Singers of the Viennese Kärntnertortheater in the 1730s in the Light of Aria Substitutions and Pasticcios[1]

Judit Zsovár

In 1728, when two members of the imperial court theater in Vienna, the tenor Francesco Borosini, Handel's first Bajazet in his *Tamerlano* (1724), and the ballet dancer Joseph Carl Selliers took over the direction of the theater at the "Kärntner=Thor", the first public opera house of the imperial city was about to be established. The impresarios were initially only allowed to perform comedies with inserted musical interludes.[2] From 1730 on, however, they succeeded in staging Italian pasticcios as well as abridged opera versions disguised as *intermezzi musicali* with six to eight new productions per year.[3] In 1710, the Florentine tenor Francesco Ballerini had obtained from Emperor Joseph I a life-long exclusive privilege to perform operas outside the imperial court, but, for financial reasons, he did not manage to set up an opera house. After the death of Ballerini in 1734, when this exclusive privilege was no longer effective, the opera productions at the Kärntnertortheater were mostly offered in the usual three-act form of the Italian *dramma per musica*.[4]

Right from the beginning, in 1728, Borosini and Selliers established a freely accessible singing academy directed by the concertmaster, composer and arranger Franz Joseph Carl Pirker.[5] Its goal was to train native German-speaking singers in the Italian manner

1 For a general introduction to the pasticcio practice at the "Theater bey dem Kärntner=Thor" see Reinhard Strohm's study in the present volume, pp. 60-63.

2 "Comödien mit einigen untermischt gesungenen Intermedien, und nichts anders zu präsentieren.", see Schenk, 1969, p. 125.

3 Perutková, 2016, pp. 277f.

4 Sommer-Mathis, 2015, p. 152; Sommer-Mathis, 2019, pp. 76-99.

5 On Franz Pirker and his second wife Marianne see the article by Daniel Brandenburg in the present volume, pp. 271-283.

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so that they could support their Italian colleagues[6] who started to arrive in Vienna from 1730 onwards. Among them were Teresa Zanardi Gavazzi (soprano; *Eumene,* 1730), Vittoria Peruzzi (contralto; *Eumene*, 1730), Maddalena Salvai (soprano; *Arminio* and *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia,* 1732), Maria Camati detta La Farinella (soprano; *Eumene*, 1730; *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, 1731; *Arminio*, *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia*, and another unknown opera, 1732), Dorotea Lolli (contralto; *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia*, 1732) and Giuseppe Toselli (tenor; *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia*, 1732).[7] The German-speaking singers trained at the academy may have been those who sang together with the above-mentioned Italian artists: Josepha Pirker (soprano; *Giulio Cesare*, 1731, and probably *Artaserse*, 1732), Katharina Mayer called "Catterl" (soprano; *Giulio Cesare*, 1731; *Arminio*, 1732; *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia*, 1732, also during the season of 1735/36; *L'inganno tradito dall'amore*, 1739; and *Hypermnestra*, 1741), Leopold Hager (tenor; *Eumene*, 1730; *Giulio Cesare*, 1731; and *Arminio*, 1732) and Maximilian (Massimiliano) Miller (bass-baritone; *Giulio Cesare*, 1731; *Arminio*, 1732; and *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia*, 1732). The presence of foreign new singers who hardly ever spent more than one season in Vienna raised the number of 'suitcase arias' and necessary insertions. The aim of this study is to give a comprehensive overview on the practice of pasticcio creation and aria replacement by examining selected performances at the Kärntnertortheater during the 1730s. They may serve as examples for different types of this custom: 1. the 'real' pasticcio: the pasticcio after Geroge Frideric Handel's *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1731; most probably arranged by the house composer Francesco Rinaldi); 2. aria insertions in Rinaldi's own operas: *Eumene* (1730) and *Arminio* (1732); 3. the 'half-pasticcio': an adaptation of Leonardo Vinci's *Il Medo* (1728), performed as *Medea riconosciuta* (1735), with no less than twelve inserted arias.

The pasticcio version of George Frideric Handel's *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1731)

The pasticcio based on Handel's *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (libretto by Giacomo Francesco Bussani, 1677, reworked by Nicola Francesco Haym, London 1724), was put together of arias mainly from three operas of the Saxon composer: besides the eponymous work (HWV 17, 1724) its sources were *Rodelinda, regina de' Longobardi* (HWV 19, 1725) and *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (HWV 22, 1727).[8] Furthermore, the work contains several still unidentified arias and one aria each from Nicola Porpora's *Adelaide* (Rome 1723), Tomaso Albinoni's *La fortezza al cimento* (Milan 1729) and Antonio Caldara's

6 Sommer-Mathis, 2019, pp. 142 and 150; Strohm, forthcoming 2021.

7 Perutková, 2016, p. 280. Regarding the cast of the singers of the Kärntnertortheater I have also relied on the research of Danièle Lipp.

8 Perutková, 2012, p. 105.

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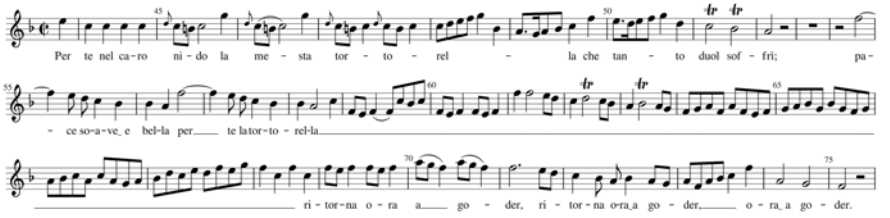
Amalasunta (Jaroměřice/Jarmeritz 1726).[9] The score (D-MEIr, Ed 129n) is one of the few sources which also provides the names of the cast. I have analyzed the arias from a musical and vocal point of view in order to explore more about the operatic practice at the Kärntnertortheater and about the vocal characteristics of its singers.

Cleopatra's role in Vienna was taken over by the soprano Josepha Susanna Pirker, Franz Pirker's wife, who himself may have been, according to Reinhard Strohm, Francesco Rinaldi, the house composer and orchestra leader of the theater and, as such, also the arranger of the pasticcios put on stage, including *Giulio Cesare*.[10] Josepha, due to her status and experience, got the role of the *prima donna*. The sequence of her arias suggests that she felt more comfortable singing melodious arias: apart from "Venere bella", other such numbers were insertions: "La mia speranza" (from Albinoni's *La fortezza al cimento*) and "Bella speranza che or mi conforti" (from Caldara's *Amalasunta*, sung originally by Faustina Bordoni). Nevertheless, Josepha's ambition and vocal agility pushed her towards a greater virtuosity. Correspondingly, she sang "Per te nel caro nido" from Porpora's *Adelaide*, a *mezzo carattere* number combining phrases of syllabic manner with coloratura passages (see Example 1). Besides, "Da tempeste il legno infranto", Cuzzoni's virtuoso number originally belonging to the part of Cleopatra, was kept for Josepha; the end of part B, however, probably the most difficult section of the aria with fast repetitions, was cut. Her arias were usually of high range with long sojourns on *a"* which supports the assumption that her voice sounded particularly well in that high tessitura, making her a coloratura soprano.

Example 1: "Per te nel caro nido", from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *(Act III), upbeat to bar 44-75, vocal part.*



Reinhard Strohm suggested that the presence of two Handel arias in the Viennese version of Leonardo Vinci's *Artaserse* (1732) may point to Francesco Rinaldi (i.e. Franz Pirker) as arranger because of his predilection for the Saxon composer. Most likely his

9 This production and its sources have been thoroughly studied by Jana Perutková, who also has identified, as far as possible, its arias; IBID., pp. 114f.; see also PERUTKOVÁ, 2015, pp. 494-497. Recently, Reinhard Strohm revisited the manuscript and identified one aria each by Albinoni and Caldara. See STROHM, forthcoming 2021.
Letter by Georg Adam Hoffmann to Count Johann Adam von Questenberg, 3 January 1731. See PERUTKOVÁ, 2015, p. 197.

