primo uomo at the King's Theatre (the home of Italian opera in London) he quickly began to establish himself in other musical ventures using those skills he had developed while in court employment in Bavaria. As mentioned above, Rauzzini's first performance in London was in a pasticcio, a popular style of opera in Britain during the eighteenth century, which was 'made up of various pieces from different composers or sources and adapted to a new or existing libretto' (Price, 2014). It was

typical for the leading singers to choose which arias they would perform, and by composing his own arias, not only did this ensure he would exhibit his vocal excellence, but he also showed off his abilities as a composer. In addition, Rauzzini used his London engagement as an opportunity to parade one of the students he had brought with him from the continent: Caterina Schindlerin. Right from his first performance in London he showed his prowess in three areas of music: performance, composition and teaching.

The initial reviews on Schindlerin's début in *Armida* were favourable, with one critic stating:

The first woman Signora Schindlerin has a voice at once clear and melodious, great taste and the most affecting expression; as an actress she is certainly the best that has appeared on our Italian stage (1774b, p. 2).

Later in the season, a review of Corri's *Alessandro Nell'Indie* performed in December 1774 described Schindlerin as 'a pleasing delicate and affecting singer' (1774b, p. 2). Yet, as the season progressed more and more criticisms appeared: during a performance of *Montezuma* performed in February 1775, the critic praised her delivery of the songs stating that: '[she was] so sensible and graceful, that I can command no expressions equal to her merit', but condemned the soprano for not possessing a powerful voice (1775b, p. 1). Another critical review of a performance she gave, in the opera *Armida* appeared in January 1775:

Signora Schindlerin was forced to make her first appearance with three insignificant sing-songs, wherein the power of her voice is mistaken and her abilities totally misapplied (1775a, p. 2).

This criticism does not appear in the initial début performance, and it is unknown who the composer of her arias may have been. It is possible that it was Rauzzini, but usually this would be publicly announced. Most reviews of Schindlerin's performance

in London commend her expression, an area of vocal performance which Rauzzini prized, but a recurring criticism is that her voice was not powerful enough to suit the taste of the audience. This is the same observation that Burney made of Rauzzini's voice when he met him in Munich in 1772: 'as to his abilities in singing, I think his shake is not quite open enough, nor did I then think his voice sufficiently powerful for a great theatre' and he would restate this criticism in his *General History of Music* (Burney, 1773a, p. 54; Burney, 1782b, p. 880).

In 1864, the publication *The London Society* did not hold Schindlerin in high regard commenting that 'her voice was a mere thread; she had no taste or knowledge, and on or off stage she was simply Rauzzini's pupil' (Hogg and Marryat, 1864, p. 81).¹¹ Though this was published fifty-four years after Rauzzini's death, the opinion of Schindlerin (and by extension Rauzzini's talents as a teacher) are rather negative, thereby implying that she would be remembered for her failures as a singer on the London stage. Schindlerin was only employed by the King's Theatre for one season (1774-1775), and even her arrival at the beginning of the 1774 season was already shrouded in scandal. Rauzzini had forced the management to employ her as the prima donna, compelling them to break another contract that the managers had already made with English prima donna Cecilia Davies. This created much controversy and Davies subsequently filed for a lawsuit under breach of contract (Woodfield, 2001, p. 68). Rauzzini must have believed in Schindlerin's abilities and hoped that securing her a position in the theatre would result in her success, which in turn demonstrated him to be a teacher of merit. However, Schindlerin's appearances were remembered

¹¹ Rice has identified this opera as *Narbal* by Ferdinanado Bertoni, performed at the Teatro Giustiani di San Moisè in May 1774 (Rice, 2015, p. 10).

as disappointing and though it may not have had a lasting effect on Rauzzini's legacy, she exemplifies Rauzzini's initial failings as an impresario and as a teacher.

While Rauzzini would later come to encourage his students to understand their own vocal capabilities and develop their own style, it would seem that he had not effectively instilled this philosophy in Schindlerin as there is evidence that the prima donna was copying Rauzzini's vocal style including his limitations. It is also possible that Rauzzini lacked the understanding of technique to help his student increase her vocal power.¹²

However, like Rauzzini, Schindlerin might in time have come to develop fame and success in spite of these criticisms, had she understood the social graces and etiquette of English society. The 1864 publication went onto comment that she was 'coquettish, silly and insipid', implying that her voice was not the main cause for of displeasure among audiences (Hogg and Marryat, 1864, p. 81). Offstage, a singer was expected to appear intelligent, sociable and witty if she wished to remain in public favour. Rauzzini was particularly skilled as a socialite and was able to maintain his theatrical acclaim with a likeable personality offstage. Burney's *History of Music* even comments that he was a 'beautiful person', which 'gained him general approbation' (Burney, 1782a, p. 501). Schindlerin, on the other hand, did not develop the social skills to build a rapport with the audience off stage, which might have helped her to secure further employment at the King's Theatre in future seasons.

¹² Vocal copying was considered one of the worst faults a singer could commit by most singing teachers. In 1723 (English translation by John Galliard in 1743), the *castrato* Pier Francesco Tosi condemned the practice stating: 'The most admired Graces of a Professor ought only to be imitated, and not copied; on Condition also, that it does not bear even so much as a Shadow of Resemblance of the Original; otherwise, instead of a beautiful Imitation, it will become a despicable Copy' (Tosi and Galliard, 1743, p. 155).

Though Schindlerin was dropped from the roster in September 1775, she remained in London, for her benefit concert, which was performed in May 1776 (1776b, p. 1). She was cast in the role of Tisbe in Rauzzini's *Piramo e Tisbe*, which had been staged the previous year for both Rauzzini and Schindlerin's benefit concerts.¹³ A contemporary manuscript of an aria from this opera, which Rauzzini adapted to specifically suit Schindlerin's voice shows that the aria is not written to show displays of vocal virtuosity, but is in a cantabile style, which requires a steady even tone, controlled and supported that can easily negotiate long legato lines (please see chapter five). On several occasions the instrumental accompaniment and the voice are marked *piano*, suggesting that Schindlerin was more comfortable singing at a quieter volume. The aria soars to a B5 on several occasions and lingers for long periods of time, allowing Schindlerin to show her vocal height and control; however, the aria never falls below an F4, which perhaps suggests the range of her lower register was limited.

¹³ There is some confusion over the definition of this work. In several periodical listings it is described as an opera, but it is also described as a cantata and an entertainment. The work itself is quite short, perhaps too short for an opera, but there are named characters and it would appear to have been staged (1776b, p. 1).

Allegro

The musical score consists of ten staves of music for a single voice. The vocal line is continuous, with lyrics appearing below each staff. The score is in common time and uses a key signature of one flat. Dynamic markings include a piano dynamic (p) and a vocal exhalation (Ah). The lyrics are in Italian and describe a state of longing or despair.

1. In - ste - le - ce in tanto or ro - re che fa ro che fa ro
2. sen za il mio ben in tanto or - ro - re che fa -
3. - ro sen za il mi o ben Che fa ro sen za il mio
4. ben che fa - ro sen za il mio ben Ah
5. che fa per e che non sie ne la mia te - maá con so
6. lar Ah che fa per che non sie ne La mia
7. te - ma á con la mi a te ma á con so lar
8. la mi a te ma á con so lar in fe li ce in
9. tan to or ro - re Che fa ro che fa ro sen za il mio ben

Mus. Ex. 3: A lack of virtuosity in an air from *Piramo e Tisbe* as sung by Caterina Schindlerin. Original spellings and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the Collection de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique de Genève, Rmo 66, Ms.10465, 10466 (Rauzzini, 1776?).¹⁴

¹⁴ A facsimile version of the manuscript is at appendix B.1.

In the absence of other works known to have been performed by Schindlerin, it is difficult to gain a clear impression of her individual vocal style, but what this aria demonstrates is that Rauzzini wished her to demonstrate her vocal expression and evenness of tone. Throughout the aria, very careful slurs are marked, giving shape to the vocal line, but also showing that many of the leaps of a third should be sung legato. Bar 82 in particular demonstrates that this legato control extended to Schindlerin's upper register, as a slur is marked between G5 and B5. Reviews do not draw attention to Schindlerin ever performing bravura arias or feats of vocal virtuosity. Rauzzini's determination to develop a more expressive style of singing devoid of virtuosity, was transferred to his student, and while she was accomplished at performing this genre of aria she was not seen as the star prima donna. The replacement for Schindlerin was Caterina Gabrielli (1730-1796). Burney stated that her 'chief excellence [was her] rapidity and neatness of execution' but in pathetic airs her vocal expression was 'not sufficiently touching or effectual' (Burney, 1782b, 503). Schindlerin may have excelled in vocal expression but her replacement, was known for her floridity, thus suggesting that at least in the King's Theatre, vocal virtuosity continued to be of more value.¹⁵

After Schindlerin's departure from The King's Theatre, Rauzzini remained as the primo uomo for the next three seasons. Schindlerin does not appear in London listings beyond 1776, and it is likely that she returned to the continent and did not engage in further tuition with Rauzzini.¹⁶ In spite of the lack of success of Schindlerin

¹⁵ As will be discussed in chapter four, Rosemond Mountain, after her début, was praised for her expressive style of singing but subsequently pushed to the background as she did not display feats of virtuosity. It was only after she excelled in bravura arias that she achieved and maintained her prima donna status.

¹⁶ Rice notes that Schindlerin returned to Vienna where she once again performed in Rauzzini's *Piramo e Tisbe* but this time in the role of Piramo (Rice, 2015, p. 10).

Rauzzini immediately took on another student; the young soprano Anna Selina Storace (1765-1817), who will be discussed at length in chapter four.

Rauzzini announced his departure from the theatre as its resident primo uomo in the summer of 1777, and by the November of the same year it was announced that he had embarked on another musical enterprise with his friend and colleague Franz Lamotte (also known as La Motte c.1751-1780). Jointly, these two musicians launched several concerts in the Lower Rooms in Bath, a city that by 1780 Rauzzini would make his permanent residence. In these concert series Rauzzini, exhibited many of his students, composing arias and songs for each of them.

2.5 Bath: securing his teaching legacy

Though Rauzzini was part of the music concert scene in Bath from 1777 with La Motte he continued his connection with London, performing in several benefit concerts for singers such as Tenducci, Giovanni Ansani and Johann Christian Fischer (1781d, p. 2; 1781e, p. 1; 1783, p. 2).¹⁷ Alongside La Motte, he also set up a concert series in 1778 in the Hanover Square Rooms, which continued each season until 1784. Despite not holding the position of primo uomo at the King's Theatre, he did appear in the leading role of Alberto an opera of his own composition, *La Regina del Golconda*, which premiered on 18 March 1784. It is unclear why Rauzzini, who was now the resident lead composer at The King's Theatre, was cast as the leading male singer instead of the resident primo uomo, the castrato Pacchierotti. Rauzzini most

¹⁷ Giovanni Ansani (1744-1826) was an Italian tenor who performed across the continent and Britain. He is considered a prime agent of shifting the focus from castrati as the main attraction in opera seria to the tenor (Libby). Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800) was an oboist and composer who after travelling and performing on the continent was commissioned to perform at the Vauxhall Gardens in London. He would remain in London until his death and was an active performer and composer, notably performing for the 1784 Handel Commemoration (Keahey). Rauzzini would become the sole organiser of this series of subscription concerts from the 1780-81 season upon La Motte's death.

likely used his fame and influence with the management of the King's Theatre to ensure his casting. This incident prompted a public rivalry between the two castrati:

Besides the want of originality, there is a yet more lamentable want of the principal singers! Why employ Rauzzini, when we might have Pacchierotti – odi mediocris– Rauzzini, as a First Singer, is really not above Mediocrity – he is just tolerable, and no more – Pacchierotti, and Pacchierotti alone, is transcendent! (1784b, p. 2).

It was typical for the press to pose two singers against one another and this did not mean that the singer who was being criticised was necessarily less skilled. Rather, some periodicals would choose a favourite to back and promote them as the most fashionable compared to the other. Further examples of such reported rivalries also included Gabrielli, who upon her début was heavily criticised for not being as vocally talented as her predecessor Agujari; during her employment had been heavily supported by several London periodicals (Burney, 1774, p. 104). Any mention of Schindlerin was ignored, as if her one season had been removed from public memory.

The public rivalry was not only confined to Pacchierotti and Rauzzini's performance, but was also directed at Rauzzini's teaching ability. A letter written in response to another anonymous author who was critical of Rauzzini's abilities, but supported Pacchierotti, stated:

[The previous author] concludes and admonishes Miss Cantelo "to look up to Pacchierotti to cultivate Taste and Feeling". As an anonymous writer has as good a right as another to give advice, (supporting [Rauzzini] equally capable) I admonish her against such a practice, being confident that, possessed as she is, of a fine genius, a rich, flexible, extensive voice, she will soon be one of the first singers this country ever produced [...] and now [...] if you wish to keep your paper in good repute, I would admonish you not to suffer such a farrago of absurdity and falsehood to disgrace it in future (1784c, p. 3).¹⁸

¹⁸ The anonymous reviewer gave his name as 'Common Sense', suggesting that his word is the sensible option over the opinion of anyone else.

The advice that Cantelo should look to Pacchierotti to ‘cultivate taste and feeling’ does not necessarily indicate that Rauzzini’s abilities in this area was lacking, but rather that Pacchierotti’s as the resident primo uomo, was considered more fashionable. Even if some critics believed this to be true, not all were in agreement, which demonstrates the diversity of public opinion when it came to discussing ‘taste and feeling’ in singing. Cantelo was not a part of this performance, so to bring her into the discussion at all was a way to discredit Rauzzini’s overall skills as a musician; however, these comments did not deter students from coming to Rauzzini for tuition.

While Rauzzini had been a teacher from his youth, the number of students he taught vastly increased once he was established in Bath. Rauzzini’s decision to come to Bath may seem odd considering he was leaving the luxurious high life of the capital, but Bath during the eighteenth century had become a leading centre of cultural life particularly in the summer where the richest and the most fashionable people would journey to the city for their summer excursions. Rauzzini staged many of his famous subscription concerts in the New Assembly Rooms built by John Wood between 1769 and 1771.

Table 2: Rauzzini's students who would go on to have a professional career

Student Name	Source
Mrs Atkins (c.1797)	(1797b, p. 4).
Mrs Mary Ashe [née Comer] (c.1797-c.1799)	(Sylvanus Urban, 1838, p. 218).
William Mineard Bennet (1778–1858)	(1808c, p. 76).
Elizabeth Billington [née Weichsel] (1765-1818)	(1807, p. 232).
John Braham (1777?-1856)	(1796b, p. 2).
Elizabeth Clendining [née Arnold] (bap. 1767-1799)	(Haslewood, 1795, p. 175).
Maria Dickons [née Poole] (1774-1833)	(Walsh, 1973, p. 299).
Miss George (c.1803-c.1810)	(1803c, p. 3).
Miss Goepel [or Goepell] (c.1701-c.1797)	(1796a, p. 2).
Mrs Ann Harrison [née Cantelo] (1766-1831)	(1787c, p. 2).
Charles Incledon (bap. 1763-1826)	(1786j).
Michael Kelly (1762-1826)	(Kelly and Hook, 1826, p. 274).
Mrs Kingston (c.1804)	(1804, p. 2).
Gertrude Elisabeth Mara (1749-1833)	(1807, p. 232).
Mr T. T. Magrath (c.1803-1865)	(1865, p. 3).
Jane Mary Miles [née Guest] (c.1762-1846)	She was a piano student of Rauzzini's, not a vocal student (Raessler, 2004).
Rosemond Mountain [née Wilkinson], (c.1768-1841)	(1798, p. 1)
Caterina Schindlerin (c. 1773-c.1776)	(Hogg and Marryat, 1864, p. 81).
Anna Selina [Nancy] Storace (1765-1817)	(Britton, 1825, p. 117).
Miss Storer (c.1780-c.1783)	(Marsh and Robins, 2011, p. 256).
Elizabeth Willems (C.1785-c.1840)	(Squire, W. B, 2004, Husk, W.H. et al).

Table 3: Rauzzini's known amateur students

Student Name	Source
Elizabeth Sarah Villa-Real Gooch (1757-1807)	(Gooch, 1792).
Miss Reeve (c.1802)	(1802c, p. 2).
Elisabeth Saville (c.1811)	(Seward, 1811).

In his 2015 study, Rice states that Rauzzini's increase in teaching while in Bath was due to his need to 'offset losses in his activities as a concert promoter' (Rice, 2015, p. 184). Although we only know of three amateur students as their musical activities were not publicly advertised, it is possible there were more. That being said, it cannot be established from this evidence if he received a regular income from teaching amateur students.

Furthermore, there is no evidence that he established apprenticeship contracts or took payment from any of his professional students. As will be explored in chapters four and six, many of his professional students lived with Rauzzini in his home and were given many performance opportunities at his Bath Concerts, which helped to establish their careers. Although he received no monetary payment from students such as John Braham as will be discussed in chapter six, the benefit to his reputation as teacher made up for this, as the success of his students was established. This would have generated more amateur students, more audience members at his concerts and more sales of his compositions, particularly songs. This was a continuation of the practice he established in London, where he used his influence as primo uomo to gain lucrative performance opportunities for his aspiring professional students. In fact, many of those professionals were advertised as leading performers for his Bath concert series and even those students who had already gained much success would return for one-off concerts.

Table 4: Rauzzini's students who were featured as performers for his Bath concert series

Season year or date of concert	Performer
1781-82	Jane Mary Guest, piano player (1781a; 1781b; 1781c; 1781f).
1782-83	Miss Storer (Marsh and Robins, 2011, p. 256).
1784-85	Ann Cantelo (1784e).
1786-87	Ann Cantelo, Charles Incledon & Maria Poole (Rice, 2015, p. 288).
1787-88	Ann Cantelo, Charles Incledon & Maria Poole (1787b; 1787d; 1787g; 1787p; 1787n; 1787r).
5 December 1787	Gertrude Mara (1787q).
11 December 1787	Gertrude Mara (1787r).
19, 20 & 21 August 1788	Gertrude Mara & Ann Cantelo (1788e).
1788-89	Ann Cantelo & Charles Incledon (1788f; 1788i; 1788j; 1788k; 1788a; 1788l; 1789a).
5, 6 & 7 August 1789	Ann Cantelo, Charles Incledon & Nancy Storace (1789c).
1789-90	Ann Cantelo, Charles Incledon & Jane (1789e; 1789h; 1789i; 1789j).
1790-91	Maria Poole, Miss Goepel & Gertrude Mara (Rice, 2015, p. 297).
17 December 1791	Miss Goepel (or Gopell) (1791h).
1791-92	No vocal students appeared this season.
1792-93	No vocal students appeared this season.
1793-94	No vocal students appeared this season.
1794-95	John Braham (Rice, 2015, p. 306).
31 December 1794	John Braham & Gertrude Mara (Rice, 2015, p. 307).
7 & 21 January 1795	John Braham & Gertrude Mara (Rice, 2015, p. 307).
1795-96	John Braham, Gertrude Mara & Miss Goepel (Rice, 2015, p. 308).
1796-97	John Braham & Nancy Storace (Rice, 2015, p. 309).
24 December 1796	John Braham, Nancy Storace (1796e, p. 1).
1797-98	Maria Poole, Mary Comer, Gertrude Mara & Charles Incledon (Rice, 2015, p. 312).
1798-99	Mary Comer, Gertrude Mara & Rosemond Mountain (Rice, 2015, p. 315).
1799-1800	Rosemond Mountain, Mary Ashe (née Comer) & Gertrude Mara (1799c).
1800-1801	Mary Ashe & Gertrude Mara (Rice, 2015, p. 321).
1801-02	John Braham & Mary Ashe (Rice, 2015, p. 322).
1802-03	Nancy Storace & John Braham (Rice, 2015, p. 324).
1803-04	Nancy Storace, John Braham, Miss George & Charles Incledon (Rice, 2015, p. 326).
1804-05	Nancy Storace & John Braham (Rice, 2015, p. 331).
1805-06	Nancy Storace, John Braham & Miss George (Rice, 2015, p. 335).
1806-07	Nancy Storace, John Braham & Mary Ashe (Rice, 2015, p. 339).
1807-08	Nancy Storace, John Braham & Mary Ashe (Rice, 2015, p. 343).
1808-09	Nancy Storace, John Braham & Mary Ashe (Rice, 2015, p. 347).
21 April 1808	Elizabeth Billington & Mrs Ashe (1808a).
1809-10	John Braham, Maria Dickons (née Poole) & Mary Ashe (1810a).

He also did not deter many of his amateur students from public performance, as is evident in the following passage in a letter from Anna Seward to William Hayley in 1785:

She [Elizabeth Saville] meets with kind encouragement at the Bath concerts this winter from the company, and every indulgent attention from her amiable preceptor, Mr Rauzzini [...]. I transcribe the letter which describes her first vocal attempt in the Bath concert-room. "Yes it is over -- the trying evening is over; and more happily than I could hope, or expect. I am all gratitude to my audience for their indulgence. O! my dearest father, did I once think the time could ever come when I should dare to stand up with the presumption of attempting to entertain three hundred strangers with my poor voice? [W]ith so little science to guide me, and with small reliance, except on my ear, to protect me from absurd and ridiculous errors? [...] My hand, indeed, trembled so, that Miss Cantelo kindly rose and helped me to hold my song; but my voice did not falter *very much*. [...] I performed better than I myself expected, yet most well do I know that I could not deserve those indulgent testimonies of satisfaction from my audience. They were twice repeated on the close of my strain; and when the concert was over, several elegant ladies, whose names I do not know, came and spoke to me with so much kindness in their eyes! God bless them for it! it was a warm cordial to my beating heart" (Seward, 1785a).

Saville's nerves prior to performing clearly come through in her letter, as well as her delight when she performed better than her own expectations. While the nerves Saville described appear both timeless and universal, the letter is an unusual insight into the tensions experienced by a young amateur eighteenth-century student of singing, performing publicly for the first time and the reactions of the audience, who gave a much more positive response than a professional singer may have encountered.

Even for amateurs, public performance was an important part of their singing education as the student was able to develop important skills, such as building confidence and understanding of presentation on stage before an audience and dealing with performance nerves. These are all aspects that cannot be practised in the private lesson and which would have been of particular benefit to his aspiring

professional students. Public performance also was an opportunity for students to demonstrate their abilities and, by extension, Rauzzini's aptitude as a teacher. With the majority of his aspiring professional students, he used his concerts or influence at the opera house to position his students as principal singers, which stood them in good stead for future engagements.

2.6 The Death of Rauzzini

On 21 April 1810, it was announced that Rauzzini had died at his home in Bath:

On Sunday morning this week, at his house in Gay Street, Bath, Venanzio Rauzzini Esq. one of the most celebrated musicians, as a composer and performer, of the present age. He had lived between thirty and forty years in this country, and had considerably increased our taste in vocal music, by improving the taste of our public performers (1810b, p. 3).

In a periodical published fifteen years after Rauzzini's funeral, which stated that 'the funeral honours bestowed on him evinced the great respect in which his character was generally held' (Britton, 1825, p. 117). This is also cited in a 1990 study by Phyllis May Hembry, was said to have been 'one of the best attended since Beau Nash', who had had a great influence on the city as the unofficial Master of Ceremonies from 1704 until his death in 1761 (Hembry, 1990, p. 151). His students Braham and Storace erected a plaque in memory of their beloved teacher in Bath and this paid tribute to the 'professional merit' he instilled in his students.¹⁹ It is clear that Braham and Storace felt indebted to Rauzzini for their own professional merits and that Rauzzini was held in great respect by both his students and the city in which he had lived for most of his life.

¹⁹ On the plaque is inscribed a few bars from his *Requiem* composed in 1801, thus the plaque demonstrates Rauzzini's legacy as a performer, composer and teacher.

Though he may have been a son of Rome, the musical world in Britain considered him to have had substantial influence over the British music scene. As a *castrato*, Rauzzini may have been expected to become a leading operatic singer, and though he did accomplish this to a certain extent, he also went to great length to establish himself, right from the beginning of his career, as a performer, composer and teacher. He used his fame as a singer to promote his compositions, which achieved some popularity and included in several seasons at the King's Theatre, concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms and the Bath concerts. Many were also specifically written for his students, several of whom would become highly successful vocal performers. Later he established a performance platform in which the full range of students from amateur to famed professional could exhibit their vocal prowess, promoting themselves and Rauzzini's teaching ability. Teaching was a part of Rauzzini's career from early life as a singer on the continent until his death, and was not simply a secondary activity to offset financial difficulty. As will be examined in the following chapters, he used all of his musical abilities to establish his professional students in their careers, with many of them becoming among the most successful singers both in Britain and the continent.

Chapter 3 The Definition and Function of Solfeggi

3.1 Introduction

Rauzzini preserved his teaching practice in two treatises, with very similar titles: *Twelve Solfeggi or Exercises for the Voice*, published in 1808, and *A Second Sett of Twelve Solfeggi or Exercises for the Voice*, which was intended for publication prior to his death but did not go to press until 1820. The use of 'or' within both these titles implies that 'exercises' is a direct translation of the Italian solfeggi, but examination of other titles available in Britain during this period suggests that solfeggi were deemed by some authors to have an additional purpose to exercises. For example, Henry Allen's 1852 publication *First Principles of the art of singing comprising a physiological treatise on the vocal apparatus: directions for the cultivation of the voice and a series of progressive lessons, solfeggios and exercises* suggest that the solfeggi in this treatise have a different function to exercises (Allen, 1852).²⁰ To complicate matters further, John Potter in his 2006 article 'The tenor-castrato connection' argues: 'Rauzzini's solfeggi are not, strictly speaking, solfeggi, as the author indicates that they should be vocalised on the vowel Ah (as in Arm), rather than the sol-fa syllables' (Potter, 2007, p. 105). It seems odd that Rauzzini, who was attempting to clarify the meaning of the term solfeggi should choose, as Potter suggests, the wrong term in the first instance. In order to examine why Rauzzini should choose solfeggi to describe his exercises, it is necessary to examine other contemporary treatises from the early nineteenth century. Further questions can be asked about the function of these solfeggi and whether their function differed in Britain compared to Italy as well as the reason behind Rauzzini choosing to publish his treatise in this format.

²⁰ Henry Robinson Allen (1809-1876) was a successful singer performing at the Princess's Theatre in London between 1843 and 1850. After retiring as a performer he became a successful composer of ballads and a singing teacher (Chitty & Biddlecombe, 2014).

3.2 The function of solfeggi in the Italian conservatory

Scholars have drawn attention to the importance of certain tools used for singing tuition in Italian conservatories of the eighteenth century, most significantly the use of solfeggi. Susan Rutherford in her 2006 book briefly examines the change in teaching practice that occurred at the end of this century in the *Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini* in Naples, which was dedicated to the tuition of boys:

In 1791, Saverio Mattei's report [...] complained that a change in teaching methods from the former strict schooling in solfeggi to a more lax approach that permitted students to indulge in the '*rondoncini* and the *canonetti* of French guitar' (which 'tire neither the chest nor the lungs') had corrupted the ears of the pupils, and had led to the 'decadence of the art of singing' (Rutherford, 2006, p. 91).

The conservatory in previous years used solfeggi as part of their core curriculum of vocal tuition and without the intense and prolonged practice of solfeggi, students no longer developed a robust vocal technique. Rutherford continues that Metastasio in 1770 claimed the arduous training, which made voices 'firm, robust, and sonorous' had already been abandoned in favour of 'the newer practices of arpeggios, runs and trills', but she theorises that these are visible examples of Mattei and Metastasio idealising a former tradition of vocal training, lamenting on the quality of singing of their youth with a 'falseness of memory' (Rutherford, 2006, p. 92). It may be true that these authors were reflecting on a golden age of singing constructed in their memory, condemning the newer forms of vocal tuition as lesser quality; however, other scholars such as Denis Arnold in his article on the Venetian conservatories between 1680 and 1790, which were dedicated to the housing and schooling of orphaned girls, states that solfeggi made up a significant part of the vocal education curriculum. These solfeggi, which are contained within the singing manual collection of the *Ospedalotto*, are of such a complex nature that Arnold deduces the girls who

performed them had incredibly agile voices, which is why a significant number went on to become successful opera singers (Arnold, 1962, p. 40). What becomes apparent from the research gathered by Rutherford and Arnold is that the solfeggi were linked to a strict, rigorous schooling, which allowed the voices of men, castrati and women to build a robust vocal technique, agile enough to navigate the most fast-paced, complex passages and fit for a demanding operatic career.

Arnold briefly points out that the solfeggi were written especially for each individual student (Arnold, 1962, p. 40). This was not an exclusive practice of the Venetian conservatories or indeed of conservatories in general. Clapton discusses an often quoted anecdote about Porpora and his apprentice Caffarelli:

Porpora made Caffarelli study the same page of exercises for six years, after which he told him, "Go, my son: I have nothing more to teach you. You are the greatest singer in Europe" (Clapton, 2005, p. 324).

Clapton provides further context for this anecdote, suggesting that the famous single page would have been very similar in nature to Porpora's published solfeggi. He suggests that this page was not a powerful elixir that could produce the perfect singer, but rather was made of simple exercises:

[Porpora] trained [singers] in three universally acknowledged fundamentals of good singing technique: the ability to sing pure vowels, to pronounce text clearly, and to produce a seamless legato (Clapton, 2005, p. 324).

If this page of exercises was written specifically to suit his student, the exercises would have assisted in liberating Caffarelli of technical problems individually unique to his voice. Thus, the page was only of use to Caffarelli and would not have been of the same benefit to another singer. Michael Kelly recounts that his teacher Giuseppe Aprile (1731-1813), another Italian castrato encouraged the young tenor to sing solfeggi every day and this advice is repeated in Aprile's vocal treatise (Aprile, 1805?,

p. 1; Kelly and Hook, 1826, pp. 75-76).²¹ Solfeggi were not just progressive exercises that, once the course of study was complete, were abandoned by the professional singer. They continued to be used throughout the course of a singer's professional career and as part of their daily rehearsal routine. This is most likely the reason behind a number of solfeggi publications being marketed to the more advanced student.²²

Aprile's treatise is not exclusively made up of solfeggi as he includes several exercises called divisions.

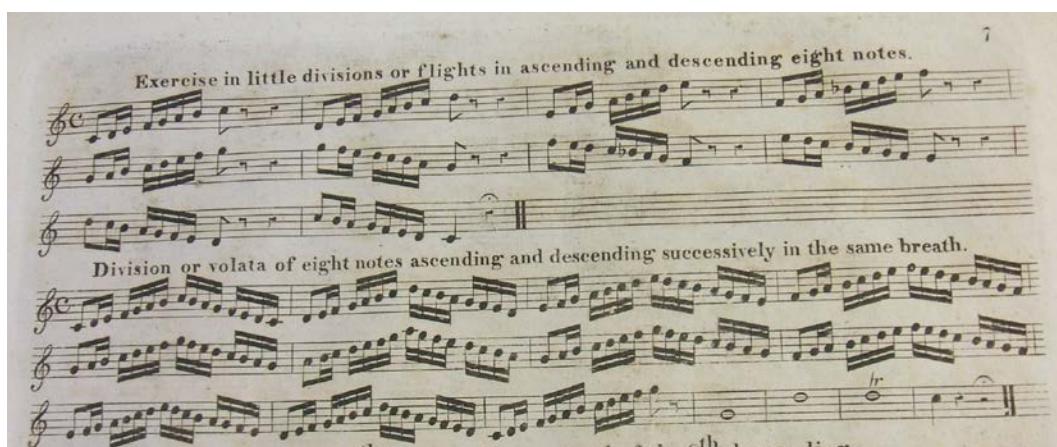


Figure 2: Exercises called divisions from Aprile's treatise. These would assist in gaining vocal flexibility. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections (Aprile, 1805?, p. 7).

These exercises are fast-paced ascending and descending scales, which would greatly assist in rendering the voice flexible, but they sit out with the thirty-six solfeggi printed in the treatise. The term 'division' was used in Britain during the seventeenth century, denoting a technique for performing improvised variations, where the notes

²¹ Giuseppe Aprile (1732-1813), an Italian soprano *castrato* and composer. He became a particularly famed singer, performing in theatres across Italy. He was also well known as a singing teacher and among his students were Michael Kelly, Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801) and Manuel García II (1805-1906). His treatise was originally published in Italian in 1791, but was translated to English in 1820 (Monson, Dale E.).

²² Such publications include *Raccolta di esercizi per il canto all' uso del vocalizzo con discorso preliminare* by G. Crescentini (1812), *The modern Italian method of singing, with a variety of progressive examples and 36 solfeggi* by G. Aprile (1825), *Twelve solfeggio or exercises for the voice* (1808) and *A second sett of twelve solfeggi or exercises for the voice* (1816) by V. Rauzzini.

of the cantus firmus were divided into shorter rhythmic patterns and melodically embellished using defined rules of musical compositions. This style of performance was practised by singers as well as keyboard, wind and string players, and was part of a long standing tradition within Western music of spontaneous improvisation (Traficante, 2014). The art of spontaneously improvising continued to be a part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century singer's skill set; therefore, the inclusion of exercises on divisions provided ideas for florid embellishment, which in addition would show off the level of flexibility the singer possessed.²³ Italian diminution treatises from the sixteenth and seventeenth appear to have a similar functional purpose to divisions as Diana Deutsch in her 2013 book *The Psychology of Music* states:

Diminution refers to the composition and contrapuntal practice of dividing given long notes into shorter ones, the long notes in effect functioning like a “theme” against which the short notes as “variations” or “ornamentations” (Deutsch, 2013, p. 444).

The functionality of divisions or diminutions are connected to developing modalities for the performance of florid, improvised vocal ornamentation, which required vocal flexibility. Rutherford and Arnold both suggest that the solfeggi used in the Italian conservatories were designed to develop techniques in flexibility rather than tools for ornamentation, and this is confirmed by the eighteenth century castrato and writer on vocal education Pier Francesco Tosi (c. 1653-1732) who states:

If the Master does not understand composition, let him provide himself with good examples of sol-fa [i]ng in divers stiles, which is sensibly lead from the most easy to the more difficult, according as he finds the scholar improves; with this caution, that however difficult, they may be

²³ Other British authors printed divisions separately to solfeggi: Charles Arnold printed several exercises, which he named ‘divisions’ though he does not print any exercises name solfeggio and Frederick Horncastle printed divisions and solfeggi separately (Horncastle, 1840, p. 4; Arnold, 1830, p. 12).

always natural and agreeable, to induce the scholar to study with pleasure (Tosi and Galliard, 1743, pp. 21-22).²⁴

Tosi is encouraging the composition of exercises in various styles, which are sung to the sol-fa syllables to allow singers to improve in their vocal technique within the context of a musical genre or style. He also hints that by using these exercises the teacher can identify those styles best suited to the vocal abilities of the student, which will allow them to study singing ‘with pleasure’. As will be examined later in this chapter, solfeggi were frequently performed using the sol-fa syllables, and Tosi does not appear to be referring to exercises on divisions or diminutions, but exercises to allow the scholar to improve their vocal style, a key component of vocal performance.

Solfeggi played a significant role in the curriculum of the Italian vocal education tradition, both in the conservatories and in private vocal education. The number of solfeggi dedicated publications and the inclusion of solfeggi within British published treatises were on the rise at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, with over fifty being published in London between 1800 and 1850.²⁵ Several Italian teachers, including Rauzzini, who had obtained their vocal education from the Italian conservatories, settled in Britain throughout the eighteenth century, becoming teachers to British dilettanti and aspiring professionals. These teachers frequently chose to teach their students in a similar practice to that of the Italian vocal education tradition. These practices, including the significance of the solfeggi, have been preserved in British published treatises.

²⁴ Pier Francesco Tosi (c. 1653-1732) was an Italian *castrato*, composer and teacher best known for his treatise publication *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* in 1723, which was translated into English by John Galliard in 1745. He sang in a church in Rome and in the cathedral in Milan, before moving to London in 1701 where he gave several concerts and taught (Boyd and Rosselli).

²⁵ This information was taken from an analysis of the publications in the University of Glasgow Library, the British Library, the Royal College of Music library and the Copac database.

3.3 Defining the term *solfeggio* according to treatises published in Britain

In 1813, Thomas Busby in *A dictionary of music* defined the term as 'an exercise for the voice through all the various intervals as named in solmization' i.e. the sol-fa syllables, and likewise Thomas Valentine in 1833 stated that solfeggio is 'an exercise for the voice in which the syllables do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, are applied to the notes of the diatonic scale' (Busby, 1813; Valentine, 1833).²⁶ These definitions imply that solfeggi are performed using sol-fa syllables, but there is no explanation as to the benefits of performing multiple vocal exercises to sol-fa. The sol-fa syllables have a complex history and this is evident in the discussions by both Domenico Corri and Charles Arnold, who provide a detailed, yet not altogether accurate according to more modern accounts of the formation, history of the syllables and their adaptation over time (Arnold, 1830, p. 4; Corri, 1810, p. 8).²⁷ Arnold highlights that the sol-fa syllables were developed by Guido of Arezzo, a monk of St Benedict, almost eight hundred years prior to Arnold's publication (Arnold, 1830, p. 4).²⁸ Corri and Arnold both discuss what is now called the tonic Do system otherwise known as the moveable Do. Corri states that the moveable Do was on the tonic note of the key signature, thus, the

²⁶ Thomas Busby (1754-1838) first became known as a singer, having been engaged to perform at the Vauxhall Gardens in 1769. However, due to his changing voice his engagement was terminated. He sang tenor at Handel's commemoration in 1784 and was the organist at St Mary's Newington, Surrey, from 1784-1798 before entering Magdalene College, Cambridge where he received his MusD in 1801 (Olleson, 2004; Kassler & Troost, 2014). Thomas Valentine (1790-1878) appears to have been a successful composer and arranger of ballads. There are over 300 publications noted on Copac attributed to Valentine, mainly arrangements of airs and opera arias for the piano forte and voice. However, there is no biographical entry for this composer in *Grove Music Online* or in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Copac, Valentine, Thomas).

²⁷ Domenico Corri (1746-1825) was a composer, music publisher and teacher. After training with Porpora, he moved to Edinburgh where he organised the Edinburgh Music Society concerts at St Cecilia's Hall. In 1790 he moved to London and established himself as a music publisher in Soho. Several of his operas were performed at theatres in London throughout his lifetime (Jones et al).

²⁸ Charles Arnold (c.1830-c.1865) wrote several treatises on singing, piano playing and violin playing, as well as composing several songs including *The deep blue sea* as sung by Madame Vestris. (Copac, Arnold, Charles).

Do would move depending on the key. However, he goes onto suggest that the moveable Do system, was in the process of changing to a fixed Do system:

The system of solfaing continued to be rigidly observed while music was chiefly cultivated in the Cloister, and the attainment was a complicated task of great labour and difficulty; the syllables applied to each note were changed and the modulation varied, *Do* was always placed to the first note of the key, *Re* to the second, and so on; therefore, the same note by change of key might alternately be expressed by each of the seven syllables: this system has been gradually modified, and at length mostly abandoned, the gamut being now reduced to the unvarying appropriations of *Do* to C, *Re* to D, *Mi* to E, *Fa* to F, *Sol* to G, *La* to A, *Si* to B for every modulation of key, which has removed much difficult (Corri, 1810, p. 8).²⁹

Later in his treatise, Corri recommends that singers avoid singing solfeggi to the sol-fa syllables until ‘the scholar has attained correct and perfect intonation’. His reasoning for recommending this comes down to students recognising the intervallic distances between notes:

It has been the general custom to use the major mode of C in all the practices of the first rudiments of singing; in consequence of which, the scholar soon becomes in habituated to place those Syllables (as first taught) a tone from *Do* to *Re*, from *Re* to *Mi* a semitone from *Mi* to *Fa* a tone again from *Fa* to *Sol* from *La* to *Si* and a semitone from *Si* to *Do*, that at the first occurrence of any change of key (suppose from the key of C to that of D) which occasions a semitone where was a tone, and vice versa, a tone where was a semitone; the parts employed in executing the notes, namely the larynx, the tongue, and mouth accustomed that that particular execution or form will find the alteration attended with perplexity (Corri, 1810, pp. 34-35).

According to Corri, in the early stages of training, a singer would first engage with exercises written in the key of C, most likely because this key avoided the use of accidentals. However, introducing the sol-fa syllables at this stage instilled a muscle memory between syllable, note and interval within the key of C. Moving to a fixed

²⁹ What Corri describes would appear to resemble the hexachord system, but this system only had six syllables, not seven as Corri notes in his treatise. This suggests Corri was not familiar with the developments in the system during the seventeenth century when these syllables began to resemble those that were utilised throughout the eighteenth century. The additional syllable *Si* was introduced and *Ut* changed to *Do*.

system where Do was always C no matter the key as Corri described, was perhaps a short term solution but this fixed system also had fundamental issues. The seven syllables were only useful in identifying intervallic relationships when singing in the key of C; when moving to a different key that included an accidental, there was no syllable, and thus the intervallic relationships established between note and syllable were skewed.

In Guido's original hexachord system, which utilised the six syllables Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, the syllables Mi–Fa showed all diatonic semitones. However, Rebecca Herissone in her 2000 book points out that 'the only possible notes were what we would term the white notes of the piano, plus Bb, which occurred on the fa in the F hexachord' though it was possible to move beyond the range of one single hexachord using a pivotal pitch common to both hexachords (Herissone, 2000, p. 74). Herissone describes this system as becoming inflexible when composers utilised chromatic variety, but the system itself only went into decline in the seventeenth century (Herissone, 2000, p. 77). The use of the syllables in the eighteenth century even with the modifications Corri described remained inflexible and it was only in the nineteenth century when Sarah Ann Glover further modified the system to include syllables for all the notes in the chromatic scale that it could be fully utilised for the purposes of developing skills in sight-singing.³⁰

³⁰ Sarah Ann Glover (1785-1867) who in 1845 published her *Manual of the Norwich Sol-fa System: For Teaching Singing in Schools and Classes* is said to have created the tonic sol-fa system, which was further developed and popularised by John Curwen (1816-1880) in Britain throughout the nineteenth century. These developments in the tonic sol-fa system appear to be a response to authors such as Corri that claimed the tonic sol-fa system at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century was insufficient to aid sight-singing. The sol-fa syllables, whether to teach sight-singing or utilised as a tool for singing technique, were present in Britain prior to Glover's Norwich system. For further information on developments of tonic sol-fa in Britain in the nineteenth century see Rainbow & Dickinson, 2000.

By the end of the eighteenth century, there was disagreement in Britain as to the functionality of the sol-fa syllables. Many British authors continued to state that the syllables and by extension the practice of solfeggi was for the purpose of cultivating skills in sight-singing. Thomas Philipps stated in his treatise that solfeggi assisted a singer to learn the intervals and thus provide them with the necessary skills to sing at sight (Philipps, 1826?, p. 2).³¹ Frances Hummell's treatise noted that the solfeggi would improve the art of sight-singing, and Allen, though he does not state that his solfeggi would cultivate sight-singing, does deduce that the exercises will allow the student to 'quick[ly] and stead[il]y improve in reading music' (Allen, 1852, p. 11; Hummell, 1822, p. 24).³² There were additional complications as the syllables used varied across authors. Though Corri, Arnold, Philipps, Hummell and Allen promoted the use of seven syllables, Gesualdo Lanza (1779-1859), who was born in Naples but lived for the majority of his life in England never made use of the syllable Si opting to use the six syllables as in the original hexachord system though Ut–Do was always fixed to C (Lanza, 1813, part 1, p. D).

Though Corri actively discouraged the use of the sol-fa syllables for the purposes of sight-singing training, he did encourage his students to use the syllables to improve articulation and Philipps concurs with Corri as he states '[the solfeggi provide a] twofold purpose of acquiring *rapid syllabic articulation* in singing' (Corri, 1810, p. 34; Philipps, 1826?, p. 6). The sol-fa syllables, which are centred on the core

³¹ Thomas Philipps (1774-1841) was a tenor born in London. He made his first appearance as Philippo in Samuel Arnold's *The Castle of Andalusia*. After receiving singing lessons from Arnold he continued to perform on London stages. After retiring from the stage he engaged in teaching and composing. He is also known to have arranged Thomas Linley's *The Duenna* (Middleton, 2004).

³² The dates and place of origin for Frances L. Hummell are unclear. Joel Sachs and Mark Kroll note in their article on Johann Nepomuk Hummel that in recent scholarship this musician has been confused for 'native prodigy, F.L. Hummell' who was living in London during the same period. Neither the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* nor *Grove Music Online* provides any more information for this author (Sachs & Kroll).

vowel sounds Ah, Eh, Ee, Aw, Oo, would have effectively assisted the student in identifying the correct placement of these vowels depending on their own mouth position and vocal register. The teacher and student can quickly identify areas in the voice where the vowel becomes indistinct, correcting the placement of the vowel for future performance. Coupling these vowel sounds with consonants, the student can focus on the placement of the tongue to ensure that every consonant is clear, especially in the performance of rapid passages.

However, many Italian authors of treatises discouraged the use of sol-fa altogether and stated that their students should sing on an open vocal. This was observed by Philipps who noted that some Italian teachers instructed their students to perform solfeggi with an open vowel such as Ah, rather than the sol-fa syllables (Philipps, 1826?, p. 2). Robert A Smith makes practically the same statement in his 1825 treatise, pointing out that sol-fa syllables are useless 'in conveying a correct idea of intervals' and 'Italian masters generally direct their pupils to vocalize on the vowel A and E as pronounced in Italian in singing scales and exercises' (Smith, 1828?, p. 1).³³ The reason for opting for a single open vowel, rather than the sol-fa syllables is put forward by *The Singer's Assistant*, which states:

The monosyllable Ah is the best adapted to give the pupil proper formation of the mouth, its position in uttering this syllable being most favourable to produce a free and clear tone (Unknown, 1822, p. 4).

While some treatises written by Italian authors such as Aprile do state that their solfeggi should be sung to the sol-fa syllables, other authors provide no indication if

³³ Robert Archibald Smith (1780-1829) though apprenticed to his father as a silk weaver, also learned to play flute and violin, as well as being a chorister before the age of ten. In 1802, he left weaving to teach music, particularly choral singing. In 1807 he was appointed precentor of Paisley Abbey. Due to the success of this appointment, he received the prestigious position of precentor and choirmaster at St George's, Edinburgh. Smith also published several songs, particularly those of his friend and poet Robert Tannahill. Many of his songs were collected in the *Scottish [sic] Minstrel*, a six volume work published between 1821 and 1824 (Baker, 2004; Allan & Purser).

the sol-fa syllables or a single vowel should be used. Girolamo Crescentini in 1812 notes the importance of placing the correct accent on the words, but does not discuss using the sol-fa syllables, and thus there is no indication what he intended his solfeggi to be sung to (Crescentini, 1812, p. 7).³⁴ Similarly, Gioachino Rossini and Paolo Peretti both state their solfeggi should be used to exercise the voice every day, but do not state to which syllable/s these should be sung (Peretti, 1845, p. 22; Rossini, 1828, p. 2).³⁵ Therefore, the function of a solfeggio, as will be explored in more detail later in this chapter, is more than just an exercise exclusively performed to sol-fa syllables for the purposes of cultivating sight-singing, as the dictionary definitions provided by Busby and Valentine would suggest.

3.4 Solfeggi and the cultivation of vocal technique

The use of printed solfeggi for the development of vocal technique is evident in several treatise publications in the early nineteenth century. Lanza published his treatise *Elements of Singing* in three parts and states:

If pupils are not studying for the profession, they may omit the study of the whole of the second part and move on to the third part, which is calculated both for amateurs and those for the profession (Lanza, 1813, part 2, p. vii).

Though Lanza has marketed his treatise to all students wishing to learn how to sing, his treatise is laid out in such a way that sections can be ignored by the amateur

³⁴ Girolamo Crescentini (1762-1846) was an Italian soprano castrato and composer. He studied in Bologna under Lorenzo Gibelli and then made his débüt in 1776 in Fano. Despite the French dislike for castrati from 1806-1812 he was singing teacher to the royal family at Napoleon I's court. Upon his return to Italy he was appointed singing teacher at the Bologna Conservatory and in 1825 was a singing teacher at Real Collegio di Musica, Naples (Lucarelli).

³⁵ Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) was one of the most successful Italian composers of the nineteenth century. Many of his works continue to be part of the standard operatic repertoire, such as *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1816), *Otello* (1816) and *Guillaume Tell* (1829) (Gossett). Paolo Peretti (c.1844) was supposedly the last castrato to appear on the London stage. This appearance took place in 1844, almost twenty years after Giovanni Battista Velluti, considered the last of the great castrato singers, had appeared in London. A report from the period stated that he had been a pupil of Crescentini and had sung with success in Italy (1844, p. 5).

singer but are encouraged to be performed by the aspiring professional. The solfeggi that appear in part one are far less complex compared to those in part two, which require the singer to have acquired a certain level of control with regards to the breathing, dynamics and range.



Figure 3: Example of a solfeggio from part 1 of *Elements of Singing* by Gesualdo Lanza intended for beginner or amateur singers. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections (Sp Coll Q.x.15-17) (Lanza, 1813, p. 95).

Figure 4: Example of a solfeggio from part 2 of *Elements of Singing* by Gesualdo Lanza intended for the professional singer (Lanza, 1813, p. 124).

The significant difference between the solfeggi suited to amateurs and those designed for the professional singer is in achieving a level of flexibility, capable of navigating fast-paced vocalisations. Lanza states this explicitly noting that if scholars wished to improve the flexibility of their voices in order to sing instrumental-like passages that may appear in songs, they should be well practised in all the vocalising exercises (Lanza, 1813, part 3, p. 14). The theme that all professional singers need to cultivate a flexible voice is recurrent across the majority of the singing treatises, making it clear that a prolonged study of solfeggi, which progressed in complexity and speed, would assist in rendering the voice highly agile.

However, as noted above, authors such as Aprile and Arnold stated that divisions would assist a singer in cultivating flexibility with solfeggi being printed separately thus implying that they had a different function. Divisions were not always appropriate for every genre style, as highlighted by Jean J. Jousse:

As divisions have not power sufficient to touch the Soul and can only raise our admiration of a Singer for the happy flexibility of his voice they are confined to Bravura Songs and not used in pathetic airs (Jousse, 1823, p. 36).³⁶

Solfeggi, on the other hand, were not used solely for the purpose of cultivating flexibility. In fact, Philipps notes that after serious study of the solfeggi contained within his treatise, the singer will possess the ‘principles and practices for every style of singing’ (Philipps, 1826?, p. 10). This is a bold statement by Philipps, as his treatise consists of only eight solfeggi and introductory instructions, but Corri makes a similar claim: ‘the solfeggio[s] are in reality melodies in the form of songs, and to give them that meaning requires the rise and fall of the voice (Corri, 1810, p. 52). Solfeggi were

³⁶ Jean J. Jousse (1760-1837) published several musical treatises on singing, piano playing and musical theory. Titles include *The piano forte: made easy to every capacity* (1809), *The Vocal Primer* (1834) and *A tabular view of Modulation from any one key to all other keys* (1820?).

not composed in one particular compositional style; nor were these a series of random compositional sketches that addressed specific technical difficulties, and Lanza provides more detail as to why solfeggi were more beneficial to the student than simply performing songs or arias:

I cannot conclude this part of the work without reminding the pupil that the solfeggios are to be sung in the style of songs – not for the purpose of singing them, but to prepare the voice and make it pliable, so as to be capable of performing all descriptions of passages with ease (Lanza, 1813, part 1, p. 82).

Lanza has composed these exercises in various tempi, time signatures and genres and the solfeggi which appear in part two (omitted for amateur performers) explore recitative and more complex musical scenarios such as tempi and mood changes, providing the singer with experience in navigating various conditions, which would appear within arias (Lanza, 1813, part 2, pp. 111-112). For the developing singer, solfeggi written within a particular genre would greatly assist the teacher and student in understanding which style and genre of singing the student was particularly suited to performing and Lanza notes that his solfeggi had a twofold purpose of assisting the teacher as well as the student in understanding their vocal and music theory abilities (Lanza, 1813, part 3, p. 14). Therefore, if the student was not suited to vocal styles that required a highly flexible voice, then solfeggi would be produced or written in a different style that did not require vocal flexibility.

Several authors including Corri and Lanza advocated that song study should be discouraged until after the student had engaged in a long course of study of solfeggi (Corri, 1810, p. 2; Lanza, 1813, p. E). W. H. Plumstead draws attention to the error of a student advancing to song study too quickly:

Having commenced song singing, the pupil finds it irksome to return to the “mere nonsense” as it is called, of *do, re*; and after possessing a sort of half-and-half smattering, he finds out, at last, he has begun at the

wrong end, and gives up in despair. This is an every-day occurrence; and we hope to convince our readers that, however tiresome the following instructions may be at first, yet, by a steady perseverance, the difficulties will be overcome and they will reap the benefit of their exertions (Plumstead, 1833, p. 5).³⁷

Plumstead notes the frustrations experienced by students who realise too late that their choice of song may be too advanced, or not at all suited to their abilities, which a prolonged course of study in solfeggi may have avoided as they can be used as a tool for understanding the individual abilities of the singer. However, other authors such as Smith and Edward Rimbault punctuated their solfeggi with short songs.³⁸ Rimbault even states that ‘these [songs] may be used occasionally to relieve the monotony of the *solfeggi*; or as “little rewards” to those students who have done well at their lessons’ (Rimbault, 1860, p. 2). Rimbault aims to maintain the interest of his student, but in using the songs as a reward he further emphasises the length of time a student was expected to sing solfeggi. In fact, Corri states that singers in Italy typically spend up to six years on the practice of solfeggi (Corri, 1810, p. 8). The study of songs requires a singer to spend a prolonged period of time studying the words, adding in appropriate ornamentation, accent and colour, which are all precise technical details that can distract the teacher and student from recognising much larger vocal issues, for example, whether or not the voice is suited to that particular style of aria. As the student progressed in their studies, the solfeggi assisted them in becoming aware of

³⁷ W. H. Plumstead also published song collections including *The Beauties of Melody* (1827), *The Musical Guide* (1834) and *Music for the Million* (1845). These collections contain some of the most popular songs and arias of the period by composers such as Mozart, Weber, Arne and Haydn. Further to this, Plumstead published in 1846 his *Observations on the present state of Congregational Singing, with a plan, and suggestions for its general encouragement and improvement, etc.* The publications demonstrate that Plumstead was very familiar with the singing tradition during this period and may have been a singer himself, though there is no biographical information to be found on this author in either *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* or *Grove Music Online* (Copac; Plumstead, W. H.).

³⁸ Edward Rimbault (1816-1876) was a student of Samuel Wesley and William Crotch. In 1832 he was appointed organist of the Swiss church, Soho, but six years later lectured in London on the history of music. In 1840, alongside William Chappell (1809-1888) and Edward Taylor (1784-1863), he founded the Musical Antiquarian Society, of which he became secretary. In his life he also arranged many operas and wrote elementary books and articles for periodicals (Legge, R. H Husk, W.H. & Temperley, Nicholas).

their distinct vocal qualities, an important realisation, which often separated singers of lesser quality from the stars of the operatic stage. Furthermore, as the singer was instructed to exercise the voice using these studies every day, it built vocal flexibility and a robust vocal technique that readied the voice for a professional vocal career. This reveals solfeggi to have multiple layers of functionality, beginning in the tuition of basic vocal technique, progressing to the understanding of style and building self-awareness of vocal individuality.

Solfeggi-centred treatises continued to be published, throughout the nineteenth century.³⁹ These exercises could be used as an aid to improving the reading notation and developing sight-singing skills, but what was more significant is that they were the backbone of vocal technique from the beginning of a student's tuition throughout their vocal education. The fundamental ideas of what constituted good vocal technique according to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century singers are evident from these solfeggi publications, and it is only in understanding the function of these exercises within the context of the lesson that the secrets of vocal technique during this period can be unravelled.

3.5 Analysing Rauzzini's teaching method: *Twenty-Four Solfeggi or Exercises to be Vocalised*

Rauzzini published *Twelve Solfeggi, or, Exercises for the voice to be vocalized* (henceforth *Twelve Solfeggi*) in 1808 with the printer stating on the title page 'shortly will be published a second set of fifteen solfeggis by the same author' (Rauzzini, 1808,

³⁹ Such titles include *The modern Italian method of singing, with a variety of progressive examples and thirty-six solfeggi* by Aprile (1825), *Raccolta di esercizi per il canto all' uso del vocalizzo con discorso preliminare* by G. Crescentini (1812), *The vocalist, or The rudiments of solfeggio in eighty practical lessons* by J Parry, (1822), *Elementary principles & practices for singing, being a compendium of exercises, in solfeggi* by T. Philipps (1826?), *Gorgheggi e solfeggio* by G. Rossini (1828), *Solfeggio, reading, vocal and instrumental music and harmony, in class* by P.J. Schépens (1830), *The singer's assistant* (1822), *Solfèges d'Italie avec la basse chiffrée* by P. Levèsque, (1820) and *Twelve Solfeggi or original lessons for a counter tenor or bass voice* by Sigismond Neukomm (1845).

title page).⁴⁰ *A Second Sett of Twelve Solfeggi*, rather than fifteen, was published as a separate volume in 1820 (henceforth *A Second Sett*), printed with the same introduction. Another publication was released in 1816 entitled *Twenty-Four Solfeggi, or, Exercises for the Voice* (henceforth *Twenty-Four Solfeggi*), which binds both the first and second sets of solfeggi together.⁴¹ This suggests that though Rauzzini had intended two books of solfeggi to be published, after his death the two books were bound together and published as one volume (Rauzzini, 1816; Rauzzini et al., 1820).⁴²

Rauzzini chose to publish his treatise late in his life as a way of preserving his teaching method, and he uses his introduction to memorialise this legacy, providing clear, specific instructions on how to perform his exercises. In the first instance Rauzzini states that his exercises should be sung on the vowel Ah, but his reasoning for this differs from other authors of singing treatises such as *The Singer's Assistant*, which suggested the use of Ah as the best syllable for producing a free and clear tone (Unknown, 1822, p. 4). Rauzzini, on the other hand, states that the vowel Ah is frequently improperly pronounced, which renders the tone of the voice imperfect (Rauzzini, 1816, p. i). Other authors in noting the importance of acquiring a clear tone draw attention to some of the difficulties that singing upon the Ah vowel may produce. P. J. Schépens states that the student should avoid sounding 'nasal and guttural' and recommends that a long course of study in performing his solfeggi on the Ah vowel will help the student acquire a 'round and sonorous tone' (Schépens,

⁴⁰ The same statement appears on the title page of the *Twenty-Four Solfeggi*, which is most likely an error. The printer did not strip out all of the irrelevant information from the original title page in constructing this publication.

⁴¹ A running footnote at the bottom of *Twenty-Four Solfeggi* reveals that the two books were bound together to form one book.

⁴² I will be referring to *Twenty-Four Solfeggi* for my following examples, as an examination of all of this compared to *Twelve Solfeggi* and *A Second Sett* did not reveal any significant differences.

1830, book 2, p. i).⁴³ William Huckel recommended that a singer should aspire to sing with a ‘pure tone’ and by pure tone ‘what is meant is that which is entirely free from any nasal, guttural or dental sound’ (Huckel, 1845, p. 17).⁴⁴ The Ah vowel recommendation is not for its ease, but rather that the vowel quickly draws attention to these undesirable vocal tone qualities.

Rauzzini states outright that his solfeggi should not be performed to the sol-fa syllables, though he does note a function of his solfeggi is to assist the singer in developing sight-singing ability:

The scholars will have an opportunity of rendering themselves perfect in the intervals and by frequent practice acquire a knowledge of singing at sight (Rauzzini, 1816, p. ii).

As outlined above, the function of the sol-fa syllables and even the syllables themselves varied between authors. Rauzzini avoids the whole issue of what syllables to use by ignoring them completely, but he also implies that the singer can acquire abilities in sight-singing by frequently practising the intervals, sung to a single vowel. Perhaps the more likely reason for Rauzzini including sight-singing as a function of his solfeggi was to appease the British market which associated the practice of solfeggi with developing skills in this area, due to the fact that the primary function of Rauzzini’s solfeggi was to improve vocal technique.

He designed and marketed his work to the more advanced singer, thus highlighting solfeggi as an integral part of the aspiring professional singer’s training. In a similar manner to Aprile he outlines that these solfeggi were equally beneficial to professional singers:

⁴³ P. J. Schépens has two other publications attributed to him *The Exile's Lament, or the Alpine Singer* (1832) and *N'oubliez pas que je vous aime* (1820?).

⁴⁴ William Huckel is not known to *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* or *Grove Online* and appears to have only published this treatise.

The frequent exercise of the voice is absolutely necessary to every singer and I hope those who are already masters of their profession, will not disdain to adopt some of my solfeggio for their morning exercise (Rauzzini, 1816, p. ii).

Rauzzini's advice to practice singing in the morning appears typical for the period Hummell states in her treatise:

Public [professional] singers practice [solfeggi] in the morning before they sing at night, for the voice is of such a delicate texture that it is necessary to preserve its flexibility by practice (Hummell, 1822, p. 1).

Elizabeth Gooch, an amateur dilettante singer who performed in Rauzzini's Bath concerts, notes in her memoirs that her lessons took place in the morning (Gooch, 1792, pp. 103&110).⁴⁵ Rossini and Montague Corri also state explicitly that solfeggi should be practised in the morning, with Corri providing further advice as to the appropriate time in which to begin singing:

The best time to commence practice is in the morning and should be about an hour after breakfast for it is not proper to practise fasting as the chest is not possessed to sufficient power to sustain the note with firmness – neither is it proper to sing immediately after meals or violent exercise (Corri, 1830, p. 2).⁴⁶

While there is no specific reason given as to why the morning was the preferred time of day (or indeed what time in the morning practice should commence), it may have been encouraged as it gave professional singers plenty of time to rest prior to an evening engagement. Rauzzini, in marketing his treatise to both an advanced student and aspiring professional student, further confirms that solfeggi were a standard training tool utilised throughout a singer's career.

⁴⁵ Mrs Elizabeth Sarah Villa-Real Gooch (c. 1756-c.1804) was an English dilettante who divorced her husband after a scandalous involvement with her singing teacher Rauzzini. Following her divorce she became a professional writer publishing in several genres (Zuk, Rhoda, 2004, pp. 363-364).

⁴⁶ Montague Philip Corri (c.1784-1849) was the son of Domenico Corri. He became a music publisher and composer, taking over his father's publishing business in 1804. He was a successful composer and arranger for the theatre and for military bands. During the 1816-17 season he was appointed chorus master at the English Opera House and was also employed as manager of the Pantheon in Edinburgh (Golby, David J, 2004 & Ward, Peter Jones, et al).

The first set of *Twelve Solfeggi* progress in difficulty throughout the twelve exercises, exploring the flexibility of the voice, dexterity in anticipating and executing extreme leaps, on some occasions leaps of a ninth or a tenth, within a very short space of time, as well as negotiating ornamentation, changes in tempi and modulations (Rauzzini, 1808).



Figure 5: This is the second solfeggio from Rauzzini's first set of *Twelve Solfeggi* which also appears in *Twenty-Four Solfeggi* published eight years later. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections (Sp Coll Q.a.1) (Rauzzini, 1816, p. 5).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ For the complete edition of *Twenty-four solfeggi* see appendix A.

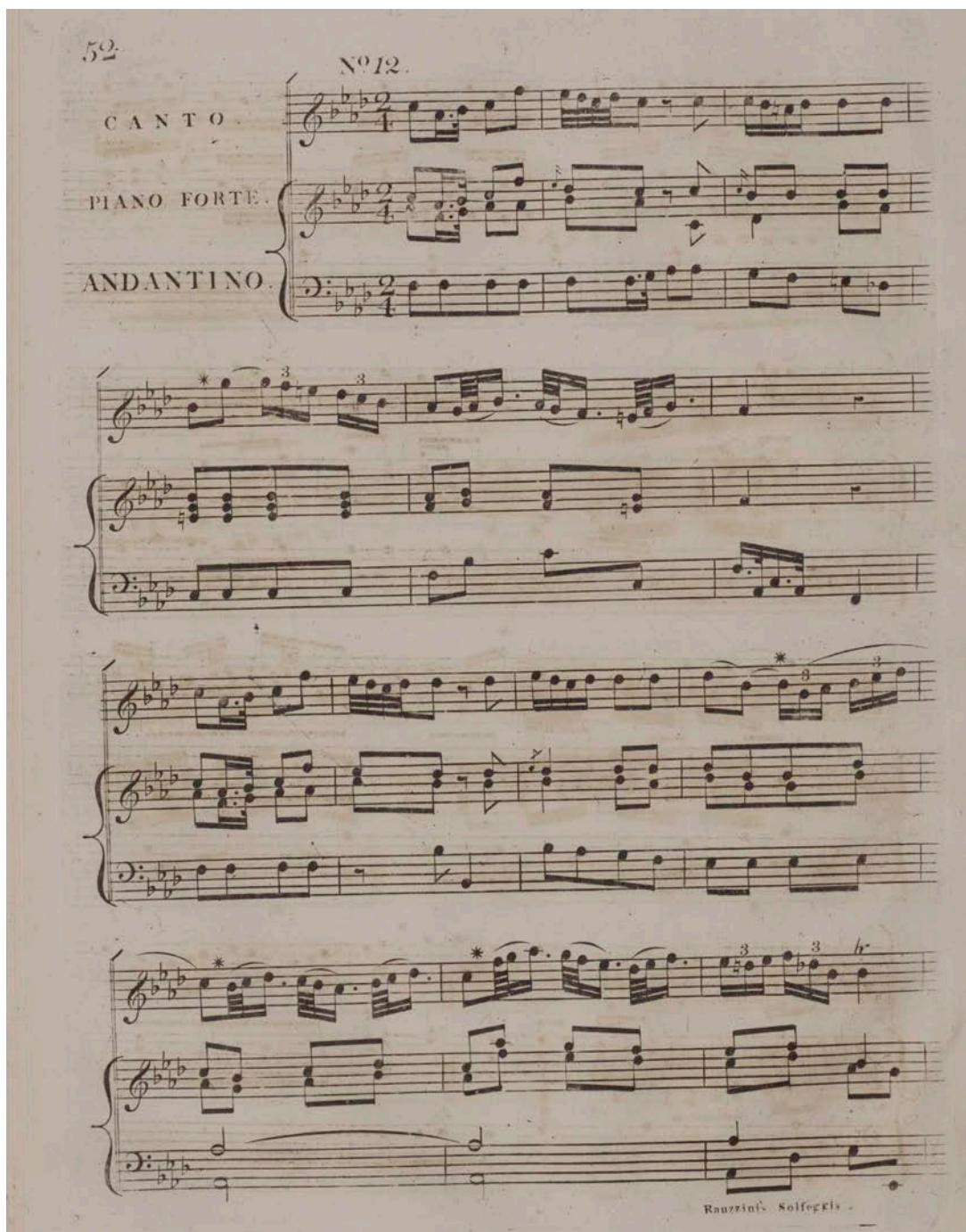


Figure 6: This is the final solfeggio from Rauzzini's first set of *Twelve Solfeggi*, which is significantly more difficult than the previous example, demonstrating that his solfeggi progressed in difficulty throughout the twelve exercises. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections (Rauzzini, 1816, p. 52).

Rauzzini throughout the exercises pushes the abilities of the singer in several directions, but at the heart of his teaching advice he states that the singer should always be an 'easy, and correct performer', in other words, without sounding vocally challenged or strained (Rauzzini, 1816, p. i). The idea behind these solfeggi is that the exercises are progressive to the point that they initially appear challenging but through time the student assimilates the difficulties into their vocal technique, demonstrating that the solfeggi have enhanced their voice. If the solfeggi are too difficult they are of no benefit as the student will always sound challenged, thus stalling progress.

The second piece of advice discussed at great length by Rauzzini is individualising the solfeggi to reflect the vocal abilities of the student. He reflects a great deal on the importance of the singer understanding their individual vocal qualities so as to develop a self-awareness, which enables them to choose appropriate songs, arias and ornamentation. He states:

The Singers who have acquired the greatest celebrity in the profession, are those who properly appreciated their own talent, who knew the extent of their own abilities and sought not to soar beyond them, adopting a method suited to the powers of their voice, and never attempting a passage which they could not execute with the greatest neatness and in the most correct and finished style (Rauzzini, 1816, p. ii).

Style is a term frequently discussed by authors of treatises, and like solfeggi is complex to define. John Hoyle in his *Dictionarium musica* states:

[Style] denotes a peculiar manner of singing or playing or composing; being properly the manner that each person has of playing, singing, or teaching which is very different both in respect of different geniuses, of countries, nations, and of the different matters, places, times, subjects, passions, expressions etc. Thus we say the style of Corelli, Handel, Lully, etc. The style of the Italians, French, Spaniards etc. The style of gay pieces of Musick is very different from that of serious ones; and the

style of church Musick is different from that of the theatres, chamber etc (Hoyle, 1770).⁴⁸

Jousse similarly defines style in his *A compendious dictionary of Italian terms used in music*:

This word has multifarious applications; it is used to express the manner in which a piece of music is to be performed; also the peculiar character which distinguishes a piece from others; this character varies according to the country, the taste of the people, the genius of the author etc. Again, we say the style of Palestrina, Handel, Pergolesi, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven etc. The style of church music differs from that of the theatre; the style of a symphony is different from that of a sonata or concerto; the style of cantabile and adagio differs from that of an allegro or presto. The acquirement of a good style depends greatly on natural taste, aided by judgement and experience (Jousse, 1829).

Style, according to these contemporary definitions, in much the same way as the present-day understanding of the term, could be attributed to a number of different areas of music, for example, singing or composition, but more significantly a person can demonstrate their own recognisable style, whether they be a performer or a composer. A 'good style' as Jousse points out depends on a number of factors: fashion, suitability and overall perception by the audience. The definition of 'good style' is subjective, though Rauzzini points to the idea that if a singer realises the limitations of their voice and develops their individual style around these limitations, then they are much more likely to gain success.

However, Rauzzini also refers to genre style, in particular the cantabile style of singing, which he claims has been neglected in favour of the more extravagant styles (Rauzzini, 1816, p. i). Though Rauzzini encourages a singer to develop an individual vocal style, which may refer to choices of ornamentation, his recommendation to pay attention to performing in the cantabile style indicates that singers should be able to

⁴⁸ John Hoyle (c.1744-1796), a bookseller and dictionary compiler, published his *Dictionarium musica* (which is largely an abridgement of James Grassineau's 1740 publication, *A Musical Dictionary*) under the pseudonym Hoyle. His real name was John Binns (Kassler).

perform in several different musical genres or characters, for example *cantabile*, *adagio*, *presto* and *allegro*. John Braham (c.1774-1856) was particularly noted for his individual style but also for his ability to sing highly florid arias and then change to perform songs and ballads of pure expression (Ayrton, 1832, p. 3). Braham will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six, but he is an example of a singer noted for his individually unique quality of singing, who could perform effectively in several different genres while maintaining this individualised style. Rauzzini provides several examples of singers who have developed their own style, which in turn assisted them in becoming successful singers. It should be noted that Rauzzini at some point taught all of the seven singers listed, Mara, Billington, Catalani,⁴⁹ Grassini,⁵⁰ Storace, Braham, Vagonni,⁵¹ and, while each one was very successful, Rauzzini was also using their fame as a way of promoting his philosophies and abilities as a vocal teacher. He states the reason students should understand their unique vocal abilities thus:

Do not think that because a singer performs a difficult passage with exactness, it is in your power to do the same, the different form in the organ of the voice, the thickness, or the thinness of the glands, produce very different effects, and what to one scholar appears extremely difficult to perform, is executed by another with ease and rapidity. Some singers will ascend with the greatest facility one or two octaves and cannot descend four notes correctly and vice versa (Rauzzini, 1816, p. i).

⁴⁹Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), an Italian soprano, made her début at the age of 17 at La Fenice in Mayr's *La Lodoiska*. Following this she sang prima donna roles in theatres across Europe appearing at Florence, Rome, Lisbon, London and Paris. She gave her final performance in London in 1824 before retiring from the stage (Forbes).

⁵⁰Josephina Grassini (1773-1850), an Italian contralto, made her début in 1789 at Parma in P.A. Guglielmi's *La pastorella nobile*. After appearing at La Scala in comic roles, she changed to perform dramatic roles, which were better suited to her vocal abilities. She made her London début in 1804, performing at the King's Theatre for two seasons before moving on to Paris. She returned to Italy in 1817 performing at Brescia, Padua, Trieste and Florence, and retired in 1823 to teach her nieces Giuditta and Giulia Grisi (Forbes).

⁵¹There is only one reference to a tenor by the name of Vagnoni, who brought the Italian violinist Paolo Spagnoletti to England in 1802 (Heron-Allen, E.).

Due to the Enlightenment, the encouragement of scientific inquiry had been well underway since the mid eighteenth century and Rauzzini would certainly have been exposed to this thinking when he moved to England in 1774. He provides only the briefest of discussions on vocal anatomy, but it is an early sign of what treatise publications would come to explore in more and more detail by the mid nineteenth century.⁵² What is clear is that he understood that vocal anatomy differed from person to person and that alignment of the anatomy played a key part in one's vocal ability. There is no indication that Rauzzini actively sought out scientific evidence to better understand the anatomy of the voice, so his ideas on vocal anatomy were most likely based on logical conjecture.

To further support his argument, Rauzzini criticised other singing teachers for providing students with songs to which the student was unsuited and further notes that a student should only sing a song 'which they can perform in a finished manner, and in the most perfect intonation' (Rauzzini, 1816, p. ii). To understand a student's vocal ability, Rauzzini intended his exercises like many other vocal teachers' as discussed above, to be executed prior to the study of songs. As Rauzzini and his student (even one at a more advanced stage of development) worked through the solfeggi, both would become aware of individual vocal abilities and genres to which the student was best suited, thus rendering the difficulty in choosing songs more straightforward. Further to this, Rauzzini heavily criticised publications that published songs with printed embellishments:

It has become lately a fashion (but more honoured in the breach than in the observance) to publish songs with a great number of

⁵² Examples of treatises with a scientific focus include *The new school of singing: a complete theoretical and practical method for the cultivation of the voice deduced from the anatomy and physiology of vocal organization* by Robert Francois Blackbee (1855), *Singing practically treated* by John Addison (1836), *A collection of Forty Exercises of Studies of Vocalization* by Mariano Rodriguez de Ledesma (1830) and *García's New Treatise on the Art of Singing* by Manuel García II (1857).

embellishments and graces; but let me ask how many can execute those graces with perfection? And if they are not well executed; instead of graces they may justly be called disgraces! (Rauzzini, 1816, p. ii).

As noted in chapter two, Rauzzini was good friends with Corri as the two were students together in Italy and the castrato had performed in one of Corri's operas in London while he was resident primo uomo at the King's Theatre (1774b, p. 4). However, Corri's first publication, *A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs*, was a treatise that included printed ornamentation, which Corri argued 'rendered more perfect the performance of vocal and instrumental music' (Corri, 1779, p. 2). Several of the arias contained within Corri's publication were arias specifically written and performed by Rauzzini, and yet it is clear that Rauzzini did not approve of Corri's presentation of these arias within his treatise.



Figure 7: An example of ornamentation that has been printed in the score by Domenico Corri in his *A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs and Arias*. The composition is from Rauzzini's opera *L'Ali D'Amore* but there is no indication the ornamentation was Rauzzini's or that of Signora Gabrielli who is listed as the singer. Therefore, they are likely to be of Corri's composition. Courtesy of The University of Glasgow Special Collections, (Sp Coll O.a.23-25) (Corri, 1779, p. 13).

As will be examined in the following chapters, Rauzzini frequently composed pieces specifically for each student as a way of ensuring an aria or song was perfectly suited to their unique vocal qualities. This was typical for the period as operatic composers would often write music specifically suited to the cast. Rauzzini would have come to appreciate his student's individual talents in detail through the use of his solfeggi.

3.6 The legacy of Rauzzini's teaching practice as remembered by others

Twelve Solfeggi received recommendations in three other treatises published in the nineteenth century. John Parry, who is known to have had connections to Rauzzini through his father, stated:

The author recommends to students *Rauzzini's Solfeggi* and *Exercises* also *April[e]’s Solfeggi* and *Jouse’s Art of Singing’* (Parry, 1822, p. 19).⁵³

John Addison stated in his treatise:

The pupil may feel disappointed by the author not having composed some solfeggi[-] as an appendage to this work, had there been a dearth of them he might have felt it incumbent on him to do so but when he reflected that Aprile, Cimorosa, Crescentini, Rauzzini, Lanza, Crivelli ... already furnished an abundance of them he felt there could be no reason for adding to their number (Addison, 1836, p. 32).⁵⁴

J.E. Tipper similarly recommended this treatise:

There is also a number of excellent treatises on the theory and practice of singing which the author would recommend to those who may require fuller information on the subject; particularly the excellent

⁵³ John Parry (1776-1851), a Welsh instrumentalist and composer, was best known for operatic farces, which were staged in London during the nineteenth century. He was treasurer of the Royal Society of Musicians from 1831 to 1849, and secretary of the Royal Musical Festival held at Westminster Abbey in 1834 (Crossley-Holland, Peter & Temperley, Nicholas).

⁵⁴ John Addison (1766-1844) was a double bass player and composer; he married the singer Elizabeth Willems (c.1785-c.1840), who was a pupil of Rauzzini's. As well as performing in several opera and oratorio venues in London (mainly the same performances in which his wife performed) he taught singing and composed songs (Squire, W. B, 2004; Husk, W.H. et al).

works of Lanza, Jousse, Rauzzini, Aprili and others (Tipper, 1840, p. 75).⁵⁵

Thirty years after his death and thirty-two years after the release of his first publication, Rauzzini's solfeggi were still being recommended to students, demonstrating that his solfeggi continued to benefit singers throughout the nineteenth century. Another nineteenth-century singer and treatise author, Henry Russell, who was a student of Rossini, shared Rauzzini's principal ideas of vocal teaching:

The Singers who have acquired the greatest celebrity in the Profession, are those who being well grounded in the rudiments of the science properly appreciated their own talents – who were aware of the extent of their abilities and had the prudence not to endeavour to soar beyond them; adopting a style suited to the power of their voice, and taking especial care never to attempt a passage which they could not execute with facility, the greatest neatness and in the most correct and finished style (Russell and Rossini, 1830, p. 2).⁵⁶

This quote directly correlates with Rauzzini's ethos, and due to the similarity in language it is highly likely that Russell read and perhaps studied from Rauzzini's publication. All of these examples demonstrate the impact Rauzzini's vocal treatise and his ideas on vocal training had on the nineteenth-century singer and singing teacher. His emphasis on developing an individual, unique vocal style suited to the abilities of the student produced some of the most famed British opera singers of the period.

Rauzzini's fame as a teacher resulted in a number of posthumous publications. Two of the publications, *Twenty-Four Solfeggi* and *A Second Sett* can confidently be

⁵⁵ J. E. Tipper (c.1835-c.1840) penned three treatises on psalm and hymn singing though his *Music Primer* discusses music education more broadly (Copac; Tipper, J.E.).

⁵⁶ Henry Russell (1812 or 1815-1900) first performed in Robert Elliston's children's opera troupe at the age of three. After his voice broke he studied composition with Rossini and Bellini in Italy, then returned to England in 1833 before sailing to Canada in 1834. From 1837-1841 he toured the USA singing and performing his own songs. He returned to England in 1845 where he remained active as a singer and composer until the end of his life (Lamb, Andrew, 2004 & Stephens, John A.).

attributed to Rauzzini though there is one other publication to which Rauzzini's name was attached that requires in-depth analysis in order to determine its authenticity.

3.7 The authenticity of *Exercise for the Voice Consisting of Various Solfeggi, Collected from the Manuscripts of the late Venanzio Rauzzini*: a posthumous publication

One year after the publication of *Twenty-Four Solfeggi*, Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter and Co, who were the printers of all of Rauzzini's treatises, released another publication, to which some of the music material and 'a few hints' were attributed to Rauzzini: *Exercise for the Voice Consisting of Various Solfeggi, Collected from the Manuscripts of the late Venanzio Rauzzini* (henceforth, *Exercise for the Voice*). The musical material and 'hints' were said to have been collected from Rauzzini's manuscripts and these were bound with sixteen songs written by several other well-known composers from the period such as George Frederick Handel, Charles Arnold and John Braham. There is no indication of who edited the work, where the manuscripts used to the form the collection were obtained, or indeed who penned the introduction.⁵⁷ In fact, a vast majority of the text within the introduction is directly lifted from Rauzzini's original that appeared in *Twelve Solfeggi*, but was edited in such a way that it distorts some of Rauzzini's original vocal training ideas.

The opening introduction from *Exercise for the Voice* states:

This publication is intended for improvement in the art of singing, there are already, it is well known, numerous instruction books extant, but, notwithstanding their justly acknowledged excellence, various are the objections therein contained. They are not only chiefly calculated for the professional pupil but, the exercises are too elaborate for the amateur pupil, who thereby, frequently is discouraged, in vain labouring at extravagant passages, which only can create surprise, but

⁵⁷ A search of the collections held at the British Library and at the Bath Central Library, where many manuscripts of Rauzzini's are currently kept, have not turned up any evidence that this treatise was penned by the castrato.

seldom pleasure, and after a tedious, dry study, (and most likely, without even accomplishing the desired purpose) the pupil, must have the recourse to pursue a more capacious study (Rauzzini?, 1817, p. i).

Rauzzini specifically intended his original publication for the professional student; however, this treatise is in direct opposition, as it states that there were several instruction books for the aspiring professional but few for the amateur. The use of the sentence 'surprise, but seldom pleasure' does appear in the introductory text of Rauzzini's original publication, but in a completely different context. In this instance, Rauzzini is discussing the abuse of professional singers constantly performing extravagant passages stating: 'the sole object of singing is to please; extravagant passages may create surprise but seldom pleasure' (Rauzzini, 1816, p. i). The editor changes the meaning to address the amateur singer. This undercuts the intentions of the castrato's original publication.

Exercise for the Voice goes onto state:

A work, only containing a few solfeggi, but a variety of songs, ballads etc. has long been the desire of many of our most celebrated singing masters, and, it is presumed, this is the first book of the kind, which is presented to the musical world (Rauzzini?, 1817, p. i).

The fact that songs have been published within this treatise contradicts Rauzzini's original ideals concerning song choice. He emphasised that students should perform songs specifically chosen to suit their individual vocal abilities. In a treatise where there is only a small selection of song choices, as is the case in *Exercise for the Voice*, there is no guarantee that the majority of the songs will suit the singer, thus rendering the treatise uneconomical. It has been established that Rauzzini encouraged a lengthy course in solfeggi study, which would assist the student in becoming self-aware of their individual abilities and help the teacher to become familiar with the student's voice so that songs could be carefully selected or composed. Therefore, the inclusion of songs in such a treatise was not Rauzzini's

preferred practice as it suggests that only a short course of solfeggi study was required, which is confirmed in the following statement:

The principal object [...] in this work, is, in a manner, to induce the pupil to practice a few absolutely necessary exercises or embellishments, by way of solfeggi and, (as a douceur) immediately afterwards to sing songs (Rauzzini?, 1817, p. i).

This treatise is in line with a change in the style of publications throughout this period. More and more singing treatises were opting to print many more songs and less solfeggi, perhaps in attempt to keep the interest of the nineteenth-century amateur buyer. The majority of Pergetti's 1845 treatise is made up of simple songs composed in different genres such as *Canto Serio*, the Light Style and the Sentimental Style, as well as including a few solfeggi studies for every day practice. This is quite a contrast from Rauzzini's 1808 treatise, where he deliberately composed solfeggi to demonstrate all the different genres.

The songs which appear in *Exercise for the Voice* do not reflect a wide variety of song genres. For example, there are no bravura or fast-paced songs included. Instead all of the songs are composed in a similar style and tempi as three of the songs are instructed to be performed as Andante, Largo and Lento. The reason for focusing on these particular tempi is perhaps in response to Rauzzini's original observation that 'great[er] attention must ever be given to the cantabile of singing' (Rauzzini, 1808, p. i). Yet unlike *Twelve Solfeggi*, which states the reason explicitly for focusing on the cantabile genre, *Exercise for the Voice* does not provide a clear reason as to why particular attention must be paid to the slower musical styles. This appears to be another attempt by the editor to construct an introduction that reads like Rauzzini's original, but has failed to provide the same justified reasoning.

The inclusion of songs alongside solfeggi would appear to be a new development in the vocal education of the nineteenth-century singer. Prior to this publication, authors chose to focus their treatises, to include a variety of songs or to be solfeggi centred, but (as stated by the author) this treatise would appear to be one of the first examples of both solfeggi and songs being combined.⁵⁸ Later in the century authors such as Smith and Rimbault (as previously noted) made use of both solfeggi and songs within their treatises and other authors such as Parry and Tipper, although did not include their own solfeggi, did recommend other treatises with a focus on solfeggi instruction, which should be combined with their publication that included songs (Parry, 1822; Tipper, 1840).

Though Rauzzini provides no instruction in developing the use of sol-fa, as he specifically indicates students should perform his solfeggi to the vowel Ah, the editor of *Exercise for the Voice* does include exercises to be performed using the sol-fa syllables. Sol-fa, which in this publication is fixed, is printed for the intention of performing scales and exercises on intervals. The use of the fixed Do system, within *Exercise for the Voice* is perhaps not a fabrication. Parry in 1822 stated:

Rauzzini, who was considered one of our ablest singing masters made C always Do – while Lanza recommended a totally different mode – “Who can decide where Doctors disagree?” (Parry, 1822, p. 22).⁵⁹

By including the syllables the editor suggests that sol-fa is used to improve a student’s rudimentary musicianship skills, for example, reading notation, intonation and sight-

⁵⁸ Those treatises which focus on songs include *The Musical Companion* (1833), *The Singer's Preceptor* by Domenico Corri (1810), *New Myrtle and Vine* by Thomas Tegg (1806) and *Treatise on Singing forming a complete school of the art* by Paolo Pergetti (1845).

