

# **Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time**

David Cranmer (coordenador / editor)



Edições Colibri

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Centro de Estudos de Sociologia e Estética Musical  
Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Mozart, Marcos Portugal  
e o seu tempo / and their time

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# Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

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Coordenador / Editor  
David Cranmer

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## **Prefácio**

O Colóquio «Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo» foi realizado a 13 e 14 de Outubro de 2006, no Salão Nobre do Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, no âmbito do projecto de investigação «Preparação de Edições Críticas de Música de Marcos Portugal incluindo um catálogo temático», com financiamento da Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. Teve como objectivo o de reunir investigadores nacionais e estrangeiros que realizam pesquisas, por um lado, sobre Mozart – o compositor mais emblemático do último quartel do séc. XVIII, 250 anos após o seu nascimento – e, por outro, sobre o seu contemporâneo mais novo, Marcos Portugal – compositor, eventualmente, mais característico da Europa do seu tempo e, sem dúvida, mais largamente em voga do que o próprio Mozart – assim como sobre a época em que os dois se inserem.

Apesar da aparente disparidade entre as vidas e fortunas destes dois compositores, a sua justaposição resultou, como previsto, numa ampla discussão dos contextos de composição e recepção das obras de ambos, sendo precisamente a diversidade que estimulou a procura e a identificação do que possuíam em comum. O colóquio contou igualmente com contributos sobre aspectos de Mozart e a actualidade.

Os textos encontram-se como recebidos dos respectivos autores (em português ou inglês). Em alguns casos foram revistos substancialmente desde o Colóquio; noutros mantêm-se inalterados ou quase. No processo de coordenação, foram harmonizados em termos formais, com correcção dos inevitáveis pequenos lapsos, mas sem intervenções de substância em relação aos conteúdos. As afiliações dos autores são as em vigor na altura do Colóquio. Os textos foram reunidos por tópicos.

Gostaríamos de agradecer ao Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos pela cedência do Salão Nobre para a realização do Colóquio, assim como ao British Council, à Fundação Luso-Americana, à Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian e à Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia pelos apoios concedidos.

David Cranmer

Outubro de 2009



## **Foreword**

The Conference “Mozart, Marcos Portugal and their time” took place on 13th and 14th October, 2006, in the Salão Nobre of the Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, under the auspices of the research project “Preparation of Critical Editions of the Music of Marcos Portugal, including a thematic catalogue”, with the financial support of the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. Its aim was to bring together researchers from Portugal and abroad working, on the one hand, on Mozart – the composer who most fully symbolises the last quarter of the eighteenth century, 250 years after his birth – and, on the other, on his younger contemporary Marcos Portugal – a composer possibly more typical of the Europe of their time and certainly more widely in fashion than Mozart was – as well as on the period in which they worked.

Despite the apparent disparity between the lives and fortunes of the two composers, their juxtaposition led, as expected, to a broad-based discussion of the contexts of composition and reception of the works of both, it being precisely the diversity that stimulated a search for and identification of what they had in common. The Conference also included contributions on aspects of Mozart and the present day.

The texts are as received from their respective authors (in English or Portuguese). In some instances they have been revised substantially since the Conference; in others they are unaltered or virtually so. In the editing process they have been harmonised in formal terms, with correction of the inevitable tiny slips, but without any alteration of substance to the contents. The affiliations of the authors are as at the time of the Conference. The texts have been grouped to form subject areas.

I would like to thank the Teatro Nacional de São Carlos for making the Salão Nobre available for the Conference and likewise the British Council, the Luso-American Foundation, the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia for their gracious support.

David Cranmer

October 2009



## **Mozart, Marcos Portugal and their time a Portuguese perspective**

*David Cranmer*

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The theme of this volume draws together two composers born just six years apart. The first, a figure recognised today as one of the greatest composers of all times, was an Austrian, born of a musical family in Salzburg. The 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this event, in 2006, led us naturally to focus our attention on him that year. The other, little known nowadays outside his native Portugal, and Brazil, where he died in 1830, and not well known even in these two countries, was born into a Lisbon family where music also played an important part. That he has become better known owes a good deal to the work of various musicologists currently involved in the Marcos Portugal project, one of the research projects undertaken by the Centro de Estudos da Sociologia e Estética Musical (CESEM), of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, at whose initiative the international Conference “Mozart, Marcos Portugal and their time” took place.<sup>1</sup>

There is a certain irony in the fact that Mozart should now be so widely recognised while Marcos Portugal continues to be neglected. Were we to return to the time in which they lived and worked, roughly speaking the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, we would find, in this country at least, a very different picture. In this text, then, I would like to examine aspects of the work and popularity of these two composers in Portugal, trying to place this in a broader local context.

Before I do so, however, there are two facets of the background that need briefly to be set out: the fragmentary nature of our knowledge, and the infrastructures and institutions within which musicians in Portugal worked.

Portugal then, as now, was a small country with a correspondingly small population. Of this small population only a very tiny elite was literate and educated, confined largely to the aristocracy, the Church and an emerging bourgeoisie. This elite was restricted essentially to the capital, Lisbon, the second city, Oporto, the university city of Coimbra and other cathedral cities, such as Évora and Braga. Given the very limited potential clientele for printed

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<sup>1</sup> With minor alterations, this text constituted the opening address of the 2006 conference.

publications, these were equally limited in scope with mostly very small print runs. There was no place, therefore, for the publication of an equivalent of Burney or Hawkins, as in England, or polemical pamphleteering on the merits or otherwise of Italian opera, as in France.

The only significant newspaper, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* (not published at all between 1762 and the death of King José I in 1777, and at certain periods published under a different title), was a semi-official one, giving little news other than foreign, especially military and diplomatic, news, reporting the activities of the royal family and announcing official appointments. Entertainments were rarely advertised and never reviewed, only very occasionally reported, if the event was an official one. We cannot, therefore, look to newspapers to provide systematic chronologies and to gain an idea of how particular works were received.

Little music other than plainchant was printed – for example, the only opera arias by Marcos Portugal published were printed abroad, chiefly in London. On the other hand, there was only a limited tradition in Portugal of writing memoirs (and none have survived by any musician); and, only in a few instances is information to be gained from private letters.

Our knowledge, therefore, is based on very few sources: printed libretti and chapbooks in the case of operas and musical theatre, in the latter case often without the texts of the songs that, in certain instances, we can show were sung; sparse documents, most notably for the royal theatres; a handful of flyers advertising performances at public theatres; and the accounts of foreign visitors, principally through letters later published in book form or as reports in periodicals, most notably in the Leipzig weekly, the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. Compared with Austria, France and England, Vienna, Paris and London, our knowledge of music in Portugal, in general, and Lisbon, in particular, is nothing like as great as we should wish.

Compared to these European powers and their respective capital cities, the musical infrastructures and institutions in this country were decidedly limited. It is easy to lose sight of this, but by far the greatest amount of music making took place in the great array of churches, monasteries and convents that abounded, prior to the extinction of the religious orders in 1834, controlling many aspects of life, not merely musical. It is not by chance that the only official music school in the country throughout the period in question was the Patriarchal Seminary, whose primary aim was to train church musicians. Almost all significant musicians of the period, including Marcos Portugal, were pupils there.<sup>2</sup>

Up to 1792 it was only in the royal theatres of Ajuda, Queluz and Salvaterra that opera took place on a systematic basis – and, it must be said, to an extremely restricted audience – and even here it was waning, compared with its earlier glory. In 1793 the Teatro de São Carlos, a public, bourgeois opera house was

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<sup>2</sup> Such exceptions as there were, for instance, António Silva Leite, were so only because they lived far from Lisbon.

inaugurated in Lisbon, and in 1798 the Teatro de São João in Oporto, a theatre, as far as we can tell, shared for the most part by two companies, one performing opera in Italian and the other spoken theatre in Portuguese. Otherwise in Lisbon, from the sparse documentation we possess, opera in public theatres prior to 1792 seems to have taken place for only short-lived periods, never more than a few years. Its extent after this date other than at the Teatro de São Carlos and the exact nature of other forms of musical theatre are only beginning to be studied.

Concert life too appears to have been very limited. Public concerts are known to have taken place at the Assembleia das Nações Estrangeiras between the mid 1760s and early 1790s, though with what degree of regularity is unclear. From the opening of the Teatro de São Carlos, concerts took place there, as well as opera and ballet, and there is evidence too of concerts at other theatres, but once again it is unclear how frequent or sporadic these may have been. It was only in 1822 that João Domingos Bomtempo established a Philharmonic Society in Lisbon with a view to putting on regular concerts by public subscription, modelled on what he had witnessed in London. Owing to the political instability of the 1820s, these concerts were interrupted and in due course abandoned. Otherwise, the only significant form of music making, other than in the realms of popular urban and rural folk music, was in the private homes of the nobility and upper bourgeoisie, where there were occasional concerts and more regular *soirées* on a more or less informal basis. It was here that salon songs such as *modinhas*, *lunduns* and *cançonetas* were cultivated from at least the 1780s onwards.

This, then, in brief, is the backcloth against which the protagonists of this volume should be viewed.

The first work by Mozart we may be certain was performed here was the *Requiem*, in 1803, though we only know of this from a report in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* dated July 1821. The writer had heard what he regarded as quite a good performance of it at the Church of Nossa Senhora da Graça, Lisbon, mentioning the perhaps surprising fact that the orchestra had included basset horns.<sup>3</sup> It was heard for a second time on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1808, when the Lisbon musicians' guild, the Irmandade de Santa Cecília, performed it, apparently at the Church of the Mártires, in memory of their deceased brethren and of all those Portuguese who had died during the recent French invasion. The *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 31<sup>st</sup> December that year, describing the work as "pathetic and haunting", tells us that it was directed with "the greatest skill" by António Leal Moreira, composer and teacher at the Patriarchal Seminary, "performed perfectly" and listened to "with great pleasure".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> AMZ, XXIII, 35, 601-607. See the Portuguese translation: Manuel Carlos de Brito & David Cranmer, *Crónicas da vida musical portuguesa na primeira metade do século XIX*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1990, 53.

<sup>4</sup> "A 2 de Dezembro fez celebrar a mesma Irmandade, segundo o costume, o Officio e Missa pelos Irmãos defuntos, sendo estes suffragios igualmente applicados pelos *Portuguezes* que morreraõ combatendo contra os inimigos da Patria e da Religiaõ. Esta lugubre acção tambem foi em tudo completa por ter o Officio sido o do memoravel *David Peres*, e a Missa a do célebre *Mozart*, composição a mais pathetica e assombrosa que se conhece nesta especie de Musica, e que regida

The report of 1821 in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* was written in response to another in the same periodical by a different writer, describing performances of the *Requiem* in two Lisbon churches, following the death of Queen Maria I in 1816:

Since the use of women's voices is not allowed in church music, for the sopranos we had to content ourselves with some bad *castrati* from the Patriarchal Church. However, the alto, tenor and bass voices were no better than the sopranos; in particular, they all sang more or less out of tune. They tried to get the soprano Angelelli, who sings really well and in tune, to sing the solo parts: however, when he heard that he would also have to take part in the rehearsals, he refused. However, the orchestra generally played quite well, even though there were only two rehearsals. Turning to details, the bassoons sometimes didn't get it quite right and instead of basset horns – which, though so necessary to the work and to the intended effect, couldn't be included since they don't exist in Lisbon – they used cors anglais, which have a completely different timbre, much less solemn and moving. Furthermore, the work was cut considerably. Thus, for example, the great fugue in G minor, also difficult, no doubt, was omitted. The orchestra was made up of 12 violins, 2 violas, 2 cellos, 2 double basses and the required winds; there were four singers to a part.<sup>5</sup>

It is once again to the *AMZ* that we owe a report dated November 1824, which makes reference to various performances of the *Requiem* in 1822 and 1823, in spite of the fact that singers, unable to use the work to show off their voices, did not care for it.<sup>6</sup>

But if the *Requiem* does seem to have gained a foothold, the same cannot be said for any other music by Mozart, whether sacred or profane. The first record we have of one of his operas being performed in this country is not until the Winter season of 1806, when *La clemenza di Tito* was given for the benefit night of the singer Marianna Sessi at the Teatro de São Carlos, under the direction of Marcos Portugal. That the choice of opera was Sessi's we may be sure, for she had a history of connection with this opera.<sup>7</sup> We have no direct evidence of how this production was received, but we learn from a fleeting reference in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* that Sessi was not generally a great success with the Lisbon public, which had for the previous five years been used to the virtuosic *bel canto* singing of Angelica Catalani.<sup>8</sup> To realise that Mozart's operatic music was not viewed positively we need only read a passing reference by the wayward priest Father José Agostinho de Macedo, who, in his *Pateadas de Theatro*, published in 1812, makes reference to Mozart in a description of a jealous singer:

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com a maior habilidade pelo sobredito Mestre do Seminario, foi pela segunda vez perfeitamente desempenhada, e com grande prazer ouvida nesta Capital." *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 52, 2.º suplemento, 31 Dezembro 1808, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Present author's translation. *AmZ*, XVIII, 46, 790-792. Portuguese translation: Brito & Cranmer, 46-47.

<sup>6</sup> *AMZ*, XXVII, 2, 26-32. Portuguese translation: *Id.*, 60.

<sup>7</sup> See Michael Collins' text, pp. 23-34.

<sup>8</sup> With regard to Catalani as singer of *bel canto*, see Rachel Cowgill's text, pp. 35-51.



Rage sharpens the understanding, and like a snake whose tail has been trodden on, which raises a great crest, this Actress, who believing herself to have been supplanted by her rival, raises a new thought as loud and high as a shriek she made in an aria by Mozart.<sup>9</sup>

Since, as far as we know, no other opera by Mozart had been sung in Lisbon by this date, this is presumably a reference to *Tito* and either Sessi as Sesto or, perhaps more likely, Eufemia Eckart as Vitellia.

In the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century we may be certain of only one other Mozart opera production in Portugal. The *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* informs us that *Così fan tutte* was performed at Oporto (at the Teatro de São João) during the 1815/16 season, and that given the poor quality of the singers, this was presumably in a somewhat bastardised form. The company there included Carlo and Angiolina Cauvini, and Giuseppa Collini. Prior to this they had been performing, first at the King's Theatre, London, and then between 1812 and 1814 at the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, in both instances alongside the soprano, Teresa Bertinotti. It had been for Bertinotti's benefit night that *Così fan tutte* had its London première, on 9 May 1811, in which all three had also sung. We know that Bertinotti's husband, the composer Felice Radicati possessed a copy of this score when in London and we may reasonably suppose that either this copy or a further one made from it was acquired by the troupe that went on to Oporto. It is highly probable too, in the circumstances, that *Così fan tutte* would also have been sung at the Teatro de São Carlos when the same singers were there, just that we have no direct evidence as such.

Only one other Mozart opera, *Don Giovanni*, was performed at the Teatro de São Carlos in the course of the whole of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup>

As regards orchestral and chamber music, the *AMZ* makes reference in its extensive report on the musical scene in Lisbon published in 1816 to private performances of some of his symphonies in the home of the German *émigré* Benedikt Klingelhöfer, and in another report from 1821 mentions horn concertos being played there by a young Italian known locally as João Pedro Scola. In public, however, the only Mozart symphony we know to have been performed was the G minor, in one of Bomtempo's 1823 Philharmonic Society concerts, in which context some of the overtures were also played. The only reports of chamber music concern quartets and quintets by Mozart and others that were played and heard at the residence of the Swedish trader Deron in the middle of the second decade and in the home of the Austrian merchant Franz Anton Driesel, very likely the author of the report in question, around 1820.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> “A raiva lhe aguça o entendimento, e como a cobra pizada no rabo, que levanta huma grande crista, a Actriz, que se julga naquella noite suplantada pela sua rival, levanta hum pensamento novo tão alto, e agudo, como o guincho que ella deo em huma aria de Mozart.” José Agostinho de Macedo, *As pateadas de theatro investigadas na sua origem, e causas*, Lisboa, Impressão Regia, 1812, 49.

<sup>10</sup> See the text by Luísa Cymbron, pp. 91-105.

<sup>11</sup> See Brito & Cranmer, *op. cit.*, for these references. On the question of the authorship, see p. 28.

Portugal was at this time thoroughly dominated by Italian opera. The fact that performances of Mozart operas here were exceptional merely reflects the situation in Italy. The limited presence of symphonic and chamber music was a direct consequence of the limited interest in this country in music of this kind, other than among the educated from other parts of Europe.

The picture of the importance of Marcos Portugal in his time that we gain from a European perspective is based above all on the widespread performances of his comic operas, both full-length *dramme giocosi* and one-act *farse*. These works, composed, with one exception,<sup>12</sup> entirely in Italy, especially in Venice, during his stays in the country between 1792 and 1800, established his reputation not only in Italy itself, but wherever else Italian opera was performed.

The Portuguese perspective, however, is a different one. In the first place, taking Portugal's career as a whole, we would have to consider him primarily a composer of church music, for other than during his Italian phase, it is what he most consistently produced, right from his student and early professional days, in the 1780s, to the last period of his life, in Brazil. The sheer extent of this facet of his output is noteworthy in itself and the staying-power of the most popular of his sacred works, by any standards, remarkable.<sup>13</sup>

It is, however, to a number of aspects of his dramatic output that I would like to turn. Possibly as soon as its inauguration in 1782 and certainly not later than 1785, Marcos Portugal was appointed *maestro* at the Teatro do Salitre, Lisbon, where he not only composed music for inclusion in a number of otherwise spoken *entremezes*, but also three full-length operas in Portuguese, albeit essentially Italian operas apart from the language in which they were sung.<sup>14</sup> The importance of this historically is as great as the frustration that they provoke in us now – because he left for Italy just afterwards, having initiated a potential Portuguese operatic tradition that was never taken up, and because, of these three operas, only one single aria has survived.<sup>15</sup>

Following his return from Italy in 1800, he was made *maestro* at the Teatro de São Carlos, a post that was divided in 1803, Marcos continuing as director of the *opera seria* company, with the *buffa* company under the direction of Valentino Fioravanti, the leading living composer in this genre. Unsurprisingly, therefore, Portugal's main operatic output at the São Carlos was of *opera seria*, in particular a series of works aimed at displaying the virtuosic voice of Angelica Catalani, such as *La morte di Semiramide* in 1801, and the opera he wrote for Marianna Sessi, *Artaserse*, in 1806. The Catalani operas would subsequently give a distinctive flavour to the years she spent in London, where Marcos Portugal

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<sup>12</sup> *L'oro non compra amore*, first performed in Lisbon, at the Teatro de São Carlos, in 1804.

<sup>13</sup> See António Jorge Marques' text, pp. 119-130.

<sup>14</sup> See David Cranmer, "Marcos Portugal e o Teatro do Salitre" (conference paper awaiting publication).

<sup>15</sup> "Já por ti minha amada esposinha" from *Os viajantes ditosos*. MS at P-VV G prática 48 & 117.36.

would therefore be associated above all with serious rather than comic opera.<sup>16</sup> Through Sessi's intervention, *Artaserse* was to become inextricably linked with Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*.<sup>17</sup>

However, Marcos did not entirely neglect the comic genre during these years, for in 1804 he composed the *opera buffa* *L'oro non compra amore*, which Elisabetta Gafforini subsequently popularised in Italy and a single new duet for a production of his very popular *farsa* *Le donne cambiate*, one of the finest numbers in the opera. Only these two operas have been revived at the Teatro de São Carlos in modern times. He also produced new Portuguese versions of some of his Italian successes for use at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, such as *L'equivoco in equivoco*, performed under the title of *Quem busca lã fica tosquiado*.

As well as sacred and dramatic music, Marcos Portugal also contributed to the salon song repertoire. A number of Luso-Brazilian *modinhas* were published in the *Jornal de Modinhas* between 1792 and 1795, mostly strophic songs typical of the genre, though one is clearly a reduction of an operatic-style aria, probably from one of the *entremezes* for which he wrote music at the Teatro do Salitre. Although he clearly composed other *modinhas*, a number of those ascribed to him may well not be his.<sup>18</sup>

From early in his career to the very end of his life, Marcos Portugal enjoyed considerable royal favour, and it was by specific command of the Prince Regent, the future King João VI, that he travelled to Brazil in 1811 to join the royal family, resident in Rio de Janeiro since the first French invasion, in 1807-08, forced them to transfer the capital there. To judge from the modern editions of his music that have been produced and the performances that these have made possible, this confidence was well placed.

But, of course, Mozart and Marcos Portugal form only a part of the musical scene in the years in question. As in the rest of Europe, the operas of Paisiello, Anfossi, Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi and Cimarosa were popular here in the latter years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, followed in due course by Farinelli, Mayr, Paer, Generali and others. Had Marcos remained in the country of his birth, he would have witnessed the rise of Rossini from 1816, when *L'italiana in Algeri* and *Tancredi* were performed at the São Carlos, and the Rossini fever that hit the country in the early to mid 1820s, his overtures even infiltrating the Lisbon churches.<sup>19</sup>

There were also certain more surprising characteristics of the operatic repertoire, such as the series of *opéras comiques* given in Italian translation, almost all of them otherwise so performed only at the Habsburg palace of Monza, to where they had come via Vienna. The first of these was Grétry's *Riccardo Cuor di Leone*, in 1792, during a performance of which a particularly severe

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<sup>16</sup> On this point, see again Rachel Cowgill's text, especially pp. 39-42.

<sup>17</sup> Once more, see Michael Collins' text, pp. 23-34.

<sup>18</sup> See the introductory essay in Rejane Paiva & David Cranmer (eds.) *As Modinhas de Marcos Portugal*. Lisboa, Ministério da Cultura/Instituto das Artes, 2007.

<sup>19</sup> See David Cranmer, "Febre de Rossini" in programme notes for *Il turco in Italia*, Lisboa, Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, 2004, 82-85.

attack of madness struck the Queen, leading to the definitive closure of the Portuguese royal theatres; the last was the same composer's *La caravana del Cairo*, performed to celebrate the Prince Regent's birthday on 13 May 1807.

Most of the sacred music being performed in this country, other than that of Marcos Portugal himself, was by other local composers: David Perez, brought over to Portugal in the glorious years before the 1755 earthquake, the year before Mozart's birth, and who spent the remainder of his life here, João de Sousa Carvalho, Marcos Portugal's teacher at the Patriarchal Seminary, and others of his own generation, such as his brother-in-law António Leal Moreira.

Moreira, in a sense, typifies a real problem we have in Portugal in trying to assess the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth. We are aware of his great importance: as an opera composer in the last years of court opera, as the musical director of the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, from 1790 to 1792 (during a rare period of public opera), and of the Teatro de São Carlos during its first years, and also as a composer of sacred music and of *modinhas*. His output and role as a whole has yet to be studied in depth, however. The undertaking of this task would be of great importance to us, for a work such as his opera *A Vingança da Cigana*, composed for the Italian singers of the Teatro de São Carlos, is easily open to miscontextualisation.<sup>20</sup>

Yet Moreira is better known and better understood than others, such as António José do Rego, who succeeded Marcos Portugal as *maestro* at the São Carlos, in 1807, Fortunato Mazziotti, who also went to Brazil and continued to compose there, or João José Baldi, whose untitled Portuguese *farça* preserved at the Portuguese National Library,<sup>21</sup> for example, shows him to have been a composer of considerable skill and inspiration.

And if these figures remain cloudy and misunderstood, another has become the Mozart to Marcos Portugal's Salieri. Portugal, the official royal composer, has been much vilified in Brazil, while there has been a glorification of the supposed underdog, José Maurício Nunes Garcia, the local half-caste *maestro di cappella* of the Royal Chapel in Rio de Janeiro, said to have been excluded by Marcos (a notion based on the mistaken belief that he actually replaced José Maurício as *maestro di cappella*, which was not the case). Only in very recent years has a new generation of Brazilian musicians and musicologists begun to recognise that Marcos Portugal actually constitutes a major figure in the history of Brazilian music, well worthy of study and performance.

But it is not only the composers that await proper study and evaluation. Such an all-pervasive genre as the *elogio dramático*, so commonly performed in the theatres as a form of public celebration (for royal birthdays and other significant national events), has received virtually no attention, and certainly none as a systematic phenomenon.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For one view, see Rejane Paiva's text, pp. 53-66.

<sup>21</sup> *P-Ln* M.M. 319//6.

<sup>22</sup> Alberto Pacheco, has subsequently begun a systematic study (from September 2007).

Without a proper understanding of these figures and the music they composed in all genres, we cannot contextualise a composer of the calibre of João Domingos Bomtempo, who, though only thirteen years younger than Marcos Portugal appears, as it were, out of the blue, as a composer of symphonies, concertos and chamber music, and, of course, a *Requiem* that bears serious comparison with Mozart's. And while we are still guessing about so much, it is very difficult to place Mozart and Marcos Portugal in their time from a Portuguese perspective.

Yet we can and should at least begin to strive towards an aim of this kind. It is my fervent hope that the texts here presented might constitute a small beginning in this process.



**A ÓPERA**  
**OPERA**





# Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* and Marcos Portugal's *Tito Vespasiano*: their intimate relationship

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To trace development of the intimate relationship between Mozart and Portugal's operas, we must follow the journey of mezzo-soprano Marianna Sessi from Vienna in 1804 to Naples in 1809, carrying in her baggage a manuscript of *La clemenza di Tito*. During the course of this journey Mozart's opera ultimately became a total *pasticcio*. The reasons for this occurrence were the prerogatives of singers, but also the changes in taste that required alterations in the *opera seria* genre to please audiences eager for the new fashion of setting serious opera influenced by comic opera, which includes an extensive *Introduzione* instead of Mozart's opening with a *recitativo semplice*, two-tempo arias, often with the participation of chorus, and Finales with large-scale concerted numbers. The table below should be helpful in comprehending the following complex material.

## Act I

<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> Prague 1791	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> Vienna 1804	<i>Tito Vespasiano</i> Livorno 1807	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> Naples 1809
—	—	Coro: "Esci dal Gange aurato"	Coro: "Esci dal Gange aurato"
—	—	Aria Tito: "Quanto al mio cor soave"	Aria Tito: "Quanto al mio cor soave"
No. 1 Duetto Vitellia, Sesto: "Come ti piace, imponi"	Duetto Vitellia, Sesto: "Come ti piace, imponi"	Duetto Vitellia, Sesto: "L'amor, la fè giurata"	Duetto Vitellia, Sesto: "Come ti piace, imponi"
No. 2 Aria Vitellia: "Deh se piacer mi vuoi"	Aria Vitellia: "Deh se piacer mi vuoi"	Aria Vitellia: "Ecco a te mi guida amore"	Aria Vitellia: "Per te in sen già parla amore"
No. 3 Duettino Annio, Sesto: "Deh prendi un dolce amplesso"	Duettino Annio, Sesto: "Deh prendi un dolce amplesso"	cut	cut
Nos. 4 & 5 Marcia & Coro: "Serbate, o Dei"	Marcia & Coro: "Serbate, o Dei"	Marcia & Coro: "Serbate, o Dei"	Marcia & Coro: "Serbate, o Dei"
No. 6 Aria Tito: "Del più sublime soglio"	Aria Tito: "Splenda di Roma il fato"	Aria Tito: "Or che presso a vuoi, son'io"	Aria Tito: "Or che presso a vuoi, son'io"

–	Duetto Tito, Sesto: “Incolpar tu non dovrai”	–	–
No. 7 Duetto Servilia, Annio: “Ah perdona il primo affetto”	Duetto Servilia, Annio: “Ah perdona il primo affetto”	Duetto Tito Sesto: “Ah signor/Ebben che vuoi”	–
No. 8 Aria Tito: “Ah se fosse intorno al trono”	Aria Tito: “Ah se fosse intorno al trono”	Aria Servilia: “Se sapesse il mio tormento”	Aria Servilia: “Amo te solo”
No. 9 Aria Sesto: “Parto, ma tu ben mio”	Aria Sesto: “Parto, ma tu ben mio”	Aria Sesto: “Sospirando afflito e mesto”	Aria Sesto: “Parto, ma tu ben mio”
No. 10 Terzetto: “Vengo! Aspettate! Sesto!”	Terzetto: “Vengo! Aspettate! Sesto!”	Aria Publio: “Torbido mar che freme”	Aria Publio: “Allor che eccede”
Nos. 11 & 12 Finale	Finale	New Finale	<i>Tito Vespasiano</i> Finale

## Act II

<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> Prague 1791	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> Vienna 1804	<i>Tito Vespasiano</i> Livorno 1807	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> Naples 1809
No. 13 Aria Annio: “Torna di Tito a lato”	cut	cut	cut
No. 14 Terzetto: “Se a volto mai ti senti”	Terzetto: “Se a volto mai ti senti”	cut	Duetto Vitellia, Sesto: “Idol mio/Mio ben amato”
No. 15 Coro: “Ah grazie”	Coro: “Ah grazie”	Coro: “Ah grazie”	Coro: “Ah grazie”
No. 16 Aria Publio: “Tardi s'avvede”	Aria Publio: “Tardi s'avvede”	Aria Tito: “Per questo amore pianto”	(Aria Publio: moved to Act I as “Allor che eccede”)
No. 17 Aria Annio: “Tu fosti tradito”	Aria Annio: “Tu fosti tradito”	Duetto Vitellia, Tito: “Se padre tu sei”	Duetto Vitellia, Tito: “Se padre tu sei”
–	Aria Tito: “Non tradirmi in questo istante”	–	–
No. 18 Terzetto: “Quello di Tito è il volto”	Terzetto: “Quello di Tito è il volto”	cut	Terzetto: “Quello di Tito è il volto”
No. 19 Aria Sesto: “Deh per questo istante...”	Aria Sesto: “Deh per questo istante...”	Aria Sesto: “Frenar non posso il pianto”	Aria Sesto: “Deh per questo istante...”
No. 20 Aria Tito: “Se all'impero, amici Dei”	cut	cut	cut
No. 21 Aria Servilia: “S'altro che lagrime”	cut	cut	cut
Nos. 22-23 Aria Vitellia: “Non più di fiori”	cut	cut	cut
Nos. 24-26 Coro e Finale	Coro e Finale	Coro e Finale	cut

Table: Summary of versions of *La clemenza di Tito/Tito Vespasiano*

The transformations begin with a revival of Mozart's opera, nearly thirteen years after its premiere in Prague, September 6, 1791, which took place under the musical direction of Joseph Weigl at the Kärntnertheater on April 12, 1804 with

Antonio Brizzi in the title role and Marianna Sessi as Sesto.<sup>1</sup> N.º 13 “Torna di Tito a lato” (Act I, scene 2) for Annio was cut as was N.º 21 (Act II, scene 13) “S’altro che lagrime” for Servilia, reflecting the new practice of reducing arias for secondary characters. Since Brizzi was not a tenor but a high baritone, all his arias were replaced, including a new *duetto* for Tito and Sesto. Both arias require participation of chorus: “Splenda di Roma il fato,” imbedded in Mozart’s chorus “Serbate, o Dei custodi” (N.º 5) composed by Weigl and a large two-tempo aria “Non tradirmi in questo istante,” (replacing N.º 20) originally sung in Simone Mayr’s *I misteri eleusini* at La Scala on January 2, 1802. The *duetto* “Incolpar tu non dovrai” (Act I, scene 4) is also by Weigl.<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible to reconstruct Brizzi and Sessi’s Munich performance on July 22, 1805, but apparently Mozart’s opera was even more adulterated. According to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, “eight pieces, large scenes and arias by the most diverse masters were crammed together one after the other, paraded as if in a magic lantern show: Winter, Cannabich, Weigl, Simon Mayer, in the company of the great Mozart.”<sup>3</sup> The numbers for Brizzi were the two by Weigl and the one by Mayr. With the help of Emanuele Senici, I have opined that the other composers cited are in the order of their appearance.<sup>4</sup> The first is an *Introduzione* by Peter Winter, a large number for double chorus with bass and soprano soloists that originally opened the second act of his *Babilons Piramiden* at the Theater auf der Wieden on October 23, 1797. The substitution by Cannabich, who was the conductor in Munich, could possibly be an aria for Vitellia, replacing N.º 2. We can be certain that the role of Sesto, except for the duet with Tito, remained pristine, for the reviewer continues, “[Madame Sessi] inserted not a single aria, sang not a measure more than Mozart wrote here....” Madame Sessi was not to remain so blameless, although she left her part pristine until after the Lisbon performance during the winter of 1806.

When Madame Sessi brought *La clemenza di Tito* to Lisbon, where Marcos Portugal was musical director, her Tito was Domenico Mombelli, who retained all of the substitutions made for Brizzi except the new version of “Ah se fosse intorno al trono.” The Lisbon libretto made the same cuts that were made in Vienna in 1804, except for the restoration of Servilia’s “S’altro che lagrime” (N.º 21). However, Vitellia’s first aria is not present in the libretto, leading one to assume that it was cut. With a singer of the stature of Eufemia Eckarth in the role,

<sup>1</sup> Actually Emanuel Schikaneder’s German production *Titus* at the Theater an der Wien on September 22, 1801, was the earliest revival and his production and that of Weigl are very much alike except for the language. Weigl’s version can be reconstructed only from the manuscript Rari 5.5.35 found in the Conservatorio di S. Pietro a Majella of Naples. See Michael Collins, “Mozart’s *La clemenza di Tito* in the early *Ottocento*: the making of a pasticcio”, *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, 2005, 55-96.

<sup>2</sup> Collins, *op. cit.*, 59-65.

<sup>3</sup> *AMZ*, August 1805, column 743: “Acht Stücke grossere Scenen und Arien von der verschiedensten Meistern, waren da ohn Wahl auf einander gepfropft, und wie in einer Zauberlande paradierten nach einander: Winter, Cannabich, Weigl, Simon Mayer, in Gesellschaft des grossen Mozart.”

<sup>4</sup> Emanuele Senici, “I primi trent’anni della *Clemenza di Tito* mozartiana (1791-1821)” in *Speculum Musicae*, Vol. II, Amsterdam-Cremona: Brepols, 1997.

however, one wonders if perhaps her substitute aria was simply not chosen at the time the libretto was printed.

The Carnival Season of 1807 found Madame Sessi in Livorno, where she performed the role of Romeo in Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* composed for Milan in 1796 and Sesto in a new opera, *Tito Vespasiano*, apparently composed expressly for her by Marcos Portugal. Both of these operas relate to the future of Mozart's *Clemenza di Tito* in Italy.

After singing two operas during the Carnival Season at La Scala in 1808, Sessi moved on to Florence to sing Romeo again in Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo*. The Carnival Season of 1809 took her to Naples, where she was to sing in both the Zingarelli and Mozart operas, both premiere performances in Naples. As we shall see, she must have been carrying a manuscript of Portugal's *Tito Vespasiano* as well.

Rather astonishing events occurred when *La clemenza di Tito* was performed at the Teatro San Carlo on May 14: nine of Mozart's eleven arias were cut or replaced, as well as two of his three *duetti* and two of the three *terzetti*. The *Finale* of Mozart's Act I was completely replaced, while the concerted *Finale* of Act II appears to have been drastically cut. The three arias and *duetto* for Tito that had been inserted for Brizzi were replaced, because the role was now being sung by Gaetano Crivelli, a true tenor. All of these missing numbers were replaced by four, perhaps five, new arias and two *duetti*. The first of these arias for Tito is imbedded in a large-scale *Introduzione* with chorus, added before the original first scene, an attempt to modernize the opening of Mozart's opera. Even the *recitativi semplici*, which in the first place were not composed by Mozart himself, most of which have essentially the same texts as in Mozart, are mostly recomposed. In all, only four numbers of Mozart remain beside the *Sinfonia* and a few choruses: the Vitellia/Sesto *duetto* "Come ti piace, imponi" (N.º 1), Sesto's aria "Parto, ma tu ben mio" (N.º 9), Publio's aria "Tardi s'avvede" (N.º 16), now transported to replace the N.º 10 *terzetto*, but with a new text "Allor che eccede," and the *terzetto* "Quello di Tito è il volto" (N.º 18). But the audience was apparently completely unaware that they were not hearing Mozart's opera. The review in the *Monitore napolitano* of May 16, after reporting that the opera received enthusiastic applause, declares:

If the success of the opera was not what the names of the author of the drama and the composer of the music had made us hope for, we must look for the reason to the changes that were made in the incomparable *Metastasio*, who was no longer recognizable, and to the foreign music that was attempted to be produced in the theater that still resounds to the melodious harmony of *Cimarosa*, of *Paisiello*, and so forth. The style of Mozart is sublime; but it is not Italian.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Monitore Napolitano*, N.º 336, 16 May, 1809: "Se il successo dell'opera non è stato quale c[h]e le faceano sperare i nomi dell'autore del drama, e del compositor[e] della musica, referir ne dobbiamo la cagione a['] cambiamenti che s'è ardito fare all'inarrivabile *Mestastasio* che più

Whatever the music was, it was certainly not Mozart. But whose was it then?

The manuscript that reflects this production still resides in Naples, in the library of the Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella.<sup>6</sup> The title page of the first volume reads “Il Tito Vespasiano / Del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Marco Portogallo / Atto Primo” but the archival hand of Giuseppe Sigismondo has crossed out the composer's name and written “Musica di Mozart.” The second volume is entitled no more correctly “La Clemenza di Tito / del / Sig.<sup>r</sup> Amadeo Mozzart / Atto Secondo.” The name Portogallo on the cover of the manuscript and our knowledge that Madame Sessi had sung in a *Tito Vespasiano* by that composer just two years before, directs our attention to the manuscript of *that* opera, which resides in the music section of the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma.<sup>7</sup> There we find most of the unknown material from our counterfeit Mozart opera. As we shall discover, however, not only is the Mozart *Clemenza di Tito* a total *pasticcio*, but so is Portugal's *Tito Vespasiano*.

The *Introduzione* attached to the beginning of Mozart's Act I comes from *Tito Vespasiano*, where it is also the opening scene. It is a large-scale affair of 157 measures: the chorus sings “Esci dal Gange aurato, / Febo, a brillar su noi: / Ardano I raggi tuoi / D'insolito splendor.” There follow 26 measures of aria for Tito, “Quanto al mio cor soave,” expressing his pleasure at the happiness of his people. This Largo introduces 57 measures of Allegretto grazioso, in which Tito expands on his affection for the populace, while they praise him with acclamations. But this *Introduzione* is not new to *Tito Vespasiano*, nor is it by Portugal. The opening chorus is from Giuseppe Farinelli's *I riti d'Efeso*, which had its premiere in Venice on December 26, 1803. Sessi had sung the aria in the role of Aspasia on December 19, 1804. But the aria sung by Agenore in Farinelli's *Introduzione* is not “Quanto al mio cor soave,” but rather “Torna a voi l'amico, il padre,” a text not appropriate for Tito. His aria comes instead from another *Clemenza di Tito*, the one composed by Antonio del Fante for the Teatro della Pergola in Florence, December 26, 1802, in which Girolamo Marzocchi sang the role of Tito, as he was to do in the Livorno *Tito Vespasiano* five years later. The Farinelli and Del Fante arias are stylistically quite similar, but not melodically so, although the latter is clearly based on the former.

What follows this *Introduzione* in the libretto of the Naples *Clemenza* is Mozart's N.º 1, the Vitellia/Sesto *duetto*, followed in turn by a new *recitativo* and aria for Vitellia. The text of the *recitativo* can be underlaid perfectly to a *recitativo semplice* on folios 44-44<sup>v</sup> on the Naples manuscript, one that actually remains untexted. What follows on folios 45-47 is a *recitativo obbligato* that has the same text as both the Livorno libretto and the Parma manuscript of *Tito*

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non è riconoscibile, ed alla musica straniera che s'è tentato di produrre sul teatro che risuona ancora della melodiosa armonia de' *Cimarosa*, de' *Paisiello* ec. Lo stile del Mozart è vibrato e sublime; ma non è italiano.”

<sup>6</sup> Rari 5.5.33.34. The manuscript is entirely in the hands of Neapolitan copyists.

<sup>7</sup> MS. 256-257, entitled “LA CLEMENZA DI TITO / Del Maestro Marco Portogallo.” The libretto however, reads correctly “TITO / VESPASIANO / drama serio per musica / da rappresentarsi / Nel Regio Teatro / CARLO LODOVICO / [...] La Primavera dell'Anno 1807 / LIVORNO / nella stamperia Fortini.”

*Vespasiano*. Nor does the text of Vitellia's aria in the Naples libretto match the one in the Naples manuscript on folios 47<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>v</sup>. I have identified this aria text as borrowed from Simone Mayr's *Zamori, ossia L'eroe dell'Indie*, composed for the Nuovo Teatro Comunale of Piacenza on August 10, 1804. Both the Livorno libretto and the Parma manuscript of *Tito* have somewhat different modifications of the *Zamori* text to fit the dramatic situation. For the Naples libretto of *Clemenza* the text was evidently derived directly from Mayr's *Zamori*, but with the addition of a pair of verses, while the Naples manuscript reverts to the Livorno libretto.

It would certainly simplify matters if the music for this aria were the same in both the Parma and Naples manuscripts, but this is not the case. The Parma manuscript has Mayr's music, while the *recitativo* and aria in the Naples manuscript were probably written by the promising young Neapolitan composer Nicola Antonio Manfroce, whose surname was entered in the manuscript by archivist Giuseppe Sigismondo on folio 45 above Vitellia's *recitativo obbligato*.<sup>8</sup>

Mozart's N.º 3, the *duettino* for Sesto and Annio, is cut, but Nos. 4 and 5, the march and chorus announcing the entrance of Tito are present. They are followed not by Mozart's original "Del più sublime soglio," already inserted that season in Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* by tenor Raffaele Ferraro, nor by Weigl's "Splenda di Roma il fato," but by a new aria, "Or che preso a voi son'io," another unidentified borrowing from *Tito Vespasiano*. The elaborate quality of the accompaniment in this aria suggests that it might also have been composed by Manfroce in imitation of Mozart's style.

Mozart's next four scenes are cut, replaced by a solo scene and aria for Servilia. Her *recitativo* is found in *Tito Vespasiano*, but both the *recitativo* and the Naples aria, "Amo te solo," come from Metastasio's original libretto for *La clemenza*. The use of wind instruments in this aria in a Mozartean fashion suggests that Manfroce may have composed it, too.

The next scene brings Mozart's aria "Parto, ma tu ben mio" for Sesto, where it is preceded by a more modern *recitativo obbligato* that comes from *Tito Vespasiano*. In Livorno Madame Sessi had followed this recitative by the aria "Sospirando afflitto e mesto," which she had sung as "Palpitando afflitta e sola" in the role of Princess Mandane in the Lisboa premiere of Portugal's *Artaserse* in 1806. She could not sing this aria in the Naples *Clemenza* because she had already used it that season as a substitute in her role as Romeo in Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo*. Excerpts from both *tempi* are seen in Examples 1a and b.

After Sesto's aria comes more *recitativo* from *Tito* and an aria for Publio, "Allor che eccede," which replaces Mozart's *terzetto* (N.º 10). This aria turns out to be Mozart's N.º 16, "Tardi s'avvede," with a new text.

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<sup>8</sup> Manfroce, who lived from 1791 only until 1813, was probably responsible for the elaboration of the accompaniment, in a more Mozartean style, of "Quanto al mio cor soavi" in the Naples *Introduzione*, this aria having extremely simple instrumentation in the Parma manuscript of *Tito Vespasiano*.

Example 1a

Portugal: *Tito Vespasiano*

**Molto sostenuto**

*solo*

Solo Violoncello

4

8

11

Sesto

So-spi-ran - do'af - flit - to'e me - sto, i miei

15

Sesto

ca - si pian - ge - rò, ed in pre da'al duol fu - ne - sto pal - pi -

19

Sesto

tan - do mo - ri - rò,

22

Sesto

ed in pre - da'al duol e -

24

Sesto

stre - mo pal - pi - tan - do mo - ri - rò.



Example 1b

All<sup>o</sup> comodo

m.59

no - spe - rar più non poss' - i - o ch'ab - bia

ch'ab - bia fi - ne il mio do - lor, il

mi - o, il mio do - lor.

The first-act *Finale* is lifted *in toto* from the Parma manuscript of *Tito*; not a note is by Mozart – this despite the fact that critics everywhere had praised the Mozart *Finale* as musically and dramatically the finest number in the opera. The essential dramatic difference between the two finales is that in Mozart all the principals believe Tito to have been assassinated, while in *Tito Vespasiano* he suddenly appears alive and well, to the relief, consternation, or guilt of the other principals. The Mozart *Finale* does not yet represent the full-scale transfer of the *opera buffa* finale to *opera seria*. Sesto begins the *Finale* with an Allegro solo quatrain in E-flat beginning “Ah! Conservate, o Dei.” Gradually the other characters enter and contribute as the music modulates, but E-flat returns with an Andante tempo and 41 measures of an essentially homophonic *quintetto* (“Ah! Dunque l’astro è spento”) with choral interjections (“Oh nero tradimento! Oh giorno di dolor!”) The whole *Finale* requires only 162 measures.

In *Tito Vespasiano*, on the other hand, we find the prototypical finale soon to be standardized in *opera seria* by Rossini: after the identical text of Sesto’s *recitativo obbligato*, but with different music, the chorus initiates the *Finale* in Allegro with “Che spavento! Che terrore!” in C Minor (25 measures), followed by an extended *duetto* in B-flat sung by Vitellia and Sesto, labelled Agitato (84 measures); Tito enters unexpectedly in D Major and a Larghetto tempo – “Cessi il

timor, l'affanno” – eventually joined by Vitellia, Sesto, and Publio in an ensemble of more or less independent vocal parts (62 measures); the *stretta* comes with the return of B-flat and Allegro, a *quartetto* in which each character expresses his feelings, but beginning homophonically with “Delle fiamme l’orribil tempesta” and including a sense of relief from the chorus that Tito has been spared (92 measures). The whole *Finale* comprises 263 measures. There is also a greater variety of versification in the *Tito Vespasiano Finale*: Mozart’s *Finale* is totally in *settenari*, while Portugal’s has the opening chorus in *ottonari*, the second and third tempos in *settenari*, and the *stretta* in *decasillabi*.