10 STROHM, forthcoming 2021.

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wife Josepha in the role of Mandane sang these two arias.[11] One of them was Faustina's lyric coloratura aria "Lusinghe più care" from *Alessandro*, the other was "Da tempeste" from the Viennese *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* production (1731), but with another text: "Vanne pur tra selve ircane".[12] Strohm's strong argument for this hypothesis is that the Pirkers went to Italy in 1732, and after that no Handel arias appeared in the repertoire of the Kärntnertortheater anymore.[13]

The part of Cornelia was given to the young Venetian soprano Maria Camati called "La Farinella" (born in 1710).[14] She had made her debut at the Teatro San Moisé in Venice in Albinoni's *Filandro* in January 1729[15] and was engaged at the "Teatro Privilegiato" at the Kärntnertor[16] at the age of 20, from 1730 on.[17] In the production of *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* in London in 1724 the role of the *seconda donna* had been interpreted by the contralto Anastasia Robinson who was more of a sensitive actress than a virtuoso singer. Not surprisingly, her arias were replaced without exception in the Viennese production.[18] Camati had three arias: the anonymous coloratura number "Tu infido uccidesti", the *lamento* "Ahi perché, giusto ciel" (Cuzzoni's substitute aria from the revival of Handel's *Rodelinda* in 1725), another demanding aria "E che ci posso far" from *Admeto*, and two most probably newly composed *accompagnato* recitatives, "Deh! Pensa ch'amor fanciullo" and "Cara ombra di Pompeo". The presence of the *accompagnati* is remarkable and differs from Farinella's numbers in the other three Rinaldi operas: it shows that the role's original strong emphasis on acting has been preserved, presumably because the young soprano also possessed sufficient stage presence to embody the middle-aged mother figure authentically.

Her first number, "Tu infido uccidesti" (A major, Act I; see Example 2), is a particularly agile air with coloraturas reaching *a"* regularly (bars 28, 30, 35, 41, 55, 71, 75, 87-88, and 110), with sixth jumps and syncopations. This movement, together with Cornelia's last aria "E che ci posso far" (B major, Act III; see Example 3)[19] with its *a"* notes and octave jumps within coloraturas of high technical requirements (bars 21 and 22), made this role equivalent to that of the *prima donna*, Cleopatra, as far as vocal agility and high range were concerned.

11 The cast list of this production has unfortunately not been preserved; see IBID.

12 IBID.

13 IBID.

14 KUTSCH/RIEMENS, 2003, art. *Camati, Maria*, vol. 1, pp. 693f.

15 ALBINONI/CASSANI, *Filandro*, p. 5.

16 PERUTKOVÁ, 2016, p. 280.

17 Later she performed in Venice, Naples and other Italian cities (1753), in Berlin (1741), Graz (1754), Dresden (1756) as well as with Giovanni Battista Locatelli's troupe in the Russian Empire/St. Petersburg (1757).

18 ZSOVÁR, 2019, pp. 46-48.

19 Bars 39-47 were cut. See PERUTKOVÁ, 2012, p. 117.

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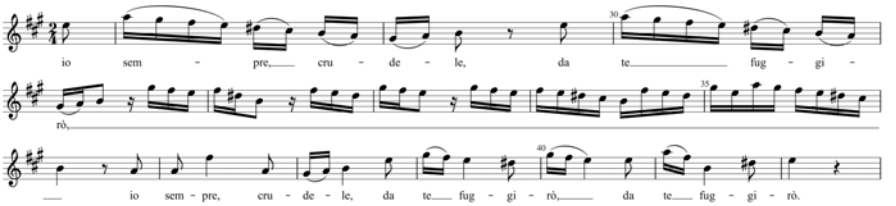
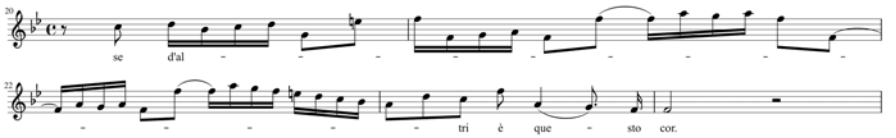
Example 2: "Tu infido uccidesti" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *(Act I), upbeat to bar 28-42, vocal part.*



Example 3: "E che ci posso far" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *(Act III), bars 20-24, vocal part.*



The pathetic *aria di portamento*, "Ahi perché, giusto ciel" from *Rodelinda*, shows another side of Cornelia's character. This lament in the tragic C minor mode was a perfect choice for a substitution piece since the figure of Rodelinda as the grieving widow who attempts to defend and comfort her son is in complete alignment with that of Cornelia.[20] "Ahi perché, giusto ciel" itself was originally a substitute aria for Francesca Cuzzoni (in place of "Se'l mio duol") at the first London revival of *Rodelinda, regina de' Longobardi* (with eight performances from 18 December 1725 to 11 January 1726).[21] Moreover, musically it already contained recycled material from "Deh! lasciatemi il nemico" from *Tamerlano* (October 1724), Handel's previous Royal Academy opera.[22]

The *primo uomo*, Cesare, was embodied by a tenor named "Hager", most probably Leopold Hager,[23] instead of an alto castrato, the original voice type of the role. This, of course, called for adjustments of the vocal lines. His first aria, "Va tacito, ed ascoso" (Act I), is in fact "Se l'arco avessi e strali" from Handel's *Admeto*, a hunting aria with horns. The A2 section was cut and the text much altered by incorporating many verses from the aria it substituted: Cesare's famous "Va tacito e nascosto" from *Giulio Cesare*.

20 The text of the middle section was altered: instead of "Vieni, figlio, vieni oh Dio! col tuo pianto e con il mio [...]" Cornelia sings "Vieni o morte, vieni oh Dio! Col mio pianto amaro, e rio [...]" since in this scene her son has already left the stage. *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, Vienna 1731, p. 16.

21 Burrows, 1994, p. 516.

22 Dean/Knapp, 1995, pp. 592f.

23 There were two Hagers singing at the Kärntnertortheater successively in the 1730s and '40s, Leopold and Christoph Hager. Reinhard Strohm suggests that they were related, likely father and son.

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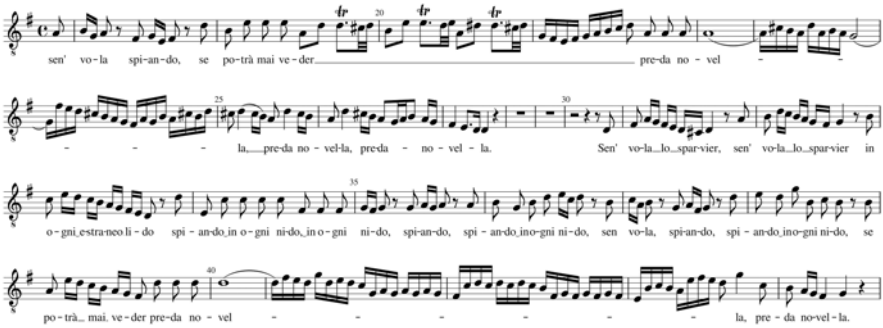
Whereas "Va tacito" requires a virtuosic solo horn, "Se l'arco avessi" features two horns with a regular level of difficulty. The intention of Rinaldi is clear: he wanted to preserve the original idea of a hunting aria with horns, only the hornists of the Kärntnertortheater's orchestra most probably lacked such solo capacities which "Va tacito" would have required. This is the only plausible explanation since the vocal parts of the two arias are practically on the same technical level.