⁵⁹ Parry's father also called John Parry (1776-1851) according to the Dictionary of National Biography was said to have been a good friend of John Braham, who was apprenticed to Rauzzini between 1794 and 1796. Braham may have revealed to Parry the elder Rauzzini's views on the fixed and moveable Do system of sol-fa who in turn told Parry the younger. The fact that Rauzzini never discusses the use of sol-fa in publication suggests Parry was using Rauzzini's status as a famed singing teacher to justify his own reasoning for using this system.

singing ability and it is possible that when Rauzzini was training a beginner student he did make use of the fixed Do system to assist in teaching these rudimentary skills.

The solfeggi published in *Exercise for the Voice* are indicated to be performed to the Ah vowel, as per the same instructions given in Rauzzini's original publication.

The way in which the publication is laid out demonstrates a clear progression for the student from the beginning of the treatise to the end. In the beginning, the student should learn rudimentary music theory skills such as understanding the scales, intervals and arpeggios and even briefly explores ornamentation out of context such as the appoggiatura and trill.⁶⁰ Overall, the format of the publication is very similar to other British treatises intended for an amateur or beginner vocalist such as *Introduction to the Art of Singing* by Arnold and *Introduction to Singing* by Smith.

⁶⁰ A part from the deviations highlighted, the editor does include a large untainted section from Rauzzini's original introduction, though some of Rauzzini's writing has been edited out: for example, some of the celebrated singers have been omitted. This most likely was due to the fact that several of the singers Rauzzini originally mentioned were no longer professional performers, with the vast majority having retired from the stage by 1817.



Figure 8: Example from *Exercise for the Voice* of rudimentary exercises on scales performed using the fixed Do system. Courtesy of The British Library, (Music Collections G.295.xx.(35.)) (Rauzzini?, 1817, p. 2).

No 1.

in C.

DO RE MI FA SOL LA SI DO

SI DO MI FA SOL LA SI DO

After going through this scale ascending, repeat it descending, beginning at the end of the line, and observe the same rule with regard to all the examples of scales.

Accompany your voice with some musical instrument, to prevent your singing out of tune.

No 2.

in G.

SOL LA SI DO RE MI FA SOL

LA SI DO RE MI FA SOL LA

No 3.

in D.

RE MI FA SOL LA SI DO RE

MI FA SOL LA SI DO RE MI

No 4.

in A.

LA SI DO RE MI FA SOL LA

SI DO RE MI FA SOL LA SI

No 5.

in E.

FA SOL LA SI DO RE MI FA

SOL LA SI DO RE MI FA SOL

No 6.

in B.

SI DO RE MI FA SOL LA SI

DO RE MI FA SOL LA SI DO

No 7.

in F.

MI FA SOL LA SI DO RE MI

FA SOL LA SI DO RE MI FA

Figure 9: Similar rudimentary exercises on scales taken from Arnold's *Introduction to the Art of Singing*. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections, (Sp Coll Q.a.75) (Arnold, 1830, p. 6).

INTERVALS.

5

1 2 3 1 3 1 2 3 4 1 4 1 2 3 4 5 1 5 1 2 3 4 5 6

Do re Mi Do Mi Do remi Fa Do Fa Do remi fa Sol Do Sol Do remi fasol La

1 6 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 8 1 2 3 1 3

Do La Do remi fasol La Si Do Si Do remi fa sol La si Do Do Do si La Do La

1 2 3 4 1 4 1 2 3 4 5 1 5 1 2 3 4 5 1 6

Do si la Sol Do Sol Do si la sol Fa Do Fa Do si la sol fa Mi Do Mi

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 8 1 3 1 4

Do si la sol fa mi Re Do Re Do si la sol fa mi re Do Do Do Do Mi Do Fa

1 5 1 6 1 7 1 8 1 3 1 4 1 5 1 6 1 7 1 8

Do Sol Do La Do Si Do Do Do Li Do Sol Do Fa Do Mi Do Re Do Do

Thirds.

1 2 3 Major. 1 2 3 Minor. 1 2 3 Min. 1 2 3 Maj.

Do re Mi Do Mi Re mi Fa Re Fa Mi fa Sol Mi Sol Fa sol La Fa La

1 2 3 Maj. 1 2 3 Min. 1 2 3 Min. 1 2 3 Maj.

Sol la Si Sol Si La si Do La Do Si do Re Si Re Do re Mi Do Mi

Figure 10: Similar rudimentary exercises on intervals taken from Smith's *Introduction to Singing*. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections, (Sp Coll Q.a.33) (Smith, 1828?, p. 5).

The solfeggi are very similar in composition to Rauzzini's first publication though the exercises are shorter in length.⁶¹ Lesson two at nineteen bars long is the shortest exercise out of the four but the first ten bars are taken from solfeggi number one, which in its original state is a three page exercise. In this new publication however, lesson two is only nineteen bars long. Rauzzini may have composed a much shorter version of the original solfeggi number one, but what is more likely is that the editor used the first section of the solfeggio and then added a new ending in the style of Rauzzini to shorten the exercise.

⁶¹ It should be noted that this treatise does not have the same spacious printing as *The First Set of Twelve Solfeggi, or Twenty-Four Solfeggi*.

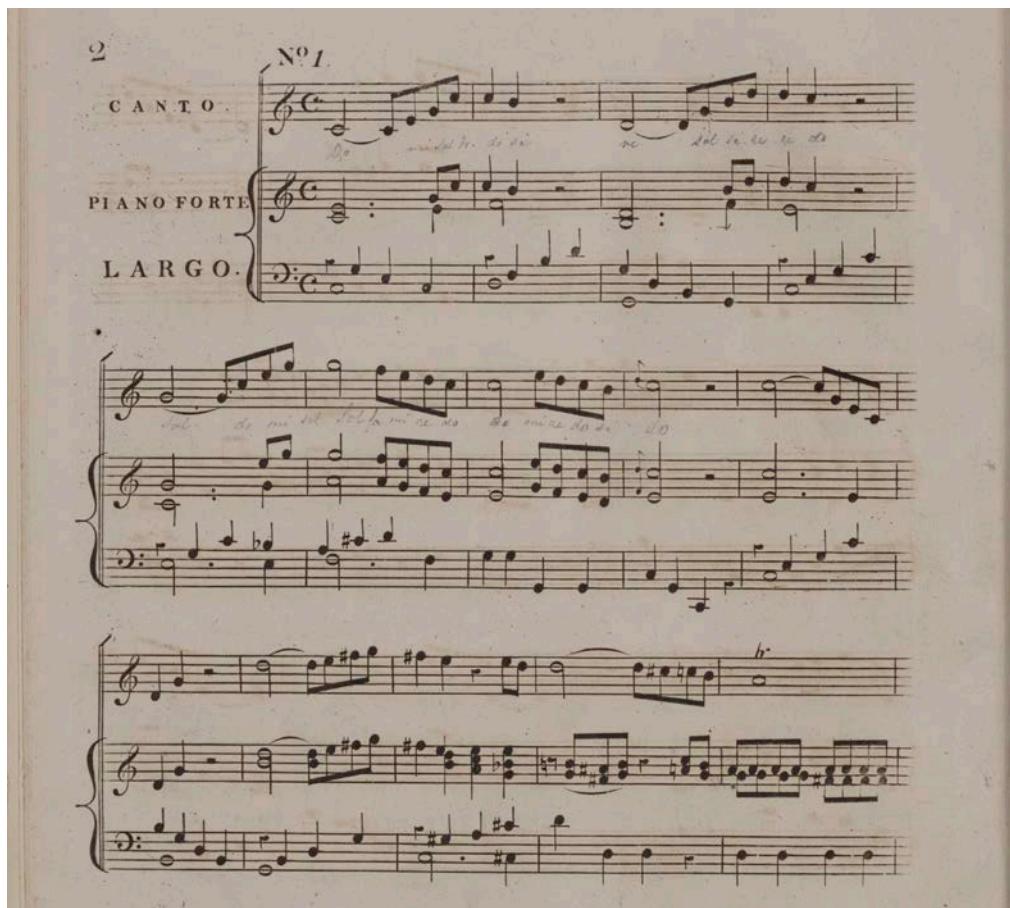


Figure 11: The first ten bars of the first solfeggio from Rauzzini's *Twelve Solfeggi* are the same as the first ten bars that appear in *Exercise for the Voice* (see below for comparison). Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections, (Sp Coll Q.a.1) (Rauzzini, 1808, p. 2).



Figure 12: The first ten bars of this solfeggio are taken from Rauzzini's original *Solfeggi 1* that appears in *Twelve Solfeggi*. Courtesy of The British Library, Music Collections G.295.xx.(35.) (Rauzzini?, 1817, p. 6).

Looking back to Rauzzini's original title page that appeared at the front of *Twelve Solfeggi* he indicated that this publication would be followed with another that contained fifteen solfeggi. Yet, what was posthumously published was a second set of twelve and while this may be due to the untimely death of the castrato, there could be another reason that the missing three solfeggi were not published in *A Second Sett*. It is clear that Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter and Co. were in possession of all the material intended by Rauzzini for the two original publications. After Rauzzini's death in 1810, there was a flurry of publications bearing his name between 1816 and 1820. *Twenty-Four Solfeggi* appeared to be a new publication by the castrato but was simply a combining of the original material intended for press. *Exercise for the Voice*, on the other hand, was a complete reworking for a new market. It would seem then that the publishers made a deliberate choice to omit printing three of the solfeggi from Rauzzini's original material and include this in a new publication. By slightly re-editing one of the solfeggi from the original, the publishers were able to print four exercises most likely to keep the continuity of including an even number of musical examples.⁶²

While it can be postulated that that the late vocal teacher intended to pen a treatise for the amateur singer, it is clear that *Exercise for the Voice* is merely a manipulation of Rauzzini's original material in order to market the work to a different kind of student. This has resulted in several of Rauzzini's original points being distorted, which make the publication appear confusing and lacking in reasoning. However, what this publication demonstrates is Rauzzini's legacy as a vocal teacher. It is obvious that even a decade after his death, Rauzzini continued to be associated with good vocal teaching and connecting his name to such a publication was a

⁶² Within the treatise there are four solfeggi and sixteen songs.

marketing ploy on the part of the publishers. This is most likely why *Twenty-Four Solfeggi* and *Exercise for the Voice* were released a year apart. The buyer of these publications may have been under the illusion that new Rauzzini solfeggi had been discovered, resulting in these posthumous publications. In fact, Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter and Co had simply rebound and re-edited the original material which was already in their possession.

3.8 Conclusion

Italian singers and singing teachers brought solfeggi, which had been utilised in the Italian vocal education tradition in both private lessons and the conservatories, to Britain. These exercises were assimilated into British vocal education and were used to train amateurs and professionals over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As will be seen in the following chapters, the impact of this assimilation resulted in several professional British singers developing a robust vocal technique, which assisted a number to become highly successful vocalists famed in both their native land and on the continent.

Though the term solfeggio has its roots in the sol-fa system, for which a function of the system was to develop sight-singing ability, this was not the only or indeed their primary function. Solfeggi are a multifunctional tool used to develop and maintain vocal technique. Though on some occasions solfeggi can be sung to the sol-fa syllables, this is not a defining characteristic, with several contemporary authors suggesting other vowels to sing when performing solfeggi. These exercises can be used to develop articulation, breath control, intonation, flexibility and contextualising ornamentation. In particular, solfeggi can be utilised to assist the student in developing an awareness of their unique vocal characteristics, which in turn helps the student to understand particular genres to which their voice is suited. It was this

specific area that Rauzzini emphasised as the function of his solfeggi. His philosophy about producing a successful singer encouraged the idea of individualising exercises and songs to suit the abilities of the student. Though Rauzzini was only able to see one of his treatises in print, his solfeggi were recommended to students long after his death. *Exercise for the Voice* is far from a true reflection of Rauzzini's ideas on vocal teaching, but demonstrates that Rauzzini's reputation as a vocal teacher continued long after his death.

Chapter 4 Anna (Nancy) Selina Storace (1765-1817): From Child Prodigy to Prima donna

4.1 Introduction

Anna Selina Storace has been the subject of numerous articles in recent years, mainly due to her associations with Mozart as his first Susanna in *Le nozze di Figaro*, which premiered in Vienna in 1786. While it is widely acknowledged that Rauzzini was Storace's singing teacher from 1774 (at which point the singer would have been nine years old) these examinations of her early career do not discuss the tuition Storace received from Rauzzini, her performances while engaged in singing lessons with him, or the rest of her early years while in Britain (Brace, 1991, p. 22; Chancellor, 1990, p. 105).⁶³ Betty Matthews provides a short analysis of her début performance at Mr Martin's Long Rooms in Southampton and briefly discusses her benefit at the same venue a month later, but Matthews' narrative quickly jumps to her later career stating, 'On her return from Vienna in 1787 she again came to Salisbury [...] This time Miss Storace was an established personality in the musical world' (Matthews, 1969, p. 735). Similarly, V.E. Chancellor states that advertisements for Storace's début performances were designed to emphasize her extreme youth but there is no other discussion on her early career. He does not explore the transition to prima donna, which leads to the impression that Storace easily transcended her child prodigy status upon arrival in Italy: 'she immediately obtained an engagement upon arrival in Naples, at the San Carlo, singing oratorio during Lent, and later appeared at the Pergola theater in Florence' (Chancellor, 1990, p. 105).

While it is of interest to understand Storace's career development upon her arrival in Italy, the lack of in-depth analysis of her early London career, means that to

⁶³ Other biographies include (Ward, 1949; Matthews, 1969; Christiansen, 1984; Matthews, 1987; Girdham, 1988; Brace, 1991; Gidwitz, 1991; Link, 2002; Emerson, 2005; Ochs, 2006).

date there is no detailed account of these performances, or indeed her training, which allowed her to move from child prodigy to opera star. It begs the question: how did a young fourteen-year-old English girl immediately obtain engagements upon her arrival in Naples and continue to rise over the next six years to the status of *prima donna*?

Furthermore, as has been examined in chapter three, Rauzzini's *Twelve Solfeggi or Exercises for the Voice* was aimed at the more advanced student who had already obtained rudimentary knowledge of music theory and singing technique, and while Brace and Chancellor acknowledge that Anna Storace's father, Stefano (1725-1781), was responsible for developing her initial music training, these other authors mentioned above suggest that Rauzzini was her first formal singing teacher. As will be examined in chapter five, several of Rauzzini's students already had active careers and had a considerable knowledge of vocal technique as they had attended singing lessons with another teacher or several other teachers before coming to him for singing lessons. Storace, on the other hand, stands unique as her experience was not as established. Though she may have already had her *début* performance, she was still considered a child in the advertisements and was not active on the stage. Yet, in his treatise, Rauzzini highlights Storace as a performer who other singers should listen to for her manner of singing, which suggests that he believed her conduct and her style to be finished and unique:

Endeavour to avoid error too prevalent amongst modern singers I mean that of imitation: listen to a Mara, Billington, [-] Storace, Braham [-] etc. but do not imitate them; copy nothing but their manner of conducting the voice (Rauzzini, 1808, p. 2).

However, Rauzzini wrote his treatise thirty-four years after he first taught Storace and after she had celebrated success on the continent and on the English stage. This could point to the experience Storace gained through professional work on the

continent having a bigger impact on her career than Rauzzini's tuition. Yet Storace would acknowledge Rauzzini's impact on the establishment of her career by erecting a memorial plaque in his honour at Bath Abbey. Therefore, in order to determine the extent of his impact on the future career of this young singer, a detailed examination of Storace's career prior to her departure for the continent, of Rauzzini's involvement and of the training he provided is required.

4.2 Storace's first music master: Stefano Storace

Matthews in her 1969 article explores the possibility that Storace's father, Stefano, was responsible for her rudimentary music training, stating 'her brother (Stephen Storace 1762-1796), under his father's tuition, was already playing "the most difficult violin music of Tartini and Giardini with correctness and steadiness", and under the same skilful guidance Nancy was being prepared for an early public appearance' (Matthews, 1969, p. 733).⁶⁴ Stefano emigrated to Dublin from Naples in 1748, later settling in London (1759, p. 1). He was a double bass player performing in the majority of London concert and opera venues and frequently acting as band leader. By July 1763, he was already involved in the musical activities at Marylebone Gardens as his benefit night was advertised for 18 July 1763 (1763, p. 1). As an active musician, it is only natural that Stefano would choose to train his children in music theory and performance.

Matthews goes onto state that Storace's début performance on 25 August 1773 'was obviously a success and it was suggested that his talented daughter [Storace] should have a benefit', which was performed on 17 September of the same year. However, further analysis of the advertisements from the *Hampshire Chronicle*

⁶⁴ Stephen Storace is best known as an English composer at the opera house in Drury Lane. At some point in the late 1770s he attended *S Onofrio Conservatory* in Naples to study composition, but returned to England by the early 1780s where he would remain until his death.

suggests that 25 August was not the date of Storace's performance début, nor were these initial concerts successful. A letter printed on 23 August 1773 (which also coincides with an advertisement for Storace's concert on 25 August) states:

What spurred me to take pen in hand, was the great pleasure I had last Wednesday in hearing Miss Storace sing at Martin's Rooms, a child not eight-years-old, who appears to me to be a surprising girl, perhaps not so equal[ly]ed by any of her age; her pretty figure, her voice, and her taste, are admirable; and what still increases my wonder is her masterly manner of singing, with a clear, distinct pronunciation of the words: I was sorry to see so few at the concert; I dare say the ladies and gentlemen of our town did not know her merit, but I hope they will show that her merit will not pass unnoticed, by a generous appearance on Wednesday next, when she will perform for a second time at Martin's Rooms (1773c, p. 2).

Examining the advertisement from 16 August, it does state that Stefano would perform his first concert on 18 August at the Martin's Rooms and is also noted that he was a stranger to Southampton, a clear indication that this was Stefano's first visit to the town. There is no mention of his daughter taking part in this concert, rather the advertisements simply states 'the vocal parts by two young ladies from London' (1773a, p. 3). The review printed on 23 August reveals that the two singers were 'Mrs Sheridan (lately Miss Linley)' and Miss Storace.⁶⁵ It would seem that Stefano made a deliberate decision to exclude the fact that Storace was his daughter and her age from this first concert advertisement. By the second concert advertisement, however, which appeared in the *Hampshire Chronicle* on the 23 August, Storace's youth is used as a form of marketing as it states 'The vocal part by Miss Storace, a child not eight years old' (1773b, p. 1). This is the exact same wording as appears in the review, which suggests that after a disappointing attendance at the concert on 18 August,

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Ann Sheridan née Linley (1754-1792) made her London début at Covent Garden in 1767 and performed in many prolific London venues. She also performed at Bath. In 1772 she eloped to France with theatre-owner and playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816). After her marriage she withdrew from public performance but continued to give private concerts in her home (Beechey & Troost).

Stefano decided to use Storace's age to his advantage and market her as a child prodigy.

A possible reason for the lack of attendance at the first concert could have been because it was Stefano's first concert in Southampton, but another advertisement printed on 30 August suggests that attendance did not increase even after Storace's youth was used as a marketing device:

At Martin's Rooms on Friday the third of September, 1773, will be the usual Breakfast with a concert of vocal and instrumental music being the last – The little encouragement Mr. Storace has had hitherto at his concert, makes it impossible for him to continue it any longer, having already lost considerably by it; he takes the liberty to try it once more, humbly hoping, that the ladies and gentlemen will take it into consideration, and grant him their protection and assistance (1773d, p. 3).

Matthews suggests that Storace had immediately achieved success at these concerts, which prompted her benefit. This in turn interrupted her father's plans, forcing him to leave his daughter in Southampton in order to attend the Three Choirs Festival in Worcester. However, the series of advertisements printed between 30 August and 20 September illustrates a different scenario. Even with Storace's involvement, these concerts, certainly from Stefano's point of view, were not successful at all and may have prompted him to seek out other performance opportunities for them both elsewhere.

Yet, it would seem that his daughter had gained favour with the ladies and gentlemen in attendance at these breakfast concerts throughout August as she was given the opportunity to perform her own benefit concert. This performance was, however, an evening concert, which may have increased the number of audience members in attendance. Furthermore, Storace's age continued to be used as a method of advertisement and it is noted that a ball will take place directly after the concert.

All this points to considerable effort being made to ensure that audience members were encouraged to attend. The marketing effort for this benefit concert paid off, as it prompted a second benefit concert for Storace on 22 September, but the advertisement for this concert exposes that Stefano was somewhat restricted as to when he could book Martin's Rooms:

Miss Storace presents her respect to the Ladies and Gentlemen, is extremely sorry to acquaint them that her Father could not obtain the use of the rooms of an Evening, humbly hopes she will meet with their kind indulgence and protection as this will be the last favour she requests (1773e, p. 3).

This benefit concert took place at midday and there was no offer of tea or a ball; rather, the advertisement focusses more directly on the music and performers, which states Storace 'will sing a variety of songs, and a duetto with her brother' (1773e, p. 3). Though breakfast concerts frequently took place in this venue, Stefano struggled to generate enough of an audience to continue organising them for a long period. An evening concert, on the other hand, was the preferred concert time, but this proved more difficult to schedule due to restrictions at the venue, which suggests the concerts were being arranged at short notice. Despite this, these concerts provided his daughter with his first performance opportunities and exposure as a professional vocalist.

Stefano continued to use performance engagements he had obtained for himself in order to promote his two children as performers in their own right. After Storace's second benefit concert in Southampton she appeared at the Salisbury Festival on 5 October 1773. Once again, she did not appear in the advertisements for the festival but both her father and brother were listed among the principal instrumentalists (1773f, p. 3). John Marsh (1752-1828) states otherwise, listing Storace as a principal performer and providing a detailed description of her

performance with another young singer. He states that she performed 'My Faith and Truth' from *Samson* by Handel with a boy treble by the name of Master Amor (Marsh and Robins, 2011, p. 112). There is no indication that Storace sang the solos for the full oratorio but rather the duet was performed as an isolated item within a concert. Due to the ad hoc organisation of the concerts in Southampton, Stefano may have hoped his daughter would gain enough publicity and revenue to continue performing at Martin's Rooms. However, when it proved difficult to obtain the Rooms for an evening concert that would generate a large audience, he made the last minute decision to bring his daughter to the Salisbury Festival providing her with a small performance opportunity and this is the reason why she was not listed as a principal performer in the advertisement for the festival.

By the time of the Salisbury Festival, Storace had been publicly performing regularly for over two months, through her father's encouragement. Brace suggests in his biography that Storace's father was responsible for her early vocal decline, which led to her retirement in 1808 at the age of forty-three, due to the fact that he pushed her into regular public performance at a young age. He criticises Storace's early training with her father stating that 'though it must be said [...] as far as singing technique was concerned, [Stefano] was probably out of his depth' (Brace, 1991, p. 20). The reason for Brace's deduction would appear to come from the fact that there is no evidence to suggest Stefano was a singer, or had any knowledge of vocal tuition, despite being an accomplished and experienced musician. Certainly, Stefano would appear keen to establish his daughter as a professional singer, but the review from 23 August 1773 does not point to Storace lacking in technique. In fact, though the reviewer does not provide details on the repertoire Storace performed in these first

concerts,⁶⁶ the focus of the review is on Storace's excellent clarity and pronunciation of the lyrics and does not indicate that the young singer was experimenting with ornamentation or songs beyond her abilities, though these were aspects that Storace would need to develop in order to sing on the operatic stage. With Storace gaining popularity at this young age, Stefano perhaps recognised that he was not enough of an expert to continue training his daughter, and therefore, used the Salisbury Festival as an opportunity to introduce her to a professional teacher with the expertise in order to further Storace's training.

4.3 Storace's first professional vocal teacher: Joseph Corfe (1740-1820)

The article *Storace and the Royal Society of Musicians* examines Storace's will and it is noted that the singer left £100 to Arthur Thomas Corfe, the organist of Salisbury Cathedral, and 'whose father Joseph had been her singing teacher'; however, there is no discussion on the tuition Corfe the elder provided Storace or when she might have been tutored by him (Matthews, 1987, p. 325). In order to deduce when Corfe may have been Storace's teacher it is necessary to plot her timeline during this period. She began tuition with Rauzzini after his arrival in Britain in October 1774 and continued this tuition until 1777. It is then likely that she received tuition from Antonio Sacchini prior to her departure for the continent in 1778.⁶⁷ After Storace had departed for the continent, she sent a manuscript of an aria composed by Pietro Guglielmi to Corfe from Florence in 1780. At the top of the title page of the aria she has written 'For Mr. Corfe Salisbury from Miss Storace' (Guglielmi, 1777).

⁶⁶ Geoffrey Brace suggests she sang Neapolitan songs in these concerts and that was a result of the inadequacy of Stefano's teaching method. There is no indication from the newspaper reports of the repertoire Storace performed and there is no reference in other sources cited throughout this chapter that she performed Neapolitan songs.

⁶⁷ Sacchini left London for Paris in 1781 and remained in Paris until his death (DiChiera & Robinson).



Figure 13: Inscribed in the top left hand corner 'For Mr Corfe Salisbury from Miss Storace', 'Aria' by Signor Pietro Guglielmi Courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg, D-Hs/MA/908(Nr.1) (Guglielmi, 1777).

This suggests she had already formed a close bond with Corfe prior to her departure for Italy, rather than after her return to Britain in 1787. He was listed among the principal vocal performers of the Salisbury Festival and it is likely that this was Corfe's first meeting with the young singer with vocal lessons beginning soon after the Salisbury Festival. As can be seen in the following table, after the Salisbury Festival in October 1773, Storace did not publicly perform again until April 1774. Each time Storace engaged in tuition with a new teacher, there was a significant break in public performance, and this will be examined in closer detail later in this chapter.

Table 5: Timeline of Professional Engagements: Anna Selina Storace 1773-1778

Date	Performance	Place	Repertoire	Other Performers
18 August 1773	Breakfast Concert	Mr Martin's Long Rooms		Two ladies from London and Signor Ximenez (1773a, p. 3; 1773c, p. 2).
25 August 1773	Breakfast Concert	Mr Martin's Long Rooms		Miss Storace and Signor Ximinez (1773b, p. 1).
17 September 1773	Evening Concert	Mr Martin's Long Rooms	A set of new songs	Miss Storace and Signor Ximinez (1773e, p. 1).
22 September 1773	Lunchtime Concert	Mr Martin's Long Rooms	A variety of songs and a duet	Miss Storace, Stephen Storace and Signor Ximinez (1773e, p. 3).
5 October 1773	Salisbury Music Festival	Sarum	My Faith and Truth	Mr Norris or Oxford, Mr Parry, Mr Corfe and Master Amor (Marsh and Robins, 2011, p. 112). Not listed as a performer (1773f, p. 3).
Receiving tuition from Joseph Corfe				
15 April 1774	Benefit for Mr Evans	Theatre Royal, Haymarket		Signora Frasi (1774a, p. 1).
Receiving tuition from Venanzio Rauzzini				
29 February 1776		King's Theatre, Haymarket	L'Ali D'Amore	Signor Rauzzini (Badini and Rauzzini, 1776, p. 1).
4 September 1776	Winchester Music Festival	St John's House,	Judas Maccabeus by Handel	Venanzio Rauzzini, Mr. Corfe, Mr Gaudry and Miss Storace (1776d, p. 183).
5 September 1776	Winchester Music Festival	Cathedral House,	Messiah by Handel	Venanzio Rauzzini, Mr. Corfe, Mr Gaudry and Miss Storace (1776d, p. 183).
6 September 1776	Winchester Music Festival	St John's House,	Joshua by Handel	Venanzio Rauzzini, Mr. Corfe, Mr Gaudry and Miss Storace (1776e, p. 2).
14 February 1777		Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Judas Maccabeus by Handel	Signor Tenducci, Mr Saville, Mr Reinold, Miss Storace and Miss Harrop. Conducted by Dr Arnold (1777a, p. 1).
19 February		Theatre	Messiah by Handel	Signor Tenducci, Mr

1777		Royal, Covent Garden		Saville, Mr Reinold, Miss Storace and Miss Harrop. Conducted by Dr Arnold (1777b, p. 1).
21 February 1777		Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Samson by Handel	Signor Tenducci, Mr Saville, Mr Reinold, Miss Storace and Miss Harrop. Conducted by Dr Arnold (1777e, p. 1).
26 February 1777		Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Omnipotence	Signor Tenducci, Mr Saville, Mr Reinold, Miss Storace and Miss Harrop. Conducted by Dr Arnold (1777f, p. 1).
28 February 1777		Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	The Prodigal Son by Dr. Arnold	Signor Tenducci, Mr Saville, Mr Reinold, Miss Storace and Miss Harrop. Conducted by Dr Arnold. Also including Mrs Farrel (1777g, p. 3).
7 March 1777		Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Jephtha by Handel	Signor Tenducci, Mr Saville, Mr Reinold, Miss Storace, Miss Harrop and Mrs Farrel. Conducted by Dr Arnold (1777h, p. 1).
12 March 1777		Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	The Prodigal Son by Dr. Arnold	Signor Tenducci, Mr Saville, Mr Reinold, Miss Storace, Miss Harrop and Mrs Farrel. Conducted by Dr Arnold (1777i, p. 1).
13 March 1777		Theatre Royal, Haymarket	L'Ali D'Amore by Rauzzini including new songs and grand choruses composed by Signor Rauzzini	Signor Rauzzini, Signor Trebbi, Signor Savoi, Signora Marianna Farnese, Signor Michelli, Miss Storace, Signor Rodivino and Signora Cecilia Davies Inglesina (1777j, p. 1).
20 March 1777	For the benefit of Signora Cecilia Davies.	King's Theatre, Haymarket	L'Ali D'Amore by Rauzzini	Signor Rauzzini, Signor Trebbi, Signor Savoi, Signora Marianna Farnese, Signor Michelli, Miss Storace, Signor Rodivino and Signora

				Cecilia Davies Inglesina (1777k, p. 1).
21 March 1777	Acis and Galatea and a miscellaneous concert	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden		Miss Storace (1777l, p. 1).
18 April 1777	Grand Miscellaneous concert	Tottenham Street		Signor Piozzi and Miss Storace. LaMotte to lead the band (1777n, p. 1).
3 July 1777	For the benefit of Signor Rauzzini.	King's Theatre, Haymarket	L'Ali D'Amore by Rauzzini	Signor Rauzzini, Signor Trebbi, Signor Savoi, Signora Marianna Farnese, Signor Michelli, Miss Storace, Signor Rodivino and Signora Cecilia Davies Inglesina (1777o, p. 1).
14 July 1777	Meeting of the three choirs:	Hereford Three Choirs Festival	Anthem composed by Dr, Bryce, Coronation Anthem by Handel, Piramo e Tisbe by Rauzzini	Signor Rauzzini, Miss Storace, Miss Salmon, Mr Norris and Mr Matthews (1777q, p. 1).
Receiving tuition from Antonio Sacchini				
27 April 1778	For the benefit of Miss Storace	Tottenham Street Music Room	Song for Miss Storace by Sacchini Duet for Rauzzini and Storace by Sacchini. Song for Miss Storace accompanied by LaMotte, composed by Sacchini. Terzetto for Miss Storace, Signor Rauzzini and Signor Rovedini by Sacchini. Duet for Miss Storace and Signor Rauzzini by Rauzzini	Signor Rauzzini, LaMotte and Signor Rovedini. Under the direction of Signor Sacchini (1778, p. 1).

Corfe was not an opera singer, but he was an experienced choral singer with much of his career strongly connected to the church. He began his vocal career as a chorister in Salisbury Cathedral under Dr John Stephens (c.1746-81), the cathedral organist. After being made a tenor lay clerk in 1758 he became increasingly involved in musical performances in the city and regularly sang at the Three Choirs Festival. He most frequently appeared as a principal vocal performer in oratorio, performing as a soloist in the works of Handel.⁶⁸ In 1783 he was appointed as Gentleman to the Chapel Royal, a title which is proudly printed on the title page of his vocal treatise (Johnstone, 2004). His vocal treatise was written in 1799 and it is clear that his reflections on vocal training are heavily influenced by his experience as an oratorio and choral singer. For instance, in his treatise he describes the correct way in which to hold a book, an observation that does not frequently appear in vocal treatises written by performers from an operatic background (Corfe, 1799, p. 4).

His treatise offers a possible account of the early music tuition to which Storace was exposed. Corfe's intentions for his treatise was to bring together the ideas and comments put forth by other vocal teachers, demonstrating that he was a keen reader on the art of vocal tuition and reflected deeply on these writings to form his own, more informed opinion. He also provided a detailed catalogue of authors of vocal treatises that were available, read and used regularly during this period in Britain.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Corfe arranged several Handel arias and published a collection of his arrangements: Joseph Corfe, *The beauties of Handel, consisting of upwards of one hundred of his most favorite songs, duetts & trios* (London, Preston, 1801-1804).

⁶⁹ Among the authors included in Corfe's narrative are Charles Avison (1710-1770), a composer and writer on music from Newcastle; John Milton (1562-1647), English composer and father of the poet John Milton (1608-1674); James Hay Beattie (1768-1790), writer and university philosophy professor from Aberdeen; Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762), Italian violinist and theorist; and Pier Francesco Tosi (c. 1653-1732), Italian castrato singer and composer. These authors span a wide geographical

Corfe states that he intended his publication for amateur singers, yet his intentions often contradict his observations in that he frequently discusses the role and expectations of the professional public singer (Corfe, 1799, p. 21). He asks his students to avoid singing with ornaments and embellishments, instead opting to sing with plainness:

If the composer has taste in what he writes, it will be unnecessary, and indeed not very easy, to add any graces that will make it more beautiful, but too often may render the piece less perfect (Corfe, 1799, p. 4).

However, later Corfe reflects that the public singer will perform cadences at their own invention, highlighting the difficulty public singers face in performing these with correctness and variety:

It is a work therefore, not only of judgement, but invention likewise; and public singers have, in truth, an arduous task to perform, when they are called on, in the course of an opera or oratorio, to produce so many cadences in so many various styles and manners (Corfe, 1799, p. 5).

He goes on to point out that throughout Rome and Naples there is a common fault among singers that they allow the cadence to go on far too long, which results in the cadence becoming ‘tiresome and sometimes disgusting’ (Corfe, 1799, p. 6). His commentary frequently addresses the difference between Italian and British vocal style. In Corfe’s opinion, the British style placed importance on expressing the meaning of the words as oppose to the Italian, which used florid vocal embellishments and often lacked rhetorical expression as the singer vainly attempted to show off their vocal assets. To justify his argument Corfe quotes Dr Gregory;⁷⁰

area and demonstrate the breadth of Corfe’s reading. Joseph Corfe, *A treatise on singing explaining in the most simple manner, all the rules for learning to sing by note* (London, 1799, p. 2).

⁷⁰ This is most likely referring to Dr John Gregory or Gregorie (1724-1773) who was a Scottish physician, medical writer and moralist. He founded the Aberdeen Musical Society and wrote a paper on the distinction between classical and folk music, which was read to the Edinburgh Philosophical Society in 1763 (Perry, 2008, p. 2).

Taste in a singer [...] consists in a knowledge of the composer's design and performing it in a spirited and expressive manner, without any view in shewing the dexterity of his own execution', but what emerges is the notion that a singer should be more acutely aware of the composer's intentions (Corfe, 1799, p. 3).

Corfe's discussion stresses a conservative approach to ornamentation emphasising rhetorical expression to be of foremost importance. Many other British authors of treatises also highlighted the importance of text-driven expression, discouraging unnecessary ornamentation, which confuses the meaning of the text. For example, Charles Arnold (c. 1830) states in the fourth edition of his treatise *An Introduction to the Art of Singing*:

Do not attempt too many flourishes; nothing can be more ridiculous than to hear a singer making shakes and cadences upon every third note, as if the song were intended by the composer merely to serve as an introduction to these misplaced ornaments (Arnold, 1830, p. 16).

Corfe, however, goes a step further than most authors and states that singers should align to the 'composer's intentions', which implies that the singer should disregard improvised ornamentation in favour of the notes written on the page (Corfe, 1799, p. 3). This is an odd statement by eighteenth-century standards as it was expected that the solo singer should improvise embellishments adapting the song or aria to suit their own vocal abilities. A flexible throat was considered a necessity for an aspiring professional performer, a point which Corfe was clearly aware of:

The practising difficult passages, and divisions, will give the scholar a flexibility and command of the voice, without which, some of the finest songs of execution cannot properly be sung (Corfe, 1799, p. 5).

Corfe's statement about aligning to the 'composer's intentions', therefore, is not implying that singers should completely avoid improvised ornamentation and only sing the notes on the page; rather he is highlighting that the singer should be more aware of the meaning of the text to which the composer has set. A similar statement is made by Robert A Smith in his treatise:

Graces of every kind should be used but sparingly and whenever introduced they ought to proceed from the character and sentiment both of the music and poetry. The student should first sing with plainness and simplicity, avoiding all ornaments, till sufficiently qualified to use them; and then the utmost caution is necessary, lest they be used improperly; for if the Composer has written with taste, it is probable they will detract from, rather than add to the beauty of a fine composition. "Where passion speaks, all shakes and graces ought to be silent, leaving it to the sole force of a beautiful expression to persuade" (Smith, 1828?, p. 2).

Smith advises that a singer should understand the sentiments of the song or aria and so, be aware of when it is appropriate to use ornaments; thus he puts poetic expression ahead of musical ornamentation.

Both Smith and Corfe imply a conservative approach to using ornamentation. They were not unique in their advice and similar comments can be seen in reviews throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Such a review was printed in the *Musical Review and Record of Musical Science, Literature* in 1838 stating:

The difference in the effects [of Italian and English singing are] easily to be traced to the causes. To the Italians belong passion, force, transition, variety and general splendour. To the English sensibility, tempered by an invariable sense of propriety, purity, delicacy, and polish. The emotions raised by the first are strong, but liable to sudden disgusts and transient – the last are more equable, and please most on reflection (Ives, 1838, p. 401).

The reviewer notes that the use of ornamentation in the Italian singing was no less impassioned than in English singing, rather it was much more exciting and impressive in nature, but by the same token, left one dissatisfied in the long term. The conservative approach to ornamentation expected of the English style, may have been less extravagant, but served to please, as it was much more in keeping with the character of aria rather allowing the singer to show off their runs and roulades. This had been a point of contention in Britain for many years. A review printed in 1769 stated:

Purcel[!] was the first who apparently improved *air*: the great support of modern music. Purcel[!] is still a favourite author, and will continue so; for his genius was of the first rate, though much disguised by the false ornaments of the age which he lived[.] His imitating the sound of the words, rather than expressing the thought of the sentence; his frequent repetitions of the same word, divisions numberless, and some almost endless, were taken up by the composers of the times, who not having genius enough to imitate his beauties, took the easier task of copying his defects (1769, p. 145).

Despite these negative remarks regarding the use of divisions and ornamentation, by the end of the eighteenth century, many female sopranos who were specifically associated with the English style of singing found it necessary to Italianise their sound and style of performance in order to progress their careers on the English stage. Such was the case with Rosemond Mountain (1768-1841) who was another student of Rauzzini's between 1798 and 1800. Mountain predominantly sang English repertoire throughout her career, arriving at Covent Garden as a lead singer at the end of 1786, where she was popularly received in her first year.⁷¹ Over the subsequent two years of her employment, the *Memoirs of Mrs Mountain* note that:

Gradually she [was thrown] into the back ground; and when she sustained a part, it was either too insipid to gain favour of the audience, or she was urged, by some immediate necessity to play parts that were totally opposite to her forte (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 274).

After visiting Dublin and returning to Covent Garden, only to engage in a similar argument with the managers that she was not making sufficient appearances or receiving a large enough salary, she engaged in lessons with Rauzzini at Bath in 1798 (1798, p. 1). The *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* upon Mountain's return to the stage in 1799 stated:

⁷¹ There are many different spellings of Mountain's first name and it is difficult to determine, which spelling is correct: Rosemond, Rosamund and even in one periodical Sarah is given as her first name. A portrait during the period spells it Rosoman. In order to remain consistent throughout the thesis I will use Rosemond as it is this spelling that most frequently occurs. Examples of these misspellings can be seen in: Thelma & Wilson, 2004; Middleton & Baker, 2004; and Clarke, 1832-34, vol. 4.

Mrs Mountain without going to Italy, has acquired all the Italian graces in singing under the tuition of Rauzzini the long established favourite of Bath (1799b, p. 3).

Though Mountain would regularly perform in English opera and would not be known as a Italian singer, it was her ability to assimilate the Italian style into her vocal technique that established her as a ‘favourite public singer’ for the remainder of her career (Urban, 1841, p. 325). In a similar vein, Corfe could provide Storace with basic knowledge of vocal technique, more advanced than her father had given her and would continue to improve her knowledge of music theory. However, there is no evidence to suggest that Corfe had sufficient knowledge to teach Storace the Italian style of singing that was becoming more fashionable throughout Britain.

The differences in focus of tuition can be seen in the style of publication when comparing Corfe’s treatise and Rauzzini’s treatise. For example, Corfe’s follows the typical structure of most British singing treatises published during this period whereas Rauzzini’s follows a similar format to many Italian treatises, despite it being published in London.⁷² Corfe marketed his treatise to the beginner vocalist and, like the majority of British publications, devotes a quarter of the publication to music theory. He also discusses several areas of vocal performance, such as ensemble singing, the role of the public singer, and the role of the amateur singer and this leaves his treatise somewhat unfocussed.

Corfe’s treatise is split into three distinctive sections. The first consists of eleven pages of introductory advice often focussing on ensuring the singer performs with plainness and observes rhetorical expression. This is followed by fourteen pages of exercises on music theory and basic vocal technique.

⁷² English treatises with a similar format to Corfe are *The New Harmonic Magazine*, John Beaumont (1801); *Elementary Principles and Practices for Singing*, T Philips (1826) and *The Art of Singing*, F.L. Hummell (1825).

4 The Scholar is first to raise this Scale of the Hexachord, or a succession of six Musical Intervals, and then to descend by the same Notes, remembering that from M1 to FA or (3 to 4) is only half a tone; the others whole tones.

Pia. cres. For. dim. Pia.

Hexachord of G.

Do re mi fa fol la la fol fa fa mi mi re re do

Do do re re mi mi fa fa fol fol la la la la fol fol fa fa mi mi re re do

Examples in Common Time.

1st:

Do do do re re re re mi mi mi mi fa fa fa fol fol fol la

la la fol fol fa fa fa mi mi mi re re re re do

2^d:

Do do re mi fa fa fol fol la la la fol fol fa fa mi mi mi re re do

Examples in Triple Time.

1st:

Do do do re re re mi fa mi do fol fa mi fa mi re mi fa fol fa mi re do

Figure 14: Proposed second section discussing the rudiments of musical theory, from *A Treatise on Singing*, by Joseph Corfe (Corfe, 1799, p. 4).

In the final section he provides several examples of duet and ensemble singing as well as exercises for performing as a soloist.

The musical score for 'SANCTUS.' by Jomelli is a multi-part setting. The instrumentation includes Violin 1 (Vio. 1), Violin 2 (Vio. 2), Due Oboe, Due Corni, Viola, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is A major (three sharps). The tempo is Larghetto. The score consists of eight staves, each with a different vocal or instrumental part. The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) sing a simple melody with sustained notes. The instrumental parts (Violins, Oboes, Horns, Viola) provide harmonic support with various patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes. The title 'SANCTUS.' is written above the vocal parts, and the composer's name 'JOMELLI' is at the top right.

Figure 15: Proposed third section discussing ensemble singing, from *A Treatise on Singing*, by Joseph Corfe (Corfe, 1799, p. 17).

The musical score for a duet consists of two staves. The lyrics are as follows:

And you sweet Maid sweet Maid take mine,
Take this Nosegay gentle Youth, Un-like these Flower's be
Unlike unlike these Flower's be thine, Un-like these Flower's be thy fair truth, Un-
thy fair truth, Un-like these Flower's be thy fair truth, Un-

N.B. this Duett and the following Songs, are in the Colⁿ. of the late JAMES HARRIS Esq^r. and now Publish'd by Permission.

The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano), *cres* (crescendo), and *f* (forte). The music features eighth-note patterns and some sixteenth-note figures, typical of 18th-century vocal duets.

Figure 16: proposed third section discussing duet singing, from *A Treatise on Singing*, by Joseph Corfe (Corfe, 1799, p. 31).

These observations and exercises dilute the focus of the work making it unclear exactly what kind of student, whether soloist, ensemble singer, professional or amateur, would benefit from its use.

On the other hand, as has been examined in Chapter 3, Rauzzini focused and marketed his treatise to the more advanced vocal student stating '[my treatise is designed for those] who have already gone through the rudiments of music and possess some knowledge of the art of singing' (Rauzzini, 1808, p. 1). Therefore, Rauzzini did not have to devote a large section of his treatise to outlining rudimental musical theory, such as note names, note values, ornamentation and sol-fa. Rather his treatise is in two sections, a short introduction consisting of three pages, which discusses style and singing, followed by a series of solfeggi exercises which increase in difficulty as the treatise progresses.

Corfe would have been able to provide Storace with several beneficial skills as a beginner vocalist. While it is possible that she received rudimental music theory training with her father, Corfe's treatise emphasises musical theory training as an important foundation. Later in Storace's career, she was frequently praised for her superior knowledge of the science of music. The *St. James's Chronicle* stated in one of Storace's first musical performances upon her return to London in 1787 that 'her voice is melodious, her musical skill considerable and her manner expressive' (1787i, p. 4). A year later the *General Evening Post* commented that 'she appears to sing with a perfect knowledge of the science' (1789g, p. 3). Further to this, Corfe's experience as a chorister and his interest in teaching ensemble singing did not hinder Storace. After her return to Britain, Storace was professionally engaged as a soloist for *The Concert of Antient Music* and was engaged in several performances between 1787 and 1794, where she also toured to festivals in Salisbury, Hereford and Bristol as well as

performing in the Handel Festival in Westminster Abbey in 1790 (1790b, p. 2).

Within these oratorio performances she would have been expected to join the choruses and sing as part of the ensemble, but equally be able to emerge as soloist. If a solo singer did not take part in the choruses they were heavily criticised by the British press. This is evident in Gertrude Mara's career when in 1785 she did not realise this was the custom in Britain and what ensued were many slanderous reviews including this one:

Madame Mara's rude behaviour in leaving the orchestra as soon as she had sung her songs and refusing to stand up with the other performers during the choruses gave much offence to the whole audience and to the young gentlemen of the University in particular, and she was repeatedly hissed for it, but would not comply, saying in her defence that she had never done it to Majesty and therefore would not. The last day of her obstinacy, a riot ensued and Madam Mara was hissed and hooted out of the theatre before the conclusion of the performance (1785b, p. 3).

The fact that Storace was already an active performer and that her brother had been sent to Italy to further his musical education suggests that it was the family's desire for her to become a successful operatic prima donna. Thus, the decision to move her from Corfe to Rauzzini was based on an assessment of the different skill set the two teachers possessed. Rauzzini as a working primo uomo had the expertise to develop her voice and skill sets, as well as the connections in the operatic world to give her the necessary performance experience that would better prepare the young singer for a career as a prima donna of the Italian opera.

4.4 Storace's second professional vocal teacher: Venanzio Rauzzini

Rauzzini arrived in Britain from the continent in October 1774, approximately six months after Storace's début at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket in Mr Evans' benefit concert. Apart from this one 1774 appearance, Storace did not publicly perform again

for another two years. Further examination of Storace's career during 1773 until her departure for Italy in 1778 reveals a trend. As can be seen in table five (above), each time Storace began lessons with a new teacher, there was a significant gap in public performances: for example, after engaging in lessons with Corfe, she did not perform publicly for approximately six months. There was a gap of two years after engaging in lessons with Rauzzini and in the summer of 1777, where she engaged in singing lessons with Sacchini there was another eight month gap in public performance.

Brace suggests in his 1992 biography on Storace that the break in public performance was an isolated incident caused by Rauzzini stating that the reason behind this two-year break was due to Rauzzini's fears that 'damage was done to [Storace's] voice by her father's over-eagerness to present her to the public' (Brace, 1991, p. 22). Though the gap in public performances after she began lessons with Rauzzini was longer, he fails to recognise the recurring trend throughout Storace's early career. Thus it is more likely the break in public performance is due to a significant change in teaching methods. As has been noted, Corfe's focus was on developing the correct rhetorical expression and avoiding an overabundance of ornamentation. Rauzzini, on the other hand, was a leading Italian castrato, as is demonstrated by his treatise, focussed his tuition on the practice of solfeggi. Though Corfe includes some simple solfeggi in his treatise, they are not as rigorous or as long as Rauzzini's. It is possible Rauzzini chose to completely retrain Storace in rigorous practice of solfeggi during the two-year gap in order to make her ready for public performance.

After the Salisbury Festival in 1773, Stefano is not obviously involved in Storace's musical activities, with Rauzzini replacing her father as the main organiser of her musical engagements from 1776 until the summer of 1777. Storace's first

public appearance in 1776 was in Rauzzini's opera *L'Ali D'Amore* in the theatre where he was engaged as the primo uomo. It has already been discussed in chapter two that Rauzzini used his influence as a principal singer to obtain engagements for his previous student Caterina Schindlerin and it is clear that he did the same for Storace. However, Rauzzini did not give Storace a significant leading role in his opera to ensure quick exposure for his young student and thus exhibit himself as a vocal teacher of merit; rather he eased her onto the public platform. She performed the minor role of Cupido, and while she appeared in the cast list of the libretto, she was not listed as a principal performer in the newspaper advertisement (1776a, p. 1, Badini and Rauzzini, 1776, p. 1). From the libretto, Cupido sings a solo recitative and possibly a solo aria in Act III scene 8 but as the full score is lost it is difficult to determine the exact length of the arias or the intricacy of the music (Badini and Rauzzini, 1776). This limited appearance suggests that Rauzzini was carefully assessing the abilities of his student on the operatic stage, while allowing her to develop experience of performing in a full scale operatic production. Six months later, Storace performed in the Winchester Festival, again alongside Rauzzini. On this occasion, both Storace and Rauzzini were advertised as principal performers and points to Storace having developed enough in her vocal abilities to take on a more prominent role within professional engagements.

By 1777, Storace's list of engagements dramatically increase and resemble the typically schedule of a professional adult singer. She was engaged as a principal singer in the oratorio performances conducted by Dr Samuel Arnold (1740-1802).⁷³ During this period she performed in six different oratorio productions, that include

⁷³ Samuel Arnold was an English composer, conductor, organist and editor. He was best known for his dramatic compositions (pantomimes and incidental music) but also for contributing to over seventy operas. For more information see Hoskins.

Samson, *Messiah*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Jephtha*, *Omnipotence* (composed by Handel) and *The Prodigal Son* (composed by Arnold) (1777b, p. 1; 1777e, p. 1; 1777f, p. 1; 1777i, p. 1; 1777j, p. 1). However, Storace, who was eleven years old at this time, was considerably younger than the rest of the cast. Another singer billed as a principal performer was Miss Sarah Harrop (c.1755-1811),⁷⁴ and her engagement in the oratorio series was advertised as 'being her first appearance', which could suggest that she was also a young singer (1777g, p. 1). Unfortunately, there is no definitive information regarding Harrop's birthdate so it is unclear what age she may have been, but in a review of the oratorio Storace was referred to as 'the child' while Harrop has no such description attached to her name, indicating that Storace was the youngest cast member (1777r, p. 1).

In addition to Storace's increase in quantity of engagements, her role in the 1777 revision of *L'Ali D'Amor* was greatly expanded. She sings from Act III Scene 7 until the end of the opera performing two additional arias and a recitative (Badini and Rauzzini, 1777, pp. 56-64). Further to this, she was included as a member of the principal cast list for advertisement in the press. Rauzzini had increased her musical responsibility and was now showcasing her as a serious professional vocal performer.

However, Storace's young age was an area of contention for critics with several reviews emerging during her 1777 appearances. For example, a letter (written by an unknown author, referred to henceforth as the Portsmouth letter) printed in *The Morning Chronicle* in February 1777 states:

It is generally agreed among the musical world that Miss Storace is too young and inexperienced to rank as an oratorio singer. Dr Arnold has a large share of ability as a composer and what is not always, or rather is

⁷⁴Sarah Bates (née Harrop) was a successful British concert singer, chiefly known for her performance of sacred music. She studied Italian song with Antonio Sacchini. For more information see Maitland, 2004.

very rarely the case, an equal share of good sense, he will, therefore, doubtless provide against Wednesday a properly qualified singer to take Miss Storace's seat in the orchestra (1777c, p. 1).

The Portsmouth letter attributed Storace's lack of ability to her youth, despite the fact that she had already been professionally engaged in the 1776 Winchester Festival, where she performed in oratorios as a principal singer. A few days later, another letter printed in the same newspaper (also written by an unknown author, henceforth the Plymouth letter) writes in defence of Storace stating that she did have experience as an oratorio singer where she 'supported the first principal part'. The Plymouth letter goes on to inform readers that Storace had been very ill 'of a most dangerous fever, attended with a bad cough, so as to render her incapable of attending any rehearsals' and further suggests that the Portsmouth letter was penned by way of 'prejudicing the audience against Miss Storace' further arguing that he should not have 'attacked a young child' (1777d, p. 1). While the Plymouth letter is written in defence of Storace, it does not argue that she was of similar abilities to her adult colleagues but rather chooses to argue that an ill child should not be subjected to the same criticism as an adult performer.

Several questions come from analyses of these two letters: for example, in what way did the author of the Portsmouth letter believe Storace to be inexperienced? Was it her vocal ability, technique, stage presence or ability to ornament, or was he put off by the fact that a child was ranked at the same level as experienced adult professional performers? Similarly, by what standard was the Plymouth letter judging Storace; as an inexperienced child who should be given the benefit of the doubt, or as a professional singer of similar abilities to her adult colleagues? While it may be difficult to understand the true meaning behind these

letters, there was a further critical review of Storace's 1777 oratorio performance in Arnold's *The Prodigal Son*.

Within this review the author, who names himself Corelli, provides an in-depth description of the whole production, where he is highly critical of all performers involved. He condemns the castrato Tenducci for his inability to affect the audience emotionally and states that he is 'not so fine a singer as Rauzzini'. He similarly criticises Harrop stating that 'her voice is too delicate for the theatre; every note appears the same for want of accent'. Storace is described as 'the child' in brackets after her name, perhaps highlighting to the reader that he is fully aware of her youth. He goes onto say 'she may make a good singer but it was rather a piece of temerity to give oratorio music for her first appearance. Not as good as Miss Draper' (1777r, p. 1). Corelli clearly did not know about Storace's previous engagements and believed this season to be her first outing as a professional singer. Corelli and the Portsmouth letter-writer are both uncomfortable with Storace's youth and believed oratorio performance required certain rank and experience from a singer.

As the season progressed, fewer critical reviews of Storace's performances were printed and by the end of the oratorio season, a review appears that is very much in favour of Storace and even encourages Arnold to engage her along with the Tenducci and Harrop for the following oratorio season:

I am glad [...] Dr. Arnold has now learned the taste of the town, he will have no occasion for the future to be at such an enormous expense as he has been at this year, in procuring the very best voices in England to entertain the public, when he can please them with such singers and so inconsiderable an expense and be sure of filling the house every night, therefore I would advise him to engage for the next season (in the room of a *Harrop*, a *Tenducci*, [and] a *Storace*) (1777m, p. 1).

These reviews all appear after Storace was working on a regular basis as a professional singer, but no such reviews appear during her 1776 appearances. The

lack of advertisement regarding her part in the premiere production of *L'Ali D'Amore* as well as there being no critical reviews appearing for any of Storace's 1776 performances all point to Rauzzini keeping his emerging student under his protection to some degree, allowing her to develop necessary performance skills on stage without the pressures of being publicly scrutinised. This is most likely why critics, such as Corelli and the Portsmouth letter, assumed the 1777 season to be Storace's first ventures into public performance.

Rauzzini did not market his student as a child prodigy as her father had in 1773; rather he was keen to establish her as a serious professional singer, without relying on the gimmick of child prodigy status. Critics could now exhibit Storace on a regular basis, but, she was still very young and these reviews reflect the critics' uncertainty of how to judge her: as an adult or as a child. Furthermore, the critics' fixation on Storace's age and experience means there is very little comment on her individuality of performance or as a singer, beyond her being a child.

4.5 *La Partenza*: 'The departure'

By early June 1777, it was publicly announced that Rauzzini was leaving London to return to the continent. Though Rauzzini would never actually leave Britain, by his final performance at the King's Theatre in July there is no evidence to suggest that he developed any plans to remain. He composed an afterpiece to his final performance in *L'Ali D'Amore*, advertised as 'An address of thanks for the occasion' (1777, p. 1) and was entitled *La Partenza*: 'The Departure'. That fact that Rauzzini specifically composed this work to be sung by himself and Storace reflects the nature of their relationship. This would be (in Rauzzini's mind) his final performance as the official primo uomo for the King's Theatre, and he chose to share the moment with his student and use the opportunity to exhibit her vocal abilities to the public. This work

provides some insight into the vocal qualities Storace possessed after having trained with Rauzzini for three years.

La Partenza is a cantata set in the following structure, recitative, aria recitative and duet, featuring two characters, Amore (performed by Storace) and Fileno (performed by Rauzzini). These names appear during both the recitatives, but are not included as part of the aria or duet, so it is not entirely clear who sang which part in these instances. However, since Rauzzini was billed as the leading performer on the title page and newspaper advertisements, it is most likely that he performed the aria, with Storace joining during the duet. Though the majority of Storace's experience up to this point had been performing English oratorio, where she could combine the skills learned in her previous tuition with Corfe alongside her Italian training with Rauzzini, this cantata is sung entirely in Italian. Storace's language skills are not commented upon in reviews and it can be assumed that having been born to an Italian father, she spoke both Italian and English fluently.

Table 6: Table of Structure for *La Partenza*

Section of Cantata	Part	Singer
Recitative 1	Amore	Storace
	Fileno	Rauzzini
Aria		Rauzzini?
Recitative 2	Amore	Storace
	Fileno	Rauzzini
Duet	Voice 1	Rauzzini?
	Voice 2	Storace?

2

Amore

Recit

Fermati a-mi-co è duopo fvelarmi la cagion d'onde aun-tal segno il tuo fem -

bianti impalli-disce e gemme tu il fai se nel mio regno nu-dri-foen-fi gli a -

manti fol di speme non son ti-ranno e posso dun'alma ayvolta in a-mo-rofiaf -

Fileno

-fan-ni in pia-ce-re bangiar le pe-ne e i dan-ni Fallace e il tuo pen -

fie-ro o-gui tua forza o amore fe fu pro-pri-za un tempo oggi e

va-na' per me fol questo core che d'amer-tume e angoscie fi pafce in questo

Amore

di dir-ti po-tri-a quanto in odio mi vien la vi-ta mi-a Nar-ra-mi

Figure 17: Opening recitative, *La Partenza* by Venanzio Rauzzini, as sung by Miss Storace and Signor Rauzzini. Courtesy of The British Library, London (Music Collections G.296.aa.(9.)) (Rauzzini, 1778, p. 2).⁷⁵

⁷⁵ For the complete early printed edition of *La Partenza* see appendix B.2.

Both the opening recitative and the duet demonstrate the similarity between the two, and more specifically this highlights Storace's vocal ability, as the majority of the duet has the two singers performing in harmony with complex, fast-paced rhythms. The duet opens with the two voices sharing a musical question and answer, both requiring rhythmic precision, but neither voice contrasting in vocal range or floridity. The two voices then come together to sing in harmony, and quite often have moments of short florid passages that must be sung with very precise rhythmic timing so that one singer does not go out of synchronisation with the other. Rauzzini cleverly shows his student to be of similar vocal quality to himself, placing a great deal of trust in her abilities to match him in rhythm and intonation.

Andante

[Rauzzini?] Fileno

[Storage?] Amore

15

21

26

31

37

The musical score consists of three staves of music in G major, 2/4 time. The top staff begins at measure 42, featuring a vocal line with several grace notes and a melodic line. The lyrics are: "che fie - ra pe - na oh Di - o ah i che do - lor che af -". The middle staff begins at measure 46, also with a vocal line and melodic line. The lyrics are: "fan - no ad un estre - mo ad - di - o chi mai re - sis - te -". The bottom staff begins at measure 50, continuing the vocal and melodic lines. The lyrics are: "fan - no ad un estre - mo ad - di - o chi". The music concludes with a final section of melodic lines and lyrics: "ra che mai re - sis - te - ra chi mai re - si - ste - ra mai chi mai re - sis - te - ra chi mai re - si - ste - ra".

Mus. Ex. 4: Question and answer between the two voices and florid passages, Duet from *La Partenza* by Venanzio Rauzzini, As Sung by Miss Storace and Signor Rauzzini, Original spelling and punctuation (Rauzzini, 1778, pp. 12-14).

However, quite unlike the aria featured in this cantata, which includes long, fast divisions and was likely sung by Rauzzini, in the duet these features do not appear in Storace's vocal line. If Rauzzini wished to exhibit his student as an accomplished virtuosic singer, one would think he would include some displays of virtuosity to show off her abilities. Voice two, apparently sung by Storace, at one point is given a solo opportunity in the duet which does not venture very high in the vocal range, mainly centring on D5 and F5, the same vocal range as the Storace's solo recitative lines, and is completely devoid of floridity.

[Andante]

The musical score consists of three staves of music for voice and piano. The first staff begins with a treble clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics for this staff are: Amore [Storace?] Splen - dan sa que - fre spon - de sem - pre se - re - ni gliaftri. The second staff starts with a bass clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: ne mai per - tur - bi l'on - de ne mai per -. The third staff continues with a bass clef, common time, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: tur - bi l'on - de La fa - ce del pia - cer. Measure numbers 86, 90, and 94 are indicated above the staves.

Mus. Ex. 5: Storace solo in the duet section of *La Partenza*. Original spelling and punctuation as in score (Rauzzini, 1778, pp. 16-17).

This cantata can be compared to other arias written for Storace just a few years later, after she had arrived on the continent. Giuseppe Finucci composed a rondeau for Storace in 1781, and Gaetano Andreozzi composed an aria entitled ‘Caro Sposa’ in the same year (both given in appendix B.4 and B.5). Both are written in a similar vocal range, though Finucci’s rondeau ventures a little higher than *La Partenza* as during the end section, there is a short cadenza run up to C6 (though this note is only held for a staccato crotchet beat, before coming back down the scale). The rondeau, in a similar way to *La Partenza*, requires rhythmic accuracy as the voice is often doubled by the instrumental line, especially when the tempo moves to *presto* halfway through the piece.

Largo

Di re - pu - re all' i - dol mi - o che Ro si - na se n'an

18 dò che Ro si na se n'an dò ah non pian ger mio Ter o ro

23 che di pe - na mo - rooh Di o e re - is rer più no sò Ca re

29 spia ge ah vo i sap ere s' ioson deg - na di pierà Che vi

Presto

fe - ci Erec ni De i per chè tan - ra cru - del - rà

Mus. Ex. 6: Florid phrases moving into the presto section, ‘Rondeau’ by Giuseppe Finucci. Composed for Signora Anna Storace in Lucca, 1781. Original punctuation and spelling. Courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg, D H s/M A/271(Nr.7) (Finucci, 1781, fol. 96-98).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ A facsimile version of the manuscript is at B.3.

The rondeau is quite relentless, with few opportunities for the singer to have a break, yet apart from the final short cadenza, there is a distinct lack of any division passages, which would demonstrate skills in flexibility. However, the staccato marks over the quavers would demonstrate Storace's neatness of articulation, which Rauzzini promoted in his treatise.

Mus. Ex. 7: Final cadenza, which demonstrates neatness of articulation but is not virtuosically florid. 'Rondeau' by Giuseppe Finucci, composed for Signora Anna Storace in Lucca, 1781. Original punctuation and spelling as in score. Courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg (Finucci, 1781, fol. 101).

This is also apparent in the aria written for Storace by Andreozzi. This short aria still requires rhythmic precision and is composed in a similar vocal range but there are no virtuosic bravura passages.

Mus. Ex. 8: Rhythmic precision in 'Caro Sposa' by Gaetano Andreozzi, Signed 'A Storace Padua'. Original punctuation and spelling as in score. Courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg, D-Hs / M A/908(Nr.10) (Andreozzi, 1781, fol. 97).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ A facsimile version of the manuscript is at B.4.

From examining these two arias from her early career, it becomes more apparent that the lack of virtuosity in *La Partenza* was deliberate and suggests that Storace's voice did not lend itself well to flexible bravura passage work, which was particularly popular in Italian opera seria and was growing in popularity in English opera (this will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five).

However, Dorothea Link notes in her 2002 anthology that profiles Storace's vocal style, that Storace on her arrival in Italy:

Aspired to the highest rank of soprano, one who sang both in opera seria and serious roles in opera buffa. Storace's experience in opera seria was, however not very extensive; although she was trained by the castrato Venanzio Rauzzini, she sang in opera seria only in the autumn of 1779 and 1780 (Link et al., 2002, p. viii).⁷⁸

Link's presumption is that Rauzzini, as a castrato, expected Storace to become an opera seria singer and perform highly virtuosic, bravura style arias. Yet, there is a distinct lack of virtuosity within the three pieces examined above and within the vocal profile which Link assembled showing Storace's most popular operatic arias from her career. However, the fact that Storace did attempt to sing a season of opera seria from 1779-80 points to her continuing to experiment and find the vocal style she was most suited to performing. A prima donna in opera seria was the highest rank a female soprano could achieve; therefore, Storace's ambition could have fuelled her determination to be successful in this genre, but it is also possible that Rauzzini

⁷⁸ In 1785, Stephen Storace composed his first opera, *Gli sposi malcontenti*, which was an opera buffa but he had composed four arias for his sister; two in the lighter style and two bravura arias much more in the style of the opera seria genre. Link suggests that this was to appease his sister who wished to be admired for performing this genre of aria. However, on 1 June 1785, Michael Kelly, who was playing the leading male role, wrote in his *Reminiscences* that during the first act, Storace completely lost her voice and could not utter a single note for the rest of the opera, and that she did not recover vocally for five months. It has been debated whether Storace's pregnancy had anything to do with her vocal failings or whether she had pushed her voice to breaking point with the bravura arias. Though a few more bravura arias would be composed for her by Martín y Soler, Salieri and Mozart, her lighter arias consistently were the more popular. By the time she returned to London in 1787 she sang in a lighter style (Link et al., 2002 p. viii; Kelly and Hook, 1826, p. 234).

had not established Storace well enough to understand her own vocal style, an understanding he believed to be important in achieving success as a professional singer.

Unlike Rauzzini's other students including Billington, Mara, Mountain, Braham and Incledon, Storace on leaving was not a finished product, as we will see in the following chapters. This is evident from the fact that she continued tuition under another teacher and in 1778 reportedly went to Italy for 'improvement' (1778, p. 1). It is also perhaps why, unlike the arias Rauzzini composed for his other students, *La Partenza* is not composed in a style that exhibits the unique vocal qualities of its performer. It could be another example of Rauzzini pushing his preference for musical expression over virtuosity as he had done with his previous student, Schindlerin. Yet, by examining Storace's career after she went to Italy and the fact that she lacked the capabilities to excel in bravura arias, the lack of virtuosity in Storace's vocal line in *La Partenza* points to Rauzzini's skills as a teacher. He was aware that his young student simply did not have a voice sufficiently flexible for bravura arias and pushed her towards a lighter style of singing.

4.6 Mountain's finished and Storace's unfinished tuition

Newspaper reviews of Storace's performances after she returned to London in 1778 provide further evidence as to why she was unsuited to the bravura style. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* commented that in Storace's performance of 'Fonte Amichi' from *Tolomeo* by Handel she gave a 'rather heavy performance', while the *Diary or Woodfall's Register* similarly commented that her performance of 'Falsa Imagine' from Handel's *Ottone* was not given with the same delicacy as the accompaniment provided by the cello (1788c, p. 4; 1789b). There are several

descriptions of Storace's adult voice that refer to gruffness in her tone. For example, Burney states:

There is a certain crack and roughness, which, though it fortifies the humour and effects of a comic song, in scenes where laughing, scolding, crying, or quarrelling is necessary: yet in airs of tenderness, sorrow or supplication, there is always reason to lament the deficiency of natural sweetness, where art and pains are not wanting (Burney, 1782a, p. 528).

Similarly, a review of her voice in the *Morning Herald* 1787 states:

[Storace] has, we acknowledge, considerable merit, where comic effect is required:– but in a song of Handel's where a body of voice is necessary, and in bravura singing in particular, she is wholly devoid of pretensions (1787j, p. 3).

Richard Earl of Mount Edgcumbe's description of Storace's voice is remarkably similar as he states:

She had a harshness in her countenance, a clumsiness of figure, a coarseness in her voice, and vulgarity of manner, that totally unfitted her to the serious opera, which she never attempted (Edgcumbe, 1827, pp. 58-59).

Though Storace had early aspirations to become a serious singer, her voice was not suited to this style of music, and it was only after singing the 1779-80 season on the continent that she realised she was better suited to a lighter style common in opera buffa, which she would become famous for performing. Had Storace continued her tuition with Rauzzini, this might have been the direction in which he would have encouraged her, as the music he composed does not exhibit flexibility as a feature of her style. However, whatever Rauzzini's reasons were for announcing his return to the continent, this cut Storace's tuition short and left her musical training incomplete, and it is clear she still required the support of a teacher alongside performance experience to fully establish her own vocal style.

Mountain, on the other hand, had already undergone significant training under Charles Dibdin and had a great deal of experience performing in leading roles before coming to Rauzzini for tuition. Many comparisons can be drawn between Mountain and Storace, particularly because upon Storace's retirement in 1808, Mountain took on most of her characters at the English Opera (Urban, 1841, p. 326). Much like Storace, Mountain had an early start at the performance platform. Her father, Mr Wilkinson (c.1758?-1784), was a rope dancer, and her mother (c.1758-1784) was described as 'an actress of moderate talent, [who] exercised her industry at the circus' (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 272).⁷⁹ In 1782, at the age of fourteen, Mountain, under her maiden name of Wilkinson was billed as performing in *Mount Parnassus*, a production where the principal characters were represented by children, and she continued to perform in plays at St George's Field throughout the 1782-83 season. It was not until 1784 that Mountain was given the opportunity to display her vocal talents, being cast as Rosetta in *Love in the Village* for the Yorkshire Circuit then owned by Tate Wilkinson (1739-1803). She continued to travel around the country performing in English opera until she established herself as a leading singer of that genre after taking vocal lessons with Rauzzini between 1798-1800 (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 273). Mountain struggled to establish herself as a leading performer in English opera, but after two years of lessons with Rauzzini, reviews state that Mountain had transformed as a singer:

Mrs Mountain, a proof of the great advantage of scientific instruction superseded to natural endowment. What Mrs Mountain was, before she went to Bath, the frequenters of Covent Garden theatre well know; what the same enchanting creature became in *Artaxerxes*, when she returned and sang with Mrs Billington, was soon felt, but could not have been anticipated. She was like the wild and simple beauty of the

⁷⁹ There is very little information about Mountain's parents, though a short biography is given in Highfill et al, 1975, p. 91.

woods trained at last to agility and grace by the correcting hand of education (1807, p. 232).

The reviews of Mrs Mountain's performances from 1800 focus on her great improvement in effectively performing bravura arias. For example, a review from 17 June 1800 states:

Mrs Mountain made her first appearance at this stage last night, in the character of *Yarico* which she rendered very interesting. She is much improved in singing, and her additional bravura in the last scene was sung in a capital style of execution (1800c, p. 1).

Though she had improved in her performance of this style of aria, what made her unique as a singer was her ability to assimilate traits common in the English style into her new Italian training. A review of the same performance states:

As one that requires the combined talents of sense and sound the stage does not afford a representative more equal to its support. She played the part with exquisite tenderness, delicacy and simplicity, and drew loud plaudits by the excellent style in which her songs were executed (1800b, p. 3).

Mountain was praised throughout her career for her ability to perform with characters of a 'genteel and sentimental nature' even being described as 'unrivalled in this particular province of drama' (Gilliland, 1808, p. 860). It would seem that Rauzzini did not override Mountain's previous training, which allowed her to be particularly suited to the English style, where rhetorical expression and simple vocal affection were prized. Instead, he trained her to add another style of singing to her repertoire thus giving Mountain the opportunity to include bravura arias in her English opera performances and bring another dynamic to her singing.

A manuscript of a song composed for Mountain entitled 'As some light bark' composed by Henry Bishop in 1805 is an example of the bravura style aria that Mountain performed and shows the style of ornamentation she would include in this songs after training with an Italian.

Andante

sotto voce

As some light bark
on sum - mer mor - mo seas ran - do with
cau - tion with cau - tion with cau - tion tries the gen - tle
len to— con mo - to scor - ren - d'o' og nor scor ren - do'og'

Mus. Ex. 9: *Sotto voce* opening, 'As some light bark' by Henry Bishop. Bravura aria as sung by Mrs Mountain. Original punctuation and spelling as in score. Courtesy of the Royal College of Music, London (RCM MS 59/1-24) (Bishop, 1805, pp. 7-9).⁸⁰

⁸⁰ A facsimile of the manuscript is at appendix B.5.

The piece begins with an instruction that the singer should perform the opening section *sotto voce* thus encouraging the singer to spit out the text and not sing in full voice. However, the piece then moves into a much livelier *allegro agitato*, where the piece demonstrates the features of the bravura style. Many of the virtuosic passages are similar to another bravura aria which will be discussed in chapter five, 'The Soldier Tir'd' from *Artaxerxes* by Thomas Arne. For example, there is a long held note for 5 bars followed by a virtuosic display of vocal acrobatics.

Mus. Ex. 10: Long note from 'As some light bark' by Henry Bishop. Bravura aria as sung by Mrs Mountain. Original punctuation and spelling as in score (Bishop, 1805, pp. 27-29).

There are very careful articulation markings within the manuscript, which suggests that Mountain in a similar manner to Storace demonstrated neatness of articulation of both staccato and slurred phrases. However, there are points of bravura exertions, such as the repeated triplet phrase that have no markings at all so it is unclear if these would have been performed marked or legato. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

The musical score consists of three staves of music in G clef, 2/4 time, and A major (indicated by a key signature of one sharp). The first staff begins with a rest followed by a single note. The second staff starts with a sixteenth-note pattern. The third staff begins with a sixteenth-note pattern. Below the music, the lyrics are written: "The bark mar". The first two notes of the first staff have a "3" written above them, indicating a triplet. The first note of the second staff has a "3" written below it. The first note of the third staff has a "3" written above it. The second staff ends with a fermata over the last note. The third staff ends with a fermata over the last note.

Mus. Ex. 11: Triplet phrase from 'As some light bark' by Henry Bishop. Bravura aria as sung by Mrs Mountain. Original punctuation and spelling a in score (Bishop, 1805, pp. 44-46).

The fact that both staccato and slurred markings appear after the triplet phrases perhaps suggests the decision was left to Mountain as to how she would articulate and what she chose would best illustrate the text. The text itself practically begs for word painting and yet, it would seem from the manuscript that piece was originally intended to be sung in Italian, with the English lyrics included after the manuscript was written. Unfortunately, it is not clear when Mountain performed this aria or in what opera so it is difficult to determine if she sang it in English or in Italian, but owing to the fact that she was primarily an English singer performing in English opera, it is most likely that she did perform the aria in her native tongue.

Mountain did not perform in Italian opera productions, but regularly performed in English opera at the theatre in Haymarket until 1802, before singing at Drury Lane and the Lyceum between 1808 and 1815 when she retired from the stage. Her return to training after having established her career transformed her from a performer of good potential to a leading English operatic soprano. The reason for her achieving this next step was due to Rauzzini who equipped her with the flexibility to perform Italian ornamentation, the use of which was gaining popularity in English opera.

Mountain, however, shows no evidence of aspiring to perform as an Italian prima donna, whereas Storace was sent down this path from a young age. What is clear from examination of both singers is that no matter what the age of the performer, the opportunity to perform professionally was vital to the development of the singer and did not signal the end of tuition. Storace's 'improvement' in Italy did not necessarily indicate that she continued her tuition under the watchful eye of a teacher. Rather the evidence suggests that she improved in her performance by watching other performers and by building her own professional performance experience. Away from the watchful eye of a teacher, she experimented with different styles until settling on the style she was most suited to performing and that allowed her to achieve significant fame as a prima donna buffa.

4.7 Conclusion

Each of Storace's teachers had an influence over the establishment, development and progression of Storace's vocal career. Stefano and Corfe provided he with a stable grounding in music theory and the basics of correct vocal technique. Rauzzini was able to further ingrain the importance of accuracy, not just in performing the notes on the page, but in spontaneous ornamentation and embellishment, necessary for all aspiring opera singers. Further to this, he helped obtain engagements, which allowed her to develop skills in performing on both the operatic stage and concert platform before her departure for the continent, where she would further develop and become the successful prima donna she was later famed to be.

Though Rauzzini's treatise is made up of solfeggi, which would help in developing vocal flexibility and would have greatly assisted the development of an aspiring opera seria singer, his introductory comments in no way suggests that he trained every student for one particular style of music. His comments state that a singer should

perform with accuracy and in a style best suited to their voice. For example, Mountain clearly had the ability to perform with flexibility and accuracy, but he did not retrain Mountain to sing purely Italian music. Rather he used her previous training, which placed rhetorical expression above unnecessary ornamentation, and added flexibility so that Mountain could perform bravura arias in English opera, which increased her popularity as a singer. Though Storace did not finish her training with Rauzzini, it is evident that in her early career he had already recognised that her voice was not suited to performing with the flexibility required of an opera seria singer, but he ensured that Storace was an accurate and neat performer fit for a professional career. Storace would experiment with performing opera seria after arriving in Italy, but her career after this one season in many ways exemplifies Rauzzini's advice to develop a style of singing best suited to her vocal resources. As an opera buffa singer, and later the principal soprano of English opera at Drury Lane, she was continuously praised for her acting, which allowed her to transition into comic roles.

Chapter 5 The Case of Gertrude Mara (1749-1833) and Elizabeth Billington (1765-1818): Their Engagement with ‘Continuous Professional Development’

5.1 Introduction

‘Continuous professional development’ is often assumed to be an invention of the modern age. Yet, several musicians, most especially singers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century engaged in something akin to ‘continuous professional development’ throughout their careers.⁸¹ Gertrude Mara and Elizabeth Billington are particularly noted for continuing to hone their skills by engaging in this professional practice, though in two very different ways as will be analysed throughout this chapter. These two singers shared many similarities throughout their careers including the repertoire and roles that they performed. Unlike Rosemond Mountain, who was discussed in chapter four, Mara and Billington did not appear to suffer from any career setbacks due to an obvious lack of vocal technique and were both reputable leading operatic singers by the time they attended lessons with Rauzzini. As will be shown, the relationship which developed between Rauzzini and Mara, and later Billington, was greatly beneficial for Rauzzini’s career as both singers frequently contributed to his concert series. Yet these two singers were known to be great performers of the bravura genre and as has been established by examining Rauzzini’s two students from his early career, Schindlerin and Storace, he did not have a positive track record of effectively training students in this particular area of vocal performance. Did Rauzzini’s teaching practice develop or change when Mara and

⁸¹ As has already been discussed in chapter four, Rosemond Mountain trained with Charles Dibdin and had been singing professional for several years before attending lessons with Rauzzini. Similarly, John Braham had been apprenticed to a vocal teacher before attending lessons with Rauzzini. He continued his professional development in other areas of music after establishing his vocal career as he attended composition lessons with Gaetano Isola in Italy.

Billington, who were already skilled bravura singers, came to him for lessons? It is also necessary to question what benefit it was to Mara and Billington to engage in such lessons with the castrato as well as examining the wider benefit for continuing to vocally and musically improve by engaging in further training.

5.2 Vocal similarities of the rival queens

Mara and Billington were considered to be two of the most successful prime donne at the end of the eighteenth century, though neither was of Italian birth or descent.⁸² Mara was born and received her initial music education in Germany, while Billington was born and educated in England.⁸³ Both of these singers were celebrated on the operatic stages of London and the continental. The contemporary periodical *The Secret History of the Green Room* states:

Madame Mara has been heard and admired in every town of note in England: indeed no performer has been so universally approved throughout all of Europe (Haslewood, 1795, p. 305).

Similarly, a biography on Billington written a few years after her death stated 'no prima donna was ever more rapturously received in [Italy] where opera is best cultivated and understood' (1835, p. 216). Both singers achieved much success throughout their careers in both Britain and the continent. By the time of Billington's début in 1786 on the London stage, Mara was already known as a leading prima donna at the King's Theatre; the younger soprano, Billington, was frequently compared to her more experienced colleague, with one London periodical even exclaiming '[as for] Elizabeth Billington [...] excepting Mara there is no better singer

⁸² It was unusual during this period for English singers and German singers to achieve success in Italy, but both Mara and Billington achieved fame across the continent including Italy and in Britain.

⁸³ Billington's mother was the celebrated singer Frederika Weichsell (née Weimar) (c.1745-1786). She was a pupil of J. C. Bach and made her début in Covent Garden on 18 October 1764 in *Perseus and Andromeda* which was a pantomime with no speaking parts. By the time of her death, it was said that she had performed twenty-two seasons at the Vauxhall Gardens (Fiske).

in Europe' (1788, p. 3). This was due to the fact that Mara and Billington were frequently cast in similar, if not the same, operatic roles which encouraged a press-driven rivalry.⁸⁴ At the height of the competition, the two singers performed the role of Mandane in the opera *Artexerxes* by Thomas Arne in two different theatres on the same night. It was billed as an attempt to settle the dispute as to which singer was superior, though different periodicals reported in favour of one singer or the other.

The opera of Artaxerxes was performed on Saturday night at both theatres, for the purpose of trying, in a spirit of very laudable rival-ship, the powers of Mara and Mrs Billington...Two or three prints only have praises to bestow. Ours is given to Mara. In the execution of difficult passages, her skill is, at least, equal; and her power is more pleasingly exercised (1791f, p. 2).

Mrs Billington in the late competition with Madame Mara, on her first trial of skill completely established her title to superiority. On Saturday evening she did much more – she sung the airs with such strength and sweetness and delivered the recitative with such harmony and power; in short, she performed the character in a style so musically majestic that the idea of Madame Mara ever again attempting to vie with her and enter the lifts as a rival will most probably be treated with ridicule and scouted as being absurd (1791g, p. 3).

Mandane was not the only role that both singers performed during the same period, but they also both became famed for performing Polly in *The Beggar's Opera* and Rosetta in *Love in a Village*. While it is often the case that operas of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were adapted to suit individual singers by utilising substitute arias, Mara and Billington often performed the same substitute arias in opera, pasticcio and public concerts. Both were famed for performing the aria 'Ah che nel petto io sento', adapted by Sarti from Paisiello's 'Nel cor più non mi sento'; 'Angels ever bright and fair' from the opera *Theodora* by Handel; and 'The Soldier Tir'd' by Thomas Arne. It has been established in chapter three and chapter four that it was of

⁸⁴A rivalry was also publicly depicted between Brigida Banti (1757-1806) and Gertrude Mara. These rivalries generated a lot of public interest and drew audiences to the theatre in support of their favourite prima donna (Farington et al., 1802 ed. 1978, p. 60).

utmost importance for a singer to establish their individuality in vocal style and performance; therefore, it is unusual to see two singers who were singing similar if not identical roles in London theatres during the same period enjoying equally successful careers. It is possible that part of the hype surrounding these two singers was their vocal similarity, but how did they both avoid the assumption that one was a mere imitator of the other? This can only be determined by analysing contemporary descriptions of both singers' voices to better understand just how vocally similar they were to each other.

In 1785, a letter written by Thomas Samuel Lamage to the editor of *Morning Chronicle* stated that:

Madam Mara's forte is bravura songs. Her voice has considerable flexibility, extent and power. In Italian songs that demand these requisites she must please; but Handel's pathetic English Airs will only serve to betray her defects (1785a, p. 4).

While it is clear that Mara excelled in the bravura genre, immediate attention is drawn to her failings in arias composed in the pathetic genre. However, even more apparent is that the author implies that Mara's voice is flexible and powerful, which allows her to effectively negotiate bravura arias, and that bravura is distinctively Italian. Pathetic English airs, according to the author, do not require the same requisites such as a flexible, an extensive or powerful voice and thus are in opposition to the Italian bravura. A further description of Mara's voice by Anna Seward states: '[Madame Mara's] Italian pathetic songs are enchanting; – her bravura ones stupendous' (Seward, 1785b, p. 399). Though Seward does not provide any description as to the difference between an Italian and an English pathetic song, it is clear that Mara was considered capable of performing both, but her bravura was much more thrilling. This is confirmed in descriptions of her voice from later in her career:

Her bravura song was the height of perfection and in point of execution; voice etc. far exceeded all imagination (1801, p. 3).

As a bravura singer Mara was also unrivalled: “her voice clear, sweet, distinct, was sufficiently powerful, though rather thin and its agility and flexibility rendered her a perfect singer” (Constable, 1830, p. 326).

Mara throughout her career, performed arias in the bravura genre consistently well with many reviewers frequently stating the genre demonstrated her vocal perfections. Billington was similarly praised for her performance of bravura arias, with a review from one of her first appearances at the theatre in Smock Ally in Dublin stating:

A bravura song was introduced on purpose to shew her abilities in this style of singing of which she appears to be mistress, executing some of the most difficult passages with amazing neatness of tone and facility (1784a, p. 2).