In Act II of the Naples *Clemenza*, Annio’s aria “Torno di Tito a lato” (N.º 13) and the first *terzetto* “Se a volto mai ti senti” (N.º 14) are replaced by a *duetto*, “Idol mio / Mio ben amato,” for Vitellia and Sesto that comes not from the Parma manuscript of *Tito*, but from the opening scene of Portugal’s *Artaserse*. The Largo cantabile first tempo is seen in Example 2, on the next 2 pages.

There is also another *duetto* (“Se padre tu sei”) sung by Vitellia and Tito that replaces Annio’s aria “Tu fosti tradito” (N.º 17) in a new scene from the Parma manuscript of *Tito Vespasiano*. This *duetto* actually replaces Mayr’s “Non tradirmi in quest’istante,” the Brizzi substitute in Vienna that Crivelli could not sing in *Clemenza di Tito* in Naples, because he was going to sing the aria in its rightful place in Mayr’s *I misteri eleusini* there on November 22 of the same year. Although this *duetto* remains unidentified, because of its simplicity it is probably not by Portugal.

Madame Sessi does not retain for Naples the grand aria for Sesto she had sung in *Tito Vespasiano*, which was “Frenar non posso il pianto,” once again lifted from the first act of Portugal’s *Artaserse*. The Naples libretto has the same text that Mozart used, that is, “Deh! Per questo istante solo” (N.º 19), and Mozart’s aria appears in the manuscript on folios 40-57<sup>v</sup>. But there is a second aria that sets a slightly-expanded version of the same text and is modernized by the inclusion of chorus. It is probable that Sessi sang this inferior but more up-to-date aria, quite possibly again by Manfroce, instead of Mozart’s.

The arias of Tito, Servilia, and Vitellia (Nos. 20, 21, and 22-23) in Mozart’s original are all cut. The libretto moves precipitously toward Mozart’s *Finale*. Although it appears in full in the Naples manuscript, it is not in the libretto, which ends with Mozart’s *recitativo obbligato* for Tito (“Ma, che giorno è mai questo?”). The closing quatrain for soloists and chorus is present in the libretto, but “vircolato,” so was probably not performed. If this is indeed the case, then with the exception of a couple of choruses and the *Sinfonia*, the only Mozart heard in Naples was the first-act Vitellia/Sesto *duetto*, “Come ti piace, imponi,” the aria for Sesto, “Parto, ma tu ben mio,” the newly-texted aria for Publio, “Allor che eccede,” and the second-act *terzetto* “Quello di Tito è il volto.” The Neapolitans never knew that what they thought was “vibrant and sublime” Mozart was mostly Portugal or someone else.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> I should note for the record that there are more of the *recitativi semplici* from Mozart’s premiere

Our pasticcio that brought together the works of Mozart and Portugal was a one-time occurrence. Although Madame Sessi continued to sing *La clemenza di Tito*, the particular version that we have studied was never repeated.

Ultimately, during the 1820s and '30s, when such interpolations and substitutions in *La clemenza di Tito* were disallowed, due to protestations of Mozartophile *cabale* in London, Milan and Paris, the opera became too archaic for the public taste. Audiences no longer wanted to hear *opera seria* with *recitativi semplici* and a string of arias and duets without large-scale forms and choral participation.

## Example 2

Portugal: *Tito Vespasiano*

**Largo cantabile**

Sesto  
I - dol - mi - o

Vitellia  
Mio be - ne a -

8  
e ti deg-gio ab-ban-do - nar che mo-men-to sfor-tu - na - to e mi-  
ma - to che mo-men-to sfor-tu - na - to e mi-

of 1791 in the Parma manuscript of *Tito Vespasiano* than in the Naples manuscript of *La clemenza di Tito*: eleven in the former; only three in the latter. Of course, these *recitativi* were not composed by Mozart, but by one of his pupils, probably F. X. Süssmayr.

Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

14

sen - to la - ce - rar e mi sen-to la-ce - rar, e mi  
sen - to la - ce - rar e mi sen-to la-ce - rar, e mi

18

sen - to la - ce - rar mi la - ce - rar mi la - ce -  
sen - to la - ce - rar mi la - ce - rar mi la - ce -

21

rar mi sen - to la - ce -  
rar mi sen - to la - ce -

22

rar.  
rar.

## **Of Science and Nature: Mozart *versus* the modern *bel canto* in early nineteenth-century London**

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In 1811, William Taylor, then manager of London's Italian opera house, wrote to the office of the Lord Chamberlain, who was responsible for the licensing of theatres, lamenting the financial privations that were afflicting his theatre as a result of prolonged war with France.

[F]or the last five years, the income of this theatre has not been equal to the expenditure [...] The war has taken away so many young men of fashion that it has become extremely difficult for ladies to get subscribers to their boxes, many of which therefore have been relinquished, and the same cause has occasioned a decrease in door receipts: and in fact the concern has been kept together, not only without benefit, but even with some sacrifices and endless trouble, in the hope of a favourable change of public circumstances both at home and abroad, in the same way that manufacturers, brewers, and many others have been at the same time doing and for the same reasons and causes.<sup>1</sup>

Taylor had good reason to liken the theatre to other business ventures, for despite what we might assume from its name (the King's Theatre) London's Italian opera house operated entirely as a commercial enterprise, without direct aristocratic or royal subvention.<sup>2</sup> However, he failed to factor into his analysis something the Lord Chamberlain was certainly aware of – that Taylor's attempts to settle the disputed management of the theatre through the courts had embroiled the concern in heavy legal costs and drained cash reserves and available credit,

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<sup>1</sup> William Taylor to T. B. Mash in the Lord Chamberlain's Office, 1 July 1812. The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (henceforth PRO), LC 7/4, part 2.

<sup>2</sup> On the establishment, legal basis and conduct of the Italian opera in London, see Curtis Price, Judith Milhous & Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: Volume 1. The King's Theatre in the Haymarket 1778-1791*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1995, and Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen & Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London: Volume 2. The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath 1789-1795*, Oxford, Clarendon, 2001. That the aristocratic subscribers seem to have accepted their role willingly in supporting the theatre is confirmed by comments in the press throughout this period, for example in the *Morning Chronicle* (15 December 1806).

such as they were.<sup>3</sup> All things considered, the first decades of the nineteenth century were some of the most turbulent and insecure in the institution's history: the financial viability of the theatre teetered on a knife-edge, and its survival depended even more than usual on the manager's sensitivity and responsiveness to shifts in taste among his predominantly aristocratic subscribers. It was against this backdrop that the operas of Marcos António Portugal were introduced to London audiences, coinciding and interleaving with the English premières of the works of Mozart, as the Appendix (pp. 195-256) demonstrates.

One of the main mechanisms for the transference of new repertoire from the Continental to the London stage was the championing of particular works by the principal singers recruited each season for the King's Theatre. The extent of this in the case of Mozart's operas is remarkable, given that the composer was no longer alive and the singers who promoted his music, unlike those who were advocating Portugal's operas, had not worked directly with him. As I have discussed elsewhere, and as the Appendix documents, it was the *prima donna*, *primo uomo* or *buffo* who first took the risk in producing Mozart's operas for London: they selected an opera for their benefit night, and the managers gauged audience response before committing to further performances as part of the normal opera/ballet subscription season.<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Billington's patronage was important both for Mozart's and Portugal's operas in London, but Angelica Catalani's close identification with the works of the modern *bel canto* school, and Portugal's *La morte di Semiramide* in particular, which he wrote for her when they were both in Lisbon (and revised extensively for her to perform in London),<sup>5</sup> would have a significant impact on English responses to Portugal's music and on her own reception in turn, as we shall see later.

Cultural links between London and Lisbon were strong, of course; but during the French Wars, when the traditional recruiting grounds for London's Italian opera singers were closed off by military action and travel around the Continent was restricted and dangerous, the King's Theatre became increasingly reliant on Lisbon for new talent. As David Cranmer has discussed, in his article "Operatic Relations between Portugal and London during the Napoleonic Period",<sup>6</sup> Catalani was among a second wave of personnel to transfer from the Lisbon opera to

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<sup>3</sup> Detailed coverage of the protracted dispute in the Court of Chancery between William Taylor and Edmund Waters for control of the opera house lies beyond the scope of this current study. For discussion of how it affected the King's Theatre in the early nineteenth century, see Rachel Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity", PhD diss., University of London, 2000, chapter 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Rachel Cowgill, "'Wise men from the East': Mozart's Operas and their Advocates", in Christina Bashford & Leanne Langley (eds.), *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, 39-64, and "Mozart Productions and the Emergence of *Werktreue* at London's Italian Opera House, 1780-1830", in Roberta Montemorra Marvin & Downing A. Thomas, *Operatic Migrations: Transforming Works and Crossing Boundaries*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, 145-86.

<sup>5</sup> See *Dramatic Censor* (5 February 1811), 135-8, also Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press 1785-1830*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press, 1994, 126.

<sup>6</sup> In *Revista portuguesa de musicologia*, 10 (2000), 11-30.

London, which included the *buffo* Giuseppe Naldi<sup>7</sup> and Marcos António Portugal's librettist, Giuseppe Caravita. The impresario João Pereira Caldas also fled to England to escape the French invasion: Caldas had managed the Portuguese Prince Regent's opera in Lisbon, and in London, with the backing of a wealthy speculator and briefly the support of the English Prince Regent, he engaged a short-lived Italian opera company to perform burlettas at the Pantheon in Oxford Street, in direct opposition to the King's Theatre.<sup>8</sup> For the Pantheon's opening night, which finally took place on 27 February 1812, Caldas offered a work by one of his countrymen – Portugal's *farsa Il diavolo a quattro* [*Le donne cambiate*]. But it was the Pantheon's staging of Acts I and II of *Le nozze di Figaro* as a 'burletta' on 2 May 1812, the first production of that opera in London, that provoked Taylor into responding to this challenge to his assumed monopoly: he upstaged the Pantheon performance decisively with a lavish charity gala production of the full opera, featuring Catalani as the Susanna (see Appendix).<sup>9</sup>

Musical connections between London and Lisbon were also fostered at the Portuguese chapel, formerly the Portuguese embassy chapel, in South Street, Grosvenor Square. Here, liturgical music by Portugal and Perez could be heard alongside masses by Haydn and Mozart, under the directorship of Vincent Novello. It became extremely fashionable for members of the British elite to attend services at the Portuguese chapel simply for this music, which could not be performed publicly anywhere but the former embassy chapels and one or two other specially licensed venues at this time, because of its Roman Catholic content.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> On Naldi's arrival see *The Times* (16 April 1806). He made his London début on 15 April in Pietro Carlo Guglielmi's *Due nozze e un sol marito*.

<sup>8</sup> Caldas had been one of a small group of Lisbon capitalists who had funded the building of the Teatro de São Carlos in 1792-3. See Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, 110. On his arrival in London Caldas established a wine business in Clifford Street, near Piccadilly, but his disastrous involvement in the Pantheon opera speculation had bankrupted him by March 1812; for more on Caldas and the Pantheon, see Rachel Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London 1764-1829", *op. cit.*, 216-224 (also see *Prospectus for the New Subscription Theatre, at the Pantheon*, TNA: PRO, LC 7/4, part 2). The Pantheon building on Oxford Street was much admired, and had been fitted up as an opera house in 1791. It was destroyed by fire in January 1792, then rebuilt by Crispus Claggett later that year, but Claggett was unable to make it work as an entertainment venue. See Judith Milhous, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, and "The Pantheon", *Survey of London: vols 31 and 32: St James Westminster, Part 2*, London, Athlone, 1963, 268-283 [available online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=41477>>, accessed 15 January 2009].

<sup>9</sup> See also Rachel Cowgill, "Mozart Productions", *op. cit.*, 163-5.

<sup>10</sup> The English glee-composer R. J. S. Stevens notes in his diary that he heard a mass by "Portogallo" in the Portuguese Chapel, Grosvenor Street, on 23 December 1806, but "was not much gratified by the Music", thinking it "too light and frivolous", see Mark Argent (ed.), *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens, an Organist in Georgian London*, London and Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1992, 150. My thanks to António Jorge Marques for drawing Stevens's comments to my attention. On music at the former Portuguese embassy chapel, see Rosemarie Darby, "The Music of the Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels in London 1765-1825", MusM diss., University of Manchester, 1984, Philip Olleson, "The Portuguese Embassy Chapel and its Registers", *Catholic Ancestor*, 5 (1995), 144-51, and "The London Roman Catholic Embassy Chapels and their Music in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", in David Wyn Jones (ed.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000, 101-18, and Fiona Palmer, *Vincent Novello (1781-1861): Music for the Masses*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, 104-11 and *passim*.

The first stage-work by Portugal to be performed in London was his *La confusione della somiglianza* (billed as *I due gobbi*, or “The Two Hunchbacks”) in 1796, followed by a single rendition of *Lo spazzacamino principe* in 1800. But it was not until a *third* opera by him was produced at the King’s Theatre – the *opera seria* *Fernando nel Messico*, in 1803 – that the composer began to win regard, to judge by the twelve performances it received that season and its brief revival the following year. This may partly have been because the first two are comic operas, and the most elevated genre in London at this time was *opera seria*.<sup>11</sup> (In England, Portugal was noted as a composer of serious rather than comic works.) Probably for similar reasons, it was Mozart’s *La clemenza di Tito* rather than one of his comedies that was the first of his operas to be produced in London. That the celebrated English soprano Elizabeth Billington, the King’s Theatre’s *prima donna*, had selected *Fernando* for her benefit night was an important endorsement, however. Billington was the daughter of the soprano Fredericka and oboist Carl Friedrich Weichsel, both much-loved performers at Vauxhall Gardens, and she had performed in London as child keyboard prodigy along with her brother the violinist Charles Weichsel (who would later lead the King’s Theatre orchestra). English audiences had watched her develop into a gifted bravura soprano, and her successful performances on the major operatic stages of Italy in the late 1790s were a matter of pride in her home city. *Fernando* had been composed for her by Portugal whilst she was engaged at the Teatro S. Benedetto, Venice, in 1798, and she had probably brought the score with her when she returned to London in 1801.<sup>12</sup> The critic writing for *The Times* (2 April 1803) thought it a weak work dramatically, but the *Morning Herald* (1 April 1803) had already declared Portugal’s music “of the very first description, in point of science, taste, and effect”, a view that was echoed by others (see Appendix).

After Billington’s introduction of *Fernando* came *Argenide e Serse*, apparently at the behest of the Duke of Sussex,<sup>13</sup> which was staged in what the *Morning Herald* described as “the true style of Oriental magnificence” (27 January 1806). Two numbers by composers other than Portugal were interpolated into the score – a duet by the tenor John Braham, playing Xerxes, and a number written by Paisiello specifically for Billington, which she introduced into her role as Argenis (see Appendix). Both pieces were complimented by the press, but

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, *Morning Chronicle* (1 March 1813): “it is well known, that the same degree of rank holds good in the Ballet, as in the Opera; and that the serious is always considered in a higher degree than the comic”. See also Rachel Cowgill, ““Wise men from the East”, *op. cit.*, 43–46. This valuing of the serious over the comic was a well-established aspect of London taste, see Saskia Willaert, “Italian Comic Opera in London 1760–1770”, PhD diss., University of London, 1998, *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Rachel E. Cowgill, “Billington, Elizabeth (1765–1818)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004 [online <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk:80/view/article/2397>>, accessed 31 August 2008]; David Cranmer, “Portugal, Marcos António”, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* [<<http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/22160>>, accessed 31 August 2008]

<sup>13</sup> *Morning Chronicle* (27 January 1806). Along with the Prince of Wales and Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Sussex was rumoured to be Billington’s lover; see Rachel E. Cowgill, “Billington, Elizabeth”, *op. cit.*



Portugal was also highly commended: *The Times* remarked that “for grandeur and effect [*Argenide*] cannot be exceeded. The accompaniments are rich and beautiful, the airs are full of taste and science” (27 January 1806). The *Morning Post*, *Times*, *Morning Herald*, *Sun*, and *Morning Chronicle* all singled out the Trio at the end of Act I for particular praise (27 January 1806); for the former, it was simply “a master-piece; we never heard a finer composition”, and the *Sun* and *Morning Herald* confirmed its popularity with the King’s Theatre audience (27 January 1806). Perhaps it was this that inspired the addition of a new trio at the end of the opera on 8 February, though whether Portugal was the composer is not clear.<sup>14</sup> After a triumphant season that also saw her benefit production of *La clemenza di Tito*, the first Mozart opera to be staged at the King’s Theatre, Billington withdrew from the company, and Angelica Catalani, arriving from Lisbon as the new *prima donna* later that year, preceded by her sensational reputation, took over her role when *Argenide* was revived as *Il ritorno di serse* in 1807. For her début at the King’s Theatre, however, Catalani appeared as the eponymous heroine of Portugal’s *La morte di Semiramide*, a role Portugal had created for her, with which for her London audiences she would become synonymous. Though generally too dazzled by their new *prima donna* to speak of much else, the critics were able to muster a sentence or two in favour of the score. As was often the practice, the opera had been refreshed by the addition and/or interpolation of least two numbers by other composers – in this case by Vincenzo Federici and the stage manager Michael Kelly – but for the *Morning Herald* the music was “sublime, tasteful, and scientific; and the choruses are impressively grand” (15 December 1806). As the *Morning Chronicle* remarked, however, it was “its adaptation to the powers of this wonderful Artist” that was considered its chief merit (15 December 1806). The press discussed Portugal’s *La morte di Mitridate*, selected by Catalani for her benefit production in 1806-07, in much the same terms. Indeed, of the revival of *Semiramide* for a third season, in 1811, *The Times* could still declare that:

the most distinguished days of the Italian school never produced a work with more of the power and vigour of genius. The recitatives have a rich and bold expression, which makes a striking contrast with the usual tameness of recitative; and the bravuras were composed for Catalani’s voice. There cannot be, in our opinion, a higher panegyric (6 February 1811).

A comparison of these press comments on Catalani’s performances in Portugal’s operas with other primary sources that document her English reception indicates that they were reasonably representative of the views of London’s musical world. Here, for example, is an entry from the diary of the amateur composer John Marsh, concerning Catalani’s performance in *Semiramide* on 9 May 1807:

[I] dined at M<sup>r</sup>. Wilkinsons in the Haymarket where seeing several carriages drawing up at the Opera House at about ½ past 6, I tho.<sup>t</sup> it prudent to go about a quarter before 7 in order to get a good place, when I had the pleasure of

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<sup>14</sup> *Morning Post* (10 February 1806).

waiting just an hour & a quarter before the Opera began, long before which the Pit was cram'd full, tho' the boxes remained empty till near 10. o'clock. – With respect to Mad.<sup>m</sup> Catalani I was much pleased with her as an *Opera Singer*, as besides being a good Singer, with great powers of voice, & execution, she was an excellent Actress, & therefore appeared on that stage to greater advantage than M<sup>rs</sup>. Billington. She had also another advantage, in being the only Singer there worth attending to, or to whom the audience seemed to think it worth while to attend, being in fact the only one whose voice made its way thro' the accompt.<sup>s</sup> of the powerful Opera Band. But at a Concert or Selection I co.<sup>d</sup> not help thinking M<sup>rs</sup>. Billington wo.<sup>d</sup> appear to equal advantage from singing in a greater variety of styles, as in Handel's Music, Glees, &c. – Catalani had however some of [John] Braham's tricks of running up & down in half notes & skipping from the top of her voice to the bottom which certainly excited *Surprise!*<sup>15</sup>

An arguably more informed view of Catalani's performances, taking in the whole of her London career, was expressed by the composer and singing teacher R. J. S. Stevens in his manuscript lectures "On Singing", which he delivered as Gresham Professor of Music during the 1830s:

Madame Catalani made her first appearance at the Italian opera house in London, in the Semiramide of Portogallo, about the year 1807. She had a pleasing person, & was considered a good actress in scenes of great exertion. Her voice was the most extraordinary natural voice that I ever heard! It was a monster of a voice! It was a perfect pyramid of tone throughout! The lowest notes were grand & firm, increasing in sweetness as she ascended to the highest notes of her compass, which consisted of two octaves. I have been in the habit of hearing the greatest singers for more than 60 years, but I never heard a voice of such superior excellence or magnitude, as that of Madame Catalani! She sung in both styles of singing, the cantabile, & the bravura with great success; & was enthusiastically admired for her performance at the Italian Opera. When the Orchestra was before her, she rarely sang out of tune; but when the instruments were placed behind her, as at the Concert of Ancient Music, I have frequently heard her sing out of tune. It appeared to me that her ear was not quite perfect, & that her knowledge of music was rather inconsiderable. Her terms for singing 2 songs in a Concert, or evening party, were, a hundred guineas! She left the Italian opera stage in the year 1813, and ceased to sing at Public Concerts, but gave concerts upon the credit of her own individual ability, & performance. Here she met with the most extravagant patronage! Her Concert Room was always full of auditors; & great interest was obliged to be made to get even a single ticket of admission for a future performance. In these Concerts after she had exhibited her 2 songs, she used to sing variations upon a simple air, or melody, & these difficult variations which must have been written for her, by some eminent Musician (for I conceive that Madame Catalani, had not the ability to invent

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<sup>15</sup> John Marsh, "History of my Private Life", 37 vols, *US-SM MS.* 54457, xxvi, 52-3. My thanks to Brian Robins for advice on transcription; the second volume of his edition of *The John Marsh Journals* is scheduled for publication by Pendragon Press in 2010.

them) she used to perform most admirably to the unbounded delight of all who heard her. [Deleted: It is to be wished that Madame Catalani whose performance in different parts of the country, we still hear of, would again indulge the musical world in London: however great, may be the charms of a Pasta, a Sontag [addition: or a Malibran]; there is still a place left for the grand display of a Catalani.]<sup>16</sup>

In the context of such positive responses to Catalani's performances as Portugal's Semiramis in London, it therefore comes as somewhat of a surprise to read the following extended account, which was printed in the music periodical *The Harmonicon* of 1830, signed only by the initials "S.D.":

This season [1806-07] introduced to the English public that musical phenomenon; Catalani; a singer who, take her for all in all, her perfections and errors weighed against each other, has had no equal within our time. The period is now, perhaps, arrived, when the merits of this extraordinary performer may be coolly and impartially scanned; a task that would have required more than mortal calmness, and even mental courage, while the Catalani epidemic raged in all its fierceness. We were never among her uncompromising admirers, even during the height of her popularity; and are not now to be ranked with her decriers. We think ourselves (but who does not?) impartial; and, at least, bring our best judgment to the task. Were we asked to define the spell by which Catalani, for so many years, enchained, not only the groundlings, but the choicest critics in music, we should say it was her energy. Hours after hearing her – in the calmness of the closet – you might tremblingly question the purity of her taste, or even the correctness of her intonation; but while present to your eye and ear, she carried you by storm, even against your better judgment. Her voice exceeded not the usual compass, the two octaves between B flat and B flat including all her good notes. Her execution partook of the character of the organ; it was liquid but not distinct, and she seldom ventured on a division except in forte passages. Her intonation was not always sure. But into whatever she did, she threw her whole soul; imparted her emotions to the breasts of her hearers, and carried them away, willing and delighted captives to her enchantments.

This is the fair side of the picture. Reverse it, and you behold a singer to whose exploits all that has been recorded of the Gabriellis and Mingottis of a former age, was mere child's play. During her reign not one female performer who came within many, many degrees of her own powers, was permitted on the Opera boards; foils, not companions, were what she sought. In the several years that she ruled the managers of the Opera-house, not one classic opera owes its naturalization on the English stage to her patronage. Portogallo; Puccita; Trento; these were thy gods, O Israel! and if Mozart and Cimarosa were forced in among the crowd, not to Catalani be it imputed. Others brought them forward, and the public demanded that Catalani should contribute to their good performance. Many future occasions, however, will unfortunately occur, for remarking on these points in her conduct: for the

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<sup>16</sup> R. J. S. Stevens, *Lectures on Music, GB-Lgc*, GMus 472, "No.5 On Singing. May 13 1829 (19); June 11 1833 (11); May 8 1837 (12)", 63-71 (pp. 68-70).

present we confine ourselves to the singer and the actress. To give a tolerable idea of the artiste, the *Semiramide* in which she first appeared, bad as its music, with an exception or two, is, will do as well or better than any other opera. Her burst upon the stage, when she is supposed to have seen and to imagine herself pursued by the ghost of Ninus, at once established her claim to a high rank as a tragedian; the impassioned recitative “*Lasciami! per pietà, lasciami in pace!*” introduced a tender cavatina “*La Pena ch’io sento – quel fiero tormento – mio speme, mio bene, ah! nasce da te.*” This she delivered with a grandeur of voice, a chasteness of style, and a depth of feeling, which evinced that she could command equally the tender and the turbulent passions. A duet with Righi, the tenor and the lover, served only to shew how Catalani could sing down her compeers. But her grand triumph was in an aria d’abilità, in the last act, “*Son Regina e son Guerriera.*” This scene, in which Assur and Semiramide mutually taunt each other with the murder of Ninus, and bandy alternate threats of vengeance, – (that scene which Rossini has worked up into the magnificent dramatic duet, commencing “*Pensa almen,*”) – was carried on by Portogallo, in the common recitativo parlante, till Semiramis bursts out with the bravura, “*I am a queen and a warrior! I laugh at your threats and defy your vengeance.*” Upon this scene the whole volume of her majestic voice, and all the resources of her art were lavished. She dropped at once the double octave (no hard feat, however, to any one, the compass of whose voice will admit of the exploit), and finally astonished all ears, by running, for the first time within the memory of opera-going man, the chromatic scale up and down. This achievement sealed her reputation. It was then new, though it has since been repeated to satiety, and even noted down as an obligato division, by Rossini, Meyerbeer, and others. Rounds of applause rewarded the daring exhibition of bad taste.

Let the artiste have justice – every new character, for many successive seasons, only served to develop fresh beauties in her singing, new powers in her action. But let it also be remembered, that as a singer she had no competitor; and that even tolerable acting had been, for years before her debut, almost unknown, except in the instance of Grassini, on the Opera boards. Had she succeeded, instead of preceding, Pasta, and Ronzi de Begnis, her reception might have been different.<sup>17</sup>

These comments form part of a season-by-season analysis of opera productions at the King’s Theatre from 1801 until 1819, and the first inklings of what has become explicit here – the suggestion that Catalani and the modern *bel canto* school established a stranglehold over the repertoire produced at the King’s Theatre – surface in his observations on the season of 1802-03: “It is only surprising (if one did not know how completely first singers rule both managers and public) that the *platitudes* of Portogallo were endured by those who had listened to the *music* of Winter”, a reference, of course, to Peter von Winter, who

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<sup>17</sup> S. D., “Chronicles of the Italian Opera in England”, *Harmonicon*, 8 (1830), 10-13, 70-73, 112-15, 196-8, 246-8 (pp. 72-3). For speculation on the identity of S. D., see Rachel Cowgill, “Wise Men from the East”, *op. cit.* On the *Harmonicon*, its content, approach, and milieu, see Leanne Langley, “The Life and Death of *The Harmonicon*: An Analysis”, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 22 (1989), 137-63.

had been engaged as house composer that season and had composed several new operas for Billington and the contralto Josephina Grassini. The notion that Catalani, like Portugal, conspired in a severe lapse of taste endorsed by the opera managers, is implied in his comments on Billington that same season:

With unlimited stores of ornament at command, Billington drew upon them, if not parsimoniously, yet with the most chastened judgment; and never for a moment left her auditors in doubt or fear whether she would successfully complete what she had daringly begun. She could have run up and down the chromatic scale better than Catalani, or any one of the *prime donne* who have followed her leading; but Billington's severe studies had taught her, that the human voice is unequal to the feat; and her good taste forbade her to astonish the ears of the groundlings with what connoisseurs would wish had remained unattempted.<sup>18</sup>

S. D. complained of the constant reiteration of "the 'flat and unprofitable' names of Portogallo, Guglielmi, and Fioravanti" in his notes on 1805-06, and declared with the disappearance of Mozart and Winter, on Billington's departure, that "the short summer of good music found too early a close".<sup>19</sup> By 1812, by which point Mozart's operas had decisively entered the repertoire (see Appendix), he was clearly keeping a score-card:

Another Catalani season, in which she sang every night except two; but in which, *mirabile dictum*, sterling good classical music prevailed in the ratio of 38 to 26. Twenty-four nights of Mozart, and two of his finest operas; fourteen nights of Paer, Cimarosa, and Paisiello; while, on the other hand, only two Semiramides and four Fanaticos.<sup>20</sup>

The reviews included in the Appendix here, show that S. D.'s was not an isolated voice: writing in 1829, he was viewing the seasons retrospectively, yet his opinions echo those that had begun to be heard in the *Examiner*, a radical weekly literary review established in 1808 by the brothers Leigh and John Hunt; daily newspapers of a Whiggish complexion, such as the *Morning Chronicle*; and the increasingly liberal *Times*.<sup>21</sup> Around 1808, critical opinion had started to turn against Portugal and, his principal patron in London, Catalani.

We might be forgiven, today, for taking these negative evaluations of Portugal and his Italian contemporaries at face value: because the works of the modern *bel canto* school have not kept their place in the operatic repertoire, and

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<sup>18</sup> *Id.*, 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*, 71.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, 114.

<sup>21</sup> On the *Examiner*, its politics and context, see Theodore Fenner's excellent study *Leigh Hunt and Opera Criticism: The "Examiner" Years, 1808-1821*, Laurence, Manhattan, and Wichita, University Press of Kansas, 1972. On the *Morning Chronicle*, *The Times*, and other newspapers of the period, see John S. North (ed.), *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals 1800-1900*, Waterloo, Ontario, North Waterloo Academic Press, 1997-[www.victorianperiodicals.com](http://www.victorianperiodicals.com).

Mozart's operas were elevated to 'classic' status a matter of years after their first London performances, there has been little incentive to consider the possibility of an alternative view. Studying the music criticism of early nineteenth-century London in detail, however, reveals three important considerations: (i) that London's reception of the music of Mozart, Portugal and others, was strongly influenced by the emergence of a new breed of professional middle-class music journalist, with a particular agenda to promote; (ii) that a cluster of inter-related binary oppositions was constructed and influential in determining the tone and character of a wide range of writing, in the category of opera criticism, published in the London newspaper and periodical press during this period; and (iii) that principal among these was the construction of the modern *bel canto* school as a foil to or aesthetic antithesis of Mozart, whose works commentators were becoming increasingly doubtful would ever see the light of day at the King's Theatre.<sup>22</sup> A letter published in the *Monthly Magazine* and dated 14 February 1811 from the amateur musician and hosiery manufacturer William Gardiner, for example, deplored the absence of Mozart's sublime and "intellectual pleasures" at the King's Theatre in these terms: "We are still doomed to listen to the effeminate strains of Italy, and the nursery-songs of Pucito [*sic*], while the gorgeous and terrific Don Juan, and the beautiful Clemenza di Tito, lie unopened and unknown to thousands". A contrast is drawn here in heavily gendered terms, between the cerebral Mozart, whose music represents "the highest of all intellectual pleasures", and his infantilised, feminised 'other' – Vincenzo Pucitta, representing the modern *bel canto* school.<sup>23</sup>

It was not until 1812, six seasons after her arrival in London, that Catalani first performed in a Mozart opera – as Vitellia in *La clemenza di Tito*, a production timed to coincide with the Pantheon première of Acts I and II of *Figaro*, mentioned

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<sup>22</sup> Relations between the press and the opera house were demonstrably close: William Ayrton (1777-1858), who wrote music criticism for the *Morning Chronicle* and for the *Examiner* (see above), was appointed music director for the King's Theatre in 1816 and staged the immensely successful first London production of *Don Giovanni* the following season. In a letter written on 14 October 1816 to James Perry, proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, whilst in Paris to recruit singers, Ayrton discusses his engagements for the theatre in detail as well as the state of the French economy. See *GB-Lam*, Accession no. 2004.1423 [available online <<http://www.ram.ac.uk/emuweb/pages/ram/Display.php?irn=4090&QueryPage=Query.php>>, accessed 25 January 2009]. Written congratulations from Perry on the opening night of Ayrton's *Don Giovanni*, and advice on musical and dramatic aspects of the production from Thomas Massa Alsager, who penned music criticism for *The Times*, have survived in a volume of Ayrton's correspondence, *GB-Lbl* Add. MSS. 52335, f.158, and 52339, ff.184-6. Ayrton would go on to found the *Harmonicon* in 1823 (see note 17 above). For further discussion of these and related points, see Cowgill, "'Wise men from the East'", "Mozart Productions and the Emergence of *Werktreue*", and "'Such scientific and profound harmonies': The Italian Opera Orchestra and Early Performances of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in London", in Niels Martin Jensen & Franco Piperno (eds.), *The Opera Orchestra in 18th- and 19th-century Europe: II. The Orchestra in the Theatre – Composers, Works, and Performances*, Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008, 1-20.

<sup>23</sup> *Monthly Magazine; or, British Register*, 31 (1811), 133-5 (p. 135). Of Catalani, however, he says: "I have experienced with delight the indescribable impression which Catalani imparts to the movement of her voice; but the effect is too evanescent to be caught, and too perceptible to be lost, even in the ears of dullness. If I appeal to my recollection for an idea, I would call it a capricious and happy derangement of time and place. In vain may the Croyphæus [*sic*] of the band attempt to follow her through these scintillations of voice; his powers are great, and though he is the first star of the constellation in which he shines, yet his light is lost in the splendour of this divine luminary" (133-4).

above – and her performance as Susanna in the King’s Theatre production of *Figaro* three months later was considered similarly successful (see Appendix). As we have seen, the King’s Theatre generally followed the tastes of its prima donna in selecting works for performance each season, and Mozart’s operas were generally not popular among Italian singers at this time. His merging of the serious and the comic made some of his roles, especially the *mezzo carattere* Count Almaviva and Don Giovanni, unsympathetic to Italian singers who specialised in one genre or the other (and confusing to London patrons who favoured the Metastasian *opera seria*);<sup>24</sup> and his casting of principal male roles for a baritone rather than a tenor was equally problematic at a time when this vocal category was not widely acknowledged or developed, and when the hierarchy of performers, and performers’ tessituras, were expected to mirror the relative social status of the *dramatis personae*. Tramezzani justified his refusal to perform the role of Almaviva on these grounds, as witnessed in the exchange of letters in *The Times*, during March 1813 (see Appendix); but it seems that at the heart of the matter for him, was not just his dislike of *mezzo carattere* roles and their unsuitable vocal range, but also his discomfort in the role of anti-hero, for critics perceived in him a fundamental nobility of bearing and demeanour – “To a manly, though limited tenor voice, he added an extremely handsome person, and a noble style of action”.<sup>25</sup>

Mozart’s multi-section act finales required a lot of rehearsal, calling on ensemble skills that rarely formed a significant part of an Italian singer’s training; and the richness and complexity of his orchestral accompaniments and harmonies were viewed as encroachments both on the ‘unity of the melody’ and on the traditional liberties enjoyed by the principal singer: as Thomas Massa Alsager observed in *The Times*, “It has been urged as a defect in the works of this extraordinary man, by the admirers and partisans of the Italian school, that he frequently overwhelms the voice with a mass of accompaniment, which either renders it inefficient altogether, or makes it of secondary importance” (21 April 1817).<sup>26</sup> With regard to Catalani, one commentator, the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, testified that she “detested” Mozart’s music because of the lack of opportunity his arias afforded for spontaneous rubato and for the florid, improvised ornamentation she had cultivated as her speciality: according to Edgcumbe, she believed that the density and extent of Mozart’s orchestral accompaniments, “keeps the singer too much under the controul of the orchestra, and too strictly confined to time, which she is apt to violate”.<sup>27</sup> Significantly, in this context, the only aria by Mozart that Catalani ever adopted as a portmanteau item in England (except for her own

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<sup>24</sup> Mozart’s operas were often billed as “semiserio” or “eroicomico” in early nineteenth-century Europe, see for example the advertisement for *Figaro*, “the favourite grand heroi-comic opera”, at the King’s Theatre in *The Times* (8 March 1813). For Richard, Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, however, who was representative of many of the older generation of subscribers, the *opera semiseria* was a “mongrel” genre, see his *Musical Reminiscences, containing an account of the Italian Opera in England from 1773*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., London, John Andrews & F. H. Wall, 1834, 119.

<sup>25</sup> S. D., *op. cit.*, 112.

<sup>26</sup> For an extended discussion of these points, see Cowgill, “Such scientific and profound harmonies”, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> *Musical Reminiscences, op. cit.*, 100.

variations on “Das klingelt so herrlich” from *Die Zauberflöte*)<sup>28</sup> was Figaro’s military aria “Non più andrai”, which she sang in concerts during return visits to London in the 1820s.<sup>29</sup> She seems to have used this number to show off the power of her voice, which Stevens observed (see above), in cutting through heavy brass-oriented orchestration; Henry Barton Baker similarly recollected, emphasizing the combative element, that it became one of her favourite feats “by mere force of lungs and volume of voice to rise above all the brasses of the orchestra”.<sup>30</sup> That Catalani was not alone in her resistance to Mozart’s operas is clear from the memoirs of Lorenzo da Ponte, who claimed he had come up against Italian opposition in 1794 during his first season as house poet at the King’s Theatre, when he had brought Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* to the manager’s attention, a score of which he had carried with him to London. (A pasticcio on Gazzaniga’s opera was produced instead, on Federici’s say so.)<sup>31</sup> The violinist Johann Peter Salomon had reportedly encountered similar objections to his proposal of Mozart’s *La clemenza di Tito* from 1799 onwards, until Elizabeth Billington superseded Brigitta Banti as prima donna, and as we have seen, selected the work for her benefit night in 1806, using a score loaned to her by the Prince of Wales.<sup>32</sup> Writing in 1818, the English composer and lecturer William Crotch summed up the attitude of the singers neatly:

Italian singers, even after they had begun to acknowledge the merits of Mozart could not be indifferent to their own opportunities of attraction – [...] a Catalani or a Banti would naturally prefer an opera of Cimarosa, or Paisiello, (in which the whole attention of y<sup>e</sup> audience would be rivetted [*sic*] to her voice) to any of Mozart’s (in w<sup>ch</sup> all the singers are of nearly equal importance & the instruments of no less consequence than the voices).<sup>33</sup>

For singers like Catalani, Mozart’s interest in the dramatic and expressive potential of the opera orchestra violated the *bel canto* principle of the “unity of the melody” (that nothing should undermine the supremacy of the vocal line), hence, while to date I have found no evidence to corroborate Edgcumbe’s claim that she actually “detested” Mozart, she certainly seems to have *preferred* the work of

<sup>28</sup> Catalani sang these variations in concerts and interpolated them into her roles at the King’s Theatre, for example in Act II of Fioravanti’s *Il virtuoso in puntiglio* on 31 May 1808 (see review, *The Times* (1 June 1808)). Interestingly, Stevens (as we have seen) did not believe she had the musical technique to pen this set of variations, and thought she must have had assistance from a composer.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, the first of Catalani’s subscription concerts at the Argyll Rooms in 1822 (24 April), as advertised in *The Times* (23 April 1822).

<sup>30</sup> Henry Barton Baker, *The London Stage: Its History and Traditions from 1576 to 1888*, 2 vols, London, W. H. Allen, 1889, I, 249.

<sup>31</sup> Elisabeth Abbott (trans.), *Memoirs of Lorenzo Da Ponte, Mozart’s Librettist*, New York, Dover, 1959, 251.

<sup>32</sup> C. O., “To the Editor”, in *Dramatic Censor*, London, G. Brimmer, 1811, 283-6 (p. 284), see Appendix (p. XX). The wording of this passage might in fact indicate that Salomon was proposing *La Clemenza di Tito* even earlier, from 1794.

<sup>33</sup> William Crotch, “Lecture VI. 2<sup>nd</sup> Act of Don Giovanni [1818]”, Norfolk Record Office, MS. 11232.



contemporary Italian composers who were willing to offer a string of exhibition arias supported by transparent orchestral textures. Analysis of the King's Theatre repertoire during the years of her supremacy at the King's Theatre – see Table – shows quite clearly a favouring of P. C. Guglielmi, Pucitta, and Portugal. And Portugal's "Son regina", the dazzling bravura aria from his *Semiramide*, became one of Catalani's most popular and frequently performed items in her concerts throughout the British Isles.

Prima donna →	Billington & Grassini			Catalani					
Composer ↓	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812
Andreozzi	1:19	1:9							
J. C. Bach		1:13	1:5						
Bianchi		1:7							
Cimarosa	1:6	1:9	1:11		1:1				1:2
Farinelli						1:2			
Federici								1:12	
Fioravanti			2:4		2:8	1:10	1:4		
P. A. Guglielmi	1:13	1:4							
P. C. Guglielmi				<b>2:12</b>	<b>3:30</b>	1:1			
Martín y Soler	1:6	1:3							
Mayer			1:7	1:8	1:5	1:1	1:6	1:4	1:4
Mozart			1:6					2:14	2:24
Nasolini			1:7	1:4	1:10				
Paer				1:14			1:4		1:6
Paisiello	2:2			1:6	4:26	1:3		1:8	1:8
Piccinni							1:5		
Portugal	1:3		1:9	3:37	1:12	1:1		1:3	1:2
Pucitta						4:42	1:12	<b>2:14</b>	2:20
Radicati								1:6	
Sarti					1:3				
Tramezzani							1:1		
Trento				1:3				1:6	
Winter	3:30	3:23	2:13						
[ <i>pasticcio</i> ]							1:11		

Table: Repertoire produced at the King's Theatre between 1804 and 1812 during the supremacy of prima donnas Elizabeth Billington, Joséphine Grassini, and Angelica Catalani. The selection of works clearly reflects Billington's preference for the German school and Catalani's favouring of the modern Italians.

The left figure of each pair refers to the number of operas by that composer given during that season; the right gives the total number of performances of those works. Figures are emboldened where a composer was engaged as house composer to the King's Theatre. (Since several seasons did not begin until January, each season is referred to here by the year in which most performances took place.) Data derived from a survey of King's Theatre advertisements in the daily press and other sources, see list in Appendix.



Figure: "Madame Catalani in Semiramide, her first Appearance in England, Dec<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup>, 1806. Drawn, Etch<sup>d</sup> & Pub<sup>d</sup> by Dighton, 27 New Bond Street, Dec<sup>r</sup> 1806." Original engraving at the Victoria and Albert Museum, reproduced by permission. Compare with James Lonsdale's portrait of Catalani in this role, Royal Academy of Music (*GB-Lam*), York Gate Collections, Accession no. 2003.939 [available online <<http://www.ram.ac.uk/emuweb/pages/ram/Display.php?irn=10505&QueryPage=%2Femuweb%2Fpages%2Fram%2FQuery.php>>, accessed 25 January 2009]

Much of the debate between the advocates of the modern *bel canto* composers and those who craved Mozart's entry into the King's Theatre repertoire revolved around the concepts of 'nature' and 'science', which were mapped onto notions of Italianness and Germanness respectively. As we have seen, critics considered it entirely appropriate to admire the 'science', or compositional mastery and contrapuntal technique of Portugal in 1803 and 1806; but by the 1810s, the term 'scientific' was reserved principally for discussions of the German school, by many of the most active critics, though not always in a complimentary sense, as can be seen in a review printed by *The Times* (5 March 1812) in response to a performance of *La clemenza di Tito* (see Appendix). Here, in the critic's view, Mozart's continual demonstration of technique and adventurous but learned harmony was too much for the general listener, and needed leavening with numbers composed in a

more simple and ‘natural’ style. For the ‘Italian’ camp, the *galant* lightness of texture, and emphasis on the single melodic line of a composer like Portugal produced a more ‘natural’ form of musical expression; for the ‘Mozart’ camp, however, this amounted to shallowness, insipidity, and nothing more than musical ‘platitudes’. Conversely, for the ‘Mozart’ camp, Mozart’s development of the orchestral palette, harmonic inventiveness, and sophistication of his accompaniments were demonstration of a profound technique and understanding of the orchestra’s dramatic, illustrative, and expressive potential; whereas for the ‘Italian’ camp it represented an over-encumbrance of the melody (which was both the domain of genius and the main carrier of the expressive content of the music in the *bel canto* tradition), and a valorisation of compositional technique over matters that should have been more important. For some commentators, however, Mozart was able to achieve a unique blend of the best of both the Italian and the German traditions: as the *Morning Chronicle* put it, regarding the same performance of *La clemenza di Tito* as *The Times* remarked on above, “It is not the man of science only, but the man of nature also, who is moved and gratified by the eloquence of Mozart” (5 March 1812).

It is important to emphasise at this point in the discussion that the notions of Italianness and Germanness, in this debate, amounted to a complex of aesthetic characteristics rather than mere projections of the composer’s place of origin – this is clearly conveyed by a comment published in the *Morning Chronicle*, following a production of Rossini’s *Elisabetta, regina d’Inghilterra* in London in 1818:

Music, of the pure Italian school, declined with Paisiello: Cimarosa and Mayer began to Germanize it, and Zingarelli adopted the same mixed style. The Italians were thus, by stealth, initiated in the taste for grandeur of accompaniment, and though they refused admittance, or received coldly, the works of Haydn and Mozart, both Germans, yet they secretly confessed, and silently admired, the great and novel effects of their compositions. Rossini has had the adroitness to take advantage of this change in the taste of his countrymen, and released them from the thralldom in which national vanity held their opinion. He has introduced into Italy the German school of accompaniment; but then he is an Italian, and thus a veil is thrown over a truth which would have been intolerable had it been abruptly and undisguisedly exposed to view. Rossini therefore, is entitled to the credit of duly appreciating, and boldly adopting, a style in which Handel, the Bachs, Haydn, and Mozart have shone so resplendently.<sup>34</sup>

These constructed polarities – ‘Italian’ vs ‘German’ and ‘science’ vs ‘nature’ – were also charged with tensions between the event-oriented aesthetics of opera production, carried over from the previous century, and a more work-oriented ideal, which was increasingly associated with Mozart during the 1810s and 20s in London.<sup>35</sup> Whilst critics tended to focus on the performers, particularly Catalani,

<sup>34</sup> Review of Rossini’s *Elisabetta, regina d’Inghilterra*, King’s Theatre, Fodor’s benefit performance, 30 April 1818, *Morning Chronicle* (4 May 1818).