The vocal part of the *accompagnato* recitative "Alma del gran Pompeo" from *Giulio Cesare* (1724) has been reshaped and adjusted for the tenor voice type, its key, however, remained unchanged.

Furthermore, Hager sang "Sen' vola lo sparvier" (Act I; see Example 4), Antigona's coloratura number, again from *Admeto*, this time without cuts but naturally an octave lower since it was originally interpreted by the soprano Francesca Cuzzoni. It has a wider range, between *c sharp* and *g'*. The demand for such an insertion must have come from the singer himself. "Dal periglio dell'onde" (Act III), another accompanied recitative which precedes the aria "Aure, deh per pietà" (Cesare's number from *Giulio Cesare*), is most probably a new composition by Rinaldi. This applies even more since it replaced the first of the two *recitativo accompagnato* sections Handel incorporated in the aria (bars 23-42) which was cut at the Kärntnertortheater's production. The other *accompagnato* section, at the end of part B, however, was preserved. "Aure, deh per pietà" (Act III, see Example 5) is a lyric, *Andante* movement in the pastoral key of F major with lullabyish, short and sweet patterns in the orchestra and melodic phrases with frequent chromatic notes for the tenor. Here too, by keeping the original key the vocal line became submitted to necessary octave breaks. As far as range is concerned, there is an interesting momentum in this number: although the A part generally has a high tessitura, in bar 40 (bar 62 in Handel's original) it goes up to *a' flat* by changing the original *f'*. It is musically more logical than in Handel's original setting: he wrote an *f'* because no other instrument has it (except for the continuo which realizes it, naturally). On the other hand, a reason for this little, but significant change could be the wish to emphasize Hager's high vocal range. That had no meaning in Handel's original composition for the alto castrato Senesino because an *a' flat* belonged to his middle range. The last two arias show the lyric versatility of Hager and indicate a light and flexible tenor voice with a sweet tone.

Example 4: "Sen' vola lo sparvier" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *(ActI), upbeat to bar 18-44, vocal part.*



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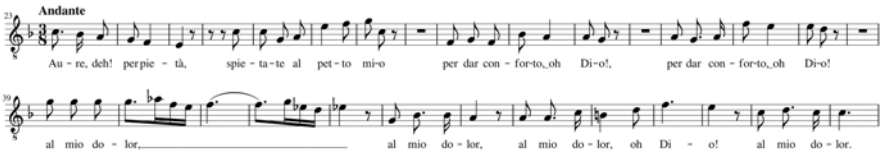
Example 5: "Aure, deh per pietà" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *(Act III), bars 23-51, vocal part.*



Hager had previously played the title role of Rinaldi's *Eumene* (1730) and appeared as Segeste in his *Arminio* (1732) as well, the scores of which have fortunately been preserved, and so the vocal profile of his role as Cesare can be nuanced and defined further. In *Eumene*, two of his three arias had a compass between *c sharp* and *g'*. One of them was "È prova del forte" (II,7), a large-scale coloratura number with horns and oboes, prominently placed to close Act II. In *Arminio*, a production realized in 1732, the year after *Giulio Cesare*, Hager sang in the role of Segeste "Quel teschio orgoglioso" (I,4) as his entry aria, a bravura number of the highest technical level and with a range of two octaves (*B flat* to *b' flat*) that contained definitely more extensive coloratura passages than those he had to demonstrate in the Handel pasticcio. Scales running from *f'* down to *B flat* were particularly remarkable. These scales, together with the trilled sustained note and further trills in the arias "Con quell'amplesso" in *Eumene* (I,2) and "Quant'empietà nei mostri", a substitution aria in *Arminio* (II,4), further testify to a wide-compassed tenor voice with flexibility and agility of an uncommon kind.

At the Kärntnertortheater, the part of Tolomeo was likewise represented by a natural (non-castrato) voice, that of Massimiliano Miller.[24] He is listed in the manuscript score as a bass, according to Steffen Voss, however, he was rather a baritone. This assumption goes back to the roles he sang in Vivaldi's operas at the Teatro Sant'Angelo in Venice during the 1733/34 season: the title role of *Montezuma* (1733), King Admeto in *Dorilla in Tempe* (1734), and Alcandro in *L'Olimpiade* (1734).[25] Voss further suggests that Miller had German or Austrian origins and identifies him as the composer Maximilian Miller.[26] In the Viennese pasticcio *Giulio Cesare*, Miller's two arias came from the original version of Handel's opera in London: the first of them, "L'empio, sleale, indegno" (Act I), had been sung by the alto castrato Gaetano Berenstadt as Tolomeo. For adjustments, the same techniques were applied as described above: the key was not changed, but the vocal parts were transposed an octave lower and at some cadential places a bass formula, usually with an octave jump, was used instead (bars 30-31 and 43, see Example 6 and 7). It is intriguing to see that these cadences in the *stile di basso* were also applied in his second aria "Tu sei il cor di questo core" (Act II), an original bass number assigned to

24 Miller also appeared in the three other productions by Francesco Rinaldi performed at the Kärntnertortheater: he sang Varo in *Arminio* (1732), Lisarco in *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia* (1732) and one can assume that he presented Antigene in *Eumene* (1730).

25 Voss, 2008, p. 5.

26 Ibid.

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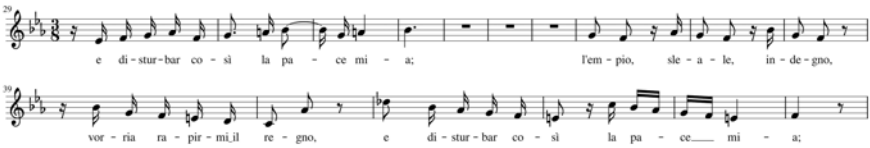
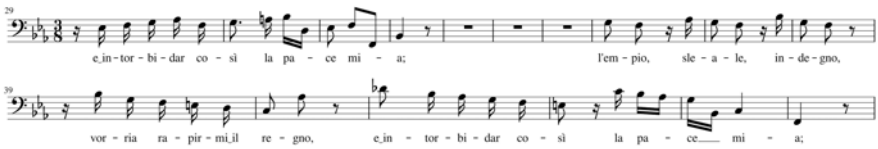
Achilla by Handel (bars 24 and 44; see Example 8 and 9). Both arias have a high tessitura. Interestingly, the one accommodated from the contralto voice, "L'empio, sleale, indegno", has a bass-baritone range, spanning from *F* to *e' flat*, while "Tu sei il cor di questo core" goes down only to *A*, on the other hand, it regularly hits *f'*. In Handel, *f'* occurred so frequently (seven times in part A and once in the middle section) that in the Viennese production three of those spots as well as the *d'*-s at the end of part B were set down an octave (bars 21, 23, 43, and 63; see Example 10 and 11), revealing Miller's voice being lower in comparison to the London baritone, Giuseppe Maria Boschi (as Achilla). Apart from the two arias, Miller also had a brief accompanied recitative, "Ah, traditore" (Act III), probably newly composed by Rinaldi.