A song of this nature as is noted in the review highlighted Billington’s vocal and musical expertise as she successfully performed difficult passages with accuracy, requisites, which were of benefit to establishing herself as a prima donna. But Billington’s skill in performing such arias was one of the main reasons that reviewers saw a similarity between her and Mara after she came to perform in London:

Nature has gifted [Mrs Billington] with sweet and powerful tones; and she is skilful and modest in the use of them. Except the Mara, the Alleganti,⁸⁵ and the Merchetti,⁸⁶ there is no better singer in Europe (1788g, p. 3).

Mrs Billington executed] three airs in a stile which she alone after Mara can give (1791, p. 8).

What becomes immediately apparent is that Billington and Mara both shared a powerful voice, which allowed them to successfully perform bravura arias. However, Billington was described as ‘modest’, which is perhaps in reference to her use of

⁸⁵ After searching, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, *Grove Music Online*, *Copac* and *Worldcat*, I have been unable to identify Alleganti.

⁸⁶ Merchetti could be a misspelling of Marchetti. Giovanni Marchetti was an Italian composer writing and publishing during a similar period (G Marchetti as searched in *Copac*).

ornamentation, whereas Mara was much more ostentatious, which allowed her to be a thrilling performer but was not always suited to the tastes of the critics:

Mara certainly keeps the post of first woman with equal credit to herself, though we must confess that the songs allotted to her abound more with musical difficulties, than with any striking beauties, and are more calculated for a trial of skill than for the display of the gift and pleasing part of that lady's voice (1786h, p. 3).

As Billington's career developed, she maintained a modest approach in her performance, perhaps to distinguish herself from Mara, and this became a part of her individualised vocal style with a review stating:

[Mrs Billington] unites simplicity with execution as well as the *mezza bravura* in each of which she is so truly excellent that it would prove a difficult task to determine in which she most excels (1788h, p. 3).

As will be examined, Billington's modesty would not only make her vocally distinct from Mara but would allow her to develop as an equally successfully singer of arias composed in both the bravura and pathetic arias. However, these descriptions of Billington and Mara bring about a number of questions: for example, what the aesthetic differences between a bravura and pathetic aria? Pathetic appears to be in opposition to bravura, yet both Billington and Mara performed both genres. Was Billington unique in being able to consistently excel in both styles? Bravura and pathetic are terms commonly used in descriptions of singer's voices during this period, thus in order to fully understand the vocal descriptions of Billington and Mara, it is necessary to discern the intended meaning of bravura and pathetic.

5.3 Analysis of the term and discerning the aesthetic of bravura arias

According to current edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of Music* the term bravura is 'a ... passage [that] calls for a brilliant and extrovert display of vocal or instrumental technique' (Kennedy). This definition suggests that passages of music can be in the

bravura style, but does not imply that bravura is a genre for whole arias. Further to this, the definition connects bravura to vocal technique but does not state which area of vocal technique the singer would have to excel in order to perform bravura.

However, dictionaries from the early nineteenth century provide a more thorough definition for the term, for example as Thomas Busby in his 1813 dictionary:

Bravura generally signifies a song of considerable spirit and execution but sometimes is also applied to the *performance* of such a song (Busby, 1813, p. E).

This definition tries to establish the character of bravura, giving the impression that it is fast paced, though is still vague as to what kind of passages are considered to be written in the bravura style. However, unlike the modern definition Busby establishes bravura as a genre applied to a whole song or aria, not just specific passages within a song. He goes further to suggest a song can be performed in the bravura style, implying that the song may not have been composed in a different genre, but spirited bravura passages may be added. Yet, without having stated what the author considers to be spirited execution, the aesthetic qualities of what can be defined as bravura remain unclear.

Another early nineteenth-century dictionary written by Jean Jousse provides further clues about the vocal qualities necessary to perform bravura effectively:

The melody is rapid, florid and energetic; a flexible voice of great compass is the principal requisite to excel in this style (Jousse, 1829, p. 12).

Here, the definition is clearer in establishing that the bravura style is fast and elaborate, but Jousse goes further to link bravura to vocal technique as he notes that a singer must possess a flexible voice in order to excel in this genre. As was established in chapter three, a flexible voice was an important requisite for an aspiring

professional singer to cultivate, though some singers did not appear to have the natural requisites to develop such a voice. Bearing this in mind, Jousse's wording is particularly significant, as he does not state that bravura is a vocal style that all singers should perform, rather that those singers who wish to excel in the style must have excellent vocal flexibility.

Looking to another definition by Thomas Valentine, he states that bravura is 'a song calculated to display the ability of the performer' (Valentine, 1833, p. 10). While this definition is arguably more ambiguous than Busby in 1813, it highlights another function of bravura, which is not captured in any other definition. Bravura songs and arias were a way of showing off the performers' abilities: to be more specific, the flexibility of a singer's voice.

This demonstrates that bravura had a twofold function: bravura is a genre, which is fast paced, energetic and highly florid, requiring a singer skilled in flexibility; but it is also a style of performance, whereby any genre of song could be adapted to this style by spontaneously including rapid, florid passages. In doing so the singer has the opportunity to display their vocal abilities in terms of flexibility and musicianship. This twofold function of bravura is evident in the vocal descriptions of Mara and Billington. For example, one report states that Mara excelled in 'execution and bravura' though does not say bravura song, thus implying that while some of the arias she performed were written in the bravura genre, Mara may have also adapted certain arias to include bravura passages. Similarly, in one of the first reports of Billington's performance at Smock Alley, it is noted that a bravura song was introduced so that Billington had the opportunity to demonstrate her command of this genre.

These definitions provide insight into the function of bravura but it is difficult to imagine the exact characteristics that define the bravura genre beyond it being 'energetic' or 'florid'. However, several singing treatises include solfeggi written in the bravura genre, which would have been used to establish if a singer's voice was suited to performing songs and arias composed in this genre style. Having established the singer's suitability, the solfeggi could also have been used to highlight to the singer what characteristics were specific to bravura. Schépens also includes a similar bravura solfeggio, though this author notes that the solfeggio is primarily focussed on teaching leaps of a tenth. The instruction 'con bravura' written at the top of the solfeggio implies that the exercise only contains bravura passages.

Con bravura

7

14

19 *con slancio*

24

30 *mf*

Mus. Ex. 12: Bravura solfeggio appearing in Solfeggio, reading, vocal and instrumental music and harmony. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections, (Sp Coll Q.a.52) (Schépens, 1830, pp. 52-53).

Schépens has been careful to provide several performance instructions within this solfeggio as the bravura passages are all marked with *legato* phrasing, a clear indication that while the passages are fast and energetic, they should be sung smoothly. In contrast, towards the end of the solfeggio in bar 30 to 35 the long semibreves are all marked with accents, indicating that the leaps between these notes should not be slurred or linked together but are deliberately separated. Not all of the leaps are articulated in this way, and many are phrased with a slur, which demonstrates that Schépens expected his students to be skilled in approaching large leaps using all different forms of phrasing and articulation.

However, examining another bravura solfeggio, it would seem that not all authors were as precise with their articulation markings. Horncastle's 'Solfeggio in the bravura style' does not provide any phrase or articulation markings, but he does indicate phrasing through the use of dynamic markings, informing the singer that they should utilise their messa di voce throughout the exercise. His marking at the beginning 'forte e staccato' suggests that all the notes should be marked and not sung with any legato. This is further implied in his instructions for performing bravura pieces stating that 'bravura pieces must be sung with great spirit freedom and clearness'. His indication to sing with 'clearness', and the lack of articulation, point to the singer making each individual note in the bravura passage sound, and this contrasts with slurred notes in bars 13 and 14, which suggests these leaps of a fifth and a fourth should be sung with a smooth transition (Horncastle, 1840, p. 16).

Allegro Vivace
Forte e Staccato

The musical score consists of six staves of music. Staff 1 (measures 1-4) starts with a forte dynamic and uses eighth-note patterns. Staff 2 (measures 5-8) shows sixteenth-note patterns. Staff 3 (measures 9-12) features eighth-note patterns with grace notes. Staff 4 (measures 13-16) contains sixteenth-note patterns. Staff 5 (measures 17-20) shows eighth-note patterns.

A

5

9

14

17

19

Mus. Ex. 13: Solfeggio in the bravura style appearing in *A treatise on the art of singing, both in the Italian and English styles*, with examples and observations. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections, (Sp Coll Q.a.42) (Horncastle, 1840, p. 16).

By comparing these two solfeggi, it is clear that the similarity between the two lies in the semiquaver ascending and descending scale and arpeggio passages. Though Schépens only includes a few bravura passages, these highlight what was definitively understood to be the bravura style. Horncastle, on the other hand, has written a solfeggio dedicated to the bravura genre and this provides further insight into the level of musicianship and vocal technique required to excel in the genre. The passages are not always scales or arpeggios and require careful attention with regard to sudden large leaps that occur within certain passages. Throughout the solfeggio Horncastle provides the singer with regular rests in order to take a breath, but the final nine bars are a continuous vocal phrase with no rests. The singer may have been expected to perform this final passage in one breath, demonstrating skill in breath control as well as vocal flexibility and musicianship.

Similar unrelenting vocal phrases can be seen in an aria made famous by both Billington and Mara entitled 'The Soldier Tir'd of Wars Alarms' (henceforth 'The Soldier Tir'd').⁸⁷ Billington was cast in the prima donna role Mandane and performed the opera on over thirty occasions between 1787 until 1792. She became particularly known for her rendition of the aria from her first performances with reviews being published that stated:

If it were possible for Mrs Billington to improve since her first performance, we should say it was the case on Saturday night particularly in the 'Soldier tir'd of War's Alarms' which she gave in the most happy manner; it is impossible for musical excellence to go beyond it; the theatre resounded with applause that we seldom scarcely ever witnessed before (1787e, p. 2).

⁸⁷ This aria appeared in the opera *Artaxerxes*, which was known as the first English opera seria. It was first staged at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden and continued to be performed throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Parkinson, 2014). The fire in Covent Garden in 1808 destroyed the original manuscript of the opera, but the opera was reconstructed in 1820 by John Addison (1766-1844) which included recitatives as used in Henry Bishop's (1786-1855) 1813 production.

The aria is filled with fast-paced moving passages, very similar to the passages from Horncastle's solfeggio, with very little opportunity of taking a breath without breaking the vocal phrase. The triplet phrases are evocative of a trumpet fanfare and this is in contrast to the lyrics, which discuss the tiresome aspects of war. The setting, therefore, is both a rousing call to arms, while drawing attention to the gruelling horrors a brave soldier must endure.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ An additional meaning of bravura provided by the *Oxford Dictionary of Music* is courage, therefore, composing an aria describing the bravery of a soldier in war is perfectly suited to the bravura genre (2014).

Mus. Ex. 14: Vocal line from 'The Soldier Tir'd' sung by Mrs Billington and Madame Mara in the opera *Artaxerxes*. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Music Collections H.1601.xx.(25.)) (Arne, 1798).⁸⁹

There are no markings over the long triplet phrases sung to the word 'scorns', but since the triplets are reminiscent of a trumpet fanfare it suggests that each note should be marked in a similar manner as a trumpeter would tongue each note as oppose to slurring. Thus, these triplet phrases do not demonstrate a seamless, *legato* line but require neat and marked vocal articulation. Billington takes this triplet phrase and utilises it on her final cadenzas, examples of which were published in the contemporary periodical *The Harmonicon* in 1830.

⁸⁹ An early printed edition of 'A Soldier Tir'd' is at appendix B.6.

Embellishment 1

Embellishment 2

Embellishment 3

Embellishment 4

Mus. Ex. 15: Example of ornamentation as sung by Elizabeth Billington inserted into 'The Soldier Tir'd' posthumously published in 'The Memoirs of Mrs Billington' (1830, p. 96).⁹⁰

⁹⁰ These memoirs differed from the controversial memoirs published in 1792, which were so scandalous it caused Billington to leave London. This memoir was published in 1830 and does not discuss anything scandalous or controversial in nature, but is written as a biography of Billington's life.

All four of these cadenzas articulate each triplet rather than each note and this is perhaps an indication of how Billington sang each triplet in the aria. Billington used the feeling and style of the aria when improvising her final cadenzas and each one continues to musically paint a sense of war but also show off the assets of Billington's voice. For example, in embellishment two, the repeated staccato quavers on a D6 musically emulate gun fire, while embellishment four demonstrates her impressive vocal range and control trills in the upper part of register. Three out of the four embellishment examples venture to extraordinary heights, often reaching F#6 and G6, and a review performance in 1791 suggests that Billington was particularly noted for her impressive vocal height:

Mrs Billington's bravura in this act is said to acquire a compass of nearly three octaves and that it will display her astonishing powers to greater advantage than 'The Soldier Tir'd of War's Alarms!' (1791d, p. 3).

This review reflects the ornamentation which appears in the memoirs. Throughout her career, the compass of Billington's voice was often commented upon, with one review in particular stating that she had an 'extraordinary flexibility and compass of voice' (1788d, p. 3). The printed ornamentation certainly demonstrated the extent of Billington's vocal range and the phrases which appear throughout the aria would have perfectly demonstrated the flexibility of Billington's voice.

Unfortunately, there are no printed cadenzas attributed to Mara, however, a comparison of early printed editions of the aria attributed to Billington and to Mara reveals that there is very little change to the aria. It is printed in the same key, with the same vocal phrases, but it should be noted that in all early printed editions examined additional ornamentation has not been included (Arne, 1798; Arne et al., 1802; Arne et al., 1800). Isabelle Emerson in her 2005 publication *Five Centuries of Women Singers* provides a theory as to why it is difficult to find arias and works

which include Mara's annotations. Emerson states that Mara, like many other singers during the period, carried her own portfolio of arias and frequently insisted on performing from this private collection. After a performance she removed her own scores and parts, which Emerson suggests is evidence that Mara protected her own musical property (Emerson, 2005, p. 865). If this is true, and she kept her own musical scores, any written evidence of ornamentation that Mara may have performed unfortunately remains elusive, but it is also possible that Mara spontaneously improvised her ornamentation each night and did not notate it. Billington, it would seem, did not like to leave her ornamentation to chance and frequently practised her cadenzas prior to a performance. This resulted in a scandal later in her career when she was performing in Milan with John Braham. She had rehearsed her ornaments and cadenzas at length, but Braham's entrance was before Billington's and as he had memorised her ornamentation he decided to include them in his first aria. Billington was so embarrassed she said she refused to sing a duet with Braham in all subsequent operas (Ayrton, 1832, p. 2).

Despite there being no printed edition or evidence from a manuscript, it is still possible to gain insight into how Mara may have varied the aria in a different way to Billington. Mara first performed the character of Mandane in 1792 at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket, but there is also evidence to suggest that 'The Soldier Tir'd' was one of her portfolio arias, as she often included this aria in other theatre performances. In particular, she is noted as having performed the aria in Handel's *L'Allegro Il Pansero* and other oratorios (1794, p. 3; 1799a, p. 3). A review from 1799 stated that Mara performed this aria in 'her most captivating style' (1799a, p. 2). There is frequent reference to Mara's style throughout her career, but very little description of what was so captivating about it. There is no reference to her having an

extraordinary vocal range, and on several occasions Mara is criticised for including ornaments that were out of character for the aria (1786f, p. 2; Seward, 1785b, p. 399). In fact, the only consistent reference to her vocal style is her excellence of bravura, which suggests that she had a particularly flexible voice and most likely demonstrated that flexibility with highly elaborate, fast-paced ornamentation.

However, ‘The Soldier Tir’d’ does not represent the true extent of Billington and Mara’s vocal technique. This is better seen in ‘The Grand Duett’ composed specifically written for the two singers in questions by Charles Haimen Florio.⁹¹ It was performed at Mara’s final concert before she left England to return to the continent and represents the extent to which Billington and Mara were similar in their vocal abilities (1802b, p. 1).

⁹¹ Charles Florio (c.1768-1819) was a British composer, flautist and singer of Italian descent. In 1794 Mara left her husband and ran off with Florio to Bath. They travelled the continent together, but eventually separated some time after 1803.

Allegro Modera

37 Billington? Deh se - re - nate - al fi ne. Bar - ba - re

Mara? Deh se re - nate al fi ne Bar - ba re

41 stel - le i rai. Deh se ren - na - - -
stel le i rai. Deg se ren na - - -

45 - - - - te al fine.

49 Ho gia sof ferto or - mai Quan ti si può sof -

53 - - - Deh se ren ate al fine Ho
frir Deh se - ren ate al fine Ho

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is for the soprano voice, and the bottom staff is for the piano. The vocal line begins at measure 57 with lyrics "gia sof ferto or - mai". It continues through measure 61 with "gia sof ferto or - mai" and "Deh se ren na". Measure 61 concludes with "se re na". The piano accompaniment starts at measure 61 with a series of eighth-note chords. Measures 65 and 69 show more complex piano patterns. Measures 73 and 77 conclude with "te al fine". The vocal line has a melodic line with eighth-note patterns.

Mus. Ex. 16: Allegro Modera section from 'The Grand Duett' as sung by Elizabeth Billington and Gertrude Mara. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of Bristol University. (Florio, 1802, pp. 4-9).⁹²

⁹² The early printed edition of this duet includes an easier version of the vocal line so that amateur singers could perform the duet at home. This has not been included in the above examples as it is not

Though it is not stated which singer sang which vocal line, from analysis of the vocal ornamentation Billington performed and the extent of her vocal range, it is most likely that she performed the first vocal line and Mara second. The first vocal line frequently extends to D6 and E6 throughout the duet; however, in bar 96, the second line also rises to an E6 (approached by a stepwise scale), which suggests that while Mara may not have been as comfortable to perform in this high range for prolonged periods, she did have the capabilities to do so and her ornaments in other arias may have reflected this. However, Billington repeats this same line a few bars later, so it is possible that Mara pushed herself to sing in a similar vocal range as Billington so that she was not outmatched by the younger soprano.

Mus. Ex. 17: Mara approaching a D6 and an E6 by stepwise progression (Florio, 1802, p. 8).

Mus. Ex. 18: Billington repeating the same line as Mara a few bars later showing her vocal height. Notes such as D6 and E6 and more frequent in Billington's vocal line. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. (Florio, 1802, p. 8).

The voices are frequently in rhythmic unison with each other but harmonically thirds apart, demonstrating that Billington and Mara, most especially in this section would need to remain perfectly in synchronisation with each other, maintaining tempi and pitch as well as coordinating breath control. It implies impressive vocal technique and musicianship from the two singers. As with the bravura solfeggi, there is little articulation over the bravura passages and while it can be assumed that the singers chose to sing similar articulation in order to match one another, it is not obvious whether these passages were performed marked or legato.

The lyrics speak of a character wishing to be left alone and alive and to be freed of a cruel tyrant, Barbaro, who has made the character suffer. Though there is no discussion of war as in ‘The Soldier Tir’d’, the bravery of the character is revealed through the use of the bravura genre. It also reveals the bravura genre at its most elaborate. The vocal lines and rhythms are not always intuitive, requiring great flexibility and stamina in order to perform effectively. While it is an elaborate display of fiery passages, which, performed successfully, would be very exciting to hear, it is easy to see how this kind of aria being repeatedly performed by a singer throughout their career could have become tiresome for the listener. In both ‘The Soldier Tir’d’ and this duet, there is very little rhetorical storytelling as the same lyrics are repeated over and over again, which allows the singer to concentrate on performing the changing bravura passages rather than spitting out new sets of lyrics, which could get lost in the elaborate vocal lines. The bravura passages themselves, though on occasion varied, can be repetitive and though the singer may attempt to exhibit their skills over a wider vocal range, or at a faster speed, eventually they will reach their limits. This is noted by Jousse in his treatise:

As divisions have not power sufficient to touch the soul and can only raise our admiration of a singer for the happy flexibility of his voice they confined to the bravura songs and not used in pathetic airs (Jousse, 1823, p. 36).

As was established in chapter three, divisions are connected to florid ornamentation: passages, which have been seen in the bravura arias shown above. Jousse states that bravura only demonstrates a singer's skill in one area of vocal technique and suggests that singers should be skilled in an opposing genre style, that of pathetic song.

5.4 Analysis of the terms and discerning the aesthetics of Pathetic and Cantabile arias and songs

During investigations into the term pathetic, what became apparent is that very few music dictionaries include the term and the majority that do so only give the briefest of explanations. For example, Valentine includes the Italian term *patetico* and defines it as 'pathetic' (Valentine, 1833, p. 38), while James Hamilton (1785-1845) includes the French and Italian versions of the word, which he similarly defines as 'pathetically' (Hamilton, 1849, p. 87). James Grassineau (1715-1769) attempts to provide a more thorough explanation stating:

Pathetica: pathetic, moving, affecting, expressive, etc. signifies to play in such a manner as to move pity, compassion, anger, and other passions, acting in the soul of a man (Grassineau, 1740, p. 176).

John Hoyle (c.1744-1796) offers a similar, but more detailed definition, stating:

Pathetic: this term is used for something very moving, expressive, or passionate and is capable of exciting pity, compassion, anger, etc. The chromatic genus, with its greater and lesser semitones, either descending or ascending, is proper for the pathetic; as is also an artful management of discords, with a variety of motions now brisk, now languishing, now swift, now slow (Hoyle, 1770, p. 74).

Hoyle gives more detail about the compositional nature of the pathetic genre and in doing so provides insight into what kind of ornamentation a singer might utilise. What is unclear is Hoyle's suggestion that pathetic can encompass a 'variety of

motions'; for example, if arias written in the pathetic genre were written in fast tempi, how would the ornamentation differ between pathetic and bravura? It appears odd that arias written to express anger could come under the genre of pathetic, when fiery bravura displays may better represent this emotion. However, the pathetic genre is in direct opposition to bravura, as it is not an outward elaborate display of vocal skill, but rather requires the singer to be in tune with human emotion and effectively characterise these emotions through their singing.

In this light, pathetic is an important genre and yet there are only a few dictionaries that actually define the term; there is further confusion when pathetic and cantabile are on occasion defined as the same thing and in other cases defined differently. Jousse's is a prime example of this as in his chapter 'on different styles', he gives the subheading to this section as 'of the cantabile or pathetic', but throughout the section, he never uses the term pathetic, only cantabile (Jousse, 1823, p. 37). Jousse also defines the term cantabile in his dictionary of music as:

In a graceful and singing style; the performance should be smooth, elegant and replete with feeling (Jousse, 1823, p. 26).

Corfe in his treatise describes the two genres in the same way and links them together as 'the cantabile or the pathetic'. He goes onto notes that 'this expressive style of singing reaches the heart' and informs his readers that any ornamentation should come from 'the heart [rather than] the art' a clear indication that virtuosic displays should be avoided (Corfe, 1799, p. 6). Yet most other dictionaries do not suggest that cantabile is connected to 'feeling' or emotion and instead provide the definition 'in a singing manner' (Hamilton, 1849, p. 28; Tipper, 1840, p. 81; Valentine, 1833, p. 12). While dictionary definitions for pathetic focus on the internal feeling a singer should evoke when performing this genre of song or aria, definitions that

discuss cantabile directly relate to vocal articulation in that cantabile arias ‘should be smooth’, which implies that the singer should sing vocal lines with *legato*.

As highlighted in chapter three, Rauzzini placed much importance on performing solfeggio composed in the cantabile style stating:

Particular attention must be paid to the CANTABILE Exercises a style of singing that (I am sorry to say) has been of late, too much neglected. The sole object of singing is to please; extravagant passages may create surprize but seldom pleasure (Rauzzini, 1808, p. 1).

Rauzzini does not connect cantabile explicitly to emotion or feeling as Jousse does, but he does pose cantabile in opposition to bravura, suggesting that extravagant passages should not be overly used. A close examination of the cantabile solfeggi that he includes in his treatise reveals an immediate difference in his notation compared to the solfeggi of a faster and more elaborate nature. His cantabile solfeggi have clearly marked legato phrases, whereas the other exercises in the treatise do not have any articulation markings, which suggest that Rauzzini expected his students to place much more emphasis on producing a smooth, legato line in cantabile solfeggi in particular.

Other treatises written by castrati such as Aprile and Crescentini, also highlight the importance of performing all exercises with legato. Though Aprile does not provide any phrases or articulation in his solfeggi in his introductory comments he states ‘that in singing the tones of the voice must be united, except in the case of staccato notes’, which is a clear indication that unless the exercise is marked with staccato articulation, all the notes should be sung with a smooth and even legato tone (Aprile, 1805?, p. 2). In a similarly manner as Rauzzini, Crescentini provides some phrase marks but also marks above every solfeggi in his treatise ‘sempre legato’, no matter what the genre of the solfeggio.

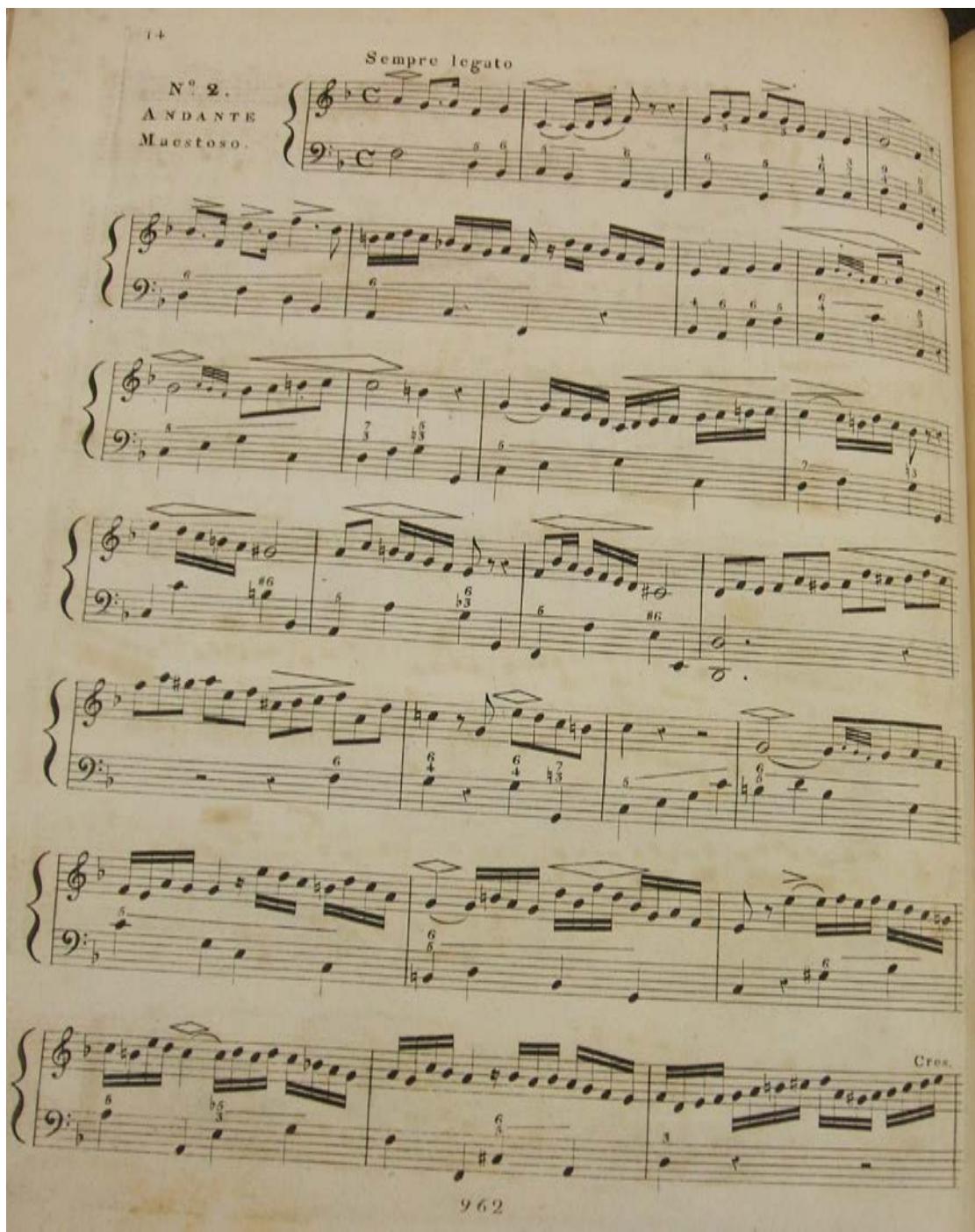


Figure 18: Crescentini in his treatise gives the instructions *Sempre legato* above all of his solfeggi. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections, (Sp Coll Cb2-a.18) (Crescentini, 1812, p. 14).

However, none of these Italian authors discuss feelings or emotions in relation to cantabile songs or arias. These comments only appear in treatises written by British authors. For example Horncastle provides a similar description of cantabile to Jousse as he states:

Aria cantabile is chiefly appropriate to tender sentiments, the motion of this air is rather slow, sustained and devoid of roulade or ornamental flourishes (Horncastle, 1840, p. 57).

However, this statement is in contrast to the treatise *A new edition of Solfèges d'Italie*, which describes cantabile as 'in an elegant embellish'd singing style' (Leo et al., 1820, p. 11). This is apparent in Rauzzini's cantabile solfeggi, which are rhythmically elaborate and make plenty use of ornamentation. This combined with his carefully marked articulation reveals the phrases (at least in notation) to be much more expressively varied than his bravura solfeggi.



Figure 19: Cantabile Solfeggio No. 4 has many slurred markings over virtusoic passages and includes several ornamentation markings including trills and turns. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections (Sp Coll Q.a.1) (Rauzzini, 1808, p. 21).

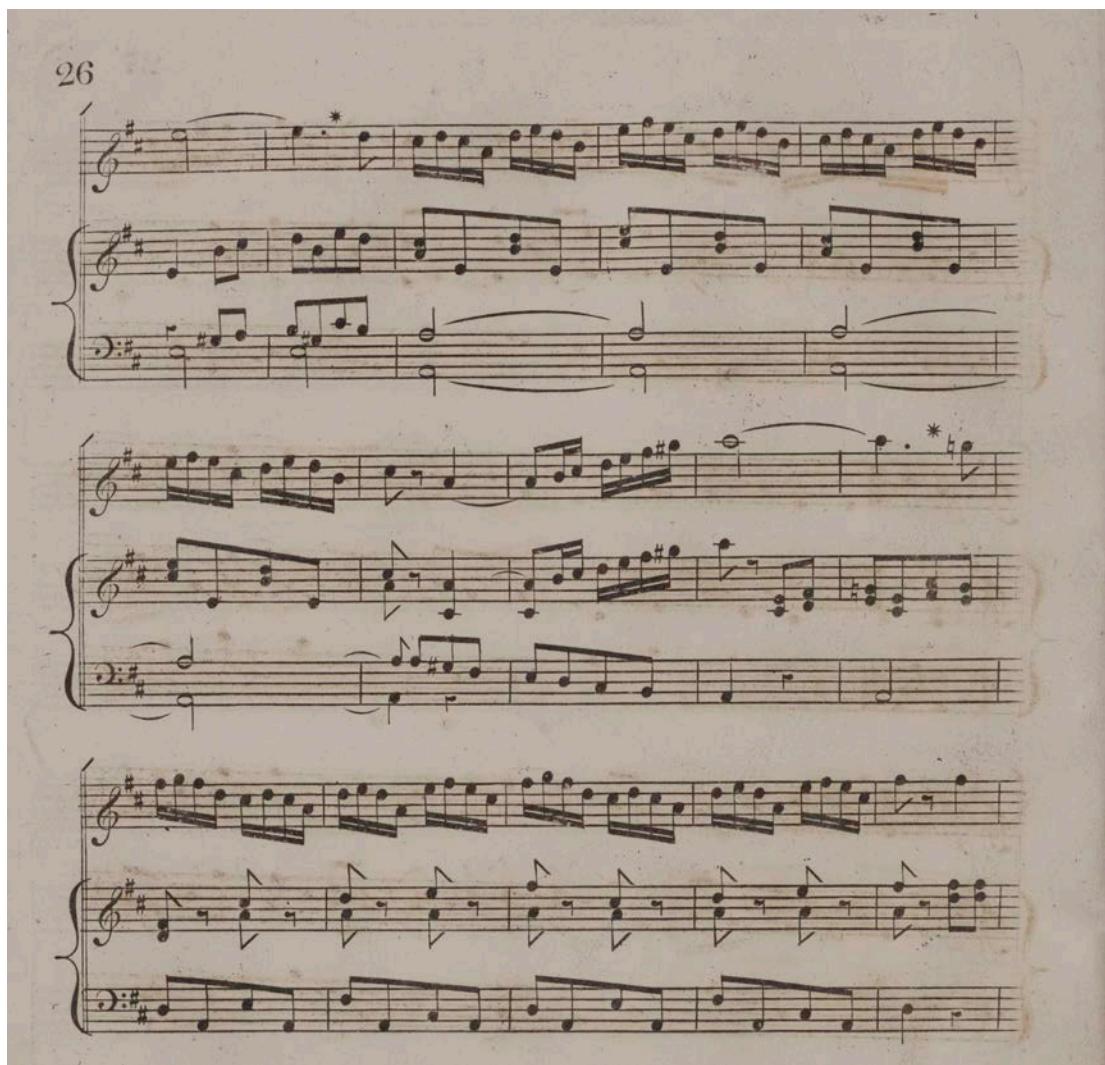


Figure 20: By comparison, Allegretto Solfeggio, No. 5 has no articulation over the bravura passages (Rauzzini, 1808, p. 26).

While it is possible that in the vocal lesson, Rauzzini would have discussed singing and evoking emotion with his students, his treatise much the same as Crescentini and Aprile's treatises focus their attention on vocal techniques that can be notated on the page. Songs or arias written in the cantabile genre could express tender emotions such as sadness or even expressions of love; however, it is possible that the cantabile genre did not encompass all passionate emotions as is suggested by the use of the term pathetic.

Despite this difference, cantabile and pathetic bear similarity to one another in that they are both in direct opposition to bravura. While Billington and Mara were both celebrated for their bravura, the singers frequently performed arias in the pathetic genre. In fact, Billington excelled equally in the pathetic and bravura genres:

Mrs Billington proved her excellence in the two styles of the pathetic and the bravura by her execution of 'Come Rather Goddess Sage and Holy' and of 'The Soldier Tir'd' and delighted the audience as she always can delight them – in both. She delivered the first in a manner that excited emotions of tender sadness; and the second in one that inspired those of admiration and consequently obtained an encore (1791c, p. 3).⁹³

However, comments about Mara's performance in the pathetic genre are inconsistent throughout her career. For example, during her performance of Handel's *L'Allegro Il Penseroso ed il Moderato*, she received great praise for her performance in the pathetic genre:

Madam Mara will sing that sublime air of 'Lord Remember David', which for true harmony and expression, [...] which cannot fail of pleasing the audience, as they will have an opportunity of witnessing her powers in the pathetic as well as the executive style (1793, p. 4).

⁹³ 'Come Rather Goddess Sage and Holy' appears in Handel's *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato*. Another example of aria composed in the *pathetic* genre, which was performed by Billington is 'Can love be controlled' from *The Beggar's Opera* by Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752).

A similar comment is made in praise of her performance in the pathetic genre style earlier in her career:

Madam Mara was as she generally is, forcible, pathetic and expressive, particularly in that divine air 'I know that my redeemer liveth', which she [sang] with true energy and pathos (1786, p. 2).

However, in 1785 Mara received harsh criticism regarding her performance of 'I know that my redeemer liveth':⁹⁴

Handel's pathetic English Airs will only serve to betray [Mara's] defects. It may here be remarked that her voice is extremely unequal, the upper notes being very pleasant and brilliant while the lower notes being very coarse and unpleasing, and the intonation frequently imperfect. No song, perhaps, would shew Madam Mara to less advantage than 'I know my redeemer liveth'. Not to dwell on the fact that it less in the worst part of her voice the expressions of "dis, dat, de" etc. have a ludicrous effect (1785a, p. 2).

Though the reviewer points out Mara's incompetency when singing in English it is the fact that Mara does not exhibit a smooth and even tone to her whole vocal range where he is most critical. The comments relating to the 'coarse' and unpleasant lower notes suggests that Mara had shifted into her chest register, where she did not have the same control of intonation, whereas the upper notes could be performed in her head register where the sound was much more pleasing. However, a review a year later, in 1786, does not highlight these defects in Mara's singing and states quite the opposite, that Mara sang this aria particularly well. It is possible that Mara had changed her manner of performing this aria to maintain an even and legato tone, with seamless register transitions, but it is also possible that there was a divide with regards to the British tastes of register change versus a smooth and even tone, more of which will be discussed in chapter six.

⁹⁴ Another example of an aria composed in the *pathetic* genre performed by Mara is 'Farewell ye limpid streams' from *Jephtha* by Handel.

Another remark about Mara's performance of this aria was made by Anna Seward but she discusses the use of Mara's ornamentation rather than her use of vocal registers:

I observed [...] that Mara put too much gold fringe and tassels, upon that solemn robe of melody, 'I know that my redeemer liveth' (Seward, 1786).

In Seward's opinion, Mara is too elaborate in her ornamentation of this aria and as pointed out earlier in the chapter, Mara frequently received comments that her elaborate use of ornamentation was unsuited to certain arias and songs she performed. In general, the British taste for singing was much more conservative when it came of vocal ornamentation. Thomas Sheridan in his 1756 essay on British Education discusses Italian music stating:

The music, which we hear now on our stages, is far from producing the same effects as that of the antients. Instead of imitating and expressing the meaning of the words, it contributes only to enervate and choak it: wherefore it is as disagreeable to those who have a justness of taste as it is pleasing to such as differ from reason. In fact, vocal music ought to imitate the natural language of the human passions rather than the singing of canary birds (Sheridan, 1756, p. 313).

Mara certainly seemed to favour ornamental elaboration over rhetorical expression, which was detrimental when she was performing in the cantabile and pathetic genres. Another review in 1791 stated:

Indeed, with all this Lady's bravura excellence, it is not clear that her cantabile is not equally excellent. It is very seldom that such perfections unite in the same person (1791e, p. 455).

The bravura genre was where Mara sounded vocally at her best, whereas her cantabile songs revealed her to be uneven in her register quality and made too much use of inappropriate ornamentation. Then again, it would seem that it was common for a singer to excel in one genre over the other; therefore Mara's excellent bravura singing allowed her to maintain a successful career. Billington, it would seem, was

unusual in her ability to excel in both the bravura and pathetic genres. Her ability to outmatch Mara in the pathetic genre allowed her to develop as a unique vocal performer and the reason for the difference in this particular area can be examined in more detail by contextualising the music education received by both singers throughout their musical careers.

5.5 Contextualising Mara's vocal education: her inactive approach to 'continuous professional development'

Though there are a few modern biographers who discuss Mara's early life, most of these are inconsistent, especially concerning her early music education. Ashley McHugh claims in her 2012 book that from an early age Mara showed exceptional musical talent, becoming a child prodigy on the violin with not much guidance from her father (McHugh, 2012, p. 2).⁹⁵ McHugh goes onto say that Mara's father took her to Vienna to exhibit his prodigy in 1755 and then to London in 1759. It was here that Mara was advised to take up singing, which was more appropriate to her gender, though McHugh notes that Mara continued her music education with Johann Hiller (1728-1804).⁹⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that Hiller was resident in London during this period, therefore he would not have been in a position to provide Mara with music tuition at that time as he was employed as a tutor for the son of Count Brühl in Dresden, a position he kept until 1760, after which he moved to Leipzig and became the director of the Grosse Concert (Marshall, 2014). He did engage Mara as the principal singer for his Leipzig concerts upon her return to Germany in 1765, but

⁹⁵ Very little is known of Mara's father other than that his last name was Schmeling and that he was a poor violinist.

⁹⁶ Johann Adam Hiller was a German composer, music director, writer of music and a music educator.

Mara frequently denied the assertion that Hiller was her vocal teacher.⁹⁷ The only occasion when Mara acknowledged that she had received formal vocal tuition is highlighted by Emerson in her 2005 publication where it is noted that Mara spent four weeks receiving lessons from Domenico Paradisi, who offered her an apprenticeship.⁹⁸ Emerson acknowledges that the terms of the apprenticeship were typical for the period, but Mara turned him down, citing in her autobiography that the terms were 'unacceptable' (Emerson, 2005, p. 83). However, Emerson also draws attention to the fact that Mara moved to Italy and then Vienna in order to improve her mastery of the Italian technique after receiving criticism in Leipzig from King Frederick that she 'sang like a German' (Emerson, 2005, p. 88). Yet, Emerson repeats the conclusion that Mara 'in a large part was self-trained' and this is most likely because Mara herself, attempted to maintain the illusion that she was not only a child prodigy but a musical genius whose talents were not developed by mortal teachers but divinely given (Emerson, 2005, p. 89). The idea of the genius was discussed by Jean Voltaire (1694-1778) in his *Philosophical Dictionary*:

Among the Romans the word genius was not used to express a rare talent, as with us: the term for that quality was *ingenium*. We use the word genius indifferently in speaking of the tutelary demon of a town of antiquity, or an artist, or musician. The term genius seems to have been intended to designate not great talents generally, but those into which invention enters. Invention, above [everything], appeared a gift from the gods—this *ingenium*, *quasi ingenitum*, a kind of divine inspiration. Now an artist, however perfect he may be in his profession, if he [has] no invention, if he be not original, is not considered a genius. He is only inspired by the artists his predecessors, even when he surpasses them (Voltaire, 1785, pp. 302-303).

Mara adamantly maintained that she had not been trained by others throughout her career. This combined with her excessive use of elaborate and unique ornamentation

⁹⁷Anna Amalie Abert and Thomas Bauman in their article in Grove Music Online also imply that Mara was trained by Hiller in her early vocal career but do not provide the dates for when this training took place.

⁹⁸Domenico Paradisi (1707-1791) was an Italian composer, harpsichordist and teacher.

represents her longing to establish and maintain an image of musical genius. Her voice and vocal style were of her own invention and any suggestion that she had been trained by others threatened her originality and her musical genius status. But all of this would seem in vain, as there is no evidence that critics ever described Mara as a genius and in fact, her lack of formal vocal training revealed defects in her voice as highlighted above.

While Mara in her autobiography does not provide any indication that she received consistent or prolonged vocal tuition there is evidence to suggest that she was actively seeking to improve herself through informal lessons with vocal and music tutors throughout her career. A contemporary biography of Mara written in 1802 refers to her practice method, though it does not go into any detail regarding teachers or what inspired her to develop this regime:

[Mara's] first efforts were in songs of agility, yet her intonation was fixed by the incessant practice of plain notes. To confirm the true foundation of all good singing, by the purest enunciation, and the most precise intonation of the scale was the study of her life (Hone, 1825, p. 382).

It was important to Mara to improve her vocal technique and she firmly believed that developing her wider musicianship skills, which included playing other instruments such as violin, guitar and harpsichord, and studying harmony, would generally assist her in becoming a highly skilled singer.⁹⁹ By improving herself largely through observation of other musicians and perhaps discussing technique on a collegial level, something she most certainly would have done with musicians such as Hiller while she was in his employment at the Leipzig concerts, she would be able to improve her

⁹⁹ Mara received tuition in harmony from Johann Philipp Kernberger (1721-1783) who was a German theorist and composer and a formal pupil of Johann Sebastian Bach (Emerson, 2005, p. 88).

voice enough to maintain its quality but still claim she was not formally tutored, thus maintaining an image of musical genius.

It has been established that Mara was exceptional in the bravura style and yet even in this genre where elaborate ornamentation was more acceptable, as highlighted above, she was criticised for her excessive ornamentation. These comments point towards a singer desperate to prove her superiority but unable to strike a consistent balance between virtuosity and vulgarity. Had Mara engaged with a lengthy course of formal vocal training, her teacher most likely would have ensured she understood tasteful ornamentation for different musical styles. This is frequently cited in vocal treatises of the period, and while it is difficult to establish what exactly is meant by ‘tasteful’ ornamentation, it is clear that, especially in Britain, less ornamentation was favoured over extravagance.

A possible reason for Mara’s favouring of the bravura apart from her natural inclination for the genre is that she was able to disguise certain vocal deficiencies, which could have been corrected had she engaged in lengthy formal training:

The German school in which [Mara] has been tutored has not used her to spin out her voice --- filar[e] la voce, as the Italians term it; that is to warble a number of notes without break or division, though modulation may be varied, which is the chief secret of the cantabile (1787a, p. 3).

The reviewer is careful to mention that the ‘chief secret of the cantabile’ is varying the ‘spin’, suggesting that ‘spin’ is not an ornament as such, but rather a way of varying the colour of voice. He points directly to a timbre difference in vocal quality between Italian singers and singers from other schools of training. Maintaining momentum of spin allows the singer to produce a more consistent and even tone. This coincides with Rauzzini, Aprile and Crescentini’s advice to sing (particularly in the cantabile genre) with a smooth tone, which did not break the musical phrase unless otherwise

indicate. This also implies that ‘spinning out the voice’ and varying the colour of tone was not as important in the bravura genre, thus Mara could disguise her defects but impressing the audience with elaborate feats of ornamental virtuosity.

Though Mara received these inconsistent reviews she was so skilled in performance of bravura that she was firmly established as one of the most successful prime donne in London and the continent. Though she was engaged by Rauzzini to sing in his concert series, he had proven himself a promoter of the more expressive genres of singing and Mara saw this as an opportunity for ‘professional development’ in this area.

5.6 Mara’s unofficial engagement in ‘continuous professional development’ with Rauzzini

There are several references written within Mara and Rauzzini’s lifetime that refer to Mara being Rauzzini’s student. In 1807, *The Monthly Mirror* stated:

Pupils in his class [include] Madame Mara [...] whose fame is not confined to this country [...] [and] for science, taste and execution [is] perhaps, not excelled by any vocal artist of the present age (1807, p. 232).

The Critical Review in 1814 made a very similar statement, and Mara continued to be cited as Rauzzini’s student throughout the early nineteenth century by publications such as *The history and antiquities of Bath Abbey church* in 1825 and *The Harmonicon* in 1832 (Ayrton, 1832, p. 137; Britton, 1825, p. 117; Smollett et al., 1756, p. 31).

However, *The Harmonicon* two years earlier in 1830 published an article entitled ‘Diary of a Dilettante’ which stated that Mara had not received any tuition from Rauzzini. There is no mention of Rauzzini in Mara’s autobiography; however, it is known that from 1787 onwards Mara performed in several of Rauzzini’s concerts in Bath. In fact, Michael Kelly notes that while he was visiting Rauzzini ‘Madame Mara

and Signora Storace were also his inmates' and that every night they would all perform around the pianoforte together, Rauzzini presiding) (Kelly and Hook, 1826, p. 233). While Kelly does not suggest that Mara was receiving tuition from Rauzzini during her visit, it is clear that she spent some time residing in Rauzzini's home most likely while she was engaged to sing at his concerts.

Another source which refers to Mara's tuition with Rauzzini states that while other singers were Rauzzini's 'pupils' 'Mara took 'lessons' under him' (Taylor, 1807, p. 1507). There is a clear distinction made between Mara and the other singers, which suggests that Mara did not receive formal tuition from Rauzzini but did engage in lessons, which in modern terminology would be defined as coaching.¹⁰⁰ Taking into account the fact that Mara actively chose not to seek out formal vocal tuition but did seek to improve her voice through practice and observation it is likely that she utilised her visits with Rauzzini by observing him working with other singers and perhaps receiving advice regarding her own vocal improvement.

Further to this, Rauzzini specifically wrote his *Requiem* for Mara, which was performed at the King's Theatre in 1801.

¹⁰⁰ It is anecdotally known that a vocal coach in modern vocal education is a teacher who is not the singer's regular teacher, but who provides one off advice to improve the singer's vocal technique. Singers who have established vocal careers and no longer attend regular lessons also frequently attend a teacher for coaching. The teacher may not be a full time vocal teacher and can be an established professional singer.

Allegro

34
In - ter o ves lo - cum pre sta et ab - e - dis me se - que stra Sta - tu - en o Sta - tu - e - no in par - te dex - tra

42
eh - a - be - dis me - se - ques - tra Sta - tu - en o in

49
par -

55
- te dex - tra.

61
In - ter o ves lo - cum fine stra

70
et a be dis ab - e dis me se - que stra Sta - tu - e - no in par -

77
te dex - tra.

81
te dex -

87
tra. eh ab - e - dis me se ques - tra Stra - tu -

The musical score consists of four staves of music for a single voice. The first staff begins at measure 95, starting with a note followed by a short rest, then a melodic line with lyrics 'e - noin par'. The second staff begins at measure 102, featuring a continuous eighth-note pattern. The third staff begins at measure 105, continuing the eighth-note pattern. The fourth staff begins at measure 108, with lyrics 'tra', 'in', 'par', 'te dex', 'tr.', and 'tra.' placed under specific notes. The music is in common time, with a key signature of one flat.

Mus. Ex. 19: Bravura aria from Rauzzini's *Requiem* entitled 'Inter locum presta', which was sung by Mara at the King's Theatre, 1801. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the Royal College of Music, London (RCM MS 522/9) (Rauzzini, 1802b).¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ A facsimile of the manuscript is at appendix B.8.

The aria 'Inter oves locum presta' is perfectly in keeping with Mara's preference for the bravura style. The aria has many fast-paced passages, which demonstrate Mara's vocal range, though it does not frequently venture into the lower register and consistently stays in the high tessitura. However, the aria also includes a four-bar C5, which quickly moves into a lengthy bravura passage giving very little opportunity for taking a breath. This is similar to a passage in 'The Solder Tir'd' and would demonstrate Mara's excellence of breath control. This aria extends from C4–D6, a similar vocal range to Billington. While there is no record of Mara having an impressive vocal range, this aria would suggest that her range was extensive. It is possible that Billington's vocal range was even more extensive than Mara's, which is why it was frequently commented upon, but from this aria it would seem that the top notes such as C6 and D6 are always composed in the same manner, signifying that Mara could only reach these extremely high notes when approached by a stepwise progression.

Rauzzini also composed a 'Scena' for Mara though it is unclear whether this is also from the *Requiem*. Unlike 'Inter over locum presta', this aria opens with a long largo section, which exhibits Mara's cantabile. The 'Scena' is composed in a similar vocal range, never venturing below a C4, but what is telling is that the largo section does not venture to the same vocal heights as 'Inter oves locum presta' or the later bravura section of the 'Scena'. It is possible that Rauzzini did not want to draw attention to an obvious register change in Mara's voice in order to give the illusion that she could maintain a seamless legato tone throughout. Unfortunately, Rauzzini's original score for 'Inter oves locum presta' and the 'Scena' have been lost and there does not appear to be any early printed editions of the work. These arias have been copied by a Mrs Windsor, so it is unclear if she has chosen not to include articulation

or phrase markings and even those that have been included, it is possible these were not in Rauzzini's original.

Largo

Mus. Ex. 20: Opening of the 'Scena' from Rauzzini's *Requiem*, which demonstrates Mara's cantabile. All spellings and articulation as appear in the score copied by Mrs Windsor. Courtesy of the Royal College of Music, London (RCM MS 522/11 /RCM MS 522/10).¹⁰²

102 A facsimile of the manuscript is at appendix B.9.

2 59 **Allegretto**

68

75

83

92

101

106

112

117

125

130

Mus. Ex. 21: 'Scena' moves into a virtuosic bravura section to finish (Rauzzini, 1802a).

However, the opening phrase in the ‘Scena’ is the same as the opening phrase to the aria Mara composed herself entitled ‘Say can you deny me’, sung at Mr Salomon’s concert and published in 1796.

Andante con espressione

Say can you de - ny me Ah! say can you fly me who will not de - ceive me if you prove un -

17
true Say can you de - ny me Ah! Say can you fly me who will not de - ceive me if

25
you prove un - true Oh hear my en - trea-ty hear me and pi-ty oh hear my en-

34
tre-a-ty no tor-ment can grieve me like part-ing from you Say can you de - ny me Ah! say can you

42
fly me who will not de - ceive me if you prove un - true Oh! hear my en-treaty Oh! hear me and

50
pity no tor- ment can grieve like part-ing from you no tor-ment can grieve me like part-ing from

58
you Say can you de - ny me Ah! say can you fly me who will not de - ceive me if you prove un - true

67
Say can you de - ny me Ah! say can you fly me who will not de -

73
ceive me if you prove un - true if you prove un - true

Mus. Ex. 22: The opening phrase of 'Say can you deny me' composed by Gertrude Mara is the same as Rauzzini 'Scena' shown above. Original spellings as in score. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Music Collections G.364.(34.)) (Mara, 1796).¹⁰³

¹⁰³ An early printed edition of the score is at appendix B.10.

Contrary to Mara's preference for the bravura genre, she chose to compose her own aria in the cantabile genre, though she does allow for several opportunities for elaborate ornamentation. The aria has a simple melody, repeated throughout and is not extravagant in range, staying mainly in the middle range between C4 and F5. Both the largo section from Rauzzini's 'Scena' and 'Say can you deny me' are composed in the key of A and share a similar dotted rhythm motif. Apart from a pretty melody, the aria is not particularly inspiring, but does demonstrate that Mara had a working knowledge of harmony.

Rauzzini's 'Scena', on the other hand, though written in a similar vocal range, is far more melodically decorative, varying the melody with moving legato passages. He frequently includes large leaps such as sevenths and octaves, which is a direct contrast to 'Inter oves locum presta'. Within these leaps, Mara would have to negotiate placement of the voice and intonation, and it is possible that she varied the colour through the use of a register change and her own composition, 'Say can you deny me' is similarly jagged.

This opening section, would certainly have given Mara plenty of opportunity to exhibit her abilities in the cantabile style. However, composing a cantabile section appears as a deliberate move on the part of Rauzzini to demonstrate the two sides of Mara's vocal abilities. It perhaps suggests that this had been a particular aspect he had been working on with Mara, but the 'Scena' moves into an allegro section, which allowed Mara to display her bravura, with the passages build in speed and intricacy throughout the remainder of the 'Scena'. The bravura is very similar to what appeared in 'Inter oves locum presta', and by composing the 'Scena' in this way, Rauzzini demonstrates that he understood the capabilities of Mara's voice and was careful to exhibit her strengths at the right moment.

However, the similarity of the opening phrase between the ‘Scena’ and Mara’s composition strongly implies that she was influential in Rauzzini’s work. This points towards a collaborative relationship with Rauzzini than a typical student-teacher relationship. While Mara would have benefitted from Rauzzini’s teaching advice, it must also be kept in mind that Rauzzini would have directly benefitted from his involvement with Mara, who by 1787 was already a well-established prima donna on both the continental and London stage. Having a prima donna of Mara’s standing perform at his concerts and present his compositions greatly improved Rauzzini’s station in the musical community.

5.7 Contextualising Billington’s vocal education: her active approach to ‘continuous professional development’

Billington’s childhood was remarkably similar to Mara’s; she was born in London to a musical family and was performing from a very young age. Her mother as discussed was a successful singer in her own right and her father Carl Friedrich Weichsel (1728-1811) was principal oboist at the King’s Theatre. Billington’s brother Charles (1767-1850), who was also considered a child prodigy on the violin, would come to lead the King’s Theatre band and the Philharmonic Society orchestra in the early nineteenth century. Billington was at first noted as a child prodigy on the piano, and frequently performed with her brother, appearing at her mother’s benefit concerts. Before her twelfth birthday Billington composed and published two sets of keyboard sonatas and three sonatas for violin and piano (Baldwin and Wilson, 2014; Cowgill, 2004). However, in 1775 at the age of ten she made her public début as a vocalist in her mother’s benefit concert in London. There is no indication of who Billington’s first vocal teacher may have been, but it can perhaps be assumed that her mother was

responsible for her early vocal education. She also received music tuition from J. S. Schroeter and J. C. Bach in piano playing and musicianship.¹⁰⁴

In contrast to Mara, once Billington became an adult musician she did not feel it was necessary to maintain her image as a child prodigy and establish herself as a musical genius. Rather she continually pursued musical training and this would become more common for professional musicians throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century as a result of Enlightenment thinking. As will be shown, throughout her career Billington continually sought to improve her voice and musicianship by attending formal musical training with a number of different teachers. Her drive to seek opportunities for improvement aligns with the growing need for professional musicians to become specialists in one particular instrument rather than a well-rounded musician.

James Billington (1756-1794) is frequently noted as one of Billington's early vocal teachers, though it is not clear when he began her vocal tuition. By 1783, the couple were married and Billington made her debut in the role of Eurydice at Smock Alley theatre in Dublin later that year.¹⁰⁵ She remained at Smock Alley until 1786 when she came to London as prima donna at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. Modern biographies such as *Grove Music Online* and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* tend not to examine Billington's early music education in any real depth, but two contemporary biographies provide insight into the type of practice regime Billington's parents instilled from an early age. *The New Monthly Magazine* states in 1838:

¹⁰⁴ Johann Samuel Schroeter (1752-1788) and Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782), though both natives of Germany, immigrated to London. Schroeter received J C Bach's protection and gained interest of the British court. On J C Bach's death he was named master of music to Queen Charlotte.

¹⁰⁵ James Billington was a double bass player for the London theatres.

Miss Weichsell's first master was Schroeter, an excellent teacher, celebrated for the purity of his style and delicacy of expression, who took more pains than usual to cultivate so promising a pupil; her father attended to her musical education with a strictness and severity scarcely to be justified (1838, p. 345).

Similar comments are made by *The Harmonicon* in 1830:

From her mother, then, Mrs. Billington, as it were, inherited a voice whose place upon the scale was higher than almost any other upon record; while the steady, unremitting, and, it has been said, even severe instructions of her father, gave her that extent of general musical knowledge which so eminently distinguished her among her vocal competitors (1830, p. 93).

What resonates between these two descriptions of Billington's early music training is that her father established a strict education regime, perhaps to ensure that his two children would become young and successful prodigies. What is clear is that Billington's musical knowledge was revered throughout her life and the strict training regime, instilled in her childhood, is perhaps what inspired her to continually obtain formal music education throughout her career. Her engagement in 'continuous professional development' was frequently commented upon: for example, *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* in 1825 stated:

During this season [1786] although her theatrical duties were unremitting, she never relaxed from the most sedulous general pursuit of the knowledge and practice of her art. She laboured incessantly, and received lessons of Mortellari, and Italian master of celebrity, at that time in England' (Sainsbury and Choron, 1827, p. 87).¹⁰⁶

While Billington had received praise for her performances in Ireland, she perhaps felt she needed to improve her vocal technique when performing on the London operatic stages. By the end of the 1786 Billington was engaged in studies with another teacher, which suggests that she was engaged in vocal tuition with Mortellari earlier in the

¹⁰⁶ Michele Mortellari (1750-1807) was an Italian composer who studied under Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800). He settled in London in 1785.

season. There are several criticisms that perhaps point to a more definite time as to when she was engaged in lessons with Mortellari:

It may be [alleged] that too much of the Italian manner characterises the singing of this performer: but that charge will be unfair as it is not the results of affectation, but teaching (1786a, p. 1).

In [Billington's] manner, the most refined sensibility went hand in hand with improved judgement; and though her borrowing from the Italian School, which she evidently does through all the airs, might at first be thought to take much from la naïveté of musical expression, yet we are cautious how we condemn what possibly gives an elegant finish to her manner (1786b, p. 3).

This Lady possesses indeed a most extraordinary voice, managed with the accuracy of science and touched with the graces of taste; and when her tones are somewhat released from the thraldom of Italian setters, she will justly be considered as the most distinguished of the vocal tribe that the English stage ever boasted (1786d, p. 3).

These three quotes all criticise Billington for her Italian manner of singing, but state outright that it was not entirely her fault but that of her teachers. While her 'borrowing from the Italian school' as highlighted in 17 February 1786 review may refer to her use of ornamentation, the other two reviews suggest that it was her tone of voice that sounded particularly Italian. As noted earlier in this chapter, Mara was encouraged to produce a more consistent and even tone, much like Italian singers, but she was not a native of Britain, and when she first came to sing in London mainly sang Italian operas. Billington, on the other hand, was British born and during this season was mainly performing English ballad operas such as *Love in a Village* and *The Beggar's Opera* and comic opera such as *The Duenna*.¹⁰⁷ The reviewers advice that Billington should 'release her tones from the thraldom of Italian setters' suggests that

¹⁰⁷ *The Duenna* was an opera compiled by Thomas Linley senior and junior. It was first performed in London in 1775. *Love in a village* was composed and arranged by Thomas Arne. It was first performed in Covent Garden in 1762. *The Beggar's Opera* was first performed in 1728 and remained popular through the eighteenth century.

she was to noticeably change the colour and character to produce a much more dynamic vocal sound. However, making use of the registers to which would add obvious changes in colour, was contrary to Italian instruction that encouraged a smooth, legato production. Mortellari, who was most likely Billington's teacher at this point in her career, would have almost certainly trained Billington to develop a consistently even, legato tone. Mortellari's career began as an opera composer in Florence, but he immigrated to London in 1785. Nevertheless, he only ever composed operas, cantatas and arias in Italian, which perhaps suggests that he lacked familiarity with appropriate affectations utilised in English opera. Therefore, while he assisted Billington in developing an 'elegant finish', it would seem that some of his advice was unsuited to the English style.

In Burney's description of Billington, he suggests that in her early career she attempted to emulate great bravura singers such as Mara, which resulted in vocal difficulties:

At first, in emulation of the Mara and other great bravura singers, she was perhaps too frequently struggling with difficulties which she has, however, since so totally subdued, that no song seems too high or too rapid (Burney, 1782a, p. 1021).

Though Burney does not provide specific details as to the difficulties Billington struggled with, he implies that the difficulties related to vocal flexibility, but through time she eradicated these difficulties. She did not secretly seek improvement but publicly announced when she attended further training, particularly with a teacher of note. For example, in 1786 it was announced:

Sacchini who is at Paris is to have the sole direction of Mrs Billington in her further professional studies. The expense of the undertaking is to be her own (1786g, p. 3).

After having engaged in training with Sacchini, Billington returned for the 1787 season to receive favourable reviews. Her first role of the season was Clare in *The Duenna* and one such review stated that Billington's improvement was directly a result of her tuition with Sacchini:

Of this accomplished singer we must observe that Sacchini's instructions appear to have been fully cultivated; her improvement is chiefly in the sustaining powers of her voice; the scientific phrase of which, is, the legato [style], – and in the cadence of which she is firm and distinct (1786k, p. 3).

Though the earlier reviews suggest that Billington sounded too Italian, her training with Sacchini sought to improve her vocal technique in an area that many Italian castrati including Rauzzini stated to be of utmost importance. Yet, there is no suggestion in this review that after her lessons with Sacchini she continued to sound too Italian, rather her legato phrasing became much more consistent. In the spring of 1786, just before she went to Sacchini for lessons and when she was likely engaged in tuition with Rauzzini as will be discussed later in this chapter, her inclination towards the Italian style was more readily accepted by critics than it had been earlier in her career:

Mrs Billington possesses an elegant figure and a beautiful face and her manner exemplifies all the superior graces of an Italian singer, without any portion of an Italian singer without any portion of the monstrous affectation that disgraces the Signoras and disgusted the spectator at the Opera House (1786e, p. 2).

This review implies that Billington's had successfully achieved the polish possessed by Italian singers, without the overuse of ornamentation. While the review does discuss the development of Billington's vocal sound, the review bears similar comments that Mountain received after she had engaged in tuition with Rauzzini as was discussed in chapter four. In fact, there is a further example of one of Rauzzini's students, who is

yet to be mentioned, who utilised the Italian style in her English songs. John Bull in *The New Spectator* commented in 1784 that:

Some professional men [found] fault with Miss George, because she sings English songs in the Italian stile. But such judges do not recollect, that it is to her *stile* of singing that Miss George is indebted for that reputation and that superiority she has acquired over every singer on the English stage (1784d, p. 6).

This is one of the first examples of one of Rauzzini's students being described as singing in an Italian style, and though she received some negative criticism, on the whole she was praised for her performance. It is not clear if the Italian style specifically refers to use of ornamentation or sound but what is clear is that her singing was seen as much more refined than what was typical of English singers during this period.

Billington's tuition with Sacchini was a way to continue to developing her understanding of the Italian sound and technique and assimilate this into her own vocal style, and her commitment to improve her voice did not end after receiving instruction from this teacher. The following year, in 1787, she returned to Paris, this time to receive instruction from Niccolò Piccinni (1787k, p. 3). This was prior to Billington's six-week tour of Italy, and she perhaps wished to engage in further study in order to understand how she could adapt her vocal style to suit Italian audiences. Contrary to her instruction with Sacchini where there was a distinct improvement when performing in cantabile songs and arias, reviews from her performances during the 1787-88 season stated that her vocal range had extended and, overall, her voice was much more powerful than it had been before (1787o, p. 4). Unfortunately, there is no record of the instruction Piccinni gave to Billington, but what is clear is that Billington's commitment to receive continuous vocal instructions from a number of

different vocal teachers assisted her voice in developing in a number of different ways.

Even towards the end of her career, Billington still engaged in ‘continuous professional development’:

Mrs Billington has we understand, chiefly devoted herself to master the difficulties of execution in her vocal exertions which it seems are at more the fashion in Italy than the cantabile style (1800a, p. 3).

This establishes that while understanding one’s own vocal capabilities and developing an individual vocal style was an important element in obtaining and maintaining a successful career, understanding the tastes of the audience was equally important. Billington’s career demonstrates that at certain times she did not always sing in a manner suited to the tastes of the audience, but she continued formal training in order to understand how she could adapt her vocal style to suit and it is for this reason that she not only gained much success in her native country but also became a famous, successful prima donna on the continent.

5.8 Billington’s ‘continuous professional development’ with Rauzzini

The first evidence of a connection between Billington and Rauzzini appears when she performed an aria of his composition entitled ‘By him we love offended’ in the opera *The Duenna* in May 1786. From this point on, Billington’s connections to Rauzzini become more frequent as she often performed music by the castrato and performed on several occasions at his Bath concerts. Michael Kelly stated:

I have known Mrs Billington renounce many profitable engagements in London, when Rauzzini has required the aid of her talents, and at her own expense, travel to Bath, and back to London, as fast as four horses could carry her, without accepting the most trifling remuneration (Kelly and Hook, 1826, p. 234).

It is unusual for a singer to go to such lengths and expense to perform at a concert for no fee, but it would seem Billington felt indebted to Rauzzini. Further to this, Billington recommended that Elizabeth Clendining (bap.1767-1799) should obtain vocal lessons from him:¹⁰⁸

About this time someone suggesting 'Bath' with a few letters of introduction and a liberal proof of Mrs Billington's regard, [Mrs Clendining] went down there in the latter end of February 1793. She was introduced by Ashe, the celebrated flute player, to Rauzzini who did justice to her merit, gave her the most flattering hopes of success, and immediately took her under his tuition (Haslewood, 1795, p. 175).¹⁰⁹

Despite Billington having received tuition from several other vocal tutors by the 1790s, she recommended that Clendining go to Bath, rather than any other vocal teacher. This could be due to the fact that Rauzzini was running a successful concert series as well as being a vocal teacher and that Clendining had the added benefit of an almost certain performance platform at Rauzzini's concerts.

In a similar manner to Mara there are several sources that state outright that Billington was Rauzzini's student. For example, *The Monthly Mirror* from 1807, *The beauties of England and Wales* from 1813, *The history and antiquities of Bath Abbey church* from 1825 and *The Harmonicon* from 1832 all state outright that Billington was Rauzzini's student (1807, p. 232; Ayrton, 1832, p. 148; Britton, 1825, p. 168; Nightingale, 1813, p. 426). Unfortunately, there is no newspaper review, diary entry or listing that states when Billington engaged in vocal education with Rauzzini, but considering that Billington was closely associated with Rauzzini from 1786 onwards

¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth Clendining (née Arnold) was the daughter of John Arnold (bap. 1746-1774 or 75), who had been a boy chorister at Salisbury Cathedral and became a vicar-choral at Wells Cathedral in 1768. She made her debut at Covent Garden on 3 November 1792 as Clara in *Hartford Bridge*. She performed in theatres throughout Britain but caught an illness while engaged for performance in Edinburgh for the 1798-99 season.

¹⁰⁹ *The Green Room* makes a mistake in the dates when Clendining went to Bath as she was already engaged at the theatre by November 1792. She most likely went to Bath in early 1792.

it can be assumed that she engaged in vocal training with the castrato at some point in the spring of 1786.

Table 7: Table of Billington's associations with Rauzzini

Year	Venue	Connection
8 March 1786	The Duenna at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Performance of 'By him we love offended' composed by Rauzzini (1786c, p. 3).
4 April 1787	New Musical Fund at the King's Theatre	Billington and Rauzzini both listed as principal performers (1787f, p. 1).
7 January 1788	The Duenna at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	'Performance of "When Sable Night" etc. etc., said to be composed by Rauzzini' (1788a, p. 3).
9 January 1788		'The air of "When Sable Night" sung by Mrs Billington is not Rauzzini's composition; but is to be found in an old Collection of Scotch Songs' (1788b, p. 3). As Rauzzini had composed 'By him we love offended' it might have been assumed that this aria was also composed by Rauzzini. It is also possible that Rauzzini altered the original tune and thus the new version was attributed to him.
23 January 1790	For the benefit of Mrs Billington The Czar at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Rauzzini listed as one of the composers (1790a, p. 3).
26 March 1792	Concerts at Bath	Billington engaged to perform at Rauzzini's concerts (1792b, p. 1).
19 April 1802	Concerts at Bath	Billington engaged to perform at Rauzzini's concerts (1802a, p. 1).
5 May 1803	Concert	Piece expressly written for Billington with obbligato accompaniments on various instruments by Rauzzini (1803b, p. 1).

The year 1786 was a turning point for Billington as she actively sought out further vocal education from two other Italian teachers already discussed above: Mortellari and Sacchini. However, a review from her performance of *The Duenna* in March 1786 states:

The favourite air of Rozzini, "By him we love [offended]" was sung in a style unknown to a British Theatre and fully merited its great encore. The introduction of the new song did honour to [Billington's] abilities. To say that it was divinely sung, would scarcely be a flattering panegyric. In this song she gave a full scope to her cantabile and bravura exertions. Indeed we never met the union of those two qualities so perfect in the same subject (1786d, p. 3).

This is the first time that Billington is noted for her union of the cantabile and bravura styles in one aria. Dr Busby published *The Songs Sung by Mrs Billington in The Duenna*, which included examples of her ornamentation.

Larghetto

By him we love offend-ed. How soon our an-ger flies One
 day a-part tis end-ed Be hold him and it dies last night your rov-ing
 bro-ther en-rag'd I bad de-part And sure his rude pre-sumption de-
 ser'd to lose my heart Yet were he now be-
 fore me in spite of in-jurd pride I fear my eyes would
 par-don Be-fore my tongue cou'd chide By
 him we love offend-ed Howsoon our an-ger flies One day a-part tis
 end-ed Be hold him and it dies Be hold him and it dies

Mus. Ex. 23: 'By him we love offended' composed by Rauzzini including ornamentation as sung by Elizabeth Billington unites the pathetic and bravura styles in one aria. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the British Library, London (Music Collections H.1594.(10.)) (Rauzzini et al., 1801).¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ An early printed edition of the score is at appendix B.11.

The lyrics of this aria, which describe the pain of a jilted woman, require the singer to evoke tender feelings of sadness through singing and this combined with the tempo marking larghetto reveal it to be an example of a pathetic song. However, complex ornamentation on particular poignant lyrics such as ‘roving’ and ‘rude’ punctuate the simple melody and on the word ‘dies’ Billington demonstrates her bravura, showing off the flexibility and range of her voice. The articulation markings are very similar to Rauzzini’s cantabile solfeggi; phrases are clearly marked, with most of the large leaps such as on ‘ended’ and ‘behold’ in bars 31 and 32 are also to be sung with legato phrasing, perhaps even utilising the portamento. However, the bravura passage on ‘dies’ does not include any articulation at all. While it is possible that the lack of articulation was to give the singer to phrase the bravura passage according to their own preference, this sits at odds with the rest of the aria that is so carefully marked with phrasing. With that in mind, it is likely that the notes of the bravura passage were to be neatly articulated in such a way to give definition to each note but not as much as a staccato marking. The union of style in this case, was not just in reference to ornamentation, but also to vocal articulation.

Larghetto

Fug gi am do se Si cu - ra in dol ce li ber ta con

13 ten ta po - ser ta Scel - seal sog gior no Là fa rà nos tra

18 cu ra or deiun bel col - le'a me no or pres so un on da pa ra se

23 der co me Se re no il fol dall'on de ap par co me tran quil lo il

28 mar poi - fa - ri tor no poi fa poi fa - ri tor - no fug

33 gi am do se Si - cu - ra in dol ce li ber ta con ten ta pos er

38 ta Scel - le il sog gior no Scel bli a Si fas to o gni pen

43 Sier in quel le del pia cer Se Diin no cen ti

48 se Diin - no cen ti se dr ai Si no i' pre Sen ti

53 ris che af fan ni af fan ni ti a - mor co me in fe li ce a

58 mor cam bia in con ten ti can bia in con

63 ten ti fug gi am do ve Si cu ra in dol ce li ber ta con



Mus. Ex. 24: The cantabile aria 'Fuggiam dove [or dose] sicura' from *Piramo e Tisbe* composed by Rauzzini. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the Collection de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique de Genève, Rmo 66, (Ms.10465, 10466) (Rauzzini, 1769).¹¹¹

¹¹¹ A facsimile of the manuscript is at appendix B.12.

Rauzzini had adapted this aria from the aria 'Fuggiam dove [dose] sicura' that appeared in his 1775 opera *Piramo e Tisbe*, but the original appears very different in style to the reworking for Billington. The original version of the aria, which was written by Rauzzini while he was on the continent, has quite conservative ornamentation compared to what appears in 'By him we love offended' and there are certainly no bravura passages included. It is surprising that the more ornamental elaborate reworked version of the aria would appeal to British audiences, but it would seem that it was Billington who was able to successfully bring together both the bravura and pathetic genres in one song through her singing and acting ability.

It is possible that after engaging in vocal tuition with Mortellari, Billington went to Rauzzini for vocal tuition in order to improve her technique to better suit her London audience. He was the principal composer at the King's Theatre at the time so could have given her a few lessons while in London. Though the aria 'By him we love offended' is composed in the pathetic style, Rauzzini provided Billington opportunities to exhibit her bravura, which Billington had already become accomplished at performing, but also unlock her cantabile and make Billington aware that she was capable of performing both styles.

5.9 Rauzzini's developments as a teacher

Both Mara and Billington came to Rauzzini after having already proven themselves to be highly skilled bravura singers and while there is evidence in both cases that there was improvement in their bravura skills, their particular developments in vocal technique were in their cantabile manner of singing. In this area of vocal technique, Rauzzini had already proven himself to be a skilled teacher. Schindlerin and Storace had developed excellent skills in vocal expression; however, neither of these two early students had shown particular skills in bravura work, particularly because

neither seemed to possess a flexible voice. During the time that Rauzzini was a leading singer he had performed bravura arias, as was expected of a leading castrato, but as was discussed in chapter two, he clearly favoured the more expressive, cantabile style, which led him to focus too much on this area rather than encouraging students to develop in flexibility that would have allowed for success in the bravura style. Had Rauzzini continued to train students who excelled in the expressive style, but not in the bravura, he may not have achieved the reputation as a great vocal teacher, yet Billington and Mara being his vocal students represents a turning point in his teaching. In his treatise, he would continue to encourage singers to work on their cantabile over bravura exertions, but his future successful students such as Mountain, Braham and Incledon (as will be discussed in the following chapter) were noted for their skills in both the bravura and cantabile genres. Billington and Mara, both queens of the bravura genre, appear to have helped Rauzzini understand how to identify and develop the flexibility of voice necessary to cultivate the bravura style. The tuition he gave them, unlike his other students represents developments of both these two singers and of Rauzzini as a teacher. Billington in particular demonstrates an ability to successfully unite the bravura and the cantabile genres in one aria and make this new style popular with English audiences, and Rauzzini would continue to capitalise on this genre fusion with his future students.

5.10 Conclusion

Mara and Billington were two of the most successful opera singers of the end of the eighteenth century and particularly well known for their performance in the bravura genre. Singing bravura arias required a singer to possess a highly flexible voice, have a sound command of breath control and an exceptional understanding of musicianship. However, a singer performing on the London stage during this period

was also expected to be able to perform in pathetic arias, which some authors also defined as cantabile. In opposition to bravura, the cantabile and pathetic style was suited to arias that explored themes of intense emotion and required a careful understanding of utilising meaningful and tasteful ornamentation. However, it would seem that several Italian teachers encouraged singers to produce a smooth and legato vocal line when singing in the cantabile genre. Typically, it was expected that a singer would excel in one style over the other, but Billington was unique in her ability to perform both genre styles equally well. Billington did not come to this by her own merit, but regularly engaged in formal vocal tuition throughout her career in order to develop vocally and musically.

Mara, on the other hand, wished to maintain an image of being self-trained and did not engage in prolonged vocal tuition, but she did engage in ‘continuous professional development’ through observation and seeking advice from other composers and singers. Both these singers engaged in ‘continuous professional development’ with Rauzzini after having already established their vocal careers. The music that he composed for both singers demonstrates that he understood their vocal capabilities, but also shows how he attempted to progress their vocal technique in areas in which the singers frequently received criticism. By engaging in ‘continuous professional development’, these singers ensured the quality of their vocal performance. As these two singers grew in success, their names were utilised in marketing to advertise Rauzzini’s merits as a teacher. While he may not have engaged in a lengthy course of vocal tuition with either Billington or Mara, he certainly benefitted from their connection.

Chapter 6 Gender and Rauzzini's teaching: John Braham (c.1774-1856) and Charles Incledon (1763-1826)

6.1 Introduction

Thus far, the discussion has focussed on the female students that Rauzzini trained and this is due to the fact that the vast majority of Rauzzini's students were female, in particular female sopranos. As pointed out by John Rosselli in his 1995 study, *Singers and the Italian Opera*, the dominance of the soprano was closely linked with the social inclination towards hierarchy. Both female sopranos and soprano castrati were more highly paid than altos, tenors or basses, simply because the voice was higher than the others (Rosselli, 1995a, p. 34). As the female soprano came to dominate the stage financially for the first decades of the nineteenth century and the castrato began to fall out of fashion, this did not change, although the tenor would eventually match and on occasion exceed her in terms of financial worth. Unusually, Rauzzini had a vast output of professional performing women, as can be seen in table one, in chapter two of this study, but there are only two examples of Rauzzini engaging in long-term teaching with male tenors: John Braham and Charles Incledon.¹¹²

Richard Miller states in his 1996 treatise *On the Art of Singing*:

There does come a time for most students of singing when technique may be further enhanced through study with a person of the same sex. This also may apply to vocal categories within the gender (Miller, 1996, p. 243).¹¹³

¹¹² Rauzzini also gave at least one lesson to Michael Kelly, which is discussed in Kelly's *Reminiscences* but there is no evidence that Kelly's tuition with Rauzzini was extensive as it was while the *castrato* was on a visit to Dublin, most likely to visit his brother Matteo. (Kelly and Hook, 1826, p. 11).

¹¹³ Yet, Miller highlights that being trained by one's own gender does not guarantee a holistic understanding of the individual's voice, and there are many exceptions as some successful singers claimed they have never been trained by a person with the same Fach or indeed gender.

Rauzzini as a castrato in many ways embodied both genders but also neither. He had the physicality of a man, but the voice of a woman and even this is not an accurate description as the physical alterations caused by the castration operation meant that his voice is not likely to have sounded anything like a female soprano. Though Rauzzini encouraged singers to develop their own vocal sound, it does not eliminate the possibility that he encouraged his tenor and soprano students to develop differently in terms of techniques. In this chapter, I will use John Braham and Charles Incledon as case studies and will examine their vocal training, and how the techniques that developed differed to those of Rauzzini's female students. Further to this, the idea of Italian and English styles of singing will be analysed in more detail to determine whether Rauzzini was encouraging his students to develop an Italianised vocal sound.

6.2 Gender distinctions in contemporary vocal treatises

The majority of singing treatises published between 1790 and 1850 make very little distinction in the tuition of male and female voices or indeed of different vocal categories. Typically, treatises were marketed to the widest possible audience and did not often highlight the four vocal categories; soprano, alto, tenor and bass. Joseph Corfe in his 1799 is one of the few exceptions, in that he specifically discusses the vocal categories and designates songs or arias suited to each.

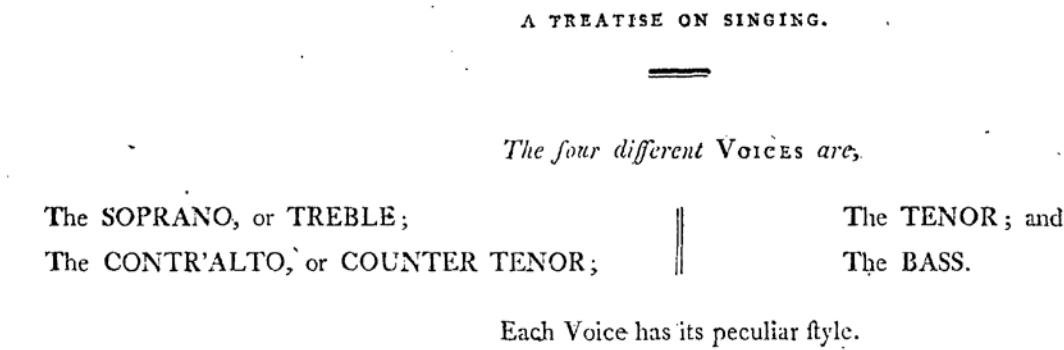


Figure 21: Designation of the four different vocal categories as laid out by Joseph Corfe in his *A Treatise on Singing* (Corfe, 1799, p. 9).

The *Soprano* has generally most volubility, and seems best calculated for it. It is likewise equally capable of the Pathetic.

The *Contr'alto* has more of the Pathetic than of the Bravura.

The *Tenor* is very often capable of the both the Pathetic and the Bravura.

The *Bass* is most dignified but ought not to be boisterous as it is generally practised.

As has been discussed in chapter five, sopranos in particular were expected to perform both pathetic and bravura arias, though it was acknowledged that each singer would most likely better suit one over the other. Yet Corfe states that the vocal categories dictated the kind of aria they were capable of performing.¹¹⁴

Corri in his 1810 treatise *The Singer's Preceptor* does draw attention to a personal annoyance, which makes a direct distinction between male and female voices:

A circumstance also productive of bad effect in singing frequently occurs among amateurs, viz: soprano voices singing tenor songs, which is in my opinion extremely absurd, first because the words are seldom adapted for a female to sing being intended to express the sentiments

¹¹⁴ What is telling is that the two naturally highest voices: the soprano and tenor are highlighted as being able to perform both pathetic and bravura arias, which points to the supremacy of these two voice types over the other lower classifications.

and passions of men; secondly the composition in general requiring more energy than a soprano can give, and thirdly, a soprano voice sings an octave higher than the tenor, consequently the same key which is easy to the latter voice would often be squeaking and displeasing sung by a woman (Corri, 1810, p. 67).

This passage specifically relates to songs where the gender of the narrator is known, thus a woman singing a song intended for a man according to Corri would be absurd. However, the issue of gender is more complex. Corri was well acquainted with the practice of castrati performing both male and female roles, which is perhaps why he is very specific with his comment indicating it is not all soprano voices where the issue lies, rather it is when females perform male songs.¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, Corri does not provide any further detail as to why or how a female singer and a male singer would express a song in a different manner, nor does he explain why a female soprano voice would have 'less energy' than other male voice types. These comments do suggest that Corri had different expectations in the training of a female and a male voice. Yet, his treatise does not divide into the specific methods of training the two genders. This suggests that distinctions with regards to gendered expression were not made in the early stages of training, but were reserved for more advanced students who had begun to develop and perform repertoire.

In a treatise published twenty-five years after Corri's, the idea of vocal classification and gender becomes even more apparent:

¹¹⁵ As noted in chapter two, Corri was friends with Rauzzini. The castrato also performed in one of Corri's operas in London, though as the leading male singer.



Figure 22: Classification of Voices. Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections (Sp Coll Q.a.35) (Addison, 1836, p. 10).

In 1836 John Addison makes a distinct divide between contralto (a female voice) and alto tenor (a male voice) and by laying out the classification in this way implies that all the voices above the contralto are female voices while all those below the alto tenor are male.¹¹⁶ Despite these designations, Addison (like many other authors of treatises throughout the period) does not break his treatise into specific methods of how to train each of the categorised voice types. Rather, his advice throughout the treatise is much more generalised, noting that students should have good intonation, articulation, flexibility, and breath control. The distinction comes with the fact that each voice type will quite obviously differ in certain aspects, for example where the voice splits into different registers. The fact that he includes the classification of voices and an exercise to assist the teacher in identifying where a new student's voice

¹¹⁶ The categories themselves expand beyond the standard SATB, though he does not distinguish the categories in terms of vocal colour along the lines of the modern Fach, but according to vocal range.

may sit, he is stating that his treatise can be used by either sex and is not specifically marketed to one or the other (Addison, 1836, p. 10).

The idea that the early stages of training were the same for all voice types is strengthened in a statement made by William Huckel in his 1845 treatise:

All voices whether soprano, mezzo soprano, contralto in the female or counter tenor, tenor, baritone or the bass in the male should pursue the same course by beginning in the lowest note, which they can most easily produce (Huckel, 1845, p. 21).

In this passage, while it appears that Huckel's advice reflects inclusive training, where each voice type should receive similar tuition, he is also pointing towards individual development. He does not specify a particular pitch of warm-up scales since this depends on the individual voice to decide where the exercise should begin. However, Huckel does draw attention to a distinction in male and female voices by stating 'girls may begin the practise of singing at the age of thirteen, fourteen or fifteen; boys generally one year after mutation has taken place, seventeen or eighteen' (Huckel, 1845, p. 45). Francis Blackbee makes a similar comment in his 1855 treatise stating:

The practice of an instrument and the science of harmony are recommended until the pupil arrives at the age of sixteen or seventeen, for a female; and for a male later; at which period twelve months tuition for the voice under the superintendence of an able instructor would probably produce a better singer than could possibly result from an earlier and consequently injudicious, cultivation of the vocal powers (Blackbee, 1855, p. 17).