<sup>35</sup> For a discussion of this shift, see Rachel Cowgill, “Mozart Productions”, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

in their reviews of *bel canto* works, in their attentions to Mozart they were increasingly critical of interferences with the composer's intentions (as they understood them to be) – singers' licences with the ordering, inclusion or exclusion, and interpolation of vocal numbers, and their customary variation of the vocal line as it was represented in the score by the addition of ornaments. "The text" – and they spoke about the idealised score in these terms from the 1810s – was increasingly held up as authoritative and not to be departed from in any way. The 1811 productions of *Così fan tutte* and *Il flauto magico* (*Die Zauberflöte* in Giovanni De Gamerra's translation) were heavily altered, but the 1817 production of *Don Giovanni* set out deliberately to offer a more *Werkgetreu* rendition of Mozart's score, reflecting perhaps the ideas of E. T. A. Hoffmann, who from 1815 argued "that *Don Giovanni* will always appear mangled and mutilated if it is not given according to the original score".<sup>36</sup> (In reality, of course, with *Don Giovanni* things are not so simple.) And it is at performances of Mozart's works in the 1820s that we first start to find accounts of audience members at the King's Theatre following copies of 'the score', which they had brought with them for that very purpose, particularly in the most complex or 'scientific' moments of the opera – for example, the superimposition of different dance metres and rhythms in the ballroom-scene Finale of Act III.<sup>37</sup>

In the context of opera criticism in early nineteenth-century London, Marcos Portugal suffered from his connections with Catalani, who came to personify many of the 'excesses' the new breed of 'middle-class' critic sought to curtail. Additionally, critiquing Catalani – inseparable from her warhorse aria, Semiramis's "Son regina e son guerriera" ("I am a queen, I am a warrior!") – offered a means of articulating a form of radical politics in the years of political tension leading up to the Act of Reform of 1832, which extended the franchise. Some of the most detailed, extensive, and most explicitly pro-Mozart criticism of the time appeared in the pages of the *Examiner*, whose editor Leigh Hunt spent several months in Horsemonger Lane Gaol for criticising the Prince Regent's excesses in the pages of his periodical.<sup>38</sup> Opera criticism was taken up as a relatively safe medium through which middle-class literary men could engage in political and social critique, the majority of subscribers to the opera of course belonging to 'old money' – the landed elite. Even in the context of a review of Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*, Hunt, for example, pauses to unleash an excoriating attack on Metastasio, whom he presents as a smirking, unctuous courtier:

Here, as he wrote patriotism at Rome to please the countrymen of Cato, he wrote despotism to please the successors of the Cæsars [...]. Here is true Laureat [sic] religion: – the getting on at one court, as people get on at

<sup>36</sup> Review in *Dramaturgisches Wochenblatt*, 14 (7 October 1815), in David Charlton (ed., trans. Martyn Clarke), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, 397-401. Leigh Hunt was evidently familiar with A. W. Schlegel's writings on tragedy. See his review of *Così fan tutte*, *Examiner* (4 August 1816), quoted in the Appendix.

<sup>37</sup> See Rachel Cowgill, "Wise Men from the East", *op. cit.*, 63-64.

<sup>38</sup> See Theodore Fenner, *Leigh Hunt and Opera Criticism*, *op. cit.*, 32.

another; – the old degrading notion of the Deity as a dispenser of favours upon application, and a threatener of interminable horrors. Now true virtue and religion we conceive to be as different from all this, as equity and humanity are.<sup>39</sup>

This puts a new complexion on the following passage by Henry Robertson, for example, which preceded his review of Bertinotti's benefit production of *Così fan tutte*, again in the *Examiner* (19 May 1811):

From her ambition to outshine others, [Catalani] prefers the works of those servile composers who, depending for their existence on her smiles or frowns, are ready in all respects to conform to her will, by keeping the rest of the performers in the background, and rendering the accompaniments of the orchestra too insignificant to share with her the admiration of the audience.

And with comments such as S. D.'s for the *Harmonicon* – that Catalani “was too mighty to be controlled, and [...] patronised no good music till the public voice compelled her to *honour* Mozart”<sup>40</sup> – it becomes clear that Catalani (as Portugal's Semiramis in particular) came to stand for the perceived political evils, not so much of Napoleon, as of the *ancien régime*.

Portugal's music having faded from memory soon after Catalani's departure for the Continent (with the exception of the mysterious *Barsene, regina di Lidia* introduced by Marianna Sessi in 1815), and operatic performance practices having changed so radically around this time, almost all that we have in the way of sources to gauge the significance and appeal of Portugal's operas in London are the newspaper and periodical reports of his works in production. As I have shown, however, these are shot through with aesthetic, political, and musical oppositions – of science *vs* nature, voice *vs* orchestra, German *vs* Italian, Whig *vs* Tory, Billington *vs* Catalani, and so on. The impression we glean from this body of criticism – of Portugal, of Mozart too, of the music of their time, and of succeeding generations – is seriously distorted, potentially, as a result. What I am advocating here, based on reading and rereading this criticism over a period of years, is the need to look again at some of our “received opinion” on *bel canto* opera pre-Rossini, with a willingness to read “against the grain”, against what may be our own preconceptions of Mozart, Portugal, and their relative worth, towards a clearer understanding of the ways in which their works interacted and interconnected in the performance, reception, and culture of opera in early nineteenth-century Europe.

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<sup>39</sup> *Examiner* (27 July 1817).

<sup>40</sup> S. D., *op. cit.*, 13.



## **A Vingança da Cigana: o diálogo do repertório lírico com o imaginário do teatro de cordel**

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A zona da Ribeira foi o cenário escolhido para *A Vingança da Cigana*,<sup>1</sup> e claro que essa opção não foi um mero acaso: ao mostrar como pano de fundo a faina à volta do cais, o exercício ordinário de embarques, as gentes e as embarcações que diariamente se movimentavam por Lisboa, seus autores já davam indícios da busca por um contexto bastante popular; a própria caracterização dos personagens é também exemplo disso, e seu foco recai sobre figuras tão típicas nesse ambiente quanto o vendedor de peixe, o marujo, a cigana, os “falsos estrangeiros”, os barbeiros, os criados das casas de família e os negros que se dividiam entre os trabalhos pesados e mal-remunerados e a alegre vadiagem; mais do que isso, a busca dos códigos de uma forma de comunicação tão popular na altura quanto a leitura dos folhetos que ficavam expostos para venda, pendurados num cordel, e que se vendia por quase toda a Lisboa setecentista.

Era ali na Ribeira que os brancos livres se misturavam aos negros escravos ou forros, e comiam juntos nas barracas e bodegas o peixe que chegava do mar, um costume que remontava ao século XVI e perdurara até o século XIX. Também nesse meio se podia observar o afloramento dos cantos e danças de suas culturas originárias, bem como as diferentes línguas, numa natural expansão de suas identidades.

Maria José Moutinho Santos evidencia em sua dissertação de mestrado sobre o folheto de cordel no século XVIII, que nas pequenas peças de teatro cuja acção se desenrola nos meios da pequena e média burguesia urbana e onde galegos, negros, criados, regateiras e colarejas são representados, a utilização da sua linguagem com suas formas de expressão própria, retratam os meios populares da Lisboa daquele tempo, criando uma imediata identificação do público com essas imagens.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *A Vingança da Cigana*, libreto de Domingos Caldas Barbosa, música de António Leal Moreira, estreada no Teatro de São Carlos, em Lisboa, em 1794. [Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Maria José Moutinho Santos, *O Folheto de Cordel: mulher, família e sociedade no Portugal do século XVIII (1750-1800)*, [texto policopiado], Dissertação de Mestrado em História Moderna apresentada à Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Porto, [s.n.], 1987, 161.

E é principalmente através do texto que os autores de *A Vingança da Cigana* conseguiram consumir de maneira mais concreta o diálogo com a “literatura de cordel”.

O entremez ou farsa tiveram uma dimensão muito significativa dentro do teatro de cordel e podem servir de termo de referência para os paralelos que buscamos estabelecer, mesmo sem que nos preocupemos em estabelecer fronteiras rígidas entre os géneros.

Carlos Nogueira, ao sintetizar *O Essencial sobre a Literatura de Cordel Portuguesa*,<sup>3</sup> refere que o entremez

consistia quase sempre numa peça curta que explorava, por vezes com acuidade cómico-satírica de recorte moral mais ou menos sincero, os multiformes flagrantos da vida real, conferindo-lhes um teor abertamente burlesco, através da linguagem utilizada, das situações expostas e das personagens apresentadas.<sup>4</sup>

Buscava-se personagens que fizessem parte de um quotidiano genuinamente nacional, cujo comportamento pudesse servir de exemplo moral ao público. Era assim que surgiam caracterizados, de maneira muitas vezes insólita, personagens que se revelavam através de seus nomes, das idades, das atitudes e dos vícios, das modas e do comportamento: Geronte (velho), Amandio (amante de Filisbina), Quiquo não me arranhes, Reduvalho da desconsolação, Presumida (vizinha), Tافل (Peralta), Delicada (Regateira), Gurumete (Marujo), Mariposa (mãe das duas peraltas), Saudade e Clarice (Peraltas namoradas), Bonifrate e Petimetre (tafuis e amantes), D. Curuja (mãe), Severo (pai), Doutor Pacóvio (marido de D. Bisnaga), Trapolas (velho trabalhador), D. Trapaça (filha do dito), D. Lesbia (esposa), Zabumba (preto), Monsieur Perruquier (cabeleireiro francês), Leopoldo Mija Empé (vilão rústico), Doutor Pança Tartaruga Safado (letrado), Petimetre (Paralta), e Franxinote (Paralta), dentre muitos outros. Fernanda Menéndez esclarece o objectivo de tais nomes:

De um modo geral, os tipos aparecem delineados ou no início do texto (por exemplo Entremez da Desgraçada Perallice) ou na lista de personagens, quer sendo introduzidos por sinédoques: Galego, Marujo, Preto, etc., quer figurando com antropónimos cujo semantismo indica a sua função no enredo. Assim, uma criada, metediça e ensarilhadeira, cuja tarefa principal é ajudar a ama mais nova a fazer gorar os planos do patrão, pode chamar-se DELAMBIDA ou LAMBISGOIA; [...]<sup>5</sup>

Seguem-se, no Quadro 1, alguns exemplos de nomes destinados aos criados de casa, encontrados em diferentes entremezes:

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<sup>3</sup> Carlos Nogueira, *O Essencial Sobre a Literatura de Cordel Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2004.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, 93.

<sup>5</sup> Fernanda Miranda Menéndez, *Vocabulário do Teatro de Cordel: a “marítima proza”*, [texto policopiado], Dissertação de mestrado em Linguística Portuguesa Histórica, apresentada à Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1988, 37.



Nomes típicos de criados	
Masculinos	Femininos
Almário, criado de Elmireno	Guarda-roupa, criada de Astréa
Paspalhão	Lambigoia
Disfarce	Torrada
Galguete	Marioneta
Salafrário	Lambisqueira
Palurdo	Maçaroca
Lambão	Ladina
Peteiro	Marrafinha
Carrapato	Campinha

Quadro 1

Ora, se observarmos a apresentação dos personagens que compõem *A Vingança da Cigana*, teremos:

<i>A Vingança da Cigana</i> – Caracterização dos personagens	
Pepa, a Cigana	soprano
Monsieur Pierre, cabeleireiro	tenor
Tarelo, vendelhão de peixe, marujo	baixo
Chibante, sargento	barítono
Grilo, mestre barbeiro amante de Lambisca	barítono
Camila, viúva garrida	mezzo soprano
Lambisca, sua criada	soprano
Cazumba, preto, companheiro de Tarelo	baixo

Quadro 2

Nessa obra surge uma Lambisca como criada, a exemplo do que antes já fora usado em *O novo, e gracioso drama Os suspiros da dama, porque nam foi ver os touros*,<sup>6</sup> de 1785, onde surge a criada Lambisqueira, referida por Tinhorão.<sup>7</sup> Esse nome sugere alguém muito mexeriqueiro, bisbilhoteiro, intrigante, chocalheiro.

Mas ao tentar compor Lambisca, é claro que não podemos deixar de nos remeter também à herança da criada ladina da *commedia dell'arte*, ou mesmo à Susanna de *As bodas de Fígaro*, de Mozart, (estreada em Viena em 1786) ou à Serpina de *La serva padrona*, de Pergolesi (estreada em Nápoles em 1733). No entanto, é o próprio nome de Lambisca que não nos deixa dúvida de qual a sua origem declarada.

Temos também um Monsieur Pierre como cabeleireiro, a exemplo do Monsieur Perruquier, cabeleireiro francês do *Entremez intitulado O caloteiro ensinado*, de 1791.<sup>8</sup> Nosso cabeleireiro de mulheres faz os penteados à marrafe, e sua pretensão é se passar por alguém muito viajado, cidadão do mundo que domina várias línguas e culturas. Vejamos o texto da sua ária:

<sup>6</sup> *Novo, e Gracioso Drama, Intitulado Os Suspiros da Dama, Porque Nam Foi Ver os Touros*, Lisboa, Offic. de Domingos Gonsalves, 1785, 16.

<sup>7</sup> José Ramos Tinhorão, *Os Negros em Portugal: Uma presença silenciosa*, Lisboa, Editora Caminho, Coleção Universitária, (2ª ed.) 1988, 322.

<sup>8</sup> *Entremez Intitulado O Caloteiro Ensinado*, Lisboa, Offic. de Antonio Gomes, 1791, 15.

Vede Napoli, e poi mori  
Tutto il mondo lo dirá  
Ma Pariz cette grand Ville  
Ah Monsieur, Monsieur helás!  
A London mai dir, mai love  
Mim gostar muito de estar  
En Madrid las tiranitas  
Oh que gusto singular.  
Porém las Portuguezitas  
São bellezas de incantar  
Già mi scarda il lungo corso  
Tulherias, e Vokxal  
Arangués tinha esquecido  
Tudo esquece em Portugal.<sup>9</sup>

O personagem de Monsieur Pierre é um parente próximo do peralta do tipo “faceira”, antepassado do “França”, que Júlio Dantas ao publicar *O Amor em Portugal no século XVIII* ajudaria a definir como sendo um nobre inculto e de trejeitos afrancesados, que prima pelo vazio e pela futilidade.<sup>10</sup> Passa o dia no toucador, cuidando da sua imagem, cantarolando e declamando versos: Monsieur Pierre pertence a uma classe trabalhadora diferenciada, a dos cabeleireiros, mas incorpora toda a afectação de um faceira e, no fundo, não passa de um tonto, que mal consegue se exprimir em português.

Era natural que um dos alvos preferidos das críticas sociais da literatura de cordel recaísse sobre peraltas e sécias, uma espécie de caricatura estereotipada dos homens e mulheres pretensamente elegantes, que muitas vezes não conseguiam escapar ao ridículo, às situações parasitárias e aos modismos. A criação dos personagens no teatro de cordel vai estar intimamente ligada a isso.

Casquilho, chichibéu, França, francelho, sécia ou chibante também eram termos utilizados como sinónimo de peralta e surgem nas mais diversas situações, reflectindo esse olhar crítico.

Também encontramos em *A Vingança da Cigana* um personagem de nome Chibante. É verdade que esse tipo de sargento fanfarrão já estava presente na tradição da *opera buffa* e podemos vê-lo associado a árias de bravura em diversas obras, mesmo até muito depois, como por exemplo em *L'elisir d'amore*, de Donizetti.

Contudo, no cordel também há esse tipo de personagem e Marta Salazar Norton identifica a figura do “Chibantão” em sua dissertação de mestrado *Espelho de Vaidades: o Peralta e a Moda na Literatura de Cordel Portuguesa*.<sup>11</sup> Trata-se de

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<sup>9</sup> Lereno Secinuntino [= Domingos Caldas Barbosa], *A Vingança da Cigana: drama jocoserio de hum só acto, para se representar no real Theatro de S. Carlos, pela companhia italiana, offerecido ao publico por Domingos Caporalini no dia do seu beneficio*, Lisboa, Na Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1794, 10-11.

<sup>10</sup> Júlio Dantas, *O Amor em Portugal no Século XVIII*, Porto, Livraria Chardron, 2.<sup>a</sup> ed., 1917, 368.

<sup>11</sup> Marta Pinhal Neves Salazar Norton, *Espelho de Vaidades: o peralta e a moda na literatura de cordel portuguesa – 1781-1789*, [texto policopiado], Dissertação de Mestrado em Estudos Portugueses e Brasileiros da Universidade do Porto, Porto, 2000, 234.

um tipo similar ao peralta, mas com uma dose extra de orgulho e imponência. Pode-se encontrar um exemplo desse personagem na *Piquena pessa intitulada O ópio das marrafinhas, ao marujo, e ao soldado, ou os amantes logrados*, de 1791.

E outro não era o nosso Chibante: sargento do exército, conquistador apaixonado, gabarolas e impulsivo, quiçá um modinheiro de fama. Seu grande amor por Pepa leva-o ao delírio e tenta esmagar ferozmente o seu rival. Claro, de preferência quando este se encontra ausente. Chibante é o seu nome e o seu carácter: briga mas ao mesmo tempo cobardola. O termo “chibança” está associado a “presunção de valentia”.

Na cena XIV da obra em estudo, pode-se observar essa componente de valentia e a mistura de sentimentos que se traduz numa fala que reflecte uma alternância ambígua de estados de espírito:

*Chibante* Decidí finalmente, hei de matallo:

Não ha outro remedio,  
Se ele me não ceder, Pepa querida,  
Á ponta desta espada acabe a vida.  
[...]  
Mas eu que digo? Amor me tornou louco.  
Hum Portuguez brioso, hum bom soldado,  
Só tira da bainha o ferro illustre  
Em defença do Rei, honra da Pátria,  
E hum marujo que honra me faria,  
Se eu me disse [*sic*] com elle a minha espada?  
Nada de ferro, nada...  
Quem me dera encontrar o tal Tarelo,  
Que mesmo a pontapés hei de moelo.

[Ária]

Morre infame, acaba, morre. (*Investindo com Grilo, que vai recuando muito assustado*)

A meu ódio em vão te esquivas,  
Não he justo, não, que vivas,  
Minha paz vens perturbar.  
Ah! Perdoa, caro amigo: [(para Grilo)]  
Nada ouço, nada vejo,  
E não sei mesmo o que digo;  
Fogo arde me consume,  
He frenetico o ciume,  
Que me obriga a delirar.<sup>12</sup>

Outro carácter é o de Grilo, o barbeiro, um personagem com um grande ideal: não trabalhar. Viver sem fazer nada e ao mesmo tempo ser bem tratado pela sua

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<sup>12</sup> Secinuntino, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

mulherzinha. Jogar às cartas com os seus vizinhos é para ele a melhor fonte de proventos.

Ja me apura a paciencia  
O traveço de Cupido,  
Morro já por ser marido,  
Arrebento por casar:  
Ter mulher, e dar partida,  
Agoa, assucar, pão, manteiga,  
E a mulher mui branda, e meiga  
Para o jogo convidar:  
Vem, Visinha, vem Visinhos,  
Trinta e hum, e Voltaretes,  
O Pacáo, Lasca, e Tres setes,  
Então cahem os patinhos,  
Não preciso trabalhar.<sup>13</sup>

Esta fundamental aspiração do nosso barbeiro, expressa em sua ária, encontra cabimento no significado do seu nome: um popular simpático que vive de expedientes sem grandes trabalhos. Em suma, o tradicional “João Grilo”, pícaro anti-herói saído do conto popular português directamente para a literatura de cordel, que mais tarde será fartamente explorado no Brasil até os dias actuais. Ainda hoje a tradição do cordel é uma prática viva no Nordeste brasileiro, onde o mito do João Grilo sobrevive e seu exemplo mais próximo e conhecido está no *Auto da Compadecida*, de Adriano Suassuna, que recentemente saltou para as telas do cinema.

Francisco Topa<sup>14</sup> se encarregou de traçar seu percurso saído do conto popular português, numa viagem oblíqua que passa pelos contos de adivinhação, pelo conto maravilhoso, onde era um tipo de herói algo desclassificado, passivo, resignado e oportunista, até ao picaresco João Grilo do cordel brasileiro, uma espécie de Pedro Malasartes, com propensão para pregar partidas, com intenção satírica ou por mera brincadeira.

Mas se voltarmos um pouco atrás, veremos que Chibante e Monsieur Pierre não são os únicos peraltas presentes em *A Vingança da Cigana*: há uma correspondente feminina – Camila – ela própria uma autêntica sécia, que assume todos os comportamentos típicos de seu papel, desde a busca alucinada por um novo casamento, já que é uma mulher viúva, até o assumir da prática do chichisbéu, hábito sobre a qual muito se falou nos entremezes.

Em sua dissertação sobre o peralta e a moda na literatura de cordel, Marta Norton define o chichisbéu como um peralta acostumado na arte de acompanhar, servir, galantear e namorar as damas.

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<sup>13</sup> Secinuntino, *op. cit.*, 12-13.

<sup>14</sup> Francisco Topa, “A História de João Grilo: do conto popular português ao cordel brasileiro”, in *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto* (separata), Línguas e Literaturas, Porto, [s. n.], 1995, XII, 29.

A chichisbea é geralmente, em Portugal, uma mulher solteira ou viúva, raramente casada, que procura este homem jovem e de distinta apresentação, para com ela fazer par nas suas deslocações e exibicionismos públicos, em assembleias ou funções.<sup>15</sup>

O termo *sécia* pode estar associado ao *cicio*, pronúncia acentuada das sibilantes para tornar artificiosa a articulação dos sons, numa tentativa de captar o acento do falar estrangeiro.<sup>16</sup> Geralmente aparecia associado aos francesismos. Encontramos aqui outra crítica aos hábitos e aos modismos: as *sécias*, bem como os *peraltas*, costumavam se tocar à *marrafe*. Esse tipo de penteado é referido em *A Vingança da Cigana* quando Grilo canta:

Vinde, ó moças de marrafe,  
E lencinhos á crioula  
Cada face uma papoila,  
Braços prompts a amassar.<sup>17</sup>

Os cabelos à *Marrafe*, eram apenas um dos muitos penteados excêntricos usados pelos *peraltas* no Portugal setecentista. Trata-se de um penteado unissexo, que consistia no corte dos cabelos em franja à frente, deixando a cabeça a descoberto. Parte do cabelo era encrespada e tombada sobre a testa em forma de melena.

Parece pouco provável, mas a verdade é que a literatura de cordel se cansou de falar mal desse tipo de penteado. É mais uma vez Marta Norton quem nos ajuda a deslindar o termo ao pesquisar os *peraltas* e a moda na literatura de cordel, encontrando em Matos Sequeira<sup>18</sup> sua origem. António Marrafi dirigia uma companhia de baile entre 1788 e 1789, usando o cabelo riçado e caído sobre a testa. Trabalhava no Teatro do Salitre e acabou por lançar também a moda das *marrafas* masculinas.

Os cabelos à *marrafe* surgem como tema em vários entremezes. Para referir apenas alguns, citamos abaixo o *Novo entremez intitulado, A grande dezordem que teve o marido com a mulher, por não querer que trouxesse o topete á Marrafe*:

*Rozimunda*

Ralhe o senhor meu homem ou não ralhe, o tupete ha de ser cortado, he moda, e isto basta! Já me aborrecem as poupas, tenho dez todas frizadas, tendo-lhe hum odio mortal; tomara pizallas aos pés, não ha galanteria como as gadelhinhas cahidas sobre a testa, que graça não dão ao rosto! Que moda tão bem pensada! Quero com este pente debruçar os cabellos sobre a cara. *Pentea-se*,

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<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, 33.

<sup>16</sup> Marie-Hélène Piwnik (introd.), *O Anónimo – Journal Portugais du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle (1752-1754)*, Paris, FCG – Centro Cultural Português, 1979, 603. (Baseado em Antenor Nascentes, *Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa*, Rio de Janeiro, Livr. Francisco Alves, deposit. 1932-1952, 2 vols.)

<sup>17</sup> Secinuntino, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

<sup>18</sup> Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Depois do Terramoto, Subsídios para a História dos Bairros Ocidentais de Lisboa*, 4 vols., Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1967, II, 628.

*puxando o tupete para os olhos. Oh bello, fica-me bem ao parecer! E não quer o senhor meu marido que eu use tupete á Marrafe, oh la se o hei de usar!*<sup>19</sup>

No *Novo entremez intitulado A partida forçada, ou Assemblêa da moda, e os toucados á Marráfe*, de 1789, encontramos:

*Marmanjo* [...] Então agora andaõ de luto estas Meninas! Ellas trazem as caras tapadas c'os cabellos, como quem anda desgostozo no mundo!

*Dr. Pacóvio* Isto são penteados á Marráfe.

*Marmanjo* Que diz, Senhor? Ora, ora, ora o Diabo! Olhe que está galante! (*benzendo-se*) Deus me livre, e me salve de semelhantes Fantasmas! Ah Senhor Doutor? Olhe cá. (*Vem a Mossa com o Xá*) Então; diga-me: Isto tambem he Marráfe?<sup>20</sup>

Já em *Gracioza, e divertida farça ou o novo entremez intitulado A defeza das madamas a favor das suas modas, em que deixaõ convencida a paraltisse dos homens*, pode-se ver a seguinte crítica:

*Petimetre*

[...] as senhoras são excessivas nas suas modas, superiores em tudo multiplicação ao diminuto dellas hum excesso tal, que chega a ser bandalhice: primeira, humas coifas<sup>21</sup> que de principio se uzavaõ de estreitissimas fitas, e agora de taõ largas, que pessoa alguma deixará de, com justa razão, lhe fazer immensas criticas; segunda, pequenas gadelhas a que chamam Marrafês lhe pendiaõ sobre a testa, a tal crescimento depois chegaraõ, que os olhos se lhe não viaõ; [...]<sup>22</sup>

Por que esse tema incomodava tanto a ponto de marcar uma presença tão forte nos textos de cordel, e por extensão em *A Vingança da Cigana*? As pistas para essa questão parecem se revelar na seguinte referência de Júlio Dantas à figura do peralta:

No seu desejo doentio, obsessivo e pedante de copiar as modas da Corte de D. João V, inspiradas nas francesas, esta figura torna-se duplamente hilariante e característica, dada a sua pretensão em ser frança à força, na affectação, na exuberância dos trajos, da pintura e do penteado e numa postura estudada e imbecil: o seu ridículo provinha do salto brusco, da transição violenta da velha moda chamorra para a nova moda francesa.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Novo Entremez Intitulado, A Grande Dezordem que Teve o Marido com a Mulher, por Não Querer que Trouxesse o Topete á Marrafe*, Lisboa, Offic. de Antonio Gomes, [s. d., 17?], 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Novo Entremez Intitulado A Partida Forçada, ou Assemblêa da Moda, e os Toucados á Marráfe*, Lisboa, Offic. de Antonio Gomes, 1789, 9.

<sup>21</sup> *coifa* = espécie de gorro ou barrete de rede que apanhava o cabelo; *coifa avançada* = touca feminina, com a pala adiantada sobre a testa, muitas vezes adornada em ondulados e frisados.

<sup>22</sup> *Gracioza, e Divertida Farça ou o Novo Entremez Intitulado A Defeza das Madamas a Favor das suas Modas, em que Deixaõ Convencida a Paraltisse dos Homens*, Lisboa, Offic. de Antonio Gomes, 1792, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Dantas, *op. cit.*, 29-30.

Chamorro é aquele que tem a cabeça tosquiada, os cabelos tosados, curtos. Já muito anteriormente os espanhóis se referiam assim aos portugueses por estes terem adoptado o costume de cortar o cabelo, quando em Castela ainda se usavam cabelos compridos, na época de D. João I (1385-1433). Transpondo o termo para mais tarde, no século XVIII, a necessidade de adoptar novos hábitos e posturas sociais no intuito de forçar uma entrada abrupta no mundo civilizado, fez com que surgisse essa espécie híbrida de rústicos em pele de franciús.

Essas modas, dentre muitos outros modismos, vinham na esteira da vida dos salões, que eram os centros de discussão política, artística e literária nos setecentos. Poderíamos ampliar nossa visão e abarcar a questão das assembleias ou funções, um modismo também questionado nessa literatura e que igualmente encontram situações paralelas no cordel e em *A Vingança da Cigana*, mas torna-se aqui desnecessário.

Basta constatar, em suma, que há preocupações semelhantes no que tange à superficialidade no vestir, à futilidade dos modismos, seja no trajar, no tocar, na maneira de falar ou nos costumes sociais.

No entanto, há dois personagens que não podemos deixar de referir, cujo destaque se dá ao trazer para esta obra uma linguagem falada muito característica do cordel: o marujo Tarelo e o preto Cazumba.

Não bastasse o marujo ser facilmente encontrado nessa literatura, Caldas Barbosa também ali buscou o seu texto singular. Fernanda Menéndez<sup>24</sup> descreve o marujo como sendo agressivo, brigão. Geralmente investe contra um opositor, que pode ser um peralta, para conquistar a rapariga dos seus sonhos. Sua linguagem é baseada no discurso náutico, o texto funcionando como um todo simbólico. Assim, a casa pode ser um navio, a praça uma praia, qualquer lugar é um porto, e a porta uma enseada. Na sua fala está representado o jogo entre homem (o corsário) e mulher (a fragata), assim caracterizados por o corsário ser o navio que ataca, que assalta, que rouba, e a fragata ser o navio de defesa, fácil de manobrar, e que permite fugir facilmente ao inimigo. Conforme Menéndez, “Todo o discurso se reveste deste carácter duplo, com a guerra e o mar por fundo. Trata-se, no fundo, da velha história da conquista amorosa, simbolizada pela guerra, e protagonizada por marinheiros também eles pertencentes a um outro símbolo – o mar da vida.”<sup>25</sup>

A seguir, um exemplo típico desse discurso náutico:

*Vendaval*

Com o Traquete namura,  
E nos socarios as Gaveas  
Lentamente o rumo sigo  
De huma emproada fragata,  
E se o luzio he bom gageiro<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Menéndez, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> *Id.*, 60.

<sup>26</sup> *gageiro* = gajeiro: marinheiro a quem se confia o serviço de um mastro, as suas velas e vergas e respectivo aparelho.

Nas amorosas borrascas,  
Segundo a demarcaçõ [sic],  
Que ella me deo, nestas Prayas  
O ancoradoiro he  
Da fragatinha chibanta.  
Faço-me ao bordo da terra,  
Depois me porei á capa,  
E em dando sinal a torre  
De soccego [sic], e de bonança,  
Tornarei a velejar  
Para ver se encontro na barra.<sup>27</sup>

Assim, a julgar pela sua personalidade e linguajar utilizado, o nosso Tarelo parece se compor a partir desse marujo característico do cordel:

Vou eu cá no meu rumo velejando  
Tudo vai arreando<sup>28</sup>, e fica á ré;  
Nunca ninguém me pôz diante o pé<sup>29</sup>:  
Eu tomo barlavento<sup>30</sup>, e logo tudo  
Arreia a sotavento<sup>31</sup>, e vai n'um bordo,  
Porque todos conhecem como eu mordo.  
Em chegando Tarelo  
Ferrão logo traquete<sup>32</sup> os Fragatinhas<sup>33</sup>;  
E as taes, e quaes Galerias  
Vão indo á sirga<sup>34</sup> sem dizer-me lérias<sup>35</sup>.<sup>36</sup>

O preto é outro caso semelhante, uma vez que introduz não só um personagem quase constante nestes textos, mas também um tipo de linguagem. Normalmente, nas didascálias, aparece em posição inferior ao criado branco. De certa forma, sua presença no cordel tem uma função específica. Segundo Menéndez,

O Negro exemplifica com a sua presença a paisagem racial multifacetada da população urbana de Lisboa. É interessante, também, verificar, que escritos quase todos depois de 1774 (data do último alvará do Marquês de Pombal so-

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<sup>27</sup> *Piquena Pessa Intitulada o Ópio das Marrafinhas, ao Marujo, e ao Soldado, ou os Amantes Logrados*, Lisboa, Off. de José de Aquino Bulhoens, 1791, 6.

<sup>28</sup> *arrear* = arriar: tombar, recuar.

<sup>29</sup> *pôr diante o pé* = enganar, trapacear.

<sup>30</sup> *barlavento* = direcção de onde sopra o vento.

<sup>31</sup> *sotavento* = o lado para onde vai o vento.

<sup>32</sup> *ferrar traquete* = fugir a traquetes: fugir.

<sup>33</sup> *fragata* = embarcação usada no Rio Tejo para transporte de mercadorias.

<sup>34</sup> *sirga* = corda com que se puxa um barco ao longo da margem de um rio; ir à sirga de alguém: andar como que agarrado à roupa de alguém, não o largando até que se obtenha o que se pretende.

<sup>35</sup> *leria* = lábia, conversa mole; no texto significa “coisa alguma”.

<sup>36</sup> Secinuntino, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



bre a abolição da escravatura na Metrópole), a maior parte dos textos [não apresenta] os negros como escravos. No entanto, eles aparecem com ocupações mais ou menos instáveis: são vendedores ambulantes, tocadores a soldo, moços de recados, etc... Por outro lado, a presença de negros em palco é geralmente pretexto para mostrar o profundo racismo da sociedade lisboeta de então. O Negro é o “cão”, o culpado de tudo o que corre mal, aquele com quem se implica impunemente. Em resumo, ele representa o estrato mais baixo da sociedade visada pelos textos e é, além disso, o bode expiatório de todos os rufias e peralvilhos. Este facto, que podia causar riso nos espectadores, pode, no entanto, ter sido, à força de repetido, um modo de mostrar a profunda injustiça de uma atitude ofensiva, moral e fisicamente, para com os pretos.<sup>37</sup>

José Ramos Tinhorão,<sup>38</sup> ao recuperar a história do negro em Portugal, afirma que a integração do escravo-africano, logo chamado “o preto”, na vida urbana portuguesa se traduziria não só no teatro, mas também na criação de um tipo absolutamente original de literatura: o folheto de cordel em “língua de preto”.

Uma vez que o público desses folhetos não era exactamente a camada mais baixa e sim as camadas médias urbanas advindas da nova divisão do trabalho na era industrial, juntamente com as elites, tornou-se natural, segundo o raciocínio de Tinhorão, satirizar-se o negro no cordel. Estas eram as classes dispostas a rir daqueles a quem a estrutura vigente não dava oportunidade de ascensão.

O modo particular com que os escravos africanos da primeira geração falavam o português, desde logo chamado em Portugal de *guinéu*, *língua de guinéu*, *língua de negro*, ou *língua de preto*, estava destinado a passar não apenas ao teatro, através das falas e personagens de Henrique da Mota e Gil Vicente, a partir de inícios do século XVI, mas a contribuir ainda, no século XVIII, para o surgimento de um tipo absolutamente original de literatura impressa: a dos lunários ou almanaques humorísticos supostamente dirigidos aos negros do campo.<sup>39</sup>

E vai ser exactamente no campo da literatura de cordel, dos folhetos de prognósticos ou sarrabais, surgidos a partir do século XVIII, que esse recurso à língua de preto vai ser empregue de forma mais original. E parece óbvio que, se o público ria dessa maneira de falar, é porque a reconhecia. Vejamos então, como seria essa linguagem, segundo registrou Tinhorão:

**Algumas características da chamada “língua de preto”**

- a incapacidade de articular a consoante forte *r* (invariavelmente tornada fraca quando intervocálica – carro = caro –, ou abrandada quando terminação de palavra – andor = andoro; senhor = sioro);

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, 240.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, 107.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.*, 221.

- a transformação do *d* linguo-dental em *r* brando (todo = toro; dinheiro = rinheiro), o emprego do suara-bácti (\*) (Portugal = Purutugal);
- a troca do *v* inicial por *b*;
- a transformação dos *ss* e *ç* em *z* (disse = rise);
- equiparação de *j* e *z* (Jesus = Zezu ou Jeju);
- ensurdecimento do *r* e *s* finais e a imprecisão na determinação dos géneros (*meu dedo* = *mia dedo*) e na concordância e emprego de pronomes (*eu falo guiné* = *a mi fala guiné*).<sup>40</sup>

\* Modalidade de epêntese (aumento de um som ou de uma sílaba no meio de uma palavra) que consiste em desfazer um grupo de consoantes pela intercalação de uma vogal (N. do E.)

Continuando a seguir as considerações do escritor:

De facto, o que se passou a chamar genericamente «fala Guiné» ou «língua de negro» em Portugal, a partir da segunda metade do século XV, seria uma espécie de dialecto crioulo ou português geral de origem africana que, marcado por diferenças individuais na prática, se transformava na sua reprodução escrita numa espécie de criação literária, dependente, na sua intenção realística, do maior ou menor talento ou senso de observação do autor que a empregava. De uma forma geral, porém, todos acertavam por fazerem constar na fala de negro escrita o seu traço mais característico: a ausência de flexão, responsável exactamente pelo seu efeito cómico aos ouvidos dos portugueses.<sup>41</sup>

Encontramos no *Entremez intitulado Os cazadinhos da moda*, de Leonardo José Pimenta, de 1790, um exemplo dessa língua de preto:

*Cantaõ os dois* [Preta e Cabelleireiro]

Todo os Pleta tem seu Pleto,  
Que dá malufo, e macaia,  
Vai nos fessa dos Talaia,  
E baia os Fofa, e Lundum.  
Que gosso, que fessa,  
Bolir cos cabeça,  
Oiar dos macaco,  
Mexer cos mataco,  
Com todo os primoro  
Ao som dos tamboro,  
Que faze tum tum!<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Id.*, 221-22.

<sup>41</sup> *Id.*, 270.

<sup>42</sup> Leonardo José Pimenta, *Entremez Intitulado os Cazadinhos da Moda*, Lisboa, Oficina de António Gomes, 1790, 11-12.

Agora vejamos o que nos aparece em *A Vingança da Cigana*:

*Cazumba* [...] Tenho os fuessa manhã, tenho os Taraya,  
E os minha gente, espera-me na praya:  
Oya voso os função será completo.  
[...]  
*Grilo* Nem já tomas tabaco...  
[*Cazumba*] Uh, uh, macaia.  
He mais barato aqui que nos estanco,  
Branco que dá macaia, he mui bom branco.  
*Grilo* Ora, a festa há de ser muito bonita?  
*Cazumba* Quer voso vero? Faze-m'um vezita.

[Ária]  
Chega os Círia os outrum banda  
Os foguete tum, tum, tum:  
Toca os marxa, quando eu manda  
Os Zabumba, dum, dum, dum:  
Toca os trompa, vum, vum, vum:  
Toca os flauta, lá, lá, rá.  
Pay João anda, e dezanda  
C'os pandeira, xim, xim, xim:  
Os Rabeca, zim, zim, zim:  
Turo os branco está pasmaro,  
Anda voso então verá:  
Oyalá, oyalá, oyalá.<sup>43</sup>

Parece-nos desta forma muito clara a utilização do mesmo tipo de linguagem presente nos folhetos de cordel. Não se trata apenas da mesma ambientação, do mesmo tipo de personagens, da mesma moral e vertente crítica para os comportamentos mundanos, mas também do emprego do mesmo jeito de se expressar.

Mas para não ficarmos apenas pelas coincidências relativas ao libreto, finalmente vamos nos adentrar pela questão da música propriamente dita. Talvez o elemento mais instigante que estende os domínios do Teatro de Cordel para *A Vingança da Cigana* seja a costumeira presença de modinhas nos entremezes, já relatada por David Cranmer:

Em 1783 foi publicado o texto do entremez *O Outeiro ou os poetas afinados*, do actor-dramaturgo Pedro António Pereira, provavelmente correspondente a uma produção neste ano no Teatro do Bairro Alto. Aqui surge pela primeira vez uma *modinha* num contexto teatral. A *modinha*, um género de canção de salão de origem brasileira transportada para o teatro (e assim um elemento de música mais popular, não-operática), estabelece-se rapidamente como elemento essencial do entremez, como se vê, por exemplo, nas peças de José

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<sup>43</sup> Secinuntino, *op. cit.*, 30 e 32.

Daniel Rodrigues da Costa, a partir do ano seguinte, e de outros dramaturgos.<sup>44</sup>

A modinha estava frequentemente associada ao contexto dos entremezes e, como não podia deixar de ser, Leal Moreira e Caldas Barbosa a trouxeram também para o contexto dos palcos líricos.

Quando a cigana Pepa canta a ária em forma de modinha *Muchacha que tiene amante*, dentro da secção Final, acompanhada por uma guitarra, traz à tona todo o ambiente vivido nos setecentos, com sua literatura, seus salões, seus hábitos, sua cultura, seus modismos e seus personagens. O carácter efémero dos folhetos de cordel, das modinhas e de toda essa época acabaria por se cristalizar nessa obra que representa um dos raros documentos musicais da tentativa também efémera de se fazer uma ópera nacional. *A Vingança da Cigana* é fruto desse diálogo com o imaginário do teatro de cordel.

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<sup>44</sup> David Cranmer, *A Música no Teatro de Cordel: à procura de um paradigma*, comunicação dada no Colóquio “A Literatura no Meridiano das Artes”, Lisboa, Maio de 2006; publicada em tradução inglesa como “Music and the ‘Teatro de Cordel’: in search of a paradigm”, in *Portuguese Studies*, 24, 1, Modern Humanities Research Association, 2008, 32-40. Este parágrafo encontra-se na pág. 35.

## Identidade e alteridade: o sultão Orosmane em *La Zaira* de Marcos Portugal

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O orientalismo é, segundo Edward Said,<sup>1</sup> uma modalidade discursiva estável, assente em pressupostos estereotipados que traduzem, em regra, o Oriente e os orientais de forma tipológica. Nessa perspectiva, estes são vistos como possuidores de características regulares e essencialmente negativas, embora fascinantes, que cabe aos ocidentais, localizados e formados de maneira estratégica no espaço – eurocêntrico –, *representar*. Estas representações, que têm as suas premissas na exterioridade, não constituem, por conseguinte, descrições naturais do oriente.

*La Zaira* de Marcos Portugal, composta em 1802 e revista em 1804, pode definir-se como uma ópera orientalista, começando pelo enredo que, baseado na peça homónima de Voltaire (1732), se desenvolve em Jerusalém no rescaldo da segunda cruzada, opondo aos franceses derrotados um filho ficcionado de Saladino – o sultão Orosmane – e o seu amor correspondido pela escrava cristã Zaira. Convencido que Zaira o traiu, Orosmane irá assassiná-la e, dando-se conta do equívoco, suicida-se.

Por outro lado, observam-se alguns momentos nos quais a referência musical ao “outro” se torna particularmente evidente e como representação exteriorizada no sentido teorizado por Said, definindo a sua identidade enquanto “um oriental”. Como tal, essa alusão está intimamente associada à encenação e à utilização de *topoi* de vária ordem, fórmulas musicais que vão desde a instrumentação, passando pelas formas ou géneros musicais e às figurações rítmico-melódicas e harmónicas utilizadas. Os números nos quais a utilização dos *topoi* relativos ao oriente são mais evidentes são o N.º 4, no acto I e o N.º 13, no acto II (vide, no fim deste artigo, exemplos 1 e 2: N.º 4, pp. 74-75, 76; e exemplo 3, N.º 13, p. 77).<sup>2</sup>

Musicalmente, Marcos Portugal propõe para o N.º 4 – que corresponde ao regresso de Orosmane da guerra acompanhado pelo seu séquito – uma Marcha na qual podemos encontrar todo um conjunto de dispositivos convencionais para

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalismo*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1990.

<sup>2</sup> Os números das páginas aqui e ao longo deste artigo referem-se às da partitura transcrita pela presente autora, nas págs. 74-90 deste volume. [Ed.] A fonte utilizada é a cópia manuscrita da Biblioteca da Ajuda, em Lisboa P-La 48-II-31 a 32.

*representar* musicalmente o oriente, num estilo que ficou conhecido como *turquerie*. Estando a Marcha, enquanto género, conotada com a música militar (um outro *topos*), não é surpreendente que o compositor tenha optado por incluir uma nesse momento. Por outro lado, como salienta Scott, o típico estilo turco da música erudita do século XVIII caracteriza-se genericamente por “uma marcha em 2/4 com um baixo em colcheias (definindo com frequência um pedal da tónica); uma melodia decorada com notas ornamentais frequentemente dissonantes e insistindo nas notas da tónica, mas com uma quarta aumentada ocasional e harmonia crua”.<sup>3</sup> Com algumas *nuances*, observamos que é esta a opção do compositor que, respondendo a uma visão musical estereotipada do outro, define musicalmente a sua identidade como uma que se encontra “fora de nós”.

Para além disso, o estilo turco contempla uma instrumentação de conotação oriental designada por “banda turca”, composta por um leque de percussão que inclui tambor militar, triângulo, sistro e pratos. Aqui acresce um serpentão, na verdade um instrumento inventado em França no século XVI para desempenhar a função de contrabaixo da corneta, cuja forma cheia de curvas que se pode perceber como um “arabesco” se enquadra muito bem no contexto exótico que se pretende *representar* (aludir, mais que traduzir), constituindo um excelente exemplo da interpenetração e unidade narrativa e cénica que se pretende obter nesta ópera. Isto porque, estando prevista na partitura o seu aparecimento em cena, se propõe uma associação estreita entre som e imagem, configurando-se como aquilo que Georgina Born e David Hesmondhalgh designam como uma espécie de turismo psíquico através da música.<sup>4</sup>

Nesse número verificamos a existência de uma divisão entre o grupo dos sopros, percussão e coro (banda militar turca) simbolizando a masculinidade guerreira e triunfante (Orosmane e o seu séquito) mas, também, o oriente e o ruído (instrumentação espalhafatosa e harmonia crua) e aquele das cordas e de Zaira, simbolizando o ocidente (afinal, Zaira é de origem cristã) e a harmonia (vide exemplo 1, N.º 4, p. 75, comp. 9-12 e comp. 13-15). Isto é, a confirmação musical da distinção ontológica básica e estável entre dois mundos exposta por Edward Said.