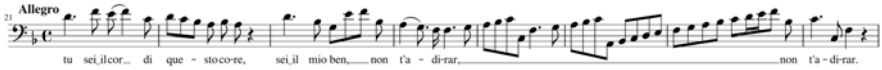
Example 6: "L'empio, sleale, indegno" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *– London (Tolomeo, I,6), bars 29-44, vocal part.*



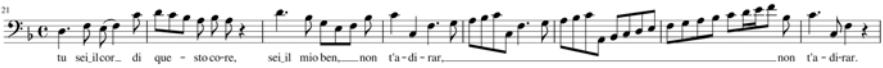
Example 7: "L'empio, sleale, indegno" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *– Vienna (Tolomeo, Act I), bars 29-44, vocal part.*



Example 8: "Tu sei il cor di questo core" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *– London (Achilla, Act II), bars 21-28, vocal part.*



Example 9: "Tu sei il cor di questo core" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *– Vienna (Tolomeo, Act II), bars 21-28, vocal part.*



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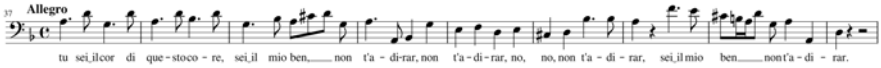
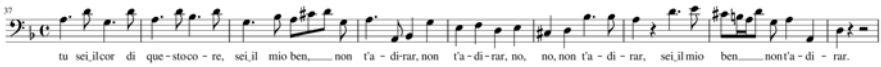
Example 10: "Tu sei il cor di questo core" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *– London (Achilla, Act II), bars 37-45, vocal part.*

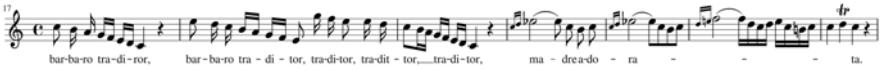


Example 11: "Tu sei il cor di questo core" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *– Vienna (Tolomeo, Act II), bars 37-45, vocal part.*



Finally, Sesto's role in Vienna was taken over by Katharina Mayer called "Catterl", a soprano who frequently played male roles *en travesti*. In *Giulio Cesare*, she had two arias, both possibly new compositions by Rinaldi: "Vado a morir da forte" (Act II) and "Non è sì vago e bello" (Act III). The former has an unusual structure: it begins as a *parlante* number with frequent trills and fermatas, after that the vocal line starts to apply altered notes in the A2 section on the one hand (upbeat to bar 11, bars 14, 15, 21, 22, and 23) and three scales downwards at the words "barbaro traditor" ("barbarous traitor") on the other (bars 17-19; see Example 12). The last of these passages goes from *g"* to *c'* (bars 18-19) after a jump of a tenth from *e'* to *g"* (bar 18). The B part applies the initial phrase of the A section, an upward scale in a syllabic manner, though this time in the relative minor key (A minor after C major) and this middle section has in fact real coloraturas, including two semiquaver downward scales in a row (bar 39). Katharina Mayer's second air, "Non è sì vago e bello", is a simpler and more explicit *parlante* number. At the Kärntnertortheater "Catterl" took over other trouser roles, such as Ramise in *Arminio* (1732), Idreno/Idaspe in *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia* (1732), and Tivame in *L'inganno tradito dall'amore* (1739); she also played Argia in Ignaz Holzbauer's *Hypermnestra* (1741).[27] Her arias consistently show a higher tessitura with frequent *a"* notes, but with less or moderate virtuosity.

Example 12: "Vado a morir da forte" from Giulio Cesare in Egitto *(Act II), bars 17-23, vocal part.*



27 Perutková, 2016, p. 285.

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Insertions in other operas of Francesco Rinaldi

Eumene (1730)

The insertions in *Eumene* (1730, after a libretto by Apostolo Zeno from 1697; manuscript score in D-MEIr, Ed 147p) are particularly connected to the soprano Maria Camati called "La Farinella" who sang the part of the *seconda donna* Artemisia.[28] The 20-year old soprano had just arrived in Vienna in 1730, little more than a year after her Venetian debut, and *Eumene* was most probably her first opera at the Kärntnertortheater (it is assumed to have been performed in June that year). Her stage name "Farinella" could refer to the vocal agility and high range of her voice and perhaps also to a preference for the arias of the famous castrato Carlo Broschi Farinelli, albeit she did not achieve the same superiority he had among his peers. Most likely all of her arias in *Eumene* were baggage arias: insertions coming from Venetian operas performed in the 1728/29 and 1729/30 seasons which she might have brought with her to Vienna. Since Camati was a new singer she might have been given a greater freedom to choose her own arias.

It is also a happy coincidence that Camati debuted in the Venetian carnival season of 1729 when the greatest singers of the day, such as Farinelli, Senesino, Faustina Bordoni, and Nicolò Grimaldi, were present there – an extraordinary situation as the result of the dissolution of Handel's first Royal Academy of Music in London in June 1728 which forced its members (i.e. Senesino, Faustina and Francesca Cuzzoni) to seek engagement elsewhere, starting with Venice.

As far as Camati's preference for Farinelli's arias is concerned, there is at least one trace of it: she sang the slower *Andante* aria "So che pietà non hai" (II,2) from Leonardo Leo's *Catone in Utica* (II,3).[29] Camati had most probably heard this aria interpreted by the castrato at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, and possibly not only in Leo's opera (premiered on 28 December 1728), but also in the pasticcio *L'abbandono di Armida*, put together by Antonio Pollarolo and premiered on 27 February 1729, where this number was used by Farinelli as an insertion (I,8).[30] For this reason, the idea of its use in *Eumene* presumably came from Camati herself, together with another insertion in III,2, that of "Qual disarmata nave" from Giovanni Battista Pescetti's *I tre difensori della patria* (first performed at the Teatro S. Angelo in Venice on 5 November 1729; II,4, sung by Anna Maria Peruzzi).[31] In this case, the absence of the text of the aria in the printed libretto indicates that this insertion was made very late during the preparation process, perhaps even right before the first performance.[32]

28 Zsovár, 2019, pp. 43-45.

29 This aria has been identified by Reinhard Strohm. Leo/Metastasio, *Catone in Utica*, pp. 8 and 38.

30 Pollarolo/Boldini, *L'abbandono di Armida*, pp. 6 and 16.

31 This aria has been identified by Reinhard Strohm. See Strohm, 2008, p. 118. Pescetti/Morselli, *I tre difensori della patria*, p. 28.