Both these authors draw attention to the changing male and female voice at puberty, specifically stating that male voices should begin training at a later stage than a female voice, but neither author suggests that the vocal training itself should differ. While these two authors discuss anatomical science, an area which vocal treatises would discuss in more detail as the nineteenth century progressed, Huckel and Blackbee continue to be very generalised in their advice, highlighting that each individual voice would require a customised course of study.

As established in chapter three, Rauzzini's vocal tuition focused on developing the individual qualities of his students' voices. Bearing this in mind, each student would have a course of study catered specifically to them, and there is no evidence to suggest that Rauzzini had preconceived ideas of how male and female voices should develop. However, as will be examined, though Rauzzini continuously promoted the idea of developing individuality, his personal preference in terms of vocal sound and vocal development were not as adaptable as he implied and instead were governed by his personal partiality.

6.3 Early training of John Braham

John Braham in 1784 became a student of Michael Leoni (c. 1750-1797), who was a prominent singer on the English stage.¹¹⁷ From 1787, when Braham was about twelve years of age, he was given the opportunity to perform publicly and did so with great success.¹¹⁸ However, once Braham's voice began to change, Leoni abandoned his student. Several contemporary biographies of Braham suggest that Leoni left England due to embarrassment regarding failed trading speculations; however, there is also evidence to suggest that his teaching had damaged Braham's changing voice (Clarke, 1832-34, p. 299; Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 147; Whittaker, 1825, p. 206).

In 1789, Master Braham's voice broke; and, as he had continued his vocal efforts too long after the certainty of his voice going, he missed the opportunity of breaking it down to bass, and was in danger of losing his powers in this way altogether (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 147).

Leoni would have benefitted greatly from the success of his student, perhaps financially, but most certainly in exposure as a good and trusted teacher. It is possible

¹¹⁷ Michael Leoni (also known as Myer Lyon) began as a boy singer in the Great Synagogue, London. By the 1760s he performed several leading roles at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. Theodore Fenner in his 1994 study suggests that Leoni was Braham's uncle, but the evidence for this is sparse (Fenner, 1994, p. 168).

¹¹⁸ Braham was orphaned from a young age and was unsure himself as to the year of his birth. As he was born to a Jewish family there are no parish records which confirm an accurate date of birth.

that Leoni pushed Braham to perform continuously, even after his voice began to change, which was detrimental to Braham's young and developing tenor voice. While it is tempting to blame continuous use of the voice during the vocal change, Kelly states in his *Reminiscences* that while his voice was undergoing the change he trained under the instruction of the castrato Aprile for hours each day in vocal exercises:

I studied between five and six hours every day, with the greatest assiduity; my voice fell gradually to tenor, and in a short time I could execute several songs, which had been composed for two celebrated tenors of that day, Ansani and David (Kelly and Hook, 1826, p. 41).

However, the main difference here is that there is no evidence Kelly was publicly performing, thus he would not have been putting his voice under the same degree of stress. Braham's experience greatly differed as he continued to publicly perform after his voice began to change, and there is little evidence as to the training Leoni was providing for his young, developing student. Leoni perhaps lacked understanding when it came to training the changing male voice and was more interested in having a student regularly perform. This is strongly suggested by a review that appeared in the periodical *The Tomahawk or Censor General* states:

Mr Braham, when a boy was a pupil to the celebrated Leoni [...] Mr Braham's first appearance, as a treble voice was in a pantomime at Covent Garden, from whence he was engaged at the Royalty Theatre; but at that period there were very little traces of his musical preceptor to be discovered; but when his voice broke, and settled into its present compass, that of a tenor, he paid a visit to Bath, where he received instructions from Rauzzini, from whose taste and skill he has received the polishes which he now possesses (1796b).

Evidence from periodicals during Braham's early career confirms that he appeared as a treble at Covent Garden in 1787, in a production of *The Duenna* and this was followed by a series of performance at the Royalty Theatre between 1787 and 1788

(1787h, p. 1; 1787l, p. 1).¹¹⁹ These reviews also state that he was ‘a pupil of Leoni’ (1787m, p. 2). It is not accurate to say that Leoni did not begin to teach Braham until after he appeared publicly rather it is much more plausible that the *Tomahawk* was implying a lack of evidence of what vocal training Leoni had provided for his young student.

Despite these criticisms, there is evidence that Leoni provided Braham with a well-rounded musical education. Upon Leoni’s departure, he was able to obtain employment as a pianoforte teacher, which allowed him to support himself while he continued to develop his voice privately without a teacher (Clarke, 1832-34, p. 299). There is no evidence of how Braham developed his voice after the departure of Leoni, but it is possible that he used vocal treatises or materials that he had worked on with his teacher to assist him in regaining his vocal powers. His hard work paid off, as by 1794 he had regained enough of his vocal powers to receive an engagement to sing in a concert in Bath.

6.4 Rauzzini and his students: The Master-Apprentice relationship

Mollie Sands in her 1942 article, which discusses the apprenticeship system and the role of the singing master in eighteenth-century England, states:

The singing-master of the eighteenth century played a far more important part in the life of his would-be professional pupils than does his counterpart today. He was indeed a master, responsible for almost every detail of their lives during their training and the first years of their public career, and not only a teacher of voice production (Sands, 1942, p. 69).

She expands her discussion on the ‘singing-master’ and his apprentice in her 1943 article highlighting that whether the ‘singing-master’ was foreign or English, he was

¹¹⁹ The performance, which took place on April 17 1787 was for the benefit of Leoni whereas, 2 July performance was described by several reviews as it being Braham’s first performance at the Royalty Theatre.

responsible for the ‘all round musical education of his pupil apprentice’ and that students frequently lived with their ‘singing-master’ in order to receive this intensive musical training (Sands, 1943, p. 15). Though Sands draws attention to the apprenticeship system in eighteenth-century England, there are few details as to what a music apprenticeship entailed. She based her knowledge on Domenico Corri’s reflections on his apprenticeship with Porpora in Italy. Corri in *The Singer’s Preceptor* informs his readers that he lived with Porpora during his five year apprenticeship, but that this was at ‘great expense’ to his parents (Corri, 1810p. E1).

Charles Cudworth, in his 1967 article, was able to provide more specific details as to an apprenticeship arrangement made in England for Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757-1837) with his teacher William Savage (c 1720-1789), Master of the Children at St Paul’s Cathedral. In this arrangement, Stevens was apprenticed to Savage for seven years for the ‘nominal fee; of ten pounds per annum’, paid by Steven’s father (Cudworth, 1967, p. 602). Though the fee is described as nominal, and more than likely would not have covered the cost of Steven’s room and board with his teacher, the fact remains that a fee was expected to be paid towards the teacher. Nevertheless, as discussed in chapter five, Emerson draws attention to a very different apprenticeship arrangement in her 2005 book. Quoting from Gertrude Mara’s autobiography, Emerson draws attention to the typical apprenticeship arrangement that Mara entered into with the Italian composer harpsichord player and singing teacher Pietro Domenico Paradies (1707-1781), whose name is omitted from her autobiography.¹²⁰ The terms outlined indicated that a student would be bound to the teacher for three years of tuition and until the student was ready for public performance. As soon as the student was ready, the teacher would arrange

¹²⁰ Emerson states that Mara found the terms of the contract unacceptable and only stayed with the teacher for four weeks.

engagements, keeping all of the proceeds for the first year, one half for the second year, and one quarter for the third year to pay for the cost of the student's tuition during the apprenticeship. After the third year, the artist would be released from her debt to the teacher (Emerson, 2005, p. 83). Emerson does not discuss the idea of an immediate or annual payment from the student or the student's parents to the teacher in this arrangement, but the teacher would certainly have been motivated to ensure the student's public success, especially early in their career.

Though a few scholars such as John Potter and Simon Ravens discuss Braham's tuition with Rauzzini, they are careful not to describe him as an apprentice, rather both state that '[Braham] went to study with Rauzzini in Bath for three years' (Potter, 2009, p. 35; Ravens, 2014, p. 167). Yet it is clear that Rauzzini was highly influential with regard to Braham's development of his tenor voice, as *The Monthly Mirror* states in 1803:

Mr Braham, no sooner appeared at the concerts at Bath, than he became a pupil of Rauzzini, and it is to his friendly, zealous and judicious lessons, that the leading features of Mr Braham's excellence owe their form and name. The *character* which that master gave to the exertions of his power, has accompanied him through all his subsequent labours (1803a, p. 5).

Further to this, Rauzzini provided Braham with a number of performance opportunities in order to establish his tenor singing career. While there is no formal contract or written arrangement which states Braham to be Rauzzini's apprentice, there is evidence in contemporary periodicals, which point to Rauzzini and Braham having been engaged in a master-apprentice relationship. For example, *A New Biographical Dictionary* from 1824 states:

[Braham] was engaged to perform at Bath as a tenor singer; here Rauzzini took him under his patronage, and under his care Braham continued three years, and had every encouragement bestowed on him by his master (Whittaker, 1825, p. 206).

Similarly, *The Memoirs of John Braham* notes:

Rauzzini became [Braham's] patron and instructor; and Braham acknowledges to this day, how much he owes to that excellent and judicious master (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 148).

Both of these statements describe Rauzzini as Braham's 'patron'. *The Memoirs of John Braham* highlights that patron is different from instructor, yet *A New Biographical Dictionary* makes the presumption that Rauzzini taking Braham under his patronage was the result of becoming his vocal teacher. *The Georgian Era* provides further insight into this arrangement, stating that 'Rauzzini voluntarily became the patron and improver of Braham', which suggests Rauzzini was not solicited to take Braham as a student. The use of the term 'patron' points to the fact that Rauzzini financially supported Braham, as well as being his vocal teacher. Though Braham teaching piano forte he had not paid for a singing teacher to develop his voice, though it is clear that he wished to improve in this area. It is possible that he lacked the necessary funds to pay for private tuition. Therefore, when the opportunity arose to have Rauzzini as a vocal teacher who would also provide financial support, this was clearly an arrangement much better suited to Braham's present economic situation and future ambitions as a singer.

This arrangement resembles the master-apprentice model as described by Emerson, where Rauzzini would support Braham for a time and then would profit from his investment once Braham received paid engagements. However, Rauzzini and Braham's relationship is not as clear cut as the master-apprentice models Emerson outlines. It has been established that there is no evidence Braham paid Rauzzini a fee for his tuition, but *The Musical World* in 1854 also points out that 'quite unusually for a master [i.e. Rauzzini]' to give Braham a fee for every concert. This demonstrates that Rauzzini did not expect monetary gain from his student's success and was willing

to treat Braham in the same manner as any professional musician coming to sing at his Bath concerts. The only evident benefit Rauzzini took advantage of was that he was widely publicised as Braham's teacher, which would have considerably heightened his reputation as a vocal instructor.

Despite the lack of financial gain for Rauzzini, there is further evidence pointing towards a master-apprentice relationship, when examining the course of Braham's career. For example, Rauzzini provided Braham with several performance opportunities in his Bath concerts, which exposed him to the wider musical world. It was during one of these performances that Stephen Storace, who was now the composer at Drury Lane, heard Braham perform and engaged him for the theatre, making his début in Storace's opera *Mahmoud* in 1796. The Storace family had been great friends of Rauzzini for several years and it is strongly suggested by *The Monthly Mirror* in 1803 that Rauzzini had arranged for Stephen to attend the performance at Bath in order to hear Braham (1803a, p. 7).¹²¹ Therefore, Rauzzini was not only responsible for the development of Braham's voice, but facilitated the launch of his career.

Further to this, Braham's career strongly resembles Rauzzini's: for example, Braham performed in leading male roles in Italian opera at the King's Theatre from 1796 until his departure for the continent in 1797. As outlined in chapter two Rauzzini had performed in several leading male roles in Italian opera at the King's Theatre years earlier. Braham travelled across Europe (including France and Italy) performing as the leading male singer in major operatic theatres and he would become known as a great composer, with reviews stating that Braham 'was one of the

¹²¹ Stephen Storace had also taken part in Rauzzini's Bath concerts during the 1782-83 season, playing the organ during the Christmas Eve performance of Handel's *Messiah* in the Upper Rooms, Bath (Rice, 2015, p. 217).

most popular composers of the day' (Littell, 1856, p. 206). While periodicals note that Braham went to Italy for improvement, the only account of Braham having received tuition in Italy involved an Italian musician called Isola, but it was not to improve his singing but his composition skills (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 153).¹²² It is noted by *The Musical Times* that Braham was equally an accomplished vocalist and musician 'a rare spectacle at the commencement of the [nineteenth century]' and while it is possible that much of Braham's basic musical knowledge may have been established during his tuition with Leoni, his desire to improve and become a well-rounded musician and successful composer seems to emulate Rauzzini (1856, p. 204). Later in his career Braham would also unsuccessfully attempt to establish himself as a theatre manager, at St James's Theatre, which opened in 1836 (1856, p. 205). Despite, the failure of this venture, this too resembles Rauzzini, who was a successful concert manager in London and Bath.

¹²² Gaetano Isola, composer from Genoa who wrote for the theatre at Turin in 1791. Little more is known about his career (Sainsbury, 1827, p. 399).

Table 8: The similarities between Rauzzini and Braham's respective careers

Rauzzini's career	Braham's career
Was the resident primo uomo at the King's Theatre 1774-1777	Performed leading male roles in Italian opera at the King's theatre 1796-1797
Celebrated composer; was leading composer at the King's Theatre 1780-1786	Became one of the most popular composers of the day according to contemporary reviews.
Concert manager of the Hanover Square concert series (1778-1784) and the Bath concert series from 1781 until his death in 1810	Manager of St James's Theatre 1836

This is not unusual as there are a few other examples of master-apprentice relationships where the career of the student closely resembled their former master. Corri, who served his apprenticeship with Porpora, was known as a great vocal teacher and would also take steps to ensure his legacy as a vocal teacher by publishing the ambitious four-volume treatise *A Select Collection of the most Admired Songs* in 1779 and *The Singer's Preceptor* in 1810. Kelly similarly became a highly successful leading male singer in theatres across Italy, which resembles the career of his master Aprile. Therefore, despite the lack of formal monetary gain for Rauzzini, the care and tuition which Braham received, and the impact that Rauzzini had on Braham's career, resemble that of a master-apprentice model.

As discussed in chapter four, Nancy Storace, who received tuition from Rauzzini for three years, also closely fits into the master-apprentice model as described by Sands and Cudworth, where a child was given to a master for a period of time. From 1776 on Rauzzini organised Storace's appearances at the theatre and in festivals across the country. She is listed as having performed at festivals in Winchester and Hereford alongside Rauzzini, with no mention that Storace's family were in attendance. Therefore, it can be presumed that the young singer travelled under the care of her teacher. An eleven-year-old girl performing in far off locations across Britain without the guardianship of her parents was not an uncommon occurrence. At the age of eight, Storace's father had left her to perform at her first benefit concert in Mr Martin's Long Room in Southampton while he travelled to the Salisbury Festival, which was almost twenty-seven miles away. While this example may point to neglect on the part of Storace's father, it demonstrates that the family were not loath to leave their daughter in the care of others so that she could advance her career. Considering the level of involvement Rauzzini had on Storace's

performance appearances from 1776-77 this suggests a level of commitment on Rauzzini's part to ensure the success of his student. Yet, there is no suggestion that a proportion of Storace's earnings from these engagements were promised to Rauzzini. It is possible that Storace's parents had paid for her tuition with Rauzzini as they had sent her brother in 1775 to the Conservatorio di Sant' Onofrio in Naples in order to support his musical training and presumably they paid for his musical education.¹²³ As the conservatories in Naples during this period only accepted boys, Storace would not have had the same opportunity as her brother to develop her musical talents at such an institution. Stephen would have cultivated his talents in an immersive setting where the music teachers could observe his everyday practice, yet Storace would only have received a similar education through an apprenticeship. While there is yet to be discovered a formal agreement between Rauzzini and the Storace family, the evidence strongly points towards this kind of arrangement.

Quite unlike Billington and Mara who came to Rauzzini for 'continuous professional development' while engaged in a professional career, both Storace and Braham spent a significant period of time out of the public eye and away from public performance, at least when they first engaged in tuition with Rauzzini. As has been established, both Storace and Braham already understood the rudiments of musical theory and could play other instruments; therefore, the time spent away from the public eye was not in order to improve general musicianship. However, it does suggest that Rauzzini took great care in the formative years of their training, perhaps to establish new techniques and a training regime without the pressures of public

¹²³ V.E. Chancellor in his 1990 article on Nancy Storace suggests that she had paid for her family to visit her brother in Naples from her earnings performing in London, which calls into question how much money the family had and if they were indeed funding Stephen's education in Naples. However, tracing back the origins of the information, which comes from Michael Kelly's *Reminiscences* there is no evidence that the young Storace was the financer of the trip, suggesting Chancellor based his information on conjecture.

performance. What is also clear is the fact that Storace was a young female does not seem to have changed the performance opportunities Rauzzini obtained for her nor did it alter the teacher-student relationship as it closely resembles the relationship he had with Braham.

6.5 Mixed register singing: adopting the castrato aesthetic

John Potter in his 2010 book *Tenor: History of a Voice* discusses Braham and Rauzzini, and their tenor-castrato connection.¹²⁴ Within the chapter, Potter theorises that the technique of joining the registers, whereby the chest register is blended with the falsetto, thus allowing the tenor range to be greatly extended, came directly from the castrati and Braham is given as an example of a tenor who took full advantage of this technique (Potter, 2009, p. 35 & pp. 39-40). Simon Ravens in his 2014 book *The Supernatural Voice* makes a similar connection suggesting that Braham's technique 'harked back' to the previous century when castrati dominated the operatic stage (Ravens, 2014, p. 168). Ravens traces the technique, which he describes as 'incorporating falsetto into the technique of model-voiced singing' to the castrato Tosi, noting that he was the first author to state explicitly that the technique should be practised and perfected, though Ravens does highlight it may have had earlier origins and was not necessarily solely developed by the castrati (Ravens, 2014, p. 106).

However, both studies specifically examine male voices and do not draw attention to the possibility that the technique was utilised by female singers, despite the fact that many women throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were trained by castrati. In fact, an examination of several early nineteenth-century

¹²⁴ This chapter had previously appeared as an article entitled 'The Tenor Castrato Connection (1760-1860)' (Potter, 2007).

treatises highlights that blending the registers was a fundamental technique expected of all voices. Arnold in his 1830 treatise states:

One of the greatest difficulties which bass and tenor voices have to surmount, is the blending of the falsetto with the natural voice. Good singers can join the two voices so artfully together, that it is almost impossible for their hearers to distinguish the difference (Arnold, 1830, p. 7).

While it may seem that Arnold is directing this instruction only to tenors and basses, the passage could be read that unlike altos and sopranos who can blend the registers more easily, tenor and bass voices often found it difficult. Tipper in his 1840 treatise, marketed to both male and female singers, states that one of the 'rules to be observed in singing' is 'to join imperceptibly the feigned with the natural voice' and he does not specify that this is a rule directed to one particular voice type (Tipper, 1840, p. 64).

Andrea Costa in his 1838 treatise *Analytical Considerations on the Art of Singing* states more explicitly than Tipper and Arnold that he expected both male and female voices to be able to blend the registers:¹²⁵

Bassos and baritones have not this difficulty as they sing always in one register. Sopranos who have the flute voice encounter but little obstacle in the union; but many tenors from this case are obliged to practise for years and sometimes without effect. Contraltos likewise who have the silvery character of voice experience much difficulty at this point. In short, no one who cannot blend the two voices can ever sing pleasingly as there always appears in the contact of the registers an inequality and breaking which is highly offensive to the ear (Costa, 1838, part II, p. 25).

Costa observed that tenors frequently found blending of the registers a difficult task, which required careful and constant practice over a considerable period of time. The castrato Pergetti in his 1845 treatise also notes that tenor and bass voices 'must be subjected to severe study' (Pergetti, 1845, p. 3). The fact that contemporary treatises

¹²⁵ Michele Andrea Agniello Costa better known as Sir Michael (Andrew Agnus) Costa (1808-1884) was an Italian born musician, who later immigrated to England and became a successful composer and conductor. He became director and conductor of Italian opera at the King's Theatre in 1833. In 1846, he resigned his position and founded the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden (Dibble).

consistently draw attention to tenor and basses requiring longer and more careful courses of study in order to master the technique of blending the registers has created the assumption it was of more importance for these male voice types to master the technique than their female colleagues. But in actuality, treatises draw less attention to the mastery of this technique by sopranos and altos simply because these voice types could blend the registers with more ease. This strongly supports the idea that the legacy of the castrato technique is not just visible in voices of tenors but in all voice types.

Some treatises did use the female voice as a case study in order to describe how the technique could be taught. This is the case in William Newton's 1861 treatise in which he has a section entitled 'the art of assimilating one register of the female voice with another'. He goes into great anatomical detail about how a female singer can blend each register with the next, and the feeling one may experience in doing this. In addition, he draws attention to the sounds of a voice which has not successfully blended the registers stating that there could be a 'crackling interruption, hiccup or cough with unevenness of voice'. Below this lengthy explanation which directly refers to female voices, there is a short section entitled male voices, which simply refers the reader back to the previous section as to the description of how to blend the registers, and provides suggestions of the typical notes upon which the male voice may experience a break. Newton does note that tenor voices are 'hard and stiff' and implies that the same advice as in the other treatises – that tenors would require more intensive training in order to successfully blend the chest with the falsetto register (Newton, 1861, p. 16). By using the female voice as the case study in order to describe the technique, this treatise directly points to the fact that blending the registers was of equal importance to both male and female voices. For this reason,

when a tenor singer was able to successfully demonstrate his mastery of this technique he was highly publicly praised. Braham from his first public performances after receiving his training with Rauzzini continually received reviews which discussed his successful ability to extend the compass of his voice by blending his chest and falsetto and critics would continue to discuss Braham's mastery of this throughout his career (1796b; Clarke, 1832-34, p. 301).¹²⁶ Several of Rauzzini's female students would also appear to have mastered the technique of blending the registers in order to extend their vocal compass. Billington, as pointed out in chapter five, was praised throughout her career for the extent of her vocal range, one review in particular stating that Billington would frequently 'run up a staccato division with such ease to A in alt' (1789f, p. 3). While 'A in alt' (A5) does not seem particularly high for a modern soprano, who is encouraged to use her head voice across the extent of the vocal range, the fact that this review draws attention to Billington's skill in being able to successfully bridge her register gap without obvious signs of a vocal break, is a clear indication that she particularly skilled in this area. According to a singing treatise written by Mariano Rodríguez de Ledesma in 1830 to master the skill of blending the registers was of utmost importance to all professional singers as it was 'considered a sign of cultivated voice' (Rodríguez de Ledesma, 1830, p. 8). Therefore, being able to demonstrate a successful blending of the registers was a clear sign that a singer had engaged in formal training in order to cultivate their vocal technique.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ In 1818, *The Musical Quarterly* set up an experiment to test Braham's skill in transition from his chest to his falsetto register. They found Braham to be so skilled in this venture that it was 'imperceptible to the ear' where falsetto began and chest voice ended (Potter, 2009, p. 35).

¹²⁷ Mariano Rodríguez de Ledesma (1779-1847) was originally from Spain but in 1811 moved to London, where he became so successful as a singing teacher that he was made an honorary member of the Philharmonic Society. He was the singing-master of Princess Charlotte and later in his career after returning to Spain was singing-master to the Princess Luisa Carlota (López-Caló).

It was noted earlier in this chapter, that Corfe in his 1799 treatise designated specific aria genres to each of the four vocal categories, with a particular emphasis on the soprano and tenor, which according to Corfe were able to sing both the pathetic and the bravura. The bravura arias typically were written with an extensive vocal range, showing off the height of the voice. In examples of bravura arias given in chapter five, the vocal range can span up to two octaves within one aria. This is the case in the aria ‘The Soldier Tir’d’, especially when Billington added in her elaborate cadenzas, which were published in her *Memoirs*. The range of these arias crosses a soprano’s register break (typically between E5 and G5 for modern sopranos), and yet in reviews of Billington, Mara and Mountain performance of bravura arias there is no mention of shift in register at the top or bottom of the voice. Taking into account what was highlighted in vocal treatises about the female voice, it is likely that bravura arias were expected to utilise an even register shift, where the break was disguised.

Pathetic arias, on the other hand, did not typically span such a wide vocal range. The song ‘The Village Maid’ composed by Rauzzini for Ann Cantelo and sung at the Bath concerts, for the most part only spans an octave range and sits in the middle of the soprano register.

Larghetto

Silent I tread this lone ly wood
Si lent I
shed the pi - teous tear No hope to chear my
droop - ing foul Be reft of him I hold most
dear Be reft of him I hold most dear
Still do I seek these drea ry shades a love lorn maid the vil lage scorn
Since Hen ry won my pl igh ted faith Then left me
here to sigh for lorn then left me here to sigh for - lorn.

Mus. Ex. 25: An example of limited range in a pathetic song: 'The Village Maid' composed by Venanzio Rauzzini and sung by Ann Cantelo. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Harding Mus. G. 348 (8)) (Rauzzini et al., 1788).

The same can be said of the song 'Crazy Jane', which was sung by Mountain in Rauzzini's Bath concerts. There are a few octave leaps in 'Crazy Jane', in which Mountain could have chosen a different colour by utilising a change of register such as between the words 'vain' and 'not' in bar 21 or between 'poor' and 'crazy' in bar 26.

Largo expressivo

The musical score consists of three staves of music for voice and piano. The top staff shows the vocal line with lyrics. The middle staff shows the piano accompaniment with dynamic markings like **f** and **p**. The bottom staff continues the piano accompaniment. The lyrics are as follows:

Why fair Maid in ev' - ry fea ture, are such signs of fear ex - pres'd? Can a
 wand' - ring wretch-ed Crea ture with such ter - ror fill thy Breast? Do myphren zied looks a -
 larm thee? trust mesweet, thy fears are vain, not for king - doms would I harm thee, shun not
 then poor CRA ZY JANE, poor CRA ZY JANE, poor CRA ZY JANE, not for king - doms would I
 harm thee, shun not then poor CRA ZY JANE.

Ad libitum (ad lib):

tempo

Mus. Ex. 26: A further example of the small vocal range in a pathetic song. 'Crazy Jane' composed by John Davy and sung by Rosemond Mountain at the Bath Concerts. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, (Mus. Voc. I, 17 (21)) (Davy et al., 1799).

However, it is never discussed by critics whether Mountain, Billington or Mara displayed distinct register changes when performing pathetic songs. In fact, as was noted in chapter five, Mara was criticised for an unevenness of tone in her lower register when performing a pathetic English air, a clear indication that female sopranos were expected to demonstrate an even register including transitions across their vocal range, no matter what the genre of song or aria (1785a, p. 2).

However, Robert Toft in his 2014 book *Bel Canto* suggests that late eighteenth-century singers sang ‘in whatever register suited the sentiment’ of the words and did not always demonstrate the technique of blending the registers. This is in contrast to Potter and Ravens who quote contemporary reviews which praise Braham for his skill in effectively blending the registers. Toft highlights that Braham was equally skilled in utilising the characters of his different registers with regard to the rhetoric. Toft quotes an 1837 review of Braham’s performance ‘In splendour bright’ from Haydn’s *Creation*, which describes how Braham would ‘fling his voice up a sixth’ on the word ‘dart’ in his ‘natural’ register, but later would pitch the same note on the word ‘dart’ in his ‘feigned voice’ creating a completely different effect (Toft, 2013, p. 90). However, during Braham’s public début year, 1796, he was frequently criticised for lack of expression in his vocal performance:

The young tenor, Braham maintained the reputation which he acquired by his former performance. Let him by diligently study those thrilling sounds, which passion and feeling alone can give and in which the mere practical musician is so often deficient, and he bids high to be the first of tenor singers (1796c, p. 4).

This critic does state that Braham was required to ornament more effectively in order to achieve more passion and feelings rather than he should study ‘thrilling’ sounds, which points specifically to a change of voice. This suggests that Braham had not as yet developed the skills to utilise his different registers to affect the rhetoric of the

words. Further to this, the following year Braham was criticised for displaying his 'power of transition [...] ostentatiously' when performing works considered to be 'solemn and sublime', that is Handel oratorios (1797a, p. 2). There is a distinct difference in the criticism of Braham, and Mara; he in his early career cultivated an even register and then was criticised for a lack of expression, only to move into a style of singing that utilised the different register characters to expand his sound palette; she, on the other hand, was condemned for displaying an unevenness in her registers. It would seem that male tenors and female sopranos were judged by different standards and this can be attributed to the dominance of the castrato soprano earlier in the century, who had already established an expectation that soprano voices should display an evenness of tone throughout the vocal register.

Braham was given the opportunity to perform as the leading man in Italian opera at the King's Theatre in 1796 and received the following reviews:

As a singer [Braham] has infinite merit as his powers are much better calculated for the Italian Opera than the English stage (1796d, p. 2).

Mr Braham was the novelty of the evening, and the repeated plaudits which attended his execution of the airs in the part of Azor, shewed that a British audience on such an occasion could easily dispense with the fascination of that degrading luxury, a Soprano. Braham's singing is certainly in the first rank of taste and science' (1796f, p. 3).

However, early in his début year when he was performing in English opera most critics noted that he was an excellent singer, but that he lacked expression and feeling in his voice; however, his move to the King's Theatre, the home of Italian opera, meant that these criticisms were eradicated. Braham was rising to fame on the operatic stage during the period when the castrato was in decline and it would seem that, quite unexpectedly for a British singer, Braham's vocal skill matched that of the castrati, thereby allowing him to forge a link between the castrato and the tenor. It was not only in Britain that Braham received praise for his performance in Italian

opera; he was equally praised during his Italian tour. During his visit the Italian singer Giacomo David was asked who was the best tenor in Italy, only to reply ‘next to me, the Englishman’ (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 153).¹²⁸

From analysis of Braham’s early career, the style of music composed for the English stage was not suited to him, yet he was excelled at performing in Italian opera. This was partly due to the fact that Braham had a flexible voice, something that he had maintained from his youth:

[Braham] sang ‘The Soldier Tir’d of Wars Alarms’ most enchantingly: the audience who were numerous and truly respectable, expressed utmost satisfaction. Mr Braham from the brilliancy of his manner, the melody of his tones, and his distinct articulation, promises to be a favourite of the public (1787m).

Braham is somewhat unusual compared to Rauzzini’s other students who have been analysed in this study, as he was said to have been lacking in vocal expression, an area to which Rauzzini had specifically encouraged development. Even more unusual was that while Braham was acclaimed for his execution of bravura arias, in Britain, he was criticised for being ‘too luxuriant’ (1796b). Rauzzini in his treatise condemned ostentatious vocal display of ornamentation, yet in *The Memoirs of John Braham* this is stated as exactly Braham’s weakness, though the *Memoirs* do go onto say the ‘fault has long since been corrected’ (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 158). Braham’s natural aptitude for performing bravura arias may have influenced Rauzzini to continue developing him in this area,¹²⁹ but it resulted in the tenor being criticised in three main areas when performing English repertoire: a lack of expression with regard to

¹²⁸ Giacomo David (born Giacomo Davide, Presezzo, (1750-1830), was a leading Italian tenor of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

¹²⁹ *The Memoirs of John Braham* state that he performed a bravura aria in Italy, which was specifically composed for him by Rauzzini (Oxberry and Oxberry, .p. 153).

rhetoric; displaying the technique of blending the registers inappropriately in the sacred genre; and being far too luxuriant with regard to ornamentation.

In Rauzzini's early teaching career, there is no evidence that students such as Schindlerin or Storace were ostentatious in terms of ornamentation or skilled in the bravura genre. When Mountain came to Rauzzini she was in the process of adopting a more Italianate style of singing, but throughout her career was known as a characteristically English singer. She incorporated bravura arias into her repertoire and was praised for adopting 'Italian graces' (1799b, p. 1). Though she continued to be praised for her vocal expression, her new Italianate sound is what furthered her career. The public, however, did not seem as accepting of Braham when he sang with English repertoire with an Italian sound.

It is possible that Braham was responsible for performing in a style unsuited to the English taste, but it is equally possible that Rauzzini had trained Braham in an Italian style of singing, not seen as acceptable on the English stage. In order to understand this, it is necessary to examine another of Rauzzini's male students who was strongly associated with the English school of singing: Charles Incledon (1763-1826).

Incledon as young boy was apprenticed to the composer William Jackson and sang at Exeter Cathedral before joining the navy, where he served until 1783 (Cunningham, 1837, p. 306). Having received letters of recommendation from several high ranking naval officers regarding his vocal talent, Incledon joined Collins's company in Southampton, where he remained for twelve months before being invited to perform in Bath.¹³⁰ There is a note in the Bath Chronicle that lists Incledon as having arrived in Bath on 15 December 1784, though there is no review or

¹³⁰ A theatre company run by Messrs. Collins and Davies.

advertisement stating that he was to perform in a concert (1784f, p. 2). The first evidence of Incledon singing in Bath dates from 1786, where one review states that he had already received vocal instruction from Rauzzini (1786j, p. 1). It is possible that Incledon came to Bath specifically for tuition from Rauzzini, who later introduced Incledon to his concerts, though a number of biographies discussing Incledon's vocal career all state that Rauzzini invited Incledon to have singing lessons with him after hearing him perform at a Bath concert in 1784 (1826, p. 119; 1833b, p. 211; Polwhele, 1831, p. 62). Incledon was engaged as the leading man for three years at Convent Garden theatre from 1790 (1789d, p. 3), but quite unlike Braham, Incledon was often described as the first tenor of the 'English school' and one such review provides insight as to why Incledon was strongly associated with this style of singing (1790d, p. 1; 1791a, p. 2; 1833b, p. 211):

Incledon is a capital English singer, possessing a tenor voice, powerfully musical, clear, and extensive. He has not been spoilt by the modern fashion, or rather folly of imitating Italian cadences, and refining upon sounds, till all sense of meaning is destroyed (1790c).

The review points out two main differences between the two styles: the first being ornamentation particularly in cadences. It has already been established in chapter four that the English style favoured a simple melodic line, while the Italian style made much more use of luxuriant ornamentation. Secondly, the review points out that there is a difference in the sound between the two styles. The sound in the Italian style is standardised, as it were, to the point where it was encouraged that unevenness of tone should be eliminated. However, this could prove problematic when it came to the clarity and expression of the words, which was of fundamental importance to English critics. In this respect that Mountain excelled in the English style. Charles Dibdin, who was Mountain's first vocal teacher, stated that this was a result of his training:

The three last [Miss Decamp, Mrs Mountain and Mrs Bland] are deservedly favourites as singers, merely because I took care they should be taught nothing more than correctness, expression, and an unaffected pronunciation of the words; the infallible and only way to perfect a singer (Dibdin, 1803, p. 113).

He further elaborates in a footnote as to what he taught these women:

Those who get at the force and meaning of the words, and pronounce them as they sing with the same sensibility and expression, as it would require in speaking, possess as an accomplishment in singing beyond what all the art in the world cannot convey, and such, even when they venture upon cantabile and cadences, will have better [...] [and] more natural execution than those who fancy they have reached perfection in singing, by stretching and torturing their voices into mere instruments (Dibdin, 1803, pp. 113-114).

Dibdin makes it clear that it was important to stress the correct accent within a word and using the grammar to express the sentence structure so that it made the same sense in singing as it did when spoken. The melodic line sung legato and without nuance of musical accent would tend to flatten the grammatical structure of the sentence, and place accentuation of the words in the wrong place. It was the responsibility of the singer to use their knowledge of poetic expression along with dynamics, the *messa di voce*, musical accents and graces such as the appoggiatura to express the lyrics with the correct meaning. With an emphasis on the text to influence the vocal performance, Dibdin believed that the singer was less likely to use ornamentation as a method of unnecessary technical demonstration, but rather would use embellishments that were closely connected to the rhetorical expression. In this respect, a change of register could be utilised to inject additional meaning into the words.

While the bravura arias that Rauzzini is said to have specifically composed for Braham are yet to be discovered, Rauzzini did compose several English songs for Braham to perform. Rauzzini also composed English songs for Incledon; therefore it is

necessary to compare the songs composed for these two singers, to determine whether Rauzzini's songs for Braham were more Italian than English.

Rauzzini composed the cantata *Old Oliver* for Braham in 1795 and it was performed at the Bath concerts in the same year. The aria from this piece, though it does contain some florid passages, is not especially laden with ornamentation. However, only one of the six verses has been notated, so it is difficult to gain an accurate impression of all the ornamentation Braham may have inserted into the aria during his performance.

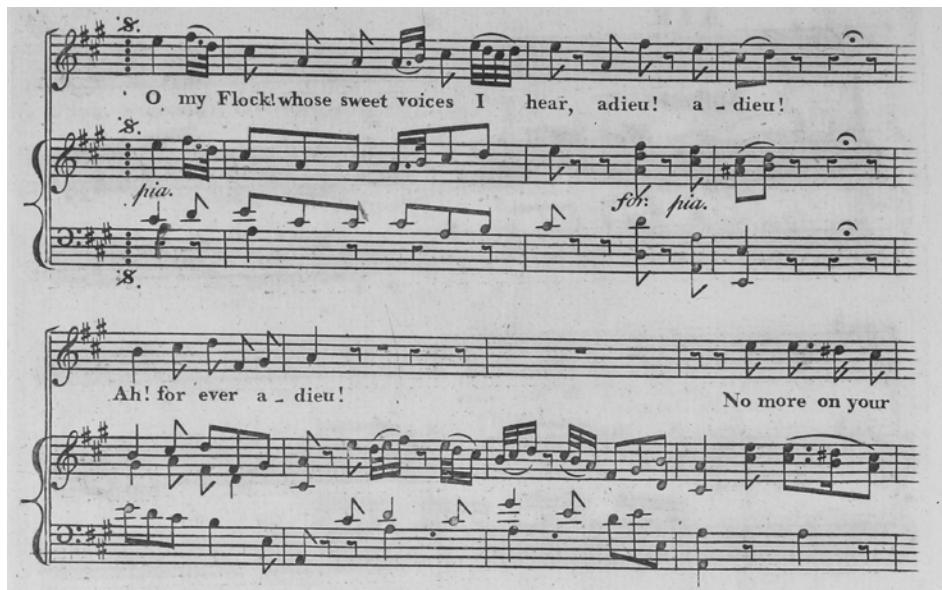


Figure 23: Floridity in the opening of the aria 'O My Flock!' from *Old Oliver* as sung by John Braham. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Harding Mus. G. 348 (8)) (Rauzzini et al., 1796, p. 4).¹³¹

¹³¹ An early printed edition of the score is at appendix B.13.

Examination of the recitative reveals an oddity: in bar 14, there are two sets of notes an octave apart on the vocal line, with the instrumental line doubling the passage. There are no further performance instructions; there is no indication that either octave is optional and it is clear that the cantata is performed by a soloist only.

a tempo

door, That seem'd to mourn the his absence from their vale.

Mus. Ex. 27: Octave Passage in *Old Oliver* as sung by John Braham. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Harding Mus. G. 348 (8)) (Rauzzini et al., 1796, p. 2).

This type of notation appears again in another aria, composed by Braham himself in around 1812 entitled 'Is there a heart that never love'd' (henceforth, 'Is there a heart'), only this time the notes, which are an octave above have been directly added to the manuscript.

so - li - ta - ry cell

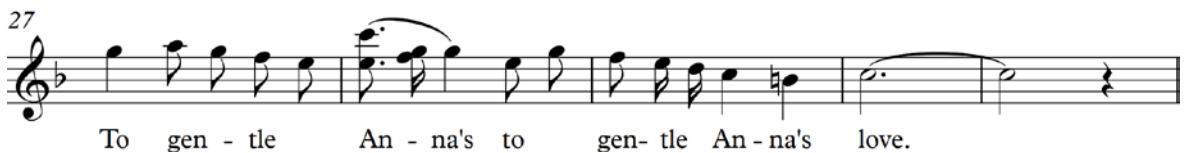
Mus. Ex. 28: Octave Passage in the song 'Is there a heart' composed and sung by John Braham. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the Loeb Music Library, Harvard University, (Hollis #: 007469525) (Braham, 1798, p. 2).¹³²

The words which appear in both these passages are very similar in their expression. For example, the passage in *Old Oliver* reads: 'that seem'd to mourn his absence', while the passage from 'Is there a heart' reads 'solitary cell'. Both lyric lines address a similar emotion, melancholy, yet they are not conventionally ornamented, for example with an appoggiatura. However, the additional notes written an octave above do appear to be indicating an ornament of some kind, a change in colour during this musical moment, indicative of the register jumps, which Braham would become

¹³² A facsimile of the manuscript is at appendix B.14.

highly skilled in performing later in his career. The notes sounding an octave above possibly suggest a register switch to falsetto, to lighten these melancholy passages and in addition switching to falsetto would musically paint the character; in *Old Oliver*, the character is described in a later lyric line as 'feeble', while the character in 'Is there a heart' is a victim of love.

Songs sung by Braham are not the only examples of these kinds of passages appearing. In the song 'Gentle Anna's Love' as composed by Rauzzini for Incledon in 1790, there are similar instances of an additionally higher note, but again there is no indication as to which note is optional. Both of these examples appear on the lyric passage 'gentle Anna', where a jump to the falsetto register would musically illustrate the gentleness of Anna's character.



Mus. Ex. 29: Example of octave in 'Gentle Anna's Love' composed by Rauzzini as sung by Charles Incledon. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of The British Library, London, (Music Collections G.355.d.(2.)) (Rauzzini et al., 1790, p. 2).¹³³

Within these three examples, this notated register jumps only occurs once or twice throughout the whole song, suggesting that in a similar manner as an ornament, the technique was reserved for particularly expressive moments. However, it is also possible that Braham and Incledon would improvise register jumps during their performance, which have not been captured in the score notation. The fact that this type of writing appears in songs composed for Braham and Incledon, suggests that Rauzzini had encouraged both students to use the characteristics of their different registers when performing English songs.

¹³³ An early printed edition of the score is at appendix B.15.

While *Old Oliver* is not particularly filled with florid ornamentation indicative of the Italian style, examination of English songs written by Braham himself throughout his career demonstrates an amalgamation of the Italian and English style. For example, in the song 'Maria' composed and performed by Braham in the opera *Family Quarrels* in 1802 there are many more bravura passages, which would effectively demonstrate his ability to blend his registers. However, Braham during this period received criticism for 'Italianising simple [English] songs' after having returned from his Italian tour, so 'Maria' from the *Family Quarrels* was not particularly suited to English tastes (Oxberry and Oxberry, 1825, p. 155).

Allegretto

Tho born in fas - hions gay est sphere, to

scan dal o'er her tea Ma ri a n'er in -

lined an ear for ve ry deaf was she for

tr ve - - - - - ry deaf was she For beau ty to be hold a

turn flaw she was not so much un kind A riv als

fol - lies sel - dom saw for she was near ly blind a

ri - vals fol - lies sel - dim saw for she was

near ly blind for she was near ly blind

For she was near ly blind.

Mus. Ex. 30: 'Maria' from *Family Quarrels* composed by John Braham. Original spelling and punctuation as in score. Courtesy of the Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (MS1981.4) (Braham, 1802).¹³⁴

¹³⁴ A facsimile of the manuscript is at appendix B.16.

This aria is very similar in style to 'By him we love offended' composed by Rauzzini for Billington. The opening of 'Maria' allows the simple melody to flow, uninterrupted by ornamentation, but as the song progresses, bravura passages punctuate the melody, which would allow Braham to demonstrate his vocal flexibility. The idea of the tenor including florid passages and combining this with a more homogenised sound, gained more popularity during the nineteenth century than the use of the registers to colour the rhetoric. In 1817 Leigh Hunt stated;

Pearman's falsetto will remind the public of Incledon's, which it surpasses in reach and sweetness. He plays up it like a flute. His transition to it however, from the natural voice is not happy. It is not indeed so violent as Incledon's who in his leap from one to the other slammed the larynx in his throat, like a Harlequin jumping through a window shutter; but it is poor and unskilful; neither does he seem to care upon what sort of words or expression he does it, so as the note is such as he can jump to it (Fenner, 1972, p. 95).

While Hunt does not criticise the use of the falsetto register in ornamenting particular lyrics, he criticised Incledon for jumping into the register without a seamless transition. Similarly, he indicates that Incledon overused the technique without linking it to the sentiment of the passage. Though Incledon during his performing years was praised by critics for maintaining a national vocal sound, where the rhetoric was coloured by the use of his registers, Hunt found this style of singing to be 'unskilful'.

While Incledon is remembered by Hunt for the use of his different registers, after receiving instruction from Rauzzini in from 1784-1786 he would appear to have developed a more homogenised sound similar to that of Braham.

Mr Incledon's voice is a high tenor, with an extraordinary compass. His management of it is extremely dexterous, for the *natural* and the *falsetto* notes are blended with unusual skill (1790c).

Likewise, in 1791, Incledon was noted for performing 'divisions with great evenness of tone', with no indication that he had utilised his register jumps in this particular

concert (1791a, p. 8). This provides more evidence that while Rauzzini may have been aware that maintaining the character of the registers was considered truer when performing in the English style, he was focussed on cultivating a more Italianate blended tone. In fact an anecdote reveals that while Rauzzini may have trained a great number of English singers, and advocated that all singers should develop their own individual style, he was not as supportive of the English style of singing itself:

Rauzzini had a great contempt for English singing; he had never heard any, he said, which did not puzzle him to determine which was worst, the tone or the taste. On the night of Incledon's debut, at Bath, it was with some difficulty; therefore, he could be prevailed upon to attend. He accompanied Doctor Harington's party, but rather by compulsion than persuasion; and, on entering the box, turned his back to the stage, as was his invariable custom on such occasions. Before Incledon had got through three bars of his first song, (as Edwin in *Robin Hood*) Rauzzini began to listen; three more turned him round, another six convinced him, and, at the conclusion of the verse, he joined loudly in the applause. When the opera was over he went behind the scenes, took Incledon by the hand, and said, "Sare, I tank you for ze pleasure you af give me; you vas de fus Ingleesh singer I have hear, vat can sing; Sare, you af got a voice – you af got a voice." Charles, at the conclusion of a favourite ballad, one evening, made a beautiful run, in that way which was altogether his own, rolling his voice grandly up like a surge of the sea, till touching the top not, it gushed away in sweetness. "Coot Cot!" cried Rauzzini, looking up, "It vas vare lucky dere vas some roof dere, or dat feller would be hear by de aishel in hev'n." – When he sang at Vauxhall, perhaps the reader will say, this obstacle did not exist (Polwhele, 1831, p. 62).

Though it is clear from this passage that Rauzzini disliked English singing, he was drawn to Incledon and this is possible because Incledon's voice already displayed the potential to be trained in the Italian style. During this performance Incledon performed runs in a such a way that revealed his individual vocal qualities, something which Rauzzini continually promoted, but this passage also suggests that the run was sweet and smooth like 'the surge of the sea', perhaps suggesting that Incledon was already able to demonstrate an evenness to his tone when singing divisions.

Incedon came to Rauzzini for tuition after having already performed as a singer in an English company and while his tone and vocal technique were refined by Rauzzini's instruction, he continued to maintain his own vocal style, which was considered by many British critics as quintessentially English. Braham, on the other hand, came to Rauzzini as a young tenor who had only recently managed to regain his vocal powers —a blank slate in many ways. He is, therefore, much more representative as a product of Rauzzini's instruction. In much the same way as many of Rauzzini's famed female sopranos, Storace, Billington and Mara, Braham's instruction allowed him to become perfectly suited to performing Italian opera both in Britain and on the continent and it is clear that his ability to do so was due to Rauzzini's teachings. Yet Braham would not continue to be known as the British tenor who performed on the Italian stage, rather he became known as 'a master of every style', who was equally skilled at performing on both stages (1833b, p. 189).

However, this statement is not quite true, as *The Quarterly Musical Magazine* reveals;

It is by such continual confirmation that erroneous expression in articulation and in tone more especially, first probably engendered by the commixture of the styles of the English and Italian stages [...] has been from day to day repeated, till the singer himself has become entirely unconscious of the deviation, wide as it now is from the original comparative purity and beauty of his execution. If anything can open his eyes, it must be found in the examination of his defects at second hand. He can be at no loss, for examples since the whole kingdom resounds with the strains of his imitators (Bacon, 1818, p. 94).

Here the reviewer highlights Braham's articulation as problematic as it embodied both the Italian and the English style. It has already been discussed in chapter five that the Italian castrato treatises encouraged legato singing, but it would seem that Braham, in terms of articulation, did not distinguish between the English and Italian style in his singing. Examples of both Billington and Braham's songs were praised for perfectly combining the best of the two styles into one song or aria; however, certainly at the time Billington sang 'By him we love offended' the style was described

as an original style of composition. This fusion, Braham continued to perform and promote throughout his career until he was known as the sole originator. Though, as has been shown, this was not at all the case as Billington, Incledon, Mountain and Mara all mixed the Italian and English styles together in their singing revealing the original inventor of this style to be Rauzzini.

6.6 Conclusion

Though Rauzzini may have preferred the Italianate sound he was aware of the difference between the Italian and English styles of singing. Braham may have been criticised early in his career for a lack of vocal expression, but the knowledge he obtained throughout his career regarding the English style of singing, which included the use of the registers to colour the rhetoric of the words, allowed him to effectively fused the two, thereby creating his own individualised character, which Rauzzini greatly encouraged. It should be noted that Billington, Mara and Storace all performed with success on both the Italian and English stages and though they are not remembered for their stylistic fusion, they facilitated its popularity. The fact that these women are not acknowledged as contributing to this stylistic development is not because they received fewer opportunities or different vocal tuition from Rauzzini, as the progress and success of these women's careers in comparison to Incledon and Braham are remarkably similar.

Yet it would seem that there were different expectations of vocal sound for female sopranos and male tenors in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Female sopranos were expected to exhibit smooth transitions in register and were accepted and praised for adopting the Italian influence on their singing, even when performing English repertoire. Braham, on the other hand, received negative criticism for adopting an Italian style when performing on the English stage and while this did not

discourage him from utilising his Italianate sound it highlights a period of changing fashion with regards to vocal technique. By the mid-nineteenth century, it was more fashionable for all voice types to disguise register breaks and have a more homogenised sound throughout the vocal range.

The close relationship Braham and Rauzzini shared encouraged Braham the tenor to mimic the career of his master, as not only a successful international leading male singer, but also a successful composer. His success as a singer gave him a platform to perform his own compositions where he was able to effectively demonstrate the fusion of the Italian and English style.

Chapter 7 Conclusion: 'The Father of a New Style in English Singing'

In this career he has become the father of a new style in English singing, and a new race of singers, who have naturalized, to an English ear, the florid song and ornamented style of the Italians. His pupils in this class are Madame Mara, Mrs Billington, and Mr Braham, whose fame is not confined to this country, and the two former of whom, for science, taste, and execution, are, perhaps, not excelled by any vocal artists of the present age. Signora Storace and Incledon are also pupils of the same master, each possessing a peculiar style of excellence: and lastly he has afforded, in the example of Mrs Mountain, a proof of the great advantage of scientific instruction superadded to natural endowments. What Mrs Mountain was, before she went to Bath, the frequenters of Covent-Garden theatre well know: what the same enchanting creature became in *Artaxerxes*, when she returned and sang with Mrs Billington, was soon felt, but could not have been anticipated. She was like the wild and simple beauty of the woods trained at last to agility and grace by the correcting hand of education (1807, p. 232).

This quotation is taken from an article written only three years prior to Rauzzini's death and it epitomises his career as a vocal teacher. All of the students mentioned successfully established themselves as unique, individual singers in their line of vocal performance. It is for this reason they have been used as case studies to explore the developments of Rauzzini's teaching practice during the thirty-six years he spent in Britain. While individuality of vocal style and the creation of a customised programme of vocal tuition for each student appeared central to Rauzzini's teaching philosophy, in reality the vocal styles of all his students were similar and reveal them to be cultivated by the one vocal teacher. More than that, Rauzzini utilised the same three main strategies in order to ensure the success of his aspiring professional students; using contacts and influence to gain performance opportunities for his students, encouraging singers to develop a style of singing suited to their individual vocal abilities and teaching techniques, which were distinctive of the castrato aesthetic.

7.1 Using contacts and influence to gain performance opportunities for others

At each stage of his career, Rauzzini used his professional contacts and influence as a singer of note to ensure that his students were given the opportunity to perform publicly. This is evident even in his first venture on the London operatic stage, when he insisted that his student Caterina Schindlerin was cast as his female lead. However, exposure was not enough to ensure Schindlerin's success on the London stage and, although Rauzzini had the influence to ensure she was cast, he did not have the power to keep her as the prima donna at the King's Theatre. He was naïve to think that he had the power to keep her on stage, and he also did not train her to sing in a style that was sufficiently popular. Rauzzini continued to utilise his professional pull in concerts and the theatre to publicly launch the career of his students, but he became much more careful in his strategy taking the time to build the image of each student slowly rather than launching them into a leading role on a major performance platform.

Nancy Storace exemplifies Rauzzini's development as a vocal teacher and also his growing understanding of complex social world of music in Britain. After a lengthy course of tuition, when Storace did not perform publicly at all, she débuted in a minor role in Rauzzini's opera *L'Ali D'Amore* at the King's Theatre. Though this may appear to be the same strategy that Rauzzini applied with Schindlerin, he was careful to ensure that Storace did not have the same pressures of performing in a major leading role on the operatic stage. Storace continued to build her performance experience and exposure through engagements in which she sang alongside Rauzzini, and it was in these engagements, that she was introduced to different musical genres outside the operatic theatre. In many ways, it can be argued that due to Storace's youth, Rauzzini was forced to ration her public exposure to ensure that he did not overwork her young, developing voice, but this in turn rendered the castrato more aware of the

various performance platforms available to his students, ones that he could exploit outside the operatic theatre. Storace was the last student of Rauzzini's to début publicly on the stage. The remainder of Rauzzini's students received their performance débuts in what can be argued was a safer environment.

Rauzzini successfully developed the Bath concert series, which was exceptionally popular during the months when the theatre was closed. These concerts brought together highly experienced musicians, who had already established their careers, as well as younger developing artists. In the Bath concert series, where professional and amateur singers were all given the chance to perform, the environment allowed the aspiring professional to gain performance experience and also gave Rauzzini the option to invite important guests from the music business who could potentially launch a singer's career. John Braham is a prime example of this, as discussed in chapter six, as well as Rosemond Mountain and Charles Incledon who despite having already having performed as a professional singers in English opera, re-launched their careers via Rauzzini's concert series, and become two of the most sought after vocalists for English opera, oratorios and concerts of English art song.

Even for those students who had already established themselves as leading performers in the opera house. Rauzzini gave opportunities for such students to exhibit new sides to their singing, as exemplified by Gertrude Mara, for whom he composed his Requiem, and Elizabeth Billington, who was one of the first to popularise a fusion of the simple, but expressive pathetic English melody with the virtuosic Italian bravura. However, associations with these star prime donne were not a one-sided affair, as Rauzzini benefitted from his relationship with these two sopranos, who secured his position as the 'go to' castrato for vocal tuition. Though he certainly capitalised in terms of reputation on the success of each of these students,

there is little evidence that he gained financially, and it is for this reason that he stands apart from many vocal teachers during this period. His generosity was also highlighted by *The Monthly Mirror*, which stated:

Rauzzini is, however, now advanced in years, possesses a most even temper, is engaging and polite in his manners, sensible and entertaining in conversation, kind of heart, charitable in his feelings, and generous with his purse (1807, p. 233).

The evidence suggests that Rauzzini's character was exactly as this quotation suggests. Where possible he offered performance opportunities for his students and gave them a fee, just as he would for any professional artist coming to perform. In the case of Braham, who could not afford lessons with the castrato, he provided financial support. With these acts of kindness he gained the respect of his students and a reputation in society, which established him as a teacher of worth.

7.2 The dominance of the female soprano: embodying the castrato aesthetic

The majority of the professional students Rauzzini trained were female sopranos, and while this may not appear unusual in itself, the praise that his female students received as well as the number who were particularly successful on both the British and continental stages, is significant.¹³⁵

What a pity not to say a disgrace it is that there is not one good male musician in the vocal line, either Drury Lane or Covent Garden Theatres, that really understand music; while we can enumerate a great many females, that either are or have lately been on our stage that are mistresses of music viz. Madam Mara, Mrs Billington, Signora Storace, Miss Poole, Mrs Dussek [and] Miss Parke (1795, p. 176).

All of the students mentioned in this quotation except for Sophia Dussek were trained at some point in their careers by Rauzzini, and while most were considered well-rounded musicians who could play multiple instruments and had even published

¹³⁵ As mentioned in chapter five, both Billington and Mara were encouraged to move away from instrumental performance and train as singers as this was considered more appropriate.

compositions, their ability to understand their own vocal capabilities and exploit their vocal strengths was a large part of their success.¹³⁶ During this period there is a clear shift in the operatic world, as the castrati were declining in popularity and presence on the stage, but there is also a shift in musical training. Even when comparing the music education and career of Rauzzini to that of his students, demonstrates a significant change. In his youth, Rauzzini was encouraged to develop as a well-rounded musician, equally skilled in composition, singing, instrumental playing and musical theory, and he took advantage of all of these skills throughout his career. While the majority of Rauzzini's male and female students also developed in these areas, the focus of their education with the castrato is centred on their growth as solo vocalists. The most obvious example of this is represented by Elizabeth Billington. Throughout her career, she actively sought out further training with a variety of teachers to ensure the continuous development of her vocal skills as well as the longevity of her career. In her youth, she demonstrated her skills as a well-rounded musician, playing the piano, as well as composing and publishing two sets of pianoforte sonatas. Though her musicianship was continually praised in the press in relation to her vocal performances, the focus of her professional development was to improve as a solo singer, thus demonstrating that her journey as a singer was an ongoing developmental process requiring the expertise of many different vocal masters, not just one. This did not mean that Billington delayed her vocal career, rather her development continued as her career progressed.

Billington made her initial fame as a mistress of virtuosity but Rauzzini helped her to unlock a more expressive side to her singing. This appears unusual, since

¹³⁶ Sophia Dussek née Corri (1775-1831) was Domenico Corri's daughter. She was most likely trained by her father, and by her mother, Signorina Bacchelli (also known as La Miniatrice) who was described as a great singer in her own right by Charles Burney, but never described herself as a professional (Burney, 1771, p. 292).

castrati were and continue to be associated with vocal virtuosity, as discussed in the introduction to this study. Castrati were seen as Italian exports, whose main vocal aesthetic was to show off extraordinary feats of virtuosic ornamentation. An exception to the rule was the castrato Gaetano Guadagni (1728-1792) who is perhaps best remembered for going against the grain and singing in a simple expressive style combined with more naturalised acting during his performance in the title role of *Orfeo* in Gluck's 1762 opera. It is clear that Rauzzini's preference for a more expressive style of singing was not influenced by his long stay in England, rather that he had already revealed his partiality towards this style of singing from his début in London in 1773 and in the training of his student Schindlerin.

Though it may appear that Rauzzini does not conform to the typical castrato vocal style, virtuosity is only one aspect of this and later in his career Rauzzini would encourage students such as Mountain, Braham and Incledon to cultivate flexibility in order to perform virtuosic ornamentation in their songs and arias. In actuality, even from his early career there are many aspects of Rauzzini's teaching that are distinctly part of the castrato aesthetic. For example, forming a homogenised, legato sound not only revealed whether a singer had engaged in formal vocal lessons, but also were considered fundamental for a professional female soprano to cultivate first, as discussed by several British authors of singing treatises and which by the nineteenth century became standard practice for all male and female singers. The solfeggi, which were the main training tool for the castrati throughout the eighteenth century, and the means Rauzzini would choose to immortalise his teaching practice, were used to develop an homogenised, legato sound as well as developing vocal flexibility, essential for the virtuosic bravura genre.

English male tenors such as Braham were a late factor in developing this homogenised sound, perhaps due to the apparent difficulty of the male tenor joining the registers together, as discussed in chapter six. Although Incledon and Braham both sang with a smooth, legato sound when singing ornate passages, Braham in his early career tended to be described as Italian in his style, while Incledon was described as English in terms of vocal sound. This is partly due to Braham's use of ornamentation, which was considered much more ostentatious than was typical for the English style, but there is also another difference between the Italian and English vocal sounds, and this exemplifies a change in fashion with regards to vocal sound and technique. Incledon by 1817 would be criticised for jumping into his falsetto register, thus revealing that he had not developed a completely homogenised sound. However, both Incledon and Braham (who would come to use the technique after he moved on from his tuition with Rauzzini) used this technique to add colour to certain lyrics, thus providing a variety of sound to add to the musical expression. This style would come to fall out of fashion with the public, yet the discussion regarding joining the registers would continue in treatises throughout the nineteenth century, and it is even discussed at length by Manuel García II in his 1894 treatise entitled *Hints on Singing* (García, 1894, p. 7-8). The homogenised sound and legato style has come to be considered standard vocal technique in modern vocal tuition and is arguably one of the most significant contributions of the castrati to modern classical singing technique.

7.3 Individualised vocal sound: The Singer vs The Teacher

Inferior Singers, attempt every-thing but not being able to Execute what they attempt, are mere copyists of Defects and therefore, always remain Inferior Singers (Rauzzini, 1816, p. 2).

Throughout the introduction to Rauzzini's treatise he continued to repeat the mantra that students should understand their own vocal capabilities and then use this understanding to develop their individual style. His advice stems from the basic idea that each individual singer will have different vocal anatomy; therefore, every singer will be suited to singing different genres, styles and ornamentation. This advice sounds like the basis for healthy and holistic approach to singing, but the students who have been analysed in this study do not necessarily point towards Rauzzini truly promoting individuality of style. All of the students analysed were considered to have developed an Italian vocal sound and adopted Italian ornamentation into their vocal style, even when singing English arias and songs. Though many singers prior to Rauzzini's students had been criticised for adopting Italianisms into their English singing, Billington, Mountain and Braham are among the first examples of singers who popularised the fusion of the two styles.

Cultivating a flexible throat was a key skill for an aspiring professional singer. The virtuosic, bravura genre was not just a feature of Italian arias, but had become an important genre in British opera with famed arias such as 'The Soldier Tir'd' being a staple part of the soprano repertoire throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, British critics often criticised singers for being too opulent in their ornamentation and tended to prefer the pathetic and cantabile genre of arias, considered to be in direct opposition to the bravura genre. Singers, especially opera singers during the period, were frequently criticised for their lack of emotional expression and for over-decorated pathetic style arias with virtuosic passages unsuited to the lyrics. Billington, therefore, was unusual as she was able to bring together two apparently opposing genres to the satisfaction of the British audiences and critics. Though Billington in her early career had the natural facilities to excel in

the bravura style, during her tuition with Rauzzini she was able to develop techniques in effectively performing in the pathetic and cantabile genres. The successful fusion of the two styles is first seen in the aria 'By him we love offended', which was described as being sung in a style unknown to audiences at that time, but would continue to be seen in Rauzzini's compositions for his vocal students.

This fusion of the Italian with the British style is evident even in teaching practice by the early nineteenth century, as exemplified in the 1817 publication attributed to Rauzzini. As discussed in chapter three, this treatise is designed to resemble *Twelve Solfeggi*, but is marketed to the beginner rather than the more advanced student. Rauzzini's original introduction was vastly reworked in order to reflect this change. However, one of the more obvious changes, which demonstrates the fusion in Italian and English vocal education, is that the many solfeggi exercises were reduced from twelve to four and significantly simplified. Four songs were added, to come in line with the many treatises written by British vocal educators that tended to include popular songs of the day. This somewhat went against Rauzzini's original advice as he specifically composed multiple solfeggi written in the style of songs in order to teach vocal technique. Solfeggi-centred treatises were produced by several castrati during the period, including Crescentini and Aprile, and it is likely that Rauzzini chose this format for his work to connect him with the lineage of castrato teachers who had utilised the solfeggi since the early eighteenth century. The combining of songs with solfeggi lessened the value of these exercises, but demonstrates another shift in the teaching culture, where the practice of solfeggi fell out of fashion in favour of song study.

However, all of Rauzzini's students received praise throughout their careers for singing with neatness, precision and in a finished style unequal to any English

singer before them. Critics were impressed by students such as Storace, Billington, Mountain, Braham and Incledon for their expressive abilities as well as their virtuosity but what is intriguing is that they were able to sing effectively in the two main popular styles. Rauzzini may have advised that singers should not 'attempt every-thing' but clearly the expectation was that every singer should be able to successfully understand and perform in both expressive and virtuosic genres showing off their voice to its best advantage. Rauzzini was able to fuse together the best of the expressive English style and the ornate Italian style more effectively than any other composer, and to train his students to perform effectively in this way. In this respect, *The Monthly Mirror* is right to call him an inventor of a new English style, but Rauzzini cannot claim that the style was individual to each of his students.

7.4 Not a music master but a vocal teacher

Rauzzini represents the end of the old Italian school of singing, in which teachers were the master of their apprentice and in charge of the whole development of the student's musical ability. An apprentice had learned everything they could from a master, they could then emerge as fully qualified musicians, who worked alongside composers and directors in a professional environment in order to continue developing their vocal abilities. But Rauzzini also represents the birth of a new kind of vocal teacher, who focussed solely on the development of the singing voice at any stage of a singer's career. He was not so much interested in the development of the overall musicianship as in, the continuing progression of each vocalist. He embodies the master who actively sought out engagements for his professional students and provided performance opportunities in his own concerts, but he also embodies the future of vocal education where students would work with one singing teacher for a

short time. Such a teacher provided advice and support for the continuous development of the voice.

As a teacher, there is no doubt that Rauzzini had an impact on the future of the opera singer. He produced many of the most famous British opera singers of the day who went on to achieve huge international success. The fame of his students paved the way for a new generation of vocalists and a new generation of vocal educators.

Appendices

Appendix A. *Twenty-Four Solfeggi or Exercises for the Voice to be Vocalized*

Introduction

This publication combined Rauzzini's first treatise on singing *Twelve Solfeggi or exercises for the voice* (henceforth *Twelve Solfeggi*) published in 1808 with a second the castrato had intended for press but was only first made available in 1816 when the two books were combined together to create *Twenty-Four Solfeggi or exercises for the voice* (henceforth *Twenty-Four Solfeggi*). This was eight years after his first publication had been printed and sold to the public and six years after the castrato's death in 1810, yet his solfeggi would continue to be recommended to vocal students throughout the nineteenth century.

Twelve Solfeggi when it was first published received only one 1808 review in the *Monthly Magazine and British Register*. The review itself provides no critical insight into the publication and largely regurgitates Rauzzini's introductory thoughts offering little comment on how the publication would benefit the market. The review does promote the treatise to all voice types who have a basic knowledge of music noting that though the solfeggi are written to suit the range of a soprano and tenor, they can be transposed to suit altos and basses, a practice that was standard for most singing treatises during this period.¹ However, it carefully omits that the treatise should only be used by those who already 'possess[ed] some knowledge [on] the art of singing' (Rauzzini, 1816, p. 1). The fact that it was marketed to a more advanced

¹ Similar publications state that students can transpose the exercises to suit the range of their voice. Philippe Trisobio notes in his 1795 treatise that the table of transposition notated in his introduction should be utilised to assist students in transposing the solfeggi into a key that is most comfortable and John Hullah who despite specifically arranging his exercises for alto and bass singers informs his readers that the solfeggi can be arranged for soprano and tenor (Hullah, 1852, p. 1; Trisobio, 1795, p. 2).

student of singing is what allowed this publication to stand out from other singing treatises at this time and the main reason why other vocal teachers would continue to recommend them to their singing students (1808, p. 472).

John Addison in 1836 wrote just such a recommendation in *Singing practically treated in a series of instructions*: ‘the pupil may feel disappointed by the author not having composed some solfeggi[-] as an appendage to this work, had there been a dearth of them he might have felt it incumbent on him to do so but when he reflected that Aprile,² Cimarosa,³ Crescentini,⁴ Rauzzini, Lanza,⁵ Crivelli⁶ [...] already furnished an abundance of them he felt there could be no reason for adding to their number’ (Addison, 1836, p. 32). With the exception of Lanza’s treatise, which includes solfeggi, songs and a more detailed, in depth narrative to accompany his musical examples, each of the treatises recommended by Addison exclusively contain solfeggi with short introductory comments on the art of singing (Lanza, 1813).

In a similar manner, J. E. Tipper (c. 1835-c.1853) recommended several solfeggi centred treatises to students stating: ‘there [are] also a number of excellent treatises on the theory and practice of singing which the author would recommend to

² *The modern Italian method of singing, with a variety of progressive examples and 36 solfeggi* written by Giuseppe Aprile was first published in 1791 by Robert Birchall (1750-1819). A new edition corrected by Mr Cooke (or Coke) of the treatise was printed by Clementi/Banger/Hyde/Collard & Davis in 1805 and then between 1811 and 1823 Goulding D' Almaine Potter & Co., the same publishers as Rauzzini's treatises, published this work.

³ There is no evidence that Domenico Cimarosa published a treatise on singing.

⁴ *Raccolta di esercizi per il canto all' uso del vocalizzo con discorso preliminare* by the castrato Girolamo Crescentini was published early in the nineteenth century by Ricordi.

⁵ Gesualdo Lanza's *Elements on Singing* was printed & sold by both Chappell & Co and Button & Whitaker from 1813 onward.

⁶ *L'arte del canto: ossia, Corso completo d'insegnamento sulla coltivazione della voce* also known by its English title *The art of singing : divided into two parts : the first in the form of a grammatical system, containing those philosophical principles which serve to direct the development of the organ of sound, and the cultivation of the vocal power with progressive scales, ornamental exercises and solfeggi* by Domenico Crivelli was first published in London in 1825 with introductory comments both in Italian and English. There were three editions of this work printed between 1825 and 1843 (Crivelli 1825; 1841; 1843).

those who may require fuller information on the subject; particularly the excellent works of Lanza, Jousse, Rauzzini, Aprili and others' and this statement is repeated in John Parry's 1822 treatise: 'the author recommends to students Rauzzini's Solfeggi and Exercises also Aprili's Solfeggi and Jou[s]se's Art of Singing' (Parry, 1822, p. 19; Tipper, 1840, p. 75). Parry had intended his work for the beginner vocalist and yet, and it may appear an oversight for him to recommend Rauzzini's solfeggi aimed at a more advanced student. Yet, in doing so he was able to link his work to a teacher who already had a reputation as a singing teacher of note and provide examples of more complex exercises for the advancing student. Each recommendation links both Aprile and Rauzzini together, which suggests that there was something similar about the way in which these two castrati composed their solfeggi. They were both castrati and most likely received similar music schooling in Italy, where solfeggi was a fundamental training tool. Aprile does not state outright within his work that it is for the more advanced student, but he does discuss passages which appear in theatre music and dramatic music, thus aiming the work at an aspiring professional who would hope to perform on the stage (Aprile, 1805?).

Jean J. Jousse's vocal treatise entitled *Introduction to the art of solfaing* also appears as a recommendation but is connected to Rauzzini's treatise in other ways. Not only was Jousse's work dedicated to Elizabeth Billington, who was a student of Rauzzini's in the late eighteenth century, but his treatise was published by Goulding in 1815. The publisher took the opportunity to promote *Introduction to the art of solfaing* on the title page of Rauzzini's *Twenty-Four Solfeggi*, despite the fact that the two works significantly differed in certain aspects of vocal tuition, particularly when it came to the use of the sol-fa syllables. Jousse encouraged his readers to make use of the sol-fa syllables when singing the exercises in his treatise, whereas Rauzzini stated outright that his solfeggi should be performed to the 'Ah' vowel and sung with utmost

care as incorrect pronunciation of the vowel would render the tone imperfect. The debate regarding the use of the sol-fa syllables over the use of vowels was recurring among singing teachers during this time with a review appearing in *The Examiner* in 1832 that criticised the treatise publication by Frederick Gladstanes *Twenty-four progressive solfeggi for a soprano, tenor, or baritone voice*:

The omission of the *do, re, mi etc.*, diminishes the utility of the work; and, from the practice of solfeggi depends in great measure upon the learner's being provided with these syllables as necessary guides to solmization (1832, p. 2).

The fact that the publishers chose to promote Jousse's treatise, which provides specific details on using the sol-fa syllables, suggests that they were encouraging potential readers to buy both works and use Jousse's advice in order to sing Rauzzini's solfeggi.

Further to this, Jousse's treatise is centred on anatomical explanations of the inner workings of the voice. Enlightenment thinking was at its height during the time of both Jousse and Rauzzini's publications and treatises throughout the nineteenth century started to implement discussions on understanding human anatomy.⁷ Even Rauzzini provides a brief discussion on vocal anatomy using this to build a logical teaching philosophy that centred on customised vocal tuition as vocal anatomy differs from person to person. While his discussion is not obvious based on scientific research, his reasoning encouraged healthy singing technique that continues to resonate in modern vocal tuition (Jousse, 1823).

⁷ The treatise written by Theodore Bolton in 1820 attempted to provide a legitimate grounding for his anatomical insights by using the observations of John Hunter (1728-1793), one of the most distinguished scientists and surgeons of his day as well as being brother to William Hunter (1718-1783), a distinguished anatomist and physician (Bolton, 1820). Other examples of treatise which go into great detail with regards to describing the vocal anatomy and singing include *First principles of the art of singing comprising a physiological treatise on the vocal apparatus* by Henry Robinson Allen (1809-1876) (Allen, 1852) and *The new school of singing : a complete... method for the cultivation of the voice, deduced from the anatomy and physiology of vocal organisation* by Robert François Blackbee (c.1850-c.1874) (Blackbee, 1855).

However, in 1780, Rauzzini's vocal tuition was scrutinised by *ABC Dario Musico* which stated that 'as the Signor [Rauzzini] has undoubtedly fine teeth, he takes care to exhibit them as much as possible, by closing them and stretching them as much as possible, and exhorts his pupils to do the same, as the best method of learning' (1780, p. 40). The criticism highlights two offences of vocal tuition: the first is that the student and Rauzzini would look distorted in the face, when it was advised by teachers such as Aprile that the student should practice in front of a mirror to avoid making unseemly facial expressions (Aprile, 1805?, p. 2). The second is that the student was copying the defects of the teacher, something to which Rauzzini was opposed as noted in his own introductory thoughts. There is no evidence from examination of the performances of Rauzzini's students or from his treatise that he encouraged his students to stretch their mouth in order to expose their teeth. In fact, he states that his students should only open their mouth wide enough to produce a free sound that is not 'impeded by the teeth, yet, not so wide as to be ridiculous but in a smiling form' (Rauzzini, 1816, p. 1). Many other authors including Jousse made similarly statements suggesting that public preference was for singers to produce a bright vocal sound (Jousse, 1823, p. 10). Certainly, singers such as Billington, Gertrud Mara and Rosemond Mountain, were all praised for their 'sweetness' of sound and there are few comments of praise for a darker sound. However, the 'sweet' tone was not opposed to a dramatic sound as Billington and Mara were equally praised for their dramatic, bravura arias to which they were so skilled it allowed them to dominate the operatic stage at the end of the eighteenth century.

While Rauzzini's originality lies in the marketing and composition of his solfeggi, his breath marks are borrowed from a fellow singing teacher, colleague and friend Domenico Corri. The idea behind marking the breaths is the same for both authors, to remove the difficulty for the singer; yet, in some of Rauzzini's solfeggi

(especially the first three) he indicates a breath to be taken after only one or two bars, as if indicating that it is more important to breathe and leave space than to sing a line for as long as possible without taking a breath.⁸ Moving through Rauzzini's solfeggi, the breath marks become further apart, allowing the singer to slowly increase their control as they progress through the exercises. This is a clear indication that Rauzzini's solfeggi were intended as progressive studies, which allowed the student to develop in a variety of areas including breath control (Corri, 1779).

Corri had deliberately designed his 1779 treatise *A select collection of the most admired songs, duetts, &c.* to include ornamentation, something to which Rauzzini was opposed. While this appeared to stem from Rauzzini's repeated encouragement for a singer to understand their own vocal capabilities and not attempt ornamentation that was out with their facilities, he was vehemently against the use of extravagant ornamentation that was not linked to the expressive sentiment of the song. This is not a new comment since Giulio Caccini stated in 1602 in his treatise *Le Nuove Musiche* stated:

I have said above that these long vocal turns are very badly used. I must caution [my readers] that embellishments have been created not because they are necessary to the good style of singing, but rather, I believe, for a certain titillation of the ears of those who have little understanding of the nature of singing with feeling (Caccini, 1602, ed. 1942, p. 6).

Similarly, Pier Francesco Tosi, in the 1743 translated edition of his work by John Galliard stated:

In the first they require nothing but the simplest Ornaments, of a good Taste and few, that the Composition may remain simple, plain, and pure; in the second they expect, that to this Purity some artful Graces be added, by which the Judicious may hear, that the Ability of the Singer is greater; and, in repeating the Air, he that does not vary it for the better, is no great Master (Tosi and Galliard, 1743, pp. 93-94).

⁸ Unlike Corri, who includes breath markings in his arias and songs as well as solfeggi, Rauzzini provides no indication of breaths within his vocal compositions.

Despite certain well-respected masters of singing stating outright that singers should perform arias and songs a tasteful manner, omitting opulent ornamentation, each age bred singers keen to show off their vocal flexibility and pushing the boundaries of virtuosity. The practice of solfeggi encouraged a singer to develop a flexibility of voice, fundamental to virtuosic performance and from solfeggi IX onwards in Rauzzini's treatise there are particularly extravagant leaps and runs, requiring speed and vocal dexterity. Why would Rauzzini write such passages if it were not to train the voice to its maximum potential in order to perform with virtuosity? Flexibility is an area frequently discussed as requiring cultivation; Lanza outlined that if scholars wished to improve the flexibility of their voice in order to sing instrumental passages that may appear in songs, they should be well practised in vocalising exercises (Lanza, 1813, Bk. 3, p. 14). This was just one of the key areas of singing discussed in many of the vocal treatises published during the period. Other areas considered fundamental to vocal technique were good intonation, articulation, pronunciation and expression. Rauzzini encouraged a balance of singing both the expressive and virtuosic styles and the majority of his students not only excelled in performing both but established themselves as unique performers for effectively combining feats of virtuosity, while maintaining expressive meaning.

Though it is true he trained dilettante students, it was his professional students that secured his position as a singing teacher of note. Of the singers mentioned in his preface, it is known that Storace, Braham, Billington and Mara were his students. Grassini and Catalani also sang in Rauzzini's concerts in Bath and may have received tuition from the castrato during their visits. In listing these singers, he was not only utilising their fame to establish his treatise as prominent in the world of singing but he was also listing his most famous students who had become professional singers on the London and European stage. Clearly he held all of these

singers in high regard and believed to be examples of a singing technique. What is telling is that each of these singers were noted for their Italian singing, yet singers who were described as English in their style such as Charles Incledon and Rosemond Mountain are omitted from the list. Though Rauzzini came to settle in Britain and trained a great deal of British singers, his bias towards an Italian sound is present in his treatise, his vocal compositions and analysis of his students carried out in the present study.

Despite this, British authors were determined to use Rauzzini's name and treatise as a way of establishing their own legitimacy as teachers of worth. William Huckel is just such an example as he uses his connection to Rauzzini as a way of justifying his own credentials; 'the author of this little treatise in venturing to interlude on the attention of the public deems it necessary to state that the following remarks on the vocal art are not the mere gleanings of a few months but the experience of twenty-five years and upwards during which period the following eminent masters, viz. Dominico Corri (to whom he served seven years) subsequently under T. T. Magrath (the favourite pupil of the celebrated Rauzzini)⁹ he was also a daily pupil of for above twelve months of Thomas Welsh¹⁰ and subsequently received some valuable information from Dominico Crivelli with whom he was many years an assistant' (Huckel, 1845, p. 5). This quote establishes a lineage for Huckel and though his connection to Rauzzini is tenuous in naming the castrato he links himself to a tradition of vocal training both in Italy and Britain.

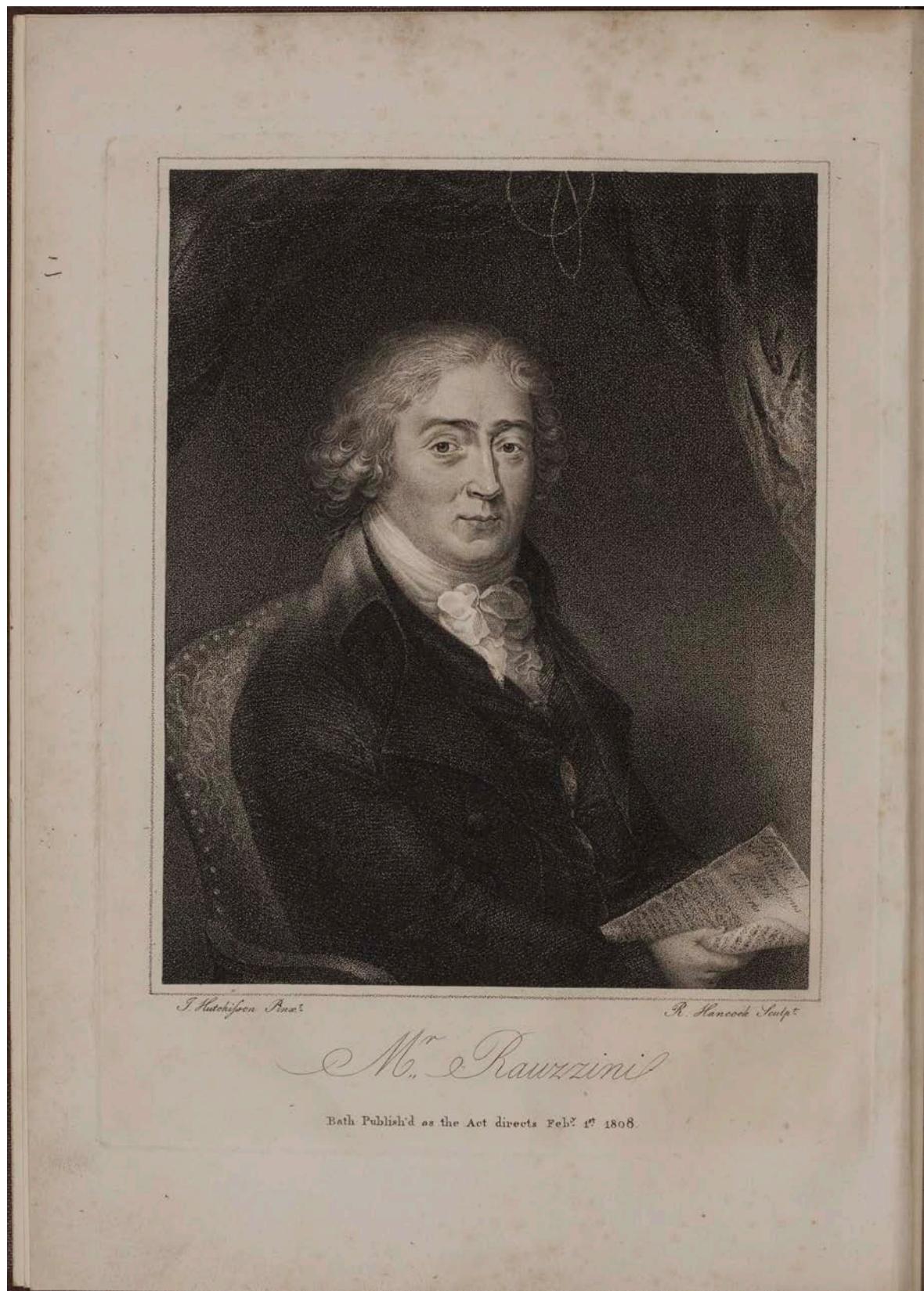
⁹ It is noted in an obituary on Mr T. T. Magrath who died in 1865 that he had been a student of Rauzzini in 1803. He lived during this time between London and Bath, but then settled in London where he became a singing teacher and 'an esteemed singer at concerts' (1865, p. 3).