A inserção desses instrumentos de percussão ocorre ainda no N.º 13, já no 2º acto, aquando das festas de celebração do casamento dos protagonistas. Porém, aí, observa-se o recurso ainda a um outro dispositivo que invoca o orientalismo: trata-se do bailado (exemplo 4, N.º 13, p. 78, comp. 46-51), elemento decorativo que se associa às indicações cénicas que, tal como no N.º 4, abundam, exaltando o luxo e a opulência orientais: «*Mesquita esplendidamente decorada para festejar com danças o matrimónio de Orosmane e Zaira*».<sup>5</sup> Não são de excluir, à seme-

<sup>3</sup> Derek B. Scott, “Orientalism and Musical Style” in *Critical Musicology Journal. A Virtual Journal on the Internet*, <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/music/Info/CMJ/Articles/1997/02/01.html>> (consultado a 1 Out. 2009), 2. Tradução da autora.

<sup>4</sup> Georgina Born & David Hesmondhalgh, “Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music”, in Georgina Born & David Hesmondhalgh (ed.), *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, Londres, University of California Press, 2000, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Giuseppe Caravita, *La Zaira*. Lisboa: Stamperia di Simone Taddeo Ferreira, 1804, 54-55. Exemplar P-La 151-VII-12, N.º 1.

lhança do N.º 4, a presença em cena dos instrumentos conotados com o oriente, embora não haja nada no libreto ou na partitura que o prescreva. É, contudo, inequívoco, o facto de, mais uma vez, a instrumentação ser determinante para a caracterização da atmosfera oriental, reaparecendo na orquestração a percussão com idiofones de conotação oriental.

Em termos harmónicos e melódicos as soluções são semelhantes entre os N.ºs 4 e 13, nomeadamente a utilização de motivos e células rítmicas que remetem claramente para uma representação do oriente, como o anapesto, padrão conotado, como sublinha Noske,<sup>6</sup> com a morte e que aqui começa por surgir na percussão, sendo depois assumido pelos restantes instrumentos, sobretudo em situações cadenciais. Aliás, a primeira utilização da fórmula anapéstica do motivo da morte dá-se muito pontualmente na Marcha que anuncia o regresso de Orosmane da guerra, o que não é de estranhar dado o laço estreito dessa fórmula com o campo de batalha, não sendo por acaso que é utilizado na percussão (exemplo 2, N.º 4, p. 76, comp. 23-28).

Portanto, aí, pode ler-se como estando conotado de maneira explícita com a personalidade do sultão e aludindo à sua faceta bélica e, por conseguinte, de potencial assassino. A função deste motivo é também, por conseguinte, caracterizar Orosmane, recurso que se torna inequívoco na primeira ária de Orosmane “Sono Orosmane, audace” N.º 5 e, aí, também na percussão, concretamente nos timbales (exemplo 5, N.º 5, p. 82, comp. 31).

O facto de encontrarmos este motivo nos vários momentos orientalistas da ópera remete, pois, para uma dupla analogia: ao mesmo tempo que define uma das facetas do sultão (e não uma qualquer, mas uma das mais estereotipadas na imagem ocidental do oriente, a violência), enquadra o orientalismo em geral nesta ópera e numa asserção negativa. Assim, a ocorrência do anapesto ao longo dos N.ºs 4 e 13, remete para a caracterização genérica do oriente antes mesmo de remeter para uma premonição associada à morte, como já é o caso da ocorrência no N.º 5, a ária de Orosmane cuja função é declaradamente essa: defini-lo, caracterizá-lo enquanto personagem.

Importa, pois, analisá-la, não apenas da perspectiva da representação da alteridade mas, também, porque consiste num exemplo de ária detentora de muitas características da ópera italiana da transição entre os séculos XVIII e XIX de que Marcos Portugal é um representante e que configura a busca de uma continuidade dramática, sendo detentora de uma grande mobilidade cénica musicalmente sustentada.

A cena e ária de Orosmane do primeiro acto (N.º 5) tem lugar durante a audiência que o sultão concedeu a Nerestano e em que é publicamente confrontado por este último, sentindo ainda, para além da irritação que lhe provoca o desafio de um escravo, dúvidas face ao que poderá estar a passar-se entre este e Zaira. Assim, nessa cena, o compositor recorre a um conjunto de dispositivos que podemos encontrar transversalmente em toda a ópera nas situações de tensão, tais

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<sup>6</sup> Fritz Noske, *The signifier and the signified. Studies in the operas of Mozart and Verdi*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1990, 171-214.

como: figurações rápidas e cortantes nos violinos associadas a surpresa, fúria e potenciais atitudes violentas, verbais ou mesmo físicas (exemplo 5, N.º 5, p. 81, comp. 30, voz, Orosmane, sublinhando, justamente a palavra «ira»); um motivo com uma fisionomia cromática e sobre acordes menores e diminutos (*id.*, p. 80, comp. 17 e 19). A pequena célula de duas notas na mesma altura (*id.*, p. 81, comp. 27, cordas e baixo) é especialmente eficaz na geração de tensão, pelo seu carácter repentino e brusco, sendo recorrentemente utilizada ao longo da ópera.

Para além disso, o trítone melódico que acompanha as palavras de Orosmane «Che veggio!» (comp. 6) e que configura a primeira suspeita do sultão, e progressões harmónicas em modos menores – ré m / sol m / lá m (*id.*, p. 80, comp. 16-21) – enquadram o primeiro momento de efectivo *suspense* na ópera. O sultão reage e pretende dissipar quaisquer dúvidas face à sua identidade e poder e estabelecer, de forma inequívoca, que está apaixonado por Zaira, pelo que ninguém o deverá defrontar a esse nível, surgindo então uma ária com sete secções distintas que segue o seguinte percurso tonal e formal:

	N.º Comp.	Andamento	Secção	Tonalidade
Cena	1	<i>Presto</i>		Dó M
	4-5			Fá M
	5			Dó M
	9-11			Lá m
	11-12	<i>Lento</i>		Dó M
	13			Fá M
	15	<i>Presto</i>		Ré m
	16			Ré m
	17			Sol m
	19			Lá m
	22			Dó M
	27			Dó M
Ária	31	<i>Allegro comodo</i> 4/4	A (introdução instrumental)	Dó M
	49	<i>Il canto ad libitum</i> 4/4  <i>Tempo</i> <i>Recitativo</i> <i>Tempo</i>	B  A'	Dó M
	54-55			ré m
	56			Dó M
	59			
	65			Sol M
	66			Dó M
	67			
	68			
	78	<i>Andantino</i> 2/4 <i>Recitativo</i>	C	Sol M
	88			Mi M
	89			Dó M
	91	<i>Allegro comodo</i> 4/4	D	Sol M
	93			Dó M
	93-94			lá m
	95-96			Sol M
	97			Dó M
	114	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> 6/8	E	Dó M
	120-121			lá m
	121			Dó M
	128	<i>Allegro spiritoso</i> <i>Più mosso</i>	A'' F	Dó M
152	Dó M			

Quadro: Cena e Ária «Son Orosmane, audace» (N.º 5)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Esta cena e ária encontram-se em *P-La* 48-II-31: 63<sup>f</sup>-83<sup>v</sup>.



Temos aqui sete secções distintas. O texto, variado e contrastante, determina a sua estruturação, também variada e multi-seccional, para cuja construção o compositor se serve de mudanças de textura, de material rítmico/melódico, de compassos, de andamentos e modulações que sugerem uma construção do tipo *durchkomponiert*.

Neste caso, todas estas secções pretendem, antes de mais, *definir* a personagem de Orosmane, que possui inúmeras facetas: é um chefe de estado poderoso e rico, é um guerreiro, é um homem, um homem apaixonado e é um oriental. Assim, encontramos aqui a representação de uma variedade de sentimentos associados a todos estes aspectos: ira, ciúme, ternura, paixão, violência, ameaça, coerção, que se articulam em secções e subsecções dentro, porém, de um todo uno constituído pela entidade “ária” cuja fisionomia aqui reflecte, assim, o ser humano que é Orosmane, ele também uma entidade una, mas complexa, atravessada por diversos estados emotivos.

Esta ária abre-se com uma introdução instrumental (A) na qual podemos encontrar um conjunto de motivos e outros recursos que aludem à faceta irada, bélica e oriental de Orosmane, que tudo fará para defender o objecto amado. O sultão é, antes de mais nada, “outro”, «un barbare [ainda no recitativo seco anterior à cena] tu sei», como o acusa Nerestano (*id.*, p. 79, comp. 1). Parece portanto ser por essa razão que esta ária é a única de entre todas as da ópera a incluir percussão, o que nos remete para a já referida relação estreita e simbólica entre essa instrumentação e a representação do oriental. Porém, ao contrário dos outros momentos “orientais” da ópera já referenciados que utilizam um leque de percussão mais variada, aqui são apenas utilizados os timbales.

Estes, para além de simbolizarem a alteridade (tal como noutros números a “banda turca” ou o serpentão), podem também compreender-se com uma conotação em termos de género, isto é, pretendem aludir à masculinidade. Esta é entendida como força física e autoridade e capacidade para se debater não apenas em campo de batalha mas, também, na guerra simbólica por uma mulher, que pode mesmo trazer consequências físicas. De facto, para Orosmane, Nerestano começa a configurar-se não só como um inimigo mais, mas sim como um potencial rival com o qual será eventualmente necessário lutar. Daí a já referida utilização do anapesto pela percussão logo a partir no comp. 33 (*id.*, p. 82), uma vez que este está conotado com a guerra e, por conseguinte, com a luta, violência e mesmo a morte, realçando, pois, o carácter tenaz e extremista de Orosmane, capaz de aniquilar quem lhe faça frente.

É também por essa razão que, na introdução instrumental, encontramos não apenas a percussão e o padrão rítmico da morte mas, também, uma célula rítmica e melódica que será recorrente ao longo da ópera: tratam-se das figurações rápidas ascendentes ou descendentes e cujo gesto brusco parece aludir à fúria, raiva ou mesmo ao uso de objectos cortantes (*id.*, p. 83, comp. 44-46). Acresce a melodia sinuosa dos primeiros violinos e dos oboés (comp. 33), aqui com o duplo sentido do arabesco e da fúria.

Se temos uma introdução instrumental (A) na qual são apresentados vários motivos que pretendem caracterizar Orosmane, a primeira intervenção deste na

ária (secção B) é com o canto *ad libitum* e sem qualquer acompanhamento (exemplo 6, p. 84, comp. 49-51). Aí, ele apresenta-se com a ideia que tem de si próprio e que pretende transmitir aos outros: ele é Orosmane («Sono Orosmane, audace») não necessita de nada mais para se auto definir, basta-lhe ser ele próprio, o que justifica a quase ausência de orquestração nesse momento. Mas, em simultâneo, é essa frase que corrobora a introdução instrumental que igualmente o define.

Progressivamente, o canto é acompanhado pelas cordas e baixo num estilo de recitativo acompanhado, mas onde continua a procurar demarcar-se de Nerestano, utilizando-se para o efeito uma pequena inflexão a ré m (*id.*, p. 85, comp. 55-56) sob a frase «tu chi sei, rammenta», que sai da tonalidade base usada para definir o sultão, Dó M. A utilização do modo menor por parte de Orosmane para se referir a Nerestano pode ler-se, neste contexto, como um adjectivo de inferioridade relativamente a si, representado pelo modo maior. O tom é sempre ameaçador, daí que a segunda metade desta secção (A'), recupere parte do material que se fez ouvir na introdução.

Em torno desta faceta bélica que abre e praticamente fecha a ária (A-A'-A''), giram as outras facetas do sultão. Na secção C (exemplo 7, p. 86), o andamento muda, a tonalidade também (Sol M) assim como a orquestração, sendo usadas apenas as cordas: o sultão dirige-se agora a Zaira, mas de forma terna e galante, a única que pode aplacar a sua fúria («lo sdegno»), se bem que esta se mantenha à flor da pele, daí a figuração rápida dos violinos nos comp. 85-87, que converge para a ordem imperativa que Orosmane, no comp. 88, volta a dar a Nerestano: «paventa» (*id.*, p. 87), sobre o acorde de Mi M (III grau de Dó M com a terceira maior).

A secção D configura-se com um carácter mais introspectivo, como se o sultão falasse para si próprio. Nota-se um crescendo de felicidade e prazer por estar apaixonado, que é marcado pela passagem a uma nova secção (*id.*, p. 87) com mudança de compasso, andamento e material motivico, mas não de orquestração, cuja utilização é semelhante à da secção D, nomeadamente no que respeita aos sopros. Esta é a secção mais ligeira de toda a ária, enfatizando a sensação de leveza que estar apaixonado pode provocar.

Depois dos parênteses constituídos pelas secções C, D e E, nas quais Orosmane expõe o seu ponto vulnerável (o amor por Zaira), o sultão volta-se novamente para Nerestano e para a sua fúria, regressando às ameaças, embora os versos mudem (exemplo 8, p. 89). Já não é apenas Nerestano que o sultão irá combater, mas o mundo inteiro, se for necessário: «E tutto il mondo intero io vado a debellar». Orosmane deixa, pois, um aviso geral para que todos os presentes possam ouvir. Retoma, por conseguinte, grande parte dos motivos da introdução, nomeadamente o ritmo anapéstico e as figurações rápidas ascendentes, que sublinham que não receia lutar por Zaira. Nesta secção, a fúria alterna com pensamentos de amor introspectivos, no qual apenas intervêm as cordas e o baixo. Por fim, chega-se à conclusão (F, *id.*, p. 90), cheia de certezas, como atesta o recurso ao uníssono instrumental e a tendência para a homorritmia dentro dos naipes.

Nesta ária, repleta de contrastes, observa-se que os mesmos são construídos não através de uma variedade tonal mas, sobretudo, através do recurso a material motivico e frásico distintivo, para o que o compositor se socorre de mudanças de andamento e de compasso, com pequenas secções em recitativo, *pertichini* e com contrastes de texturas dentro da orquestração, enquadrando-se numa estética que continua a colocar em primeiro plano a melodia vocal (e o cantor).

De qualquer modo, as secções mais ternas de Orosmane (C, D e E), são emolduradas por uma capa de autoritarismo que, mesmo que seja função do amor que sente e que o leva a defendê-lo, é a faceta que, atendendo ao contexto, consiste na imagem predominante que os cristãos têm dele e que se coaduna com a visão recorrente do oriental. É também essa faceta negativa e extremista que acaba por predominar sobre as outras e que desemboca na decisão de assassinar Zaira, na cena e ária do segundo acto (N.º 17).

Essa cena e ária consiste num contraponto contrastante face ao N.º 5, demonstrando que os contrastes psicológicos são também efectuados ao nível macro-formal: se até à leitura da carta fatal Orosmane se encontrava cheio de certezas acerca de quem é – «Sono Orosmane» –, dos seus propósitos e do seu amor correspondido (apesar de algumas dúvidas pontuais), já no N.º 17 é um Orosmane psicologicamente perplexo, perturbado, e indeciso que se nos apresenta, atormentado e atravessado por uma crise de identidade que urge resolver. A opção pelo assassinio mina a tipologia correspondente ao “turco generoso” que encontramos em muitas óperas orientalistas, como por exemplo, em *O Rapto do Serralho* de Mozart, tendendo antes para uma representação negativa do outro.

Esta é, porém, neste caso, enquadrada no contexto da mudança do paradigma operático em curso na década de 1810, que pressupõe temas e soluções pré e proto-românticos em que os protagonistas tendem a ser psicologicamente mais complexos e a ter comportamentos dos quais resulta muitas vezes a morte, que emerge como o catalisador da acção.

Se a identidade e a maneira de representar Orosmane são o espelho de uma nova tendência operática, encontram-se não obstante estereotipadas numa «identificação que existe sobretudo na fantasia individual e colectiva e que actua de modo poderoso para inscrever e reinscrever fronteiras existentes entre um “nós” e um outro, assim como as hierarquias e estratificações dessas mesmas categorias. Este momento pode ser uma condição prévia para a emergência ou negociação de novas identidades, mas também opera normalmente como um substituto dessas identificações reais (...) actuando antes de mais como extensões imaginárias de um “nós” que fixa o “outro” numa imobilidade»,<sup>8</sup> imobilidade esta que esse outro tende a quebrar, reagindo: «Sono Orosmane, audace!».

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<sup>8</sup> Born & Hesmondalgh, *op. cit.*, 35. Tradução da autora.

# Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

Tempo di Marcia

7

Flauti I, II

Oboi I, II

Clarinetti I, II  
in Re/D

Fagotti I, II

Corni I, II  
in Re/D

Trombe I, II  
in Re/D

Serpentone

*Banda di dentro alla scena, accompagnata  
pure da triangoli, sistri, piatti e la gran cassa*

Triangolo  
Piatti  
Sistro

Gran Cassa

Zaira

Coro di Ufficiali

I  
Violini

II

Viole

Basso

Qual ru

9

Fl

Ob

Cl

Fag

Cor

Tr

Serp

Tri  
Ptti  
Sis

Gr Cas

Zai

mor! Qual ru - mor! Quai gri - da jo sen - to!

Coro

*Banda di dentro*

*Di dentro*

O - ros - ma - ne, a - mi che  
O - ros - ma - ne, a - mi - che

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

*p*

23

Fl

Ob

Cl

Fag

Cor

Tr

Serp

*Banda di dentro*

Tri  
Ptti  
Sis

Gr Cas

Zai

*Di dentro*

Coro

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

rit!

O-ros - ma-ne! Ah! O-ros

L'aura ce - che-ggi, ap-plaud' in fon-de al suo no me, al suo va - lor. O - ros - ma-ne é vin - ci - tor

L'aura ce - che-ggi, ap-plaud' in fon-de al suo no me, al suo va - lor. O - ros - ma-ne é vin - ci - tor

N.º 13 - [Coro e Duetto Zaira e Orosmane]

Scena 3ª  
*Allegro Maestoso*

Flauti I, II

Oboi I, II  
(a mezza voce)  
*p* *dim.*

Clarinetti I, II  
in Sib/Bb  
*p* *dim.*

Fagotti I, II  
*p*

Corni I, II  
in Mib/Eb  
*p*

Trombe I, II  
in Sib/Bb

Triangolo  
Piatti  
Sistro

Timpani

Coro di Ufficiali

Violini  
I  
II  
*a mezza voce*  
*p* *dim.* *f*

Viole  
*p* *dim.*

Basso  
*p*

Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

43

Fl

Ob

Cl

Fag

Cor

Tr

Tri  
Ptti  
Sis

Timp

Coro

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

Entra il ballo di Ufficiali  
e schiavi d'Orosmane

il va - lor la vir-tù la bel - tá

il va - lor la vir-tù la bel - tá

*p*

*p*

*p*

*p*

*poco dim.*

*poco dim.*

*poco dim.*

78



N.º 5 [Scena e Aria di Orosmane]

**[1] Presto**

Or Fre - na quel lab - bro gio - va - ne al - te - ro, o tre - ma del mio fu -

Ner se - i.

I *f*

VI *f*

II *f*

Vla *f*

Basso *f*

---

**[4]**

Zai

Or ro - re. Ah mio Si - gnor... Che veg - go!

I *p*

VI *p*

II *p*

Vla *p*

Basso *p*

---

**[7]**

Or Pian - gi Za - i - ra? - - Oh stel - le! E qua le ad O - ros - ma - ne i - gno to af -

I *sfz p*

VI *sfz p*

Vla *sfz p*

Basso *sfz p*

# Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

10

Or

fet - to ti for - za a la - cri - mar? Cre - der non pos - so che una fo - le pie -

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

*f*

13

Or

tà per quell' au - da - ce più che di lui l'of - fe - sa a chi r'a - do - ra pre - val - ga sul tuo

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

*p*

16 *Lento*

Or

cor. lo non t'in - ten - do. Tu la guar di e sos - pi - ri? In -

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

*f*

poco dim.

poco dim.

poco dim.

poco dim.

20

Zai

Or

de - gno! Ah dim - mi: e che pen - sar deg - g' io. Quan - to r'ín - gan - ni M'ín - gan - no! Ma tu in -

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

23

Or

tan - to non puoi fre - na - re il pian - to e tu po - tres - ti? Ah Za - i - ra, Za - i - ra, che stra - zio fan del

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

27 *Presto*

Or

co - re a - mo - re ge lo - si - a sos - pet - to sos - pet - to cd i - ra.

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

*Allegro Comodo*

Fl *f*

Ob *f*

Cl in Do/C *f*

Fag *f*

Cor in Do/C

Tr in Do/C

Timp *f*

I *f*

VI *f*

II *f*

Vla *f*

Basso

*p* a punta d'arco

44

Fl

Ob

Cl

Fag

Cor

Tr

Timp

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

This musical score page contains measures 44, 45, and 46 of a piece. The instrumentation includes Flute (Fl), Oboe (Ob), Clarinet (Cl), Bassoon (Fag), Cor Anglais (Cor), Trumpet (Tr), Timpani (Timp), Violin I (I), Violin II (II), Viola (Vla), and Cello/Double Bass (Basso). Measures 44 and 45 are marked with a 4/4 time signature. The woodwinds (Fl, Ob, Cl, Fag) play a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The strings (I, II, Vla, Basso) play a similar rhythmic pattern, with the Viola and Cello/Double Bass parts featuring more complex sixteenth-note figures. The Cor Anglais and Trumpet parts are marked with a rest for the first measure of the system. The Timpani part is marked with a rest for the first measure of the system.

## Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

47

Fl

Ob

Cl

Fag

Cor

Tr

Timp

Or

*Il canto ad libitum*

So - no O - ros - ma - ne, au - da - ce, au - da - ce,

I

II

Vla

Basso

**Tempo**

Fl

Ob

Cl

Fag

Cor

Tr

Timp

Or

e tu chi sei, \_\_\_\_\_ ram - men - ta, ram - men - ta, dell' i - ra mia pa - ven - ta, dell' i - ra mia pa

I

VI

II

Vla

Basso

Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

73

Fl  
Ob  
Cl  
Fag  
Cor  
Tr  
Timp  
Or  
I  
II  
Vla  
Basso

vra - i o la do - vrai do - vrai pro - var.



*Andantino*

78

Or  
I  
II  
Vla  
Basso

Le tue pu pil-le bel - le se - re - na a - ma - to be ne: po - tran - no so - lo - quel - le lo sde - gno - mi - o cal

*poco dim.*  
*f p*  
*poco dim.*  
*f p*  
*poco dim.*  
*f p*



85 *Recitativo*

Fag *f*

Zai

Or *f* Si gnor...  
mar. Ah, non pian - ge re. No, non pian - ge re. Pa - ven - ta. Ma che veg go?

I *f*

VI *f*

II *f*

Vla *f*

Basso *f*



91 *Allegro comodo*  
*dolce*

Ob *solo dolce*

Cl *solo dolce*

Fag *solo dolce*

Cor *dolce*

Or *Allegro comodo*  
*mia*

I *leggiere*

VI *leggiere*

II *leggiere*

Vla *p*

Basso *p*

Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

108

Fl

Ob

Cl

Fag

Cor

Or

I

VI

Vla

Basso

*Tutti*

*Tutti*

*Tutti*

*dim.*

Ah, sen - to, che in se - no Ah,

*p*

*dim.*

*dim.*

*dim.*

*dim.*

114 *L'istesso tempo*

Fl

Cl

Fag

Or

I

VI

Vla

Basso

*1° Solo*

*1° Solo*

*1° Solo*

*Tutti*

*L'istesso tempo*

sen - to che in se - no quel ci - glio se - re - no Ah, sen - to, Ah sen - to che in

*a punta d'arco*

*a punta d'arco*

121

Fag

Or

se - no fa l'al ma be - ar. Ah sen - to che in se - no, fa l'al - ma fa l'al - ma be-

I

VI

II

poco dim.

Vla

poco dim.

Basso

poco dim.

128

*Allegro spiritoso*

Tutti

Fl

f

Ob

f

Cl

Tutti

f

Fag

f

Cor

f

Tr

f

Timp

f

Or

*Allegro spiritoso*

ar. Ah chi po-trá in - vo - lar - mi Ah chi po-trá in - vo

I

f

VI

f p

II

f

f p

Vla

f

f p

Basso

f

f p

The musical score is for Act 2, measures 170-174 of Mozart's opera 'Le Nozze di Figaro'. The score is written for a full orchestra and includes parts for Flute (Fl), Oboe (Ob), Clarinet (Cl), Bassoon (Fag), Cor Anglais (Cor), Trumpet (Tr), Timpani (Timp), Violin I (I), Violin II (II), Viola (Vla), and Bass (Basso). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The tempo is marked 'Allegretto'. The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains measures 170-173, and the second system contains measures 174-177. The Flute part has a '170' marking above the first measure. The Cor and Trumpet parts have 'a 2' markings above the third measure. The Viola and Bass parts have a '170' marking above the first measure. The score is written in a standard musical notation with a key signature of one flat and a tempo marking of 'Allegretto'.

## **A estreia de Don Giovanni no Teatro de S. Carlos em 1839: um projecto romântico adiado? <sup>1</sup>**

*Lúisa Cymbron*

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Na Lisboa da primeira metade do século XIX Mozart parece ter sido sempre um compositor difícil de aceitar. No Teatro de S. Carlos, que se manteria durante todo esse período como o principal eixo da vida musical da cidade, estrearam-se apenas as óperas *La clemenza di Tito* em 1806, talvez *Così fan tutte* entre 1812 e 1814<sup>2</sup> e, finalmente, *Don Giovanni*, em 1839. Para além do repertório operático, alguma música deste compositor foi sendo ouvida: o *Requiem* cantou-se várias vezes a partir da primeira década, e na Sociedade Filarmónica, criada por João Domingos Bomtempo, na década de 1820, executaram-se com certa regularidade sinfonias e aberturas da sua autoria. As reacções que conhecemos à exibição destas obras, apesar de publicadas no jornal *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* e escritas por correspondentes de formação germânica, com uma atitude muito crítica face ao gosto dos meridionais, reforçam a ideia de que tanto o público como alguns músicos cedo delas se desinteressaram. A propósito da Festa de Santa Cecília referia-se que o *Requiem*:

já foi executado algumas vezes nesta festividade, na qual têm de tomar parte todos os músicos de profissão; no entanto, os cantores que há aqui não gostam da música de Mozart, provavelmente porque não lhes permite brilhar à custa de floreios.<sup>3</sup>

e na Sociedade Filarmónica as sinfonias de Haydn e Mozart, com que estes con-

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<sup>1</sup> A informação que está na base de algumas secções deste artigo foi já publicada em Niels Martin Jensen e Franco Piperno (eds.), «*Don Giovanni* as performed by the Orchestra of the Teatro S. Carlos: Nineteenth-Century reception» in *The Opera Orchestra in 18th-and 19th-Century Europe. II: The Orchestra in the Theatre – Composers, Works, and Performance*, Berlim, BWV. Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008, 47-65.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. David Cranmer, «Operatic relations between Portugal and London during the Napoleonic period» in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, 10 (2000), 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> Manuel Carlos de Brito e David Cranmer, *Crónicas da vida musical portuguesa na primeira metade do século XIX*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1989, 60. Esta colectânea de artigos é a fonte aqui utilizada para caracterizar a recepção mozartiana na Lisboa dos primeiros anos do século XIX.

certos se tinham iniciado, «na continuação [...] foram substituídas por aberturas de Rossini e de outros compositores italianos».<sup>4</sup>

Por outro lado, essas mesmas crónicas da *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* fornecem-nos um rico manancial de informações sobre a prática da música doméstica, envolvendo profissionais e amadores, as quais podem ser muito pertinentes para a análise da recepção de Mozart em Lisboa, não tanto ao nível do público em geral mas de grupos mais especializados, formados essencialmente por músicos locais, como por exemplo os membros da orquestra do Teatro de S. Carlos. Em casa de comerciantes estrangeiros ou de membros da aristocracia, entre os quais o jovem 2.º Barão de Quintela, mais tarde Conde de Farrobo, – o riquíssimo aristocrata melómano que esteve ligado a quase todos os grandes acontecimentos da vida musical lisboeta entre as décadas de trinta e cinquenta – tinham lugar reuniões musicais dedicadas à interpretação de música de câmara de Mozart e Haydn entre outros. Depreende-se, no entanto, que os profissionais que nelas tomavam parte eram a elite dos instrumentistas, particularmente os de cordas como José Pinto Palma<sup>5</sup> ou os irmãos Jordani, estes últimos respectivamente 1.º violino e 1.º violoncelo da orquestra do S. Carlos à data de estreia de *Don Giovanni*.<sup>6</sup> E apesar de ser possível admitir que outros músicos de nível artístico menos notável também participassem nessas sessões, o que fica claro é a diferença entre a familiaridade com a música instrumental de Mozart de um grupo de músicos profissionais, enquanto os outros, à semelhança do que acontecia com o público, manifestavam a sua estranheza em relação a ela. Para além desta questão, é legítimo perguntarmo-nos se mesmo os músicos que participavam nas já referidas sessões de música de câmara – na sua maioria descendentes de italianos, muitos deles napolitanos, e educados na tradição operática peninsular – se interessavam do mesmo modo por Mozart quando se tratava das suas obras dramáticas.

Tendo ocorrido a 6 de Janeiro de 1839, durante o período em que o Conde de Farrobo foi empresário do Teatro de S. Carlos numa perspectiva mais mecenática do que empresarial, a primeira representação de *Don Giovanni* pode ser vista como uma iniciativa deste empresário, mas as causas que lhe estão na origem requerem uma avaliação mais cuidadosa. Além de ter sido cantada em vários teatros italianos durante a década de trinta,<sup>7</sup> em especial no Scala onde subira à cena

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, 62.

<sup>5</sup> Por exemplo, em 1821, uma crónica referia-se a Palma – que foi durante vários anos 1.º violino da orquestra do S. Carlos e era provavelmente pai do violinista homónimo que à data da estreia de *Don Giovanni* em Lisboa integrava a orquestra do teatro – como sendo, além de um excelente violinista, o único profissional que possuía uma boa colecção de partituras que executava em sua casa, juntamente com outros músicos amadores (*id.*, 53).

<sup>6</sup> Sobre os irmãos Jordani cf. *id.*, 55 e 60. A proximidade entre a família Jordani e os Quintela/Farrobo é visível aquando do casamento de João Jordani, ocorrido a 27 de Janeiro de 1827, o qual teve lugar na capela do Palácio Quintela e contou com o Barão como testemunha (cf. *P-Lan*, Registos Paroquiais, Freguesia do Sacramento, Lv. 11, Cx. 11, f. 43 e Igreja do Loreto, Baptizados 1817-53, 243).

<sup>7</sup> Florença e Turim 1828, Veneza 1833, Nápoles 1834, Milão 1836, Florença 1837 (cf. Pierluigi Petrobelli «*Don Giovanni* in Italia. La fortuna dell'opera ed il suo influsso» in *Colloquium "Mozart und Italien"* (Rom 1974), *Analecta musicologica*, XVIII (1978), 44-51, e Guglielmo Barblan, «La fortuna di Mozart a Milano nell'Ottocento» in *Colloquium "Mozart und Italien"* (Rom 1974), *Analecta musicologica*, XVIII (1978), 19-29). Roger Parker diz que, embora o *Don Giovanni* tenha sido cantado um número considerável de vezes em Milão na primeira década do

na Quaresma de 1836, esta ópera de Mozart tinha sido ouvida em Londres desde 1817 no King's Theatre, o mais prestigiado satélite do circuito operático italiano em Inglaterra,<sup>8</sup> o qual a partir da expulsão dos franceses de Portugal, passou a ser uma das principais fontes de recrutamento de cantores para o S. Carlos.<sup>9</sup> Em Paris, desde 1811 que *Don Giovanni* integrava frequentemente o repertório do Théâtre Italien<sup>10</sup> e em 1834 apareceria também na Opéra, pela mão de Véron, em francês numa versão muito alterada.<sup>11</sup>

São por demais conhecidas as ligações do S. Carlos com os teatros do Norte de Itália mas é também sabido que o Conde de Farrobo apreciava muitíssimo o esplendor cultural parisiense. O facto desta ópera de Mozart ter subido pela primeira vez à cena em Lisboa juntamente com um conjunto de obras francesas que nunca tinham passado pelos palcos italianos (como *Robert le diable* e o bailado *La Sylphide*) aponta para que, em termos estéticos, a visão de Farrobo para o repertório do S. Carlos se enquadrava nas coordenadas do novo e emergente romantismo francês, situação que aliás começava também a fazer-se sentir em algumas cidades italianas, como, por exemplo, em Nápoles.<sup>12</sup> Além disso, o altíssimo número de vezes que subiu à cena no Théâtre Italien nos primeiros anos do século e, principalmente, a circunstância de nesse teatro ter sido interpretada por uma plêiade de grandes estrelas do panorama operático, levam-nos a supor que Paris poderá ter tido uma influência significativa na estreia no S. Carlos. Em última análise, pode-se considerar que era a presença de *Don Giovanni* não numa mas em várias das grandes capitais europeias que lhe conferia o estatuto de obra paradigmática que urgia dar a conhecer ao público de Lisboa.

Através de um catálogo que chegou até hoje,<sup>13</sup> é possível saber que entre os

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século XIX, foi sendo cada vez menos representado à medida que aumentava o sucesso das óperas de Rossini. A produção de 1836 tinha sido mal sucedida pois segundo a recensão da *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* os cantores não tinham compreendido a música (cf. *Studies in early Verdi, 1832-1844. New information and perspectives on the Milanese musical milieu and operas from Oberto to Ernani*, Nova Iorque, Garland, 1989, 43-44).

<sup>8</sup> Rachel Cowgill, «Such scientific and profound harmonies»: The Italian Opera Orchestra and Early Performances of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in London» in Niels Martin Jensen & Franco Piperno (eds.), *The Opera Orchestra in 18th-and 19th-Century Europe. II: The Orchestra in the Theatre – Composers, Works, and Performance*, Berlim, BWV. Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008, 1-20 e «Wise men from the East': Mozart's Operas and their advocates in Early Nineteenth-Century London» in *Music and British culture, 1785-1914. Essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Tendo inclusive estado nelas envolvido João Pereira Caldas, um dos capitalistas que haviam financiado a construção do Teatro de S. Carlos (cf. D. Cranmer, *op. cit.*, 25).

<sup>10</sup> Foi cantado a primeira vez em 1811 e na década de trinta apenas não foi ouvido em 1837 (cf. A. Soubies, *Le Théâtre Italien de 1801 a 1813*, Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 1913).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Katharine Ellis, «Rewriting *Don Giovanni* or 'The thieving magpies'», *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, CXIX, 2 (1994). Agradeço a Gabriela Cruz ter-me dado a conhecer este artigo.

<sup>12</sup> Cesare Corsi, «*Don Giovanni* and the Orchestra of the Neapolitan Royal Theatres» in Niels Martin Jensen e Franco Piperno (eds.), *op. cit.*, 40.

<sup>13</sup> P-Ln, MM 4986, proveniente do espólio de E. Vieira (cf. *Diccionario biographico de musicos portugueses: historia e bibliographia da musica em Portugal*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Typographia Mattos Moreira & Pinheiro, 1900, I, 410). Outra lista da biblioteca musical do Conde, elaborada em Março de 1870 na sequência do processo de falência de Farrobo, conserva-se no Tribunal da Boa Hora e foi publicada por I. Nunes (cf. «O espólio musical do Conde de Farrobo» in *A arte musical*, 2 (Janeiro 1996), 76-90).

títulos operáticos que integravam a biblioteca de Farrobo se contavam uma partitura para canto e piano de *Die Zauberflöte* em versão italiana e outra de orquestra, com partes, de *Don Giovanni*. No fundo do Conservatório, hoje na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, existe uma partitura de orquestra desta última ópera, na edição de Breitkopf und Härtel de 1801.<sup>14</sup> No mesmo fundo localizámos também um conjunto incompleto de partes de orquestra manuscritas, as quais, atendendo quer às suas ricas encadernações quer ao seu conteúdo, formam sem dúvida uma colecção com a espécie anteriormente referida. A existência de um número de catálogo na partitura (853 E81), permitiu identificar estes materiais como sendo os do Conde,<sup>15</sup> o qual possuía um amplo conjunto de partituras acompanhadas das respectivas partes e as emprestava, quando necessário, a várias instituições lisboetas. Também na Biblioteca Nacional, mas proveniente do fundo do Teatro de S. Carlos, existe um conjunto de partes vocais, orquestrais e corais, muito mais heterogéneo do que a colecção Farrobo, que reflecte um uso frequente, e ainda uma partitura de orquestra manuscrita em dois volumes, cujo tipo de papel e grafologia permitem datar da segunda metade do século. Algumas dessas partes – como as dos cantores, para as cordas ou para os trombones – datam de 1839, tendo provavelmente sido copiadas para completar as da colecção Farrobo, e apesar de muito alteradas fornecem elementos interessantes para o conhecimento da primeira apresentação lisboeta. Este artigo pretende analisar a estreia de *Don Giovanni* no Teatro de S. Carlos, as características dessa produção e da sua recepção, considerando a visão dos articulistas, muitas vezes com opinião formada através da leitura da imprensa estrangeira, bem como a atitude daqueles que estavam envolvidos na produção, através da análise dos materiais usados pelos músicos.

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A forma pouco clara como uma ópera como *Don Giovanni* era vista no final da década de trinta de oitocentos reflecte-se no frontispício do libreto impresso para a estreia de Lisboa.<sup>16</sup> O título é *D. João Tenorio*, designação que surge em Itália no final dos anos vinte (substituindo-se a *Il dissoluto punito*, o título original que havia sido utilizado até essa data),<sup>17</sup> o que se, por um lado, evidencia os laços que ligavam o S. Carlos aos teatros italianos, por outro, pode apontar para uma interferência da tradição teatral, que era bem conhecida entre nós, muito provavelmente através de Molière e Corneille. Também a designação do género como *Drama em Dous Actos*, sem qualquer alusão à componente cómica ou pelo menos

<sup>14</sup> *Il dissoluto punito ossia il Don Giovanni dramma giocoso in due atti posto in musica da Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in partitura presso Breitkopf e Härtel in Lipsia* [com gravura]. Há ainda uma segunda folha de rosto que diz *Don Juan oder der Steinerne Gast komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen in Musik gesezt von W.A. Mozart. Mit unterlegtem deutschen Texte nebst sämtlichen von dem Komponisten später eingelegten Stücken. In Partitur. Leipzig im Verlag der Breitkopf – und Härtelschen Musikhandlung*. Esta partitura apresenta o texto em alemão, da autoria de Freidrich Rochlitz, que data de 1801, e foi sempre considerado o texto *standard*. A primeira edição é de 1801 (cf. *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musik Theaters*, 4, Munique-Zurique, Piper, 1986-1991, 326).

<sup>15</sup> Através do confronto com as cotas atribuídas no catálogo já citado (cf. *P-Ln*, MM 4986).

<sup>16</sup> *D. João Tenorio. Drama em Dous Actos para se Representar no Real Theatro de S. Carlos*, Lisboa: 1838. Typografia Lisbonense. Largo do Conde Barão N° 21.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, 46-7.



*semiseria*, como é referida na maior parte dos libretos italianos, mostra afinidades da produção lisboeta tanto com a de 1836 no Scala como com a prática teatral londrina.<sup>18</sup> Aponta, além disso, para uma leitura séria da obra, mais próxima da visão romântica que se iria impor ao longo do século XIX.

Um artigo anónimo publicado no *Diario do Governo* na véspera da estreia preparava a audição de *Don Giovanni* de uma forma pouco usual na Lisboa dessa época, à maneira de um prefácio de libreto (a forma mais comum de um empresário justificar quaisquer aspectos relacionados com a nova produção) mas afirmando uma posição ambígua, simultaneamente próxima e distante da iniciativa. Ao traçar o historial da obra, o autor usa argumentos já apresentados noutras cidades culturalmente próximas de Lisboa, nas quais a ópera de Mozart tardava a ser ouvida, como por exemplo Veneza.<sup>19</sup> Entre esses argumentos contava-se a presença da ópera nas mais importantes capitais europeias, aqui perfeitamente discriminadas: primeiro Londres e Paris, só depois a Itália e a Alemanha. Se considerarmos esta lista como obedecendo a uma lógica hierárquica (o que não é seguro), podemos admitir que ela reflecte as referências culturais do articulista, ou seja, as duas grandes metrópoles europeias aparecem em primeiro lugar e só depois as grandes áreas geográfico-culturais polvilhadas de pequenas capitais, cada uma delas com a sua vida cultural própria. Também ao elogiar a coragem do empresário que

fazendo mais seguro conceito do aperfeiçoamento do gosto, e da intelligencia da musica entre nós, não tem receado affrontar sacrificios para nos fazer ouvir composições das differentes escholas; e teve a satisfação de ver que Guilherme Tell, e Roberto do Diabo não foram menos entendidos, do que Moysés, e Norma; desde então não podia hesitar em nos dar *D. Giovanne*. [...].<sup>20</sup>

o autor aponta para um conjunto de títulos operáticos no qual as referências francesas, em especial o novo género romântico, o *Grand Opéra*, são particularmente evidentes (embora *Guillaume Tell* tenha sido frequentemente recebido como mais uma obra de Rossini). Além disso, o profundo conhecimento que demonstra ter da partitura de *Don Giovanni*, bem como a qualidade do seu estilo, colocam-no quase seguramente entre o reduzido número de cultores da música de Mozart em Lisboa – alguns amadores, outros profissionais, que referimos no início deste artigo – e nomeadamente entre aqueles que tinham vivido nas capitais de França e Inglaterra.

A presença de *Robert le diable* no palco do S. Carlos desde a sua estreia em Setembro de 1838 (tendo inclusive sido representado entre duas récitas de *Don Giovanni*),<sup>21</sup> levam o articulista do *Diario do Governo*, a identificar a temática da ópera de Mozart como «a mesma mistura de libertinagem, e de Religião, que já vimos em Roberto» referindo logo em seguida que essa mistura «do burlesco, e do terrível, [...] em nossos tempos não seria bem acceito». A sua visão de Don Gio-

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, 47. Em Londres também se usava a designação *dramma* ou *grand opéra* (cf. Cowgill, *op. cit.*, 13), por oposição a *dramma giocoso*.

<sup>19</sup> Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, 38.

<sup>20</sup> *Id. Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Segundo o jornal *O Director*, *Don Giovanni* representou-se a 6, 7 (em benefício de Maggiorotti), 9, 11 e 20 de Janeiro. No dia 13 voltou-se logo a repetir *Robert le diable*.

vanni como «um libertino, um assassino, um vil sedutor de donzellas, um blasfemo incorrigível, castigado a final com o inferno à vista do espectador», está ainda longe da concepção oitocentista francesa, de filiação hoffmaniana, que olhava o protagonista como um herói romântico que no seu íntimo mantinha puro todo o seu idealismo. Estas opiniões levam-nos a olhar o autor como alguém que apesar de um certo cosmopolitismo possuía uma visão estética ainda profundamente enraizada na cultura setecentista a qual aliás, nos anos trinta, era ainda certamente a mais comum entre os públicos do Sul da Europa.

Porém, estes aspectos negativos do argumento eram, em sua opinião, claramente ultrapassados na medida em que serviam como pretexto para a audição da ópera de Mozart, vista como “um modelo inimitável”, uma obra perfeita “quanto à correcção do estilo”

desde a primeira até ultima nota, seja na frase da melodia, seja na combinação da harmonia, e contraponto [...]; ponto sublime de perfeição a que não chegou nenhum dos outros dos mais famigerados Mestres.<sup>22</sup>

E esta percepção da partitura mozartiana como algo de sublime – «um dos mais consumados modelos de música dramática» – fez-se sentir em Itália mas é de ascendência hoffmaniana e difunde-se essencialmente por via francesa, como explica Katharine Ellis.<sup>23</sup> O interesse do autor foca-se também no «caracter verdadeiramente dramatico da [...] musica, sempre acomodada ás pessoas, e ás situações; brilhante ou severa, melancólica ou jocosa, mas sempre conforme á letra»,<sup>24</sup> apesar de reconhecer que a cultura de escuta do teatro italiano secundarizava o drama. E ao abordar uma variedade de pormenores da escrita mozartiana refere-se à instrumentação do sexteto do 2.º acto (que serve de pretexto para voltar a falar de Meyerbeer), no qual

o Auctor se faz admirar nos cheios sem recorrer ao expediente dos compositores modernos, que não sabem produzir effeito sem empregarem nos fortes notas agudissimas continuadas, desagradaveis em todos os instrumentos, mas especialmente nas rabecas, em razão da difficuldade de obter alli affinação segura em todos os rabequistas.<sup>25</sup>

Escrita por alguém que, ao contrário do articulista do *Diário do Governo*, se diz desconhecedor das realidades artísticas, a única recensão publicada na imprensa após a estreia é, em termos conceptuais, claramente baseada neste primeiro texto, embora abandonando as referências francesas. No entanto, há um momento em que este autor é capaz de aproximar *Don Giovanni* de uma visão romântica e a referência que utiliza é, mais uma vez, *Robert le Diable*. Sintomático é, porém, que não o faça musicalmente mas através da componente cenográfica (comparando a cena do cemitério à do claustro do 3º acto da *grand opéra* de Meyerbeer),

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<sup>22</sup> *Id.*

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, 245.

<sup>24</sup> *Diário do Governo*, 5 de Janeiro de 1839.