32 D-MEIr, Ed 147p, fols. 102r-108v. Rinaldi, *Eumene*, p. 18.

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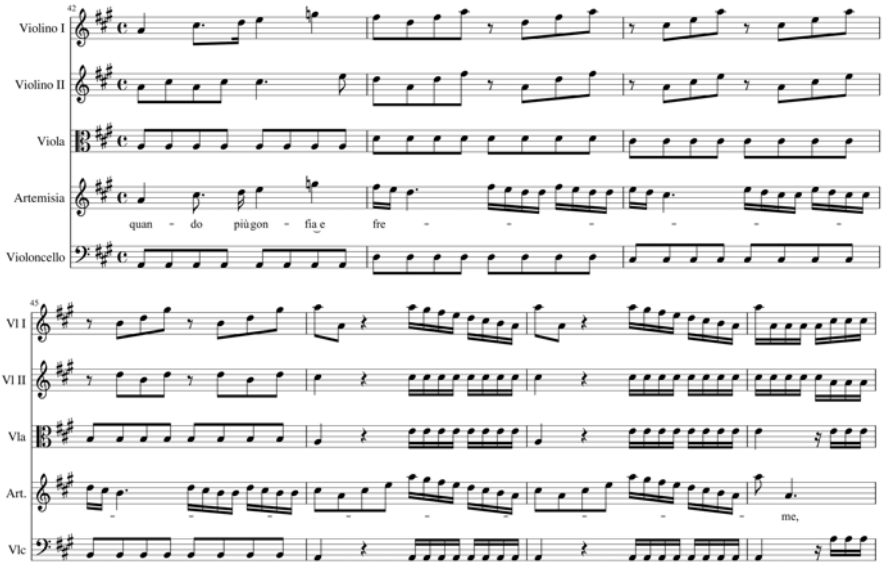
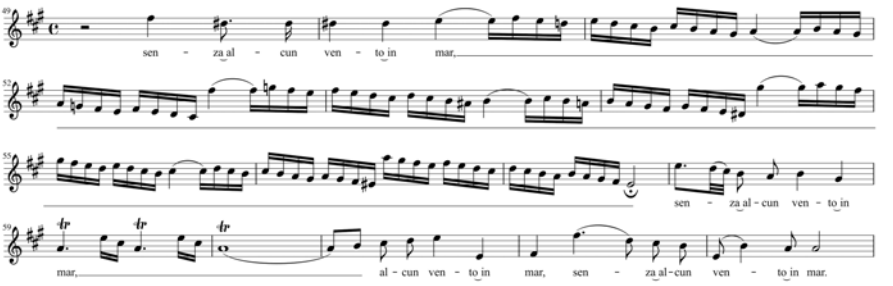
It is also possible that Camati witnessed Farinelli on stage in Giovanni Antonio Giai's *Mitridate* (premiered at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo on 26 December 1729) and that she chose a baggage aria from this opera as well.[33] This time, however, it was not one of the castrato's arias, but Aristia's "Sai quando in mar più teme" (IV,8) sung by Francesca Cuzzoni which then served as Farinella's entrance aria as the faithful lover Artemisia in *Eumene*. Belonging to the castrato-type of virtuoso arias, it has a relatively long orchestral introduction in A major which utilizes well-known vocal patterns like coloraturas, rapid scale passages (bars 21-23, 25-26, 46-47, 50-57 and 59), trills (bars 25-26, 38, 59-60 and 83), note repetitions (bars 43-45), *messe di voce* (bars 38-39, 60, 75 and 79-80) and arpeggios (bars 21-22, 25-28, 46-47 and 59) over the also typical drumming bass accompaniment (see Example 13 and 14).

Example 13: "Sai quando il mar più teme" from Eumene *(I,1), bars 42-48.*



Example 14: "Sai quando il mar più teme" from Eumene *(I,1), bars 49-63, vocal part.*



33 Giai, *Mitridate*, p. 58. The score of the opera is kept in GB-Lcm, shelfmark 209.

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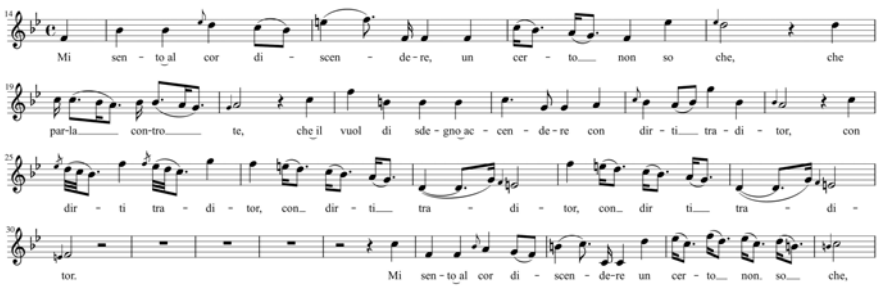
"Mi sento al cor discendere" (I,5; see Example 15) is possibly also an insertion aria with an altered text though the music is not identical neither with Vinci's nor with Orlandini's setting.[34] It is a galant movement with Lombardic rhythms and drumming bass accompaniment. Vocally, those phrases are especially remarkable which show the wide range and flexibility of the singer's voice: there are two scale passages downwards encompassing an octave and a half (upbeat to bar 25-30). The first one goes from *g''* to *d'* and after stopping on *e'* the second one begins on *f''* with a jump of a ninth. Furthermore, there is an octave jump down (*c''-c'*) and right after that up of a ninth (*c'-d''*; bar 36) at the beginning of the A2 section. From a melodic and dramatic perspective, the aria is chromatically colored by altered notes: its strongest distinguishing mark is the main motif (vocal part: bar 16, orchestra: bar 2), which regularly appears during the whole number. It consists of an accented raised fourth degree (*e''* in B flat major) functioning as a leading note chromatically gravitating towards the fifth degree. After that the melody takes an octave jump down, thereby strengthening the future tonic, i.e. the dominant key, F major. Words like "discendere" ("to descend"; bars 16 and 36) and "misero" ("wretch"; bar 70) are stressed in this way, additionally "sdegno" ("rage"; bar 21) by a tritone (*f''-b'*), reflecting Artemisia's feelings after she received terrifying news about her beloved Eumene.

Example 15: „Mi sento al cor discendere" from Eumene *(I,5), upbeat to bar 15-38, vocal part.*



Farinella's Act II insertion, Farinelli's galant *Larghetto* "So che pietà non hai" (II,2) from Leo's *Catone* is an important piece that proves her lyric talents and rhythmic versatility: it is marked by dotted rhythms (bars 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25-30, 32, etc.), triplets (bars 58-60), demisemiquaver notes (bars 16, 18, 26-28, 32 and 53) and syncopation (bars 15, 22, 28, 42, 44, 46-49, 55, 57-61 and 86-92), completed melodically by chromatic nuances (bars 22-23, 46, 48-49, 54-57, 61, 81-83, 87-92 and 96-98) and fine dynamical shades. Vocally, due to its relatively high held notes, this music requires a stronger *stamina* (see Example 16).

34 "Sentirsi il petto accendere" was used in Vinci's *Gismondo* (Rome 1727) and in Orlandini's *Massimiano* (Venice 1731); in the latter it might have been recycled material from an earlier opera by Orlandini, as observed by Reinhard Strohm.

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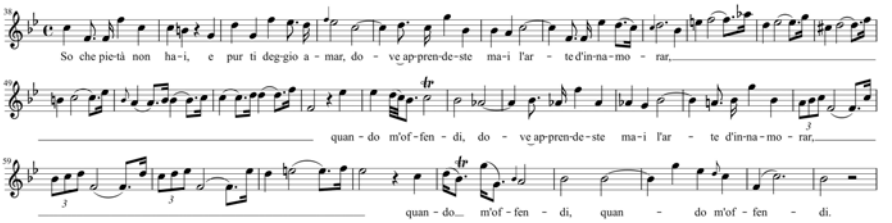
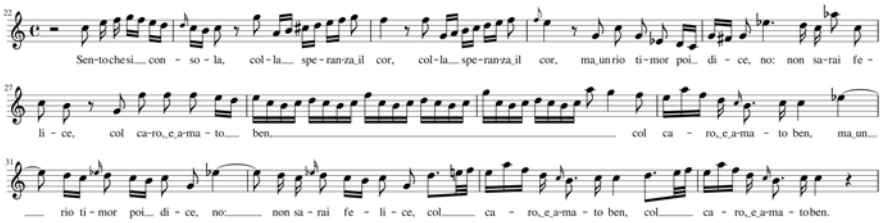
Example 16: "So che pietà non hai" from Eumene *(II,2), bars 38-67, vocal part.*



Additionally, "Aperto un core da stral d'amore", Laodicea's aria at the end of Act I sung by the Bolognese soprano Teresa Zanardi Gavazzi, was also replaced by "Sento che si consola colla speranza il cor" the text of which is also missing in the libretto.[35] Both arias are lyric galant numbers with strong melodic traits, syncopation, chromatics and seventh *portamento* leaps. They both begin in C major and have their middle sections in minor keys: "Aperto un core" in E minor, "Sento che si consola" in the relative A minor. Both are tuneful and sweet *cantabile* arias. The second one could be performed slightly more lively and its tessitura is definitely a higher one (see Example 17): it reaches *a"* ten times, *a" flat* two times, in contrast to "Aperto un core" which offered an *a"* note only two times (all the numbers also include *da capo* repetitions).