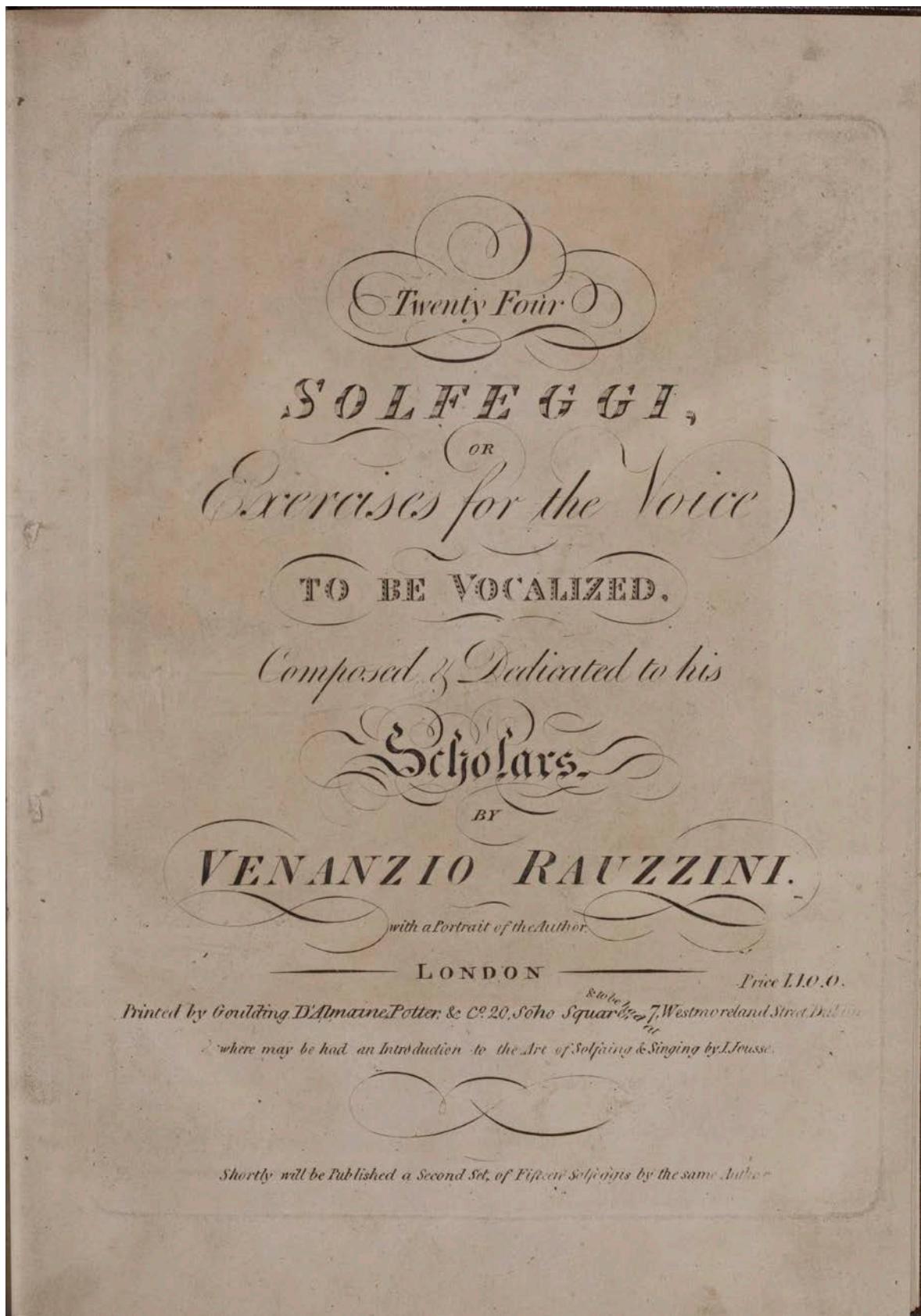
¹⁰ Thomas Welsh (c. 1780-1848) was an English composer and operatic bass. He had been a chorister at Wells Cathedral but after his voice broke, sang at Drury Lane and the King's Theatre. His compositions were mainly light-hearted theatrical works such as the operatic farce *The Green-Eyed Monster, or How to Get your Money* composed in 1811 (Husk and Langley).

The growth in scholarship on historical vocal techniques has brought about a number of modern vocal treatises dedicated to helping modern singers understand the techniques of the past. However, these vocal treatises typically are not solfeggi centred (if they include solfeggi) at all, which was central to the teaching of the eighteenth century castrato.¹¹ Though some treatises such as Aprile's *The modern Italian method of singing* have been made freely and publically available on the internet, his solfeggi and comments have not been disseminated within the period, and it is unlikely modern singers would utilise these exercises to maximise the potential of their voice. Utilising these solfeggi as part of one's everyday practice will help any singer cultivate breath control, flexibility, intonation and musicianship which continues to be beneficial in the modern singing world, especially those who are performing operatic works written during this period. Several of Rauzzini's students including Storace, Billington and Braham would sing for the most famous composers of the time including Mozart, Haydn and Cimarosa and solfeggi study would be promoted by composers such as Rossini and Bellini in the next century.¹² For this reason, I hope these introductory comments alongside Rauzzini's words, which have not been translated by any other author (unusual for castrato treatises from the period), will provide singers and scholars insight into a tradition of vocal study not typically seen in modern vocal tuition.

¹¹ Examples of modern treatises that focus on historical techniques include Robert Toft's *Bel Canto: a performer's guide* (2013) and Martha Elliott's *Singing in style : a guide to vocal performance practices* (2006). Both are valuable contributions to vocal pedagogy and historical performance but do not include solfeggi practice, which was a primary mode of teaching throughout the continent and Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

¹² Giacchino Rossini wrote his own treatise on singing which focussed on render the voice flexible through the use of solfeggi: *Gorgheggi e solfeggio, twenty two, exercises and solfegges, for rendering the voice flexible and to learn to sing in the modern style* (Rossini, 1828).





TO MY SCHOLARS.

I make no doubt you will ask me, why I have not presented you with SOLFEGGI, or Exercises for the voice, easier than these. my answer is, because many of that description are already published, and mine are designed for those, who have already gone through the rudiments of Music, and possess some knowledge of the art of Singing; however I hope that by proper attention in taking breath where you see the following mark * the apparent difficulty will be removed, and you will find them well calculated for your improvement.

The Exercises I now offer you, are to be vocalized on the letter A which is to be pronounced as in the word Arm they should be sung rather slow at first, untill you become thoroughly acquainted with them; Observe that no sound can be truly perfect, without you pronounce the vowels correctly, and especially the letter A, vowels improperly pronounced, render the tone of the voice imperfect.

Particular attention must be paid to the CANTABILE Exercises a style of singing that (I am sorry to say) has been of late, too much neglected.

The sole object of singing is to please; extravagant passages may create surprize, but seldom pleasure.

I will not assume a superior knowledge over other Singing Masters, but I think that after a practice of thirty four years in England, during which time, I have had the opportunity of reflecting on the different dispositions and abilities of a great many Pupils professional as well as Dilettanti, my opinion may be relied on, and my advice followed. therefore, confiding on that Experience, I advise those who wish to sing well, to adopt in their manner of singing, what they can perform with FACILITY, and to be contented with that alone, for the Judicious, can be delighted, only by an easy, and correct performance.

Do not think, that because a Singer performs a difficult passage with exactness, it is in your power to do the same, the different form in the Organ of the voice, the thickness, or the thinness of the Glands, produce very different effects; and what to one Scholar appears extremely difficult to perform, is executed by another with ease and rapidity. Some Singers will Ascend with the greatest facility one or two Octaves, and cannot Descend four Notes correctly, and ViceVersa.

The art of Singing depends on keeping the voice steady, gradually swelling the Notes, ascending and descending LEGATO and APPOGGIATO, taking breath in proper places; in opening the mouth wide enough to produce the sounds free without their being impeded by the TEETH. yet, not so wide, as to be ridiculous, but in a smiling form; above all things take particular care to articulate the words distinctly. The Performer who is distinct in his articulation, has greatly

the advantage over others, who may sing much better, and do not possess it.
Whatever you sing, let it be done with Expression, and Precision; those are the principal objects to be attended to.

Inferior Singers attempt every-thing but not being able to Execute what they attempt, are mere copyists of Defects, and therefore always remain Inferior Singers.

The Singers who have acquired the greatest celebrity in the profession, are those who properly appreciated their own Talent, who knew the extent of their own abilities, and sought not to soar beyond them, adopting a method suited to the powers of their voice, and never attempting a passage which they could not execute with the greatest neatness and in the most correct and finished style. Endeavour to avoid an error too prevalent amongst Modern Singers I mean that of Imitation : listen to a MARA, BILLINGTON, CATALANI, GRASSINI, STORACE, BRAHAM, VIGANONI, &c but do not imitate them; copy nothing but their manner of conducting the voice; avoid, every difficulty, which your powers will not allow you to execute, and content yourself with singing well, which you will acquire, by forming a style of your own and attempting nothing but what you can do correctly, this is the surest step to perfection!

It has become lately a fashion (but more honored in the breach, than in the observance) to publish Songs with a great number of Embellishments and Graces; but let me ask how many can execute those Graces with perfection? and if they are not well executed, instead of Graces they may be justly called Disgraces!

Let Music Masters, who rank for men of abilities, select Songs, &c, suited to the Genius, and powers of the Pupils; and not give them indiscriminately (as is too often the case) the same piece of Music: let them adopt nothing but what they can perform in a finished manner, and in the most perfect Intonation.

My Exercises being written chiefly in the style of Songs, they will meet in them, almost every passage the human voice is capable of performing; at the same time, the Scholars will have an opportunity of rendering themselves perfect in the Intervals, and by frequent practice acquire a knowledge of singing at sight:

The frequent exercise of the voice is absolutely necessary to every Singer, and I hope those who are already Masters of their profession, will not disdain to adopt some of my Solfeggi, for their morning exercise.

VENANZIO RAUZZINI.

NB. These Solfeggi are written for a Treble, or Tenor Voice, but to accomodate those, who cannot sing so high, they may be easily transposed into lower Keys.

2

Nº I

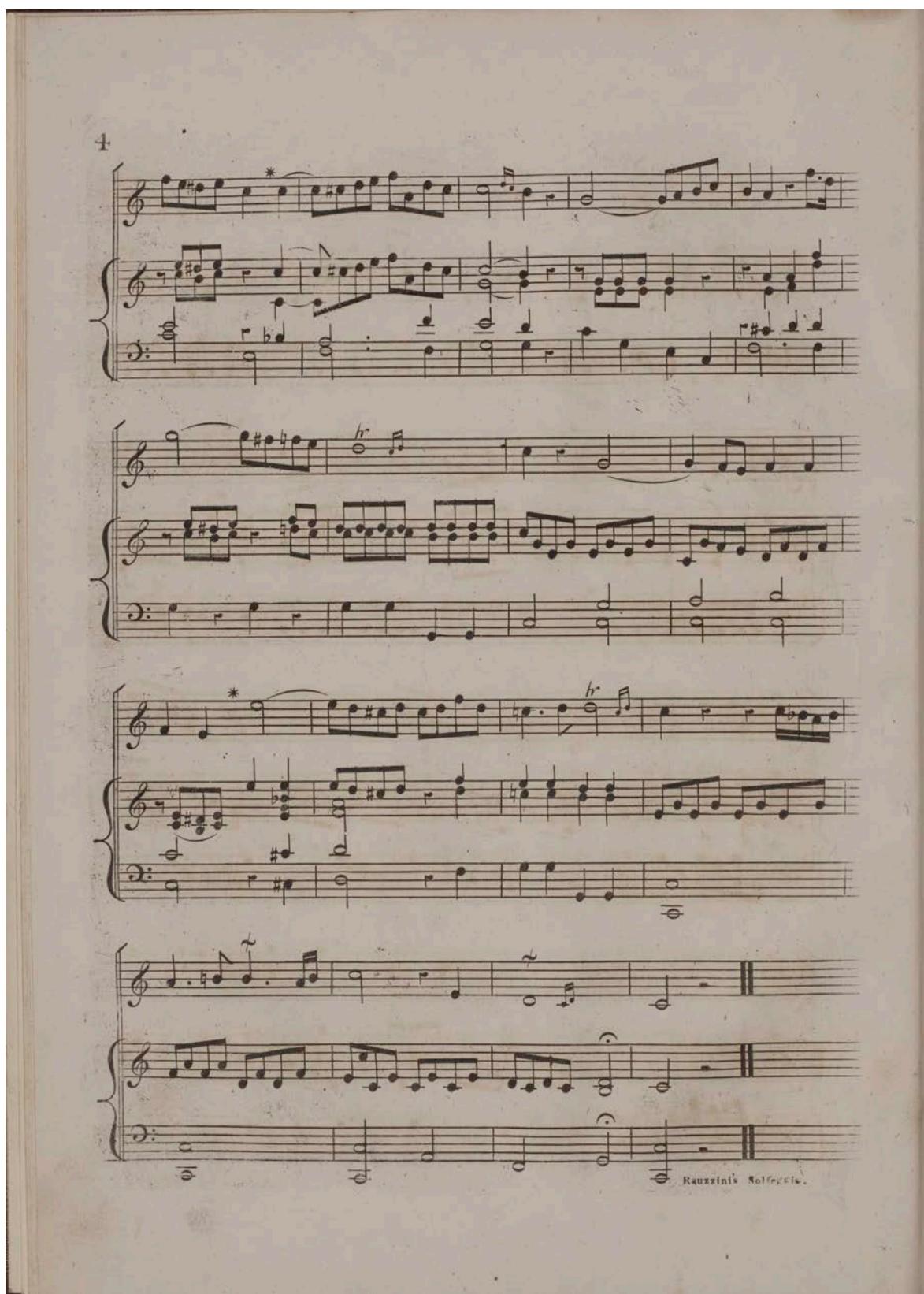
CANTO.

PIANO FORTE

LARGO.

amor de mi do sol de mi do
sol de mi do. Sol de mi do. Sol de mi do. Sol de mi do.
Rauzzini's Solfeggi.





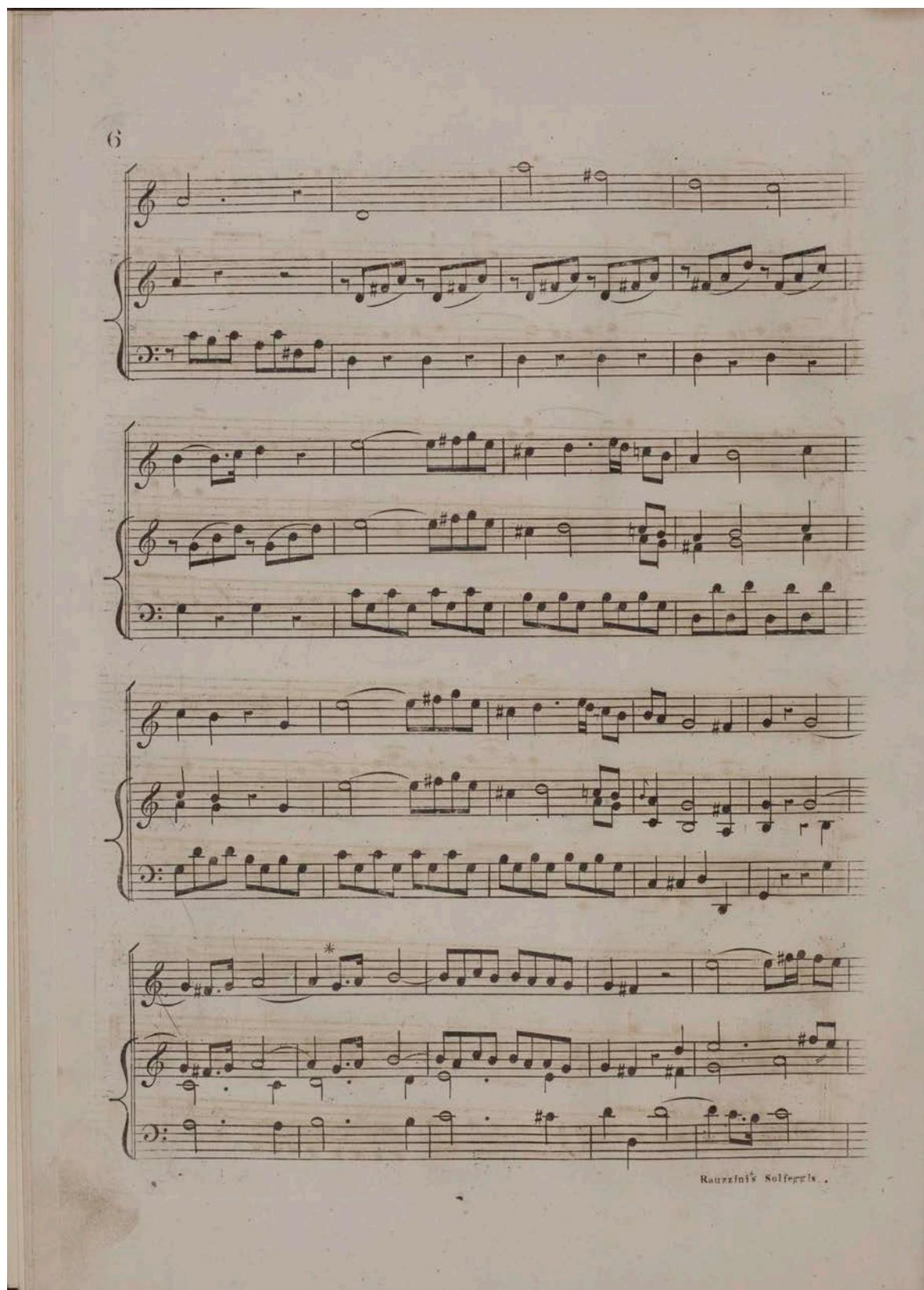
N^o 2.

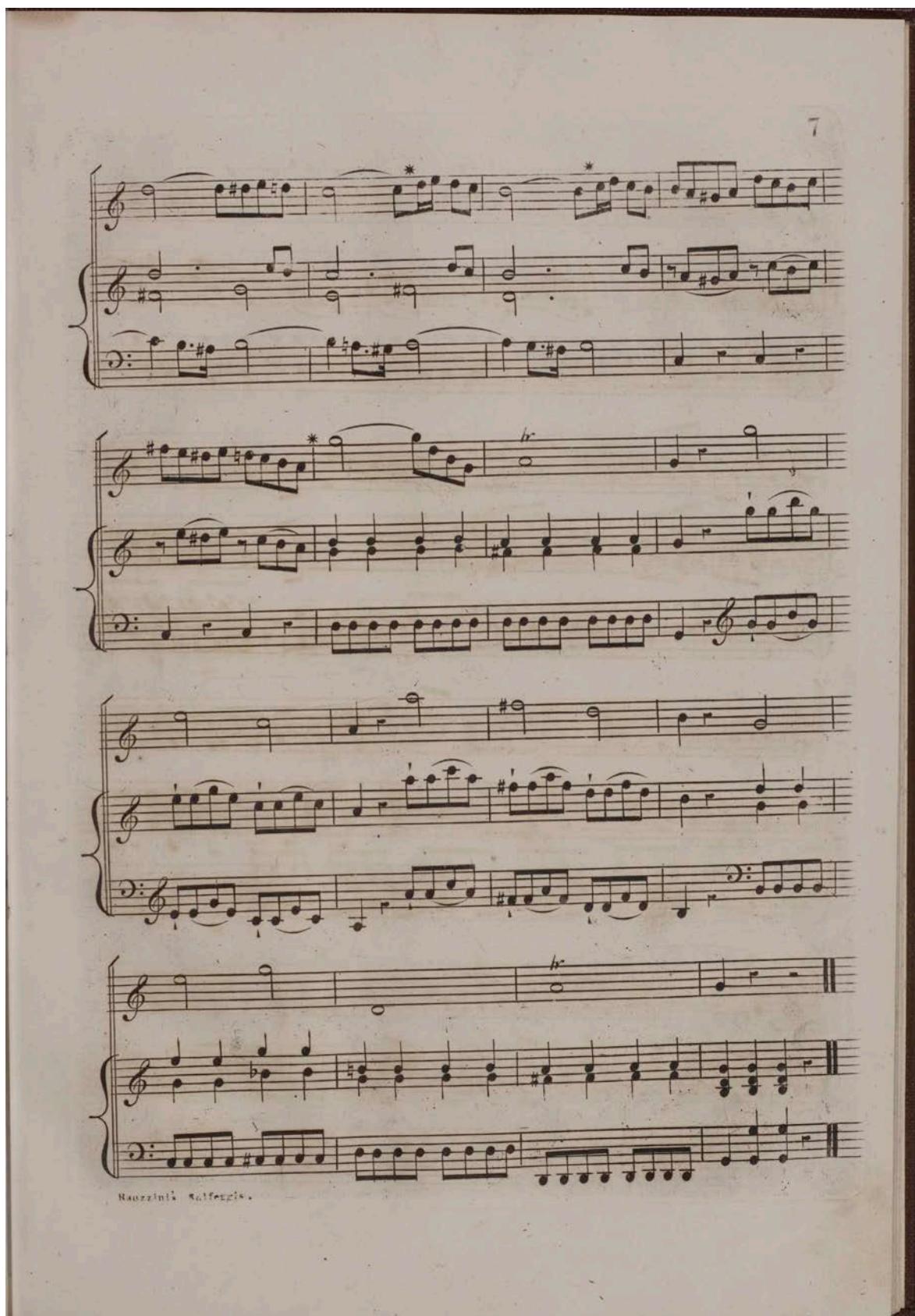
CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRO.

Rauzzini's - Soffetti





8

Rauzzini's Solfeggi



10

Kantzini Salteggi

11

Nº 3.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRETTO

Rauzzini's Solfeggio.

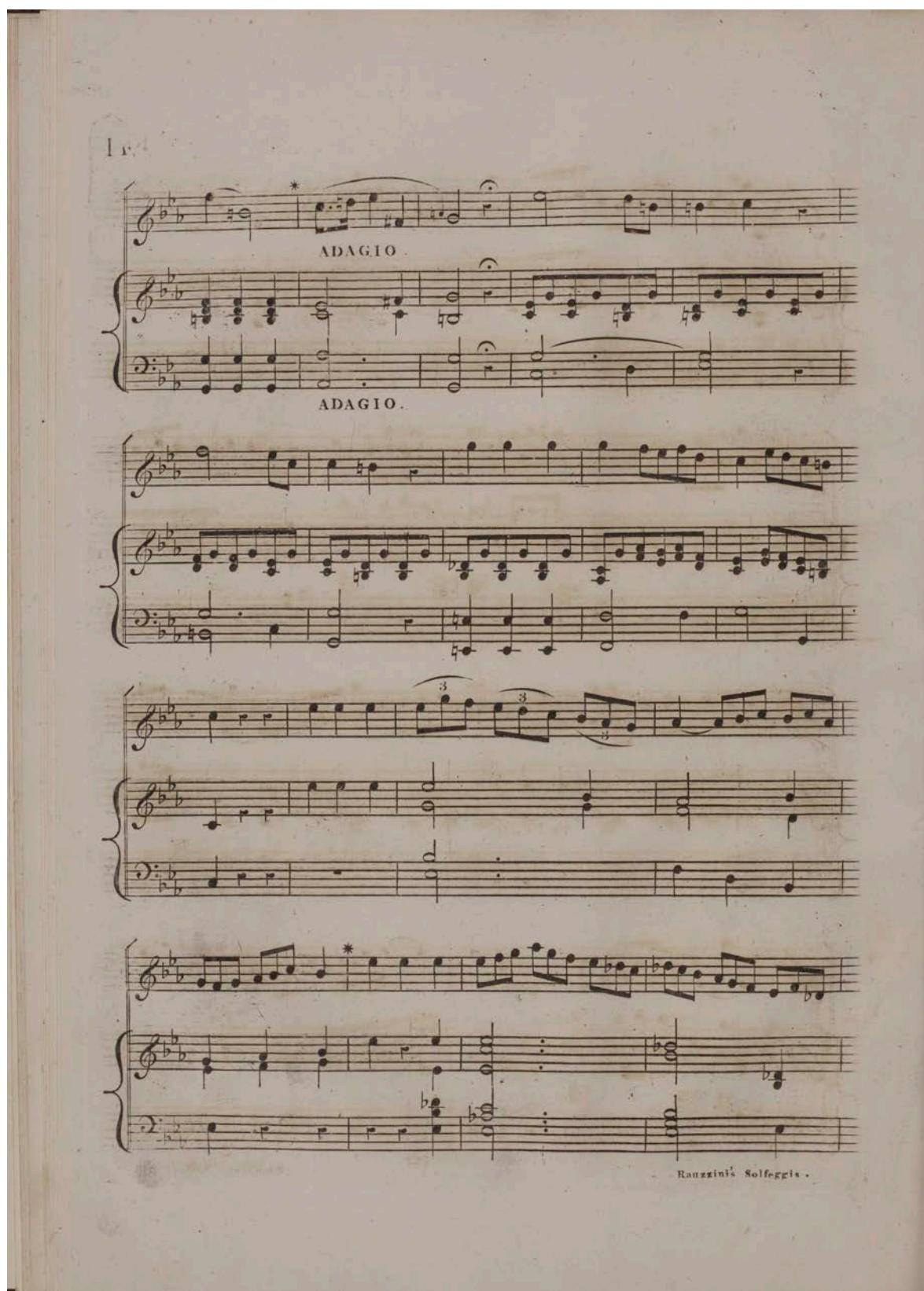
12

A handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score consists of eight staves of music. The top staff is for the voice, starting with a bass clef, a key signature of two flats, and a common time signature. The second staff is for the piano right hand, and the third staff is for the piano left hand. The subsequent staves follow a repeating pattern of three staves each. The music includes various note heads, stems, and bar lines. There are several asterisks (*) placed above certain notes and measures. The score is written on aged, slightly yellowed paper.

Rauzzinis Solfeggi

13

Rauzzini's Solfeggio



15

Rauzzini's Solfeggi

16

Rauzzini's Solfeggio

17

Rauzzini's Solfeggis.

18

N^o. 4.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

CANTABILE.

Rauzzini's Solfeggio.

19

Rauzzini's Solfeggio.

20

Rauzzini's Solfegeis

21

Rauzzini's Solfeggio .

22 N° 5.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE

LARGHETTO

Rauzzini's Solfeggio .

23

Rauzzini's Caffegria

24

Rauzzini's Solfegeis.

25

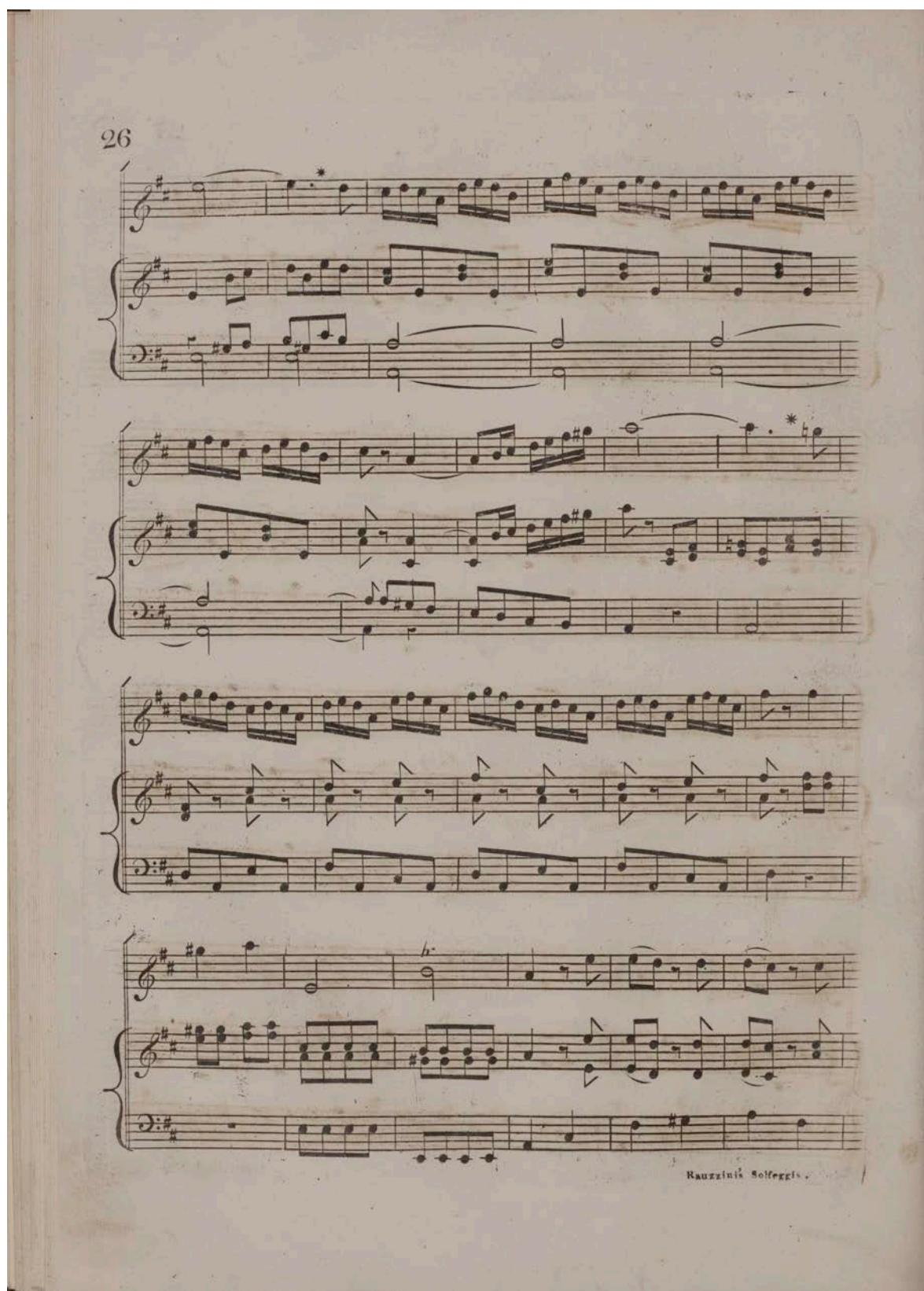
N° 6.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE

ALLEGRETTO

Rauzzini's Solfege.



27

Rauzzini's Solleggios.

28

Rauzzini's Solfeggio.

29

Rauzzini's Solleggi.

30

Nº 7.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

CANTABILE.

ADAGIO.

Rauzzini's Collection

31

Rauzzini's Solfeggis.

32

Rauzin's Solfeggio

33

Rauzzini's Solfegni.

34

Nº 8.

CANTO.

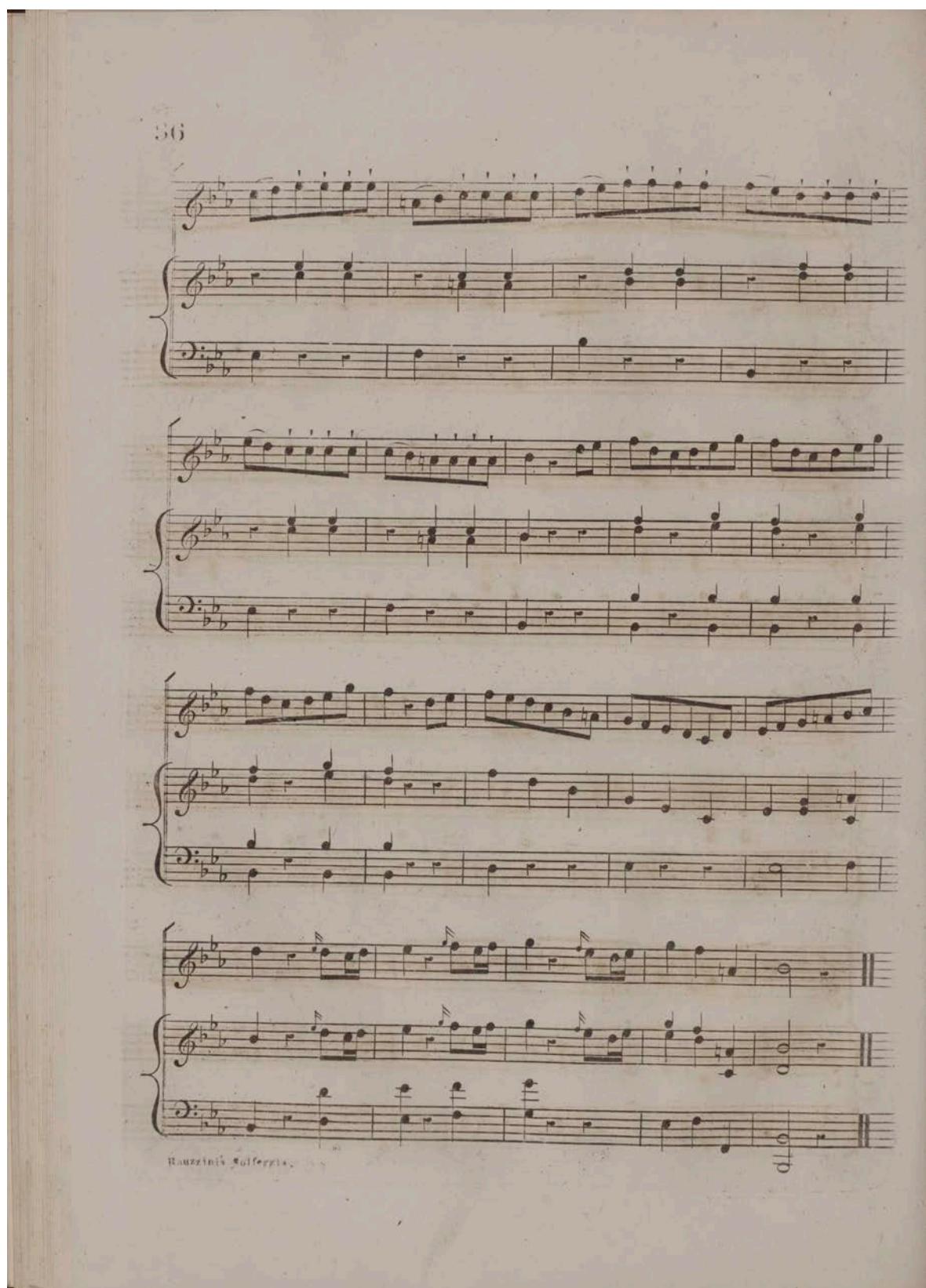
PIANO FORTE.

ALL^o VIVACE.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi.

35

Rauzzini's Solfege's



37

Bauzzini's Solfeggio

38

Rauzzini's, Soffeggi.

39

Rauzzini's Sinfonia

40

CANTO

PIANO FORTE.

LARGO.

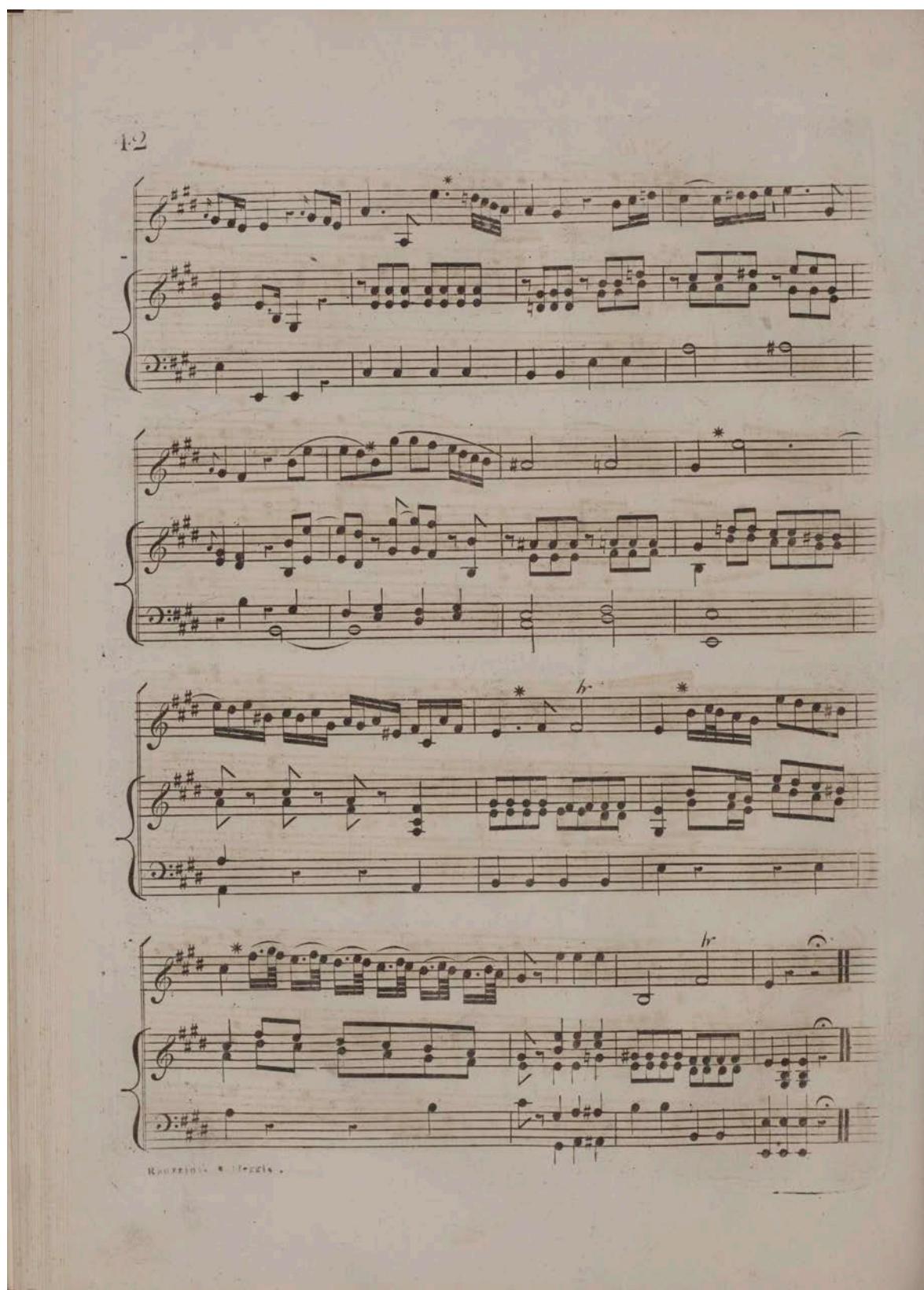
CANTABILE.

No. 9.

Ranzzinis Solfeggio

41

Rauzzini's Solfeggio.



13

Nº 10.

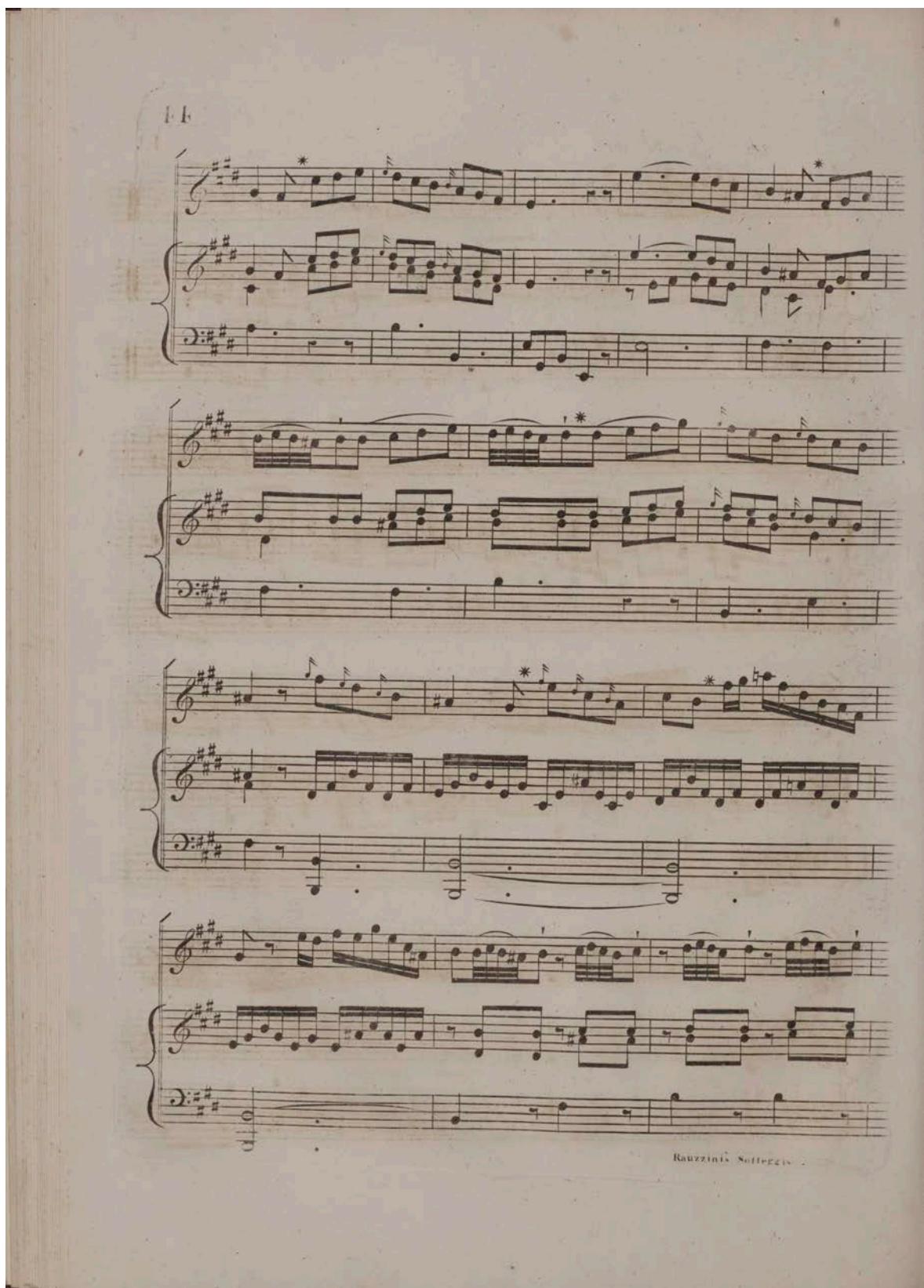
CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ANDANTE.

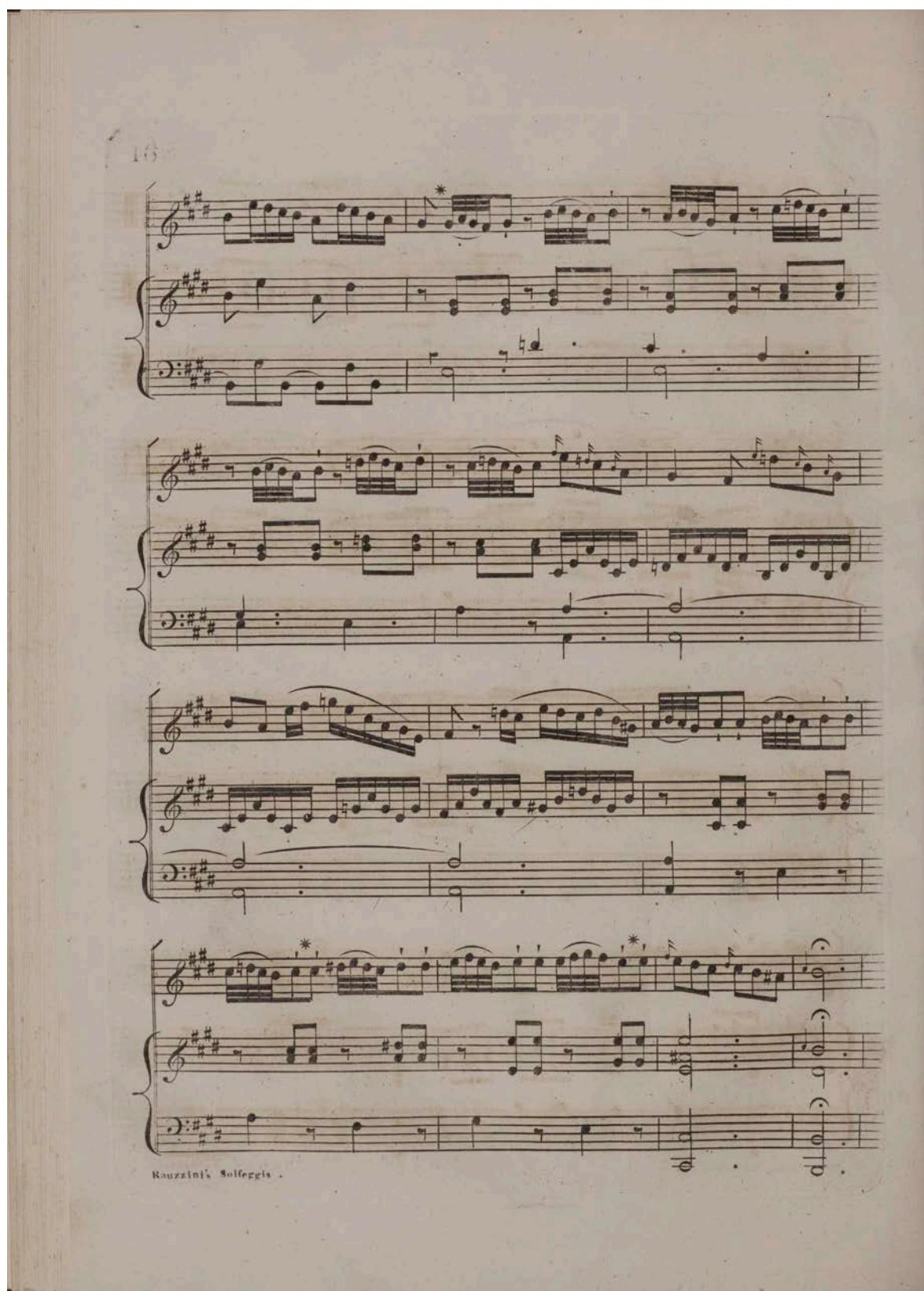
CON MOTO.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi .



45

Rauzzini's Solfeggio.



47

Rauzzini's Solfeggio.

48

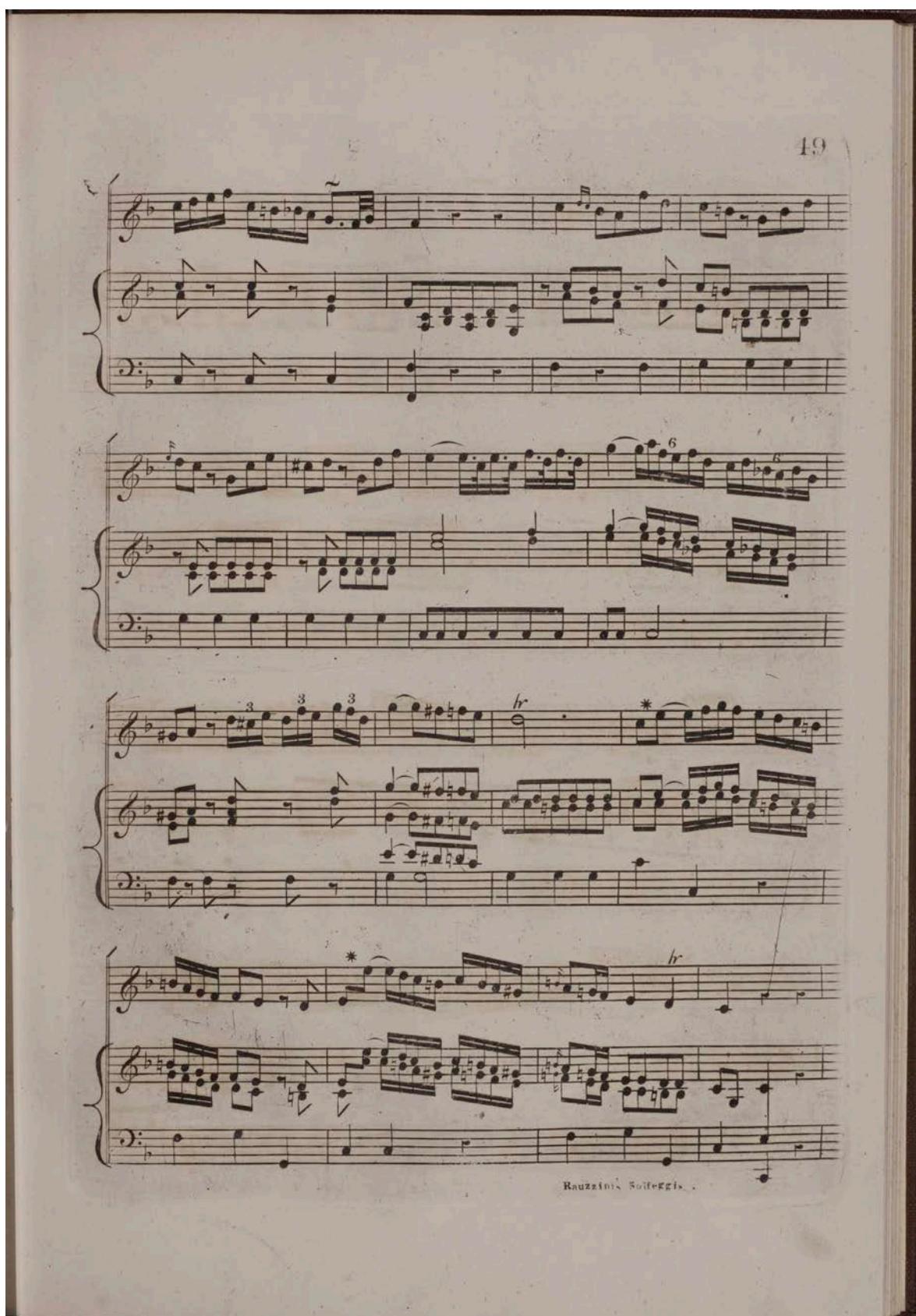
N^o II.

CANTO,

PIANO FORTE

LARGHETTO

Rauzzini's Solfeggio

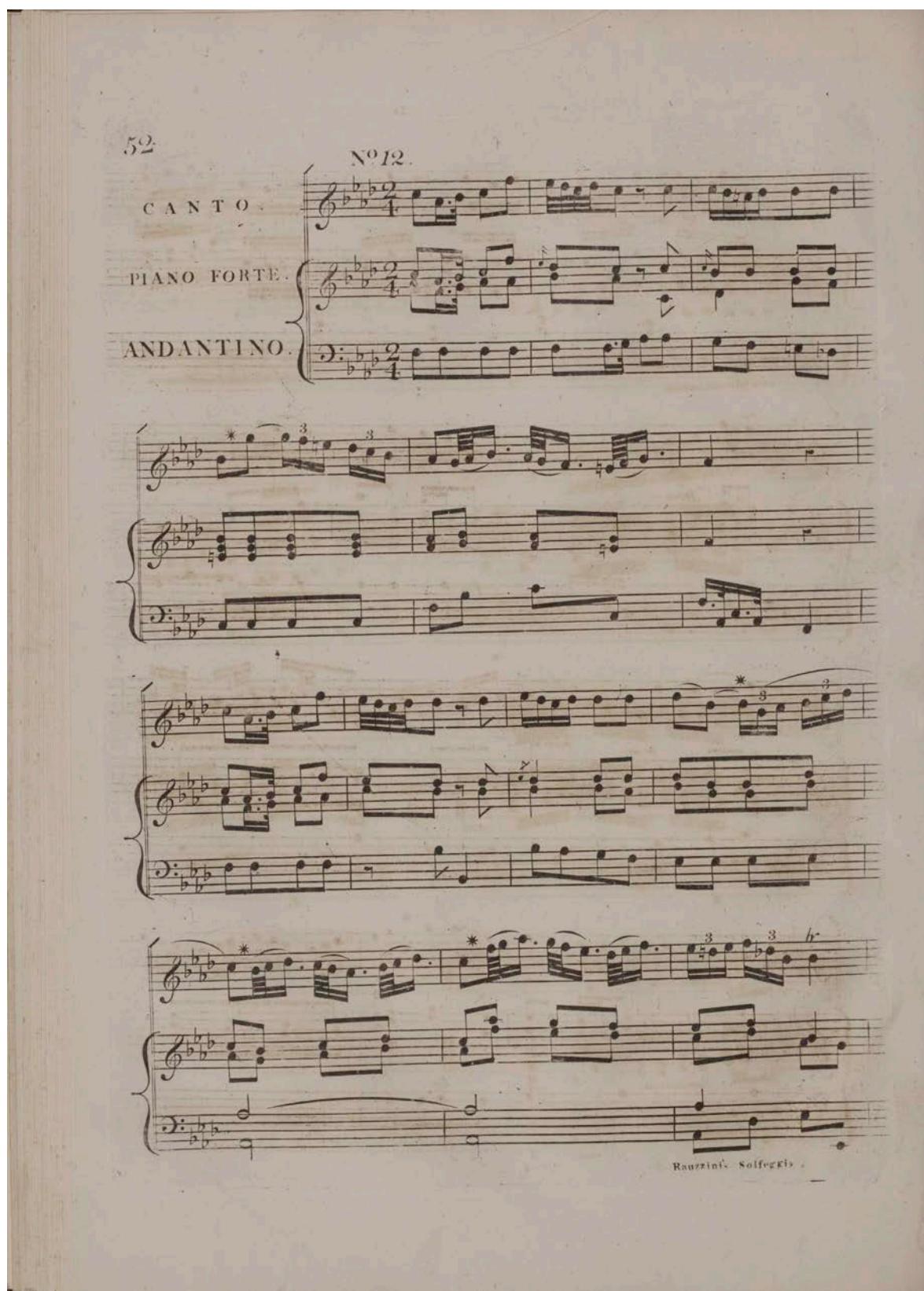


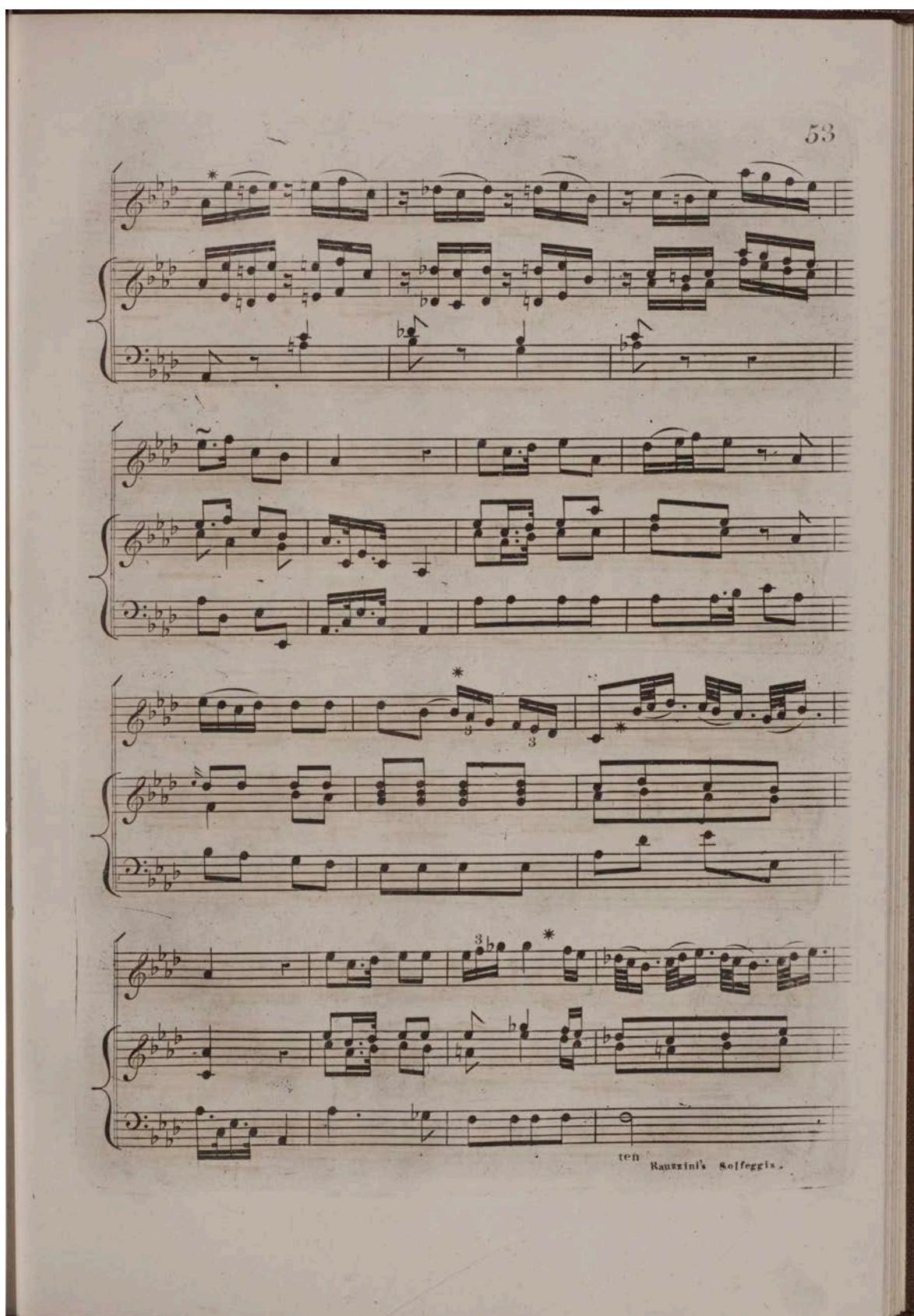
50

Rauzzini's Solfeggio

51

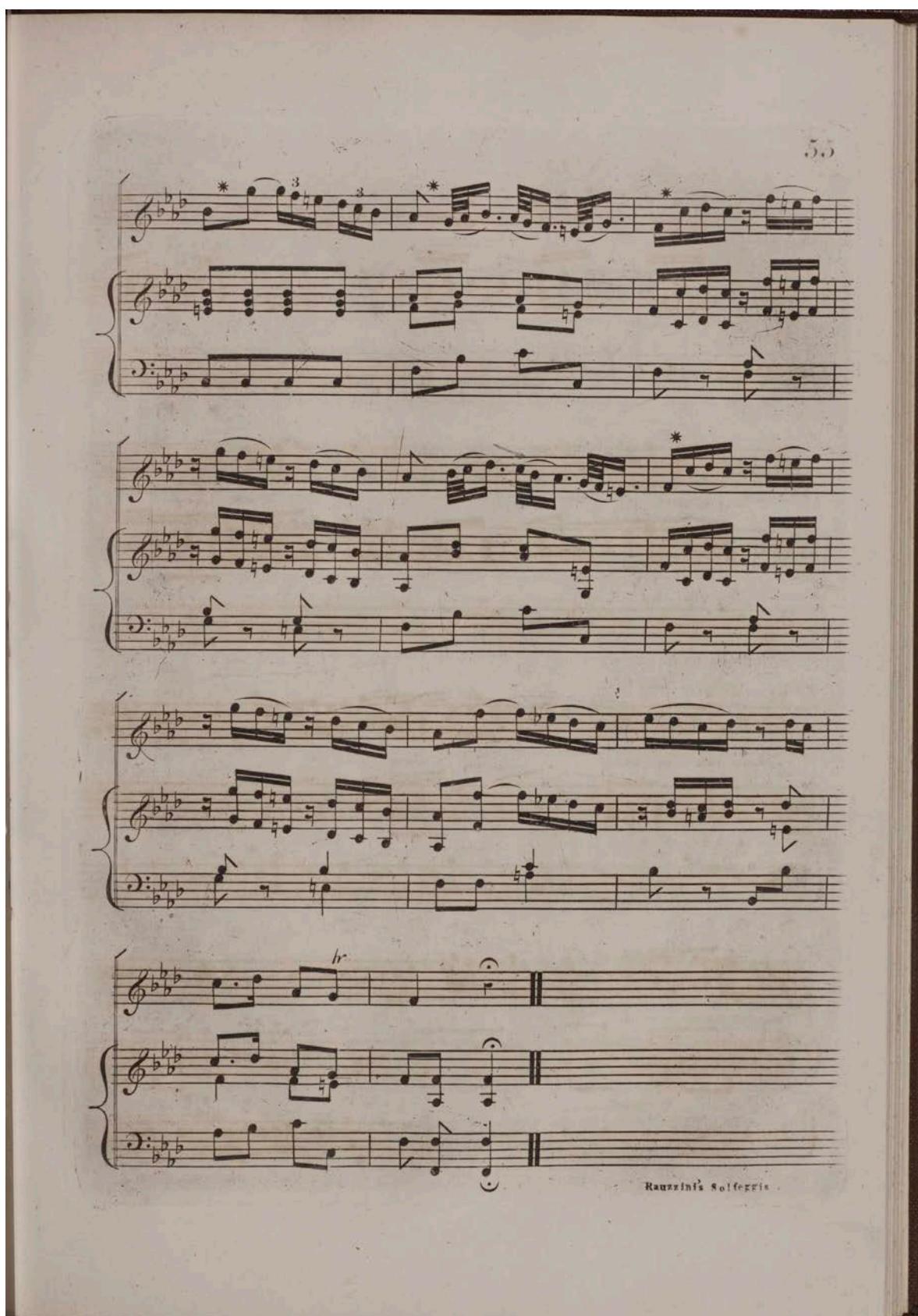
Rauzzini's Solfeggio.





54.

Rauzzini's Solfegeis



56

Nº 13.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

All^o Moderato.

Rauzzi's Solfeggi, 2 .

57

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2

58

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2

59

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2 .

60

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

61

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2.

62

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

63

Ranzzini's Solfeggi. 2.

64

Nº 14.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

CANTABILE.

Pizzini Solfeggi. 2.

65

Ranzzini's Solfeggi. 2.

66

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .

67

N^o 15.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRO.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

68

Rauzzini's Solfeggio 2

69

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

70

Rauzzini's Solfeggi . 2 .

71

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2 .

72

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2 .

73

N^o. 16.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

SICILIANA.

LARGHETTO.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .

74

Ranzzini's Solfeggi. 2.

75

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

76

Nº 17.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRO.

The image shows a page of musical notation from an old music book. It consists of six staves of music for three voices: Soprano, Alto, and Bass. The music is in common time and has a key signature of one flat. The notation uses a variety of note heads (circles, squares, diamonds) and rests. Some notes are marked with an asterisk (*). The vocal parts are grouped together by brace brackets.

78

Riccerini's Sofeggi, 2.

79

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2

80

Ranzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

81

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2

82

Ramezzini's Solfeggi, 2 .

83

Rauzzini's Solfeggi . 2 .

184

Nº 18.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ANDANTE.

LARGHETTO.

Baussini's Solfeggi, 2.

85

Rauzzini's Solfeggi . 2 .

86

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

87

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2

88

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

89

Nº 19. Minore.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRETTO.

Majore.

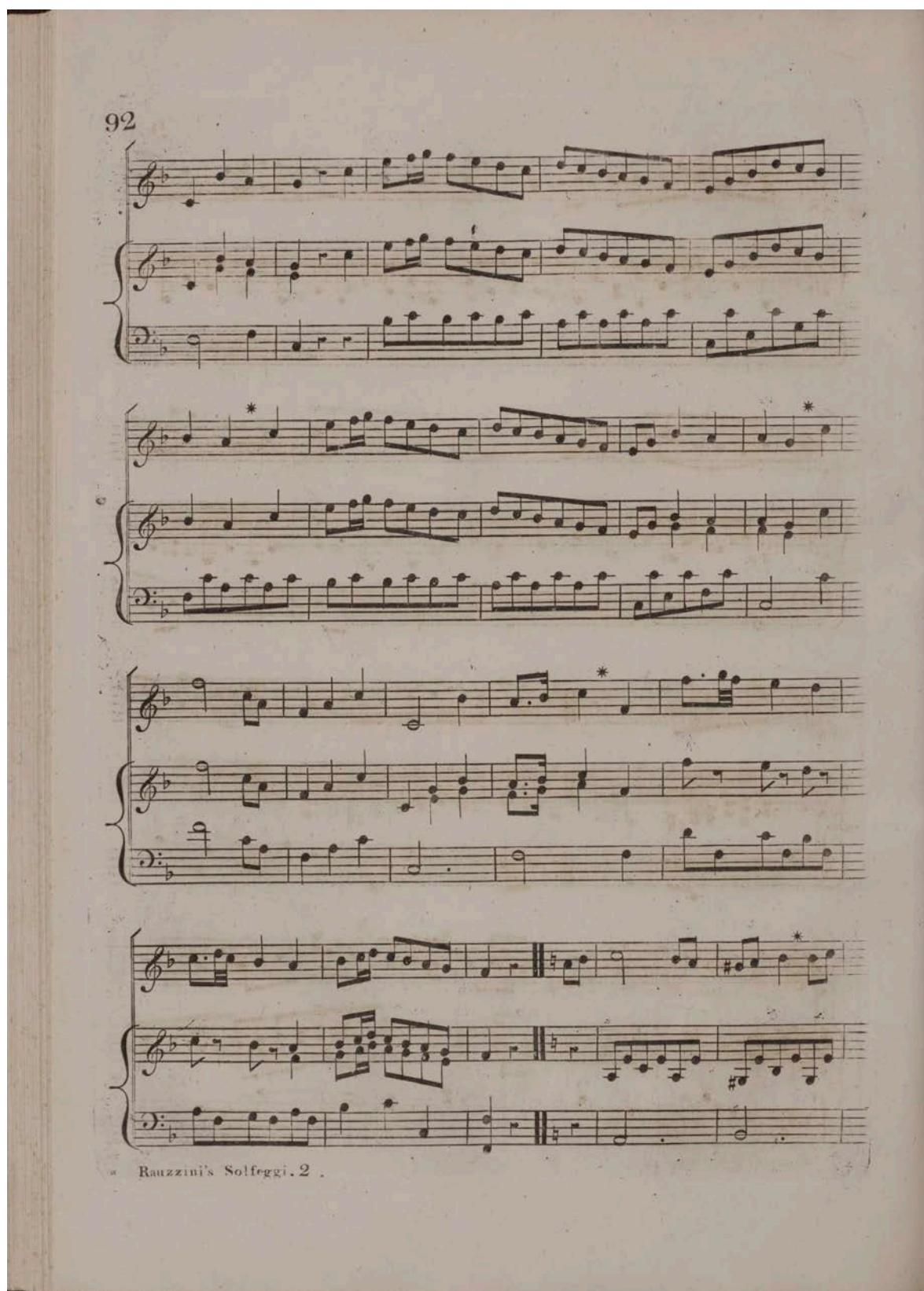
Ranzzini's Solfeggi. 2

90

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2

91

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2.



93

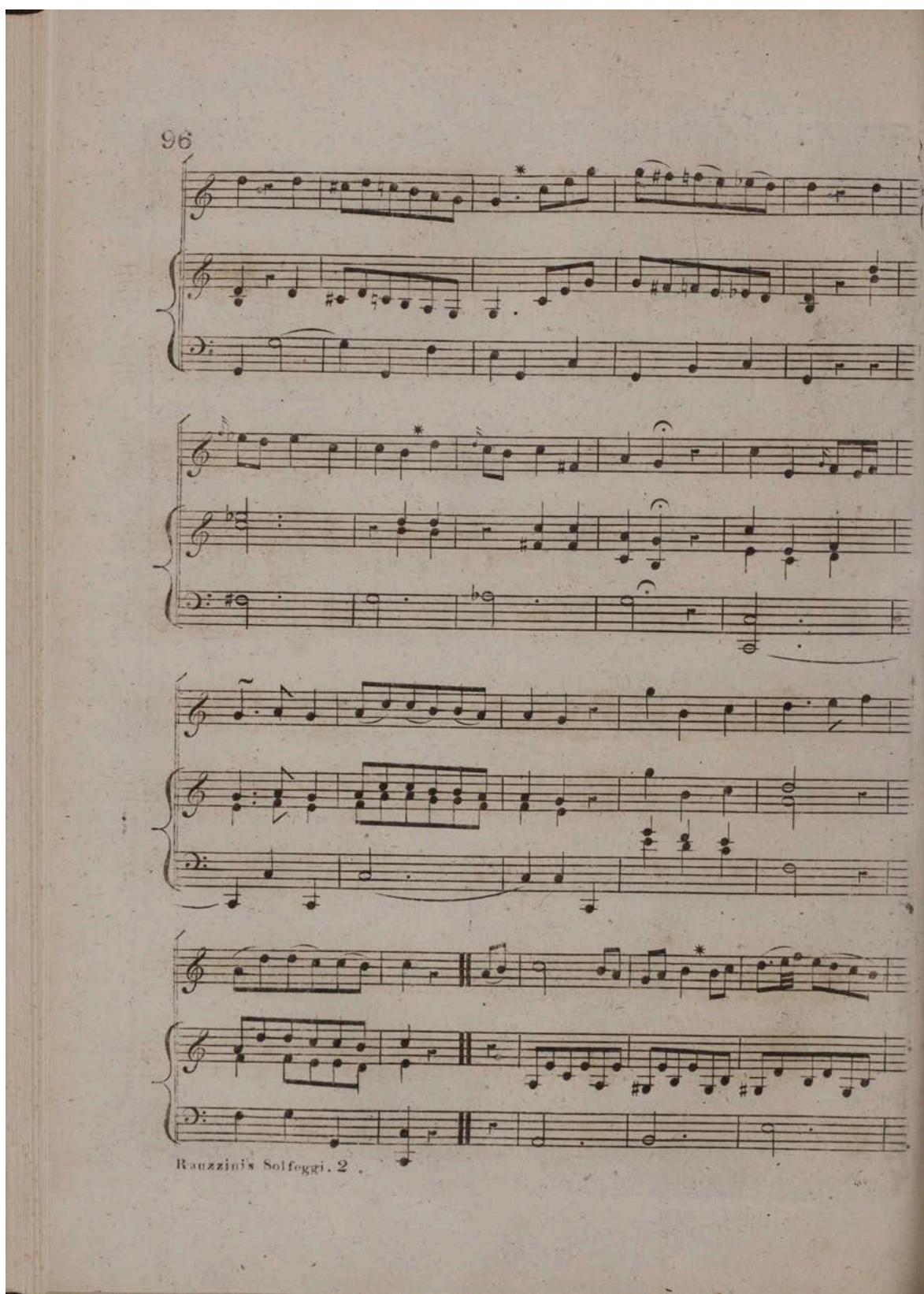
Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2

94

Rauzzini's Solfeggio 2

95

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2.



97

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .

98

Nº 20.

C A N T O .

PIANO FORTE.

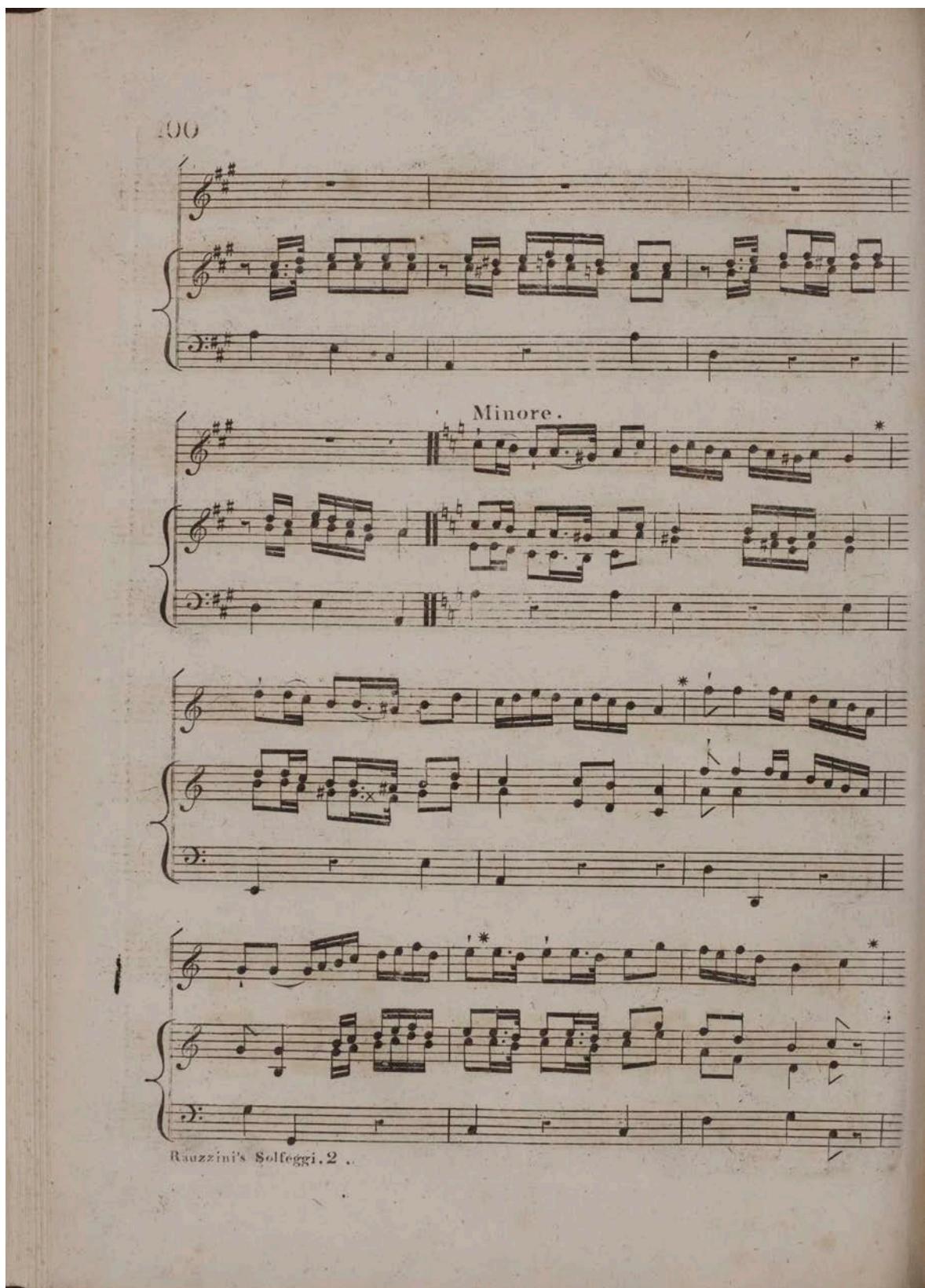
P O L O N E S E

T E M P O D I M I N U E T O .

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2.

99

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .



101

Majore.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .

102

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2

103

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .

104

Rauzzini's Solfeggi . 2 .

105

Rauzzini's Solfeggi . 2

106

Nº 21.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

LARGHETTO.

Ronzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

107

Rauzzini's Solleggi, 2.

108

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

109

Nº 22.

C A N T O .

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRO.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2.

110

A handwritten musical score for three voices (Soprano, Alto, Bass) and piano. The score consists of four systems of music, each with three staves. The top staff of each system is for the Soprano voice, the middle for the Alto, and the bottom for the Bass. The piano part is located below the vocal parts, with its own staves. The music is written in common time with a key signature of two flats. Measure numbers 110 through 113 are indicated above the first, second, third, and fourth systems respectively. The notation includes various note heads, stems, and bar lines. There are also some markings such as a sharp sign and a fermata. The score is written on aged paper.

Rauzzini Solfeggi, 2.

111

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

112

Bazzini's Solteggi 2

113

A page of musical notation for three voices. The music is written on five staves, each with a different clef (Treble, Bass, and two intermediate ones). The key signature is consistently one flat throughout. The notation includes various note heads, stems, and bar lines. The first staff features a series of sixteenth-note patterns. The second staff consists of sustained notes. The third staff shows eighth-note patterns. The fourth staff contains mostly quarter notes. The fifth staff concludes with a series of eighth-note patterns. The page is numbered 113 in the top right corner. At the bottom center, the text "Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2." is printed.

114.

Bauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

115

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2.

116

A handwritten musical score for three voices. The score consists of five systems of music, each with three staves. The top staff of each system is soprano, the middle staff alto, and the bottom staff basso. The music is in common time and uses a key signature of two flats. The notation includes various note heads, stems, and bar lines. The score is divided into systems by vertical bar lines. The first system starts with a single note followed by a sixteenth-note pattern. The second system begins with a dotted half note. The third system starts with a quarter note. The fourth system begins with a half note. The fifth system starts with a quarter note. The score is labeled "Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2".

117

N^o 23.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRETTO.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .

118

A handwritten musical score for three voices (Soprano, Alto, Bass) on four staves. The music is in common time, with a key signature of one flat. Measure 118 begins with a treble clef, a bass clef, and an alto clef. The first staff consists of sixteenth-note patterns. The second staff begins with a bass note followed by eighth-note pairs. The third staff begins with a bass note followed by eighth-note pairs. The fourth staff begins with a bass note followed by eighth-note pairs. Measures 119 through 122 continue in a similar pattern, with the bass line providing harmonic support. The score concludes with a final measure and a double bar line.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2

119

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

120

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2.

121

N^o 24.

CANTO.

PIANO FORTE.

ALLEGRO

MODERATO.

Rauzzini's Solfeggi. 2 .

122

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2 .

123

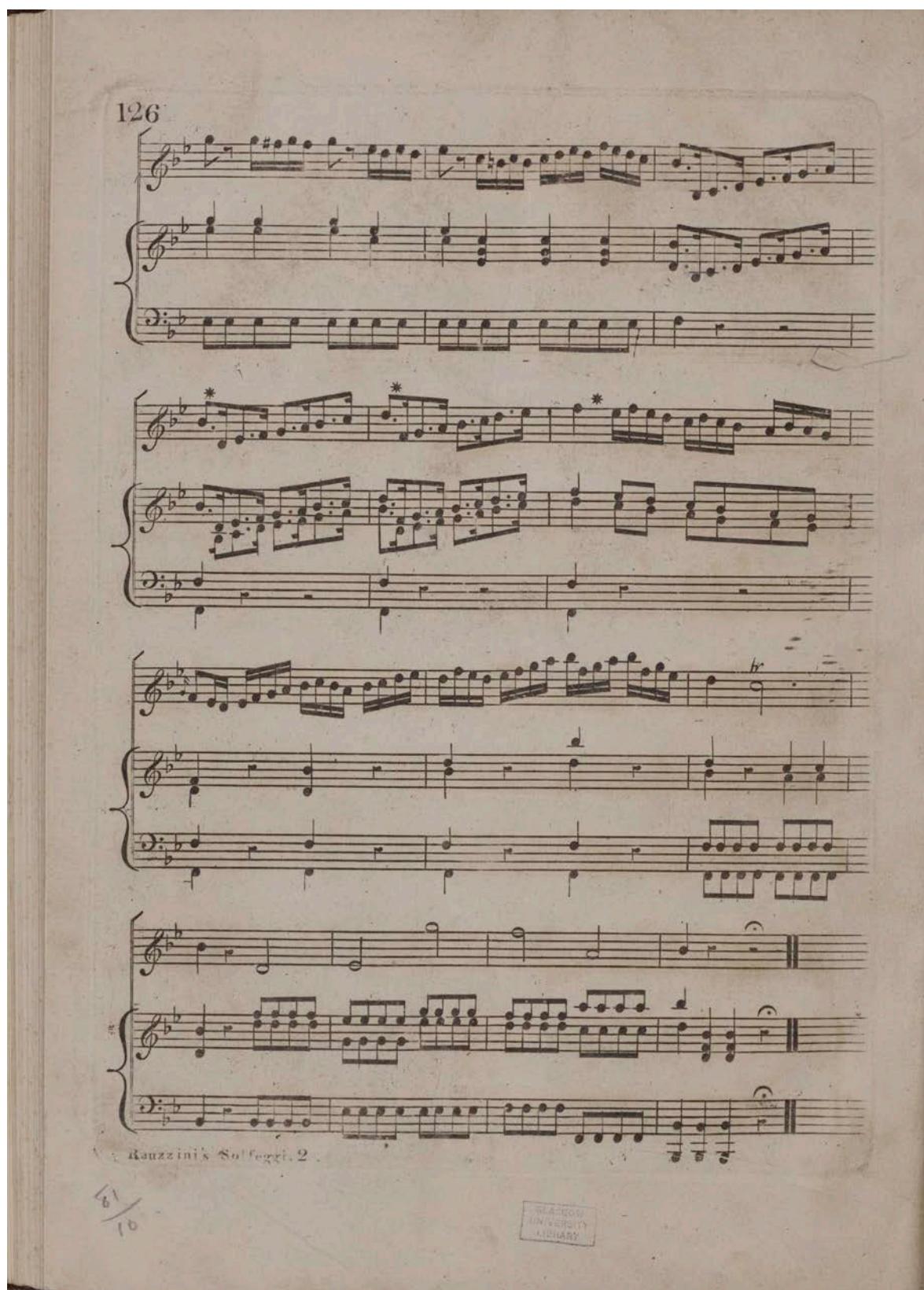
Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2

124

Rauzzini's Solfeggi, 2

125

Rauzzini's Solfeggi . 2 .



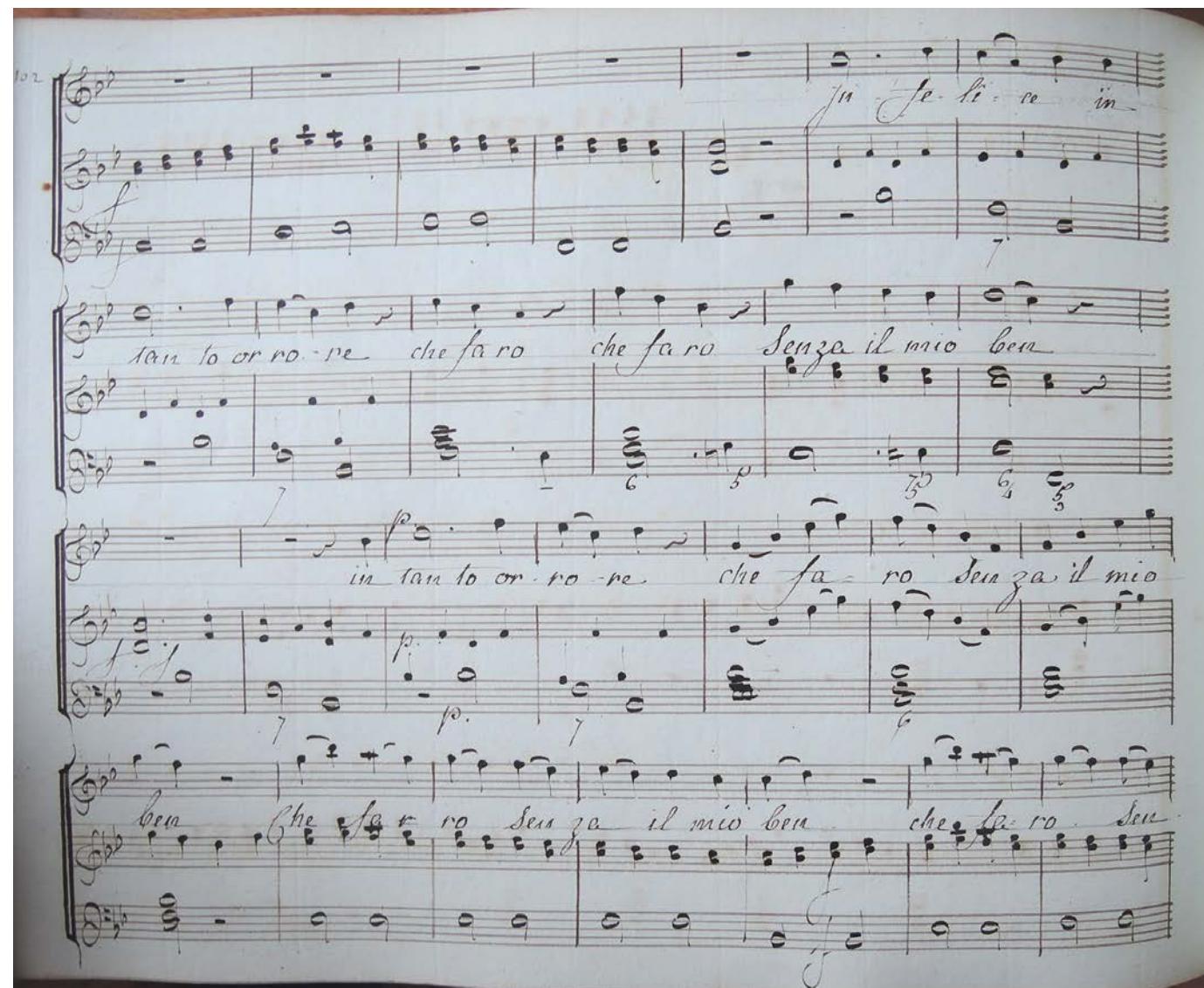
Courtesy of the University of Glasgow Special Collections (Sp Coll Q.a.1).

Appendix B.1. 'Aria' from *Piramo e Tisbe* by Venanzio Rauzzini and sung by Caterina Schindlerin



A handwritten musical score for voice and piano, page 169. The score consists of four staves. The top two staves are for the voice, with lyrics in Italian: "Li ranno oh Stelle", "Li ranno Do-re Se-i", "mentre ma il co", and "appa-re na il qua-do intorno ar di- se o solle var". The bottom two staves are for the piano, with dynamic markings like *p*, *f*, and *ff*. The score is written in ink on white paper.





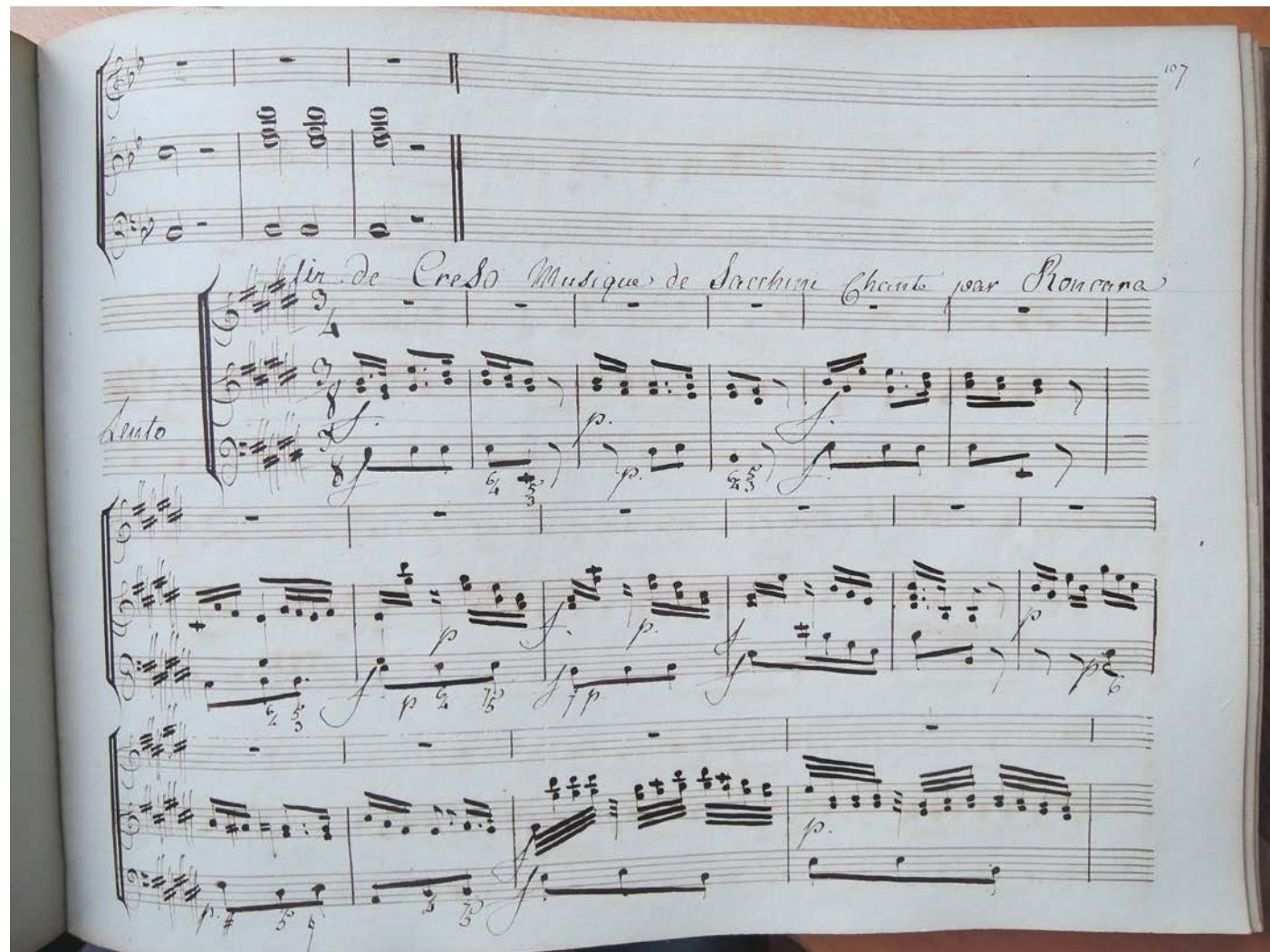
A handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The vocal line is in Italian, with lyrics appearing above the staff. The piano accompaniment is below. The score consists of four systems of music. The vocal part uses a soprano C-clef, and the piano part uses a bass F-clef. The key signature changes between systems. The vocal part starts with "fa il mio ben" and continues with "Ah che fà pene che non viene la mia temata com solar". The piano part features harmonic patterns and sustained notes. The score is dated "103" at the top right.

fa il mio ben. Ah che fà pene che non
vien la mia temata com solar. Ah che fà per.
che non viene la mia temata com solar, la mia
la mia temata com solar. la mia temata com solar.