<sup>25</sup> *Id.*

brindando-nos dessa forma com a única descrição dos aspectos visuais desta ópera de Mozart no S. Carlos em 1839:

quanto á scena do inferno [...] achamos um pouco mal arranjada – observando que a scena primeira com os lampiões tambem parece fôra de ordem. A salla illuminada offerece um grandioso prospecto, e dá grande honra aos Senhores Rambois e Cinatti. A do cemiterio, obra do Sr. Palucci, é de um effeito magico – o reflexo da lua sobre as aguas, o aspecto do peristylo mourisco, os cyprestes, os tumulos tudo concorre para completar a ilusão e tornar este soturno lugar comparavel á famosa scena do claustro no Roberto do Diabo, que tantas vezes tem provocado os geraes applausos do publico e que bastaria para accreditar o pincel do seu author...<sup>26</sup>

Apesar de Charles Dembrowsky referir que, pelo menos nas primeiras récitas de *Robert* em Lisboa, o público, pouco habituado ao elemento fantástico, ficou desorientado, não conseguindo conter o riso no bailado das freiras do final do terceiro acto,<sup>27</sup> a cenografia desta mesma cena, com o claustro abandonado ao luar, concebido e pintado por Rambois e Cinatti, é muito elogiada pelos críticos dos vários jornais que recensaram a estreia da obra em Lisboa,<sup>28</sup> mostrando que *performance* e cenografia eram apreciadas separadamente. A referência entusiástica ao cenário do cemitério em *Don Giovanni* deve ser vista também nesta perspectiva e comparando ambas as descrições, nota-se a emergência de um estereótipo para este tipo de cenas que se caracteriza pelo ambiente nocturno ao ar livre, a existência de túmulos, ruínas e a lua com o seu reflexo. Trata-se do tratamento cenográfico do *locus horrendus* romântico, no qual a lua surge sempre como elemento central, apesar de ser difícil saber se o «argenteo reverbero [que] illumina os monumentos, os tumulos, e as columnadas, cuja sombra se desenha nas paredes do edificio»<sup>29</sup> em *Robert* e o «reflexo da lua sobre as aguas» em *Don Giovanni*, eram simplesmente obtidos através de um efeito pictórico ou se havia de facto um sistema de iluminação. Quanto aos outros elementos, se a referência ao «peristylo mourisco» parece consentânea com a ambientação da ópera em Sevilha e pode ser lida como um elemento de certa modernidade – já que é precisamente nesses anos que desponta em Lisboa o gosto pela *couleur locale* e pelos *décors gothiques*, de que o estilo neo-árabe será uma variante<sup>30</sup> – a presença da água na cena do cemitério em *Don Giovanni* parece um elemento fantasioso, destinado exclusivamente a acentuar o impacto visual.

Quanto à apreciação do libreto e dos cantores, destaca-se o elogio a Luigi Maggiorotti no papel de Leporello, através do qual o crítico deixa claro o seu interesse pelo lado *giocoso* da ópera:

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<sup>26</sup> *O Nacional*, 10 de Janeiro de 1839.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Deux Ans en Espagne et en Portugal*, Paris, Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1841, 184-85.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *O Constitucional*, 4 de Setembro de 1838, *O Nacional*, 6 de Setembro de 1838 e *O Director*, 11 de Setembro de 1838.

<sup>29</sup> *O Nacional*, 6 de Setembro de 1838.

<sup>30</sup> Cuja face mais visível é a compra pelo rei D. Fernando das ruínas do convento da Pena em Sintra (cf. José Augusto França, *A Arte em Portugal no Século XIX*, 1, Venda Nova, Bertrand Editora, 1990, 297 e ss.)

serviu D. João [...] sustentando a bem merecida reputação que ganhou no desempenho do Barbeiro de Sevilha, e em Clara de Rusemberg [*sic*]. Leporello galhofeiro e poltrão, lastimando a perda de seu amo, e concorrendo para as suas devassidões – sujeitos a quiproquós que tinham de ser funestos sustenta sempre com igualdade o seu carácter – e excede-se sobre tudo quando mostra a D. Elvira o interminável catalogo das boas fortunas de D. João, e quando se vê constrangido a convidar para cear a mormorea estatua do infeliz commendador.<sup>31</sup>

A distribuição dos papéis na produção lisboeta (ver Quadro 1) denota proximidade com a tradição performativa italiana da obra,<sup>32</sup> que marginalizava Donna Elvira e, deste modo, centrava a acção num único triângulo amoroso: Don Giovanni – Donna Anna – Don Ottavio. Sente-se também a definição de uma nova hierarquia: primeiro os personagens sérios, depois o personagem *buffo* e, finalmente, o par de camponeses no que parece ser ainda uma reminiscência da tradição cômica setecentista. Alterações parecidas podem ser encontradas na versão francesa criada por Castil-Blaze, mas, neste caso, a diferença reside essencialmente na redefinição dos perfis de Don Giovanni e Donna Anna, os quais são transformados no protótipo do herói e da heroína romântica. Todavia, em Lisboa, apesar de à partida Santina Ferlotti ser a figura mais destacada da companhia (como consequência da sua idade e carreira), o que se nota através da imprensa periódica é que, no final de 1838 e princípio de 1839, era Claudia, a sua filha, quem se distinguia na companhia do S. Carlos, depois do assinalável sucesso obtido em *Lucia di Lammermoor* e *Chiara di Rosemberg*.<sup>33</sup> Não admira por isso que lhe tenha sido distribuído o papel de Donna Anna, aquele que naturalmente se destinava à *prima donna*, ficando a mãe com o de Zerlina, mais adequado à sua voz de *mezzo-soprano* e menos exigente (pois ao que parece esta cantora encontrava-se doente, tendo aliás cantado pouco nos meses que se seguiram).<sup>34</sup>

<i>D. João Tenorio</i>	Filippo Coletti
<i>D. Anna</i>	Claudia Ferlotti
<i>D. Octavio</i>	Francesco Regoli
<i>O Commendador</i>	Caio Eckerlin
<i>D. Elvira</i>	Carolina Paganini
<i>Leporello</i>	Luigi Maggiorotti
<i>Zerlina</i>	Santina Ferlotti
<i>Masetto</i>	Giuseppe Ramonda

Quadro 1: Elenco de *D. Giovanni*, no Teatro de S. Carlos, 1839

<sup>31</sup> *O Nacional*, 10 de Janeiro de 1839. Já o autor do texto do *Diário do Governo* tinha referido a adequação de Maggiorotti ao papel cômico de Leporello, mencionando as suas intervenções em *Il barbiere*, de Rossini, (Figaro) e *Chiara di Rosemberg*, de Luigi Ricci, (Michelotto). Tinha cantado estes dois papéis em 1834 e é possível que os tenha repetido nos finais de Outubro de 1838 pois as duas óperas voltaram a ser repostas nessa temporada no S. Carlos.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. P. Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, 35.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *O Director*, 18 e 25 de Janeiro de 1839.

<sup>34</sup> Só voltou a aparecer em cena na *Norma* a 28 de Abril de 1839 (cf. L. Cymbron, *A Ópera em Portugal (1834-1854): o sistema produtivo e o repertório nos teatros de S. Carlos e de S. João*, Tese de Doutoramento, Lisboa, FCSH-UNL, 1998, 346).

Acresce ainda que, de todos os intervenientes nesta produção, apenas alguns cantores que não os principais poderiam estar familiarizados com a ópera: Francesco Regoli já interpretara Don Ottavio em Turim em 1828, e Carolina Paganini, que desempenhou o papel de Donna Elvira, era casada com o tenor Giovanni Paganini, que havia integrado o elenco da produção de Veneza em 1833. Dos outros, Colletti – que viria a ser um importantíssimo barítono verdiano, criador de vários papéis entre eles Macbeth – era, em 1839, um jovem em início de carreira que não tinha certamente tido a oportunidade de cantar uma ópera de Mozart. O crítico do jornal *O Nacional*<sup>35</sup> felicita-o «por se haver conduzido tão habilmente em um papel de um género ao qual não estava habituado», mostrando claramente que era a primeira vez que o interpretava. De resto, esta situação reflecte totalmente o panorama das interpretações mozartianas nos teatros italianos, pois os grandes nomes que cantaram *Don Giovanni* na década de trinta nunca o fizeram em Itália mas sim em Paris. Este facto é indicativo de como, apesar da introdução de um conjunto de alterações que aproximavam a ópera do gosto romântico, a resistência italiana a Mozart, visto como um compositor demasiadamente complexo, levou a que a ópera nunca se tenha conseguido impor.

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Respondendo embora a concepções estéticas e contingências produtivas diferentes, *Don Giovanni* foi cantado, tanto em Itália como na Opéra de Paris, com um número considerável de cortes e adaptações. Pierluigi Petrobelli foi o primeiro a considerar a existência de uma “tradição executiva”<sup>36</sup> característica do espaço cultural italiano, tal como, mais recentemente, Katharine Ellis o fez em relação ao caso francês, estudando o processo através do qual Véron, Castil-Blaze e a sua equipa propuseram uma releitura francófona e romântica tanto do mito do “burlador de Sevilla” como da obra de Mozart.<sup>37</sup> No caso de Lisboa, embora não se possa saber com exactidão se a interpretação obedeceu fielmente ao que foi impresso no libreto bilingue, o texto italiano apresenta-se praticamente completo e fiel à partitura de orquestra, o que mostra que deve ter sido extraído dela. Aparentemente foram excluídas somente as árias de Masetto “Ho capito” (I, 6) e uma parte substancial do final do 2º acto (II, 16).<sup>38</sup> A estreia no S. Carlos caracteriza-se assim por uma significativa fidelidade à versão de Praga (tendo inclusive Regoli cantado a ária “Il mio tesoro” (II, 21) e não “Dalla sua pace” (I, 10a), à semelhança do que sucedeu no King’s Theatre).<sup>39</sup> Porém, um exemplar do libreto oriundo da colecção do Conservatório possui algumas indicações manuscritas, nomeadamente o corte da segunda ária de Elvira “Ah! Fuggi il traditore” (I, 8),<sup>40</sup> o que

<sup>35</sup> *O Nacional*, 10 de Janeiro de 1839.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. P. Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, 36.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> As partes de orquestra da colecção Farrobo, as que possuem maior evidência de terem sido usadas em 1839, são também fiéis à versão de Praga.

<sup>39</sup> O articulista do *Diario do governo* confirma que a ária de Don Ottavio que se iria ouvir era “Dalla sua pace”. A ária de Masetto era normalmente cortada tanto nas versões italianas como francesas do século XIX.

<sup>40</sup> P-Ln, CN 66 P, D. João Tenorio. *Drama em dous actos para se representar no Real Theatro de*

pode indicar que, na prática, as alterações foram mais abundantes do que as sugeridas pelo libreto e pelas partes.

Também no que se refere ao conteúdo do texto, certas expressões que nos estados italianos eram consideradas ofensivas e por isso cortadas pela censura, como «sforzar la figlia ed amazzar il padre» ou «Viva la libertà», mantiveram-se no libreto impresso para o S. Carlos. Contudo, o recitativo *accompagnato* de Donna Anna, durante o qual esta narra a cena da tentativa de violação, apresenta uma situação curiosa (ver Quadro 2).

Libreto	Partes de Don Ottavio e Donna Anna
<i>D. Anna</i> D. Ottavio son morta! <i>D. Ottavio</i> Cosa è stato? <i>D. Anna</i> Per pietà, soccorretemi! <i>D. Ottavio</i> Mio ben fate coraggio! <i>D. Anna</i> Oh Dei! Quegli è il carnefice del padre mio.	<i>D. Anna</i> D. Ottavio son morta! <i>D. Ottavio</i> Cosa è stato? <i>D. Anna</i> Per pietà, soccorretemi! <i>D. Ottavio</i> Mio ben fate coraggio! <del><i>D. Anna</i></del> <del>Oh Dei!</del> Quegli è il carnefice del padre mio. Che dite! <i>D. Anna</i> Non dubitate più: Gli ultimi accenti, Che l'empio proferì, tutta la voce, richiamar nel cor mio di quell indegno che nel mio appartamento... <i>D. Ottavio</i>  Oh Ciel! possibile che soto il sacro manto d'amicizia... ma come fù, Narratemi lo strano avvenimento! <i>D. Anna</i> Era già alquanto avanzata la notte, quando nelle mie stanze, ove soletta mi trovai per sventura, entrar io vidi in un mantello avvolto un uom che al primo istante avea preso per voi; Ma riconobbi poi Che un ingano era il mio <i>D. Ottavio</i> ( <i>con affanno</i> ): Stelle! Seguite... <i>D. Anna</i> Tacito a me s'apressa...
Lo riconobbi poi. Nò, non m'ingano, oh Dio! <i>D. Ottavio</i> ( <i>con affanno</i> ): Stelle! Seguite... <i>D. Anna</i> Tacito a me s'apressa...	<i>D. Anna</i> Tacito a me s'apressa...

Quadro 2: Comparação do libreto impresso para a estreia no Teatro de S. Carlos, em 1839, com as partes cavas de Don Ottavio e Donna Anna, usadas na mesma produção

Na comparação dos dois textos verifica-se a existência de um longo corte no do libreto o qual inclui, grosso modo, a narrativa do momento em que Don Gio-

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*S. Carlos*, Lisboa, 1838, 38. Este libreto é provavelmente um dos primeiros exemplares que saiu da tipografia, dado que quase não foi aparado (mede 11,2 x 15,7cm enquanto os outros dois existentes na Biblioteca Nacional medem respectivamente 10,3 x 14,3cm e 10 x 14,2cm), foi muito mais manuseado do que qualquer dos outros dois existentes na mesma biblioteca e é por isso possível supor que tenha estado nas mãos de alguém ligado à produção.

vanni entrou furtivamente nos aposentos de Donna Anna. O conteúdo dos versos excluídos parece, no entanto, confirmar a ideia de que, na sua origem, não está um problema de ordem moral pois o momento de maior impacto, aquele em que Donna Anna descreve a tentativa de violação, permaneceu inalterado. O seu objectivo parece, à primeira vista, estar relacionado com a concisão dramática, acentuando o momento do reconhecimento e permitindo um corte substancial do recitativo numa passagem em que a sua textura orquestral está mais próxima de um recitativo *secco*, que nesta época era já considerado enfadonho. Porém, a narrativa que se segue fica pouco compreensível, uma vez que o público nunca chega a saber como é que se chegou ao momento em questão. Uma análise das partes destinadas aos cantores (que nesta passagem se mantêm ainda na sua versão original) mostra que estas são particularmente fiéis à partitura de Breitkopf e que não há vestígios de qualquer corte. O que se passou então aquando da estreia? Qual destas fontes reflecte mais directamente a montagem da ópera no S. Carlos em 1839? O corte no libreto resultará de um mero erro tipográfico? Até ao momento não foi possível descobri-lo mas tudo indica que não terá havido qualquer tentativa de silenciar os momentos mais “chocantes” da ópera. Aliás, os poucos dados que conhecemos sobre a censura nas décadas de trinta e quarenta mostram que, ao contrário do que acontecia em Itália, esta não interferia praticamente nos libretos, preocupando-se muito mais com tudo o que ia à cena nos teatros declamados. A língua estrangeira, a aceitação de um modelo de escuta centrado na música (como referia o crítico do *Diário do Governo*) e o reduzido número de teatros líricos do país levavam os censores a considerar menos importante a intervenção nesse género.

Outra das alterações sofridas pela ópera ao longo do século XIX era no final do 2º acto, o qual terminava normalmente com o desaparecimento de Don Giovanni, engolido pelas chamas, excluindo todo epílogo de carácter moralizante que se inicia com a chegada das outras personagens. Porém, o libreto para a estreia no S. Carlos inclui além disso um novo conjunto de três versos, atribuídos a um coro de diabos e fúrias, com o seguinte conteúdo:

*S'apre l'Inferno e D. Gio. è rapito dai Diavoli*

Varia il reo dell'infernal

Ampio baratro le porte

Ivi avrà pena imortal.<sup>41</sup>

Apesar da óbvia má qualidade da poesia, em contraste com o texto de Da Ponte, não é difícil perceber que, quer em termos de métrica quer pelo tipo de

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<sup>41</sup> D. João Tenorio. *Drama em dous actos para se representar no Real Theatro de S. Carlos*, Lisboa, 1838. P. Petrobelli refere que nos libretos italianos a última cena é completamente eliminada, terminando a ópera com desaparecimento de Don Giovanni entre as chamas (cf. *op. cit.*, 36) e J. Rushton, menciona que em quase todos os teatros, no séc. XIX, os diabos invadiam o palco depois de Don Giovanni ter sido engolido pelas chamas (cf. *W.A. Mozart, Don Giovanni*, Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 1981, 73). Deve ser esta a cena a que faz referência o crítico de *O Nacional* ao mencionar o seu desagrado perante a «scena do inferno que achamos um pouco mal arranjada».

rima, estes versos foram escritos para serem adaptados ao *Presto* que termina o *Finale*<sup>42</sup> e no qual todos os protagonistas cantam:

Questo è il fin di chi fà mal;  
E de' perfidi la morte  
Alla vita è sempre ugual.

Esta modificação constitui uma variante de adaptação do *Finale* que já havia sido utilizada em Londres embora não saibamos se com o mesmo texto,<sup>43</sup> a qual permite manter alguns resquícios da nota moralista do final de Praga, mas que devia significar dificuldades acrescidas em termos de execução, dada a complexidade de escrita do *fugato* que a compõe, muito mais se pensarmos que no S. Carlos era suposto ela ser apenas cantada pelo coro.<sup>44</sup>

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Contrariamente ao que era habitual na crítica musical portuguesa dos anos trinta, no artigo publicado no *Diario do Governo* a orquestra não só não foi esquecida como o articulista decide mesmo dar directamente conselhos a Angelo Frondoni (1809-1891), o *maestro* encarregue da produção, recomendando-lhe que tivesse:

[o] especial cuidado de fazer desta vez respeitar pela orchestra todas as gradações de forte e pianno, de que depende grandemente o effeito de toda a musica, mas particularmente desta.<sup>45</sup>

Frondoni era um jovem em início de carreira, natural de Parma mas ligado ao meio teatral milanês, que havia sido contratado pelo S. Carlos em 1838.<sup>46</sup> Podemos assumir que *Don Giovanni* lhe foi confiado por ser uma partitura que já conhecia, pois como é sabido esta ópera teve uma presença relativamente forte em Milão.<sup>47</sup> Infelizmente há muito poucos dados que nos permitam perceber o modo como ele a terá ensaiado, já que as anotações datadas que se encontram na partitura e nas partes são da segunda metade do século e, na única recensão publicada depois da estreia, estes aspectos foram totalmente omitidos.<sup>48</sup> Provavelmente ele terá sido responsável pela realização dos recitativos ao piano, como acontecia na maioria dos teatros da época, já que não há vestígios da introdução de recitativos acompanhados tal como na versão francesa de 1834.

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<sup>42</sup> Confirma-se através da parte de Violino 1.º da Col. Farrobo, onde o *Allegro* está cortado mas o *Presto* mantém-se. Há uma indicação manuscrita, provavelmente mais tardia, que indica o fim da ópera, no momento em que Don Giovanni é engolido pelas chamas.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Cowgill, *op. cit.*, 13

<sup>44</sup> Nas partes dos cantores o final foi sempre restaurado de acordo com a versão de Praga. Porém a de Masetto, a única que se mantém tal como foi copiada em 1839, não inclui este número, o que prova que os cantores principais não intervinham neste último número.

<sup>45</sup> *Diario do Governo*, 5 de Janeiro de 1839.

<sup>46</sup> *Diario do Governo*, 2 de Maio de 1838.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. P. Petrobelli, *op. cit.*, 41.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *O Nacional*, 10 de Janeiro de 1839.



A folha de guarda da parte de Violino 1.º da colecção Farrobo tem escrita a lápis «9 Dicembre 1838 [ilegível]» o que deve querer indicar uma distribuição das partes de orquestra mas não, forçosamente, o começo dos ensaios. Supõe-se porém que uma ópera na qual a componente orquestral apresenta dificuldades muito maiores do que em qualquer outra obra até esse momento trabalhada pela orquestra do S. Carlos, com os problemas de coordenação do final do 1.º acto (dada a presença de três orquestras em palco), tenha necessitado de mais tempo para ensaios do que o único caso concreto que conhecemos deste período, a *Gemma di Vergy* de Donizetti, ensaiada em três dias para ser estreada a 27 de Abril de 1838. Há ainda que considerar que até à véspera de Natal houve espectáculos regulares, em dias alternados, e que estes foram retomados com récitas diárias a partir de 28 de Dezembro, exceptuando-se os dias 29 de Dezembro e 3 de Janeiro (tendo havido reposições das óperas *Inés di Castro* de Persiani, recentemente estreada, *Robert le Diable*, *Marin Faliero*, *Il barbiere di Siviglia* e *I Capuleti*). Partindo destes dados e também da data impressa no frontispício do libreto (que é ainda 1838), é possível pensar que a estreia de *Don Giovanni* tivesse sido prevista para finais de Dezembro, talvez depois do Natal, e que o seu adiamento para Janeiro se relacione com dificuldades nos ensaios. É aliás muito provável que estes tenham tido de ser prolongados, encaixando-se nos dias em que não houve espectáculos e ficando o dia 5 de Janeiro reservado para o ensaio geral.

Quanto aos efectivos instrumentais, os da temporada de 1839 eram praticamente os mesmos que haviam sido contratados quando o Conde de Farrobo assumira a empresa do teatro em finais de 1837, com excepção de um reforço dos violinos e uma redução dos violoncelos e contrabaixos, além da supressão da corneta de chaves, cuja presença na lista de 1838 se deve provavelmente ao facto deste ser o instrumento preferido de Francisco Santos Pinto, o primeiro trompetista, mas não um instrumento *standard* da orquestra (ver Quadros 3 e 4).

Instrumentos	1838	1839
1º Violino e director da orquestra	1	1
Violinos	13	16
Violas	4	4
Violoncelos	4	3
Contrabaixos	6	4
Flautas	2	2
Oboés	2	2
Clarinetes	3	2
Fagotes	1	2
Trompas	4	4
Clarins	2	2
Corneta de chaves	1	–
Trombones	3	3
Oficleide	1	1
Harpa	1	1
Timbales e outros instr. percussão	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>48</b>

Quadro 3: Número de efectivos instrumentais no Teatro de S. Carlos em 1838 e 1839

<b>Instrumento</b>	<b>Músicos</b>
Violinos	Caetano Jordani (1º violino) José Maria de Freitas João Achilles Ripamonti Vicente Tito Mazoni João Alberto Rodrigues Costa José Miguel Sanz José Manuel Neves João Pinto Palma Henrique Fiorenzuola José Nogueira de Carvalho Melchior de Oliveira António Avilez Giuseppe Galli Carlos Morel, João António Xavier João Carrião João Luís Cossoul
Violas	José Gazul Manuel Joaquim dos Santos António Joaquim Sá Malheiro Jules Théodore Chion
Violoncelos	João Jordani António Maria Gonçalves António Gualdino Neves
Contrabaixos	Joaquim José de Sousa Januário Elias das Neves António M. C. da Cunha e Silva Frederico Artur Reinhardt
Flauta e flautim	Manuel Joaquim Botelho José Gazul Jr.
Oboé e corne inglês	Antonio Cotinelli José Joaquim de Sequeira
Clarinetes	José Avelino Canongia Gaspar Campos
Fagotes	Tiago Calvet Francisco dos Santos
Trompas	João Gazul José Romano Francisco Roth Leonardo Soller
Clarins	Francisco António Norberto dos Santos Pinto Manuel Inocêncio dos Santos
Trombones	Cristiano Rorich Francisco Casassa, Francisco Caetano
Oficleide	Manuel Vidal
Harpa	Gaetano Fontana
Timbales	Duarte de Sousa Mascarenhas

Quadro 4: Constituição da orquestra do Teatro de S. Carlos  
na temporada de 1839<sup>49</sup>

Nos materiais orquestrais há muito poucas indicações que nos possam fornecer informação sobre a sonoridade da orquestra neste período. Mas para além da desproporção existente entre o reduzido número de cordas e os sopros, que parece ser crónica nas orquestras portuguesas da primeira metade do século XIX, é interessante considerar também o tipo e a origem dos instrumentos. Nos sopros, por

<sup>49</sup> Reconstruída a partir das escrituras dos músicos contidas em *P-Ln*, Fundo TSC, Lv. 8, *Real Theatro de S. Carlos. Conde do Farrobo empresario do mesmo Real Theatro*.

exemplo, Ernesto Vieira<sup>50</sup> refere que alguns dos melhores instrumentistas, como os flautistas Manuel Joaquim Botelho e José Gazul ou o clarinetista Gaspar Campos – todos eles presentes na estreia de *Don Giovanni* –, tocavam em instrumentos de Ernesto Frederico Haupt, um construtor estabelecido em Lisboa, os quais possuíam um número de chaves variável, como era comum na primeira metade do século. Por outro lado, nos metais, que até meados da década de cinquenta se mantiveram instrumentos naturais, é possível que alguns instrumentistas tenham usado modelos de Rafael Rebelo, outro fabricante local que construiu trompas naturais, trombones, cornetas de chaves e oficleides.<sup>51</sup> Não é possível saber se a orquestra reagiu negativamente, como previa o autor do artigo publicado no *Diário do Governo*, mas o público, esse, não mostrou particular entusiasmo pela ópera, que teve apenas cinco representações e caiu no esquecimento.

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A popularidade atingida por *Don Giovanni* em Paris e noutras grandes capitais europeias bem como a sua entronização como “obra prima” ao longo do primeiro terço do século XIX, parecem ter sido determinantes para a estreia lisboeta desta ópera em 1839. Todavia, os meios disponíveis para a sua montagem eram, em boa parte, oriundos dos teatros italianos nos quais a ópera nunca se tinha conseguido impor completamente. O resultado foi, tanto quanto as fontes nos permitem saber, o de uma produção com características locais, só indirectamente relacionada com as *praxis* performativas de outros centros culturais e, em simultâneo, alguma fidelidade à versão original de Praga. Mesmo tendo sido ensaiada por um *concertatore* que a conhecia certamente com os cortes frequentes adoptados nos teatros italianos, os quais iam bastante além daqueles feitos em Lisboa, esta versão parece derivar bastante da concepção expressa pelo articulista do *Diário do Governo*, de uma obra intocável, um dos primeiros grandes exemplos de ópera de repertório e, nesse sentido, pode-se falar de uma influência francesa. Apesar da constante utilização de *Robert le diable* como chave de leitura sugerir o início de uma recepção de *Don Giovanni* enquanto drama romântico de origem francesa, tal como por exemplo em Nápoles, esta concepção só vingaria na geração seguinte, quando a ópera voltou a ser ouvida no S. Carlos em 1868.

De um ponto de vista mais amplo, o da recepção de Mozart em Portugal, a estreia de *Don Giovanni* no Teatro de S. Carlos determina um momento histórico com dois significados diferentes: é a última da reduzida série de estreias operáticas iniciadas nas primeiras duas décadas de oitocentos e ainda muito ligadas à recepção setecentista, mas é também a primeira e única ópera de Mozart que, apesar das grandes intermitências, se iria transformar em obra de repertório, acompanhando a tímida afirmação do repertório instrumental do compositor nas sociedades de concertos da segunda metade do século.

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<sup>50</sup> E. Vieira, *op. cit.*, I, 488 e II, 235.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. E. Vieira, *op. cit.*, II, 235. Há vários instrumentos deste construtor na colecção do Museu da Música em Lisboa (cf. *Fábricas de sons. Instrumentos de música europeus dos séculos XVI a XX*, Lisboa, Electa-Lisboa Capital Europeia da Cultura 94, 1994, 128).



**A MÚSICA RELIGIOSA**  
**SACRED MUSIC**



## Mozart and Viennese Sacred Music: Some Recent Discoveries

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The reception of Marcos Portugal in late eighteenth-century Austria presents a contrasting picture. On the one hand, there is evidence of a small-scale interest in the operatic music, as a number of surviving manuscripts testify. A German translation of *I due gobbi* was produced at Schikaneder's *Theater auf der Wieden* and also at the abbey of Kremsmünster in the 1790s,<sup>1</sup> and the Empress Marie Therese kept excerpts of four further works in her personal music library.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, in the genre for which Portugal was equally known, sacred music, there is no evidence of any distribution or performance in Vienna during the eighteenth-century or indeed in the early nineteenth. When searching for an explanation for this situation, one may point to the natural conservatism and parochialism of Viennese sacred institutions, attitudes that limited the distribution of music created outside the Empire, or even outside the city. Yet if one consults any standard reference on the history of eighteenth-century music, one is likely to encounter another explanation, with implications not only for outsiders like Portugal but for insiders like Mozart as well. According to such reports, the Emperor Joseph II, who reigned in his own right from 1781 to 1790, was responsible for a series of stringent restrictions on the performance of instrumentally-accompanied church music in Vienna, restrictions that resulted in the near disappearance of orchestral masses, motets, vespers, and other sorts of sacred music for a period of some seven years. This situation, in turn, led Mozart and other Viennese musicians to abandon sacred music as a target for their compositional efforts.

Allegations such as these are found even in the most recent literature. In the article "Mass" in the second edition of *New Grove*, for example, one reads: "Both Haydn and Mozart produced fine masses in the year before the abolition of elaborate church music by the Emperor Joseph II in 1783".<sup>3</sup> Christoph Wolff, in

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<sup>1</sup> A score of Viennese origin is in *D-F*, Mus. Hs. Op. 459; see David Buch, "Der Stein der Weisen, Mozart, and Collaborative Singspiels at Emanuel Schikaneder's Theater auf der Wieden" in *Mozart-Jahrbuch 2000*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 2001, 125. The performance material at Kremsmünster is in *A-KR*, L 88 (score, dated 1795) and G 24/71 (parts).

<sup>2</sup> *A-Wn*, Mus. Hs. 4227 (a quintet from *Artaserse*), Mus. Hs. 10067-68 (*Il filosofo*), Mus. Hs. 10069 (*La madre virtuosa*), Mus. Hs. 10671-85 (*Il matrimonio di Figaro*).

<sup>3</sup> Denis Arnold & John Harper, "Mass (III)" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>

his book on Mozart's Requiem, writes that "[the] reforms initiated by Joseph [...] imposed painful restrictions on concertante Latin church music in Austria, causing it to be in effect banned from 1783 on. For a time scarcely any new church music was written in Vienna."<sup>4</sup> What is notable in statements such as these is a reluctance to give supporting evidence such as quotations from Joseph's edicts, contemporary accounts or payment records to back up the claim that the Emperor 'banned' church music. The only piece of evidence regularly cited is the claim that two composers, Haydn and Mozart, wrote no church music between 1783 and 1791, dates that happen to coincide closely with the reign of Joseph II. This claim is factually inaccurate, as research by Alan Tyson has shown that Mozart did in fact begin several masses from about 1787 onwards, and also copied sacred pieces by another Viennese composer.<sup>5</sup> From a methodological point of view, it is a dubious piece of evidence with which to support the idea of a ban on church music in any case. There were, after all, a great many composers in Vienna, and it is unwise to take the works of just two of them, Haydn and Mozart, as representative of a general phenomenon.

The truth is that Joseph II did not ban church music: what he did do was order the introduction of a highly regulated liturgical scheme for the city, specifying what sort of worship was to occur at various kinds of services. The guidelines, formulated by the *Geistliches Hofkommission*, were not specifically directed towards music, but were part of a broader plan to create a consistent experience across the numerous churches of Vienna and its suburbs, and reduce what Joseph regarded as ostentatious finery in church liturgy. The new *Gottesdienstordnung*, or order of services, was introduced on Easter Sunday 1783, with the newspapers reporting a high level of confusion among clergy and the congregation as they adjusted to the new scheme. The most important innovations of the *Gottesdienstordnung* are shown in Table 1.<sup>6</sup>

	Pre-1783	Post-1783
Mass	Orchestral or <i>choraliter</i> as desired	Orchestral masses on Sundays and feast days only; <i>choraliter</i> otherwise
Vespers	Orchestral or <i>choraliter</i> as desired	<i>choraliter</i> ; with organ (but not other instruments) on feast days
Litany	Orchestral or <i>choraliter</i> as desired	Congregational only

Table 1: Comparison of pre- and post-1783 *Gottesdienstordnung*.

<sup>4</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, 83-4.

<sup>5</sup> Alan Tyson, "The Mozart Fragments in the Mozarteum, Salzburg: A Preliminary Study of their Chronology and Their Significance", in *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1987, 125-61.

<sup>6</sup> The original text was printed in *Künftige Gottesdiensts- und Andachtsordnung für Wien in und vor der Stadt*, Vienna, Ghelen, 1783. For a modern transcription, see Hans Hollerweger, *Die Reform des Gottesdienstes zur Zeit des Josephinismus in Österreich*, Regensburg, Verlag Pustet, 1976, 552-54.



Orchestral masses, which could previously be celebrated according to the resources available, were now permitted only on Sundays and Feast Days, and orchestral vespers and litanies were removed entirely. In the case of masses, the situation was not as bad as it seemed, for Sundays and feast days always featured the most elaborate music in any case, and they remained entirely unaffected. Furthermore, vespers and litanies were celebrated with far less frequency than the Eucharist, so the impact of this change on orchestral musicians was quite limited. Fundamentally, the *Gottesdienstordnung* required the clergy and musicians to engage in a form of self-regulation, for the strictures were essentially unenforceable short of Joseph and his religious commission employing some kind of punitive scheme to enforce them.

Joseph's scheme was gradually extended to other Habsburg territories and remained in force until early 1791, when the emperor's brother and successor, Leopold II, began to relax them. Assessing the actual impact of the reforms during this period requires investigation of a wide variety of manuscript and printed sources, both musical and non-musical. Also required is a keen sense of the potential gap between official pronouncements and the day-to-day reality of church music 'on the ground'. In the following account I shall provide a summary of the evidence for the period 1783-91, focusing on the viability of new sacred composition, the continuing performance of older works and information provided by official correspondence, financial records and printed sources.

We may begin with the musical sources themselves, which consist almost entirely of manuscript material scattered across the city's ecclesiastical and state archives. These sources can provide only an incomplete picture of everyday musical life in Vienna's churches, for much of the material has been lost, mostly from intentional acts of disposal as the style of these pieces became outdated and they were no longer of practical use. Nevertheless, substantially complete eighteenth-century collections survive from some of the most important churches in the city, including the Imperial Hofkapelle, the church of St. Peter and the Schottenstift.<sup>7</sup> Many of the directors of music who presided over these institutions were active as composers, and the works they produced provide the strongest testimony for the continuing viability of concerted sacred music throughout the 1780s. While there are a few isolated instances of works written without any obvious practical intent, such as Mozart's C minor Mass K. 427, it is difficult to believe that composers in this context would have created new works if there was no opportunity for performing them.

Figure 1 (next page) presents a selective list of sacred works known to have been written while the Josephinian restrictions were in force.<sup>8</sup> By far the most prolific composer of sacred music in Mozart's Vienna was Johann Georg Albrechtsberger. Albrechtsberger is best known today as Beethoven's teacher in counterpoint, and also as the author of an important treatise on composition. The

<sup>7</sup> The *Hofkapelle* and St. Peter's collections are now in *A-Wn*, the Schottenstift in *A-Ws*.

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed discussion and list of sources see David Black, "Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music, 1781-91", PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007, 63-83.

<p><b>Albrechtsberger, Johann Georg (1736-1809)</b>, <i>regens chori</i>, St. Joseph (1772-92)  c. 9 masses (1783-c. 1790), 23 graduals (1783-91), 12 offertories (1783-85), 7 antiphons (1783-85)</p> <p><b>Friberth, Carl (1736-1816)</b>, <i>regens chori</i> at several churches  Mass (1789), motet (1789)</p> <p><b>Henneberg, Johann Baptist (1768-1822)</b>, organist at Schottenstift  <i>Ad te domine levavi</i> (c. 1790), <i>Regina coeli</i> (c. 1790)</p> <p><b>Mozart, Wolfgang Amadé (1756-91)</b>, adjunct <i>Kapellmeister</i> at St Stephen's Cathedral (1791)  Mass in C minor (1782-3), 5 mass fragments (c. 1787-91), two German hymns (1787), motet <i>Ave verum corpus</i> (1791), Requiem (1791)</p> <p><b>Pasterwitz, Georg von (1730-1803)</b>, <i>Hofmeister</i> to Stift Kremsmünster (1785-95)  2 masses (c. 1790-91), Requiem (c. 1790), <i>Vesperae pro Defunctis</i> (1791), two Magnificats (c. 1785-90), Te Deum (c. 1790), 12 offertories and graduals (c. 1790-91)</p> <p><b>Rieder, Ambros (1771-1855)</b>  Mass in D (1784), motets (1784), <i>Vexilla regis</i> (1789), Mass in Bb (1790)</p> <p><b>Salieri, Antonio (1750-1825)</b>, <i>Hofkapellmeister</i> 1788-1824  Mass in D (?1788), Te Deum for Coronation of Leopold II (1790), motet <i>Mater Jesu</i> (?1790)</p> <p><b>Spangler, Johann Georg (1752-1802)</b>, tenor, later <i>regens chori</i> of Michaelerkirche  <i>Vesperae de Confessore</i> (1786), Gradual <i>Dies sanctificatis</i> (1789)</p> <p><b>Süssmayr, Franz Xaver (1766-1803)</b>  Alleluia (c. 1790)</p> <p><b>Weigl, Joseph (1766-1846)</b>, assistant conductor at <i>Burgtheater</i>  Mass in Eb (1783), Mass in F (1784)</p>
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Figure 1: Some sacred works by Viennese composers, 1783-91

relationship between Albrechtsberger and Mozart was apparently close. Mozart, upon hearing the Dresden organist Hässler in 1789, wrote to his wife that Hässler possessed a good pedal technique, but his lack of expertise in fugue meant that he could not match Albrechtsberger. In fact we know from the catalogue of Mozart's estate that he possessed a printed collection of fugues by the older composer. In 1790, Albrechtsberger and Mozart together examined the newly-built organ of St. Laurenz in a suburb of Vienna. The composer and music historian Maximilian Stadler related a story of Albrechtsberger challenging Mozart to a contest of improvisation, and the latter succeeding brilliantly. Finally, according to the famous account of Mozart's last hours penned by his sister-in-law Sophie Haibl, Mozart personally endorsed Albrechtsberger as his successor as adjunct *Kapellmeister* at St Stephen's Cathedral.

From 1772, Albrechtsberger served as *regens chori* at the Carmelite Church, one of the most musically ambitious of Vienna's suburban churches. When its supporting monastery was closed by Joseph II in 1783, the church was rededicated to St. Joseph, and Albrechtsberger continued to serve as its director of music until 1793, when he became *Kapellmeister* at St Stephen's Cathedral. At Albrechtsberger's death in 1809, his widow sold his musical estate to Prince Esterházy, and it was kept together by the family until transferred to the Hungarian National Library after World War II. The fact that a large number of autographs by Albrechtsberger survive, together with the composer's habit of regularly dating his scores means that we are unusually well-informed concerning

the chronology of his music. At least six masses date between the introduction of the *Gottesdienstordnung* in 1783 and the relaxation of restrictions in 1791, and the number may be as high as nine. They include both large-scale *solemnis* settings and smaller *brevis* settings with string accompaniment alone, including an apparent attempt to create a series of masses for Marian feasts. More interesting, however, is the ambitious series of offertories and graduals on which Albrechtsberger concentrated between 1783 and 1785. Far from acting as a hindrance to his creativity, the new order of service and the rededication of his institution seem to have inspired Albrechtsberger to intensive compositional activity.<sup>9</sup> This extended project to create works for a wide variety of feast-days finds its parallel in the contemporary work of Michael Haydn in Salzburg. Haydn's employer, Archbishop Colloredo, had instituted a similar if less radical series of reforms in 1782, and this seems to have been the impetus for Haydn to begin work on an even larger collection of offertories and graduals on which he concentrated for over ten years.<sup>10</sup> The motivation behind both projects was a desire on pastoral grounds to create a series of works whose texts stuck closely to the requirements of the liturgy, in contrast to the common practice of elaborate display arias for soloists on religious but extra-liturgical subjects.

New compositions, however, provide only half the picture. In patterns of eighteenth-century music consumption, sacred music was a rather conservative and ossified genre, with a great deal of older music being performed on a regular basis. The former *Hofkapellmeister* Georg Reutter (1708-72) was the oldest composer to receive regular performance in Mozart's Vienna, although there are isolated instances of performances featuring music by Johann Joseph Fux, the famous author of *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and even occasionally Palestrina.<sup>11</sup> In general, we are able to date reperformances of older music only approximately, through the forensic dating of contemporary performance material. In the case of one institution, however, we are able to date performances very precisely, thanks to the documentary efforts of the original performers. Title wrappers from the Imperial Hofkapelle, now housed in the Austrian National Library, often carry dates recording the use of the enclosed parts, and occasionally the manuscripts themselves bear annotations by the performers which allow us to recover further performance histories. Although Joseph II attempted to reduce the size of the Hofkapelle, the performance information makes it clear that concerted sacred music continued to be heard in the Imperial chapel and elsewhere throughout the 1780s. Most dates relate to the celebration of various feast days, but occasionally they relate to more worldly events. Figure 2 shows the title wrapper of the Requiem in C minor by Florian Leopold Gassmann (1729-74), Reutter's successor as *Hofkapellmeister*. Among the dates on the wrapper is 25 February

<sup>9</sup> The most recent catalogue of Albrechtsberger's sacred music, not entirely complete, is Schröder, Dorothea, *Die Geistlichen Vokalkompositionen Johann Georg Albrechtsbergers*, 2 vols., Hamburg, Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K.D. Wagner, 1987.

<sup>10</sup> See Pauly, Reinhard G., *Michael Haydn's Latin Proprium Missae Compositions*, Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1956.

<sup>11</sup> The Hofkapelle performed part of Palestrina's *Missa emendemus* during Holy Week 1783; the parts are in *A-Wn*, Mus. Hs. 17473.

1790, which shows that the Requiem was performed at the mourning ceremonies for Joseph II, who had died five days before. This performance is of particular interest because Gassmann's Requiem is said to have been a major influence on Mozart's Requiem, and Joseph's funeral provides a potential context in which Mozart might have come into contact with the work.

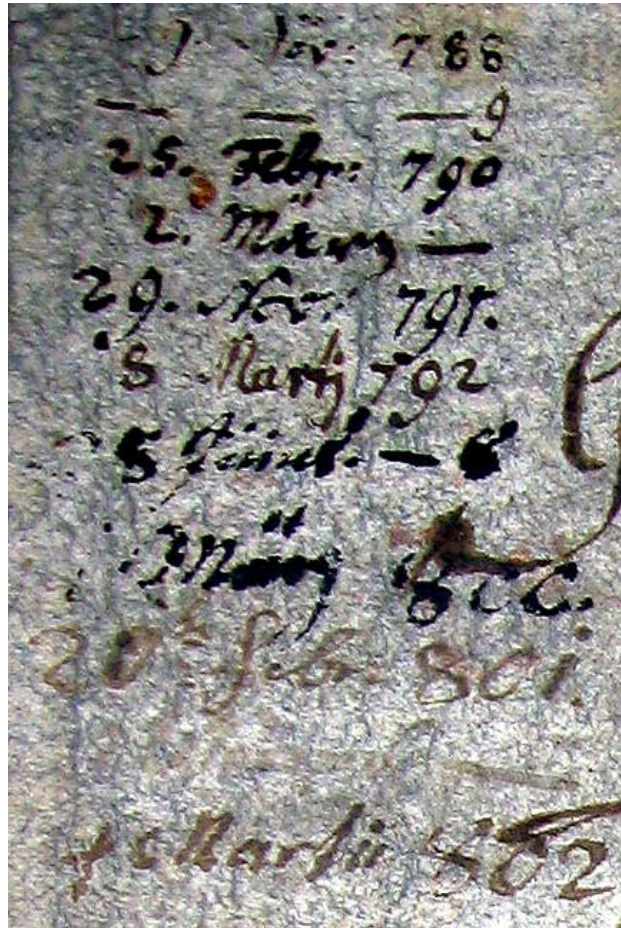


Figure 2: Performance dates on wrapper of Gassmann:  
Requiem in C minor. A-Wn, HK 31

Given the audacity and complexity of the new arrangements, a large amount of official correspondence was generated concerning the effects of the *Gottesdienstordnung* on clergy and musicians. One of the most important examples of this is an extended correspondence initiated in 1783-84 by the distinguished Viennese church composer Karl Friberth (1736-1816). Friberth petitioned Joseph II on behalf of the city's church musicians, pleading for him to relax the strictures on the performance of sacred music. Joseph ultimately refused, but did commission a kind of census of church musicians in Vienna, listing their names, instruments, previous salaries and estimated salaries under the new

*Gottesdienstordnung*.<sup>12</sup> The census is an invaluable source for biographical and performance practice information, but it is not a reliable indicator of conditions after 1783 since it shows only income at the very outset of the new program. Furthermore, no further correspondence on the matter is known after early 1784, suggesting that musicians who had lost some of their income were able to procure work elsewhere in the lively musical economy of the 1780s.

Further useful indications of economic conditions are found in financial records such as account books, which allow us to reconstruct the size and viability of sacred music programs in various churches throughout the city. As an example I shall use one of the most important institutions in the city, the metropolitan St. Stephen's Cathedral. Account books from the Cathedral are unfortunately lost from 1788 to 1791, but do survive for the years before and after this.<sup>13</sup> Table 2 shows the sacred music budget during Mozart's time, up to the death of the *Kapellmeister* Leopold Hofmann in 1793. Until 1784, the Cathedral boasted two separate *Kapellen*, and when the smaller *Gnadenbildkapelle* was disbanded, perhaps under the influence of Joseph II's reforms, the total budget declined to about 8500fl. After that it seems to have remained relatively stable at around 8000fl, a not inconsiderable sum.