Example 17: "Sento che si consola colla speranza il cor" from Eumene *(I,6), bars 22-34, vocal part.*



Arminio (1732)

The libretto of Rinaldi's *Arminio* (score in D-MEIr, Ed 147q) is based on the version of Antonio Salvi's text for Milan, set to music by Johann Adolph Hasse in 1730.[36] The music, however, is not identical with that of the Viennese performance.[37] Therefore, it is possible that this is a completely new version by Francesco Rinaldi. There are, however, two substitution arias in the score, one is the already mentioned tenor aria "Quant'empietà nei mostri" (II,4), a coloratura number with trills and a range spanning from

35 Rinaldi, *Eumene*, p. 10.

36 I-Mb, Racc.dramm.6040 006.

37 F-Pn, VM7-7694.C. 15 copies of single arias; none is concordant. Strohm, 1976.

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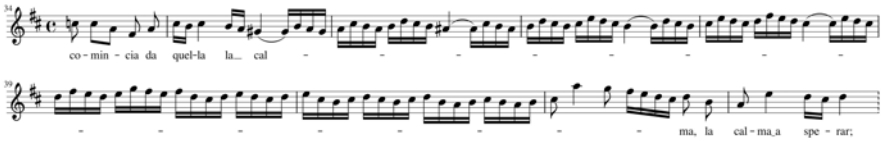
c sharp to *a"* sung by Leopold Hager in place of "Inesorabile, qual mi rendete" as the libretto indicates.[38]

Additionally, the Florentine soprano Maddalena Salvai as Tusnelda had a substitute aria in III,6.[39] The libretto shows here the text of "Dolce rieda", a simple dance movement in triple meter, the score, however, contains an additional aria as well.[40] "Fra tante procelle scorge il nocchiero" (see Example 18) is a high-level bravura number with long coloraturas, including one eight-bar long agitated melisma, ironically at the word "calma" ("serenity"; bars 35-42). Salvai perhaps found the planned "Dolce rieda" too simple for her capacities and might have asked for a much more demanding aria in the last minute.

Example 18: "Fra tante procelle scorge il nocchiero" from Arminio *(III,6), bars 34-42, vocal part.*



Medea riconosciuta (1735), an adaptation of Leonardo Vinci's *Il Medo* (1728)

Medea riconosciuta (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17945), based on Leonardo Vinci's *Il Medo*,[41] was performed at the Kärntnertortheater in December 1735, with no less than twelve substitute arias. Vinci's original work had been staged for the first time in Parma in 1728 with Farinelli and Vittoria Tesi in the leading roles. Interestingly, Artace was sung by the contralto Dorotea Lolli who happened to be engaged at the Kärntnertortheater in 1732.[42] The names of the cast are missing both in the libretto and the score of the Viennese

38 D-MEIr, Ed 147q; "Quant'empietà nei mostri": fols. 76v-79r; "Inesorabile, qual mi rendete", the text is given in the libretto, but missing in the score. Rinaldi/Salvi, *Arminius*, pp. 28 and 30. The text "Quant'empietà nei mostri accolta" comes from Capelli/Silvani/Frugoni, *I fratelli riconosciuti*, Parma 1726; the music of this aria is different. US-Wc, ML48 [S1590], p. 6.

39 Besides performing in various Italian cities and e.g. in Kassel and Dresden (1719-20) in Germany, Salvai also sang with Handel in London: she played Polissena in the revival of *Radamisto* in December 1720, Fidalma in *Muzio Scevola* (1721) and Rossane in *Floridante* (1721). At the Viennese Kärntnertortheater she was engaged only in 1732.

40 D-MEIr, Ed 147q; "Dolce rieda": fols. 143r-146v, "Fra tante procelle scorge il nocchiero": fols. 137v-142v.

41 I-MC, 1-A-18/19/20.

42 She represented Arsace in Rinaldi's *Il contrasto delle due regine in Persia*.

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production, but in his letter of 17 August 1735 Georg Adam Hoffmann reported on the ensemble of the Kärntnertortheater during the 1735/36 season (see Table 1).[43]

Table 1: Comparison of the cast and aria lists of Vinci's Il Medo *(1728) and* Medea riconosciuta *at the Kärntnertortheater – insertions marked in bold*

Leonardo Vinci	**Il Medo (1728 Parma)**	**Medea riconosciuta (1735 Vienna)**
Cast:		(presumed)
Medea alias Enota	Vittoria Tesi (A)	Soprano (Livia Barbieri)
Giasone alias Climaco	Carlo Broschi detto Farinelli (S)	Contralto ("Castrat" or Dorotea Lolli?)
Asteria	Costanza Pusterla (MS)	Soprano (Laura Bambini "Bambina")
Medo alias Antinoo	Antonio Bernacchi (A)	Soprano (Katharina Mayer "Catterl"?)
Artace	Dorotea Lolli (A)	Soprano (unknown singer?)
Perse	Giovanni Paita (T)	Tenor ("Joseph")
Act I		
Perse	O del giorno, o delle stelle	O del giorno, o delle stelle
Antinoo	Quel fiume, che in mente	—
Enotea	Terra amica, che pur sei cara (F major)	Terra amica, che pur sei cara (G major): reduced to its A part
Perse	Oh dea, quanto in tuo nome (rec. accomp.)	Oh dea, quanto in tuo nome (rec. accomp.)
Perse	Tu del mio regno sei	—
Enotea	Se vedi il mare	**Dal tuo gentil sembiante**
Asteria	Giurai d'amarti	Giurai d'amarti
Antinoo	Taci, o di morte (F major)	Taci, o di morte (B major): middle section newly composed in triple meter and in *parlante* style for the singer
Artace	Bella luce dall'orrido grembo (D major)	Bella luce (F major): B section cut, the text of the B section is incorporated at the beginning of part A2
Climaco	Scherzo dell'onda	—
Asteria	Onda del fiume altera	**Che bella speranza lusinga**: fewer and slower coloraturas
Climaco	Cervo in bosco, se lo impiaga	**Quel torrente, che orgoglioso**
Perse	Amanti, sì, credetelo	Amanti, sì, credetelo
Act II		
Enotea	Consolati, o mio cor (rec. accomp.)	—
Enotea	Quasi furia d'Acheronte (arioso)	—
Enotea	Guarda, infido ingrato amante	**Se infedel già fu il tuo amore**
Climaco	Sento due fiamme in petto	**Mi fan guerra due pensieri**
Perse	Spietato vorresti	Spietato vorresti
Asteria	Tu mi ricerchi in volto	—

43 Perutková, 2015, pp. 201f.; Perutková, 2016, pp. 284f.

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Leonardo Vinci	**Il Medo (1728 Parma)**	**Medea riconosciuta (1735 Vienna)**
Antinoo	Vengo a voi, funesti orrori	Prenderò da tuoi bei lumi (translocated)
Perse	Son le vite de regnanti	**Fiume ondoso, che orgoglioso**
Artace	Vedeste dalla selva	
Climaco		*Vedeste dalla selva*
Antinoo	Incerto, dubbioso mio vago	—
Asteria	Se dal feroce	**Sarebbe un gran diletto**
Enotea	Ama, sì, spera, se vuoi	Ama, sì, spera, se vuoi
Climaco	Navigante, che non spera	**Non lascierò d'amare**
Act III		
Climaco	Innamorata, dolce mia fiamma	—
Antinoo	(translocated)	Nella foresta leone invitto (A major)
Enotea	Mi tradisti, se la tua frode	**Il nocchier, che troppo ardito**
Asteria	Fra le catene, o barbaro	**D'amor mi parli, ingrato?**
Antinoo	Nella foresta leone invitto (F major)	(translocated)
Asteria	Crudel, t'odio così	—
Climaco	Non è più folle lusinga	—
Perse	Forsennato, ove corro (rec. accomp.)	Forsennato, ove corro (rec. accomp.)
Perse	Sento l'ombra del mesto germano	Sento l'ombra del mesto germano
Artace	Saprà chi regna	—
Antinoo, Enota, and Climaco	Sento scherzar nel petto	Sento scherzar nel petto
Enotea	Se qui vedeste (rec. accomp.)	Se qui vedeste (rec. accomp.)
Antinoo	Prenderò da tuoi bei lumi	(translocated)
Coro	Viva amore, alma del mondo	Viva amore, alma del mondo