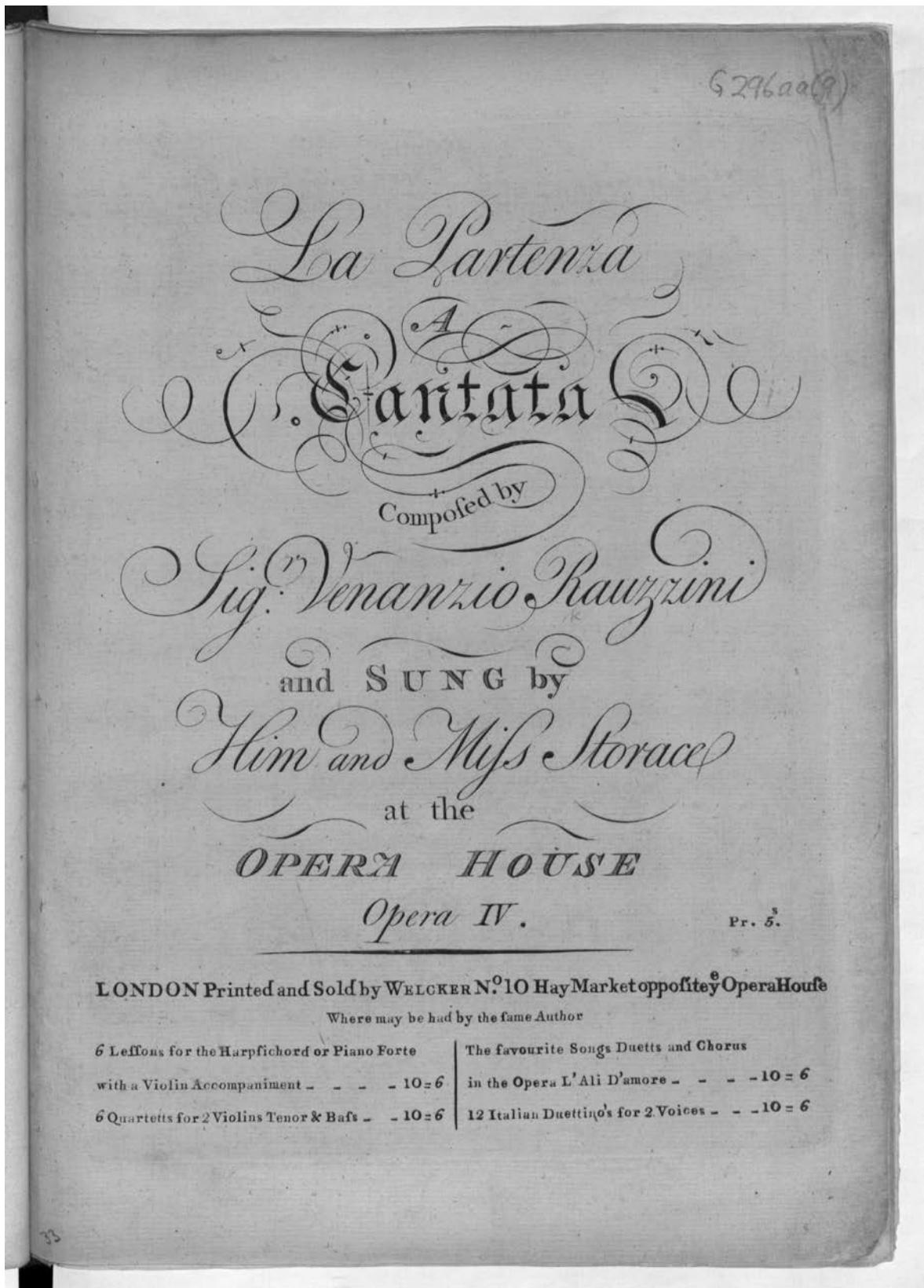






Courtesy of the Collection de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique de Genève, Rmo 66, (Ms.10465, 10466).

**Appendix B.2. *La Partenza* by Venanzio Rauzzini and sung
by Rauzzini and Anna Selina Storace**



2

Amore

Recit

Fermati a-mi-co è duopo fvelarmi la cagion d'onde am-tal fegno il tuo fem-

6

biante impalli-disce e gemie tu il fai fe nel mio regno nu-dri-focon-si gli a-

6

manti fol di speme non fon ti-ranno e posso d'un'alma avvolta in a-mo-rofiaf-

6

Fileno

-fan-ni in pia-ce-re cangiar le pe-ne e i dan-ni Fallace e il tuo pen-

4+

fie-ro o-gui tua forza o amore se fì pro-pi-zia un tempo oggi e

b7

va-na per me fol questo core che d'amor-tume e angoscie si pafce in questo

5 6

Amore

di dir-ti po-tri-ù quanto in odio mi vien la vi-ta mia Nar-ra-ni

4+ 6

3

che t'avvenne e qual feia-gu-ra potè ri-dur-ti in fia-to co-fi-ri-oo
b5

Fileno

voglio del tuo do-lo-re ef-fer-ne a parte anch' i-oo Lun-gi da questo
b7 b6

fuol fe-li-ce fe-de di mil-le e mil-le al-me ben-na-te e colte gir mi con-
b5 b6

Amore

vien A'un fel-ce dunque ap-pe-fa ne-gletta la-feie-rai quella tua can-na che
b6 b4 b6

Fileno

di ri-to-ro e gioia fer-viva in pria nella tua ca-panna Contro il voler del fato non
b5 b6

di tal gloria umile an-drò cantando I pregi d'un fuol che ognormi fù gra-to e gen-
w

ti-le potrai il de-finio av-verfo tempre te-ner di-va-ia la mia falma ma giam-

b b5

4

mai par-ti - rà no giammai par - ti - rà la memor' al-ma.

Corni

Oboe

V. 1.

V. 2.

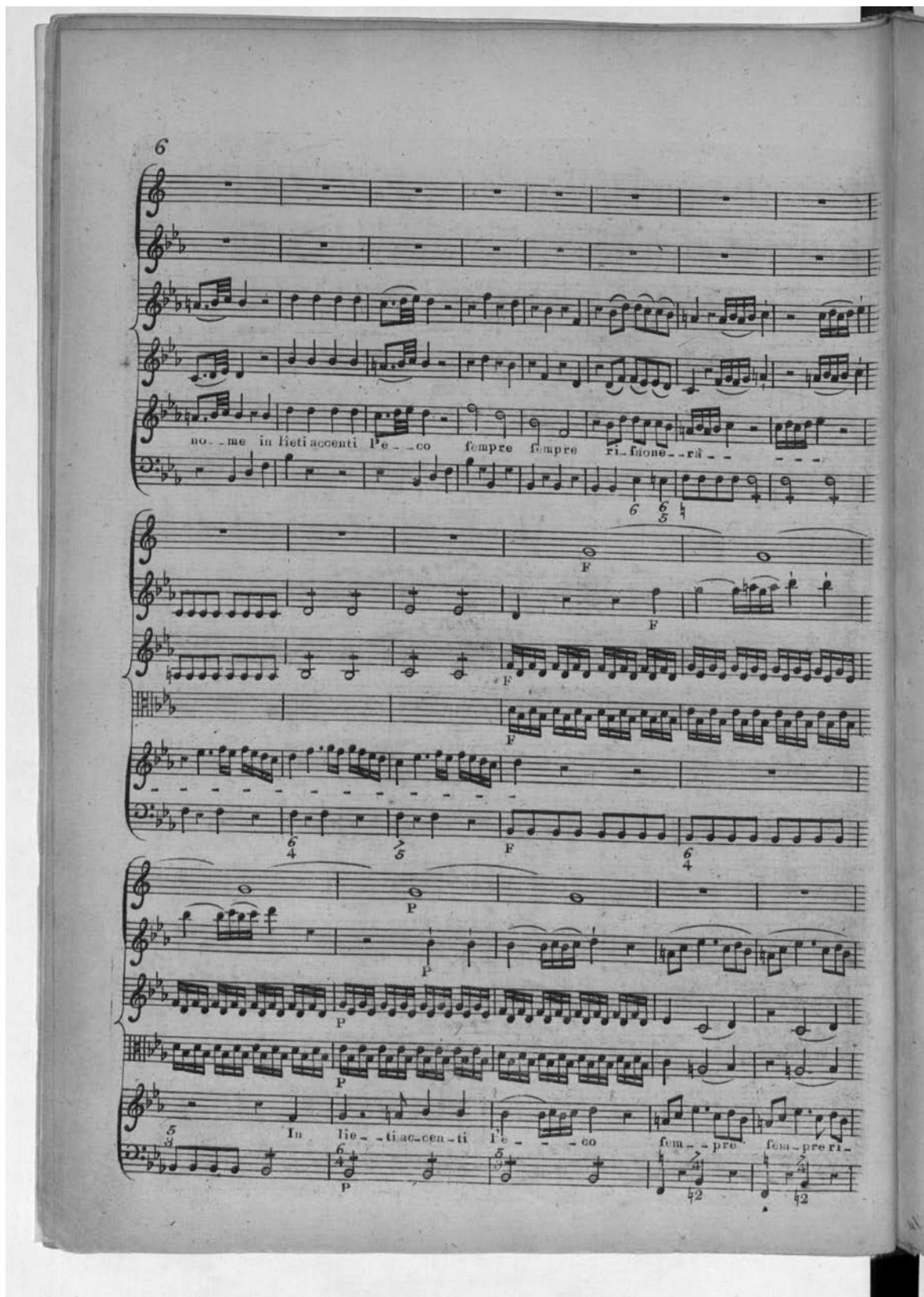
Viola

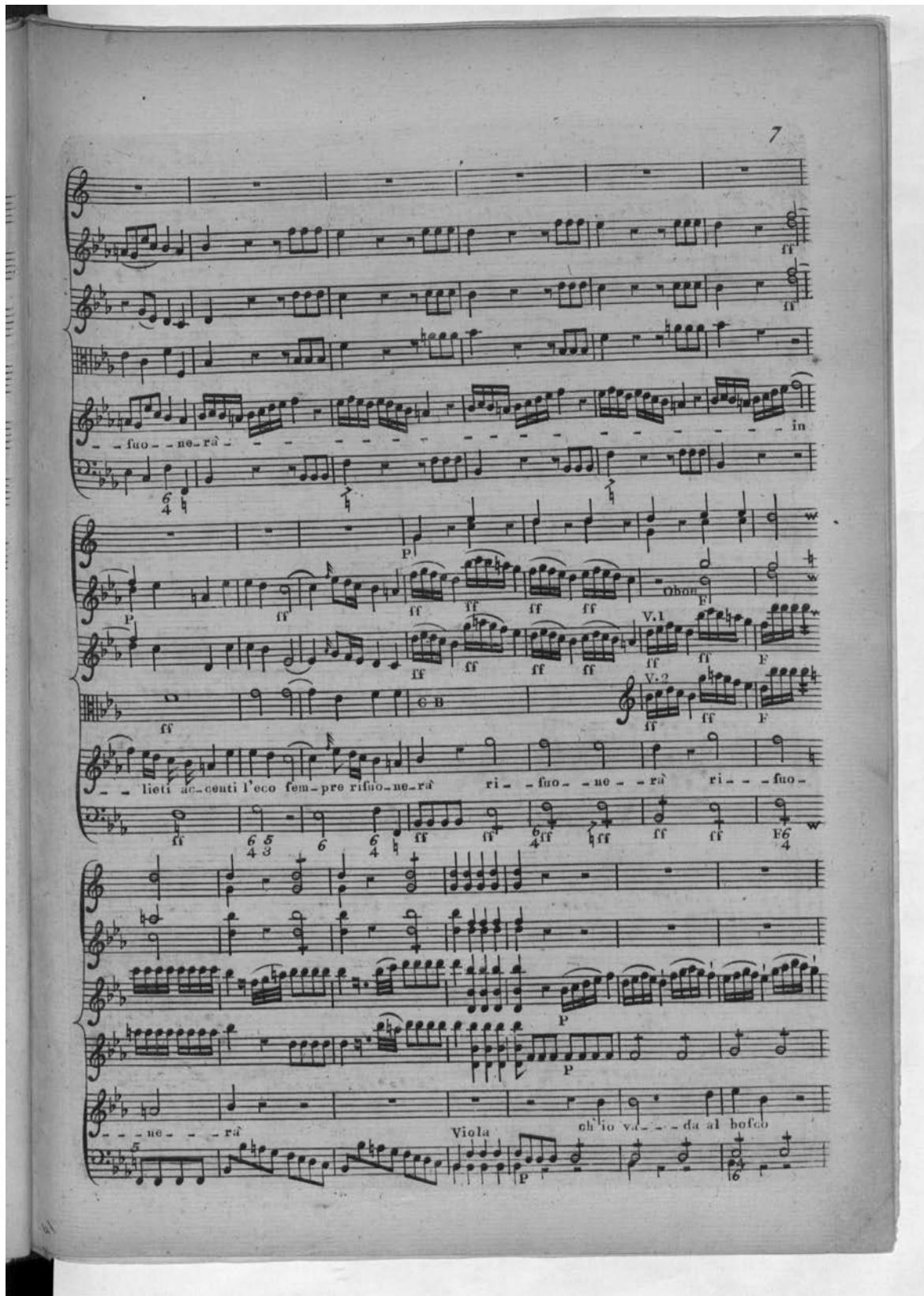
Voce

Basso

Largo

Ah! che il partir m'affanni ma pur partir con-vie-ne ma pur par-





A page from a musical score, numbered 8 at the top left. The score consists of six staves. The first staff is for the piano, indicated by the instruction "piano". The second staff is for the Oboe, labeled "Oboe". The third staff is for the Violin 1, labeled "V.1.". The fourth staff is for the Violin 2, labeled "V.2.". The fifth staff is for the Cello/Bassoon, labeled "CB". The sixth staff is for the Bassoon, labeled "F". The vocal part begins with lyrics in Italian: "al bosco al prato o in fo li ta - rio speco di questo fuolo il". The vocal line continues with "no me in lieti accenti l'eco sem pre sem pre - risuone.". The music includes various dynamics such as "p", "f", and "ff", and time signatures like 5/4 and 6/4.

A page from a musical score, numbered 9 at the top right. The score consists of several staves of music, primarily for voices, with accompanying instruments like Oboes and Violins. The vocal parts include soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. The music is set in common time, with various key changes indicated by sharps and flats. Dynamics such as *p* (piano), *ff* (fortissimo), and *F* (forte) are used throughout. The vocal parts sing in Italian, with lyrics including "In lie-ti-accen-ti l'e-co sempre" and "In lieti accenti l'eco sempre risuonerà". Measure numbers 6, 5, 4, and 3 are visible below the bass staff. The score is written on aged paper with some foxing and staining.

10

lie-to risone-ra ri-fuo-ne-ne-ra si lie-to ri-fuo-ne-ne-ra ri-fuo-ne.

ff ff ff ff F
4 3 6 5 ff 4 3 ff 4 ff 5 ff F6

unis
8 8 unis
unis

ri-fuo-ne.

4 5 6 5 6 5 6

11

Amore

Recit

Se-guirti voglio e fa-rò tuo Com-pagno tem-ple do-vun-que andrai

6 6

Filenio

Fol-le tu vuo-i questo a ffi-lo cangiari che penfi mai? si-ca-ro io ti vedrei ne-

b5 6 6 6

-gletto cal-pe-star l'arco e lo strale fa-ria per te fa-ta-le l'ab-hau-do-

b5

nar fi lu-singhier foggioruno sei di trionfi a-dorno e un al-tru-a-fil tu

b6 6 6 6

cerchi? ah! refta ah! refta e ogni cu-ra mo-lef-ta che in tor-bi-dar vo-

6

-lef-se queste fe-li-ci ri-ve o queste ono-del mondo An-gliche dive allon-

6 6

-ta-na o con-se-gnala al de-sti-no ed ei la porti per le vie fe-cre-te

6 6 #

entro le pa-lu-do-se on-de di le-te.

6 6 # #

12 Duetto

Corni

Oboes

V. 1.

V. 2.

Viola

Basso

Audante

Dunque restar deggio nel mio foggiorno antico nel
mio foggiorno antico chi mai mi rende ormai roseil
T'of fre l'asilo a mi co un popolo sacer

13

suo partir non è
 mi piange il cor e palpito mi piange il cor e
 ah dimmi alma felice
 palpito mi fe'ro mi fe'ro il ciel mi fa
 fa - i dimmi quando ti ri - ve - dro
 forse per sempre rai - i forse per sempre rai - i al

14

cho fie - ra pena oh Di - o
lume io chiuderò cho fie - ra pena oh Di - o

$\frac{6}{4} \frac{5}{8}$ F

ahi che dolor che af - fan - no ad un estremo addio chi mai resiste -
ahi che dolor che af - fan - no ad un estremo addio chi

cres F P F ff

cres chi mai re - si - ste - ra - chi mai re - si - ste - ra chi

mai chi mai re - si - ste - ra - chi mai re - si - ste - ra

cres F2 P 6 6 4 11 116

15

Corni

Oboes

V.1.

V.2.

Viola

C.B.

mai mi rende or mifero fe il tuoo partir non è
mi pian ge il Core pal pitò mifero il ciel mi fe

F

F

F

F

la lusinghie ra gioia

la lusinghie ra gioia

fule no tre alme arrida

fule no tre alme arrida

$\frac{6}{4}$

$\frac{6}{5}$

$\frac{5}{4}$

$\frac{5}{3}$

$\frac{6}{4}$

$\frac{6}{5}$

$\frac{4}{3}$

16

non regni mai la noi a dove foggior na foggior na amor

non regni mai la noi a dove foggior na foggior na amor

6 5 4 5 6 5 4 8 9 8 6 5

p F p F p

p F p F p

splen dan su que fte sponde tem pre

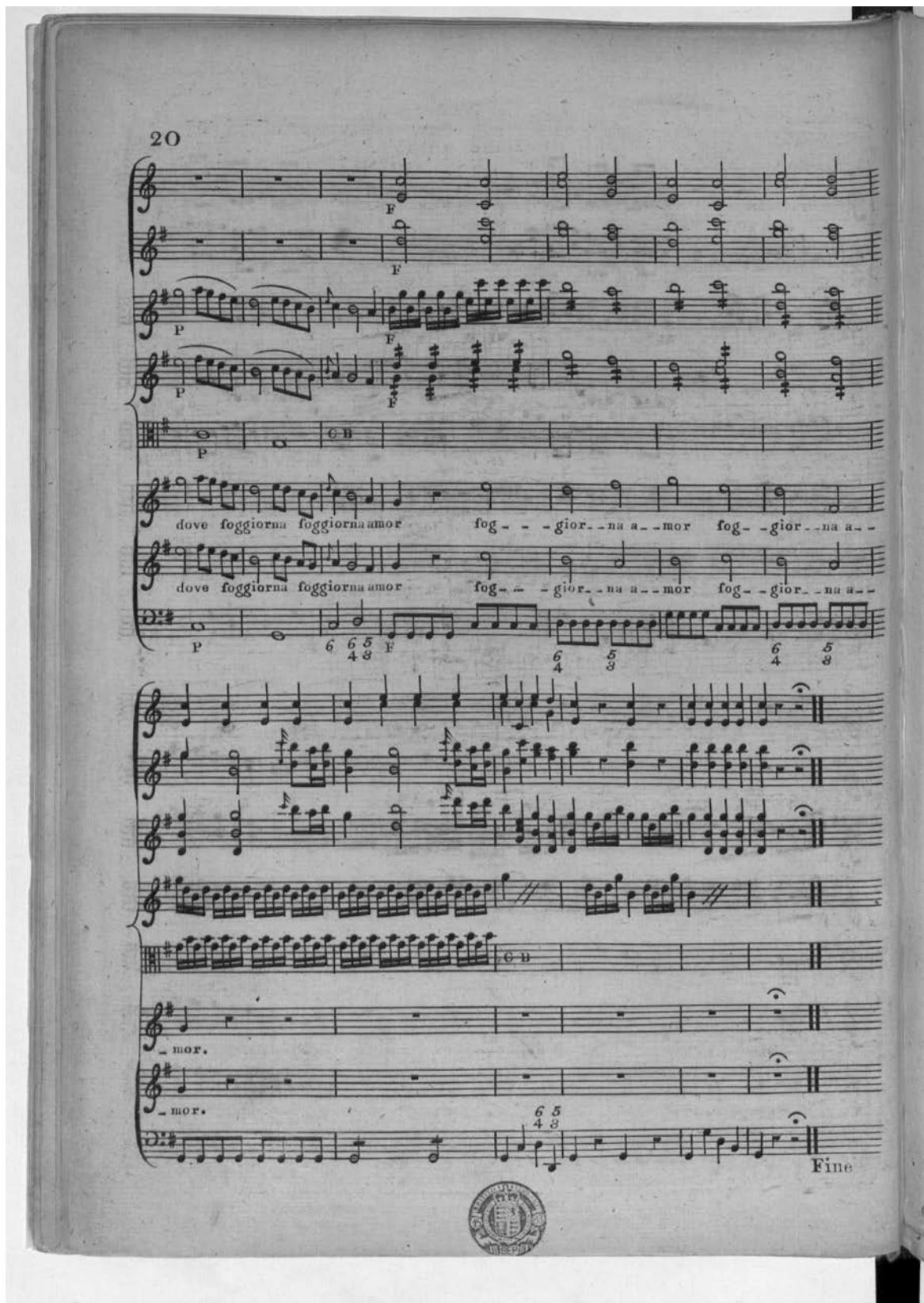
#P 6 7 6 2 #P #P 6

17

fe - re - ni gli astri ne mai perturbò l'onde nemai perturbò l'onde
la fa - ce del pia - cer

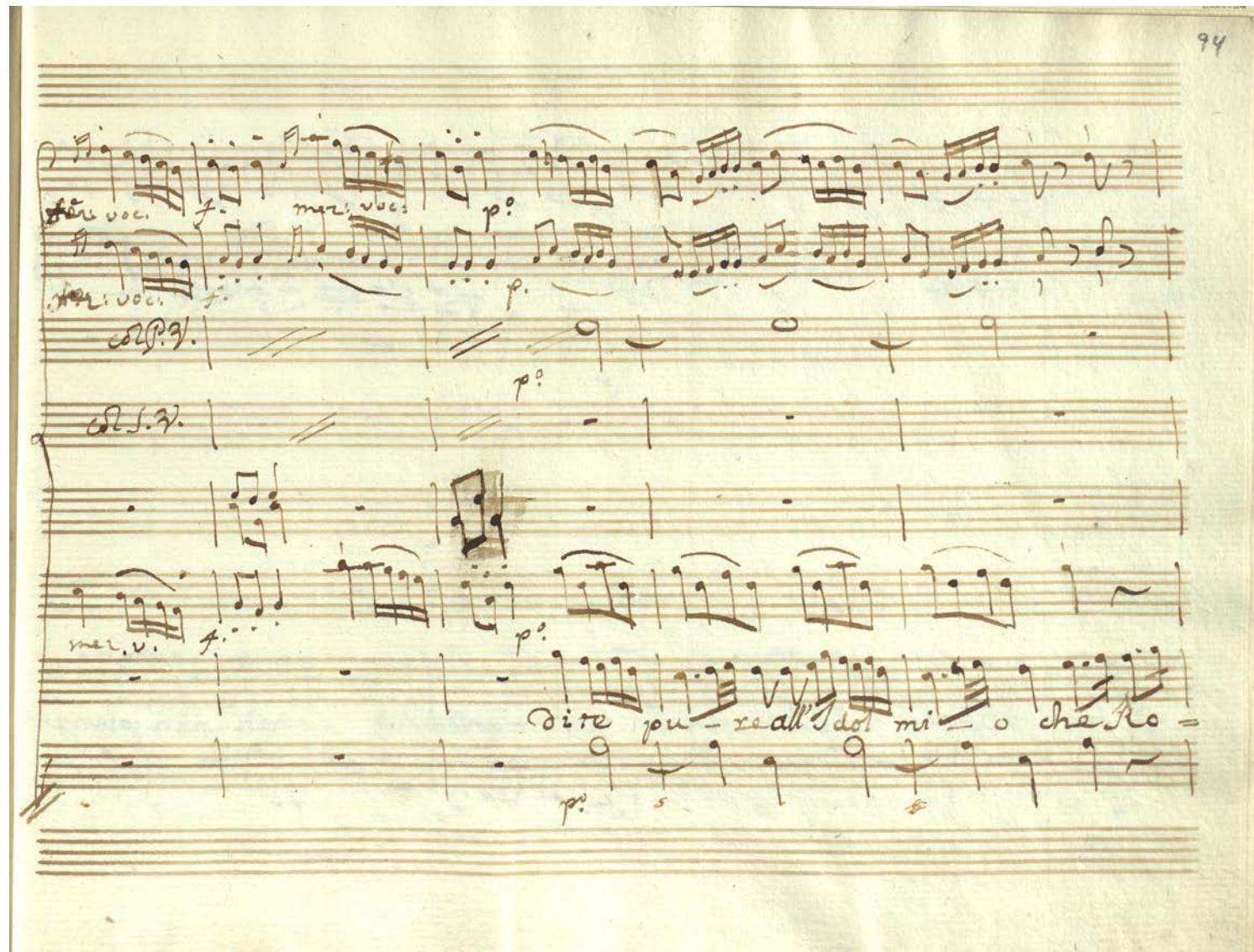
19

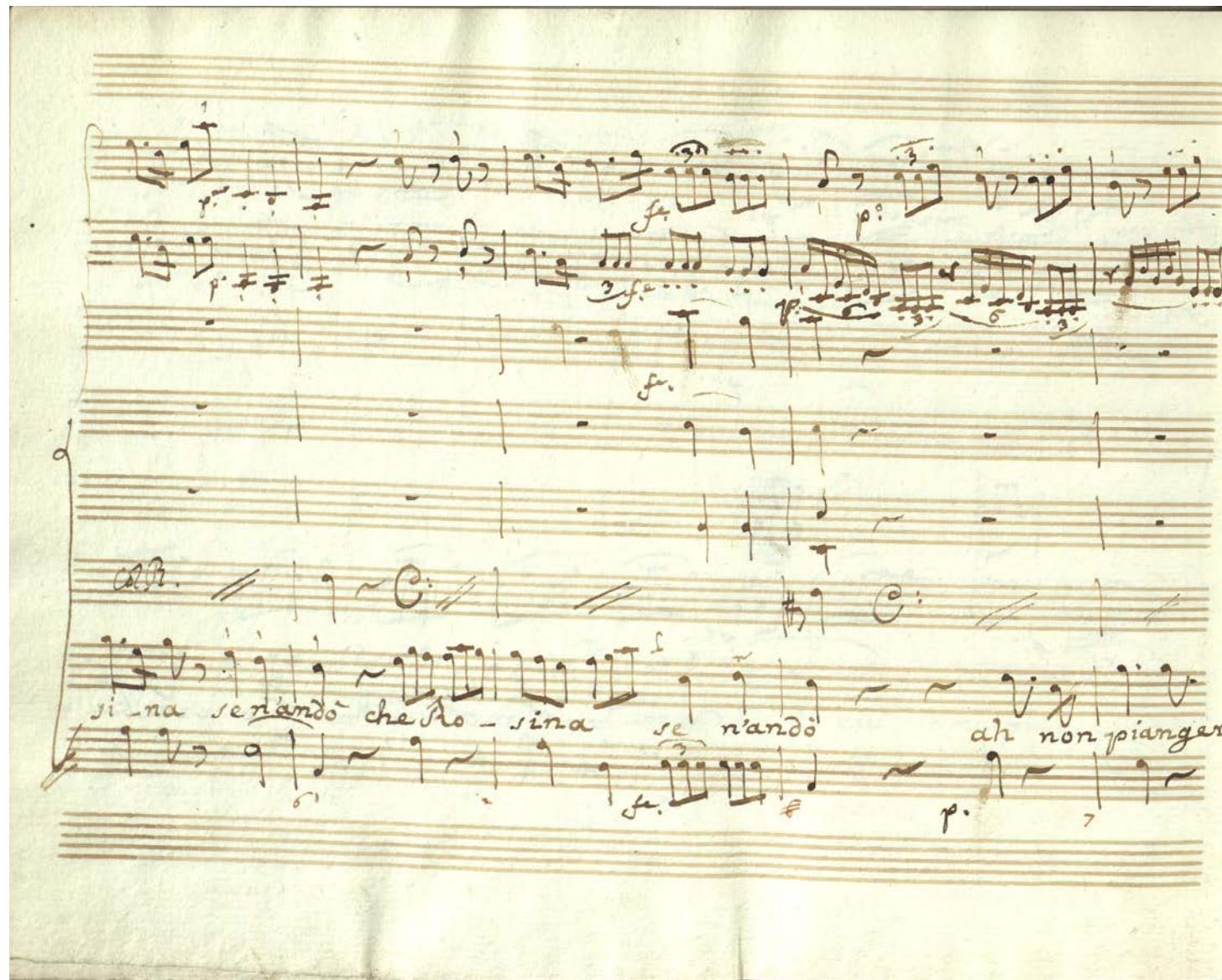
non regni la noia no dove foggiorna amor no
 no dove foggiorna amor no
 ff P 6 6 5 3 F ff
 P cres F
 P cres F
 P cres F
 P 6 6 5 3 F
 dove foggiorna a - mor non re - gni la no - ia dove foggiorna amor
 dove foggiorna a - mor non re - gni la no - ia dove foggiorna amor
 P 6 6 5 3 F 6 5 8 8



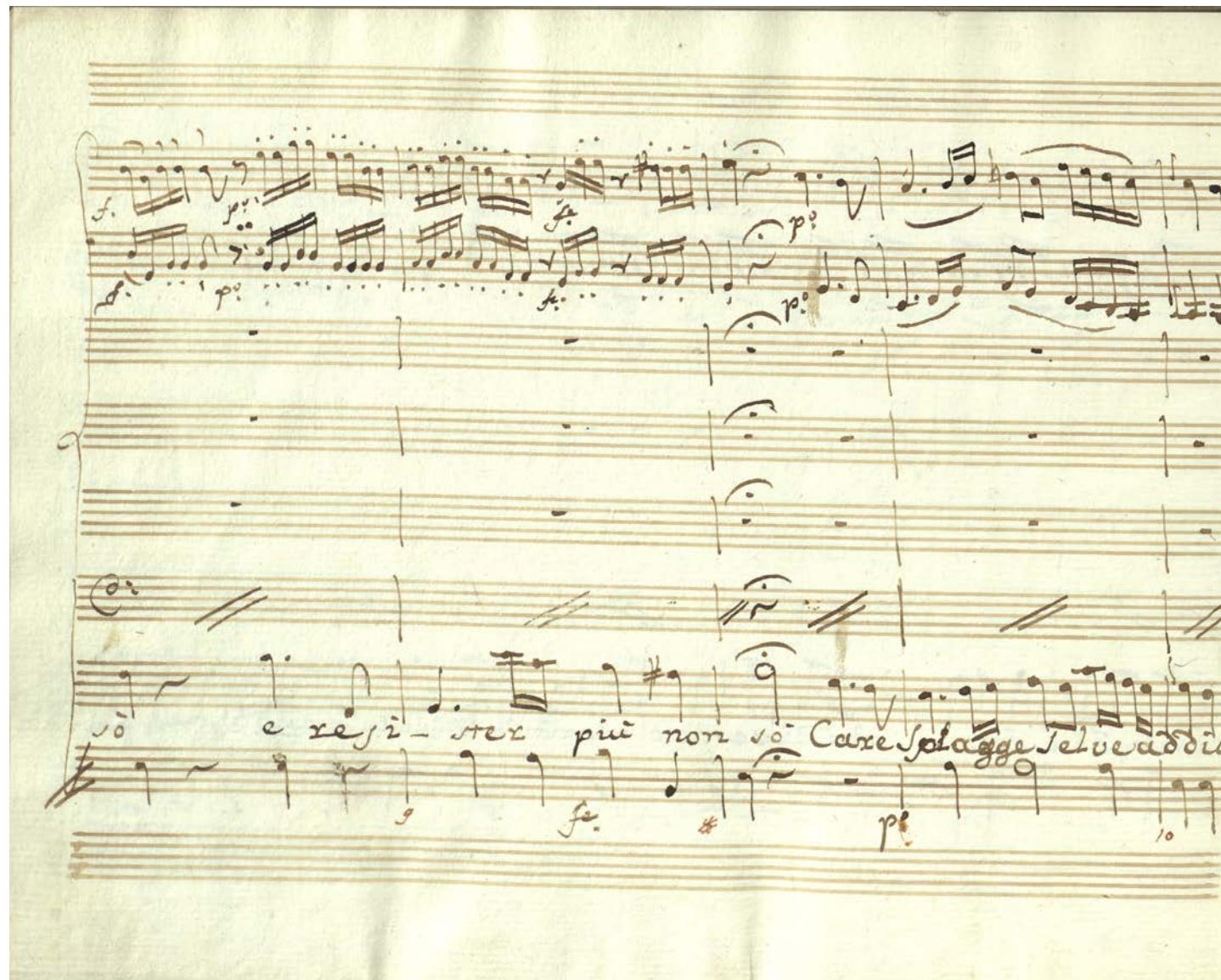
Courtesy of The British Library, London, (Music Collections G.296.aa.(9.)).

Appendix B.3. ‘Rondeau’ by Giuseppe Finucci as sung by Anna Selina Storace in Lucca 1781

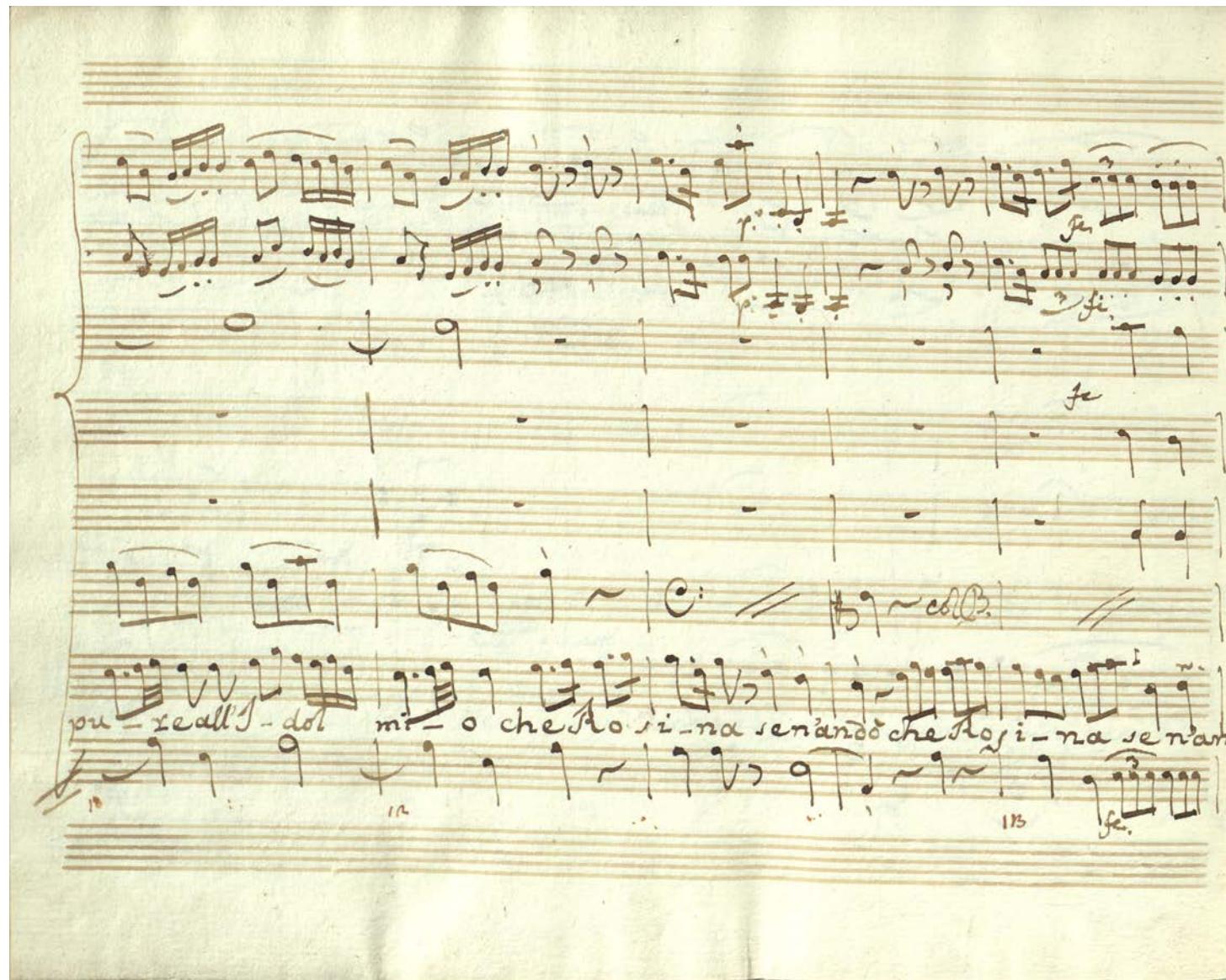




A handwritten musical score page, numbered 95 in the top right corner. The score consists of six systems of music. The top system features a soprano vocal line with various dynamics like *sforz.* and *p. sforz.*. The second system contains a basso continuo line with a bassoon part. The third system has a basso continuo line with a cello part. The fourth system shows a basso continuo line with a double bass part. The fifth system includes a soprano vocal line with lyrics: "mio Te - soro che di pena io moro o ch' Dio e re - siste più non". The sixth system concludes with a basso continuo line. The score is written on five-line staves with some ledger lines and rests.



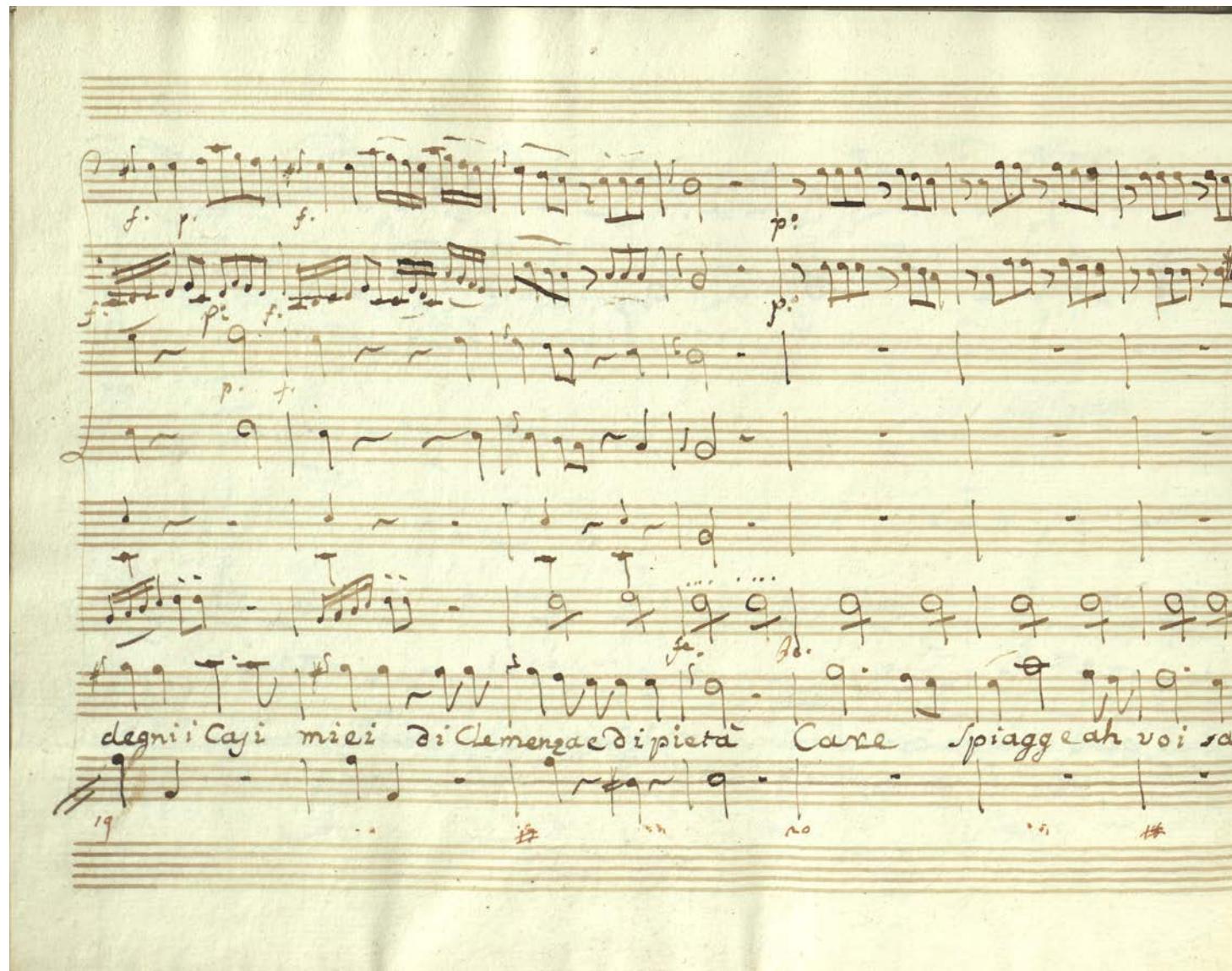


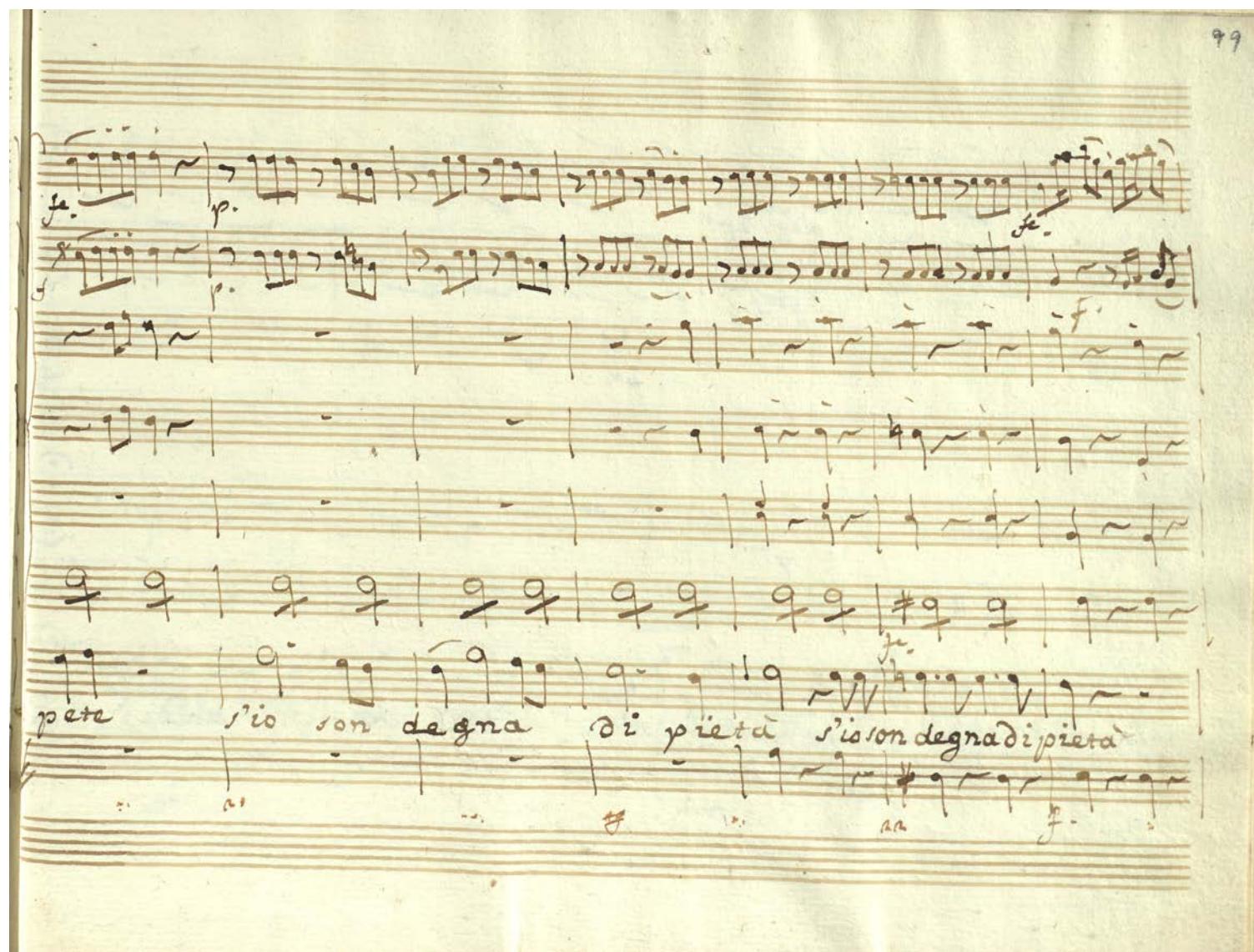


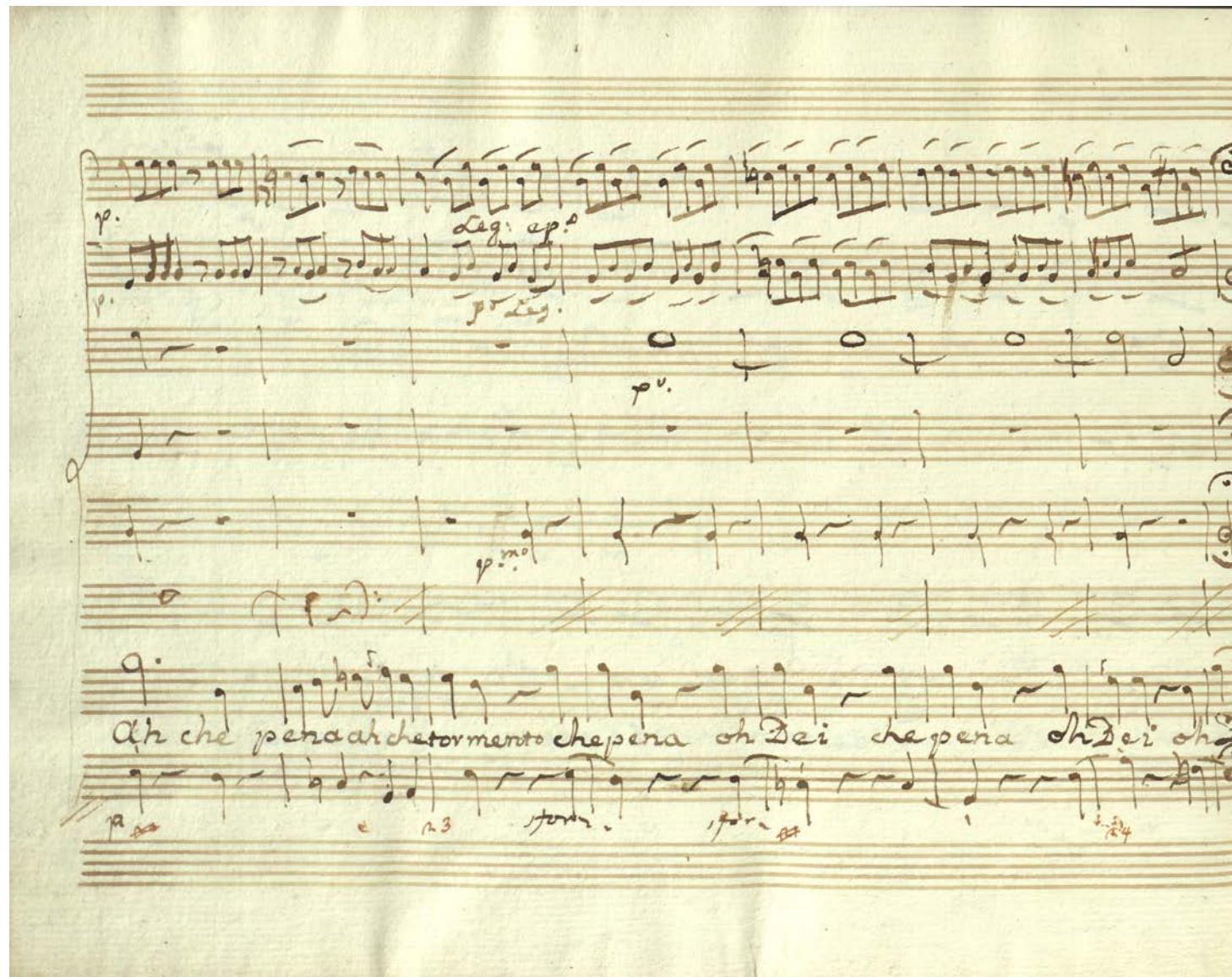




A handwritten musical score page, numbered 98 in the top right corner. The score consists of two staves of music. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and common time. It features a mix of eighth and sixteenth note patterns, with dynamic markings like *f.*, *p.*, and *p.* *ff.*. The lyrics in this section are: "E sei perche tanta crudeltà". The bottom staff begins with a bass clef, a key signature of one sharp, and common time. It also features eighth and sixteenth note patterns with dynamic markings like *f.*, *p.*, and *p.* *ff.*. The lyrics in this section are: "Eterni Dei perche tanta crudeltà ah son". Measure numbers 17 and 18 are visible at the beginning of each staff respectively.

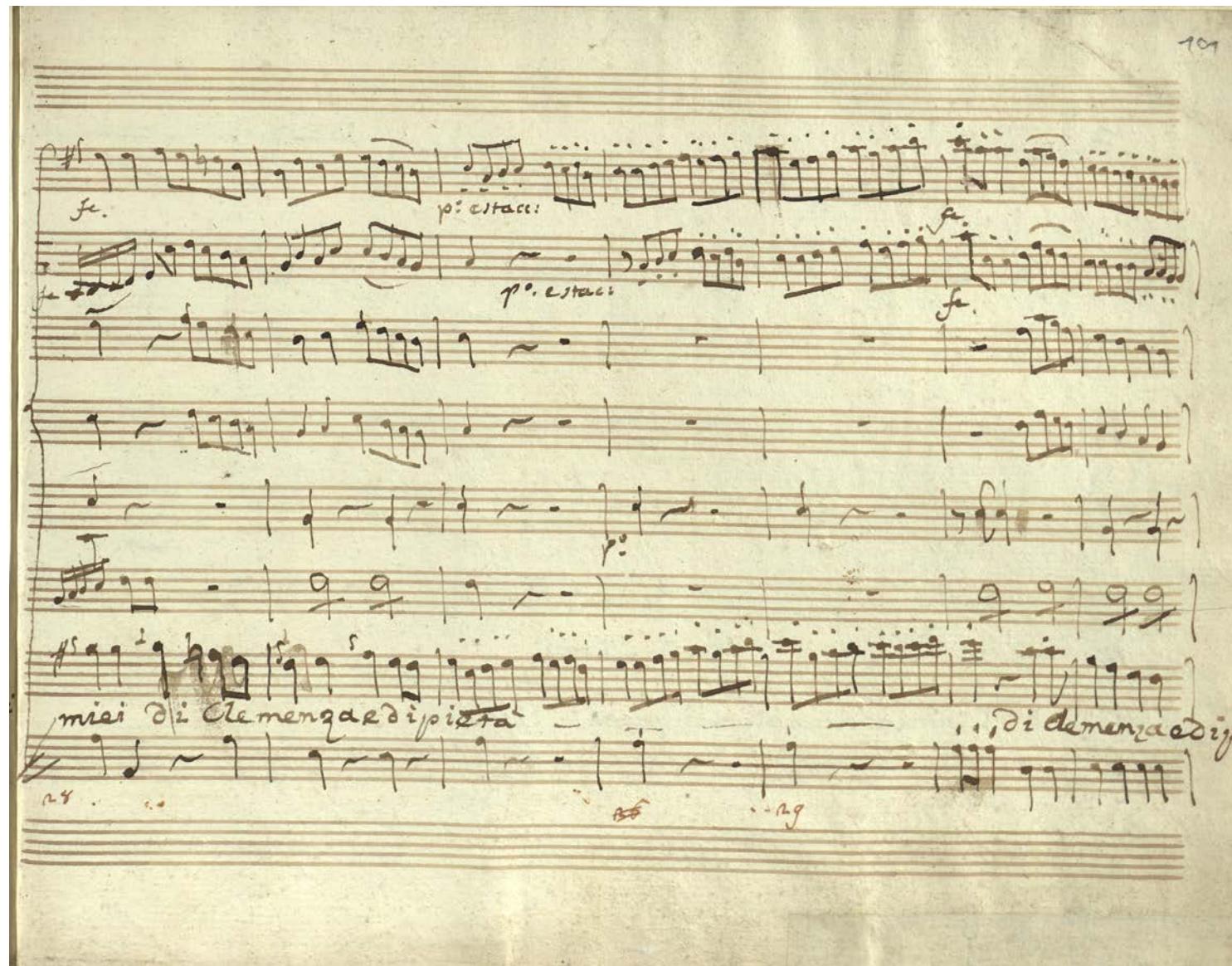






A handwritten musical score page, numbered 100 in the top right corner. The score consists of two systems of music. The top system features a soprano vocal line with lyrics in Italian, accompanied by a piano part indicated by a treble clef and a basso continuo part indicated by a bass clef. The lyrics are: "O che fai Eterni Dei perché tanta crudeltà". The bottom system shows a basso continuo part with a bass clef, featuring a series of eighth-note patterns. Measure numbers 100, 101, 102, and 103 are visible below the staff.







Sammelhandschrift mit Opern-Arien des 18. Jahrhunderts, Courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg, D H s/M A/271(Nr.7).

Appendix B.4. 'Caro Sposa' by Gaetano Andreozzi. Signed Anna Selina Storace

[9] Del Sig^r Gaetano Andreozzi : [L'Aria]

Violini

Tromba

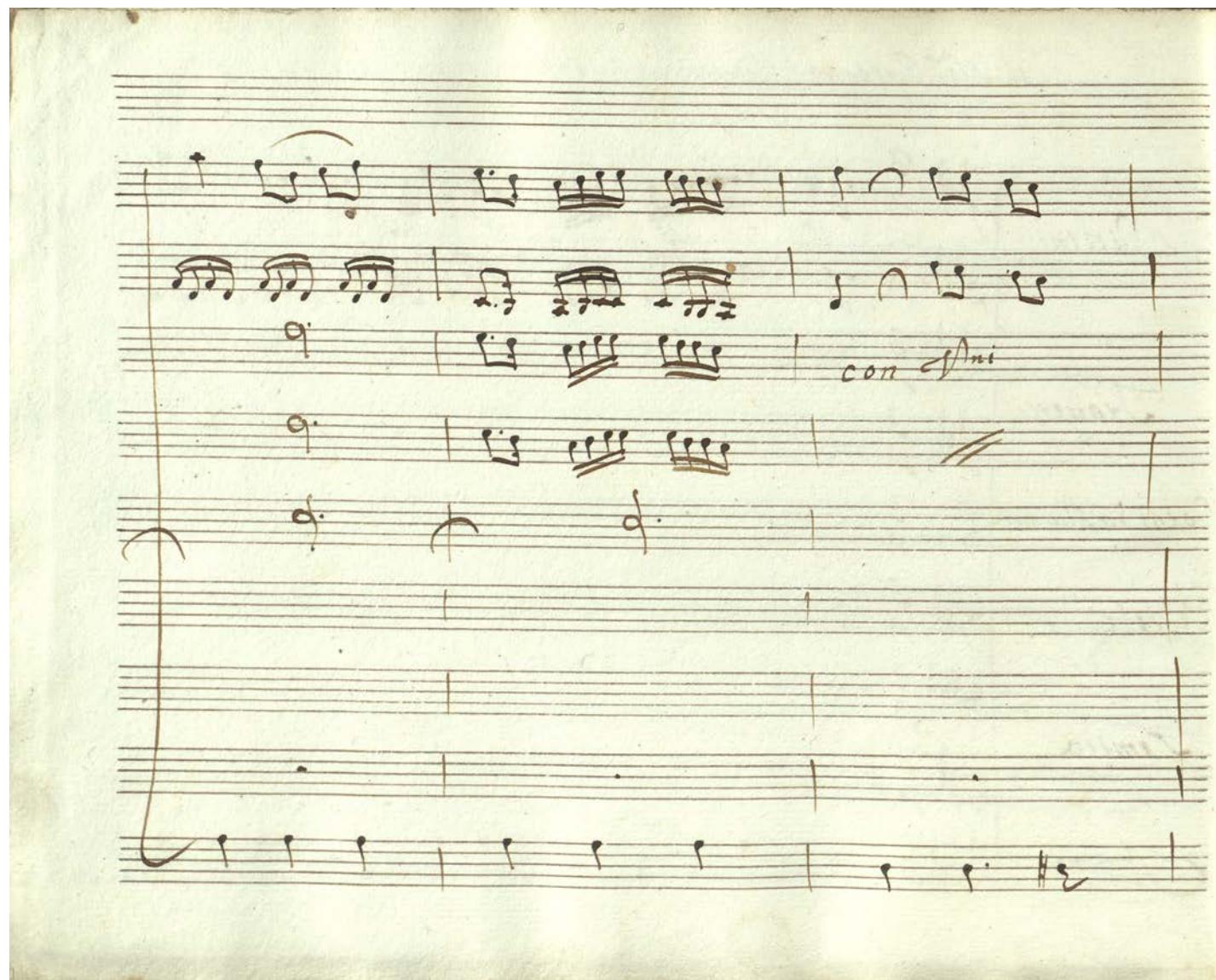
Corni in Illuminare

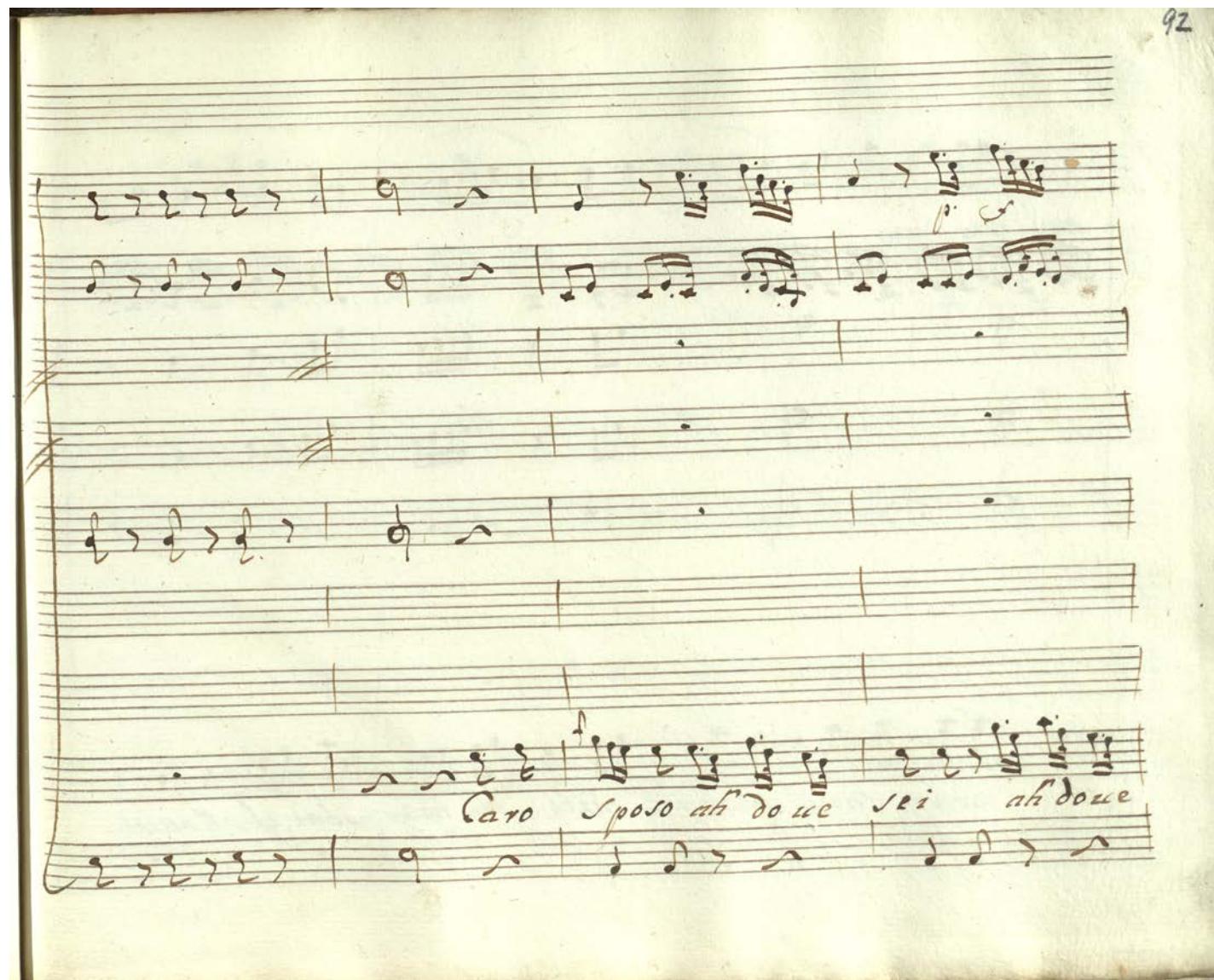
Viola

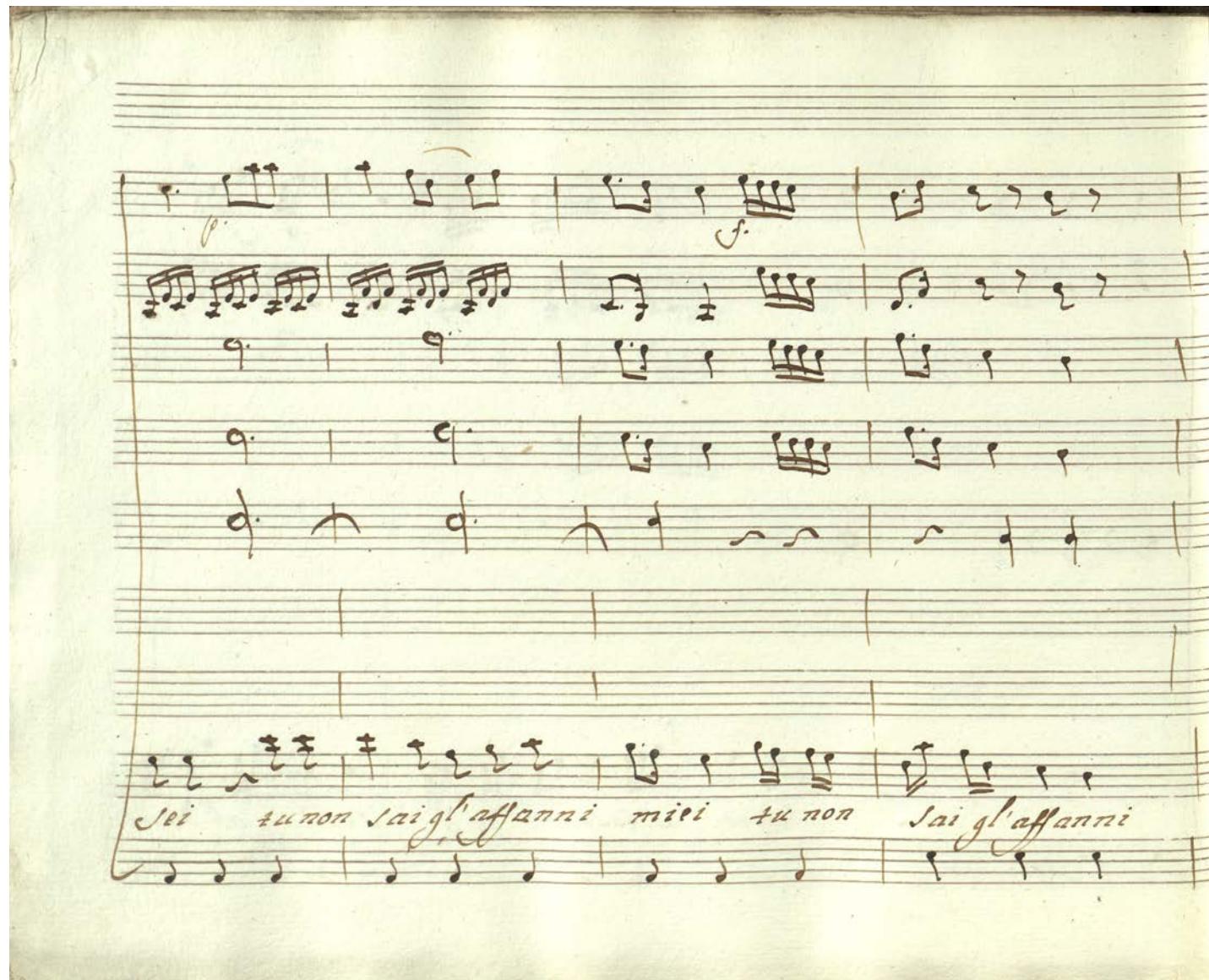
Cembalo

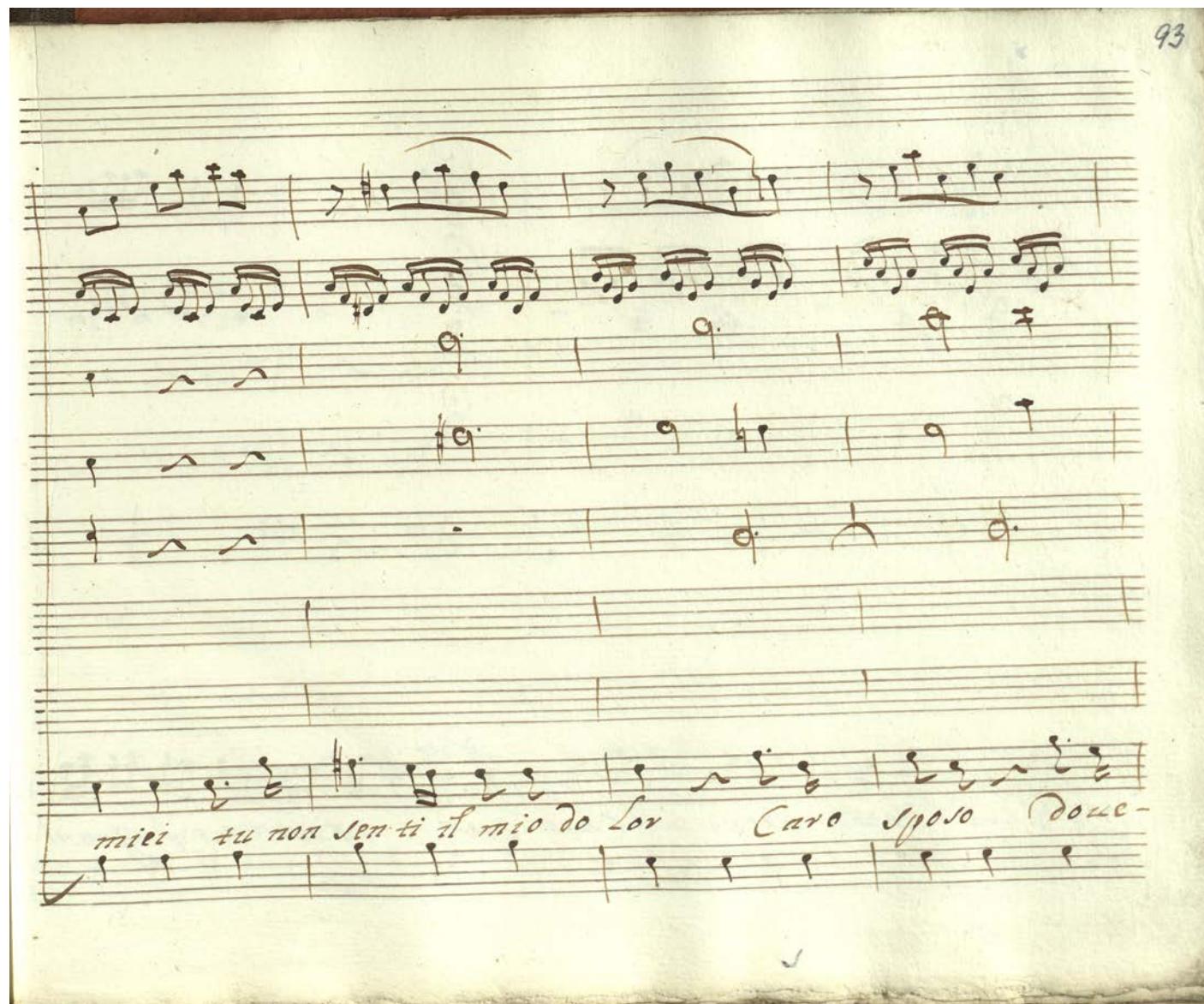
Semirado

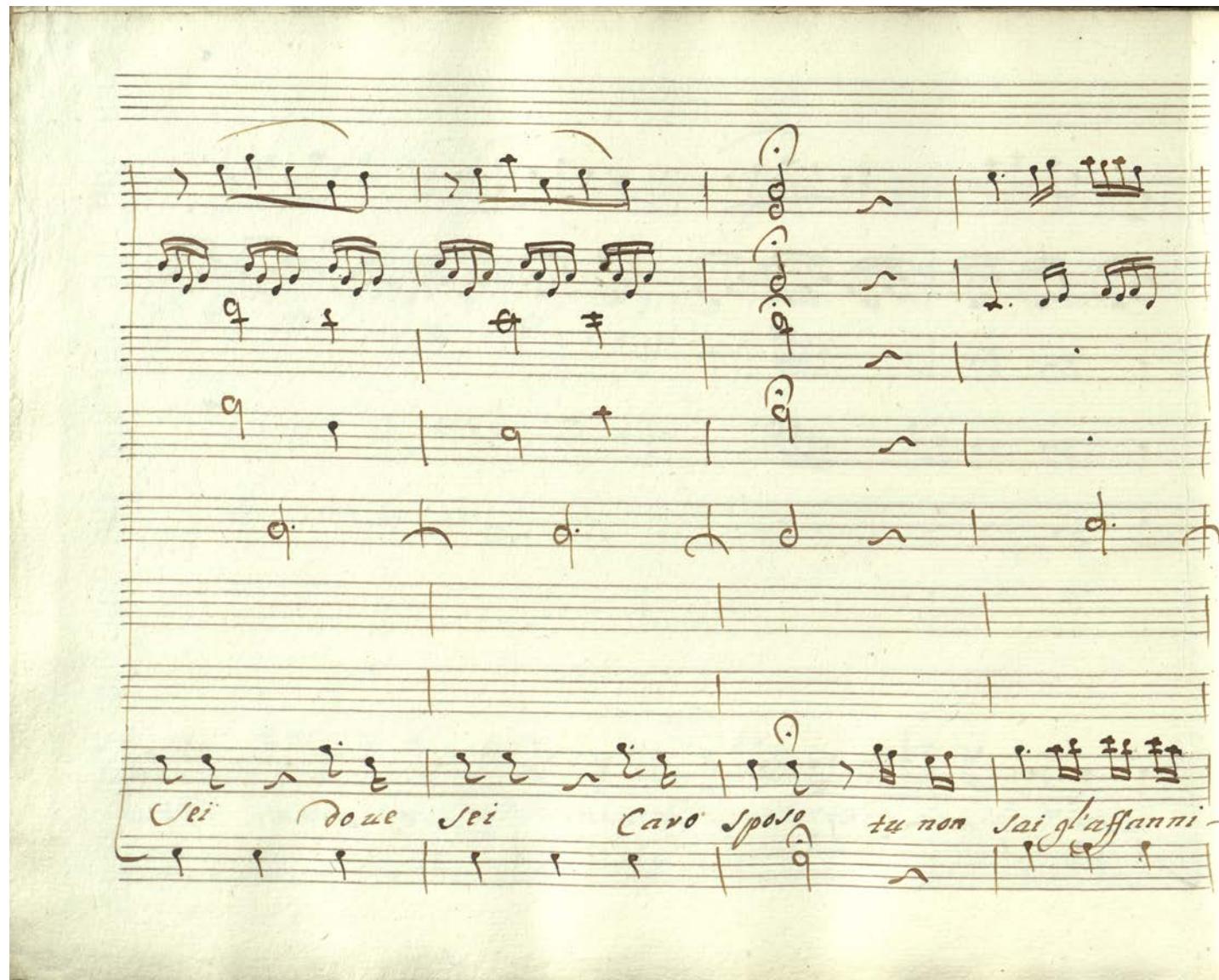
A. Storace Padrona tuem
1781

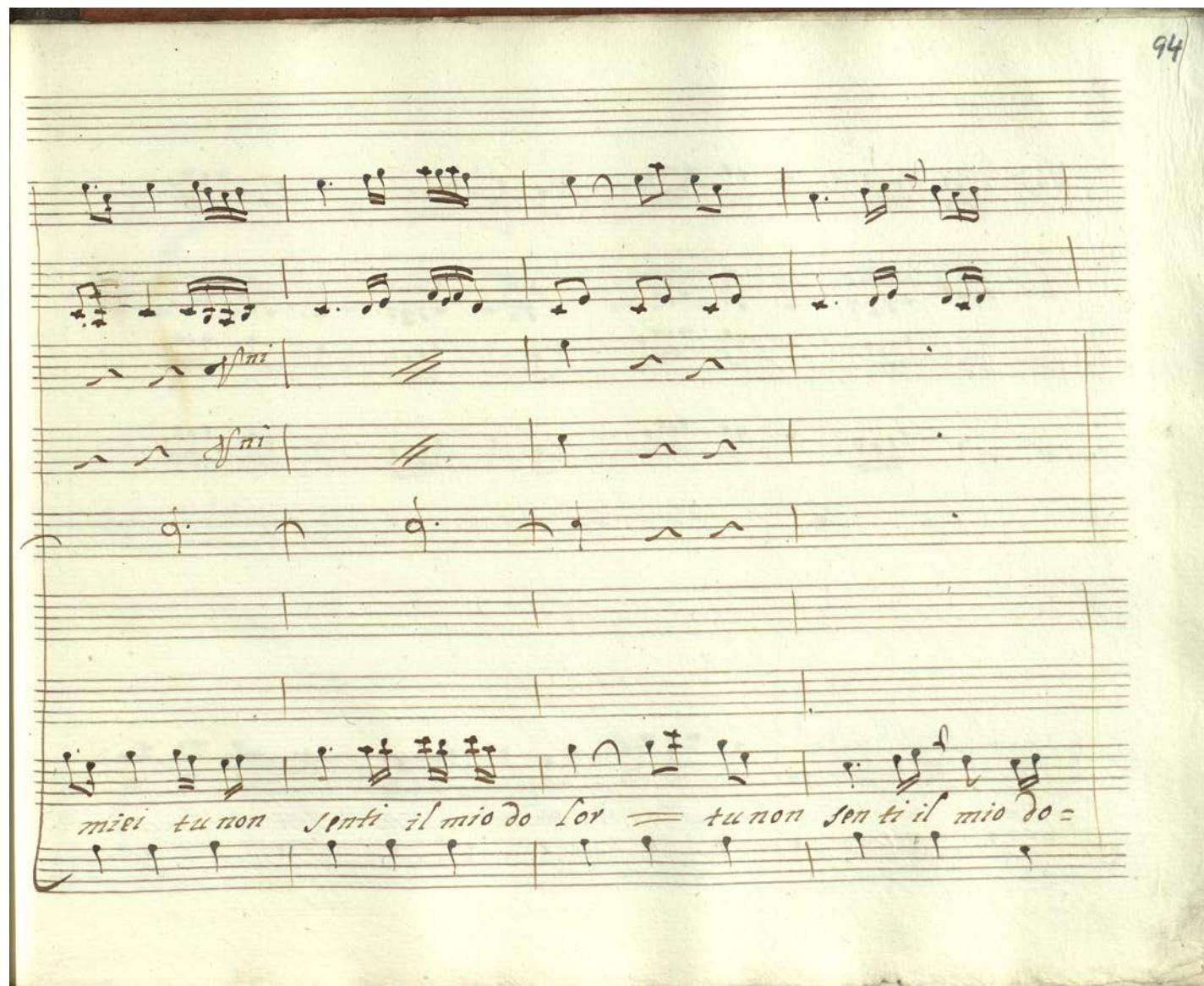


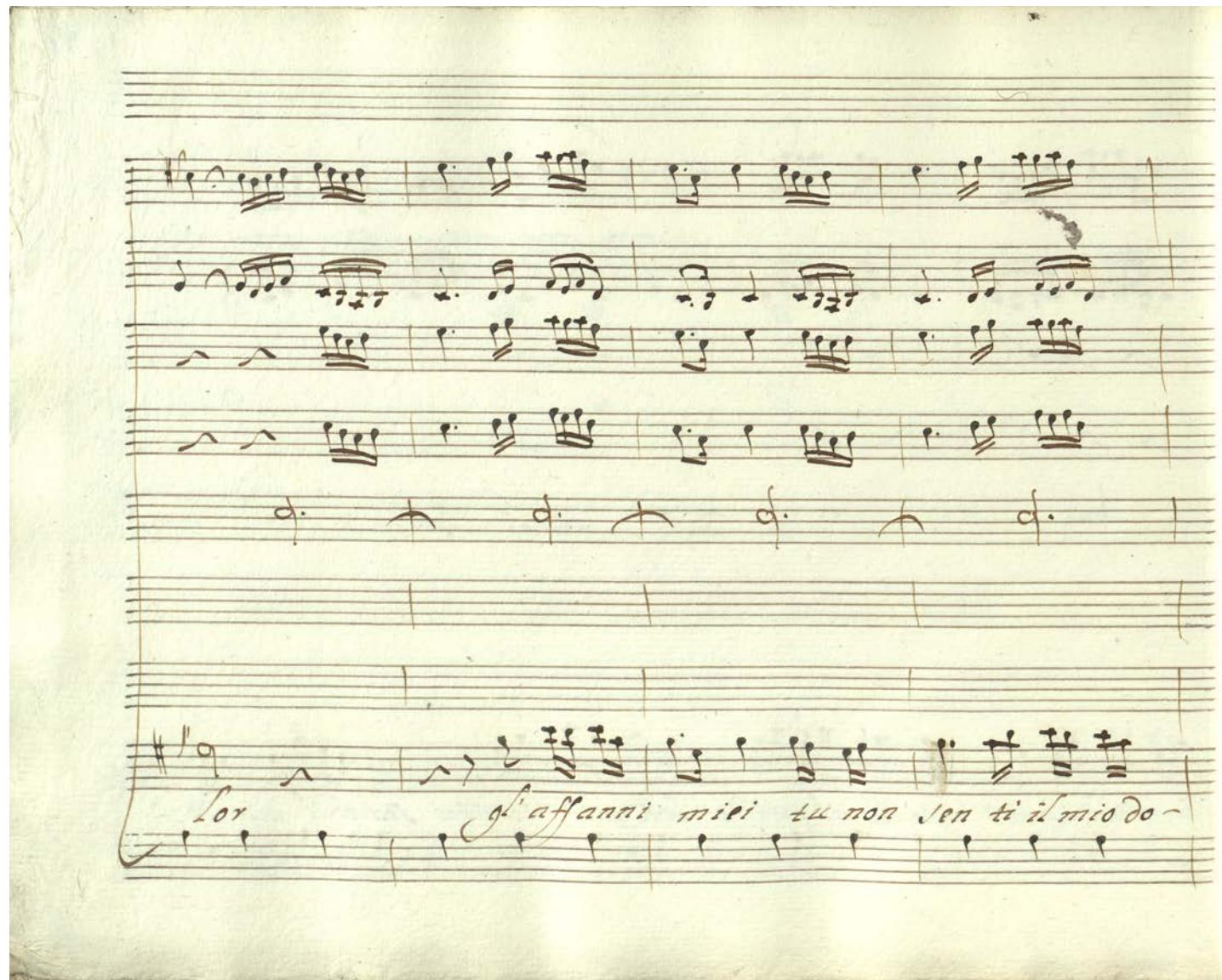


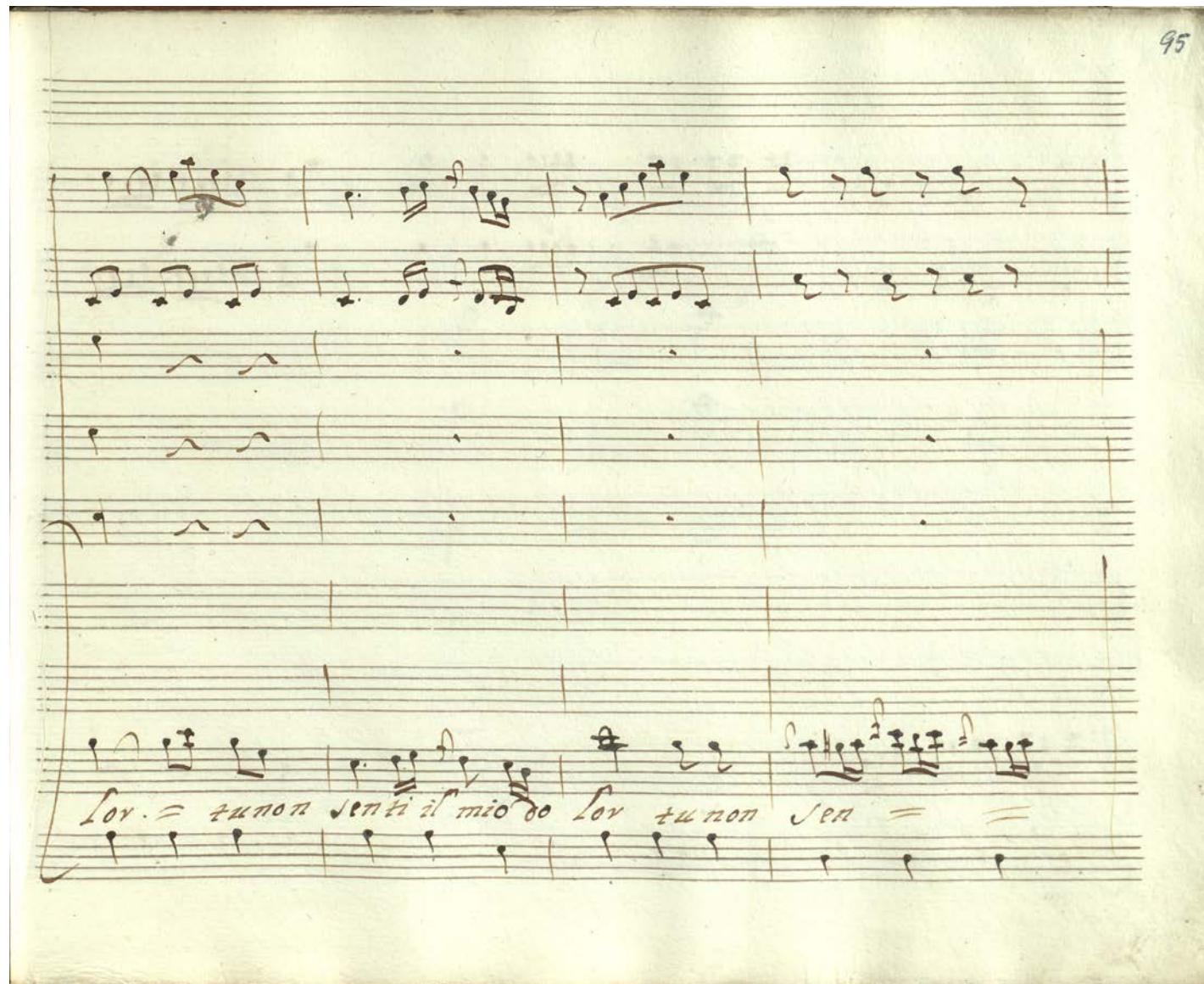


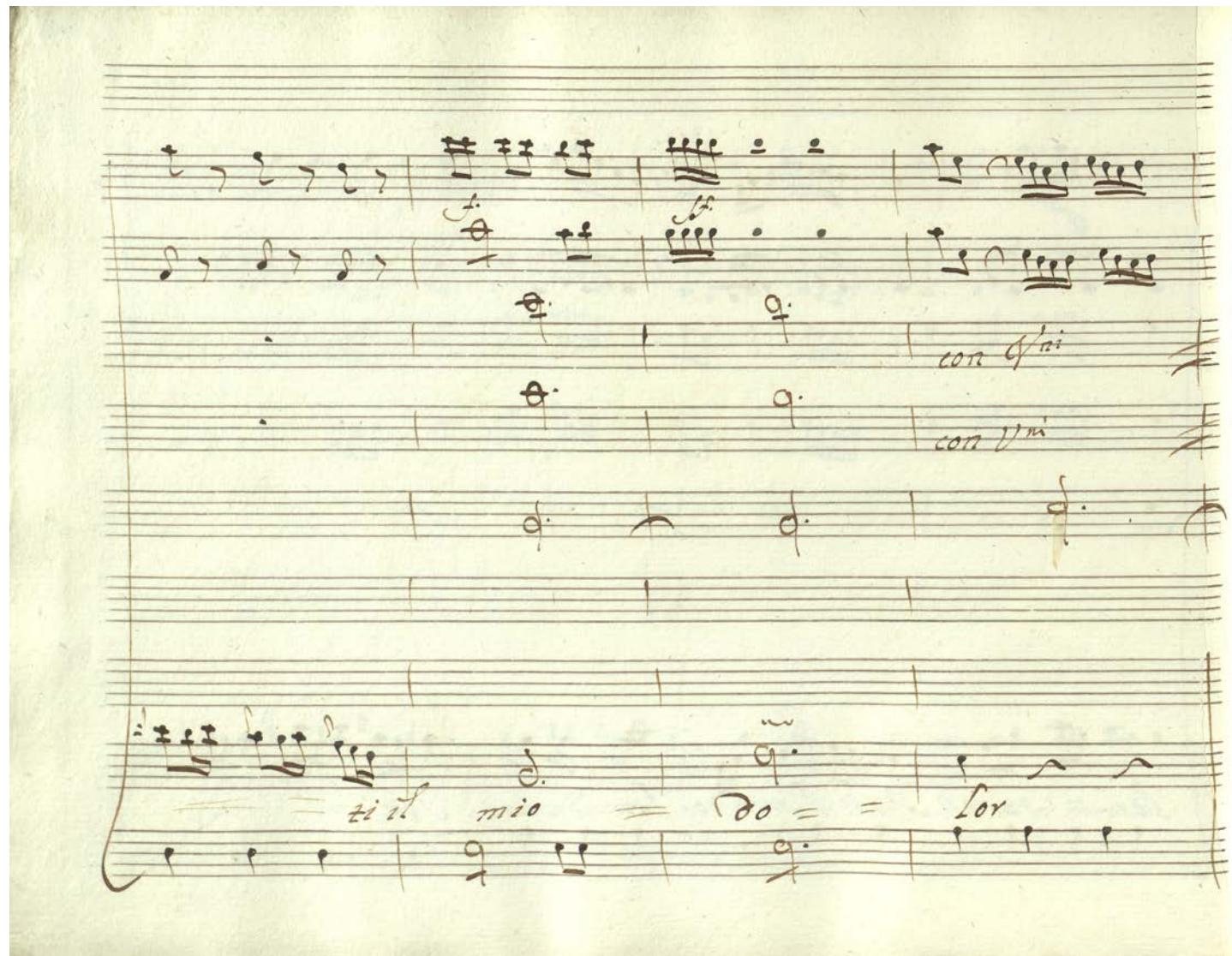


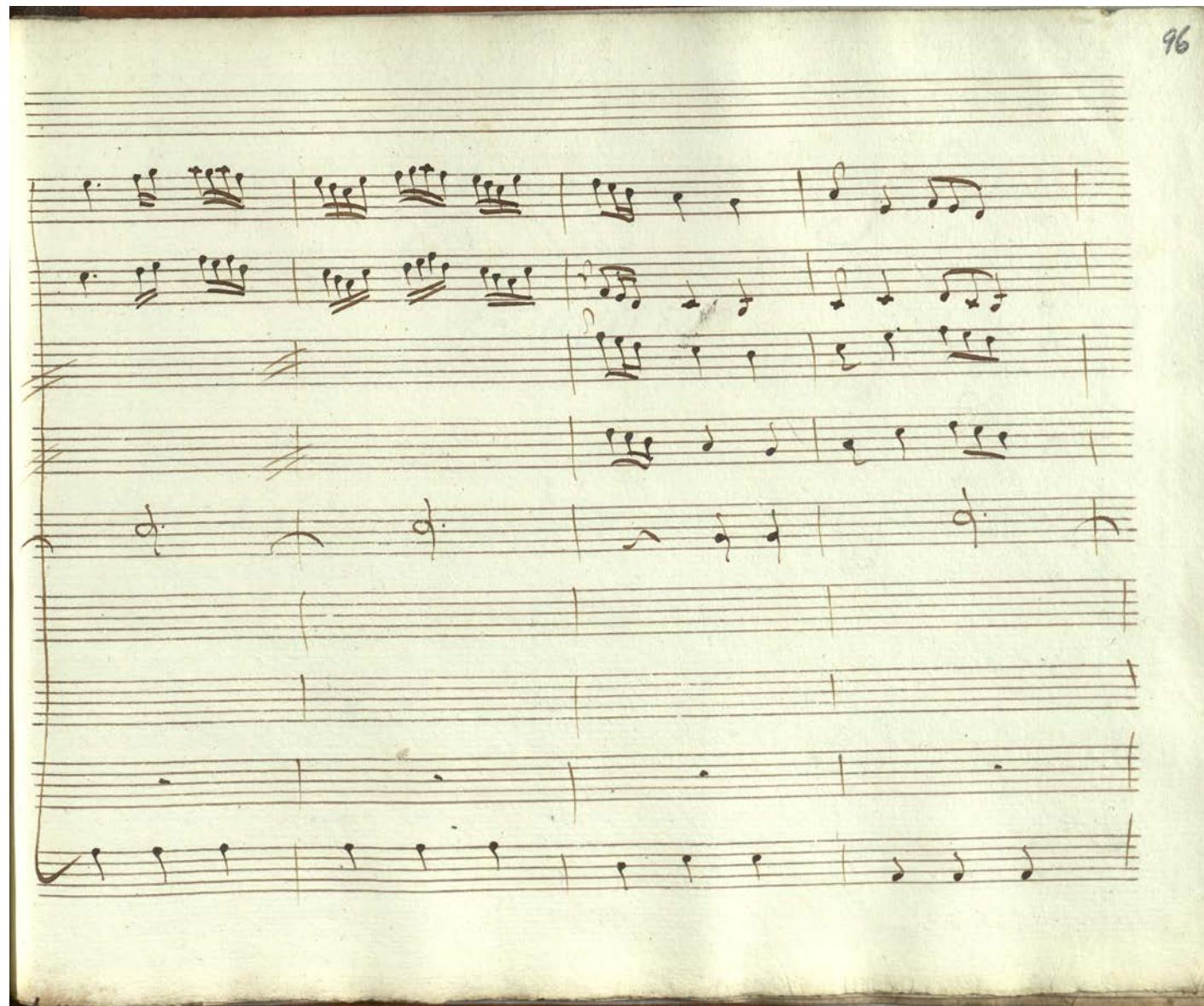


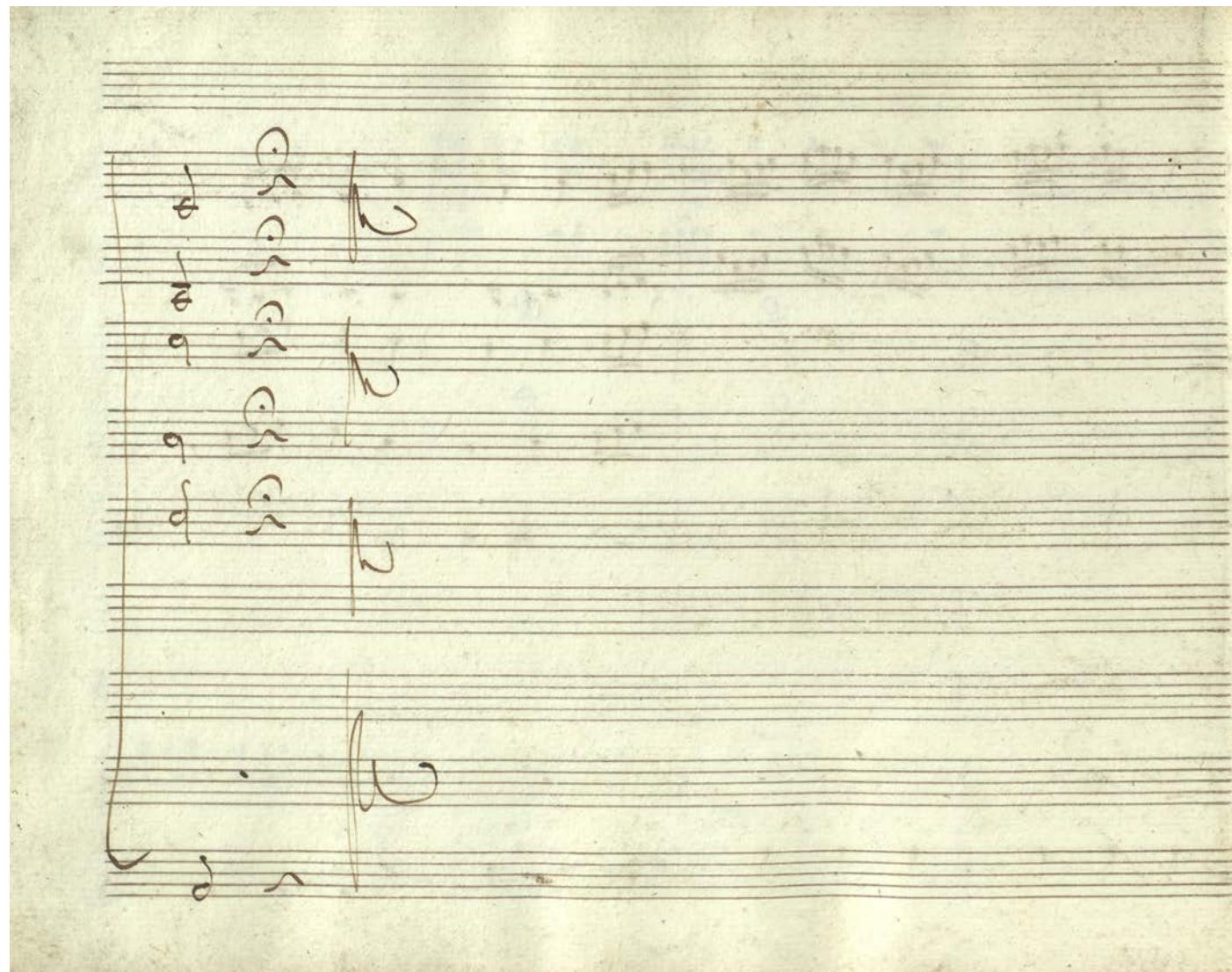












Sammelhandschrift mit Opern-Arien des 18. Jahrhunderts, Courtesy of Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, Hamburg, D-Hs/ M A/908(Nr.10).