1781	7398 + 2805 = 10203
1782	7438 + 2754 = 10192
1783	7438 + 2754 = 10192
1784	8518
1785	8024
1786	7953
1787	8011
1788-91	Account books lost
1792	7968 + 1400 (organ builder) = 9368
1793	8339

Table 2: Annual budget for sacred music (in florins)  
at St. Stephen's Cathedral, 1781-93.

In 1791, Mozart applied successfully for the position of unpaid adjunct *Kapellmeister* at the Cathedral, with the understanding that he would succeed

<sup>12</sup> For a transcription and discussion of the summary document, see Biba, Otto, "Die Wiener Kirchenmusik um 1783", in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Jahrbuch für österreichische Kulturgeschichte*, Eisenstadt, 1971, 7-67.

<sup>13</sup> The surviving account books are held in *A-Wda* and *A-Wsa*. For more details, see Black, "Mozart and the Practice of Sacred Music", Chapter 4, and Weißensteiner, Johann, "Mozart und St. Stephan", *Beiträge zur Wiener Diözesangeschichte*, XXXII, 1991, 28-30.

Hofmann on the latter's death.<sup>14</sup> The income of the *Kapellmeister* was substantial, but several writers have erred in assuming that Mozart's financial problems would have necessarily disappeared had he lived to take up the post.<sup>15</sup> From a total annual payment to the incumbent of 2124fl, fully 1800fl was intended for the upkeep of the choirboys, leaving only 324fl in addition to free housing and payments in kind for the likes of Hofmann or Mozart. Hofmann seems however to have managed his financial affairs well, for at his death he owned a telescope, many fine sets of clothes and a summer house in the Vienna Woods complete with its own vineyard.<sup>16</sup>

Joseph II reformed censorship restrictions in 1782, and as a result Vienna became one of Europe's leading publishing centres, producing books, journals and pamphlets in great numbers.<sup>17</sup> Particularly useful for the historian of sacred music are the religious journals then active in Vienna, which frequently include references to the music heard at services throughout the city. These journals have, to my knowledge, never been investigated for their musical content, and it has been possible to uncover some previously unknown information about performers in Mozart's circle. For example, one article describing a church service soon before the premiere of *Le nozze di Figaro* includes an interesting reference to Nancy Storace and the power she possessed over her listeners.<sup>18</sup> Another describes an elaborate church service in 1784 at which two clarinettists created a "magical concert"; this is possibly a reference to the brothers Johann and Anton Stadler.<sup>19</sup> Anton, of course, was the clarinettist for whom Mozart wrote the Clarinet Quintet K. 581 and Concerto K. 622, and to whom the composer apparently gave loans.

The journals not only provide information about individual performers, but also describe the extent to which the strictures of the *Gottesdienstordnung* were ignored in practice. As all of these publications were reformist in orientation, one frequently encounters familiar complaints about the 'theatrical' nature of the music in Viennese services and the 'abuses' perpetrated by church authorities. A particular target of opprobrium was the reactionary *Chor- und Churmeister* of St. Stephen's Cathedral, P. Patrizius Fast, who continually defied the restrictions throughout the 1780s and who published a defence of elaborate sacred music in

<sup>14</sup> Hofmann has often been portrayed as an ineffectual figure who merely marked time in his post and failed to produce any new music. An examination of his correspondence with the city council shows however that he continued to fulfil his role competently throughout the 1780s and even accepted an external student in composition.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, H. C. Robbins Landon, *1791: Mozart's Last Year*, London, Thames and Hudson, 2/1989, 48, and Dorothea Link, "Mozart in Vienna", in *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, ed. Simon P. Keefe, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, 27.

<sup>16</sup> See Julia Moore, "Beethoven and Musical Economics", PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1987, 440-46.

<sup>17</sup> See Leslie Bodi, *Tauwetter in Wien: Zur Prosa der Österreichischen Aufklärung, 1781-1795*, Vienna, Böhlau, 1995.

<sup>18</sup> "...als Madame Storace zu singen anfieng, kehrete Jedermann der Monstranze den Rücken, um die Künstlerinn zu schauen." *Wiener Kirchenzeitung*, 1786, 581.

<sup>19</sup> *Wöchentlichen Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien*, VIII, 1784, 310.

1781.<sup>20</sup> Although Joseph II occasionally issued condemnations of individual churches,<sup>21</sup> the institutions seem to have been left to their own devices to a large extent. St. Michael's, for example, celebrated a vespers service featuring 'illegal' concerted music in 1787.<sup>22</sup>

Given the near universal depiction in the scholarly literature of the 1780s as a fallow period in the history of church music in Austria, one might well ask why such a largely inaccurate picture of the sacro-musical world in which Mozart operated was allowed to develop. One of the principal agents of this misrepresentation is the Berlin critic Friedrich Nicolai, who published a long series of volumes documenting his travels in German-speaking Europe. Nicolai visited Vienna in 1781, two years before the *Gottesdienstordnung* came into force, and claimed subsequently that Joseph II had *completely* banned instrumentally-accompanied sacred music in the city, the only exceptions being the court chapel and St. Stephen's Cathedral.<sup>23</sup> This claim is entirely inaccurate, yet Nicolai's account has been highly influential in recent scholarship due to its relative accessibility and the lack of comparable accounts.<sup>24</sup> As early as 1794, the Viennese demographer Ignaz de Luca described Nicolai as "very wrong" and was at pains to point out, "Concerted sacred music was not extinguished under Joseph's reign, merely restricted."<sup>25</sup>

For the modern scholar, the obstacles to obtaining an accurate picture of musical life in Vienna's churches are substantial, given the loss of material and the complexity of dealing with multiple archival sources. Yet through the misrepresentation of the actual content of the laws and a lack of research into their implementation, contemporary scholarship has done a disservice both to the framers of the *Gottesdienstordnung* and to the musicians who worked within its strictures. In particular, the employment opportunities and creative possibilities open to a major figure such as Mozart have been misunderstood, and an awareness of the professional context may explain why the composer occupied no paid position in this field during the last decade of his life. The appointment of a *regens chori* or *Kapellmeister* could be a highly competitive process, and once appointed, a director could stay in the same post for decades. For a composer of Mozart's experience and reputation, there were really only three or four positions in the city that could provide the required levels of artistic stimulation and financial compensation, and none of them fell vacant during Mozart's residence in the city. It is therefore not surprising that the composer resorted to indirect

<sup>20</sup> Fast, Patrizius, *Katholischer Unterricht und Erörterung aller Zweifel, welche in den Beyträgen zur Schilderung Wiens aufgeworfen werden*, Vienna, Erzbischöfliche Cur, 1781, IX.31-32, X, 3-15.

<sup>21</sup> Single proclamations were issued against the Cathedral and St. Michael's (*Wiener Kirchenzeitung*, 1788, 235-40; *Kritische Bermerkungen über den religiösen Zustand der k. k. Staaten*, VI, 136-38).

<sup>22</sup> *Kritische Bermerkungen über den religiösen Zustand der k. k. Staaten*, II, 221.

<sup>23</sup> Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung eine Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781*, 12 vols., Berlin and Stettin, 1783-96, IV, 549-50.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Bruce C. MacIntyre, "Religion and Liturgy", in Cliff Eisen & Simon Keefe (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, 414.

<sup>25</sup> Ignaz de Luca, *Topographie von Wien*, 2 vols., Vienna, Schmidbauer und Komp., 1794, I, 381.

methods – an appointment as unpaid assistant – in order to secure the promise of eventual employment. While the unpleasant memory of working for Archbishop Colloredo and the tone of Joseph II's pronouncements may have acted as a discouragement, the principal reasons for Mozart's lack of ecclesiastical employment had come into being long before the composer's arrival in the city.

Despite the professional barriers, early biographical sources are unanimous in confirming Mozart's enthusiasm for sacred music, allegedly his "favourite form of composition".<sup>26</sup> That Mozart wrote only two major sacred works in Vienna – the C Minor Mass K. 427 and the Requiem K. 626 – is less an indication that the composer abandoned the genre than a reflection of the professional opportunities open to him at the time. With the appointment to St. Stephen's in 1791, Mozart had every opportunity of resuming the productivity characteristic of the Salzburg period. With the composer's early death in December of that year, Viennese sacred music suffered a blow more serious than anything envisaged by Joseph II, leaving an unfulfilled promise that has continued to haunt the historiography of the genre until the present day.

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<sup>26</sup> Franz Xaver Niemetschek, *Lebensbeschreibung des k. k. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, aus Originalquellen*, Prague, Herrlichen Buchhandlung, 1808, 117.



# **The sacred music of Marcos Portugal: its influence and dissemination**

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## **1 Introduction**

Marcos Portugal achieved wide international fame by way of the extraordinary success of his operas, in particular some of his comic operas.<sup>1</sup> This fact is reflected in the literature, where he is commonly referred to as an opera composer, or even as “the greatest Portuguese opera composer”. That this might be the case is indicated not only by his enormous output, but also by the quality of the music, some of it either sung or recorded in recent years: two comic operas with commercially available recordings – *Le donne cambiate*<sup>2</sup> and *Lo spazzacamino principe*,<sup>3</sup> and a further two staged or sung in recent years, *L’oro non compra amore* (given in Portuguese) and *La donna di genio volubile* (in concert version). It is hoped, furthermore, that in the near future we will be able to hear a concert version of *La Zaira*, thanks to the work of Bárbara Villalobos.<sup>4</sup>

In Europe the name Marco Portogallo (the Italianised form of his name) was thus readily associated with opera, and this was perpetuated and magnified by the conspicuous Angelica Catalani, who frequently included Portogallo’s opera arias in her recitals.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Manoel Pereira Peixoto d’Almeida Carvalhaes, *Marcos Portugal na sua musica dramática*, Lisboa, Typographia Castro Irmão, 1910, *Supplemento*, 1916. See also Bárbara Villalobos, *Estudo estético-sociológico sobre Marcos Portugal*, Lisboa, texto policopiado, s.d..

<sup>2</sup> Based on the edition prepared by David Cranmer / Musicoteca in 1994, under the auspices of Lisbon, European Cultural Capital, 1994. Soloists / City Of London Sinfonia / Álvaro Cassuto, Marco Polo, 2000, with notes in English and German; and *As Damas Trocadas*, Álvaro Cassuto dir. City Of London Sinfonia, MARCO POLO, 2000, with notes in Portuguese. Both editions with *libretto* in Italian and translation in English.

<sup>3</sup> Soloists / Orchestra da Camera Milano Classica / Álvaro Cassuto, Dynamic, 2001, with notes in Italian, English, German and French.

<sup>4</sup> The full score and parts of this opera in Bárbara Villalobos’ edition are currently available from the Centro de Estudos da Sociologia e Estética Musical (CESEM), FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. See also Bárbara Maria Conceição Silva Villalobos Filipe, *Marcos Portugal revisitado: La Zaira – estudo histórico-dramatúrgico*, 3 vols., Lisbon, Master’s Diss., FCSH, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004. The opera was given in concert version in October 2009, under the direction of Jorge Matta, as part of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation’s season [Ed.].

<sup>5</sup> The most notable being the aria “Son regina” from *La morte di Semiramide* (1801), a role origi-

However, if we consider the composer's output as a whole, a rather different picture emerges, in particular where the situation in Portugal and Brazil is concerned. Unlike the dramatic works, concentrated in the period 1784-1806, Portugal dedicated the whole of his active composing life to sacred music, with the exception of his sojourn of approximately six and a half years in Italy. His first composition was a "Miserere a canto d'orgão".<sup>6</sup> He was 14 years of age, and still a student at the *Seminário da Patriarcal*. At the end of his life, the 1824 *Missa Breve*, commissioned by Brazil's first Emperor Dom Pedro,<sup>7</sup> stands as the last known dated work.<sup>8</sup> His output numbers over 150 sacred works of varying styles, according to the established practice of the various institutions they were written for, and the function they were supposed to fulfil or reinforce. The intricate *stile concertato* works of his early years intended for the Igreja Patriarcal (the Patriarchal Church in Lisbon) are mostly for voices and *basso continuo*. Standing in great contrast are the pompous and grandiloquent works written in Brazil (during the second decade of the 19th century) for the *virtuosi castrati*, large choir and orchestra. These formed an essential component of the spectacle that can be described as "the staging of the public appearances of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent" and later of "His Majesty, King of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves".<sup>9</sup>

There is a shocking contrast between the quality and influence of the sacred music of Marcos Portugal in the context of both Portuguese and Brazilian music history, and the attention it has so far received from scholars from both countries. Virtually no scientific studies exist, not one single commercially available recording,<sup>10</sup> and only a 5-page edition of an *O salutaris Hostia*, dated 2002.<sup>11</sup>

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nally created for Madame Catalani while singing at the *Teatro de São Carlos*. After leaving Lisbon in 1806, Catalani spent a number of years in London and then Paris, ending her singing career in 1830 after extensive tours of Europe.

<sup>6</sup> Dated 1776. No extant copies. The reference comes from the most important single source for the study of his work: *Relação das diferentes peças de musica, que Marcos Portugal tem feito desde que S. A. R. o Principe R. N. S. houve por bem empregar-o no seu Real Serviço [...]* Lisboa 28 de Junho, no anno de 1809. [List of the various music works, that Marcos Portugal has written since His Royal Highness the Prince Regent Our Lord has seen fit to employ him [...]] Lisbon 28th June in the year 1809.] See the last paragraph of section 4 of this paper.

<sup>7</sup> Also a composer and a student of Marcos Portugal's.

<sup>8</sup> The autograph is extant and housed in Rio de Janeiro's National Library, with the call mark MS.A-VII-VIII.P-XV-m.. The title page reads: *Por Ordem de S.M.I. / Original no Rio de janeiro / em Dezembro de 1824. / Missa Breve / Com todo o instrumental*. [By order of His Imperial Majesty / Original in Rio de Janeiro / in December 1824 / Missa Breve / With all of the instruments].

<sup>9</sup> Queen Maria I died in March 1816, and the Acclamation of the new King, João VI, took place in Rio de Janeiro, 6 February 1818.

<sup>10</sup> There is, in fact, a recording of a *Tu devicto*, taken from Marcos' paradigmatic and famous *Te Deum* in D dated 1802. This work will be alluded to later on during this paper. The 4 CD set refers to the First *Festival di Musica* that took place in Rome at the *Chiesa di S. Antonio dei Portoguesi*, October 2002. The transcription and adaptation was done by Padre Pedro Miranda and performed by Carlos de Miranda (baritone) and Giampaolo Di Rosa (piano). See also Sections 7, 8 and 9 of this text.

<sup>11</sup> Bernardes, Ricardo, *Música no Brasil. Séculos XVIII e XIX, Vol.II. Real Capela do Rio de Janeiro 1808-1821. Obras sacras de José Maurício Nunes Garcia, Sigismund Ritter Von Neukomm, Marcos Portugal*, Rio de Janeiro, FUNARTE, 2002, 287-295. Dated 1800, it

## 2 Summary

This text presents some partial results of a larger doctoral project on the sacred music of Marcos Portugal, which includes a thematic catalogue. It will attempt to illustrate a phenomenon of unparalleled proportions in the history of Portuguese and Brazilian music: its wide geographical dissemination, its long permanence in the religious and liturgical repertoire, and the unusual number of composers who made new versions or reused the musical material for their own compositions, in short, composers who, most likely, were influenced one way or another. Correspondingly, it will also be seen that works that continued to serve as paradigms for Portuguese sacred music for over a century were used as models at all the main institutions where this type of music was taught and practised.

## 3 The enormous extent of the *corpus*

The phenomenon alluded to is first and foremost illustrated by the sheer number of sources already located:<sup>12</sup> a *corpus* of close to 750 musical manuscripts and a few printed partial editions,<sup>13</sup> housed in 75 libraries and archives<sup>14</sup> belonging to 11 countries.<sup>15</sup> If one considers that the extant manuscripts represent only a fraction of all the sources that ever existed, then the total universe being considered numbers a few thousand, a scale otherwise unheard of in Portuguese sacred music.<sup>16</sup>

It is worthy of note that in Portugal and Brazil, Marcos Portugal's fame was acquired first and foremost through the genre of sacred music. Indeed, the relationship with the Royal Family, and particularly with the Prince Regent and later King João VI, who had a decisive influence on the composer's life, was established and developed primarily through commissions for the religious feasts taking place at the various Royal Chapels.

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originally preceded a *Te Deum* first performed at the traditional New Year's Eve Thanksgiving Ceremony, that took place at the *Sé Patriarcal* in Lisbon. Later it was taken to Rio de Janeiro, "reworked" by the author, and integrated in the Royal Chapel repertoire.

<sup>12</sup> Of course, by definition, this *corpus* only includes the sources found during the course of a 6-year-long investigation, and must be smaller than the full range of sources in existence today. There are still new archives to be discovered, and a few not open to the public or even to scholars.

<sup>13</sup> English and French editions, whose principal instigator was Vincent Novello. These editions, with one exception, were adaptations of parts of larger works, and never reached Portugal. See Section 9 of this paper.

<sup>14</sup> This does not take into account the various collections within each institution. For example, in the Portuguese National Library (*P-Ln*), the sacred works of Marcos Portugal are present in 10 different collections.

<sup>15</sup> Portugal, Brazil, Italy, Spain, France, England, Belgium, Republic of China [Macau], U.S.A., Hungary and Slovakia.

<sup>16</sup> This phenomenon is all the more startling if one considers that the amount of music that came out in print is negligible.

#### 4 The Patriarchal Church and the Royal Chapel

It is important to clarify that, in relation to the Portuguese Royal Family, and contrary to what is written in all biographies, Marcos Portugal seems never to have served as *mestre de capela* (chapel master) in the strict sense of the term. He is best described as a composer in residence writing music for specific feasts and by royal command. Living in Rio de Janeiro from June 1811, he was appointed “music director” overseeing the good order and quality of the music played in all of João’s public appearances, and is consistently referred to in contemporary sources as “*Mestre de Suas Altezas Reaes*” (Master to Their Royal Highnesses), the sons and daughters of the Prince Regent and later King.

The commissions from the Royal Family began very early in his career, in fact, soon after he finished his studies at the Seminário da Patriarcal and started working as organist and composer for the Patriarchal Church. His first works for this institution date from 1780, and the first commissions from the Royal Family date from 1782. Portugal was then 20 years old. That his music was heard at the Patriarchal Church and the Royal Chapel (or rather “chapels”), the two richest institutions, employing the best singers and instrumentalists in the Kingdom, was extremely important and proved to be decisive. Marcos António soon became a household name and, later on, when he started using his mother’s surnames, Fonseca Portugal, gained additional aid from fate: the composer was identified with his own country, possibly a matter of some relevance for the furtherance of his career.<sup>17</sup>

That both institutions served as models from where sacred music was disseminated, can easily be inferred from the many primary musical sources extant in nearly all the religious archives, including seminaries, where Marcos Portugal’s music was sung and taught throughout the whole of the 19th century. The immediate inference is that many churches and cathedrals adopted (and, in many cases, adapted) his music, originally written for the Patriarchal Church and the Royal Chapel, and the same can be said for the chapels of some of the most important Portuguese noble houses: Fronteira, Linhares, Terceira, Redondo, Valada, to name but a few. This in turn was complemented by direct commissions not only from churches and private chapels, but also from singers, who presumably took the manuscripts wherever they performed the music, and kept them safely in their possession.<sup>18</sup> The composer’s music can also be found in orchestra and band archives, particularly when there is liturgical collaboration with nearby churches. The most valuable and charismatic example of this is the

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<sup>17</sup> Roughly, the succession of names by which the composer was known during his life is as follows: Marcos António (until 1792), Marcos António da Fonseca Portugal (1784-1792), Marco Portogallo (1792-1811), Marcos [António] Portugal (1811-1830). Marcos (on its own) was used throughout his life. Bárbara Villalobos, *Estudo estético-sociológico...*, *op. cit.*, 10-11, expresses the interesting view that the use of “Fonseca Portugal”, initially associated with the operas composed for the Teatro do Salitre, was not innocent, rather corresponding to a strategy of social representation aiming at a quicker ascendancy up the social and professional ladders.

<sup>18</sup> That being the main reason why virtually none of these works are extant in autograph or copy.

Orquestra Lira Sanjoanense archive in S. João d'El-Rei, state of Minas Gerais, Brazil, the oldest orchestra in the Americas still functioning today.<sup>19</sup> It was founded in 1776.

The most important single source for the study of the work of Marcos Portugal, and where a good part of the available information is contained, is a list written by the composer in June 1809.<sup>20</sup> It is divided into two main parts: “Theatro” (Theatre), and “Igreja” (Church). The type of information given includes genre, date, title, church or theatre where it was premiered, occasion or feast and, sometimes, the singer it was composed for. It was published in Rio de Janeiro 50 years later by Manuel de Araújo Porto-alegre,<sup>21</sup> to whom it was given by the son of the Court Surgeon who treated the composer at his deathbed.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the original autograph has apparently been lost, for all subsequent attempts to locate it have been fruitless.

## **5 Types of versions, the functional character of the music and an example from the thematic catalogue**

The adoption by private chapels or smaller churches, of the music written for voices and orchestra, as was mostly the case with the music written for the Royal Chapel, usually meant the adaptation of the work for the available voices and instruments, either by the original composer or by somebody else. This was common practice and one of some interest. Typically, a work written for voices and orchestra would be adapted for voices and *basso continuo* or voices and organ. The term used to designate this specific practice was *para capela* (for the chapel), and derives from the general designation *música de capela* (chapel music), implying fairly modest instrumental forces. But many other types of ‘reworkings’ or versions are possible, and in the case of Marcos Portugal we find an extraordinary range.<sup>23</sup> Here are examples of a few of the more common adaptations of sacred music:

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<sup>19</sup> The Maestro Aluizio José Viegas takes care of the precious archive, easily one of the best in pre-republican Brazilian music. After the destruction of the archive of the Cabido Metropolitano in Rio de Janeiro (see Section 10 of this paper), the Lira Sanjoanense Orchestra archive remained the sole source for quite a few examples of the repertoire of both Royal and Imperial Chapels in Rio de Janeiro covering the period 1808-1889.

<sup>20</sup> The composer, even if reluctantly and deficiently, kept it up to date only until 1816. The last entries are the *Requiem* Mass written for Queen Maria who died in March that year, and two psalms: *Dixit Dominus* and *Laudate pueri*.

<sup>21</sup> Published together with another catalogue of the music of Padre José Maurício: “Marcos e José Maurício. Catalogo de suas composições musicaes” in *Revista Tri-mensal do Instituto Historico Geographico do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. XXII (1859), 487-503[ 504-506]. It was transcribed with some incorrections and omissions by Ernesto Vieira in *Diccionario Biographico de Musicos Portuguezes*, Lisboa, Lambertini, 1900, vol. II, 212-224.

<sup>22</sup> Joaquim José de Carvalho gave the list to his son, João José de Carvalho (also Imperial Court surgeon), who in turn gave it to his friend Manuel de Araújo Porto-alegre.

<sup>23</sup> For as many as 18 pieces, at least five versions have been found. Of these three stand out with 12, 13 and 20 versions respectively.

1. A work written for voices and orchestra adapted for voices and *basso continuo* or voices and organ;
2. A work for male voices and 4, 5 or 6 organs written for the Mafra Basilica, adapted for mixed voices and orchestra;
3. A work written for voices, 2 cellos, 2 bassoons and organ,<sup>24</sup> expanded for voices and orchestra.

These three types of version were repeatedly made by the composer himself, in particular the second type.<sup>25</sup> It is interesting to note that, in some versions, Marcos transforms the original work to such an extent as to alter its structure substantially, keeping only the main melodies and harmonic progressions and introducing totally new musical material. Other types of versions found (but not by the composer) include:

1. A work for SATB, adapted for STB; very common in seminaries where music was taught and performed regularly, the S part being sung by boys and/or by men singing *falsestto*;
2. A work for SATB and organ or SATB and orchestra, adapted for SSAB and 2 organs; a common practice at the Real Mosteiro de S. Clara, a convent in Oporto; in this case the versions can, in almost all cases, be attributed tentatively to António da Silva Leite, a composer active in that city until 1830.
3. Version “*cortada*”, literally meaning “cut”: most or all text and music repetitions are simply obliterated, showing how the notion of time and liturgical necessities changed as the 19th century progressed.
4. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and with the growth and popularization of philharmonic bands, wind instruments increasingly substituted stringed instruments, and it became common practice for bands to accompany religious feasts; there was, thus, what might be termed a “bandification” of music in churches, a phenomenon occurring equally in Brazil.

All this is illustrative of the predominantly functional character of this music: ecclesiastic authorities, chapel masters and musicians made do with available performers and instruments. Besides the practical considerations of this nature, it should be noted that, generally, the specific needs of the ceremony preceded artistic considerations. Throughout most of the 19th century, the notion of a whole and untouchable work of art was alien to this context.

At this stage, it is perhaps illuminating to see, by way of example, one of the less complicated entries of the thematic catalogue still in progress. Mostly based on and inspired by the principles established in the Giovanni Paisiello Catalogue

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<sup>24</sup> Usually also with double bass and sometimes with timpani.

<sup>25</sup> Notably between 1811 and 1821, the period corresponding to when the Portuguese Court and Marcos Portugal were simultaneously in Rio de Janeiro.

by Michael F. Robinson,<sup>26</sup> it has, however, a number of peculiarities motivated by the uniqueness of the *corpus* it describes. Very briefly the basic structure is as follows:

1. There are 9 sections: 01.Masses, 02.Vespers, 03.Matins, 04.Hymns, 05.Varia Sacred, [06.Operas and Intermezzi, 07.Varia Vocal Profane, 08.Instrumental and Pedagogical, and] 09.Doubtful, Spurious and Contrafacta;
2. Within each section the entries are ordered alphabetically and, on a second level, by key, and within each entry the versions are ordered chronologically;<sup>27</sup>
3. At the beginning of each entry there is a description of the text and/or festivity;
4. The internal organization of each version within each entry is as follows: brief description (place, date, voices, instruments, and correspondence with the autograph list mentioned previously), detailed *incipits*, and description of each source in the following order: autograph scores, scores in copy, individual parts. Note that *incipits* are given only for the versions composed by Marcos, except when the only extant version is not by him. A version marked “AUT” indicates the authorship of Marcos Portugal.
5. The description of each specimen includes: library/archive *siglum*, call mark, transcription of the title-page, date(s), performance forces in the case of the scores, number and type of each individual part in the case of parts, general description, size and paper type (watermark and *rastra*), copyists and singers.

The example following refers to entry 02.10 of the thematic catalogue:

**02.10 DE PROFUNDIS Mi b M.**

Salmo 129.

- **VERSÃO 1. AUT** – [Por ordem de S. A. R. para a Capella de Queluz]; [1800]; A, T, SATB conc., vlc I e II, fag I e II, bc; RA 110.

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<sup>26</sup> Michael F. Robinson & Ulrike Hoffman, *Giovanni Paisiello. A thematic catalogue of his music*, 2 vols., Stuyvesant NY, Pendragon Press, 1991 and 1994.

<sup>27</sup> For the chronological ordering to be possible and credible, an extensive source criticism has been undertaken involving paper types (water-marks and *rastra*) and copyists.

01. SATB conc.; vlc I e II, fag I e II, bc

Allegro comodo

De pro - fun-dis cla-ma-vi ad te Do-mi-ne: (Mi b M; 96 c.)

02. A, T; fag I e II, bc

Andante

Glo - ri - a Pa - tri, Pa - tri, et Fi - li - o, (Si b M; 13 c.)

03. SATB; vlc I e II, fag I e II, bc

Tempo di prima

Si-cut e - rat in prin-ci-pi-o, (Mi b M; 17 c.)

**Autógrafos**

**P-VV** B.Maço LV-2 (1) – *De profundis*. / Coll. acomp.<sup>to</sup> di fagotti / e violoncelli / di Marco Portogallo. – SATB conc., vlc I e II, fag I e II, bc – 12 f. não numerados – 233 x 320 ou menor, pássaro/G F L:3 crescentes [pequenas, pássaro pequeno] (10 / 187 / 9-9,5)

**Apógrafos**

**P-VV** B.Maço LV-2 (1) – *De profundis*. / Coll. acomp.<sup>to</sup> di fagotti / e violoncelli / di Marco Portogallo. – SATB conc., vlc I e II, fag I e II, bc – 12 f. não numerados; igual à part. aut. – 238 x 327 ou menor, escudo<A M [?] (10 / 184,5 / 8-8,5) – V.Viçosa5

**Apógrafos – p.c.**

**P-VV** B.Maço LV-2 (1) – *Psalmo 129 / De profundis Clamavi / Do S.<sup>r</sup> Marcos Antonio Portugal* – S (2), A (2), T (2), B (2), org/b.cif. [conj. inc.] – 305 x 230 ou menor, estrela/EGA:meia lua (10 / 250-250,5 / 10-10,5) – V.Viçosa1



■ **VERSÃO 2.** – TBBB conc., 5 org.

*Apógrafos – p.c.*

**P-VV** B.Maço LV-2 (2) – *Psalmos / De profundis / do S. / M. Portugal / Organo 1º* – T (voz 1ª), B I (voz 2ª), B II (voz 3ª), B III (voz 4ª), org I, org II, org III, org IV, org V (o velho) – 223 x 305 ou menor, G S [canto inferior] (10 / 190-191 / 8,5-9,5) – Mafra1; V.Viçosa(Mafra)6

*Notas*

Este salmo terá sido composto para as mesmas vésperas que o salmo 02.28 Memento Domine David Dó M, também originalmente escrito para fagotes, violoncelos e bc para a Real Capela de Queluz, e depois adaptado para 5 org de Mafra. A análise textual comparativa entre as duas versões indicia que a V2 não é da autoria de MP,

A indicação de «o velho» para o org V sugere que a V2 foi feita numa altura em que os organeiros António Machado e Cerveira e Joaquim Fontanes ainda não tinham terminado todos os 6 órgãos da Real Basílica de Mafra.

A RA 110 refere *De profundis* sem especificar a instrumentação.

## **7 Authors of versions of sacred music by Marcos Portugal**

A substantial number of the principal Portuguese composers of the first eight decades of the 19th century “reworked” or directly reused Marcos Portugal’s sacred music. The same phenomenon occurred in Brazil but, as most of the primary sources have been destroyed, its extent is more difficult to judge. There is secondary evidence that, in May 1810, José Maurício Nunes Garcia arranged the “Tu devicto” from the famous *Te Deum* in D for the marriage of Princess Maria Teresa.<sup>28</sup>

The authorship of the versions can be ascertained directly from the primary musical sources in two ways: firstly, the author is identified in the manuscript, or, secondly, the literary and musical calligraphy can be identified by comparison with signed autographs.

Among the composers who made new versions of Portugal’s music are: the above-mentioned António da Silva Leite, Frei João da Soledade (the last chapel master at the *Basílica de Mafra*), Frei José Marques e Silva, António José Soares, Padre Julião Travassos, Eleutério Franco Leal, José Maria Sabater, João Jordani, Joaquim Casimiro Júnior, Francisco Norberto Santos Pinto, Mathias Jacob Osternold (who taught at the *Seminário de Santarém*<sup>29</sup>), and Hugo Bussmeyer (chapel master of the Brazilian Imperial Chapel between 1875 and 1889).

<sup>28</sup> See Cleofe Person de Mattos, *Catálogo Temático das Obras do Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia*, Rio de Janeiro, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1970, 345. The arrangement is lost but is referred to in the catalogue of Joaquim José Maciel dated 1887. According to the transcription, *loc. cit.*, D. Maria Teresa married on 13 May 1813, but in reality the marriage with the Spanish Prince Pedro Carlos occurred on the same day but in 1810. This would mean that the *Te Deum* (at least some copy of it) preceded the arrival of Marcos Portugal.

<sup>29</sup> The main centre of sacred music teaching in Portugal during the second half of the 19th century.

The large numbers of composers enumerated above, and the large number of works “reworked” would suggest some kind of influence extending for at least a century, starting in the 1780s. The extent of this influence, still unclear, can only be determined through comprehensive musical analysis.

### **8 The *Te Deum* in D, the *Missa Grande* in E flat, and the *Matinas da Conceição* in C, three paradigmatic works of Portuguese sacred music**

Earlier, it was mentioned that the number of versions for some of Marcos Portugal’s works was on an extraordinary scale. This is particularly the case with three works that came to constitute paradigms of Portuguese sacred music throughout the whole of the 19th century:<sup>30</sup>

- *Missa Grande* in E flat (c.1782-90): 12 versions, and 78 sources; found in 25 archives and collections in Portugal and 2 archives in Brazil.
- *Matinas da Conceição* in C (1802): 9 versions (not counting the different texts, considered as variants), and 58 sources; found in 19 archives and collections in Portugal; also known in Brazil but no extant sources.
- *Te Deum* in D (1802): 20 versions, and 102 sources (including 15 printed); by far the most international sacred work: found in 23 archives and collections in Portugal, 4 in Brazil, 2 in Spain, 2 in England, 2 in France, 1 in the Republic of China (Macau) and 1 in the U. S. A..

### **9 The Novello editions; the *Tantum ergo* and Pierre-Louis-Philippe Dietsch**

As regards contemporary editions of Marcos Portugal’s sacred music, they were rare and originated in England and France.

Vincent Novello, organist, composer and publisher of Italian origin, became organist at the Chapel of the Portuguese Royal Embassy in London in the year 1797, and remained at this post for 25 years. At the time there were only seven Catholic places of worship in the English capital, including four Embassy chapels. Portuguese composers were not unknown to Novello, who performed them, and later edited and arranged their music. He knew at least two sacred works by Marco Portugal: an early Mass in B flat, and the above mentioned *Te Deum*. They were both partially arranged and edited by Vincent Novello in the second and third decades of the 19th century,<sup>31</sup> and later the *Te ergo quaesumus* was twice re-published in France. The French editions were based on the Novello edition, but with alterations.

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<sup>30</sup> In the case of Brazil, the *Missa Grande* in E flat is found in two archives, and the *Te Deum* in four archives. This indicates a dissemination of a lesser scale than that occurring in Portugal. As far as the *Matinas da Conceição* in C are concerned, there is only secondary evidence that they were known and sung in Rio de Janeiro or, at least, at the Royal residence at the *Quinta da Boa Vista*.

<sup>31</sup> From the *Te Deum* Novello published the “Tu devicto”, the “Te ergo quaesumus” and the “In te Domine”; from the Mass in B flat three sections were adapted and published albeit with altered Latin texts: “Cum Sancto Spiritu in Gloria Dei Patri”, “Et vitam venturi” and “Agnus Dei”.

It is not impossible that the name Marco Portogallo was already known in London by the time Elizabeth Billington and Angelica Catalani performed his operas there. Their first performances took place in 1803 and 1806 respectively. There is a curious account by the English organist R. J. S. Stevens, an Anglican, who writes in his diary:

*(...) I went with my visitors, Mrs. Hewitt and Miss Carpenter, to the Catholic Chapel in South Street Grosvenor Square, to hear a Mass composed by Portogallo. I was not much gratified by the Music. I thought it too light and frivolous. Mr. Novello was at the Organ. An admirable performer. (...)*<sup>32</sup>

Since this event took place in December 1806, and Novello was appointed organist in 1797, it is likely that the music of Portogallo started being sung at the Portuguese Embassy some years previously. Thus the possibility that, in London, his sacred music preceded his operas should not be eliminated outright. The position of eminence that Vincent Novello earned for himself in the musical world, gives some weight to this theory.

The only other independent edition was due to the French conductor and composer Pierre-Louis-Philippe Dietsch, who in 1864 published a collection of sacred music including a *Tantum ergo* by Portogallo. The publisher was Parisian: Regnier-Canaux. Apparently this edition was based on the manuscript housed at the Belgian Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, once belonging to the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula. Surprisingly, the only other known musical manuscripts of this work are all to be found in 5 archives in the city of Funchal, on the island of Madeira, most likely originating from the Paris edition taken to Funchal by missionaries.

## 10 The end of an era: the *motu proprio* of 1903

The *motu proprio* of Pope Pius X, *Tra le sollicitudini*, dated 22 November 1903, had a tremendous and long-lasting influence on Catholic sacred music throughout the world, bringing about a change in the composers' approach towards church music. It expressed strong criticism of profane influences, and condemned all types of abuse, common and increasing phenomena during most of the 19th century. This led to extremist reactions from certain ecclesiastical authorities. In Portugal and Brazil whole archives were burnt or simply thrown away.<sup>33</sup> The sudden change in musical religious practices and the changing of

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<sup>32</sup> Mark Argent (ed.), *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens: an organist in Georgian London*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press, 1992, 150.

<sup>33</sup> The most outrageous example refers to the archive housed at the *Cabido Metropolitano* at Rio de Janeiro Cathedral. This archive inherited all the music from the Royal and Imperial Chapels, and was in all probability the most valuable music archive in Brazil. In her *Catálogo Temático ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 and 383, Person de Mattos refers to the burning of those “velhos papéis” (old papers), occurring between 1902 and 1922, and virtually reducing to ashes the whole archive, with a few notable exceptions, including works by José Maurício, Marcos Portugal and D. Pedro I. The fire was so sinister and huge that, nearly 50 years later, some people still remembered it.

paradigms had the expected result: around the 1910s, Marcos Portugal's music fell out of favour and was finally withdrawn from the church music repertoire.

Some of his works had remained in repertoire for over a century, more than likely influenced successive generations of composers, and were used as models in all the centres of sacred music teaching throughout the Kingdom of Portugal.<sup>34</sup> Their dissemination, both in numbers and geographical range was a phenomenon of unprecedented proportions in Portuguese music history, finding a parallel only in the dissemination of Portugal's operas. These facts did not prevent this patrimony from being completely forgotten, to which the void in concerts, editions and recordings testifies.

## 11 Recent developments

Recently, certain developments indicate a change to the state of oblivion to which Marcos Portugal's sacred music has been assigned. In 2006 the three paradigmatic works mentioned above were given in concert, in whole or partially: the *Te Deum* in D (Coimbra, March),<sup>35</sup> the *Missa Grande* in E flat (Zurich, March),<sup>36</sup> and the *Matinas da Conceição* in C (only the First Nocturn; Sintra, June).<sup>37</sup> The *Matinas do Natal* (1811), one of the first works to be written in Brazil, were performed and recorded during the period 2007-2009.<sup>38</sup>

In Brazil, the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro<sup>39</sup> has, at last, spurred some interest in the legacy of Marcos Portugal. The *Requiem* written for Queen Maria I in 1816, a major work,<sup>40</sup> has been given in concert and recorded.

It is hoped that the present writer's work on the sacred music of Marcos Portugal and these encouraging recent developments, will provide useful scientific tools and stimulus for further work, as well as increasing interest among musicians, publishers and recording companies.

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<sup>34</sup> Notably seminaries where rather large numbers of specimens are still to be found.

<sup>35</sup> Thanks to the work of César Nogueira.

<sup>36</sup> Thanks to the work of Luiz Alves da Silva.

<sup>37</sup> Thanks to the work of Miguel Anastácio.

<sup>38</sup> Thanks to the work of Luiz Alves da Silva.

<sup>39</sup> March 1808.

<sup>40</sup> Transcribed by Antonio Campos.

**Reflections on the vocal parts written for specific singers  
in the sacred works of Marcos Portugal  
and Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia**

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The stay of the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro between 1808 and 1821 brought profound transformations to Brazil. The changes were not merely political, economic and social, but also musical. King João VI was the most significant patron of the period, made possible the construction of the Teatro de São João, created the Royal Chamber and its Royal Chapel in accordance with Lisbon models, favoring the presence of European musicians in Rio de Janeiro. Among these were several singers that were to become the city's vocal paradigm. In our present research<sup>1</sup> we aim to clarify who these singers were and how their presence in Brazil transformed both vocal practice and vocal composition during this period.

A rich source of information about the vocal abilities of these singers is precisely the vocal parts written specifically for a given performer. After all, as well as revealing the intentions and musical ideas of the composer, these vocal lines were also composed with the purpose of favoring the particular vocal qualities and abilities of each singer, as well as to minimize their weaker qualities – a very common practice of the time. In this way, these vocal lines are a kind of 'X-ray' of the performer's voice, going beyond the subjectivity of the testimony of the admirers of the time. An analysis of this musical material (these vocal lines) can reveal the vocal range and tessitura of a specific singer, his style of ornamentation, and in some cases, how the vocal registers were used. They will also establish beyond doubt the vocal classification of these singers.

Under consideration in this text are the vocal lines with indications of who they were written for, from sacred works composed in Rio de Janeiro by two of the

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<sup>1</sup> This text makes available partial results of Alberto Pacheco's doctoral dissertation, prepared within the Doctoral Program at Unicamp, supervised by Adriana Giarola Kayama and co-supervised by Paulo Mugayar Kühl. It was written before the successful defence of the dissertation in May 2007. The research was financed by FAPESP – State of São Paulo Research Support Foundation. This dissertation has since been published under the title: *Castrati e outros virtuosos: a prática vocal carioca sob a influência da Corte De D. João VI*, São Paulo, Annablume/FAPESP/CESEM, 2009.

principal composers of this period: Marcos Portugal<sup>2</sup> (1762-1830) and Father José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767-1830),<sup>3</sup> emphasizing what these solos may reveal about their respective singers. The main focus of this analysis will be the vocal solos, although in a few cases duets or other vocal solo ensembles are considered in order to confirm or clarify specific elements encountered in the solos.

The Brazilian bass João dos Reis Pereira (?-1852) is one of the singers whose name appears with greatest frequency. The works themselves indicate to us the reasons for this, unveiling a voice of exceptional quality and resistance. The solos are almost always very long, revealing a voice of considerable range and agility, capable of performing fast and complex passages, *grupetti*, trills and leaps. Fine examples showing off his abilities are the “Domine Deus a solo di basso” from the *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* composed by Marcos Portugal in 1817<sup>4</sup> and the solo “Quoniam” from the *Missa de Santa Cecília* composed by José Maurício in 1826.<sup>5</sup> What follows is a series of excerpts from the vocal lines of these two works:

*Largo*

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne De - us, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex cae - les - tis, De - us Pa - ter, Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens, De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne De - us, Rex cae - les - tis, De - us Pa - ter Om - ni - po - tens, De - us Pa - ter Pa - ter Om - ni - po - tens.

*Allegro brillante*

Example 1: Marcos Portugal, “Domine Deus a solo di basso”  
from the *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* (1817)

<sup>2</sup> We wish to thank the researcher António Jorge Marques for his help in drawing our attention to Marcos Portugal’s works with indications of singer names.

<sup>3</sup> Among the European musicians that went to Brazil, certainly the most influential was Marcos Portugal, who left for Rio de Janeiro in 1811. Upon his arrival he took up the post of court composer and teacher to their Royal Highnesses (the Prince Regent’s children), positions he had already held in Lisbon. At some point later he also became one of the *Mestres de Capela* of the Imperial Chapel, in addition to José Maurício. The musical compositions for the most important ceremonies were the charge of the Portuguese composer. The professional relationship between these two composers, already widely discussed by other researchers, goes beyond the scope of this text.

<sup>4</sup> *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* [...], Rio de Janeiro, 1817. MS. P-La, 44-XV-1.

<sup>5</sup> *Missa de Santa Cecília*, 1826; para solistas coro e grande orquestra, Rio de Janeiro, FUNARTE, 1984.

*Allegro maestoso* *falsetto*

Tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, al - tis - si - mus, Je - su

8 Chris - te, Je - su, Je - su, Je - su, Je - su Chris - te.

14 Quo - ni - am tu so - lus, tu so - lus, so - lus

21 San - ctus, tu so - lus Do - mi - nus, tu so - lus al - tis - si - mus, al - tis - si -

27 mus, al - tis - si - mus, Je - su, Je - su Chris - te, Je - su,

33 Je - - - - -

36 - - - - -

39 - - - - -

42 - - - - - su, Je - su Chris - te

Example 2: José Maurício Nunes Garcia, “Quoniam” from the *Missa de Santa Cecília* (1826)

In José Maurício’s composition we note the use of *falsetto* for the highest notes on the word “altissimus”, for obvious rhetorical reasons. Both excerpts provide excellent examples of the extent of vocal virtuosity in Rio de Janeiro during this period.

Of the tenors, the names of Antônio Pedro Gonçalves (?-1852) and Giovanni Paulo Mazziotti (?-?) are the most frequently cited. Although they were both tenors and possessed voices of considerable agility, their vocal lines are quite distinct. The first had a vocal range that would be considered tenor by ‘modern’ standards, as may be seen in this excerpt from the “Qui tollis a solo di tenor” from the *Missa com toda a orquestra* composed by Marcos Portugal in 1814:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Missa com toda a orquestra* [...] [E flat], Rio de Janeiro, 1814. MS. *P-La*, 44-XV-2.

**Recitativo**  
*Adagio*

Qui tol-lis qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di pec-ca-ta

*Andante imperioso*

mun-di mi-se-re-re mi-se-re-re no-bis qui tol-lis qui

tol-lis qui-tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di mi-se-re-re

mi-se-re-re no-bis qui-tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di qui-tol-lis pec-

Example 3: Marcos Portugal, “Qui tollis a solo di tenor”  
from the *Missa com toda a orchestra* (1814)

As for Mazziotti, his tessitura was much higher, as can be seen in an excerpt from “Responsório ultimo, Caligaverunt” from the *Mattinas, q. se cantão na quinta fr.<sup>a</sup> Sancta* composed by Marcos Portugal in 1813:<sup>7</sup>

*Allegro agitato*

si-cut do-lor, si-cut do-lor, si-cut do-lor, si-cut do-lor me us.