The first insertion belonged to Enotea (alias Medea), "Dal tuo gentil sembiante" (I,5; text derived from "Dal suo gentil sembiante" from Pietro Metastasio's *Demetrio*), a typical galant *Andante* movement with demisemiquaver ornaments, dotted rhythms, syncopation with sixth jumps and with the compulsory drumming bass accompaniment. It has a comparatively wide mezzo-soprano range spanning from *b* to *g''sharp* (see Example 19). There was another insertion, "Il nocchier che troppo ardito", in the third act (Scene 5; see Example 25). It is a typical shipwreck simile aria but with moderate technical demands. As far as Enotea's original arias from Vinci's *Il Medo* are concerned, they were sung by the famous contralto Vittoria Tesi in the Parma production while in Vienna the role was taken over by a soprano or mezzo-soprano. Therefore, "Terra amica" (I,3), for example, was transposed a tone higher (from F major to G major) and reduced to its A section in the Viennese performance, meaning that the longest coloratura, located in the middle section, was cut too. Together with other smaller adjustments of the vocal line, these changes are clearly referring to a singer of lesser vocal agility and a narrower range than Vinci's original Enotea/Medea, the first-class singer Vittoria Tesi. At the beginning of Act II of *Il Medo* Enotea had a whole scene with (1) an *accompagnato* recitative, "Consolati, o mio cor", (2) an arioso, "Quasi furia d'Acheronte", and (3) an *aria agitata*, "Guarda, infido

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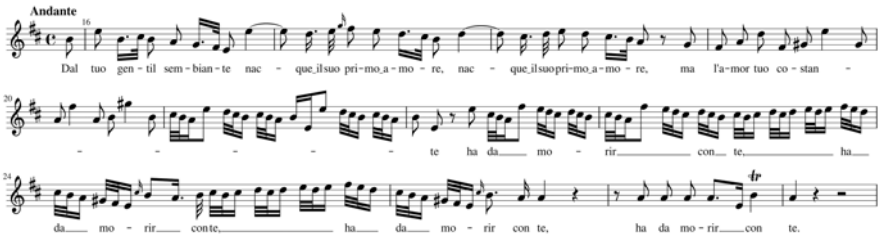
ingrato amante". In Vienna, the first two numbers were cut and the aria was replaced by "Se infedel già fu il tuo amore", a sweeter, calmer and more melodious *Andante* number.

Example 19: "Dal tuo gentil sembiante" from Medea riconosciuta *(I,5), upbeat to bar 16-27, vocal part.*



Climaco got four substitutions due to the difference of voice type since in Parma the role had been entrusted to the soprano Farinelli. "Quel torrente, che orgoglioso" (I,12; see Example 20 and 21) replaced the castrato's famous showcase aria "Cervo in bosco, se lo impiaga". The text deals with the proud waves of the torrent threatening the shore that are finally tamed and quenched by the summer heat. The aria is characterized by instrumental-type coloratura sections with wide leaps, e.g. twice from the low *a* to *d''* (bars 129 and 137), in semiquaver motion as well as a chromatic descending and ascending at the words "orgoglioso" ("proud") and "premerà" ("oppresses"). Furthermore, "Mi fan guerra due pensieri" (II,2; see Example 22) was performed instead of "Sento due fiamme in petto". This is most probably an insertion aria written by Giovanni Battista Costanzi for the revival of Domenico Sarro's *Partenope* at the newly built Teatro Tordinona in Rome in 1734.[44] In this case, the Viennese substitution aria is a much more interesting piece than Vinci's original number, with a compass from low *a* to *f''*, built on the contrast of wide leaps of longer notes in *stile di basso* and high-tessitura coloratura passages with downward scales (e.g. in bars 110-111, spanning from *g sharp* to *b'*) and repeated notes. These two types of sections are connected by syncopated and chromatic melismas. As a further coloring, the middle section brings a nice *piano* and *amoroso* switch to the tonic minor key, i.e. A minor, after the A major *da capo* part. The Viennese contralto Climaco also took over Artace's aria "Vedeste dalla selva" (II,8) which required the same voice type; in this way no changes were needed. It is not impossible that Dorotea Lolli, the original Artace, played Climaco here since there is no trace of her until 1738 when she sang Partenope in Vivaldi's *Rosmira* at the Teatro Sant'Angelo in Venice. The last substitution aria of this role, "Non lascierò d'amare", has a dance character in 6/8 meter and is made of high-tessitura pastoral-like melodies in F major. As closing number of the second act (II,13), it represented a strong musico-dramatic shift in contrast to the aria it replaced, i.e. Farinelli's other bravura movement "Navigante, che non spera".

44 I would like to thank Reinhard Strohm for sharing this important information with me. See also Corp, 2011, p. 268.

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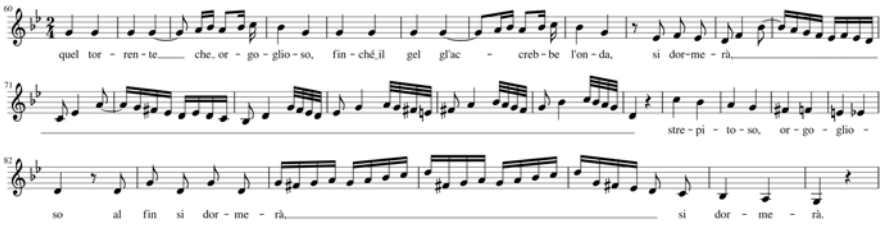
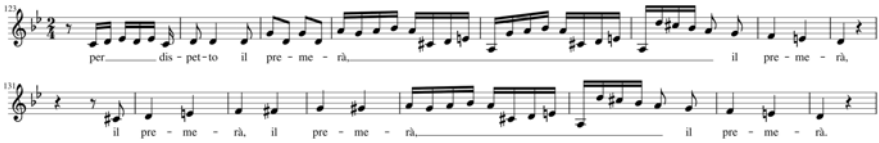
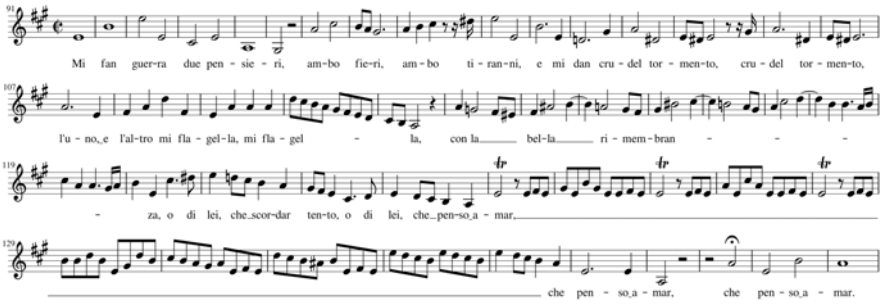
Example 20: "Quel torrente, che orgoglioso" from Medea riconosciuta *(I,12), bars 60-88, vocal part.*



Example 21: "Quel torrente, che orgoglioso" from Medea riconosciuta *(I,12), bars 123-138, vocal part.*



Example 22: "Mi fan guerra due pensieri" from Medea riconosciuta *(II,2), bars 91-138, vocal part.*



The *seconda donna* Asteria had three substitution arias. She sang the *aria di mezzo carattere*, "Che bella speranza"[45] (I,11), in place of "Onda del fiume altera", a number with fewer and slower coloraturas (quaver motion in *alla breve*) than in the aria it replaced. "Se dal feroce" was substituted by "Sarebbe un gran diletto" (II,11) (originally sung by Farinelli as a replacement aria in Leonardo Leo's *Catone in Utica*, as "Sarebbe un bel diletto", and a whole tone higher, Venice 1729).[46] It is written in the soprano clef, but its compass (*b flat* to *g"*) rather indicates a mezzo-soprano. The structure is generally based

45 Reinhard Strohm observed that the text of this aria appeared in the production of Vivaldi's *Orlando furioso* in Bassano in 1741 (I,8, Medoro, sung by the Milanese soprano Regina Salvioni).