Appendix B.5. 'As some light bark' by Henry Bishop and sung by Rosemond Mountain

Original

Trombi - Trombone
e Timpani : rests & pauses! Aria :

Original

Corno in E^{flat} $\frac{2}{4}$

Haut Flûte traversière $\frac{2}{4}$

Clarinetto in B^{flat} $\frac{2}{4}$

Oboe $\frac{2}{4}$

Fagotti $\frac{2}{4}$

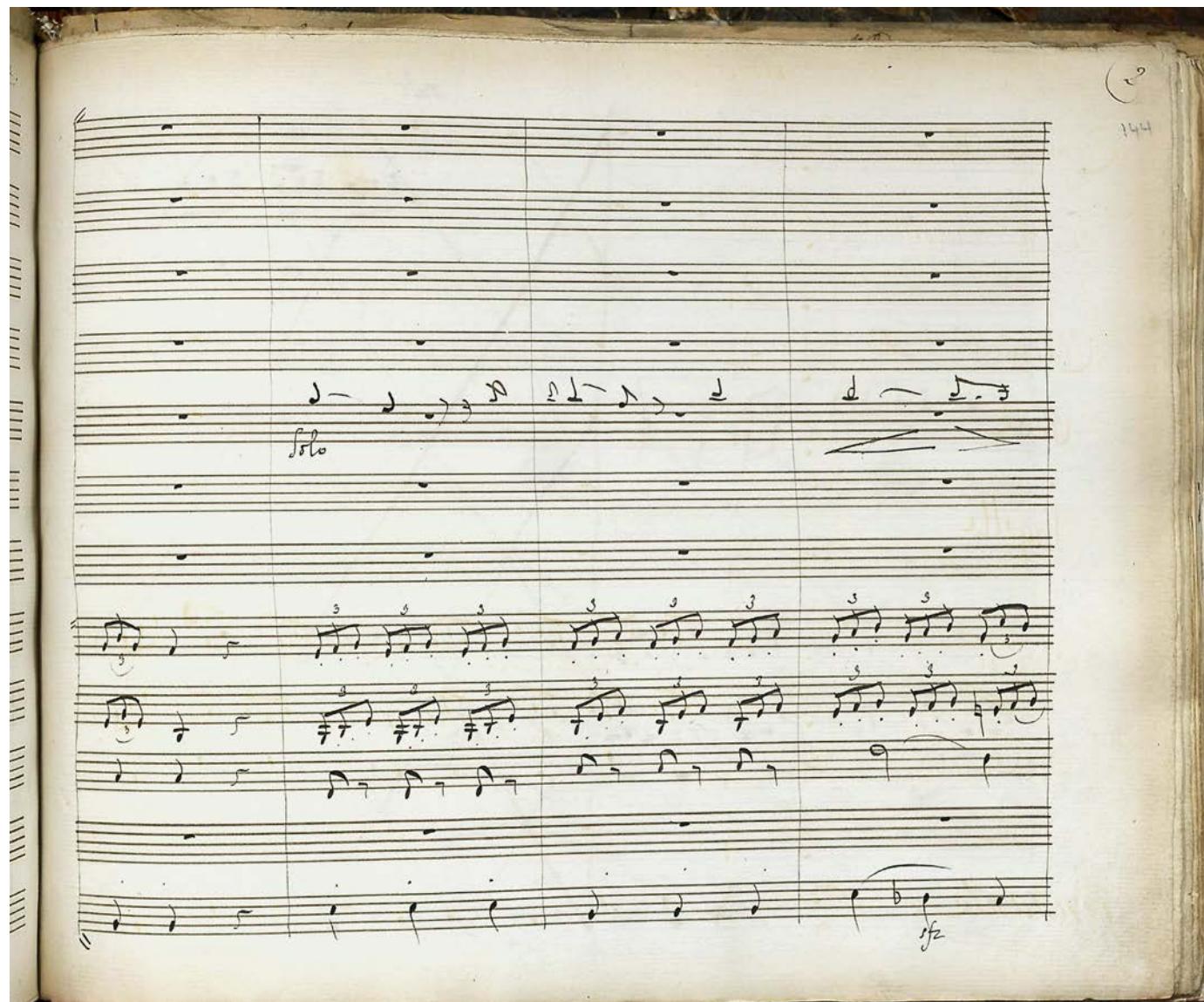
Violini $\frac{2}{4}$ *Sempre sotto voce*

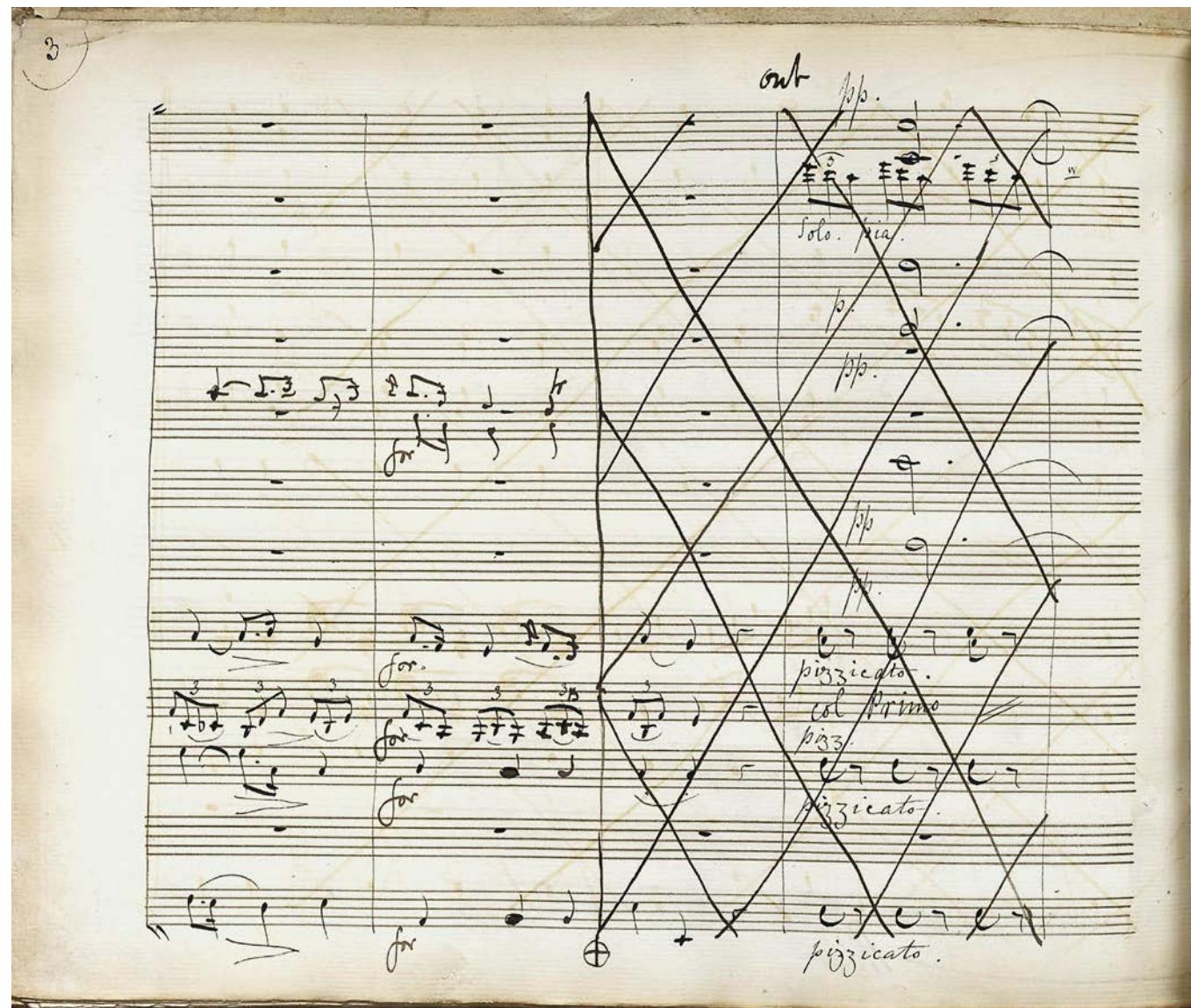
Viole $\frac{2}{4}$ *E sempre sotto voce*

Voci $\frac{2}{4}$ *Sempre sotto voce*

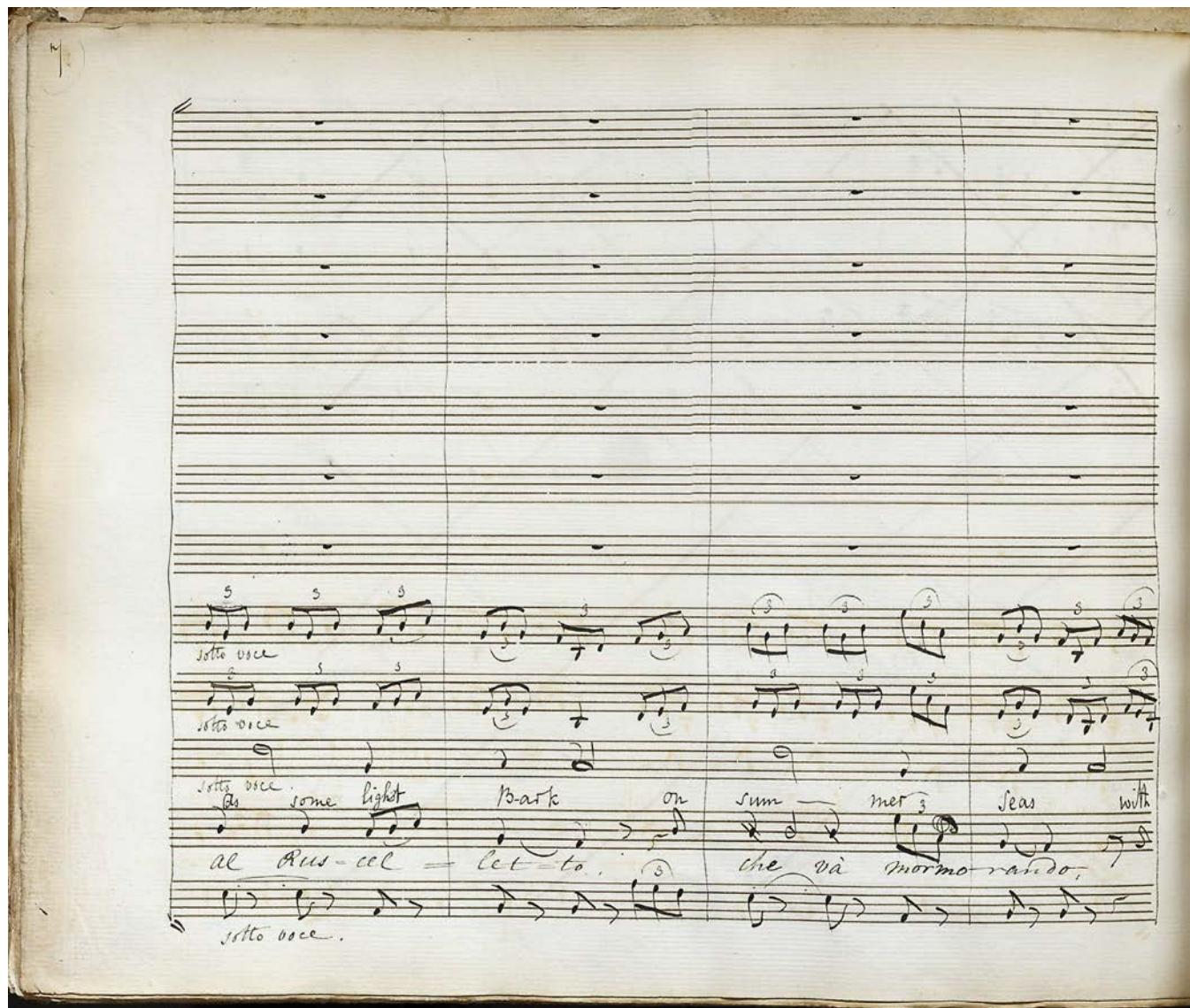
Andante : $\frac{3}{4}$

Sempre sotto voce.

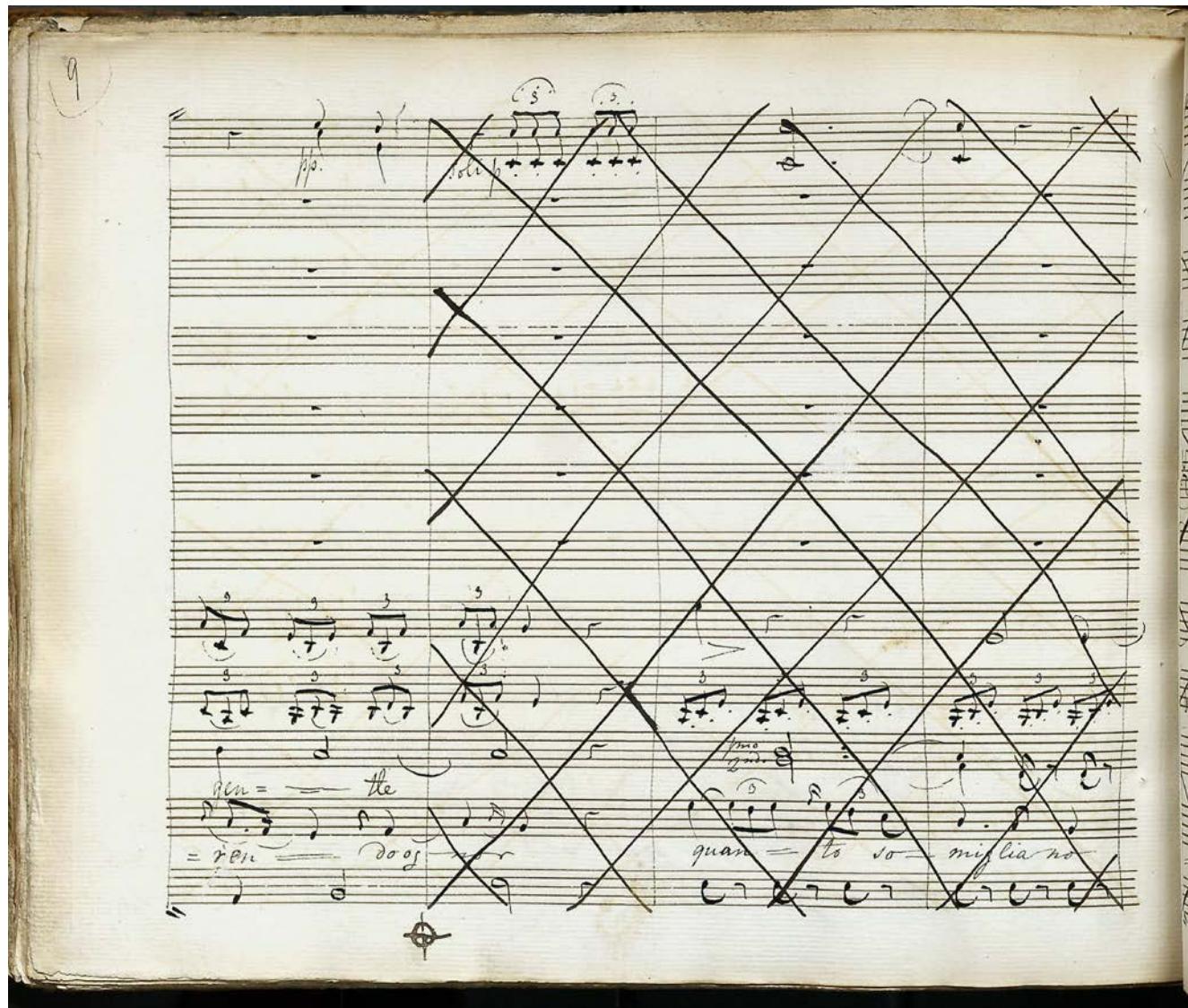


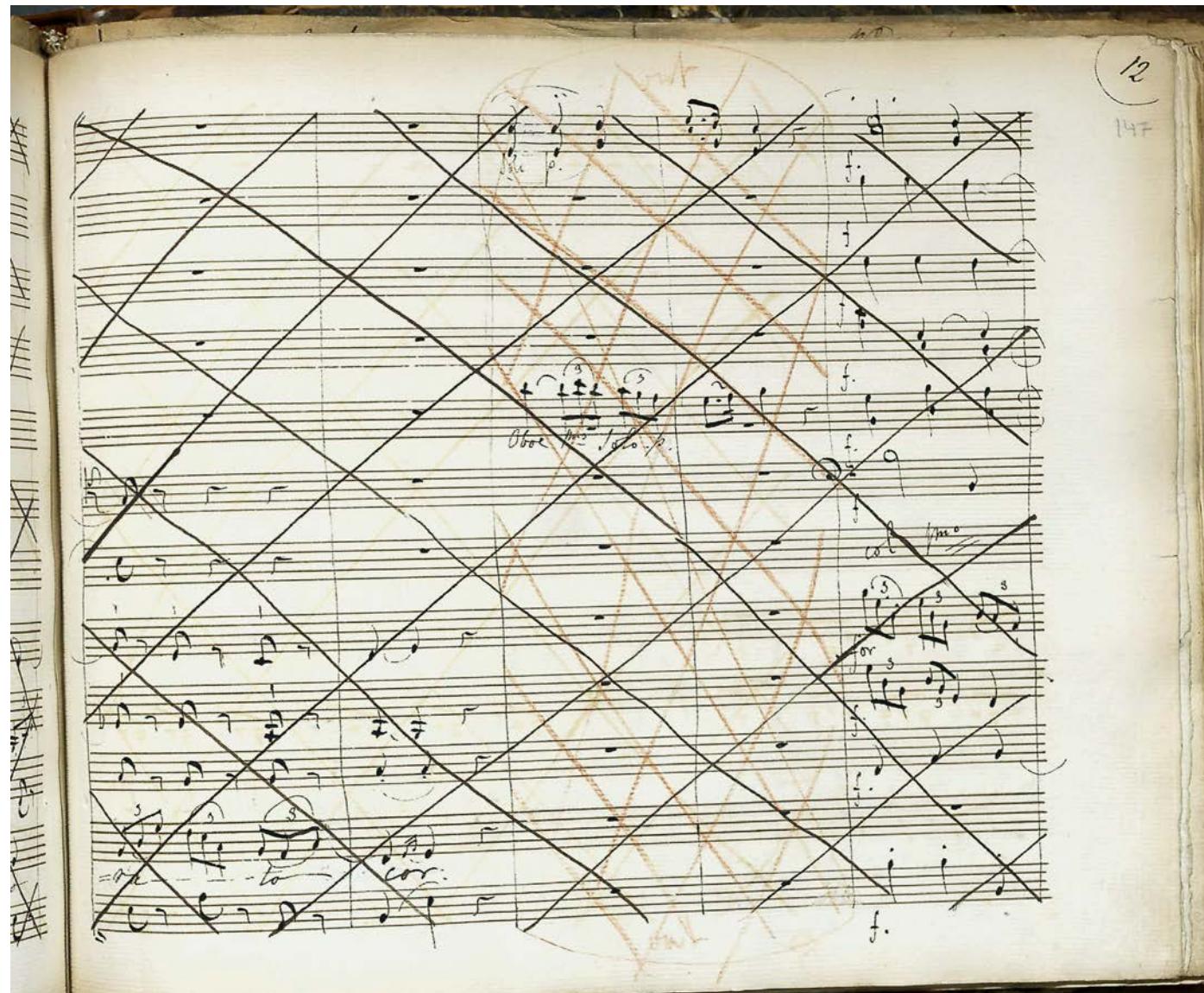












(13)

Bassoon

rests

ff.

ff. rest ff.

ff.

ff.

pia:

ff.

pia:

pia:

pia:

breeze to the young heart so the young heart will love de =

in the revia. la-sin=ghie ra gle =

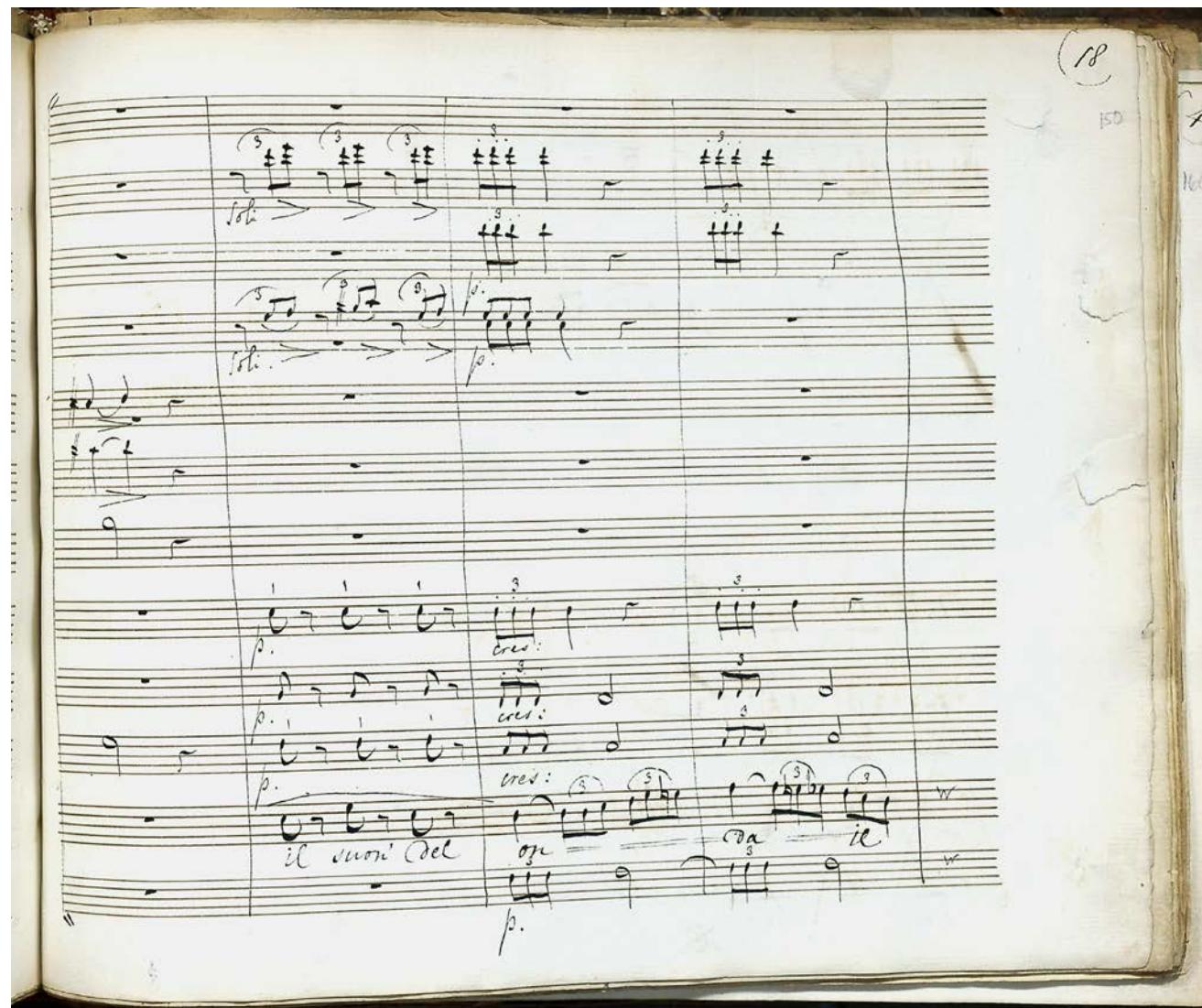
for. pia:





11

A handwritten musical score page featuring five staves of music. The first staff begins with a dynamic of f , followed by a crescendo arrow pointing to fz . The second staff starts with fz and ends with p . The third staff starts with f and ends with p . The fourth staff starts with fz and ends with p . The fifth staff starts with fz and ends with p . The vocal line consists of lyrics in Italian: "suon' (del onda, il suon dal sen.)". Various dynamics are written above the staves, including "dim:" (diminuendo) and "Oboe f. solo." (oboe forte solo). The score is written on aged paper.



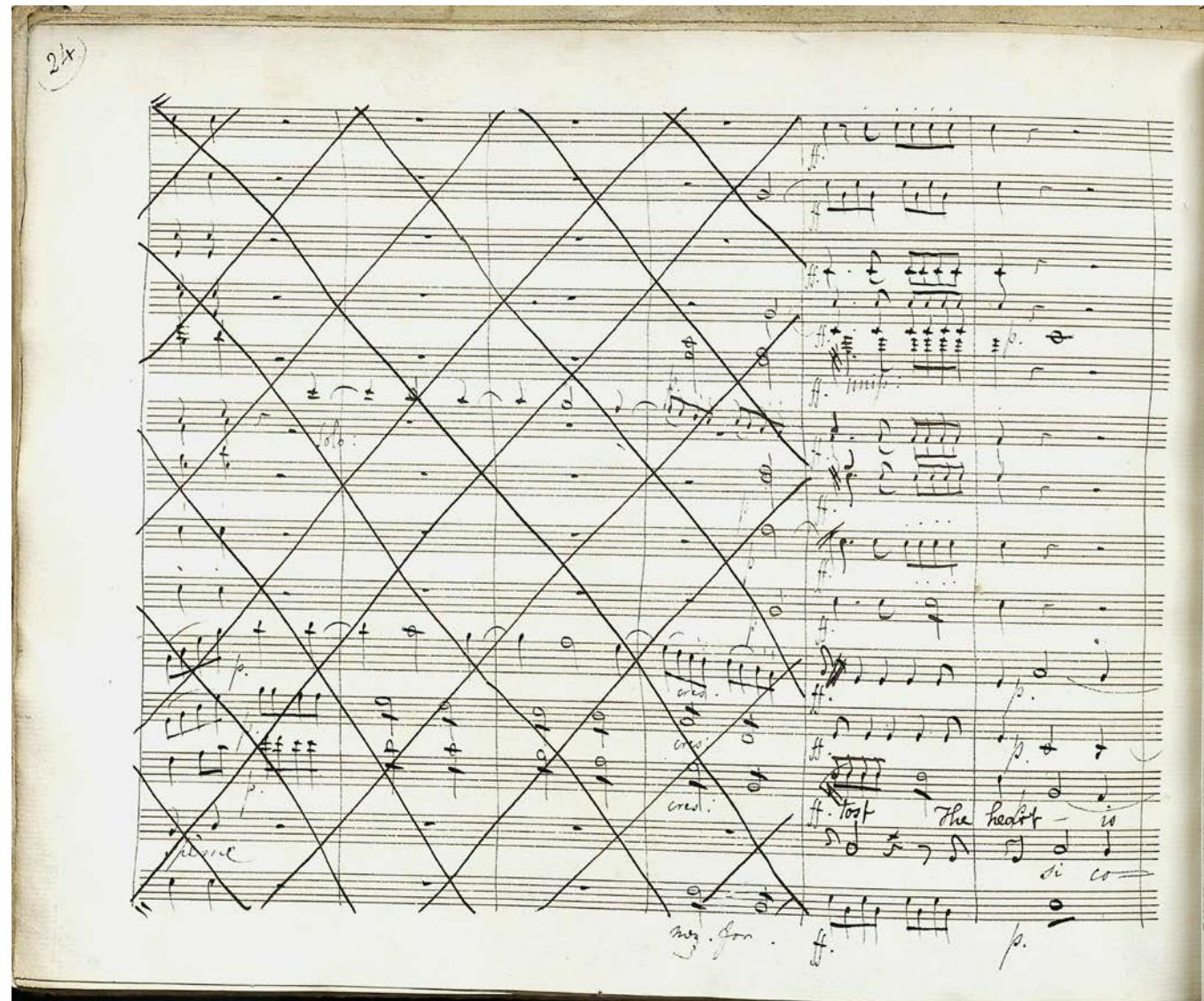




22

Handwritten musical score for two staves. The top staff uses a soprano C-clef and the bottom staff uses an alto F-clef. The key signature is A major (no sharps or flats). The time signature is common time (indicated by a 'C'). The score consists of ten measures. Measure 1: Soprano starts with a whole note (pp), followed by eighth notes. Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 2: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (pp). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 3: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (p). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 4: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (f). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 5: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (f). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 6: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (f). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 7: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (f). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 8: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (f). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 9: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (f). Alto has eighth-note pairs. Measure 10: Soprano has eighth-note pairs (f). Alto has eighth-note pairs.

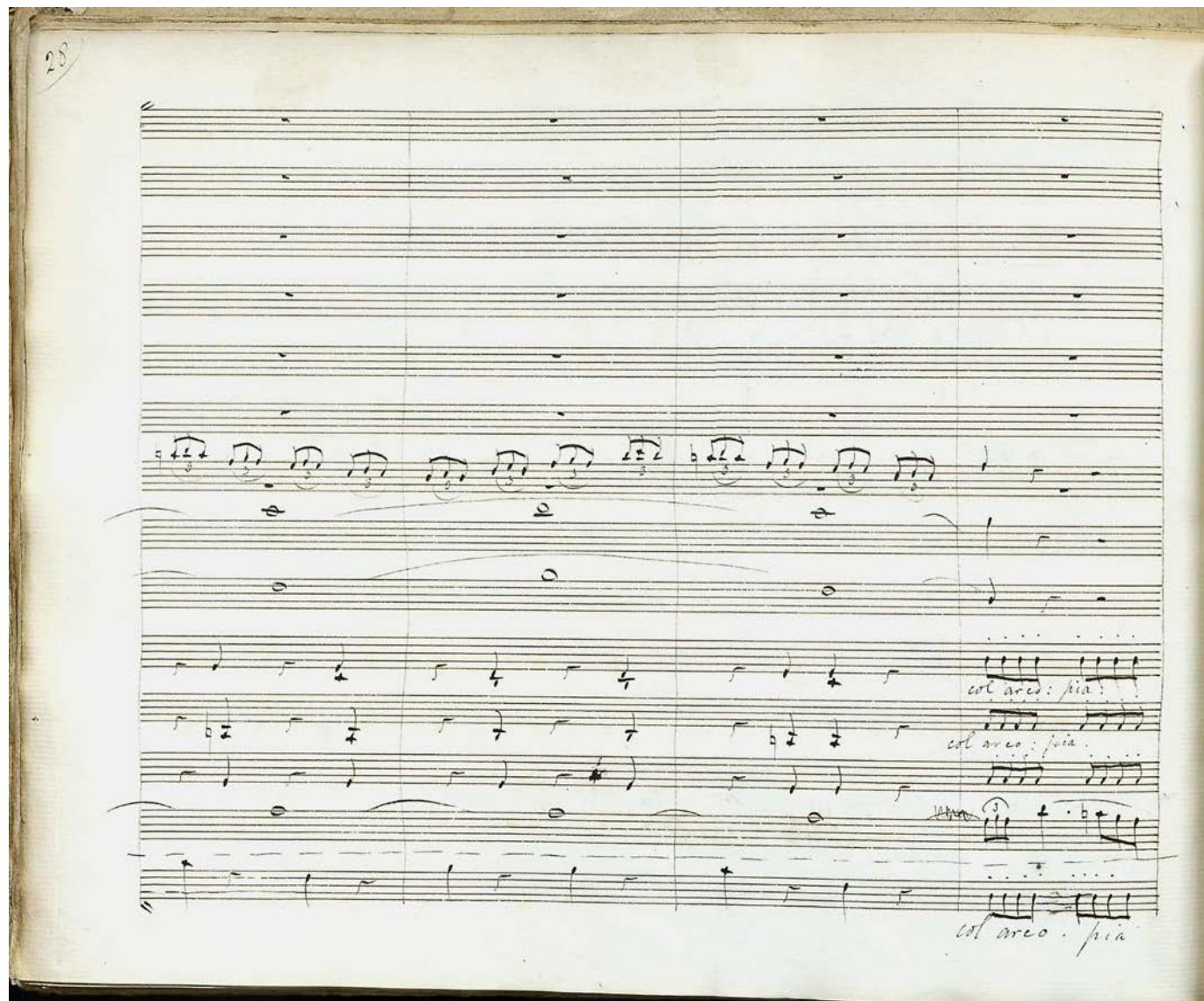






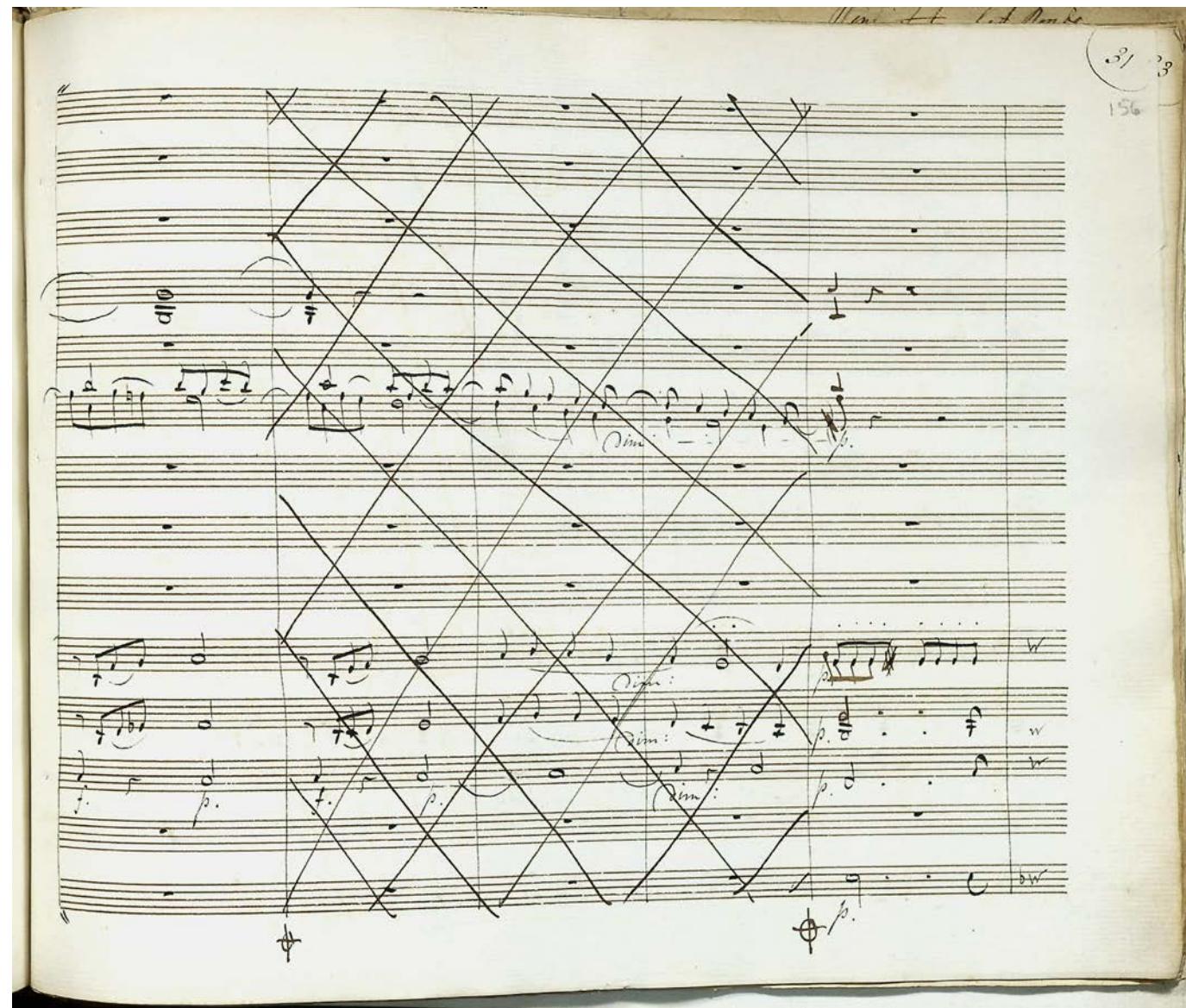














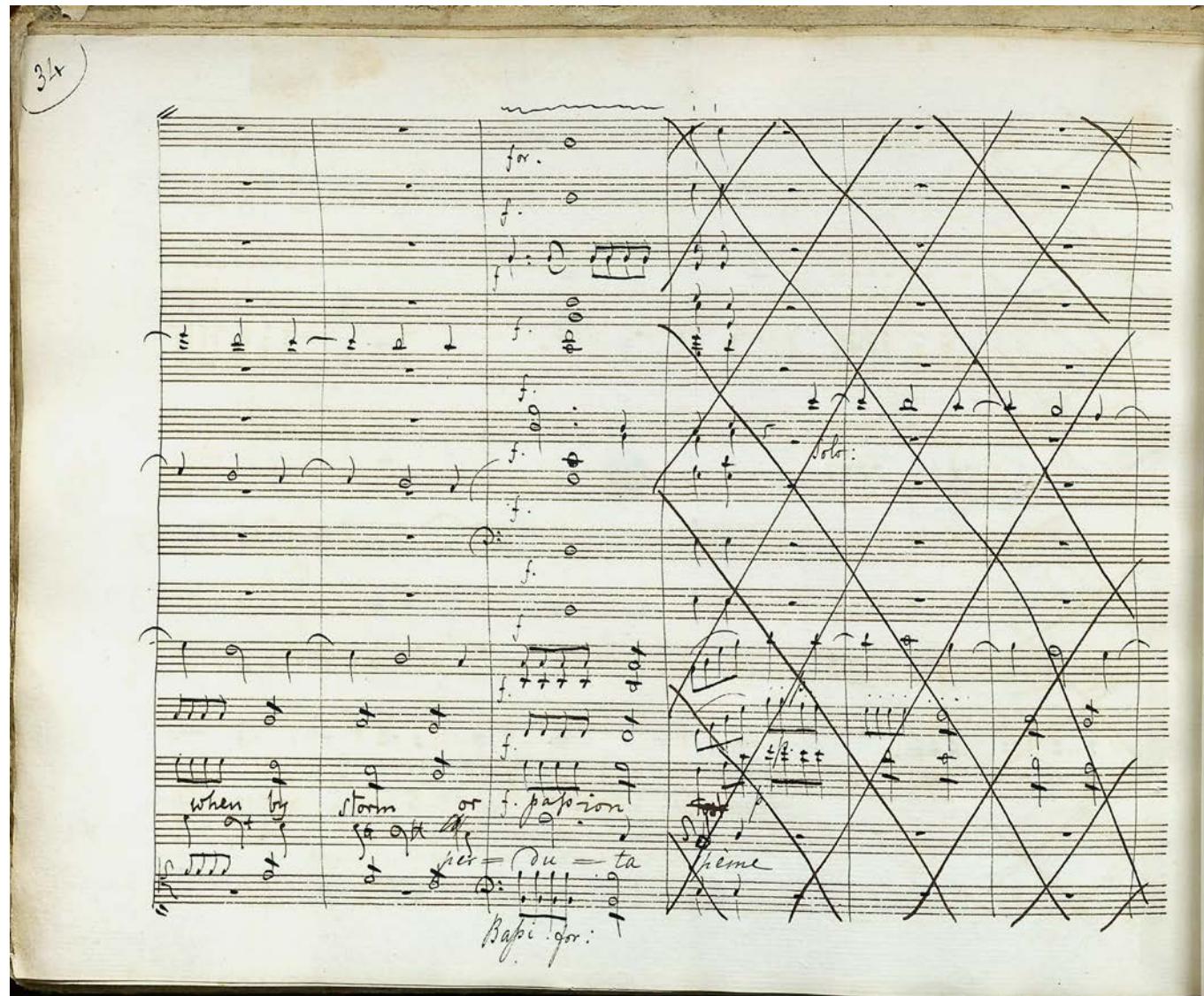
3.3

for.

for. But when by storm or passion

ma do po la per = du = ta sieme

Violoncello

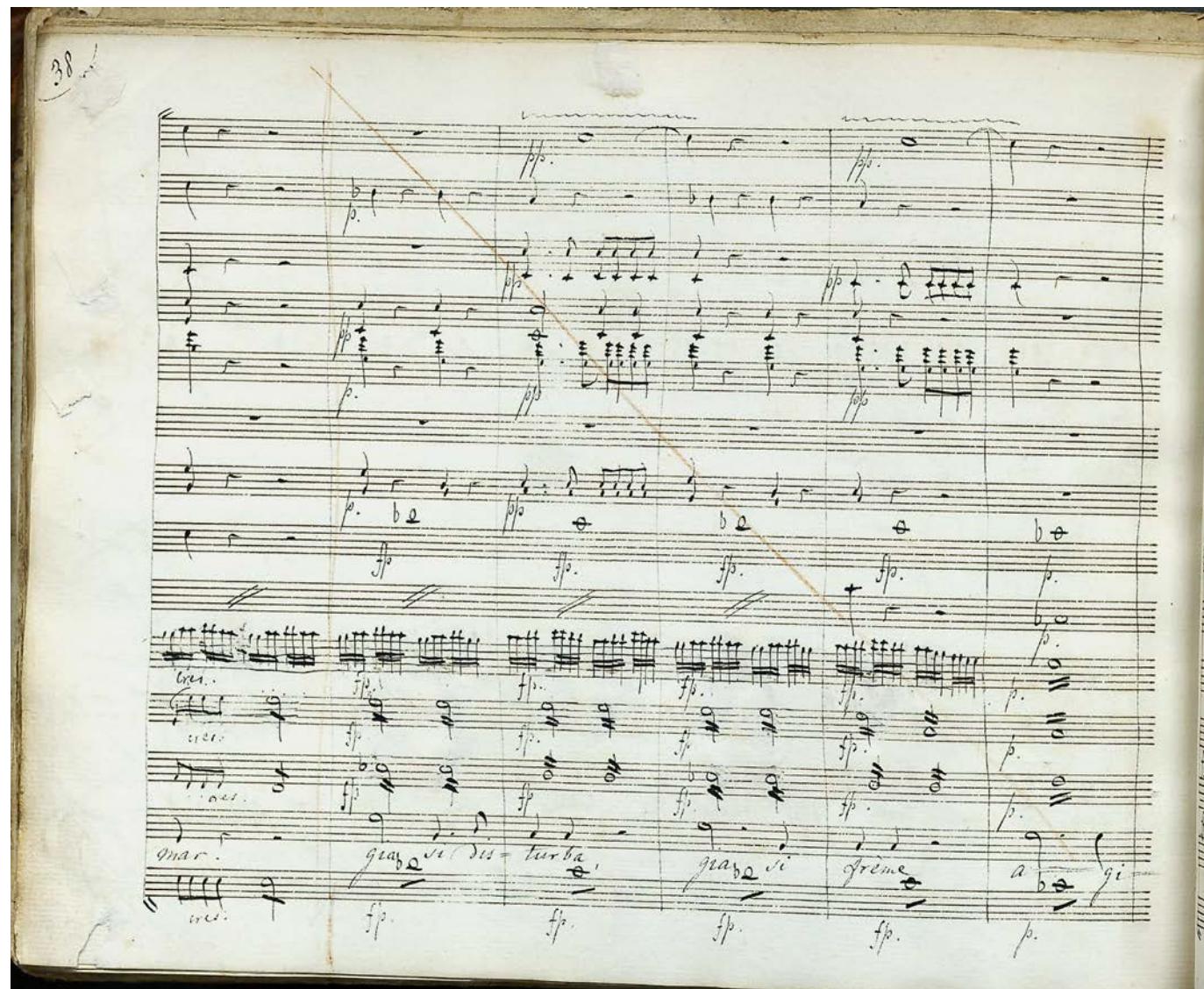


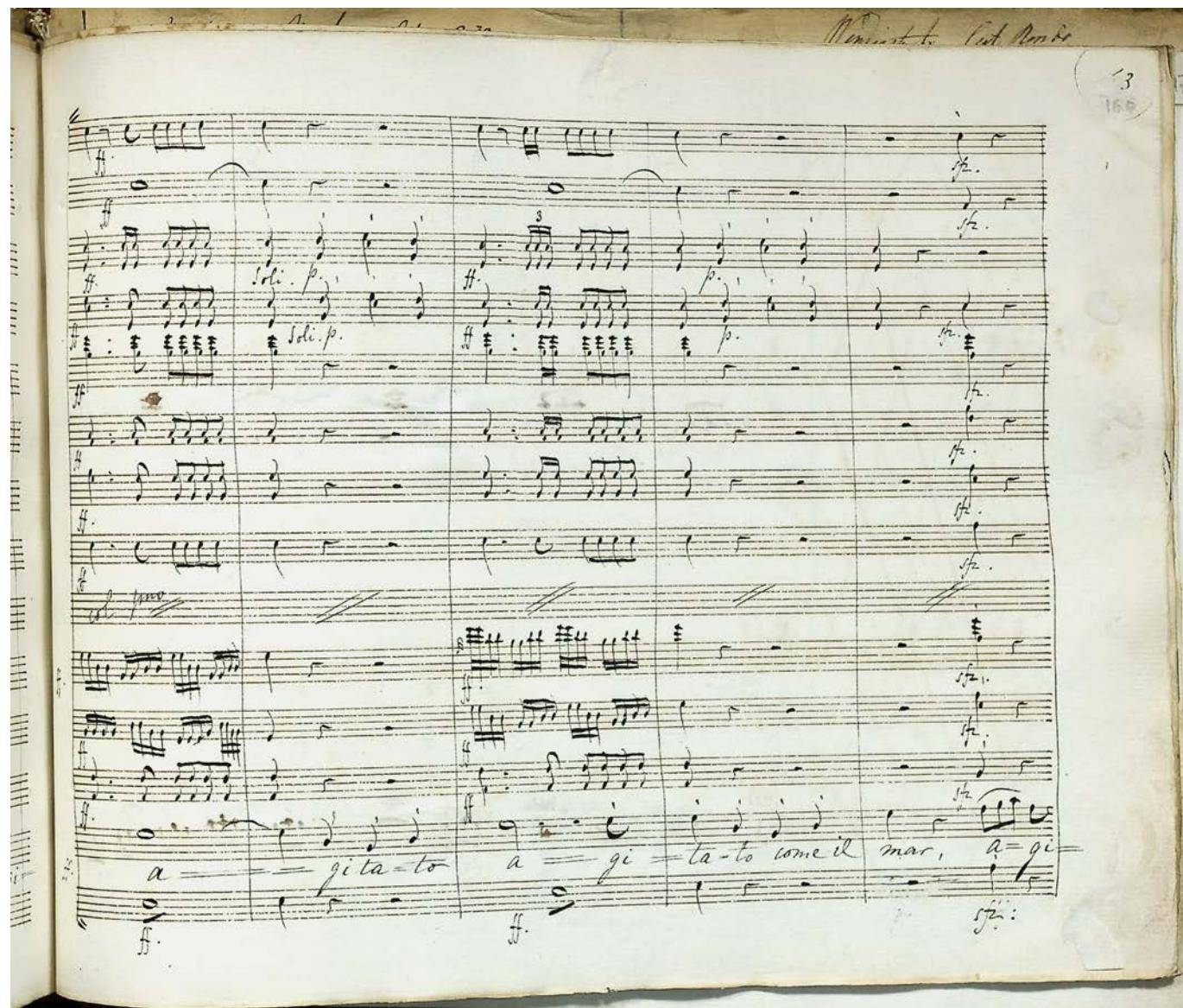


36

A handwritten musical score for orchestra and choir. The score consists of six staves. The first three staves are for woodwind instruments (Flute, Clarinet, Bassoon) and the last three are for strings (Violin I, Violin II, Cello). The music is in common time. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p.*, *f.*, *fp.*, *ff.*, and *ffp.*. The vocal parts include lyrics in English and Latin. The lyrics in English are: "Heart is torn the bark is lost", "But when by storm or", and "giant". The lyrics in Latin are: "Si co-mincia a de-lit-erar", "si dis-turba", and "fia!". The vocal parts are marked with *pianissimo* (*pia!*) and *pianississimo* (*pianiss.*). The score is dated 1870.





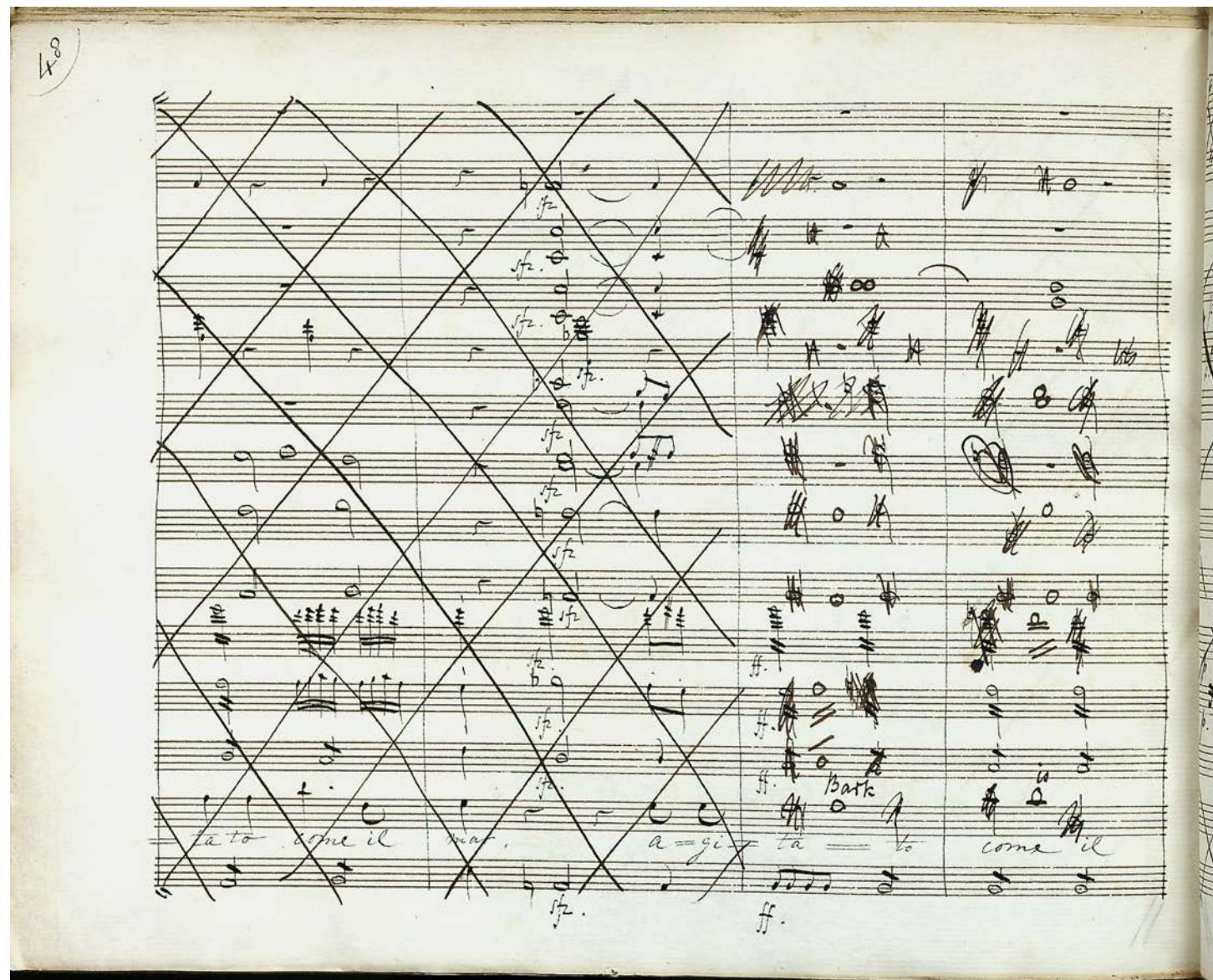


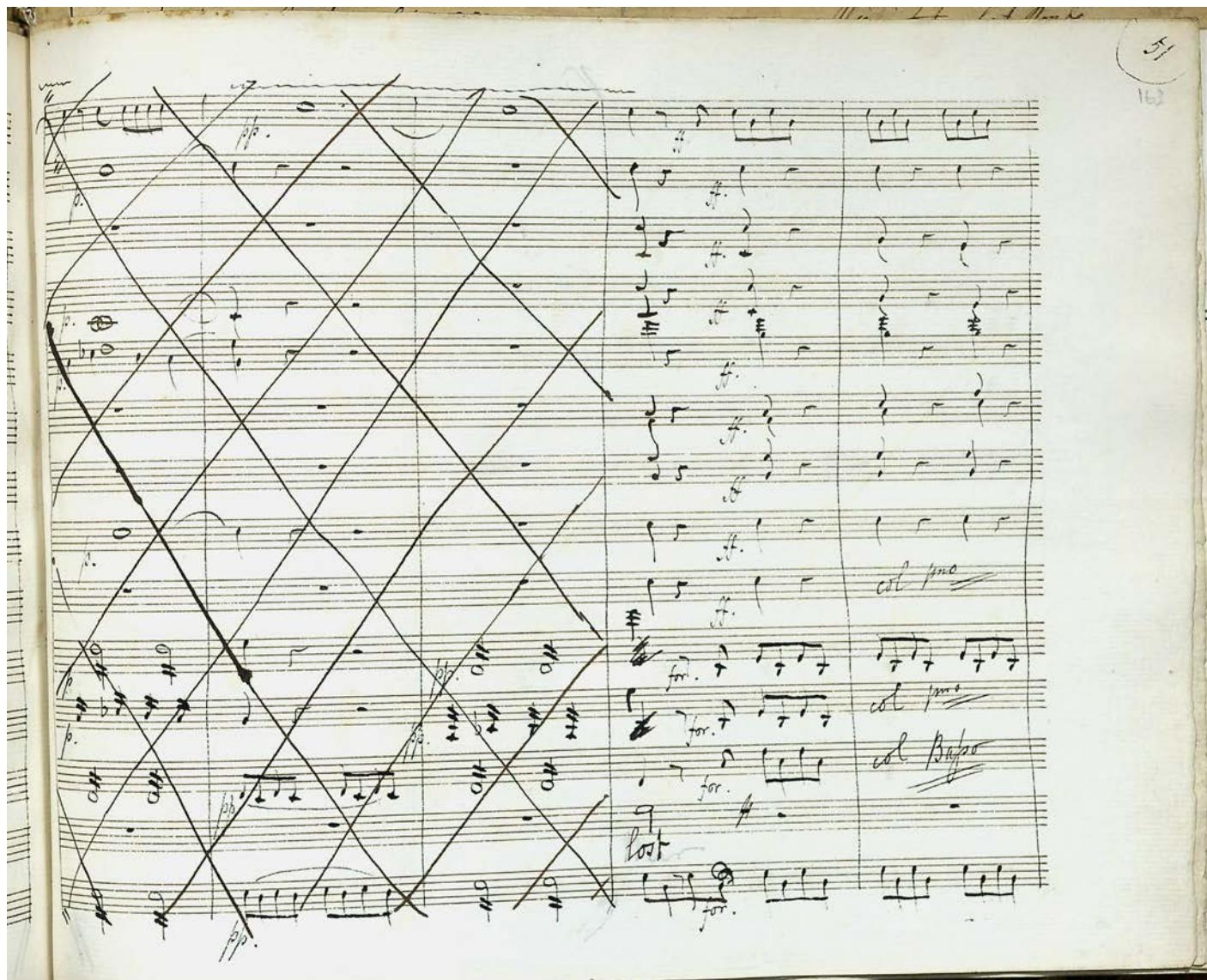














Courtesy of the Royal College of Music, London (RCM MS 59/1-24).

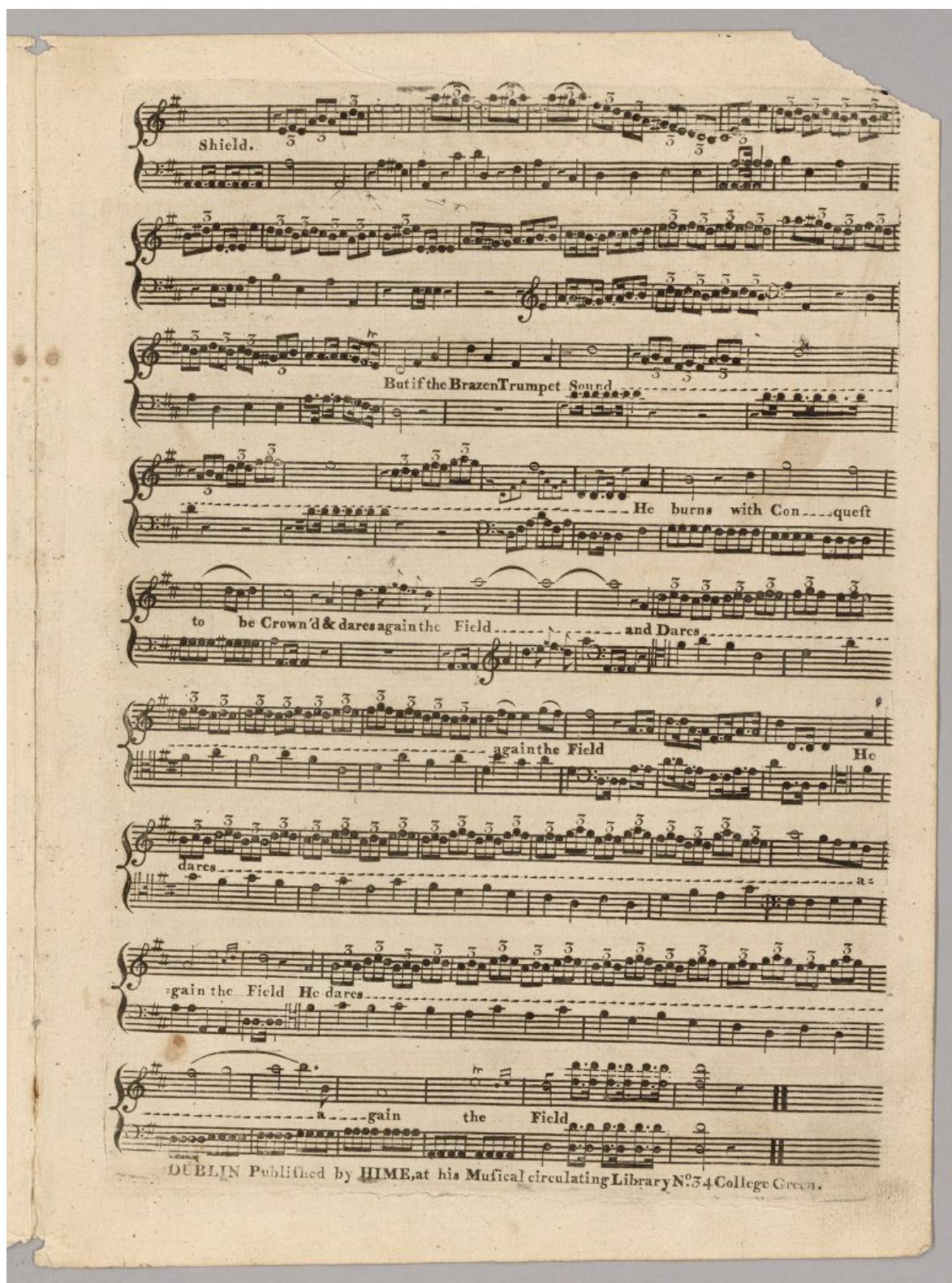
Appendix B.6. ‘A Soldier Tir’d’ by Thomas Arne as sung by Madam Mara

THE STATE LIBRARY
A742
MUSIC LIBRARY

THE SOLDIER TIR'D

As Sung by MADAM MARA in ARTEXERXES

The Soldier Tir'd
of Wars a.larms forswears the Clang of hostile Arms
And scorns the Spear & Shield. The
Soldier tir'd of Wars a.larms forswears the Clang of Hostile Arms and Scorns
The Spear the Spear & Shield forswears the Clang of Hostile
Arms & Scorns
The Spear the Spear and



Courtesy of The British Library, London (Music Collections H.1601.xx.(25.)).

Appendix B.7. 'The Grand Duett' by Charles H Florio and sung by Gertrude Mara and Elizabeth Billington

The Favorite Grand Duett
 No. 161 as Sung by
 Mrs. Billington and Madam Mara
 At the OPERA HOUSE June 3, 1802.
 Composed by C. H. FLORIO
 N.B. Mr. Florio has arranged the difficult passages in this Duett in
 such a manner that scholars may with great facility perform it at the
 same time the effect is not lessened.

Ent. at Stat. Hall
 Printed for Monzani & Cimador, Music Seller's, to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales N^o 2, Pall Mall.
 2nd Canto

Price 3^s

Vocal

LONDON

Piano

Forte

Larghetto

ah! fe di te mi

pri = vi ah! per che mai vi ro ah! fe di te mi

corni

pri = vi ah! ah! — per chi mai vi = vro

C. H. Florio

2

1st Canto

Lafcia=mi in pace e vi=vi Lafciami in pace e vi=vi

corni

Altro da te non vo Altro da te non vo da te non

parti nol po=fo dir

vo

Ma qual desti=ti=ran=no

questo è morir d'af=fan=no mo=rir d'af=fan=no d'af=

questo è morir d'af=fan=no mo=rir d'af=fan=no d'af=

5

The musical score consists of five systems of music, each with two staves: a treble clef staff for the vocal line and a bass clef staff for the piano accompaniment. The vocal line features a mix of eighth-note patterns and sustained notes, often with grace notes. The lyrics are written below the vocal line in both Spanish and Italian. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with sustained notes and chordal patterns.

no mo = rir
fan

ma qual de-
no mo = rir
fan

Oh! Dio n'ol po = fo Dir d'af-

z = stin destin ti ran = no d'af-

z = fan

z = fan

4

no mo = = rir.

Allegro Modera

no mo rir.

Deh se re=nate al fine. Bar ba=re stel = le i rai.

Deh se re=nate al fine Bar ba=re stel le i rai

Deh se = ren = na

Deh se ren na

5

Ho già sofferto ormai Quanti si può so-

Deh se = = ren = ate al fine Ho già sofferto or = mai

= frir Deh se = = ren = ate al fine Ho già sofferto or = mai

fe = = re = na -

Dehseren na -



te al
te al
fine Deh fe = re =
fine Deh fe = re =
z nate al fine Bar = ba = re stel = le i rai Ho gia sofferto or =
z nate al fine Bar = ba = re stel = le i rai

8

A handwritten musical score for orchestra and choir, page 8. The score consists of six staves. The top two staves are vocal parts, the third is for brass instruments (corni), and the bottom three are for strings. The vocal parts sing in Italian: "Quanti si può soffrir" (repeated), "Deh fere-na", and "Deh fere-na". The brass part has a continuous eighth-note pattern. The string parts provide harmonic support with sustained notes and rhythmic patterns. The score is written in common time, with a key signature of one flat.

= mai. Quanti si può soffrir Quanti si può soffrir
Quanti si può soffrir

corni

Deh fere-na Deh fere-na te al fine fere-

= na = na

9

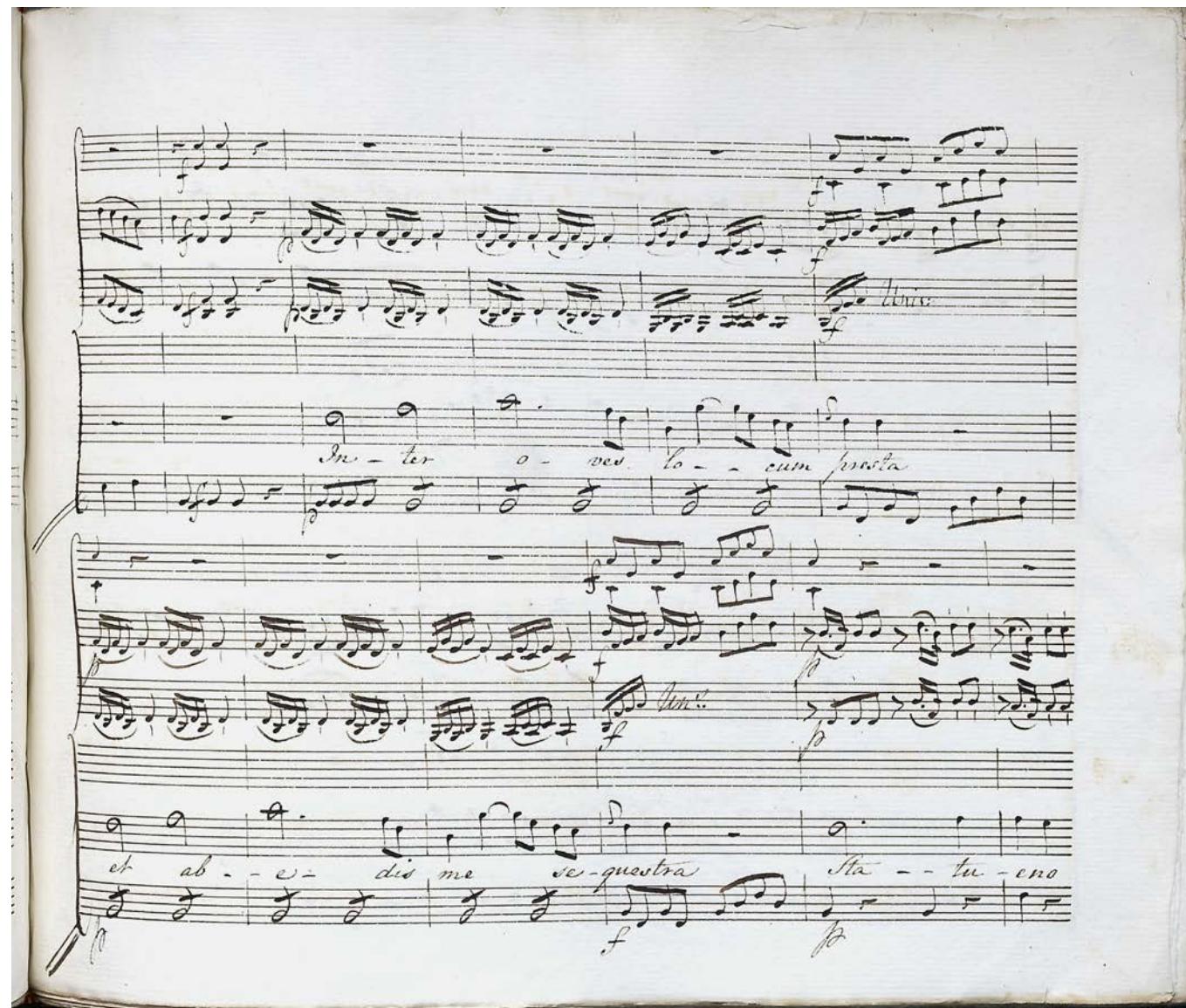
te al fine ho già or
te al fine soffer-to
mai sofferto or = mai quan-to fi può fi può soffrirt.
ia sofferto or = mai quan-to fi può fi può soffrirt.

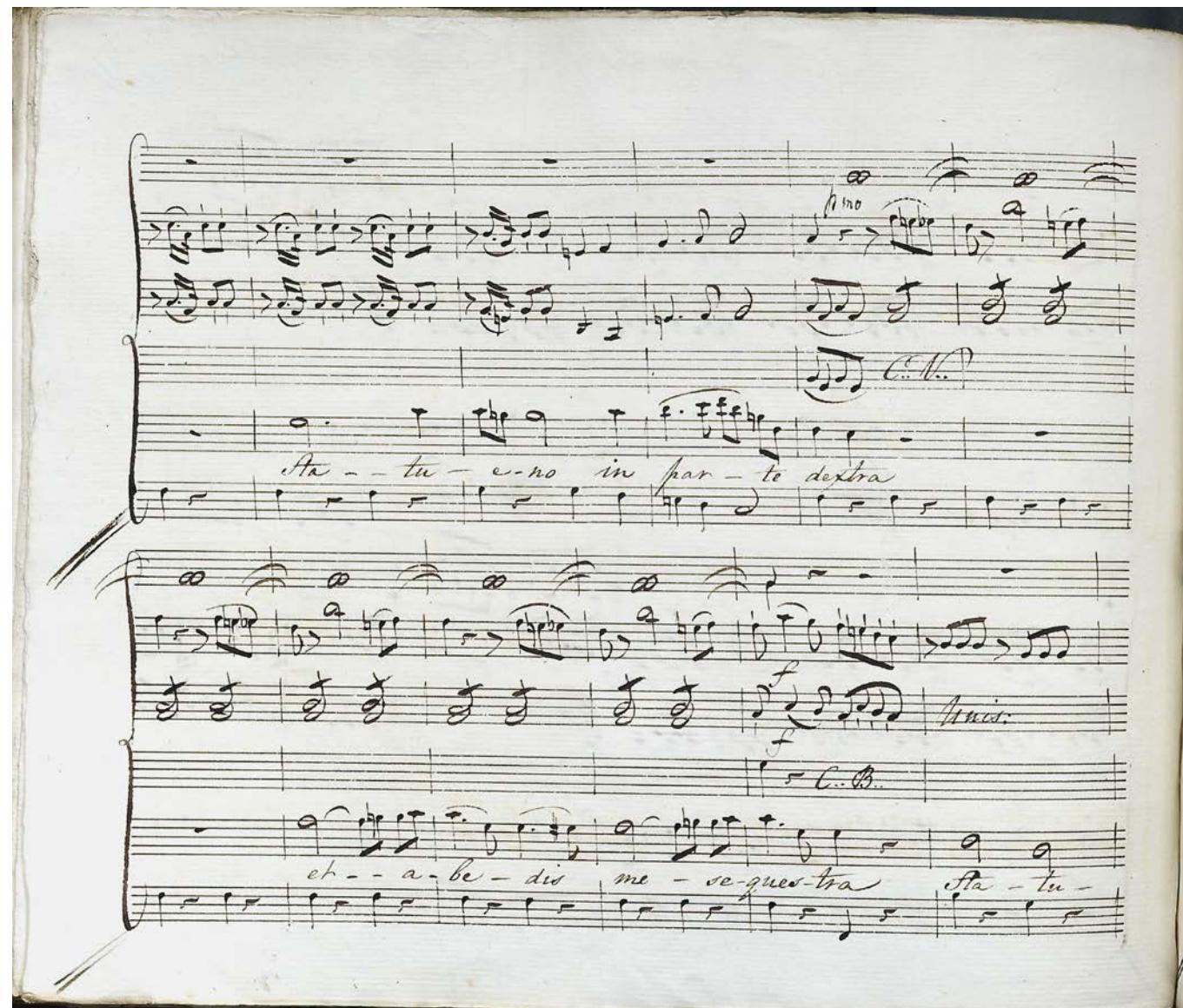
Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Bristol Library (Store 607780).

Appendix B.8. 'Inter locum presta' from *Requiem* by Venanzio Rauzzini and sung by Gertrude Mara









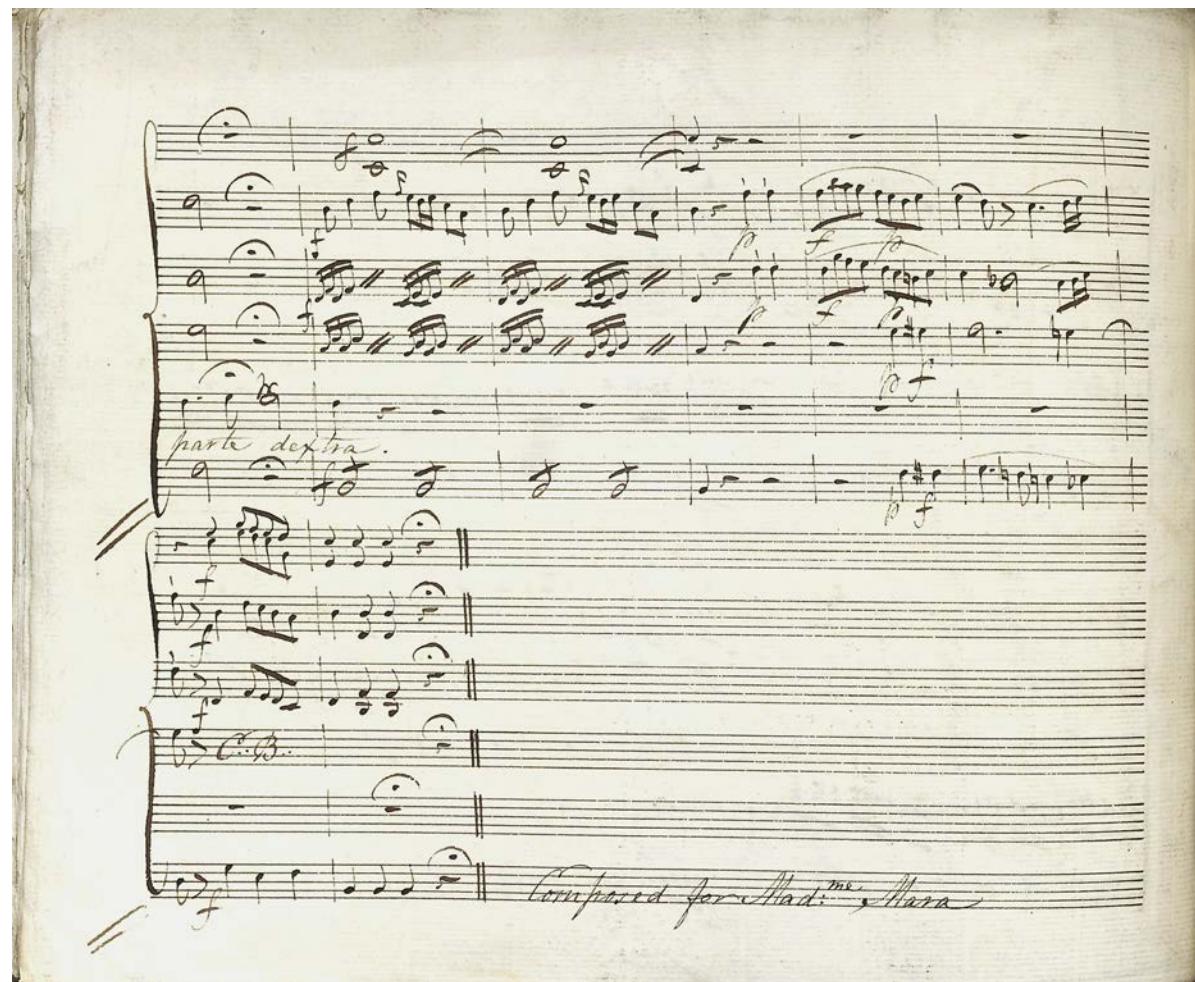












Courtesy of the Royal College of Music, London, (RCM MS 522/9).