Example 4: Marcos Portugal, “Responsório ultimo, Caligaverunt”  
from the *Mattinas, q. se cantão na quinta fr.<sup>a</sup> Sancta* (1813)

The duet for tenors in the *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* composed by Marcos Portugal in 1817<sup>8</sup> confirms what we stated above. In this duet António Pedro remains in the middle tenor tessitura while Giovanni Mazziotti sings at a much higher tessitura, as in all vocal lines written for him:

<sup>7</sup> *Mattinas, q. se cantão na quinta fr.<sup>a</sup> Sancta*, Rio de Janeiro, 1813. P-La, 44-XV-9 a 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*



João Mazziotti

Tu Do - mi-nus Al -

António Pedro

Tu Do-mi-nus

4

tis - si-mus Je - - - su Je - su

Al - tis-si-mus Je - su Je - su

9

Je - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

12

su Chris - te

Je - su Chris - te

Example 5: Marcos Portugal, duet for tenors in the  
*Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* (1817)

This characteristic of Mazziotti's voice permits us to identify his presence in other compositions even where his name is not mentioned, or when the indication is not clear. An example of this is the tenor vocal line in the *terzetto* "Domine Deus" from the *Missa a 4 vozes* composed by José Maurício in 1811.<sup>9</sup> In this section we find a tenor line that rises to extremely high notes. Let us take a look at a short excerpt:

<sup>9</sup> *Missa a [4 vozes]* (1811), B-Rcm MS. BAN – C.P.M. 107 (a) [Reg. 30 094].



Example 6: José Maurício Nunes Garcia, tenor vocal line (excerpt) in the *terzetto* “Domine Deus” from the *Missa a 4 vozes* (1811)

This part was composed for a “Sr. Mazzioti”. The truth is that there were three Mazzioti brothers that sang in the Royal Chapel at Rio de Janeiro, which would make it difficult, theoretically, for us to affirm which of the three sang this part. None the less, if we compare this line with others composed by Marcos Portugal with indications of the singers, we can only conclude that this was written for Giovanni Mazzioti.

Through this type of analysis among the singers at the Royal Chapel we are able to identify a *contraltino* or *haute-contre*,<sup>10</sup> in other words, a tenor that had a fine falsetto which made it possible for him to sing lines with such a high tessitura. It is important to emphasize that it is inconceivable that this vocal line was sung totally in the chest register. The vocal practice of the time made ready use of falsetto, as we have already observed in the aria “Quoniam” written for João dos Reis. The fact is that the works composed for Giovanni Mazzioti reveal up to what point the tenors active in Rio de Janeiro were able to use their falsetto.

Of the sopranos whose names appear, the two most significant are the *castrati* Antonio Cicconi (?-?) and Giovanni Francesco Fasciotti (?-1840). Once again there are similarities to what we have already seen in relation to the two tenors. The parts with name indications show that Cicconi was a higher soprano than Fasciotti. In fact, if we consider modern standards of voice classification, we could say that Cicconi had a normal soprano tessitura while Fasciotti had that of a mezzo-soprano. Let us take a look at some examples:

“Laudamus a solo di soprano”, written for Fasciotti in the *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* by Marcos Portugal:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Term used by Manuel P. R. Garcia, *Traité complet sur l'art du chant*, Paris, Minkoff, 1985 [Parte I, 1841; Parte II, 1847], 25.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*



Example 7: Marcos Portugal “Laudamus a solo di soprano”,  
written for Fasciotti in the *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* (1817)

“Laudamus a solo di soprano”, written for Cicconi in the *Missa com toda a orquestra*, composed by Marcos Portugal:



Example 8: Marcos Portugal, “Laudamus a solo di soprano”,  
from the *Missa com toda a orquestra* (1814)

The soprano duet in the *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental*,<sup>12</sup> makes still clearer the differences between the vocal tessitura of the two *castrati*. Let us examine the exposition of the theme:

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*

Mozart, Marcos Portugal e o seu tempo / and their time

*Larghetto*

Example 9: Marcos Portugal, soprano duet from the Gloria  
of the *Missa festiva com todo o instrumental* (1817)

In this duet, as in most of the parts written for Cicconi, we encounter *staccati* in the upper register, like this example:

Example 10: Staccato indications for Cicconi

This type of *staccato* is never present in Fasciotti's part in this duet, and is almost a trademark of the music composed for Cicconi. An excellent example of the use of this *staccato* may be seen in the solo written for Cicconi in the *Te Deum de aclamação a D. João VI* composed by Marcos Portugal in 1818.<sup>13</sup>

Aware of the specificities of the voices of these two sopranos we can draw reasonable conclusions about the soprano solo of José Maurício's *Missa de Santa Cecília*. This is the only solo in the Mass that does not indicate the singer. Mattos speculates that this solo was probably composed for one of the *castrati*, Antonio Cicconi or Giovanni Fasciotti.<sup>14</sup> However, this solo has a very high tessitura, making it highly improbable that Fasciotti would have sung it. Let us look at the end of this solo:



Example 11: José Maurício Nunes Garcia, soprano solo from the Gloria of the *Missa de Santa Cecília* (1826)

The fact is that if we consider the tessitura and the presence of the *staccati* on the high notes, we could reasonably conclude that that this solo was written for Antonio Cicconi.

Another *castrato* with many parts explicitly written for him is Giuseppe Gori (?-1819), although the solos he received did not contain the same level of technical demands as those of the singers mentioned above. The musicologist Ayres de Andrade<sup>15</sup> (1967) affirms that this performer was a soprano. However, the parts with indications of his name leave no doubt that he was a contralto. By way of example, we may look at an excerpt from the “Tradiderunt me, Introduziona solo di contralto” from the *Mattinas, q. se cantão na quinta fr.<sup>a</sup> Sancta*, written for him by Marcos Portugal in 1813:<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Te Deum Laudamus com toda a Orquestra. Composto para a feliz aclamação de S. M. F. o senhor D. João VI no ano de 1818. MS. (aut.) *P-Ln*, MM 2503 [BNBP – <http://purl.pt/12123>, latest access, 20/10/2009].

<sup>14</sup> José Maurício Nunes Garcia, *Missa de Santa Cecília*, 1826; para solistas coro e grande orquestra, *op. cit.*, 14.

<sup>15</sup> Ayres de Andrade, *Francisco Manuel da Silva e seu tempo*, 2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, Tempo Brasileiro, 1967.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*

*Andante sostenuto e cantabile*

Tra-di-de - runt me, tra-di-de- runt me in - ma-nus, in ma - nus im-pi - o-rum,

8 im - pi - o - ni in - ter i - ni-quos pro je - ce runt me, et non pe - per

15 ce - runt a - ni - mae a - - - - ni - ma -

18 me - ae, a - ni-mae, a - ni-mae, a - ni - ma me - ae.

Example 12: Marcos Portugal, “Tradiderunt me, Introduzione a solo di contralto”  
from the *Mattinas, q. se cantão na quinta fr.<sup>a</sup> Sancta* (1813)

To conclude, the examples presented here clearly illustrate how an analysis of vocal lines with singer indications provides important information about the vocal environment in Rio de Janeiro during the period of João VI’s regency and reign. After all, it is only by knowing for which singer a work was written that we can determine the vocal characteristics of specific performers and up to what point they may have influenced the vocal writing of the composers mentioned. This type of analysis has shown itself to be an enormous asset in coming to an understanding of what the arrival of so many European singers represented in the history of Brazilian music.

**OUTRAS PERSPECTIVAS SETECENTISTAS**  
**OTHER EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PERSPECTIVES**





## **A forma sonata na música orquestral portuguesa da segunda metade do século XVIII (até 1793)**

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Todo o século XVIII tem obras com um movimento harmónico da tónica para a dominante e um subsequente regresso à tónica. Quando esse movimento se transforma num confronto de tonalidades, quando as áreas sob a influência de cada uma delas passam a distinguir-se claramente, quando o material da área da dominante é concebido como dissonante, ou seja, quando precisa de uma resolução na tónica, então estamos perante uma forma sonata.

Segundo Rosen, «a sonata não é uma forma definida como o minuetto, a ária da capo ou a abertura à francesa, mas é, como a fuga, um modo de escrever, um sentido da proporção, da direcção e da textura, mais do que um modelo.»<sup>1</sup>

Em obras orquestrais, a forma sonata está sempre presente em Portugal na segunda metade do século XVIII, com maior frequência entre 1778 e 1787. Os compositores que a utilizam mais, proporcionalmente à sua produção global, são Giuseppe Toti, António da Silva Gomes e Oliveira, João Cordeiro da Silva e Luciano Xavier dos Santos.

A forma sonata está presente predominantemente no primeiro andamento (em 45% dos casos) (é em geral o mais extenso e elaborado). Nos segundos andamentos aparece sem desenvolvimento em 88% dos casos, seguindo a tendência habitual noutros países europeus, enquanto nos outros andamentos tem geralmente um desenvolvimento, menos ou mais elaborado.

Um dos sentidos da evolução feita pelas formas contínuas é o estabelecimento e a estabilização do percurso tonal, para I-V || V-I, ou i-III || III-i, o reforço da zona da dominante ou do relativo maior no início da segunda parte, e a diferenciação do material temático e a sua estabilização dentro de cada zona tonal. Quando estes passos se concretizam, todos eles simultaneamente ou apenas alguns, passamos a estar perante formas sonata, em muitos casos embrionárias, feitas muito provavelmente sem que o compositor tenha tido plena consciência do tipo de

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<sup>1</sup> «The sonata is not a definite form like a minuet, a da capo aria, or a French overture: it is, like the fugue, a way of writing, a feeling for proportion, direction, and texture rather than a pattern.» Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style – Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*, New York, Norton, 1972, 30.

estrutura que estava a construir, uma forma contínua ou uma forma sonata.

As formas sonata mais elementares surgem quando duas partes bastante paralelas de uma forma contínua, com os percursos harmónicos I-V || I ou i-III || i, são também a exposição e a reexposição de uma forma sonata sem desenvolvimento, por vezes ligadas por uma pequena transição, muitas vezes constituídas apenas pelos grupos temáticos, mais ou menos nítidos em cada zona tonal. Estão presentes nas obras de quase todos os compositores, e surgem pela necessidade de um maior dinamismo e contraste interno, e não por uma consciência do esquema da forma sonata, tal como será clarificado mais tarde.

Estas estruturas vão-se tornando mais elaboradas, sobretudo através do aparecimento ou do reforço de uma parte intermédia, na zona da dominante (ou do relativo maior). Este reforço pode basear-se no desenvolvimento motivico, na elaboração harmónica ou em ambos.

Nas obras orquestrais portuguesas entre 1752 e 1793 há em muitos casos uma clara falta de domínio da orgânica da forma sonata, uma imperfeita coordenação interna da sua estrutura global, mesmo quando são interessantes algumas das suas características, como um bom desenho melódico ou uma harmonia bem conduzida. Podem contribuir para isso vários factores principais: um desenho melódico pouco caracterizado, falta de coordenação entre a melodia e a harmonia, desequilíbrio ou fraca diferenciação entre as duas zonas tonais, desequilíbrio entre os grupos temáticos, escasso desenvolvimento motivico e ambiguidade entre desenvolvimentos e exposições temáticas. Veja-se em detalhe:

### 1 desenho melódico pouco caracterizado

– o material temático limita-se, com alguma frequência, a uma mera afirmação tonal, geralmente em acordes ou arpejos, sem um desenho efectivo com um mínimo de personalidade melódica:



Exemplo 1: David Perez, *La Didone abbandonata*, 1º and., cc. 1-8

– apesar de ter alguma personalidade, o material temático não se afasta das notas dos acordes, fixando-se em arpejos, acordes quebrados e pequenos motivos de pura afirmação tonal:



Exemplo 2: David Perez, *L'eroe cinese*, 3.º and., cc. 17-27

Não é só em Portugal que isto acontece. Repare-se no que diz Rosen<sup>2</sup>: «O tema inicial define a tonalidade; é por essa razão que muitos utilizam muitíssimo as três notas da tríade da tónica.» [...] «Os segundos temas, como não definem uma tonalidade mas apenas a confirmam, têm em geral um ritmo harmónico um pouco mais rápido do que o tema principal, e são geralmente menos dependentes da tríade da tónica.»

– temas demasiado curtos, não permitindo uma suficiente definição e estabilização melódica:



Exemplo 3: Sousa Carvalho, *L'amore industrioso*, 1.º and., cc. 43-49

<sup>2</sup> «The opening theme defines the key; that is why most opening themes make heavy use of the three notes of the tonic triad.» [...] «Second themes [...] since they do not define but merely confirm a key, their harmonic rhythm is generally slightly faster than that of the main theme, the reliance on a tonic triad often less emphatic.» Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, New York, W. W. Norton and Company, 1988, 243-44.

## 2 falta de coordenação entre a melodia e a harmonia

– o material temático é exposto numa zona harmónica instável, modulante ou em fase de afirmação, o que lhe tira consistência e impede a sua definição clara. Muitas vezes ficam dúvidas se se trata ou não de um tema (por exemplo em David Perez e Brás Francisco de Lima);

– durante a exposição do material temático a harmonia, estável a princípio, começa a modular, tornando pouco claro o fim do tema ou do motivo (por exemplo em Sousa Carvalho e Almeida Mota);

3 fraca diferenciação entre as duas zonas tonais: fraca polarização tónica-dominante (por exemplo em Xavier dos Santos e Giuseppe Toti);

4 desequilíbrio entre grupos temáticos:

– dimensão muito diferente dos grupos temáticos, gerando algum desequilíbrio estrutural;

– grupos temáticos parecidos, o que provoca ausência de contraste melódico;

– grupos temáticos dispersos ou misturados;

5 ausência ou muito escasso desenvolvimento motivico, o que limita cada uma das partes a uma sucessão de grupos temáticos, sem reforço de tensão na zona da dominante ou nas zonas modulatórias entre temas. Há inúmeros casos em que isso acontece;

6 ambiguidade entre desenvolvimentos e exposições temáticas. Rosen<sup>3</sup> afirma que «no estilo pré-clássico o regresso à tónica raramente é sublinhado por uma cadência significativa – a cadência forte sobre a tónica está reservada para o final [...]», que «a falta de uma clara cadência sobre a tónica dilui a distinção entre o desenvolvimento e a reexposição, que só será feita perto do fim do século XVIII». No nosso caso esta explicação não é suficiente: as cadências claras não aparecem a separar as grandes secções porque estas não estão suficientemente definidas, devido em grande parte à falta de coordenação entre o contorno melódico e a harmonia, ou as zonas tonais são confusas, ou os temas se situam em zonas harmonicamente instáveis, ou são melodicamente indefinidos, ou aparecem incompletos, várias vezes ou com envoltórios harmónicos diversos (dominante, tónica, modo maior e menor), deixando dúvidas sobre a sua verdadeira função, temática ou de desenvolvimento. O resultado é obviamente ambíguo. São muitos os exemplos, como em David Perez, Xavier dos Santos ou Auzier Romero.

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<sup>3</sup> «The tonal pattern of most pre-classical sonatas is little more than the dance-forms of the High Baroque. The first part goes from the tonic to the dominant, the second part from the dominant to the tonic. The return to the tonic in the pre-classical styles is, however, rarely marked by a significant cadence – the strong cadence on the tonic is reserved for the very end. The second part contains a certain amount of what must be called development, and a great deal of recapitulation in the tonic, but the lack of a clear separating tonic chord blurs the distinction between the development and the recapitulation, a distinction that was made by the later eighteenth century.» Rosen (1972), *op. cit.*, 49.

Mesmo numa fase de alguma maturidade, e sem relação com a cronologia das obras, aparecem com frequência alguns desvios em relação ao esquema habitual. Os mais comuns são:

- segundo aparecimento de um dos grupos temáticos na reexposição (as duas vezes na tônica, ou primeiro na dominante e depois na tônica);
- segundo aparecimento de um dos grupos temáticos na exposição (primeiro na tônica menor e depois no relativo maior):

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a string quartet (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bass). The first system covers measures 1 to 6, the second system covers measures 7 to 11, and the third system covers measures 12 to 16. The music is in 3/4 time and features dynamic markings of *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The key signature is one flat (B-flat).

Exemplo 4: Xavier dos Santos, *La passione di Gesù Christo*, 2.º and., cc. 1-6 e 7-11

– um dos grupos temáticos aparece sempre primeiro no modo menor e só depois no modo maior. É bastante característico neste conjunto de obras, como factor de variação de colorido e de ambiente musical:

Example 5 shows measures 37-41 of the first movement of Leal Moreira's *Il natale agosto*. The music is in G major (one sharp) and common time. Measures 37-39 feature a piano (*p*) texture with a treble staff playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, and a bass staff with a single G note. Measure 40 continues the treble staff pattern, while the bass staff has a whole rest. Measure 41 concludes with a final chord in the treble staff and a whole rest in the bass.

Exemplo 5: Leal Moreira, *Il natale agosto*, 1.º and., cc. 37-41

Example 6 shows measures 52-65 of the first movement of Leal Moreira's *Il natale agosto*. Measures 52-54 feature a forte-piano (*fp*) texture with a treble staff playing a rhythmic pattern and a bass staff with a single G note. Measures 55-57 feature a forte (*f*) texture with a treble staff playing a rhythmic pattern and a bass staff with a single G note. Measures 58-60 feature a forte-piano (*fp*) texture with a treble staff playing a rhythmic pattern and a bass staff with a single G note. Measures 61-63 feature a piano (*poco*) texture with a treble staff playing a rhythmic pattern and a bass staff with a single G note. Measures 64-65 conclude with a final chord in the treble staff and a whole rest in the bass.

Exemplo 6: Leal Moreira, *Il natale agosto*, 1.º and., cc. 52-65

- na reexposição aparecimento dos grupos temáticos por ordem inversa;
- ausência de um dos grupos temáticos na reexposição;
- reexposição incipiente ou muito menor do que a exposição, apenas com parte dos temas;
- desenvolvimento no interior da reexposição. O que quase sempre acontece nestes casos é a ausência de desenvolvimento entre a exposição e a reexposição (apenas uma pequena transição) e o seu aparecimento no meio da reexposição, entre os grupos temáticos;
- grandes secções, quase desenvolvimentos, entre os grupos temáticos, tanto na exposição como na reexposição. Estas extensas secções podem ser um factor de desequilíbrio, se não forem compensadas por um verdadeiro e elaborado desenvolvimento na zona de maior tensão da dominante, entre a exposição e a reexposição.

Os factores de evolução da forma sonata, nas obras orquestrais portuguesas do período referido, são:

#### **1 estabilização e melhor definição das zonas tonais**

Os principais responsáveis são David Perez, de um modo irregular, e Sousa Carvalho, continuamente, sobretudo entre 1784 e 1787;

#### **2 maior caracterização dos grupos temáticos<sup>4</sup>**

É Sousa Carvalho que primeiro começa a fazê-lo regularmente;

#### **3 diferenciação temática**

É uma característica relativamente rara nas obras deste período. Embora já apareça em David Perez, é Jerónimo Francisco Lima o único compositor a utilizá-la sistematicamente, entre 1772 e 1785 – os seus grupos temáticos têm ambientes distintos, o primeiro mais enérgico e rítmico, e o segundo mais lírico e sentimental;

#### **4 desenvolvimentos maiores e mais elaborados**

Mesmo que grande parte das obras tenha algum desenvolvimento motivico, em secções geralmente curtas dispersas ao longo dos andamentos, as secções de desenvolvimento propriamente dito são quase sempre pequenas e incipientes. Desenvolvimentos elaborados são raros e nunca usados por um compositor de um modo sistemático ao longo da sua produção. Desenvolvimentos bastante extensos e complexos apenas aparecem em Sousa Carvalho, numa fase tardia da sua produção, desde 1783.

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<sup>4</sup> Chamo grupo temático bem caracterizado a uma unidade temática coerente, melódica e harmonicamente, e ao mesmo tempo com personalidade melódica.

É de notar a enorme discrepância existente entre a quantidade e a qualidade do material melódico e rítmico presentes em muitas obras, e por vezes também a harmonia variada e colorida, e o seu reduzido tratamento motivico, transformando inúmeros andamentos de quase todos os compositores, durante esta segunda metade do século, num agradável desfile de graciosas melodias mas com pouca consistência formal. Os casos mais gritantes são os de Cordeiro da Silva e Leal Moreira, em boa parte das suas obras.

#### **5 secções mais extensas e elaboradas entre os grupos temáticos**

Não há uma evolução continuada destas secções intermédias, apenas a sua existência esporádica, mais significativa em David Perez, Sousa Carvalho e Jerónimo Francisco Lima;

#### **6 maior equilíbrio entre melodia, harmonia e organização tonal**

Não são muitos os andamentos pensados como um todo em que cada uma das componentes se integra com perfeição. O que é mais curioso é que este equilíbrio formal não se torna mais frequente à medida que o século avança, e apenas em Sousa Carvalho corresponde a uma evolução qualitativa da sua produção;

#### **7 expansão das dimensões**

É novamente Sousa Carvalho, entre 1783 e 1787, que melhor concretiza este aumento de dimensão de um andamento, com um ritmo harmónico especialmente lento, através da repetição de motivos, de longas figurações rítmicas (notas repetidas, acordes, escalas, desenhos de afirmação tonal), do desenvolvimento motivico elaborado, com grande variedade rítmica (feito não só no desenvolvimento propriamente dito mas também nas extensas secções modulatórias entre os grupos temáticos), das mudanças de cor harmónica e da distribuição melódica pelos instrumentos;

#### **8 incremento do sentido direcciona**

É também Sousa Carvalho, paradigmaticamente em *Adrasto Re degli Argivi*, em 1784, que maior sentido direcciona cria nas suas obras, através de vários factores principais, que estão muitas vezes coordenados entre si: ritmo variado, em células pequenas ou motivos maiores, articulação muito detalhada, texturas diversificadas e instrumentação muito tímbrica, com um diálogo constante entre instrumentos ou grupos de instrumentos. Podem referir-se, como exemplos concretos, um ritmo contínuo no baixo ou noutra voz de apoio durante a execução de melodias, desenhos ou acordes continuados em semicolcheias, aumento da densidade rítmica na direcção das cadências, sobreposição ou alternâncias de articulações diferentes.

É David Perez, disseminadamente no tempo e sem uma evolução continuada, nas décadas de 50, 60 e 70, que introduz em Portugal alguns dos factores de evo-



lução da forma sonata – estabilização das zonas tonais, aparecimento de secções extensas e elaboradas entre os grupos temáticos, desenvolvimentos maiores e mais estruturados, e alguma diferenciação temática, mas é Sousa Carvalho, com uma evolução nítida e continuada durante as décadas de 70 e 80, que mais contribui na música orquestral para a evolução da forma sonata em Portugal, com zonas tonais estáveis, maior caracterização dos grupos temáticos, muitas vezes com ambientes diferenciados, introdução de desenvolvimentos bem estruturados entre a exposição e a reexposição e de desenvolvimentos secundários entre os grupos temáticos, maior equilíbrio entre melodia, harmonia e organização tonal, expansão das dimensões e incremento do sentido direccionado. Jerónimo Francisco Lima (décadas de 70 e 80), Gomes e Oliveira (desde 1778), Leal Moreira (décadas de 80 e 90) e José Joaquim dos Santos (1794) dão a sua contribuição para esta evolução diferenciando os ambientes dos grupos temáticos, enquanto Auzier Romero (1782) é relevante pela importância que dá aos desenvolvimentos.

Uma certa inconsistência formal aparente na música orquestral portuguesa da segunda metade do século XVIII, nítida tanto na forma sonata como no rondó, em que os esquemas formais são utilizados com grande inexactidão, merece ser reflectida. Pode ser considerada como uma falta de conhecimento ou de rigor, mas pode também, pelo menos por vezes, ser vista como um gesto de liberdade – o criador utiliza um esquema formal mais como uma sugestão do que como uma estrutura rígida, e sujeita-o à sua imaginação e à sua pura vontade.

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## Apêndice: Obras musicais referenciadas mais directamente

	Obras analisadas	Datas e locais de execução	Localização das partituras ou partes	Instrumentação
Perez, David	<i>La Didone abbandonata</i> , Abertura e 2 Marchas  <i>L'eroe cinese</i> , Abertura	21/1/1753 Teatro de Salvaterra; Verão 1765 Teatro do Bairro Alto 6/6/1753 Teatro do Forte	<i>P-La</i> 45-V-26/28, 45-V-48/49  <i>P-La</i> 45-V-30/32	2 ob, fg, 4 cor, tromb, cordas  2 ob, 2 cor, cordas
Santos, Luciano Xavier	<i>La passione di Gesù Christo</i> , Oratória, Abertura	19/3/1783 Palácio da Ajuda	<i>P-La</i> 48-III-9/10	2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas
Carvalho, João de Sousa	<i>L'amore industrioso</i> , Abertura  <i>Endimione</i> , Abertura  <i>Adrasto Re degli Argivi</i> , Abertura  <i>Alcione</i> , Abertura	10 representações em 1769: 31/3 <sup>5</sup> ; 13/5; 2/7; 5/8; 15/8; 24/8; 25/8; 21/12; 26/12; 28/12 Teatro da Ajuda 25/7/1783 Palácio de Queluz 5/7/1784 Palácio de Queluz  25/7/1787 Palácio da Ajuda; 25/7/1789 Paço da Ribeira	<i>P-La</i> 48-I-13/15; ed. mod. <i>P-Lcg</i> , “Portugaliae Musica”, 1960  <i>P-La</i> 48-I-36/37  <i>P-La</i> 48-I-8/9  <i>P-La</i> 48-I-6/7	2 ob, fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas  2 ob, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas 2 ob, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas
Silva, João Cordeiro da	<i>Archelao</i> , Abertura  <i>Megara Tebana</i> , Abertura	21/8/1785 Palácio de Queluz  25/7/1788 Paço da Ribeira; 4/11/1789 25/7/1791 Palácio da Ajuda	<i>P-La</i> 48-III-19/20  <i>P-La</i> 48-III-29/30; abert. <i>P-Em</i> n° 459; ed. mod. Jorge Matta, 2006	2 fl, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas 2 fl, 2 ob, fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas
Lima, Jerónimo Francisco	<i>La vera costanza</i> , Abertura  <i>Le nozze d'Ercole ed Ebe</i> , Abertura	Carnaval 1785 Teatro de Salvaterra; <sup>6</sup> 13 e 19/5/1789, 26/12/1789 Teatro da Ajuda 13/4/1785 Casa do Embaixador de Espanha	<i>P-La</i> 48-II-8/9; <i>P-VV</i> G.17 e G.18  <i>P-La</i> 48-II-2/3	2 ob, fg, 2 trp, cordas  2 fl, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas
Oliveira, António da Silva Gomes e	<i>La Galatea</i> , Abertura  <i>Calliope</i> , Abertura	21/8/1779 Palácio de Queluz  25/7/1782 Palácio de Queluz	<i>P-La</i> 48-III-16/17  <i>P-La</i> 48-III-14/15	2 fl, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas

<sup>5</sup> A estreia foi um espectáculo grandioso, com nove bailarinos e 75 figurantes, segundo Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, 75. Segundo Brito, a estreia teve 28 figurantes, 20 na ópera e oito no bailado, coreografado por Antonio Marrafi, com música de Pietro Rumi.

A forma sonata na música orquestral portuguesa da segunda metade do século XVIII

Lima, Brás Francisco	<i>Il trionfo di Davidde</i> , Oratória, Abertura	19/3/1785 21/3/1786 Palácio da Ajuda; 1787 Palácio de Queluz	<i>P-La</i> 48-I-30/31	2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, cordas
Romero, Gonçalo Auzier	Sinfonia	1782	<i>P-Ln</i> MM 5020	2 ob, 2 cor, cordas
Moreira, António Leal	<i>Artemisia Regina di Caria</i> , Abertura  <i>Gli eroi spartani</i> , Abertura  <i>Il natale Augusto</i> , Abertura	17/12/1787 Palácio da Ajuda; 4/11/1790 Palácio de Queluz 21/8/1788 Paço da Ribeira  29/4/1793 Casa de Anselmo José da Cruz Sobral	<i>P-Ln</i> CN 163/164  <i>P-La</i> 48-II-16/17; ed. mod. Jorge Matta, 2006 <i>P-Ln</i> CN 161/162	2 ob, fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas  2 fl, 2 ob, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas
Toti, Giuseppe	Sinfonia, ré maior  Sinfonia, ré maior	1793  s. d.	<i>P-Lf</i> Ms 229/25 E4; <i>P-Ln</i> FCR 216.1  <i>P-Ln</i> FCR 216.2	2 fl, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas 2 fl, 2 ob, 2 fg, 2 trp, 2 cor, cordas
Santos, José Joaquim dos	Sinfonia	1794	<i>P-Lf</i> original perdido; ed. mod. Christopher Bochmann	1 ob, 2 cor, cordas
Mota, João Pedro d'Almeida	<i>La passione di Gesu Christo Signor Nostro</i> , Abertura	s. d.	<i>P-VV</i> AM/P-2; ed. mod. Filipe de Sousa	2 ob, 2 fg, 2 cor, cordas



## Alcipe and music

*Vanda Anastácio*

Dona Leonor de Almeida Portugal who was born in 1750 and died in 1839, is better known today by her title Marquise of Alorna or by the literary pseudonym Alcipe. She played an important role in the Portuguese intellectual life of the last quarter of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth. Her long life was rich in experiences. D. Leonor was the granddaughter of the Marquis and Marquise of Távora, publicly executed in 1759 following accusation of having participated in the attempt on the life of King José I.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence of this event, she was confined, together with her mother, her sister and her younger brother in the convent of São Félix in Chelas, Lisbon. At the same time, her father, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Alorna, Dom João, was sent to prison, first to the Tower of Belém, and later to the Fortress of Junqueira. With the exception of Alcipe's younger brother, Dom Pedro, the members of the Alorna family remained in prison for 18 years.

They were released after 1777, in the context of the '*Viradeira*' – the first political measures taken by Queen Maria I, when she succeeded to the throne. Shortly afterwards, D. Leonor would meet Count Karl August von Oeynhausen, a German officer of the house of Schaumburg-Lippe. She married him in 1778, against her father's will, but with the support of the Queen herself. She had convinced her future husband to convert publicly to Catholicism, and managed to obtain for him, from the Queen, the post of Plenipotentiary Minister (*Ministro Plenipotenciário*) at the Imperial Court of Vienna in 1780. The couple lived in Vienna from 1780 to 1785 and then moved to the South of France until the early 1790s. The Count died in 1793, shortly after their return to Lisbon. After his death D. Leonor took part in Lisbon's intellectual life, receiving at her salon artists, poets and politicians. She was exiled by the Police in 1803, and lived abroad, mostly in England, until 1815, when she returned. From her return and until her death, Alcipe would play a central role in Lisbon society, acting simultaneously as a mediator of new ideas and what we would call today an 'opinion-leader' for writers, poets and politicians of various tendencies and social backgrounds, who saw admittance to her salon as a sign both of distinction and of legitimization.

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<sup>1</sup> The attempt took place in Lisbon on 3 September 1758.

In spite of the interest that the study of this trajectory may have for those who try to understand the Portuguese mentality and society of the Enlightenment from a European perspective, there are many aspects of the thought and of the actions of this woman writer that are still in need of research. The fact that her life did not correspond to the usual feminine model of behaviour acceptable in the Portuguese society of her time has undoubtedly contributed to this state of affairs, as has the fact that part of her poetry and most of her correspondence have remained unpublished.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, and although they correspond to around 22 years of her life, the periods when D. Leonor lived outside of Portugal remain especially obscure.

In this paper I would like to shed a little light onto D. Leonor's stay in Vienna, from the beginning of September 1780 to October 1784, a period of time coinciding with the moment when Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart left the Archbishop of Salzburg and tried to live in Vienna on his own. The coincidence of dates raises a number of questions: did Alcipe and Mozart come across each other in Vienna? Would D. Leonor de Almeida have been interested in listening to him? And would she have had the opportunity to do so?

At the distance of more than 250 years it is not possible to answer these questions with complete certainty. However, the documentation I have been studying on behalf of the project sponsored by the Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna and the Portuguese Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) aiming at the establishment of a critical edition of the works and letters of the Marquise of Alorna makes it possible to risk a few answers.

Alcipe's interest in music is evident in her poetry as well as in her correspondence. A close look at her poems shows that music is a recurrent theme, characterised in numerous texts as a refuge from and consolation for suffering and solitude. The playing of music, or the emotions caused by listening to music are the central theme of six of her 84 published sonnets<sup>3</sup> but, more revealing of her involvement with music seem to be around one hundred poems (one *epicedium*, one *cantata*, 6 hymns and 92 *cantigas*)<sup>4</sup> clearly written to be sung.

These hymns and *cantigas* are poems composed in short metres of 4 syllables, or in the traditional Portuguese *redondilha* metres of 5 or 7 metrical syllables,<sup>5</sup> in

<sup>2</sup> Up to the present there has been only one edition of Alcipe's complete works: *Obras Poéticas de D. Leonor d'Almeida Portugal Lorena e Lencastre, Marquiza d'Alorna, Condessa d'Assumar e d'Oeynhausien, conhecida entre os poetas portugueses pello nome de Alcipe*, 6 vols., Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1844, and a very short anthology of her letters, Hernâni Cidade, *Inéditos, Cartas e outros Escritos*, Lisboa, Sá da Costa, 1941. I have recently edited the exchange of letters between D. Leonor and the Countess of Vimieiro during the years D. Leonor spent in the convent: Vanda Anastácio (ed.), *Cartas de Lília e Tirse*, Lisboa, Colibri – Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> *Obras poéticas*, op. cit., vol. I: "O Zéfiro em silêncio lisonjeia"; "Escassamente o sol já se mostrava", "Enquanto Piério tocava flauta"; "Do teimoso desgosto a mão nefanda", *A Música* "De um véu de nuvens finas guarnecido" and *As Musas* "Co'a frauta agreste os beijos compreindo".

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*, vol. II.

<sup>5</sup> Using the modern counting system; 6 or 8 syllables using the system of the period, and 5 in the case of the *cantigas*.

quatrains with the rhyme scheme *abcb*, which use the repetition of elements at the end of each strophe as a refrain: these can be either one isolated verse, or a distich, or a quatrain in a shorter metre than the rest, etc. Some of the epigraphs preceding the poems, underline their musical use as is the case of the indication juxtaposed to the *cantigas* entitled *À Liberdade* and *À Noite*: “Cantigas para a mesma música”.<sup>6</sup> The forms we have described do not differ much from the kind of poems composed by Domingos Caldas Barbosa and other poets of the *Academia de Belas Letras*, for the *modinhas*, and *lunduns* that were so popular at the time.

The composing of these texts and their use is made clear by the information we find in the letters written during the years at the convent by the future Marquise to her imprisoned father and to her friend Dona Teresa de Mello Breyner, Countess of Vimieiro. I would like to point out that in spite of the fact that she was living in a convent, there are absolutely no references to sacred music or to hymns connected to liturgy. The music D. Leonor writes about in her letters consists mainly of secular pieces that she could play and sing along with her sister, and the small circle of lady friends living at São Félix, whom she considered her ‘disciples’, or of written music sent to her by the Countess of Vimieiro through the post,<sup>7</sup> or of the music played during the visits of family and close friends at the griddle of the convent. This can be illustrated by the following remarks found in a letter from D. Leonor to her father:

Nós passamos estas noites de Inverno menos mal, porque as minhas decípulas juntam-se no quarto da mana e lá lemos estudamos, fazemos nossas conversações científicas e, ultimamente, cantamos. Duas das raparigas cantam sofrivelmente e nós lhe temos ensinado a pronunciar bem o italiano. Agora professa uma das nossas amigas que acompanha.<sup>8</sup>

and in a letter to D. Teresa de Mello Breyner:

Eu tenho um círculo de raparigas que me decoram do título de mestra (se te rires, eu te perdoo) destas a maior parte sabe música e dizem todas com bonitas vozes, *que eu não posso estar sem ti*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, I, 63.

<sup>7</sup> The letters of the Countess of Vimieiro have been transcribed by Raquel Bello Vázquez, “Uma certa Ambição de Glória. Trajectória, redes e estratégias de Teresa de Mello Breyner nos campos intelectual e do poder em Portugal (1770-1798)”, PhD dissertation presented at the University of Santiago de Compostela, Santiago, 2005. See letter [66]: “Estimo que gostes da cançoneta. Tenho outra cavatina que também te mandarei muito própria para Márcia. Seu pudera ouvir ambas!” (“I hope you like the song. I have another *cavatina* which I will also send to you, very suitable for Márcia. I wish I could hear you both!”).

<sup>8</sup> Letter kept in the Private Archive of the Fronteira Palace (ref: ALCPAICH17). The idiosyncratic spelling in the original has been maintained in this and other letters quoted here. In translation: “We have been spending these winter nights in a more or less pleasant manner, because my disciples get together in my sister’s room and there we read, study, have our scientific conversations and latterly we have been singing. Two of the girls can sing tolerably well and we have been teaching them to pronounce Italian correctly. One of the friends who plays is now professing as a nun.”

<sup>9</sup> “Carta 31” in Vanda Anastácio (ed.), *op. cit.*, 67. In translation: “I have a circle of girl friends who

This last quotation refers to a song for which the Countess of Vimiero had commissioned a new arrangement from Miguel José, the musician living at her house, engaged at her service in April 1772.<sup>10</sup> She had apparently suggested the repetition of some of the verses, as we can see by the following remark from D. Teresa:

canto-as [estas cantigas] não como todos, porque lhe meto umas repetições, que lhe ficam bem quis mandar-te a solfa; mas vejo agora que B. Miguel me fez tal embrulhada ao meter da letra, que não presta para nada verei se se emenda a tempo de tas mandar para rires de que eu não, não, não, não possa estar sem ti.<sup>11</sup>

From these letters we understand that not all of these *cantigas* did have a melody of their own, many being improvised upon existing tunes. She writes, for example, to her father:

[...] eu sempre faço diligência por vencer a melancolia e uma das coisas que me diverte é cantar com a mana cantigas de repente. Ela remete algumas porém não são boas. Passamos assim várias horas até que Deus se compadeça. [...] Estas cantigas não necessitam da mínima aplicação. É o que vem à boca e, assentando nisto, não tenha V. Ex<sup>a</sup> cuidado. As mesmas cantigas sirvam de prova.<sup>12</sup>

and to D. Teresa de Mello:

Quero novas tuas agora e remeto essas cantigas improvisas que ontem à noite cantei para ver se entretinha minha mãe, e se de alguma sorte moderava as minhas saudades.<sup>13</sup>

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decorate me with the title of maestra (if you laugh I will forgive you) most of them know music and they say with their beautiful voices that *I cannot be without you*.”

<sup>10</sup> Of this musician we know that he was recommended to D. Teresa by D. Leonor herself, after the Countess told her that she needed someone to replace the musician she used to have at her service before, and that it should be someone simultaneously knowledgeable in Music and have good manners. We follow the transcription by Bello Vázquez, *op. cit.*, [50], cx: “Miguel Jozé he um omem, q eu não conheço, e de quem ninguém me dá novas, por mais que as tenho procurado. Eu não lhe mandei fallar; encarreguei ao tal Gonçalo de me procurar um omem, que fosse capaz de me acompanhar; e de exercitar a minha voz; querendo igualmente que fosse digno de estar sentado a meu lado, e de entrar em minha casa com respeito: falou-me neste, mas diceme que tirasse eu informações do seu préstimo, e da sua capacidade. [...] ninguém me soube dizer nada delle. [...] Agora que tu o proteges he outro o cazo.”

<sup>11</sup> “Carta 56” in Vanda Anastácio (ed.), *op. cit.*, 116. In translation: “I do not sing these like everybody else, because I introduce some repetitions that make them sound well. I wanted to send you the music but I see that B. Miguel made a mess when he introduced the lyrics and it is now good for nothing. I will see that he copies it in time so that I can send them to you and you can laugh that no, no, no, no, I cannot be without you.”

<sup>12</sup> Letter, Private Archive of the Fronteira Palace (ref: ALCPAI26). In translation: “I always try to overcome melancholy and one of the things that amuses me is to sing with my sister improvised songs. She is sending some but they are no good. We spend several hours singing like that until God has mercy on us... these songs do not need any effort. We sing whatever comes to the mouth and knowing this you should not worry. The songs themselves provide proof of that.”

<sup>13</sup> “Carta 26” in Vanda Anastácio (ed.), *op. cit.*, 59. In translation: “I want news from you and I am sending these improvised songs I sang last night to entertain mother and to moderate my sorrows in some way.”



Even more interesting is the discovery that in one of the academy-like sessions which D. Leonor de Almeida organized with her disciples in the 70s, she assigned to one of them the task of exposing the principles of Music:

Tomara meu querido pai que V. Ex.<sup>a</sup> presidisse a esta festança a qual fazemos tenção que termine com uma pequena recapitulação dos princípios da Música da qual dá conta outra rapariga bastantemente viva, mas não tanto como a de que falei. Todas nós cantaremos no fim, porque todas o fazemos sofrivelmente.<sup>14</sup>

Or that, at a certain point, she decided to improve her skills at the harpsichord:

Eu agora tenho uma habelidade nova que é acompanhar ao cravo coisa que até agora tinha desprezado porque me contentava de tocar sofrivelmente sem me meter nessa impertinência, mas não há dúvida que faz bastante falta na Sociedade música. E por conta disso aproveitei algum jeito que me acham.<sup>15</sup>

How did Alcipe learn music? Who taught her? A partial answer to these questions can be found among the documents published by Hernâni Cidade in 1941,<sup>16</sup> which include an *Autobiographie* written in French by D. Leonor de Almeida referring to a music teacher. His name was Mr. Mondini, and through the narrative of a few anecdotes, the author depicts him as an old-fashioned musician, ignorant of the new trends in music theory, and on the verge of ridicule. She recalls, for instance:

La musique ne lui prenait que les heures de la soirée et son maître fut le raisonnement et le son, aidés du dictionnaire de Rousseau. Elle eut pourtant un maître de musique qui chantoit bien mais ne sçavoit point ce que c'étoit que la musique. Il étoit comme presque tous, chantoit par habitude et ignoroit que les meilleurs instituteurs de musique sont la Nature, les oiseaux, les vents et les corps sonores, ainsi que la connoissance anatomique de l'organe qui en reçoit l'impression la plus immédiate. Mr. Mondini (c'étoit le maître) n'entendoit rien au langage d'Alcipe et trouvoit fort ridicule que son écolière ne voulut pas se soumettre à diviser par crochés et doubles crochés les notes rapides qu'il vouloit renfermer dans une mesure. Alcipe, comme toutes les jeunes personnes un peu fières d'avoir des idées plus vastes que les maîtres, lui disoit bonnement qu'elle n'avoit pas besoin d'une ligne pour concevoir le rythme de l'air qu'elle devoit chanter, que la mesure étoit pour ceux qui ne comprenoient pas la Nature. Elle passoit la leçon à discuter, et c'étoit comme ça qu'elle apprenoit à l'insu du maître qui, impatient, souvent l'accusoit de paresse et négligence.

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<sup>14</sup> Letter, Private Archive of the Fronteira Palace (ref: LEON PAI20) In translation: "I wish my dear father that you were presiding at this party which we wish to end with a short recapitulation of the principles of Music, explained by another girl, very lively but not as much as the one I talked to you about. We will all sing at the end because we all can do so more or less well."

<sup>15</sup> Letter, Private Archive of the Fronteira Palace (ref: LEON PAI82) In translation: "I have now a new skill, which is to accompany at the harpsichord. I had despised it until now because I was content with playing in a mediocre manner without entering into this boring task. But there is no doubt that music is very needed in Society. Because of this I took advantage of the inclination people think I have."

<sup>16</sup> Hernâni Cidade, *op. cit.*

After this description, one may doubt whether Alcipe really managed to learn anything from Mr. Mondini, whom she obviously did not respect, and who most certainly felt very uncomfortable with her remarks. According to the same text, Mr. Mondini tried to have his revenge for the difficult moments D. Leonor had made him endure, by assigning her an almost impossible task, which she did, nevertheless, complete:

Mais il fut bien trompé dans ses conjectures, en voulant la mortifier. On imagina pour une occasion de faire briller les compagnes de sa retraite, en les faisant chanter un Miserere à huit voix. On en distribua sept et il ne restoit que la contrebasse pour Alcipe, qui, à ce que disoit son maitre, ne connoissoit pas la clef. Alcipe répliqua, en souriant, qu'elle connoissoit bien toute la clef et la difficulté de chanter la basse avec sa voix de soprano, mais qu'elle croyait pouvoir soutenir la haute-contre et chanter ainsi les notes marquées dans la clef de fa, ce qui ne manqueroit pas de faire un très bon effet, vu que toutes les autres voix étoient des sopranos comme la sienne. Le concert s'établit et Alcipe remplit la gageure, sans la moindre difficulté, au grand étonnement de Mr. Mondini. Il ne sçavoit pas qu'Alcipe s'exerçoit à la composition et qu'à l'aide de son clavecin elle avoit cherché et découvert la succession des accords, senti la difference de la mélodie et de l'harmonie et aperçu mille effets musicaux, qui échappent aux musiciens routiniers. Mondini fut bien plus frappé quand son écolière lui présenta un air de sa composition, avec le prix de ses leçons qu'elle n'avoit plus la patience de recevoir. Il ne s'agissoit plus d'apprendre la musique; la cultiver, l'exercer étoit une source intarissable d'amusement pour les deux soeurs. Melite la cadette, avoit une voix celeste et passoit pour être encore meilleure musicienne qu'Alcipe.

Apart from being an account of the misunderstandings occurring between Alcipe and her teacher, this text seems to prove that D. Leonor saw herself as someone especially gifted for music, and confirms the importance it had in her education.

In this respect, the accounts of the visits of family and friends to the griddle of the convent, are revealing, for they show that, in spite of the rule of silence, when only trusted people ("*peçoas de confiança*") were present, Alcipe's cousins could sing lyrics by Metastasio without being noticed,<sup>17</sup> and her brother D. Pedro even managed to play the flute without being heard.<sup>18</sup>

Judging from these letters, music was one of the major activities to which D. Leonor dedicated her time while she stayed at Chelas, along with studying, reading and writing poetry. Yet, from the musical point of view, as well as from the point of view of many other aspects of social life, there could not have been a greater contrast to life at Chelas than life in Vienna.