46 This aria was identified by Reinhard Strohm.

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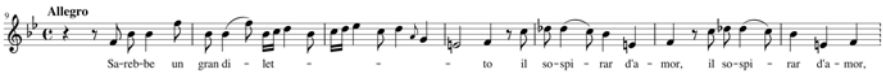
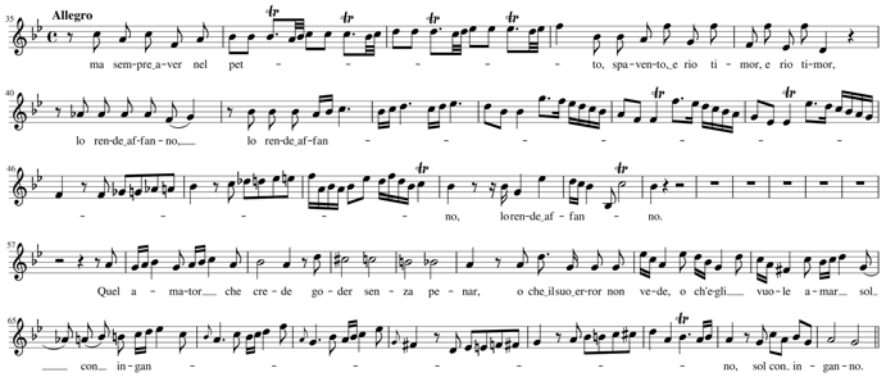
on sequential repetitions. The vocal part has moderate coloraturas, but it demands agility because of the chiseled demisemiquaver rhythms, trills and wide jumps. Particularly interesting moments are the singer's first entry with a rhythmically syncopated imitation of hunting horn signals (see Example 23) and chromatic alterations both in the A and B parts, the middle section's explicit semitone ascending and descending at the words "affanno" ("distress"; bars 46-47), "goder senza penar" ("enjoyment without suffering"; upbeat to bar 60-62), and "inganno" ("deceit"; upbeat to bars 65, 68-69; see Example 24). These are the same chromatic scales as in Climaco's "Quel torrente, che orgoglioso" (I,12; see Example 20 and 21) and they are not the only elements corresponding to other insertions in the opera. A series of jumps of a seventh-octave-ninth-tenth downward from *f''* (bars 38-39), describing terror and fear, represents a sharp contrast to the chromatic drags. Remarkably, a similar violin-idiom phrase appears in Enotea's aria in Act III, "Il nocchier che troppo ardito" (bars 52-53; see Example 25), though inversely: it goes up from the third to the seventh and its pedal point in *e'*. Asteria's last insertion was the *aria parlante* "D'amor mi parli ingrato?" (III,6) from Luca Antonio Predieri's *Eurene* (Parma 1734, sung by Catterina Visconti)[47] in 2/4 time, with pauses, exclamations and fermatas at words like "ah!, guarda" ("look"), "crudel" ("cruel"), "spietato" ("ruthless") and "ingrato" ("ungrateful") which point to the emphasis on gestures and acting as important complementary tools for an effective performance of this aria. As a contrast, it contains, however, a real coloratura passage on the word "amante" ("lover").

Example 23: "Sarebbe un gran diletto" from Medea riconosciuta *(II,11), bars 9-15, vocal part.*



Example 24: "Sarebbe un gran diletto" from Medea riconosciuta *(II,11), bars 35-72, vocal part.*



47 This aria was identified by Reinhard Strohm; it is also preserved as an anonymous aria in D-RH, Hs.803 (cf. RISM), in the same key as in the Viennese score (D major).

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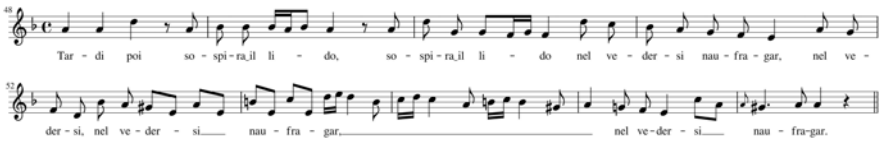
Example 25: "Il nocchier che troppo ardito" from Medea riconosciuta *(III,5), bars 48-56, vocal part.*



The tenor Perse's only replacement aria, with a similar content to that of Climaco's "Quel torrente, che orgoglioso", was a *mezzo carattere* number with slower melismas and a chromatic middle section. "Fiume ondoso, che orgoglioso" (II,7) corresponds to "Mira l'onda furibonda" from Andrea Stefano Fioré's *Sesostri* (Turin 1717), with an altered text.[48] It had also been interpreted by the German bass Johann Gottfried Riemschneider as "Come l'onda furibonda" in Handel's pasticcio *Ormisda* in London in 1730.[49]

The various insertions in *Medea riconosciuta* are connected by some strikingly coinciding compositional characteristics: (1) wide leaps, (2) violin idioms of ever wider leaps falling back to the same pedal-point note and (3) ascending and descending chromatic drags. Although it is clear that all these arias are from different composers, their selection proves the taste and musicality of the arranger who tried to create an organic, but versatile and up-to-date style for his production.[50]

Since singers frequently changed at the first public opera house of Vienna several commonly used methods were applied to accommodate newly staged works to their voices: they could either bring their own baggage arias, previously sung by them personally or by their famous colleagues, or demand more suitable or virtuoso numbers; in case of a different voice type than in the original role, there was the possibility of transposition, but the arrangers seem to have preferred to keep the original key of the aria and adjust the vocal line. The house composers tended to pay attention to keep the pasticcio operas as homogeneous as possible by a careful selection of stylistically harmonizing arias. Not only the singers' preferences, but also Rinaldi's predilection for Handel's music influenced the opera productions. In the special case of the Kärntnertortheater, the insertion practice had also to do with the institutional structure of the theater, because the staging of pasticcios and *intermezzi* allowed the impresarios – despite the lack of a court privilege – to perform Italian operas alongside comedies. Therefore, the pasticcio per-

48 Identified by Reinhard Strohm. Another source of the aria is kept in B-Bc, 5059 (with a doubtful attribution to Vinci in RISM), with the same text and in the same key (C major) as the Vienna version.

49 Strohm, 1985, p. 202.

50 Although Johann Ignaz Beyer was the house composer of the Kärntnertortheater in 1734 he probably did not hold this position in 1735. Giuseppe Maria Buini and Geminiano Giacomelli had connections to the theater in 1733-1734. Reinhard Strohm suggests that perhaps Giacomelli could be the composer of these arias.

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formances filled with popular arias of the day from all over Europe, the co-existence of Italian and German-speaking singers and the manifold ways their roles were adjusted to their individual vocal and musico-dramatic capacities, point to a process to find the most successful way of offering *opere serie* to the general public in Vienna.

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