Appendix B.9. ‘Scena’ by Venanzio Rauzzini and sung by Gertrude Mara

Scena — Composta per Mad. Mara — Del Sig^r V. Rauzzini

Mrs. Norton Pavia 10270

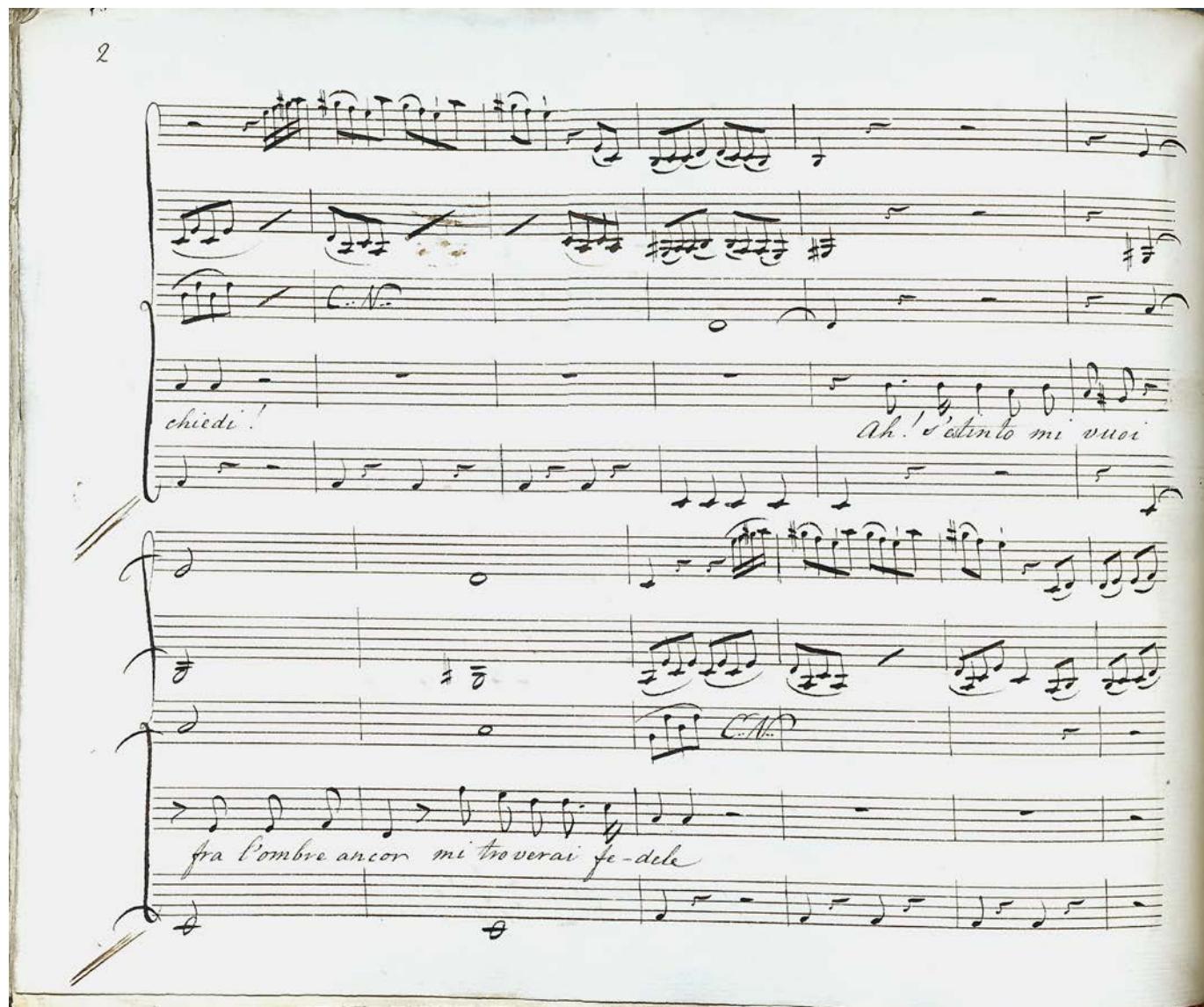
Violini

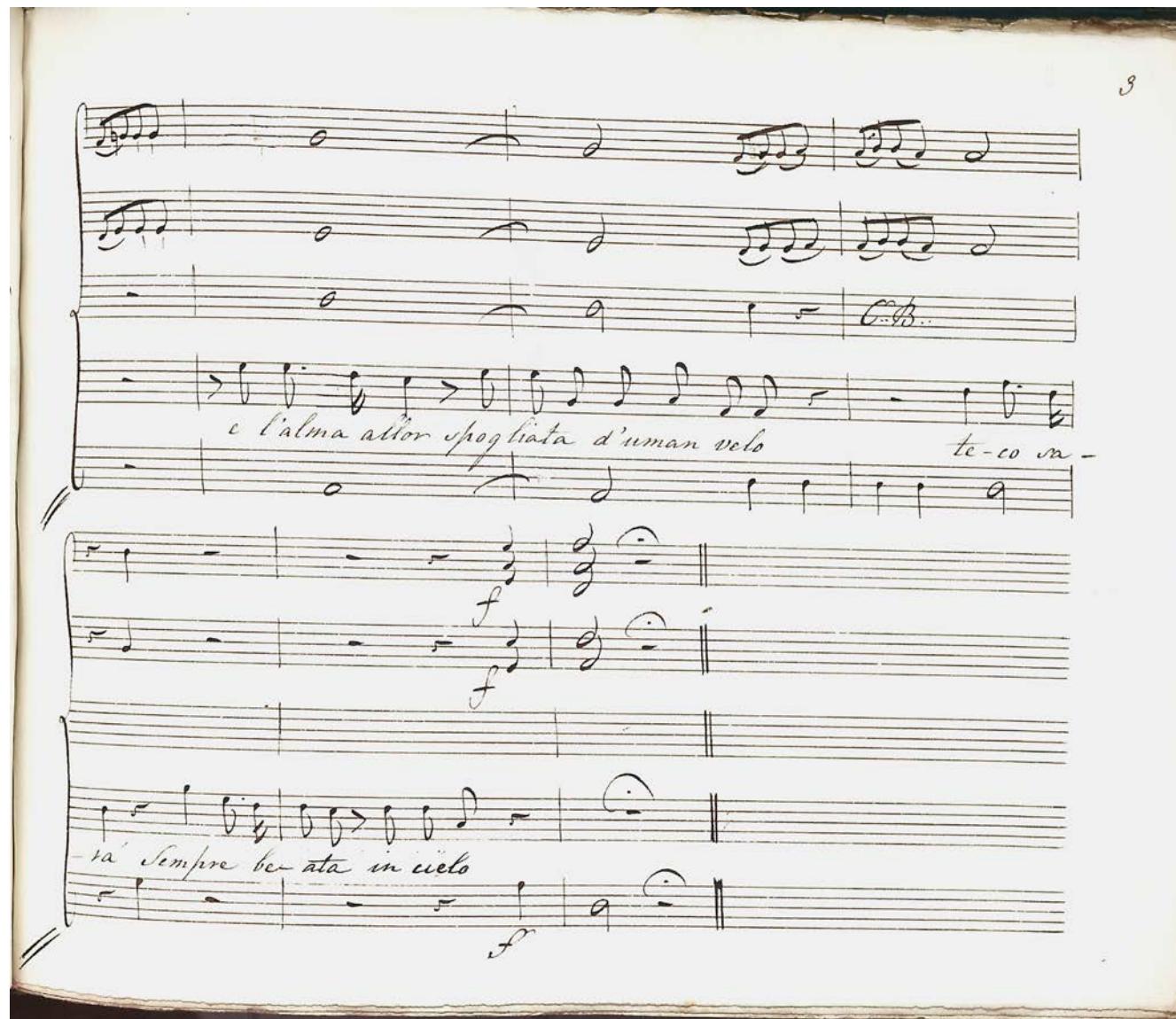
Motra

Canto

Allegro

lasci cor mio e tu e tu nel



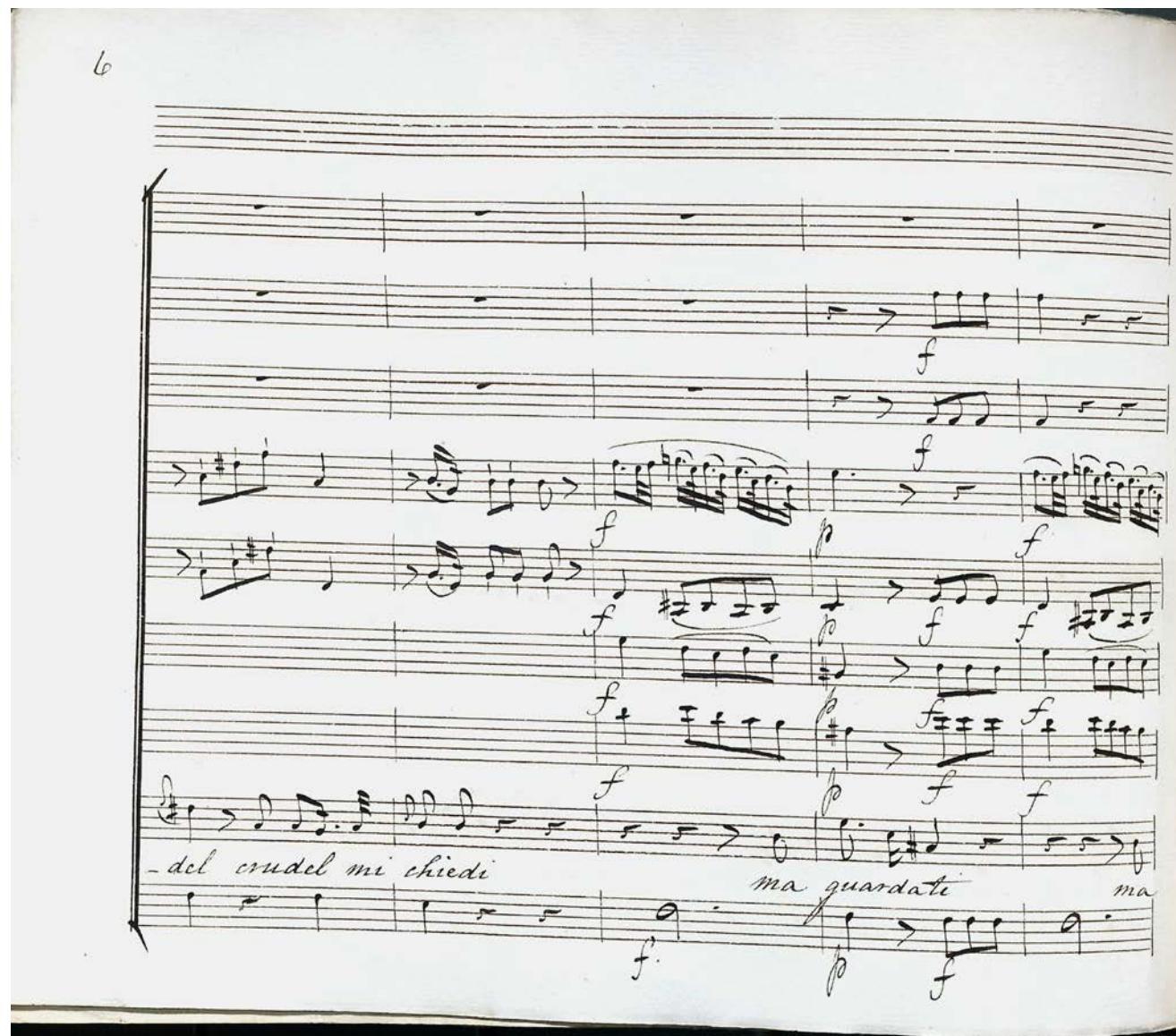


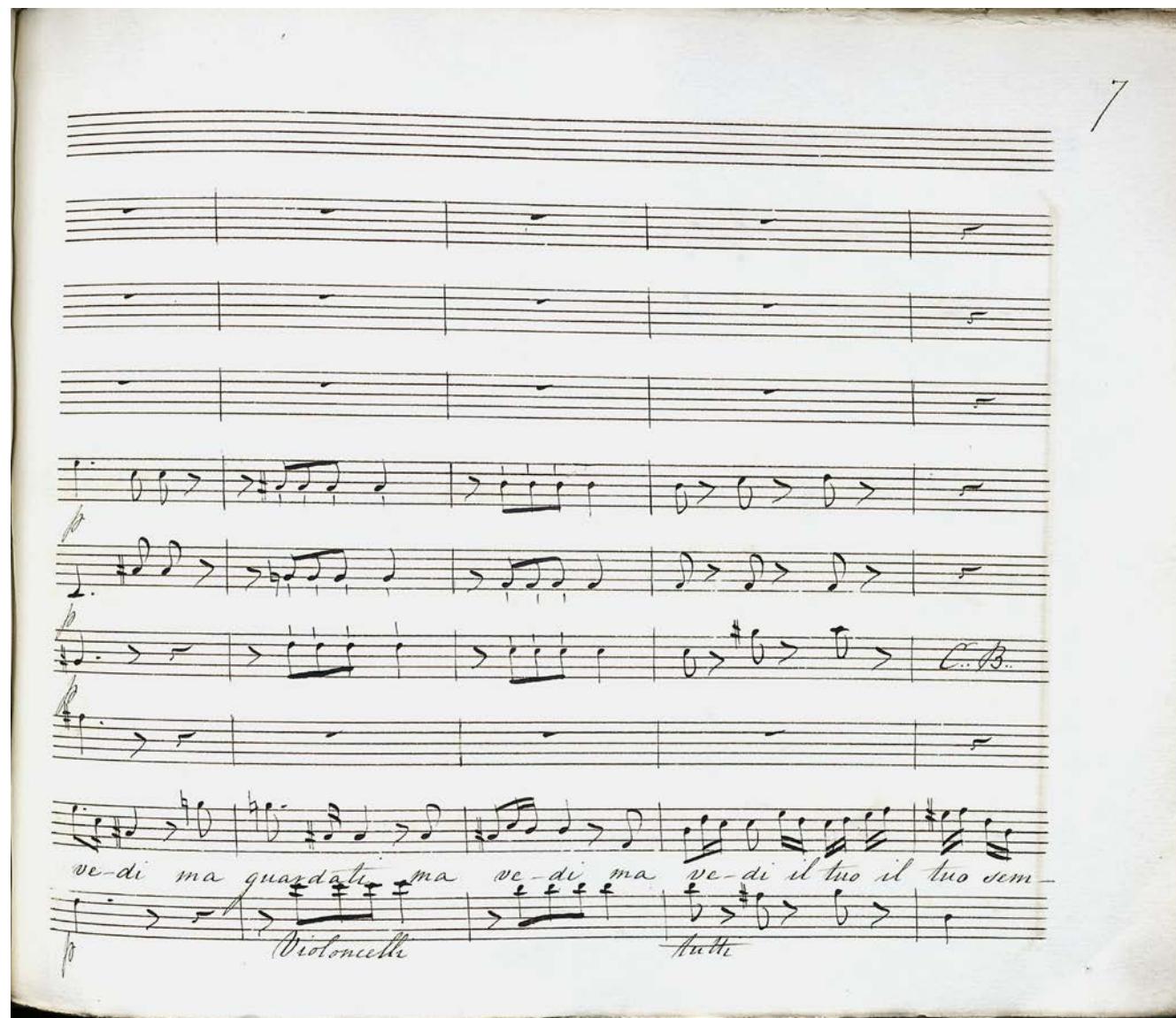
4

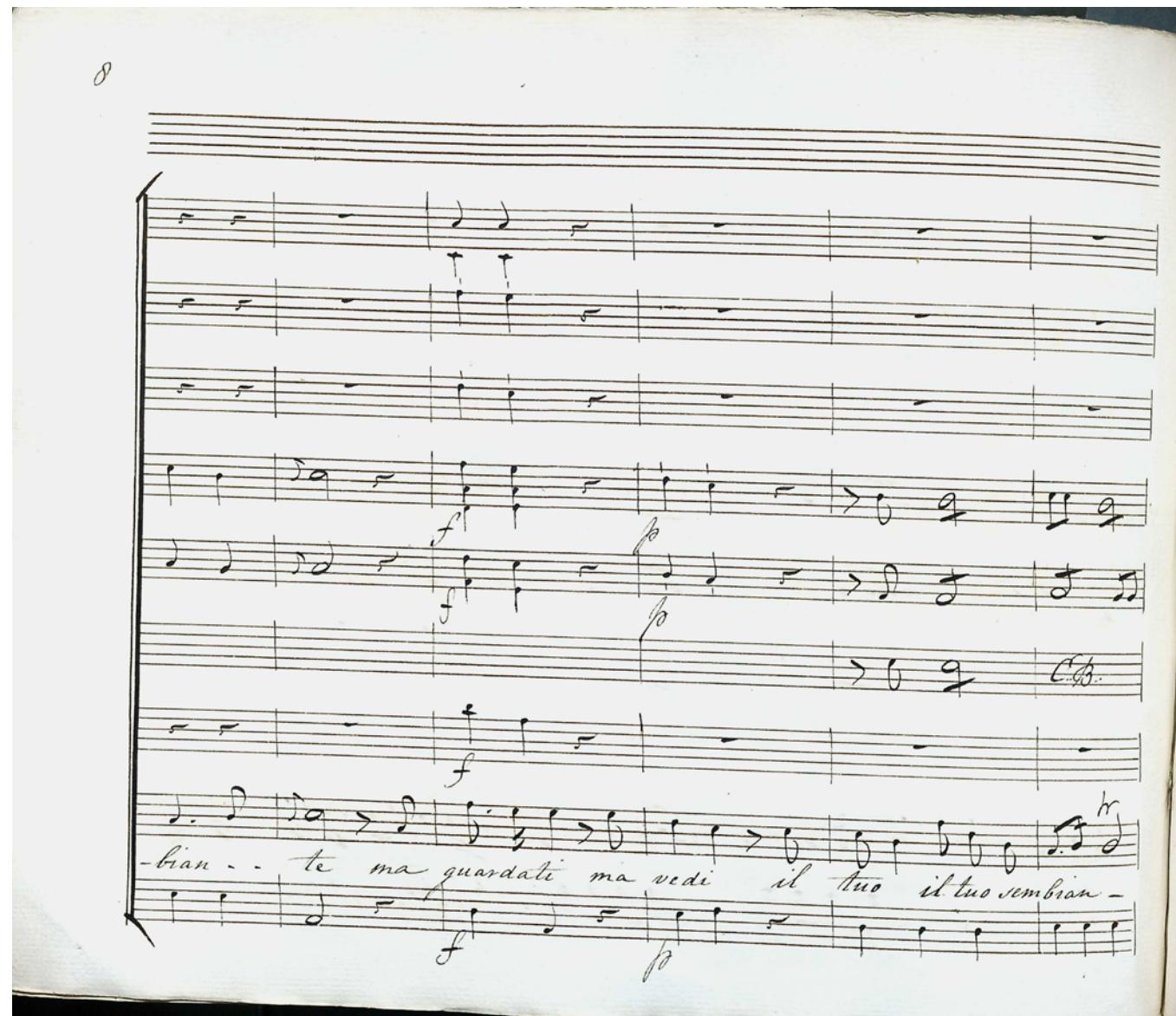
Aria "Di te scordarmi e vivere"

The image shows a page from a handwritten musical score. At the top, the title "Aria 'Di te scordarmi e vivere'" is written. Below it, the score is organized into seven staves. From top to bottom, the instruments listed are: Corali in A. (two staves), Oboe (one staff), Violini (one staff), Viola (one staff), Fagotto (one staff), Canto (one staff), and Timp. (one staff). The music is in common time (indicated by 'C') and consists of measures separated by vertical bar lines. The vocal line (Canto) starts with a rest followed by a single note. The orchestra begins with eighth-note patterns. Measures 4 through 7 show more complex rhythms, including sixteenth-note patterns and sustained notes. Measure 8 features a dynamic change to 'f' (fortissimo) and includes a forte dynamic 'ff' over a sustained note. Measure 9 concludes with a dynamic 'f'.

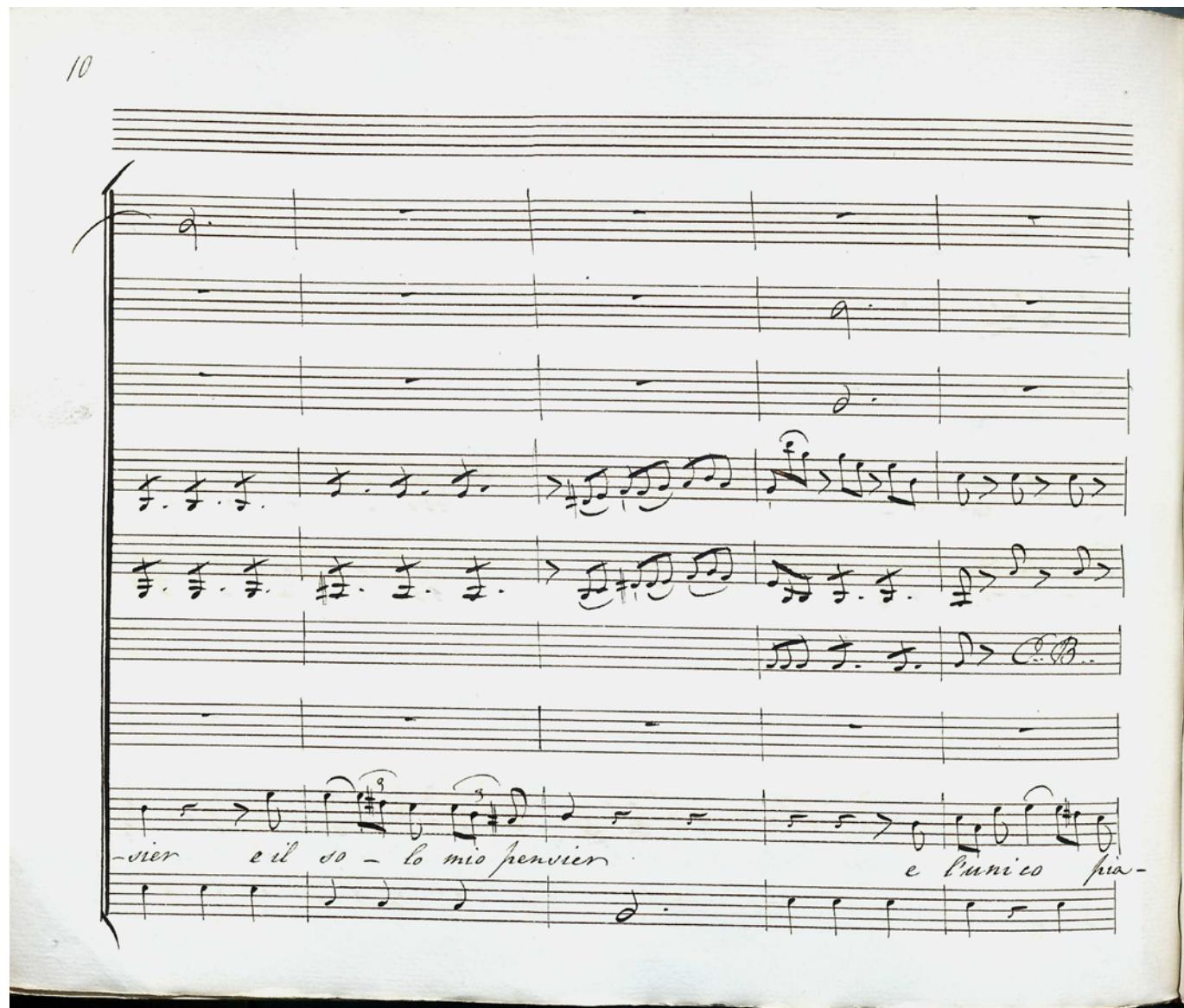


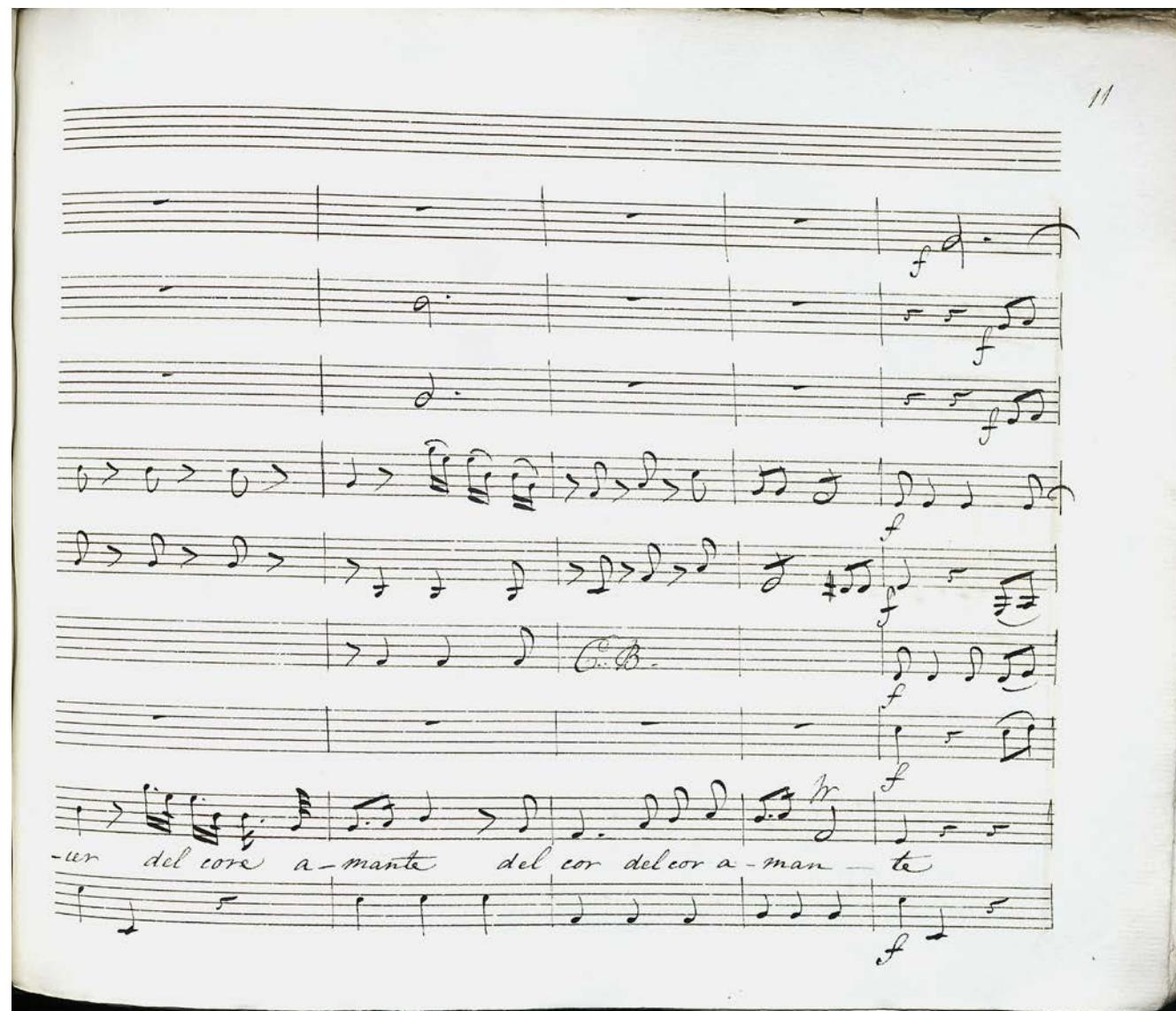


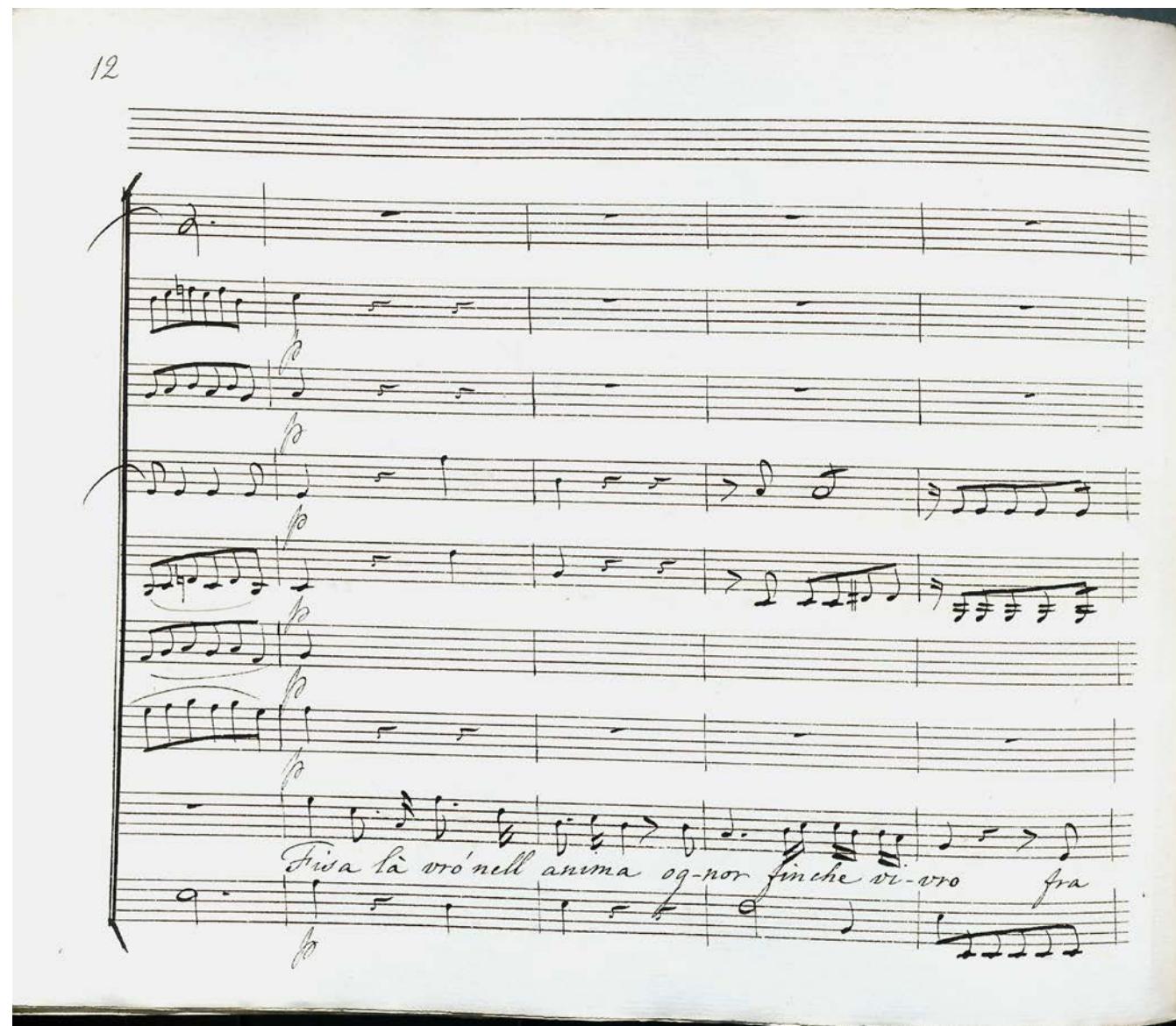


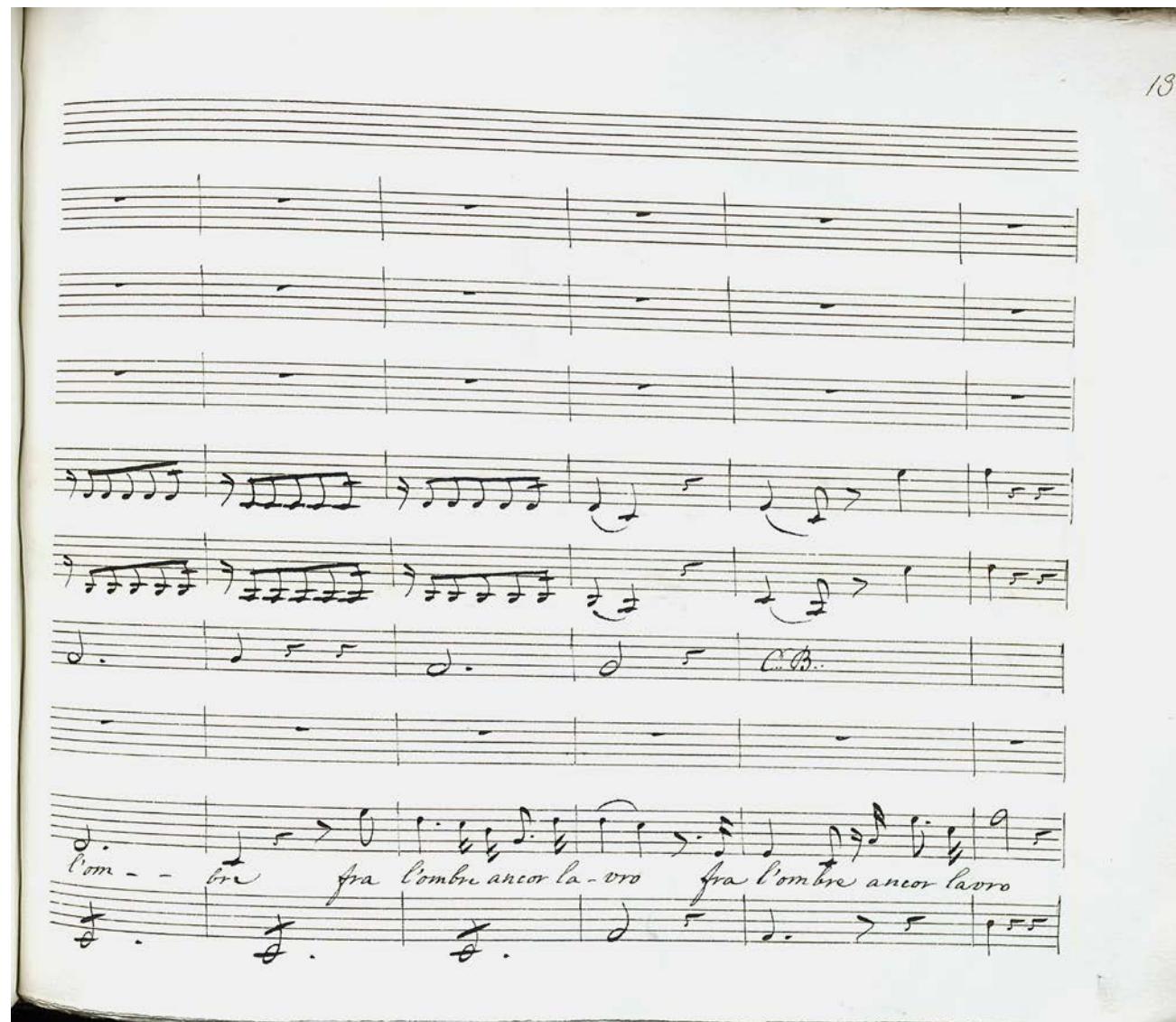








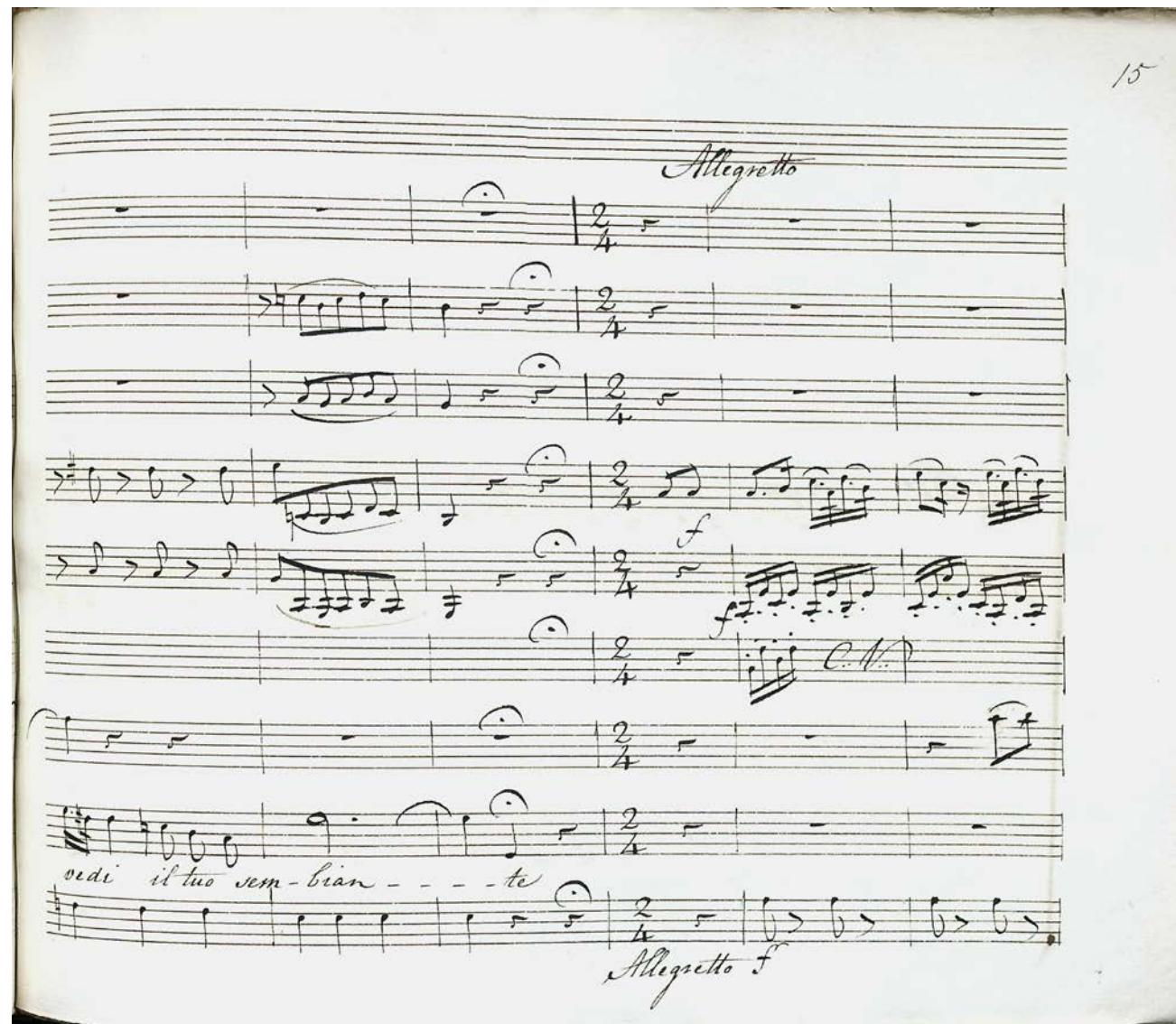


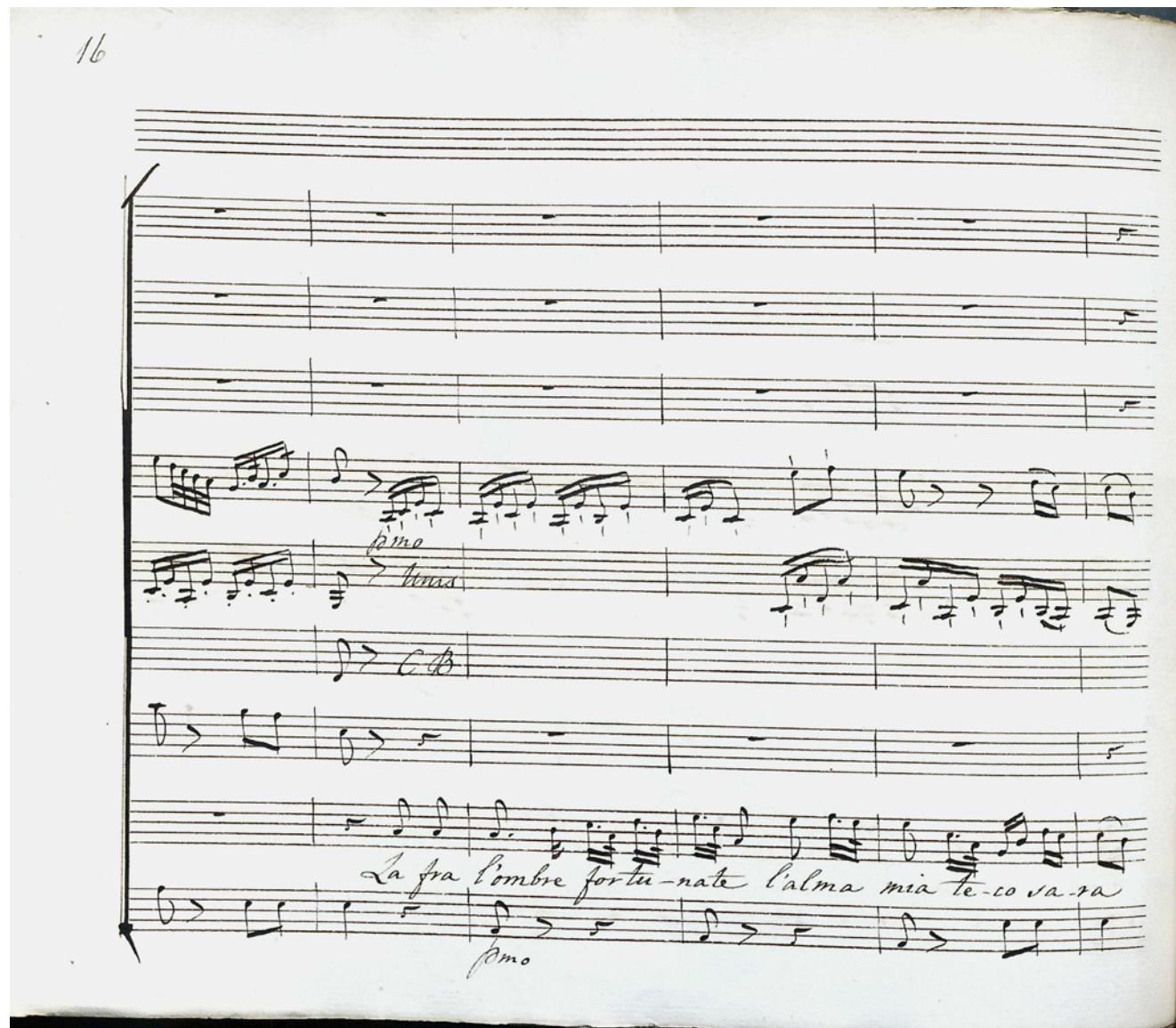


14

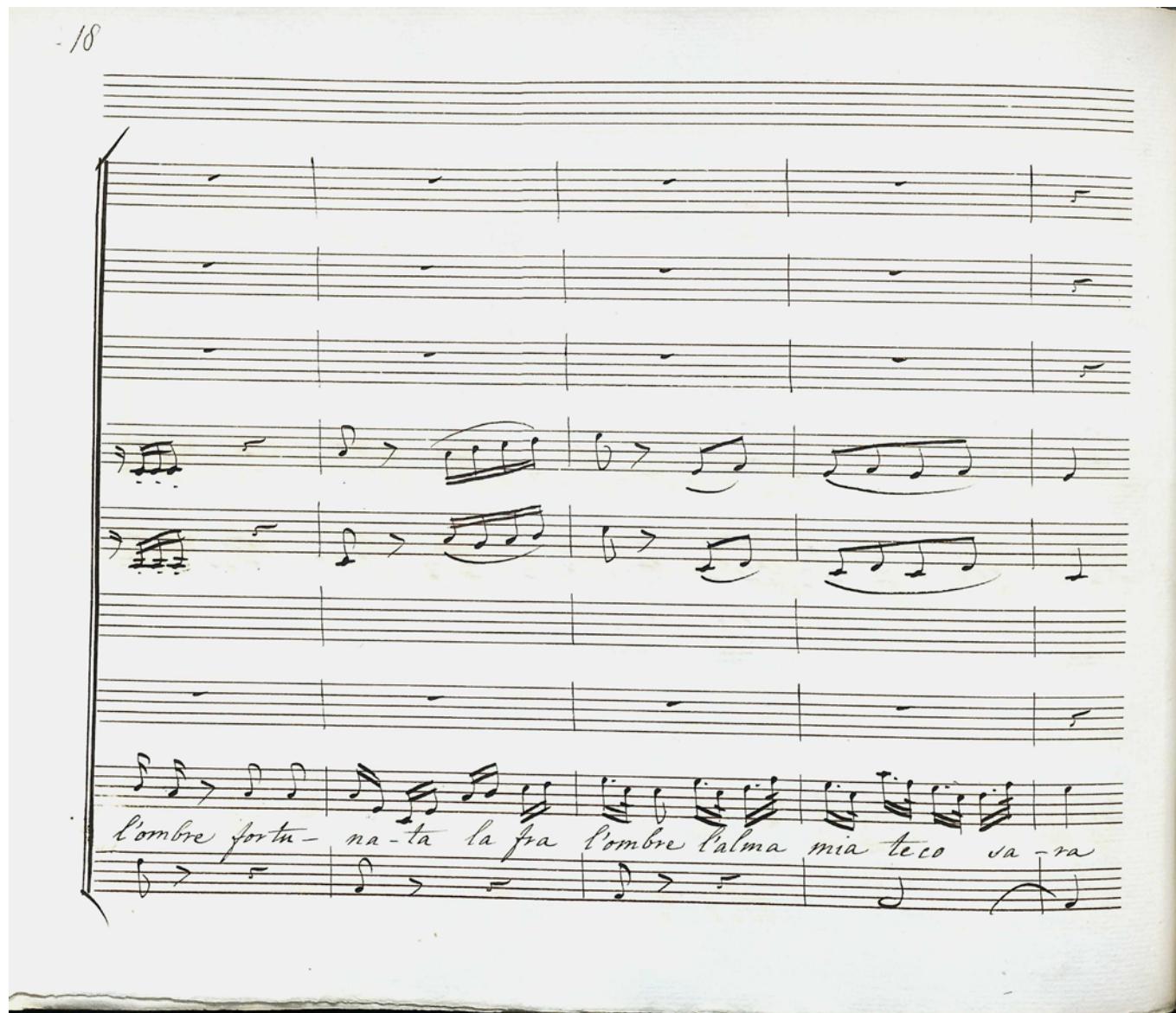
A handwritten musical score on five-line staff paper. The score consists of three staves. The top two staves begin with rests followed by eighth-note patterns. The third staff begins with a sixteenth-note pattern. The fourth staff begins with a eighth-note pattern. The bottom staff begins with a sixteenth-note pattern. The lyrics are written below the bottom staff:

ven - pre d'a - van - te ma guardate ma vedi ma









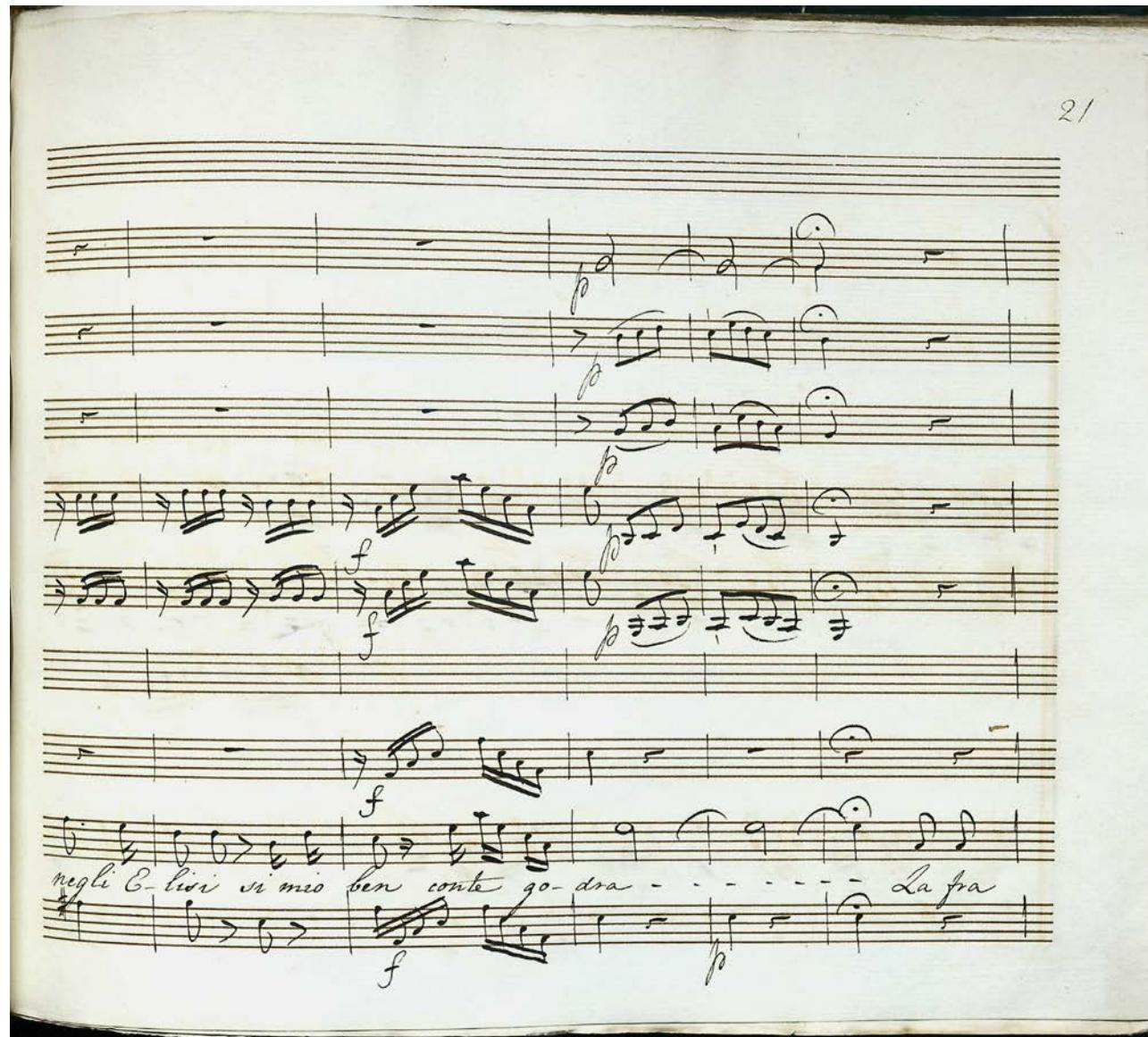
A handwritten musical score on six staves. The score consists of six staves of music, likely for a vocal or instrumental ensemble. The music includes various dynamics such as p , f , and $cresc.$ (crescendo). The lyrics are written below the bottom staff:

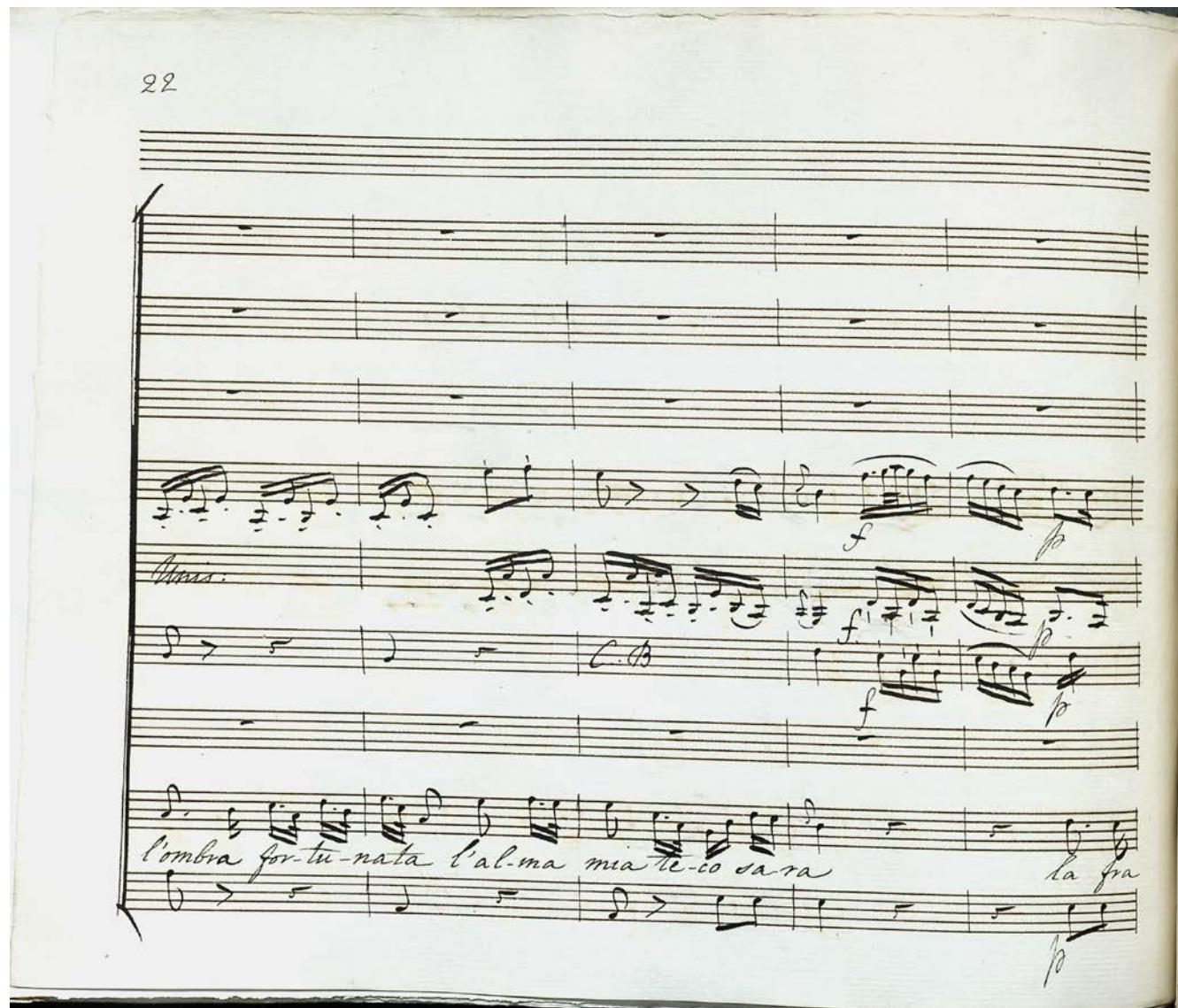
Calma mia te-co va-ra negli o- li - si om-

The score is numbered 19 in the top right corner.

20

A handwritten musical score page featuring five staves. The top three staves represent vocal parts, indicated by 'f' (fortissimo) dynamics and slurs. The fourth staff shows a bassoon part with 'f' dynamics and sixteenth-note patterns. The fifth staff shows a cello part with 'f' dynamics and sixteenth-note patterns. The lyrics 'bra ono - rata si mio ben con - te go - dom' are written below the vocal staves. The score is numbered '20' at the top left.



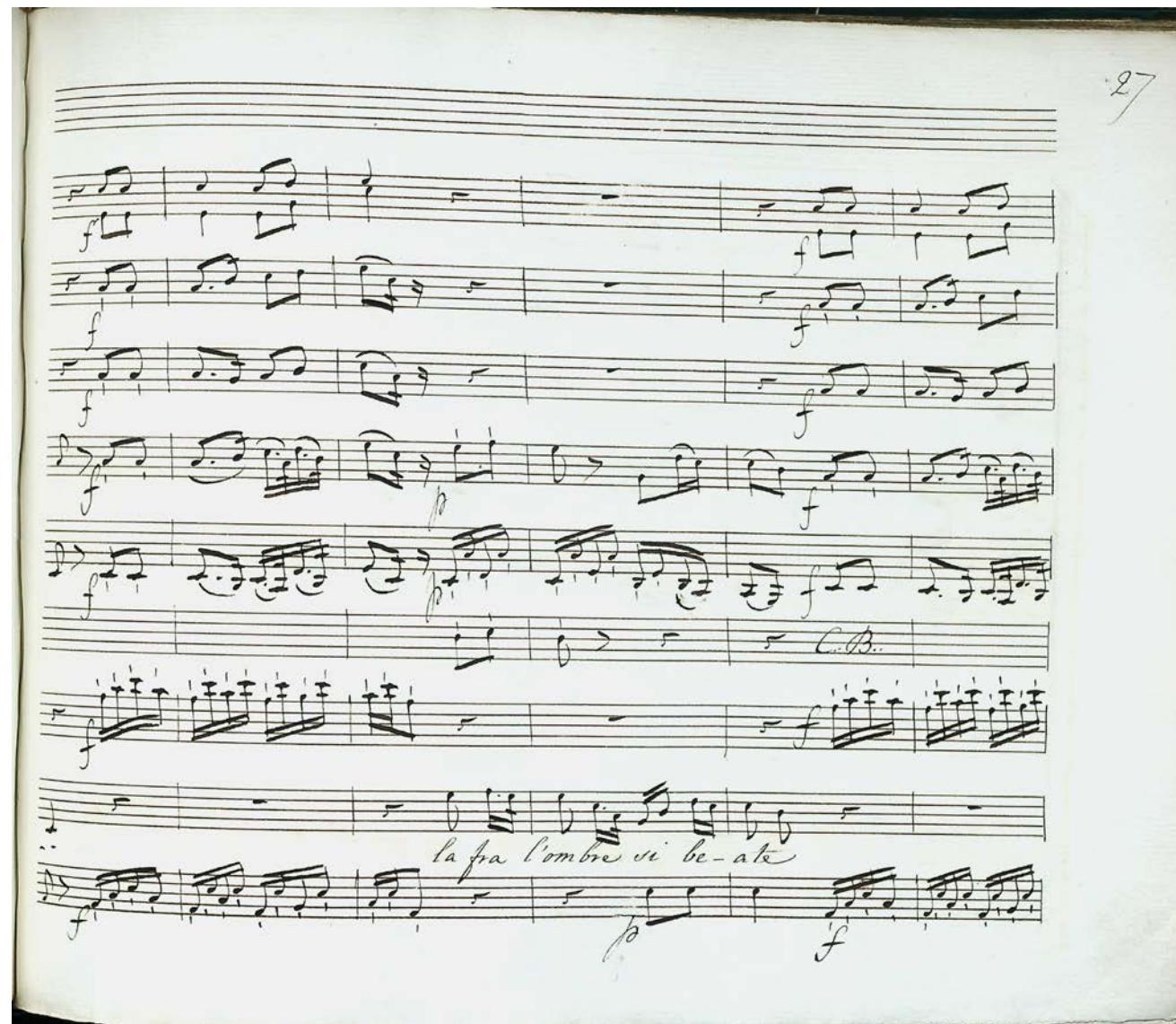


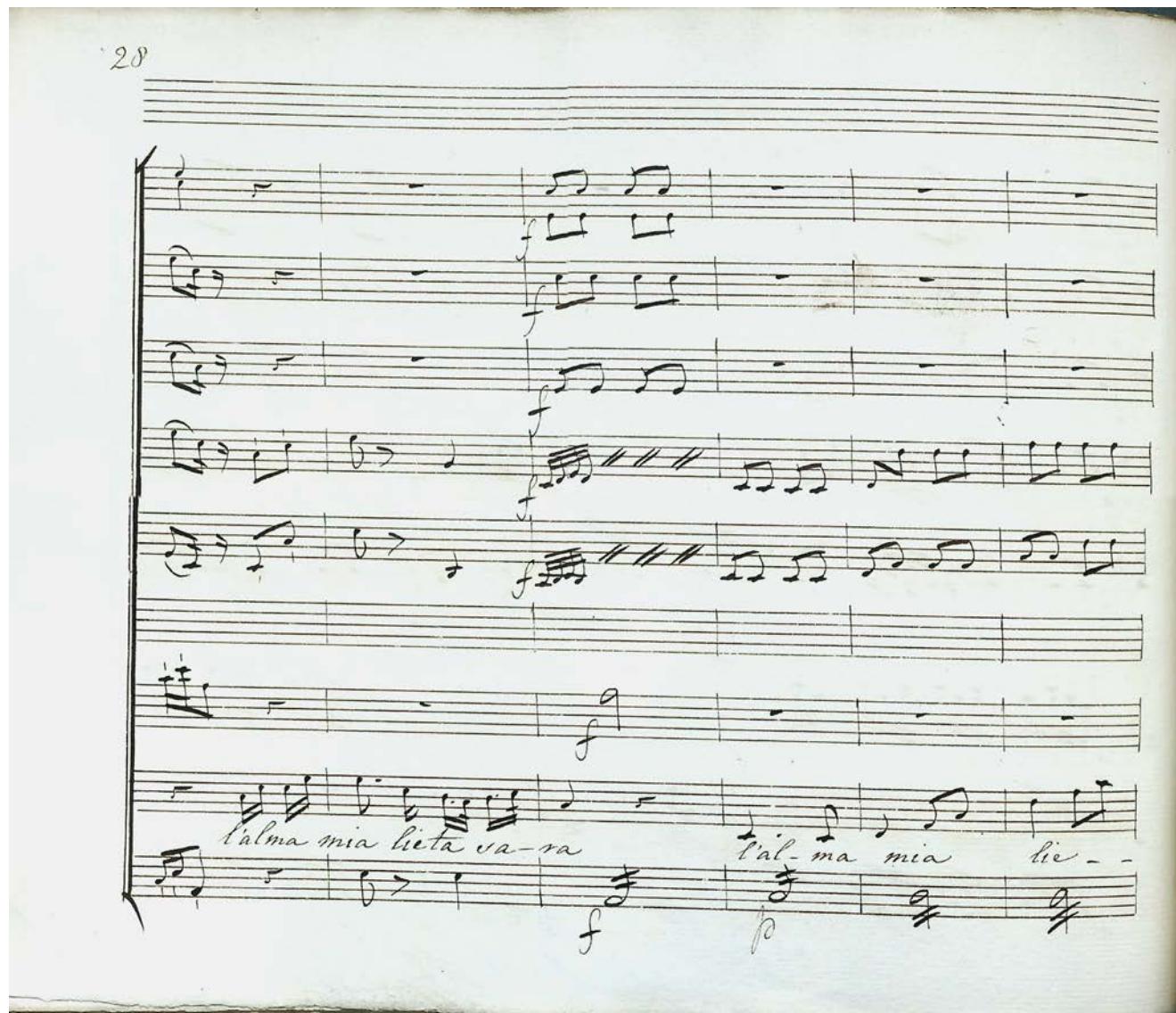


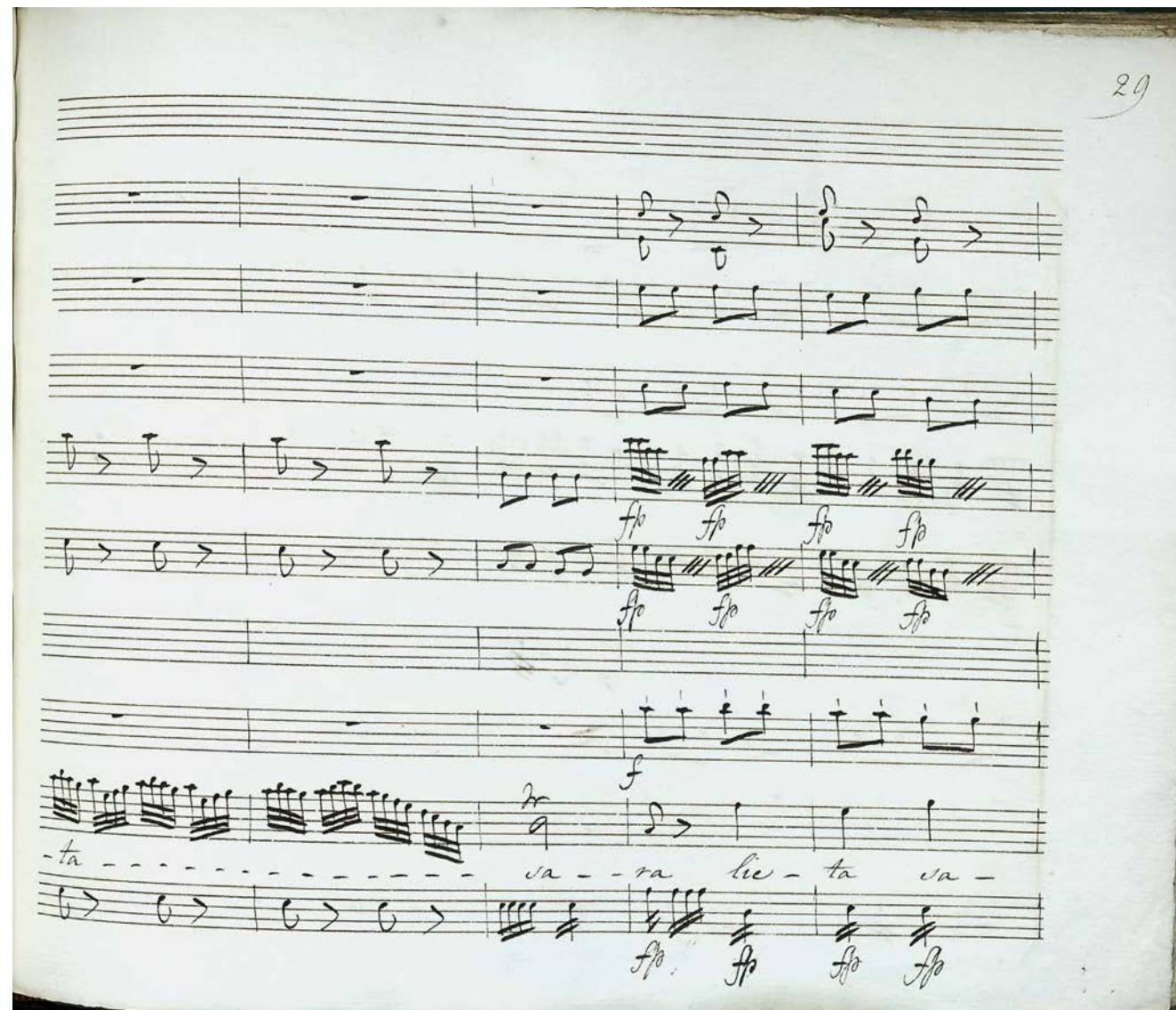


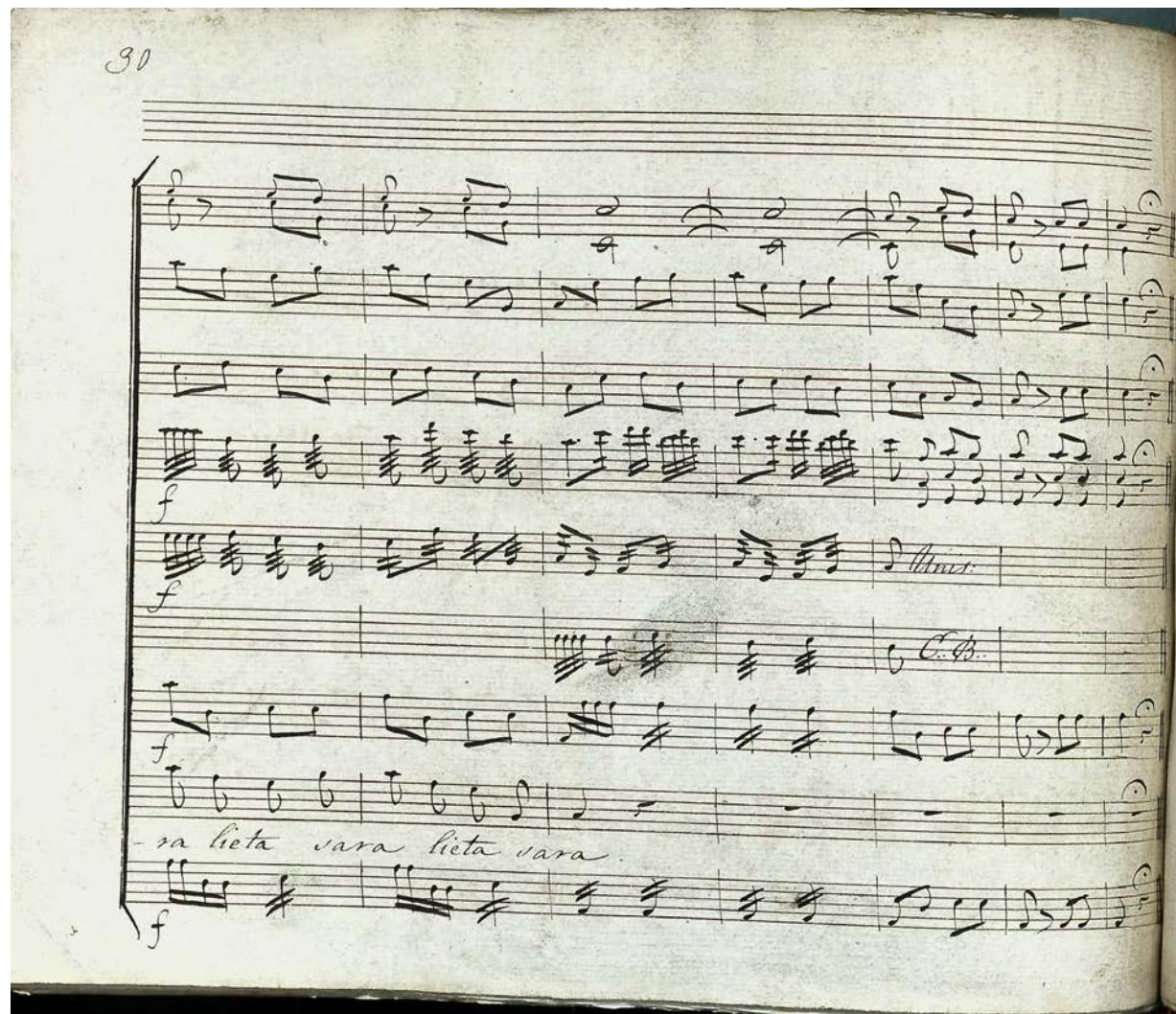












Courtesy of the Royal College of Music, London, (RCM MS 522/11 /RCM MS 522/10).

Appendix B.10. 'Say can you deny me' by Gertrude Mara

Andante con Espressione

Corni in A

Flauti

Fagotti

Vio: 1^{mo}

Vio: 2^{do}

Canto

Cimbalo
Basso

Say can you deny me Ah! say can you fly me who

A handwritten musical score for three voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor/Bass) and piano. The score consists of six staves. The top three staves represent the vocal parts, and the bottom three staves represent the piano. The vocal parts are in common time, while the piano parts show typical harmonic progression with changes in time signature. The vocal parts begin with a melodic line, followed by harmonic support from the piano. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves, corresponding to the vocal parts. The score is numbered '3' at the top right.

will you receive me if you prove untrue Say can you de -

ny me Ah! fay can you fly me who will not de - ceive me if

5

A handwritten musical score for voice and piano/viola. The score consists of two systems of music. The top system begins with three staves: soprano (G clef), alto (C clef), and tenor/bass (F clef). The vocal parts have eighth-note patterns. The viola/piano part has sixteenth-note patterns. The lyrics "grieve me like part-ing from you Say can you de-my me Ah!" are written below the vocal staves. The bottom system continues with the same three staves. The vocal parts have eighth-note patterns. The viola/piano part has sixteenth-note patterns. The lyrics "say can you fly me who will not de-ceive me if you prove un- Vol:Sub:" are written below the vocal staves.

grieve me like part-ing from you Say can you de-my me Ah!

say can you fly me who will not de-ceive me if you prove un- Vol:Sub:

6

Minore

Minore

pp

f

— true Oh! hear my en-treaty Oh! hear me and pity no torment can

Minore

f

p

ff

grieve me like parting from you no torment can grieve me like parting from

7

Majore

This is a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Majore". The score consists of two systems of music. The first system begins with three blank staves, followed by a staff with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature. The lyrics "you Say can you de - nyme me Ah! say can you fly me who will not de -" are written below the staff. The second system starts with a staff containing a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps (G#), and a common time signature. The lyrics "ceive me if you prove untrue Say can you de - nyme Ah!" are written below the staff. The score concludes with the instruction "Vol: Sub:".

you Say can you de - nyme me Ah! say can you fly me who will not de -

Majore

you de - nyme me Ah!

ceive me if you prove untrue Say can you de - nyme Ah!

Vol: Sub:

A handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score consists of two systems of music. The top system begins with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. The vocal line starts with a dotted half note followed by eighth notes. The piano accompaniment features eighth-note chords. The lyrics "say can you fly me who will not deceive me if you prove untrue if" are written below the vocal line. The bottom system continues with a treble clef, common time, and one sharp. The vocal line consists of eighth-note chords. The piano accompaniment features eighth-note chords. The lyrics "you prove un--true . . ." are written below the vocal line. The score concludes with the word "Fine .".

Courtesy of The British Library, London (Music Collections G.364.(34.)).

Appendix B.11. 'By him we love offended' by Venanzio Rauzzini and sung by Elizabeth Billington in *The Duenna*

1

By him we Love offended
 As Sung by M^{rs} BILLINGTON
 in the celebrated Opera of the
DUEENNA
 With all the Graces Variations & Embellishments
 introduced by her at the Theatres Royal Drury Lane & Covent Garden with an accompaniment for
 the Piano Forte newly arrang'd by
Dr. Bussy Prf
 London Printed by W^m Rolfe no 12 Cheapside.

VOCE
 PIANO FORTE

Larghetto

4

2

By him we love offend-ed, How soon our an-ger flies One
 day a-part tis end-ed Be hold him and it dies last
 night your rov-ing brother en-rag'd I bad de-part And
 sure his rude presumption de-serv'd to lose my heart Yet
 were he now be-fore me in spite of in-jurd pride I

3

fear my eyes would par - don Be - fore my tongue coud chide
 By him we love of - fended How soon our an - ger
 flies One day a - part - is end - ed Be - hold him and it
 dies Be - hold him and it dies. Be -
 hold him and it dies. With

The two following pages are omitted in the present representation.

6

4

truth the bold - de - ceiv - er to me thus oft has said "In
 vain woud CLARA slight me In vain she woud up - braid In
 vain she woud up - braid No scorn those lips dis -
 co - ver Where dimples laugh the while, No frowns ap - pear re -
 sent - ful Where Heav'n has stamp'd a smile, No frowns ap - pear re -

5

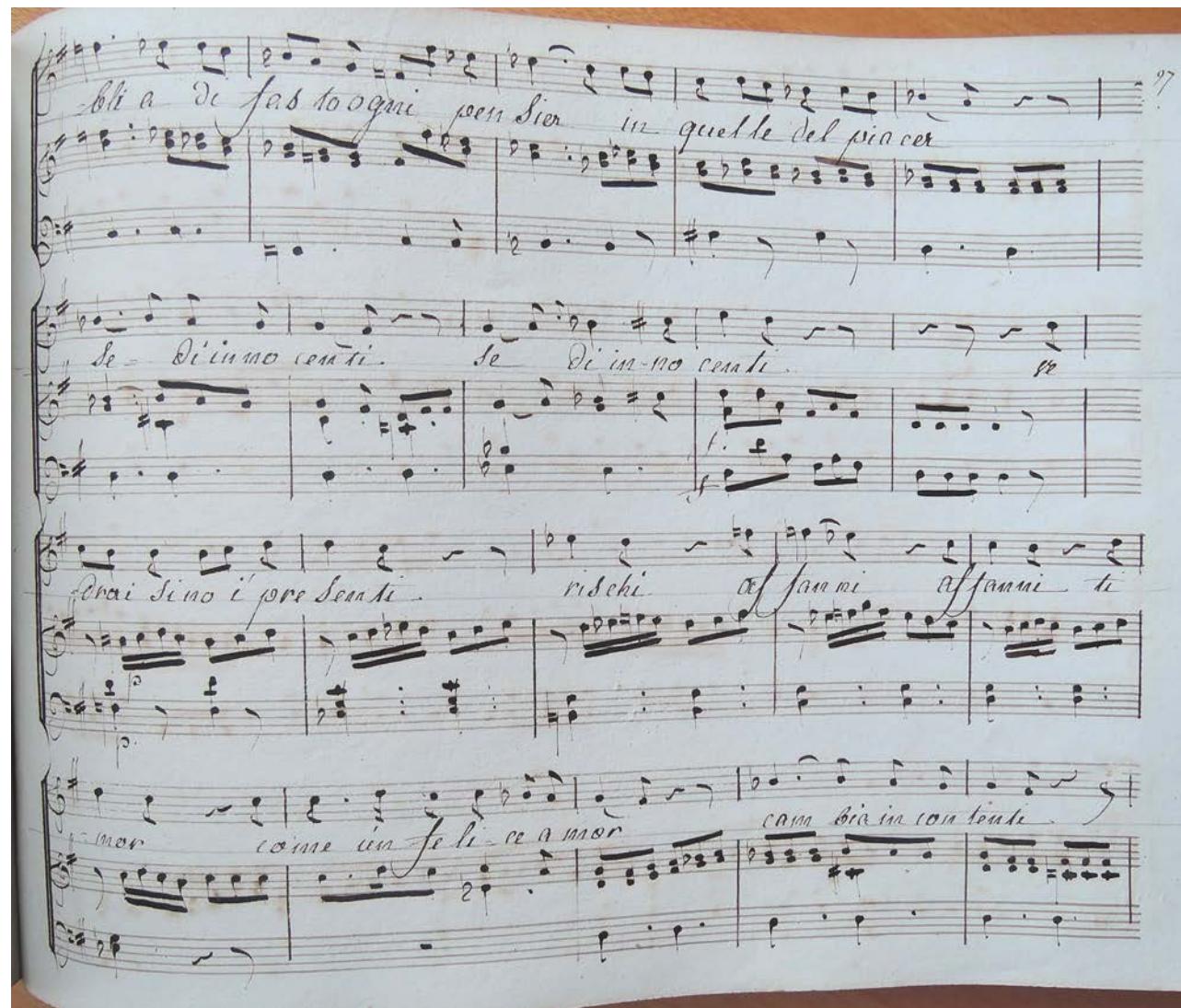
- sentful Where Heavn — — has stamp'd a smile By
 him we love of - fend ed how soon our ang-er flies One
 day a - part, 'tis ended; Be - hold him and it dies Be -
 - hold him and it dies Be - hold him and it dies Be -
 - hold him and it dies.

Courtesy of The British Library, London, (Music Collections H.1594.(10.)).

Appendix B.12. 'Fuggiam dove [or dose] sicura' from *Piramo e Tisbe* composed by Venanzio Rauzzini









Courtesy of the Collection de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique de Genève, Rmo 66, (Ms.10465, 10466).

Appendix B.13. *Old Oliver the dying shepherd* composed by Venanzio Rauzzini and sung by John Braham

59

Old Oliver, or the Dying Shepherd.
 A CANTATA,
 Written by Peter Pindar, Esq.
 AND SUNG at the BATH CONCERTS
 by Mr. Braham,
 The Music by
 SIG^r. RAUZZINI.

Pr. I. 6.

LONDON.

Printed by Longman & Broderip, 26, Cheapside, & 13, Haymarket.

Ent^t at Stationers Hall.

Recit^o. Andante. The Shepherd O - LI - VER, grown white with

 years, Like some old Oak weigh'd down by Winter Snows,
 Volfi subito

2

Now drew the Village sighs, and Village tears; His eye-lids sinking to their last re-

- pose. Yet ere expired life's trembling flame, and

pale, Thus to the bleating bands around his door, That seem'd to mourn his absence from their

vale, The feeble SHEPHERD spoke, and spoke no more.

3

AIR.

Andante

pia.

for.

pia.

for.

pia.

for.

for.

Volti subito

4

O my Flock! whose sweet voices I hear, adieu! a - dieu!

pia. for pia.

Ah! for ever a - dieu! No more on your

Hills on your hills I ap - pear, And to - ge - ther our

pleasure our pleasure pur - sue: No, to - ge - ther,

5

no our pleasure no to - ge - ther our pleasure pur -

sue: Ah! no more no no more.

f. p.

No more, at the peep of the day, From valley to

for:

valley we rove, From val_ley to valley we rove - -

Volti subito

6

'Mid the streamlets, and verdure of May, 'Mid the Zephyrs, and shade of the
grove. 'Mid the Zephyrs, and shade of the grove. Ah! no more no no.
for: pia.

more.

for:

for:

No more to my voice shall ye run,
And, bleating, your SHEPHERD surround;
And, while I repose in the sun,
Like a guard, watch my sleep on the ground.

When WINTER, with tempest and cold,
Dims the eye of pale NATURE with woe,
I lead you no more to the fold,
With your fleeces all cover'd with snow.

O, mourn not at OLIVER's death!
Unwept my last sand let it fall;
Ye too must resign your sweet breath,
For who his past years can recall?

O, take all your SHEPHERD can give!
Receive my last thanks, and last sigh;
Whose simplicity taught me to live,
And whose innocence teaches to die!

W.N.H.
Bib Bodl
HARDING

Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, (Harding Mus. G. 348 (8)).

**Appendix B.14. 'Is there a heart that never lov'd?',
composed and sung by John Braham**

Is there a Heart that never lov'd?
A BALLAD

Composed and Sung by
Mr. Braham.

LARGHETTO

Is there a heart that
 never lov'd. Or felt soft Woman's sigh!
 Is there a heart that

Stark unmov'd dear Woman's tearful eye. Oh! bear him to some distant shore, or
 Solitary cell, When none but Savage monsters roar, where
 Love never deign'd to dwelle.
 For there's a charm in Woman's eye
 A language in her tear,
 & still in every sacred sign
 To man - the Virtue bear:
 And he who can resist her smiles
 With Beasts alone should live,
 Nor taste that joy which can beguile
 Such joy her Virtues give.

Courtesy of the Loeb Music Library, Harvard University, (Hollis #: 007469525).

**Appendix B.15. 'Gentle Anna's Love' by Venanzio Rauzzini
and sung by Charles Incledon**

G. B. L.

Gentle Anna's Love.

Sung by M^r INCLEDON,
with the greatest applause,

At the CONCERTS, BATH.

Composed by

SIG^r RAUZZINI.

Pr. 1^s

London Printed & Sold by Preston, Son at their Wholesale Warehouses 97 Strand.

Tempo di Minuetto

The musical score consists of six staves, each representing a different instrument. The instruments are: Oboe, Violino 1^o, Violino 2^o, Viola, Bassoon, and Piano Forte. The score is in common time, with a key signature of one flat. The piano part includes dynamic markings such as *Bello* and *p* (piano). The violins play eighth-note patterns, while the oboe and bassoon provide harmonic support. The violins play sixteenth-note patterns in the second half of the page. The score is enclosed in a decorative border.

A handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score consists of ten staves of music. The top two staves are for the piano, with dynamics such as *f*, *p*, and *pizz.* The vocal line begins with "God help me," followed by a vocal rest. The piano accompaniment features eighth-note patterns. The vocal line continues with "Impress with ev - ry fond de - tire my troubled" and "mind my troub - led mind has strove to check the thought." The piano part includes several instances of *pizz.* The score is written on aged paper with some foxing and staining.

A handwritten musical score for three voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor) and piano. The score consists of three systems of music. The first system starts with a forte dynamic (f) and includes lyrics: "to check the thought that dare as - pire to gen - tle". The second system begins with a piano dynamic (p) and includes lyrics: "An - na's to gen - tle An - na's to gen - tle An - na's to gentle Anna's". The third system concludes with lyrics: "love - - Im - prent with ev' - ry fond de - fire". The score is written on five-line staves, with the piano part on a separate staff at the bottom. Various dynamics like f, p, and ff, as well as performance instructions like "arco" and "Baffn.", are indicated throughout the score.

A handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score consists of three systems of music, each with two staves. The top staff is for the voice (soprano) and the bottom staff is for the piano. The vocal line includes lyrics. The piano part features various dynamics and performance instructions.

System 1:

- Staff 1 (Voice): *Pizz.*
- Text: my troubled mind my troubled mind has strove to check the
- Staff 2 (Piano): *legato*

System 2:

- Staff 1 (Voice): *arc.*
- Text: thought to check the thought that dare, aspire to gentle
- Staff 2 (Piano): *poco f.*

System 3:

- Staff 1 (Voice): *w*
- Text: Anna's to gentle Anna's to gentle Anna's to gentle Anna's love *w*
- Staff 2 (Piano): *f* *p* *w*

A handwritten musical score page featuring six staves of music. The score includes lyrics in parentheses: "to gentle Anna's to gentle Anna's love". Performance markings such as "ff", "f", "p", "Piz:", "arco", and "Da Capo" are present. The page is numbered "5" at the top right.

But reafon cannot love restrain
And vain my efforts prove
My heart still fondly longs to gain
Its gentle Anna's love.

Courtesy of The British Library, London, (Music Collections G.355.d.(2.)).

Appendix B.16. 'Maria' from *Family Quarrels* composed by John Graham

22 Maria; from the *Family Quarrels*, by Graham. Rev'd. by Addison.

Allegretto

Soprano: וְאֵלֹהִים
 Alto: יְמִינָה
 Bass: וְאֵלֹהִים
 Piano: (various chords and bass lines)

Time: $\frac{2}{4}$ The born in fashions gayest sphere, to scandal over her tea. ^{Nerina}

Time: $\frac{3}{4}$ acciuged an ear for every deaf was she, for ocenny deaf was

23.

The manuscript shows a musical score for three voices (Soprano, Alto, Bass) and piano. The vocal parts are in common time, and the piano part is in 2/4 time. The music consists of six staves of handwritten musical notation. The lyrics are written in two columns above the music. The first column is in English, and the second column is in French. The lyrics describe a woman named Nerima who is nearly blind and has been led astray by rivals. The score includes a section for the piano with a basso continuo line. The title 'Nerima' is written at the bottom left, and 'Dalapo dal Sceus at Fine' is written at the bottom center.

she in beauty to be holden follow th. was not so unkinth a rivals follies

seldom saw for she was nearly blind a rivals follies seldom saw

for she was nearly blind for she was nearly blind for she was

nearly blind

2. Yet had she seen or heard, yet knew
She'd been; nor e'er so weak
As tell the tale for being dumb
Nerima could not speak
In fashion's circle friendship's dear
They with her lost steppe
and learn from what they see or hear
Nerima is no more.

Dalapo dal Sceus
at Fine

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