<sup>17</sup> She says, for instance: "Estávamos na grade com as primas São Miguéis e outras pessoas de confiança, de sorte que uma delas esteve cantado algumas cançonetes, cujas letras eram de Metastasio." Letter in the Private Collection of Dr. Cassiano Neves (ref: ALCPAICN1).

<sup>18</sup> D. Leonor explains: "O mano tinha trazido a sua flauta e tocou, e nós alternamos com música alguns instantes de *seccatura* que *l'ennui* tem cuidado de pôr em tudo quanto há neste mundo. Porém tudo foi conduzido com uma tal moderação, que nem lá dentro mesmo se soube que havia mais gente na grade que meu Irmão." Letter, Private Archive of the Fronteira Palace (ref: ALCPAII1).

Being the seat of the Holy Roman Empire, Vienna was the place where the aristocratic Houses of Central Europe would display their assets, and compete for posts and opportunities granted by the Emperor. Most princes and influential members of the Bohemian, Hungarian, and even Russian upper middle-class kept sumptuous residences there, and some of them had become focal points of networks of people who shared political and economic interests as well as a certain life-style. According to the historian Volkmar Braunbehrens this layer of society enjoyed an extremely high income at the time, and the flourishing cultural and musical life of the city was a reflection of this.<sup>19</sup> Music was not only a highly appreciated form of entertainment, but was also seen as a sign of refinement and social *status*. On the other hand, both the Court Orchestra sponsored by the Emperor and the various private orchestras maintained by a number of aristocrats, were not limited to private performances, but would play in the open air or in public places for paying audiences.

Now, having demonstrated that D. Leonor de Almeida had a strong interest in music, let us recall the other two questions raised earlier: did Alcipe and Mozart come across each other in Vienna? And would D. Leonor have had the opportunity to listen to him play?

Contrary to what might have been expected, the Countess of Oeynhausen was extremely well received at the Viennese court. She owed this to the fact that she had been recommended to the Empress Maria Theresia and to her son Joseph, by the Duke of Lafões, Dom João of Braganza, as much as to her own personal charms. As she clearly states in a letter written to her sister on 15 September 1780, only a few weeks after her arrival:

Aqui vai-me [de] vento em poupa, com as primeiras figuras. A Imperatriz me honrou sumamente com várias expressões a meu respeito, a Archiduquesa Isabel, hontem as repetio a meu favôr, e o Príncipe de Kaunits tem tomado um anthusiasmo, que me faz recear que não dure, segundo a natureza das coisas deste mundo. É certo que neste ponto devo infenitamente aos bons officios que me fez o Duque: prevenio de tal modo a meu favor todas as pessoas, que contra o que aqui experimenta a maior parte das estrangeiras, me acho com três semanas de Viana, conhecida e buscada de todas as primeiras pessoas. Tenho o gosto de ver tão bem que todos o amão e estimão infenitamente e o Imperador me disse a mim «que ele era mais seu do que nosso, porque a longa abitação do Duque nesta Corte lhe dava direitos a explicar-se assim». Estas expreções tão honrosas deve V. repetir-lhe e segurar-lhe que eu tenho o maior gosto de as ter ouvido.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Wien*, München, Piper Verlag GmbH, 2006 [1<sup>st</sup> edition 1986].

<sup>20</sup> Letter, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Fundo da Casa da Fronteira e Alorna, n.º 180. In translation: “Here things are going very well with the first People. The Empress has honoured me in a supreme manner with several remarks about myself, the Archduchess Isabel has repeated them in my favour, and the Prince Kaunits has shown such an enthusiasm that makes me think it will not last, the way things are in this world. It is true that I owe this infinitely to the good services of the Duke: he has talked in my favour in such a way that, contrary to what happens here with most foreigners I am, after three weeks in Vienna, known and invited by all the top people. I am also pleased to see that everybody loves and appreciates

The warm welcome and the good impression caused by Alcipe at the Viennese court seem to find an echo in the comment made in a letter by the Abbé António da Costa, a Portuguese musician living in the city at the time:

O novo Ministro de Portugal chegou aqui nos primeiros dias de Setembro; para alemão é agradável no trato, com seus laivos de português. Falei já com a fidalga três vezes, e bastante, mas não tanto quanto é necessário para formar conceito dela com acerto; tem o agrado de portuguesa; e à primeira vista parece certo ser mulher de juízo; faz bem versos; sabe francês, italiano, inglês, latim, e já principia a entender alemão<sup>21</sup>.

Very few letters of Alcipe from this period have survived, but through some of the preserved correspondence she sent to her sister, as well as through the letters sent to her by her friend D. Teresa de Mello Breyner, we can gain a glimpse of her connections and interests at the time. Through them, and through the enthusiasm shown in them by D. Teresa, we can imagine the excitement of the young Countess of Oeynhausen when she met Pietro Metastasio, already in his eighties, after so many years of admiring his poetry and singing his lyrics.<sup>22</sup> Alcipe mentions him in a letter to her sister as early as 15<sup>th</sup> September (less than two weeks after her arrival) where she reports that, though he was too old to go out, Metastasio had given her a *rendez-vous*:

Metastasio que não sai fora por estar muito velho me deu um rendez-vous para uma destas manhãs, e segundo o género de vida que aqui se leva se me derem intervalo os cuidados talvez que a minha Musa convaleça.<sup>23</sup>

We can conclude that the relationship with the old artist lasted until his death, not only from the allusions made by the Countess of Vimieiro in her letters, but also from the preserved autograph note Metastasio sent to “Eleonora d’Alorna e Almeida di Vienna” on the 3 April 1782, praising the “*versi*” Alcipe had written in Italian based upon some of his which he considered “*antichissimi*”:

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him very much and the Emperor told me that he was more his than ours, because the long stay of the Duke in this Court gave him the right to say so. You should convey these honourable expressions to the Duke and assure him that I took great pleasure in hearing them.”

<sup>21</sup> Abade Costa, “Carta XIII”. *Cartas do Abade António da Costa, Introdução e notas de Fernando Lopes Graça*, Lisboa, Cadernos da ‘Seara Nova’-Biblioteca do século XVIII, 1946, 139. In translation: “The new Portuguese Minister arrived here in the first days of September; given the fact that he is German he has a pleasing manner and acts somewhat like a Portuguese. I have spoken to the *fidalg*a three times, and quite a lot, but not as much as is necessary to have an opinion. She has the charming ways of a Portuguese and at first sight she seems to be a woman of judgment; she versifies well; she speaks French, Italian, English, Latin and is starting to understand German.”

<sup>22</sup> D. Teresa de Mello Breyner writes, for instance: Bello Vázquez, *op. cit.*, [239]: “Que tem feito o Padre Metastasio? (que vale o mesmo que o Pai Apolo) a tua Musa não lhe resistiria uma vez que ele lhe estendia a mão, e de novo o convidava a soltar a voz.” or, [246]: “Se Metastasio sabe o meu nome saiba também que eu sou uma mulher que leio menos os seus Dramas que as suas outras Poesias, e que vou muitas vezes ao sepulcro de Virgílio meditar sobre tantas e tão pasmosas visões.”

<sup>23</sup> Letter, ANTT, Fundo da Casa de Fronteira e Alorna, n.º 180. In translation: “Metastasio does not go out since he is very old but gave me *rendez-vous* one of these mornings and according to the life-style one leads here if my worries give me some rest maybe my Muse will recover.”

I versi composti dalla degnissima Sig.<sup>ra</sup> La Contessa di Oinhausen, a proposito di alcuni miei antichissimi e che non meritavano tanto onore, sono pieni d'ingegno, di gentilezza e di grazia, e sommamente meravigliosi, come prodotti da una Dama, che scrive in un idioma straniero. Ma un così generoso favore mi fa vivamente risentire una delle più dolorose conseguenze della grave età mia, e della mia tiranna, e sempre incerta salute, che non mi concedono di venir, come sarebbe e mio desiderio, e mio debito, a renderle in persona quei frequenti omaggi di gratitudine, e di rispetto, ch'io le rendo intanto, e non cesserò mai di renderle col più sincero dell'animo. Mi auguro, e mi lusingo, che l'imminente tiepida, e benefica stagione mi contrasterà meno la padronanza di me medesimo, et io non trascurerò certamente d'approffittarmene. Non si stanchi, la supplico, d'esser la dichiarata Protettrice della povera annosa mia Musa, e di permettermi ch'io continui arditamente a vantarmi il più grato, il più costante, et il più ossequioso di tutti i suoi innumerabili ammiratori.<sup>24</sup>

Relevant because of what they reveal of the participation of D. Leonor in Viennese musical life, are the references to her invitation to one of the twelve concerts hosted by the Emperor Joseph II in his summer residence in 1781:

Estimo que te restabeleças e que sejas convidada para aproveitar um dos doze concertos que o Emperador quer sempre na sua casa de campo. Tomara perguntar a quem condena que cultivemos o nosso espírito se um Ministro de Portugal casado com uma das matronas ignorantes que eu conheço seria tratado com essa consideração?<sup>25</sup> [25 July 1781]

Other traces of Alcipe's participation in the Viennese musical scene are the allusions of her acquaintance with the singer Luisa Todi<sup>26</sup> and, most especially, to the written music she sent from Vienna to the Countess of Vimieiro, who wanted to have it copied and distributed among her circle of friends. D. Teresa writes, in fact:

Recebo duas cartas tuas [...] e ambas agradeço, querida, tanto quanto elas o merecem pelo esforço que fizeste para escrevê-las, pelo carinho que as acompanha pela Música que trazem, pelas novas que me comunicas, e até pelo que dizes. Também já mandei copiar o Quinteto e mandarei a Ana para se lhe fazer o mesmo. [...] A Música entre nós vai decaindo como é natural num

<sup>24</sup> *Letter by Metastasio to Eleonora di Vienna Countess Oeynhausen*, Oxford, Taylor Institution Library, MS. IT/METASTASIO.1 (I am extremely grateful to Professor Thomas Earle for having obtained a copy of this manuscript for me.)

<sup>25</sup> Bello Vázquez, *op. cit.*, [233]. In translation: "I hope that you get well from your illness so that you can enjoy the twelve concerts the Emperor always wants to have at his country house. I would love to ask those who condemn our cultivating our spirit if a Minister of Portugal married to one of the ignorant matrons that I know would be treated with such appreciation..."

<sup>26</sup> As testified by the following passages of the Countess's letters transcribed by Raquel Bello Vázquez, *op. cit.* Letter [265] dated 25 December 1781: "Estimo muito a fortuna da Todi, que eu conheço muito bem, se lhe falares, e ao [...] do marido dá-lhe recados meus, e dize ao marido que quero saber se tem achado a cabeça por esse mundo." and Letter [268] dated 19 February 1782: "Dá-me novas de Kaunitz e de Metastasio e da Todi [...]."

País onde se teme mais o divertimento que a ociosidade. Contudo há raparigas entre nós que aprendem com fundamento.<sup>27</sup> [October 1783]

This practice could explain the sudden preference, shown by D. Teresa in February of 1782, for the music of Christoph Willibald Gluck, who had presented his version of *Alceste* in Schönbrunn only a few months earlier (on 25 November 1781):<sup>28</sup>

Ontem cantei eu no Grilo uma cena de Gluck. Dizem que o fiz bem e como o tal Príncipe [a reference to a Polish Prince who was visiting Lisbon] conhecia a música, gostou de a ouvir executar. Este compositor me tem feito perder o gosto de todos os outros, e creio também que sou eu só em Portugal quem lhe faça a honra ou justiça que ele merece. [...] é pena que o que compôs para a letra Alemã não esteja escrito tão bem em italiano como *Alceste*.<sup>29</sup> [26 February 1782]

More interesting, however, in relation to what we are trying to find out here, is learning about the beginning, around February 1780, of what was to become a close friendship between Alcipe and Madame de Thun, also a good friend of the Duke of Lafões. Already in a letter written to her sister on 3 October 1780 D. Leonor states that she was hoping that Maria Wilhelmine de Thun and her sister would belong to the number of her intimate circle of friends, for she found there was a “remarkable analogy” between them:

[...] como já principio a conhecer mais a gente já tenho escolhido as pessoas com quem viverei em maior intimidade, e creio que chegarei a ponto de amizade. 1.<sup>a</sup> a Condeça de Waldstein; 2.<sup>a</sup> a Condeça de Thun, sua Irmã. 3.<sup>a</sup> a Condeça de Chici-Palfi, são três amáveis criaturas com juízo boa conversação e excelentes costumes, e até bastantemente bonitas. São pellas nossas idades e da Soire [Soure] de modo, que há hua notável analogia entre nós.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Bello Vázquez, *op. cit.*, [292] In translation: “I received two letters from you [...] and I thank you for both, dear, as much as they merit it for the effort you made to write them, as for the tenderness that comes with them, for the Music they enclose, for the news you communicate, and even for what you say. I have had the Quintet copied and I will send it to Ana so that she does the same. Music is decaying among us as is natural in a country where entertainment is more feared than idleness. In spite of that there are girls like us who learn with method.”

<sup>28</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Höhepunkte eines Künstlerlebens*, München, Bassermann Verlag, 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Bello Vázquez, *op. cit.*, [269]. In translation: “Yesterday I sang at Grilo’s a scene by Gluck. People say I have done it well and since the Prince [...] knew the music, he enjoyed listening to it. This composer has made me lose interest in all the others and I believe that I am the only one in Portugal to honour him and to do him justice. [...] It is a pity that what he composes in German is not written as well in Italian as *Alceste*.”

<sup>30</sup> Letter, ANTT, Fundo da Casa de Fronteira e Alorna, n.º 180. In translation: “Now that I am starting to know more people I have selected the people with whom I shall live in greater intimacy and with whom I believe I will establish a friendship: first, Countess Waldstein; second, Countess de Thun, her sister. Third, Countess Chici-Palfi. They are three adorable creatures, with wit, good conversation and excellent manners and they are even quite good looking. They are more or less our age and Soure’s, so there is a remarkable analogy between us.”

From the letters written by the Countess of Vimieiro we also learn that the Duke of Lafões had once said to Madame de Thun that *she had the eyes of a Portuguese* and the same letters also show how, with the help of the Duke and through the mediation of D. Leonor, D. Teresa was able to establish a personal relationship with this Viennese Lady, with whom she exchanged letters in French.

The friendship with Madame de Thun and the exchange of letters between her and D. Teresa de Mello Breyner with Alcipe as intermediary, are proof of the acceptance of the latter by the Viennese aristocracy. But thanks to the work of Dorothea Link, who has listed the theatrical and musical performances mentioned by Count Karl Zinzendorf in his manuscript diaries written between the years 1783 and 1792,<sup>31</sup> we are informed that the interest in Music shown by the Countess of Oeynhausen in her youth was still very much alive at that time. Through this source we know that the Oeynhausen couple shared a box at the opera with Count Zinzendorf and Countess Fekete, at least during the 1784-85 season, and we have proof that D. Leonor used to sing in society gatherings where there was domestic music-making. Zinzendorf reports, for instance, that on 1 January 1784 (which was a Thursday) she sang a song in English by Lady Derby, with the title “Never till now”, and that on Saturday of the same week (3 January), she was singing again, at another social gathering<sup>32</sup>.

It is well known that Maria Wilhelmine de Thun, the mutual friend of D. Leonor and Count Zinzendorf, was one of Mozart’s benefactors during his Viennese years. He describes her in a letter to his father dated 24 March 1781, where he explains that he had had dinner at her place twice and that he had been visiting her almost everyday:

bey der gräffin thun habe schon 2 mal gespeist, und komme fast alle tage hin – das ist die charmanteste, liebste Dame die ich in meinen leben gesehen; und ich gelte auch sehr viel bey ihr – ihr herr ist noch der nemliche sonderbare – aber gutdenkende, rechtschafene Cavalier.<sup>33</sup>

in this same letter we can find how sure of her support Mozart was, since when he complains that the Archbishop had not allowed him to perform publicly, he claims that all the nobility had taken it badly, and does not hesitate to state that, if necessary, Madame de Thun would have lent him her pianoforte:

<sup>31</sup> I am referring to Graf Johann Karl Christian Heinrich Zinzendorf and Pottendorf (1739-1813). Dorothea Link, “Vienna’s Private Theatrical and Musical life, 1783-92 as reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf” in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, I, 122, n° 2 (1997), 205-257.

<sup>32</sup> The information is taken from the “Appendix 1 Entertainments reported by Zinzendorf, listed by host, genre and performers” in Dorothea Link, *op. cit.*, 234-255.

<sup>33</sup> Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Briefe. Herausgegeben, ausgewählt und mit einem Nachwort von Horst Wandrey*, Zürich, Diogenes Verlag, 1997 [1st edition 1982], 251. In translation: “I have lunched twice with Countess Thun and go there almost every day. She is the most charming and most lovable lady I have ever met; and I am very high in her favour. Her husband is still the same peculiar, but well-meaning and honourable gentleman.” Emily Anderson (trans. & ed.), *The letters of Mozart and his family*, 3rd. ed. London, Macmillan Press, 1985 [1938], 718-19.

er erlaubte es mir nicht; – Die ganze noblesse hier hat ihm dieses übel genommen. – mir ist es nur wegen diesem leid; – ich hätte kein Concert, sondern (weil der kayser in der Porscen loge ist) ganz allein (die gräffin thun hätte mir ihr schönes steiner Pianoforte darzu gegeben) Preludiert, eine fugue – und dann die variationen je suis lindor gespielt. – wo ich noch das so öfentlich gemacht habe, habe ich den grösten beyfall erhalten [...]<sup>34</sup>

The key to a meeting between D. Leonor de Almeida and Wolfgang Amadeus seems to be, however, in the famous Mozart letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of March 1784, where he lists 174 names of subscribers of his concerts for the season.<sup>35</sup> In this list, which has been described as a record of the *crème de la crème* of Viennese society, we can read the name of the Count Karl August von Oeynhausen, who could not easily be identified by Mozart's biographers, but is well known to us, because he was the husband of the Marquise of Alorna.

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<sup>34</sup> *Id.*, 252. In translation: "He would not permit me to take part. All the nobility in Vienna have made a grievance of it. I am sorry for the following reason. I should not have played a concerto, but (as the Emperor sits in the proscenium box) I should have extemporized and played a fugue and then the variations on 'Je suis Lindor' on countess Thun's beautiful Stein pianoforte, which she would have lent me. Whenever I have played this programme in public, I have always won the greatest applause [...]" *Id.*, 718.

<sup>35</sup> See Otto Erich Deutsch, "The Subscribers to Mozart's Private Concerts" in *Music & Letters*, 22, 1941, 225-34 and Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1961, 485-492.



**PERSPECTIVAS DA ACTUALIDADE**  
**CURRENT PERSPECTIVES**



## **No Laboratório dos Sentimentos: prática alquímica ou artifício da verdade – quadros da recepção actual de *Così fan Tutte***

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«La scène, en général, est un tableau des passions humaines, dont l'original est dans tous les coeurs.»<sup>1</sup>

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

### **1 Os desígnios de *Così fan tutte***

*Così fan tutte*, ossia *La scuola degli amanti* nunca obteve uma recepção entusiástica, sobretudo por parte das audiências do século XIX. Tendo sido apresentada pela primeira vez a 20 de janeiro de 1790, no Burgtheater de Viena, contaria unicamente com dez representações, organizadas em duas fases, a primeira em Janeiro e Fevereiro, a segunda entre Junho e Agosto do mesmo ano, interrompidas pela morte do Imperador José II, e mantendo-se no esquecimento, em Viena, durante trinta anos. Outras cidades – como Praga, Dresden, Frankfurt e Leipzig, – assistirão à sua estreia, no ano da morte do compositor, mas o êxito nunca será comparável ao de outras óperas mozartianas. Muita literatura, que não nos compete aqui listar, não sendo esse o intuito da nossa reflexão, se tem dedicado à problemática recepção de *Così fan tutte* nos anos que se seguiram à morte de Mozart e ao longo do século XIX. O período de Oitocentos terá muita dificuldade em aceitar esta obra, depreciando-a por desafiar a própria essência do amor ideal, romântico, e a dignidade dos costumes. A trama é considerada indigna: dois rapazes, instigados pelo seu tutor, põem em jogo a fidelidade das suas noivas, simulam uma partida, e regressam disfarçados. Estes seduzem as damas trocadas e o intercâmbio dá-se, para grande perplexidade dos jovens e gáudio do tutor e da criada. A desilusão é grande, a infidelidade das raparigas é confirmada, e o tutor ganha a aposta. Porém, crê-se que a felicidade é possível, e os pares retomam a disposição original celebrando o casamento previsto no início da história. As paixões violentas, o assustador desvanecimento da fidelidade sem consequências trágicas e absolutas, a imprevisibilidade do comportamento humano, a precariedade do equilíbrio

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<sup>1</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, cit. in Jean Divignaud, *Sociologie du théâtre*, Paris, Quadrige/Presses Universitaires de France, 1999, 360.

dos princípios éticos e morais, envolvem-se num teatro que aparenta tratar com ligeireza a existência emocional, alarmando o esteta oitocentista que aí não encontrava o heroísmo, os traços românticos e a busca de verdade patente nas restantes óperas resultantes da colaboração entre Mozart e Da Ponte.

A paixão actua como uma corrente que escava o seu leito cada vez mais profundamente [...] é como um veneno ingerido ou uma enfermidade contraída; precisa de um médico que trate a alma do interior ou do exterior, que saiba, portanto, prescrever medicamentos paliativos.<sup>2</sup>

Immanuel Kant, 1798

Criticam-se a trivialidade e imoralidade da intriga, que não estaria ao nível da genialidade do compositor, e sobretudo a sua inverosimilhança. «Existirá um tema de ópera mais indigente?» pergunta Hanslick. «Poder-se-á apelar de modo mais absurdo à credibilidade do espectador, exigindo que ele aceite a cegueira prolongada das duas heroínas: elas não reconhecem os seus apaixonados, que acariciaram há um quarto de hora; e vão ao ponto de tomar a própria criada, a quem bastou pôr uma peruca, por um médico, e depois por um notário?»<sup>3</sup>

Considera-se a inserção de um novo libreto, ou mesmo a intervenção sobre o texto de Da Ponte, nomeadamente sobre o final da obra, que causava especial inquietação nos gostos e moral da época, por perdoar a inconstância das duas raparigas.<sup>4</sup> Noiray sintetiza esta questão: «la mort de Joseph II, qui en interrompit les représentations, sonna le glas du régime le plus éclairé que l’Autriche avait connu, et ne devait pas connaître avant bien longtemps. Plus encore, le changement de souverain coïncida avec un retour de l’esprit de sérieux qui favorisa une nouvelle vogue des sujets tragiques, rejetant comme trivial la légèreté mordante qui marque les ‘années d’avant la Révolution’ (...) il n’est pas étonnant que la génération venant après Mozart, Beethoven en premier, soit restée hermétique à l’impertinence d’une oeuvre où l’équivoque est érigée en principe organisateur.»<sup>5</sup>

Porém, a situação inverte-se no século XX quando, após algumas décadas pontuadas por esparsas mas determinantes apresentações – Gustav Mahler, em Viena, 1900, e Richard Strauss, 1920 e 1922 no Festival de Salzburgo – *Così* começa a estar cada vez mais presente na cena internacional, conquistando o interesse das audiências e da crítica, e tornando-se um verdadeiro fenómeno de contemporaneidade.

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<sup>2</sup> «L’inclination que la raison du sujet ne peut pas maîtriser ou n’y parvient qu’avec peine est la passion.» Immanuel Kant, *Anthropologie du point de vue pragmatique*, Paris, Vrin, 1979, 109. Trad. livre da presente autora.

<sup>3</sup> Neste artigo de 1875, Hanslick revolta-se com a impertinência do libreto de Da Ponte, que se pauta, segundo ele, por uma total inverosimilhança da intriga, considerando não ser uma obra adequada à cena da sua época. Cf. Hanslick cit. in Michot, Pierre, «Frivole, immoral et invraisemblable» in *L’avant scène opéra – Così fan tutte*, Mozart, Paris, Premières Loges, n° 131-132, Mai 1995, pp. 171-176, 171. Trad. livre da presente autora.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pierre Michot, *op. cit.*; Edward J. Dent, *Mozart’s operas: a critical study*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1913; Paula Gomes Ribeiro, «A paixão é como um veneno... *Così fan tutte* de Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart» nas notas de programa para *Così fan tutte*, Lisboa, Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos, 2006, 115-127.

<sup>5</sup> Michel Noiray, «Points de repère» in *L’avant scène opéra – Così fan tutte*, *op. cit.*, 5.

Ora, é precisamente a íntima e fácil contemporaneidade desta «Escola dos Amantes», a ameaçadora proximidade que a audiência sente das vicissitudes sentimentais e de um quotidiano possível e actual, desenvolvido em espaços privados e públicos reconhecíveis – cafés, casas e jardins, que voltará a conquistar o público no século XX. O desafio de *Così fan tutte* é aceite pelos nossos tempos, e as incongruências que nos revela, artifícios maquinais, paradoxos sentimentais, tornam-se cada vez mais um modelo interessante para o espectador e o intérprete de finais do século XX, numa sociedade que reconhece a sua crise da racionalidade e que evidencia a esquisse humana num quotidiano de máquinas. Segundo Gilles Deleuze «tudo é máquina», «o inconsciente é uma máquina desejante»,<sup>6</sup> porque produz desejo, o corpo é uma máquina, cada órgão é uma máquina, máquinas de recordações, máquinas de emoções...

É esta subtil e cruel lucidez da obra original, esta sensação de intimidade que o homem actual sente com os seus eixos filosóficos, a sua presciência, que impele a vontade de transportar o seu quadro histórico e social para quotidianos actuais, dando origem a uma miríade de propostas cénicas ansiosas por desafiar convenções.

Múltiplas leituras pontuam as últimas décadas, uma grande parte destas trazendo o tempo e o espaço da acção para o presente, motivando alguma controvérsia, alguma literatura crítica, mas sobretudo a sensação de descoberta da essência de uma obra que seria mantida, há muito, sob uma aura de suspeição.

As a reaction against general reticence, our century saw a wave of ardent admirers who tried to make virtue out of its very flaws and to take its seemingly archaic features as a token of its modernity. The slogan started to circulate that *Così* was the most Mozartean of all Mozart's operas and could thus serve as a probing stone of true connoisseurs, as a proof of fidelity, where the real Mozart-lovers would not succumb, like Fiordiligi and Dorabella, to the tricks of the seducers and their easy criticism. Nevertheless, the misgivings did not vanish and whereas Figaro and Don Giovanni continue to possess an immediately universal appeal, *Così* seems to need interpretation, an excuse, a justification, a reference to its historical background and thus an admission of its limited nature.<sup>7</sup>

Mladen Dolar

## 2 Ruptura cénica

Propondo-nos reflectir sobre alguns aspectos das leituras recentes de *Così fan tutte*, detivemo-nos numa produção de 2005, dirigida por Patrice Chéreau e estreada em Aix-en-Provence que, pondo em causa este fenómeno de contínuas e diversificadas interpretações que ligam a estética desta ópera aos mecanismos da nossa contemporaneidade, e recusando uma incidência na sua dimensão de comi-

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari, *O anti-édipo – capitalismo e esquizofrenia*, Lisboa, Assírio e Alvim, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Mladen Dolar, «La femme-machine» in *New Formations – Lacan and love*, 23, 1994, 45.

cidade e entretenimento, tão apreciada no espírito da indústria cultural que nos engloba, introduz uma ruptura. Ruptura com o recente «fenómeno *Così fan tutte*» (como é descrito por Mladen Dólar) em direcção àquilo que o encenador considera “a verdade”, encontrada através do despojamento e da busca das essências. Reflectimos sobre a estética desta leitura, os seus pressupostos, o seu enquadramento, a sua pertinência, e as estratégias adoptadas para pôr em prática este novo “gesto cénico”.

### 3 «Et si cet opera n’était pás à se tordre de rire...»

O extenso e profundo silêncio dramático que sucede à incisiva asseveração de Don Alfonso, na 13ª cena do II acto («Tutti accusan le donne») de *Così fan tutte*, e a sua directa repercussão, numa pausa idêntica, introduzida após a resposta coral, conjugados à postura abatida e aos olhares de profundo desalento dos jovens Guglielmo e Ferrando, sentados ao lado do filósofo num banco envelhecido, traduz com exactidão a estética de Daniel Harding e Patrice Chéreau na leitura desta obra, produção estreada no Festival de Aix-en-Provence em Julho de 2005.<sup>8</sup>

Conferindo uma gravidade imprevista a este *dramma giocoso*, Chéreau e Harding aprofundam as dimensões de seriedade e perplexidade da intriga, desenvolvendo o lado mais sóbrio e por vezes cruel da ironia e da jocosidade. «Et si cet opéra n’était pás à se tordre de rire – questiona Chéreau, após ter recolhido impressões contraditórias, e terem sido feitas referências à “morbidez” da leitura, por ocasião da estreia da sua versão<sup>9</sup> – mais grave, au contraire, parece que jouant avec des choses complexes». <sup>10</sup> Numa atmosfera imbuída pelo espírito de Marivaux, – Mladen Dolar afirma que, nesta ópera, Mozart conduz ao extremo as premissas de Marivaux sobre o amor ao seu extremo: «love no longer triumphantly defeats all, but rather love is easily defeated.»<sup>11</sup> – o encenador evidencia o ténue limite entre desalento, esperança, sofrimento, júbilo e comicidade, procurando o brilho amargo da realidade, a vibrante descontinuidade e o contraste de afectos. Explora, assim, a ambiguidade, a reversibilidade, a concomitância entre riso e lágrimas.

Quel che suole altrui far piangere  
Fia per lui cagion di riso [...]

Excerto do sexteto final de *Così fan tutte*

<sup>8</sup> A estreia desta produção deu-se a 15 de Julho de 2005, no Théâtre de l’Archevêché em Aix-en-Provence. O elenco constitui-se por Fiordiligi: Erin Wall, Dorabella: Elina Garanca, Guglielmo: Stéphane Degout, Ferrando: Shawn Mathey, Despina: Barbara Bonney, Don Alfonso: Ruggero Raimondi. Arnold Schoenberg Chor e a Mahler Chamber Orchestra, sob a direcção musical de Daniel Harding. Encenação de Patrice Chéreau, cenários de Richard Peduzzi, figurinos de Caroline de Vivaise, luzes de Bertrand Couderc, cabelos de Campbell Young.

<sup>9</sup> Numerosas críticas exacerbando a componente melancólica e angustiada desta versão, ou a sua austeridade, foram então publicadas na imprensa escrita e na World Wide Web. Observe-se por exemplo o comentário de Martine D. Mergeay, intitulado «*Così fan tutte* ou la grande deprime», 20/07/2005, <[http://www.lalibre.be/article.phtml?id=5&subid=107&art\\_id=231152](http://www.lalibre.be/article.phtml?id=5&subid=107&art_id=231152)>.

<sup>10</sup> Patrice Chéreau, «Désillusion et plaisir du theater» in *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Così fan tutte*, Festival d’Aix en provence, Virgin, 2006, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Mladen Dolar, *op. cit.*, 47.

A toda a emoção é atribuída uma aura séria, qualquer distração visual é afastada para que o espectador se possa concentrar nas personagens e nos seus afectos, na sucessão de quadros humanos e de ininterruptas interacções – o espaço como o tempo são neutros, a hierarquia social entre as personagens é minimizada – através do guarda-roupa e da caracterização, e dos próprios códigos de gestualidade. A ambiguidade, a assumpção da máscara, o disfarce, a reversibilidade, são mais imediatos porque sujeitos e circunstâncias assumem estatutos idênticos. Como afirma Chéreau, «J’ai pensé qu’il fallait suivre toutes ces règles avec sérieux, dans leurs invraisemblances et leur vérité, vivre ce texte et bien l’écouter.»<sup>12</sup>

Expondo uma estética contrária à do encenador, Isabelle Moindrot, encara o mundo de *Così fan tutte* como «completamente artificial», considerando impossível encontrarem-se traços de verdade na construção das personagens ou do quadro cénico: «La profondeur de l’oeuvre, car il y en a une, et non des moindres, ne réside pas dans la psychologie ou l’apparente “vérité” des caractères. Au contraire l’intrigue de *Così* est d’une extravagance sans défaut.»<sup>13</sup> Dotada de uma artificialidade conferida pelo uso de tipologias absolutamente instaladas, a intriga desenvolve, segundo a investigadora, uma circunstância totalmente estrita e irreal: «Maîtrisée jusqu’à l’absurde, elle se développe dans un cadre irréaliste et logique, au moyen de personnages répondant à une stricte typologie.»<sup>14</sup>

O teatro dialéctico de Chéreau ambiciona desafiar as visões anteriores, as leituras que salientam os percursos simétricos, as relações em espelho, o exagero, a comicidade, e fazer uma abordagem crítica, acreditando que é possível apresentar a verdade da obra, e procurando ainda deixar um espaço de construção livre ao espectador: «Compte tenu que *Così* a une grande réputation de légèreté,» manifestava o encenador antes de iniciar a montagem da obra, «mon travail consistera donc à l’alourdir, à faire toucher du doigt le sérieux des situations.»<sup>15</sup> Ora, Moindrot refere precisamente, que não seria intenção dos autores exhibir a seriedade e a verosimilhança, «mais en revanche tout leur soin se portait à la convenance, c’est-à-dire à la conformité des caractères et des actions avec les règles du genre.»<sup>16</sup> Chéreau revê as componentes que constroem o artificialismo da intriga de Da Ponte e da semiologia mozartiana, e procura, a verdade psicológica, o eixo de realidade da comédia e da farsa: «et la proximité miraculeuse de la musique qui fait que cette bouffonnerie (se déguiser, ne pas être reconnu, jouer à se suicider, revenir à la vie) et cet héroïsme (Fiordiligi, Ferrando), mélangés, ne produisent jamais que du réel, et du très réel: de vrais élans amoureux, de vraies pulsions érotiques, du vrai désenchantement et des coups à prendre.»<sup>17</sup> Encenar o artifício em verdade, ou as subtilezas da verdade do artifício – revelação de uma apreensão aguda e dialéctica da vivência do presente,

<sup>12</sup> Patrice Chéreau, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Isabelle Moindrot, «*Così fan tutte* ou les artifices de l’idéal» in *L’avant scène opéra – Così fan tutte*, Mozart, Paris, Premières Loges, 131-132, Mai 1995, 23-34, 24.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, *Ibid.*.

<sup>15</sup> Patrice Chéreau entrevistado por Odile Quirot, «Chéreau, chef d’orchestre» in *Nouvel Observateur*, 30/06/2005, <<http://hebdo.nouvelobs.com/hebdo/parution/p2121/articles/a272062.html>>.

<sup>16</sup> Isabelle Moindrot, *op. cit.*, 24.

<sup>17</sup> Patrice Chéreau, *op. cit.*, 11.

da percepção de que toda existência, nomeadamente artística, se desenrola hoje num universo de metatextos e de hiperrealidades. Como diria Baudrillard: «do mesmo tipo que a impossibilidade de voltar a encontrar um nível absoluto do real é a impossibilidade de encenar a ilusão.»<sup>18</sup>

Através da concepção e aplicação de toda uma série de estratégias de desconstrução das aparências, o encenador contraria a vontade de exacerbação das suas potencialidades de entretenimento manifestada em muitas das mais recentes produções desta obra. Observe-se como René Leibowitz incentivava já um entendimento sério, e mesmo trágico, de *Così fan tutte*, mencionando inclusive, considerar que esta obra incarnava mais uma dimensão trágica do que o próprio *Don Giovanni*.<sup>19</sup> O músico menciona ainda que «la cruauté devient absolue, qualité en soi. Aucune justification des personnages et de leurs mobiles, aucune pitié pour leur destin. À la place de tout cela, le froid abandon de six pantins à une farce dont ils portent tout seuls la ridicule responsabilité.»<sup>20</sup>

Sabe-se que *Così fan tutte* se concentra no conceito de iniciação – *la scuola degli amanti*<sup>21</sup> – de um processo de aprendizagem sentimental, devendo os jovens casais passar da sua original condição de inocência para um estado esclarecido (devidamente acompanhados por Don Alfonso e Despina).<sup>22</sup> Annie Paradis resume *Così* como: «deux couples de jeunes, deux initiateurs, les jeux du désir et de la loi, un itinéraire d'apprentissage, rien d'autre.»<sup>23</sup> Ora, o processo de atingir essa verdade e lucidez implica uma perda de ilusões «a loss of illusions and *amour-propre*», como refere Mladen Dolar,<sup>24</sup> uma “desilusão”, parafraseando Chéreau. A estética deste intérprete concentra-se precisamente numa estrutura de “desilusão”, e constrói-se no reverso das aparências.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacros e simulação*, Lisboa, Relógio d'Água, 1991, 29.

<sup>19</sup> «Ce qui peut paraître paradoxal, c'est que, à ce point de vue, *Così fan Tutte* me semble davantage incarner le tragique que *Don Giovanni* (...)». René Leibowitz, *Histoire de l'opéra*, Paris, Buchet/Chastel, 1987, 54.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, *ibid.* «Tout cela témoigne d'un esprit qui, sous l'apparence de la plus grande désinvolture, fait preuve, en premier lieu, d'une concision et d'une légèreté (au sens où Nietzsche prenait ce mot) qui sont les qualités fondamentales de tout tragique véritable.» *Id.*, 53.

<sup>21</sup> Paradis salienta a importância do percurso iniciático, dominado, naturalmente, pela filosofia maçónica, em todas as óperas de Mozart. «Les opéras de Mozart racontent tous la même histoire, se posent tous la même question: comment devient-on adulte? (...) Tous les jeunes couples mozartiens parcourent le chemin coutumier de l'apprentissage, celui qui conduit de la jeunesse à la maturité.» Annie Paradis, *Mozart, l'opéra réenchanté*, Paris, Fayard, 1999, quatrième de couverture.

<sup>22</sup> Em finais do séc. XVIII, eram numerosas as comédias “de aprendizagem” que se apresentavam nos teatros Vienaenses. O tema da intriga inspira-se igualmente em toda uma série de referências literárias que o abordam sob diversas ópticas, cf. Marc Vignal, «Sources, composition et créateurs», *L'avant scène opéra – Così fan tutte*, *op. cit.*, 8; Paula Gomes Ribeiro, 2006, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Annie Paradis, *op. cit.*, 281.

<sup>24</sup> Mladen Dolar, *op. cit.*, 47.

<sup>25</sup> Patrice Chéreau, *op. cit.*, 12.



#### 4 “Tutti accusan le donne” – a leitura da feminilidade – entre mecanismos, artifícios e verdade

4.1 Fiordiligi e Dorabella são paradigmas da feminilidade do seu tempo, apresentando aspectos de inconstância, superficialidade e leveza de espírito, e o seu desenho reflecte, em grande medida, as estratégias usadas por Marivaux na sua especial atenção conferida ao género feminino, devidamente combinadas com as premissas da educação sentimental de Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Toute l'éducation des femmes doit être relative aux hommes. Leur plaire, leur être utiles, se faire aimer et honorer d'eux, les élever jeunes, les soigner grands, les conseiller, leur rendre la vie agréable et douce: voilà les devoirs des femmes de tous les temps, et ce qu'on doit leur apprendre dès l'enfance.<sup>26</sup>

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou l'éducation*

Num acidentado percurso sentimental que dura simplesmente vinte e quatro horas, a mulher é encarada como peça de engrenagem de um sistema que a ultrapassa, reagente numa prova laboratorial à qual é submetida. «São elas como os homens?» pergunta Don Alfonso, o filósofo. São «de carne e osso, comem elas como nós, usam calças?»<sup>27</sup>

Don Alfonso move-se neste laboratório enquanto filósofo dotado do magnífico poder das luzes setecentistas, associando às suas capacidades intelectuais as competências da criada Despina, representante do instinto e das leis naturais, brava aliada enquanto íntima conhecedora do universo feminino. Investido em preceptor,<sup>28</sup> cientista, biólogo, irá apresentar a sua análise dessa «razza d'animali»<sup>29</sup> à qual pertencem as duas belas. O filósofo conhece os sentimentos individuais, as paixões, domina-as com lucidez e cepticismo e antevê as suas consequências. “Sabe” que as mulheres são naturalmente desleais e pretende prová-lo aos dois jovens inocentes. A necessidade de observar os seres humanos como máquinas biológicas, a capacidade de os ver à transparência, a lucidez perante o seu espectro comportamental, e subtilezas emocionais, revela a imponência dos seus propósitos científicos e racionais.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'éducation* Paris, Gallimard, éd. de Bernard Gagnebin et Marcel Raymond, (Bibliothèque de La Pléiade), t. IV, 1990 [1762], 702.

<sup>27</sup> Aliás, Rousseau afirma, após delinear toda a educação para o jovem rapaz, que «para não deixar a sua obra incompleta, vejamos como se deve igualmente formar a mulher que convém a este homem»<sup>27</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Id.*, 700.

<sup>28</sup> «Ex-cathedra parlo,» afirma na sua primeira intervenção.

<sup>29</sup> I Acto, 1ª Cena, *recitativo secco*.

<sup>30</sup> Saliente-se a proximidade com Descartes, e a sua análise detalhada e profundamente racional das paixões humanas, de que é exemplo a seguinte afirmação: «Parece-me, com efeito, que as primeiras paixões que a alma teve, quando começou a estar unida ao corpo, foram devidas ao facto de algumas vezes o sangue, ou outro suco que entrava no coração, ter um alimento mais conveniente que o habitual para nele manter o calor, que é princípio da vida, o que levaria a alma a unir-se voluntariamente a esse alimento, isto é, a amá-lo; e ao mesmo tempo os espíritos corriam do cérebro para os músculos, que podiam comprimir ou agitar as partes donde ele tinha vindo para o coração, para fazer que elas lhe enviassem mais; e essas partes eram o estômago e

Numa dissertação sobre a condição feminina em *Così fan tutte*, que incorre nomeadamente na problemática da assimilação de modelos literários franceses do séc. XVIII no libreto de Da Ponte, Dominique Jameaux salienta a naturalidade com que a infidelidade feminina se posiciona no centro desta obra, enquadrando-se essa directriz com perfeição no quadro social da época. À mulher é-lhe conferida insensatez, volatilidade, deslealdade, segundo o autor, «verdades permanentes». Não é nosso objectivo estendermo-nos sobre esta problemática, intimamente associada ao binómio e constructo social: Mulher-Natureza/Homem-Cultura,<sup>31</sup> estando este amplamente documentado, inclusive no que respeita a estudos sobre os géneros na área da música e mais especificamente, da ópera. Salientamos simplesmente o intuito dialéctico original desta intriga, que aproxima a mulher da sensibilidade – espontaneidade, impulsividade – e o homem da razão – lucidez, previsão. Alfonso insere assim cuidadosa e sabiamente numa armadilha os quatro jovens, como elementos num tubo de ensaio, e utiliza os reagentes necessários para provocar o efeito que preconiza, e deste modo assume igualmente a posição de um condutor sentimental – elemento moderador de uma estrutura patriarcal – permitindo às duas irmãs e aos dois rapazes a passagem de um estado de inocência e desprotecção a uma postura de consciencialização e de maturidade. Mas, «A-t-on vu ailleurs pareille machine de guerre masculine dirigée contre deux filles dans le seul but de les faire chuter, de les pousser à la faute?»<sup>32</sup> questiona Chéreau.

**4.2** Observe-se o dueto inicial entre as irmãs de Ferrara, Fiordiligi e Dorabella, na versão de Jurgen Flimm (dirigida por Nikolaus Harnoncourt em 2000, na Ópera de Zurique) – Cecilia Bartoli e Liliana Nikiteanu. As raparigas encontram posturas complementares, agitam animadamente os belos caracóis morenos e louros, em função da criação de uma imagem de futilidade e inconstância feminina. Atente-se ao comportamento das duas adolescentes, que folheiam avidamente a Vanity Fair na versão de 1990 de Peter Sellars, veja-se o mesmo dueto sob a óptica de Dorris Dorrie, na produção de 2001 da Berlin Staatsoper, integrado numa residência de classe média dos anos 70, entre fotografias, copos de Coca-Cola, aperitivos de queijo, televisor e telefone.

Na óptica de Chéreau, que devota um especial interesse à versão feminina da intriga (como veremos de seguida), o dueto, embora mantenha uma leve comicidade fundamentada, sobretudo, no jogo do desejo e da sedução, perde a aura burlesca e dissipa, sobretudo, a dimensão de futilidade ou até frivolidade com que as irmãs são habitualmente caracterizadas, conferindo às suas paixões um estatuto nobre e sério. O comportamento das personagens indicia um sentimento de verdade e um discreto *pathos*, contrariando a habitual comicidade da cena, na qual as

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os intestinos, cuja agitação aumenta o apetite, ou então também o fígado e os pulmões, que os músculos do diafragma podem comprimir. Por isso este mesmo movimento dos espíritos acompanhou sempre desde então a paixão do amor.» René Descartes, *Tratado das paixões da alma*, Lisboa, Sá e Costa, 1981, 123.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Nomeadamente, Sherry B.Ortner, «Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?» in Hilary Robinson (ed.), *Feminist Art-theory – an anthology 1968-2000*, Oxford, Blackwell, 17-32.

<sup>32</sup> Patrice Chéreau, *op. cit.*, 12.

raparigas estão demasiadamente inflamadas pela paixão, perdendo a sua genuinidade e teatralizando os seus sentimentos. A coloratura é assim encarada, não como uma saliência da emoção exacerbada, mas como uma exclamação de ternura e desejo.

Evidenciando o desenraizamento das personagens de um meio pré-definido e concentrando a atenção do espectador nas subtilezas do sentimento, o quadro visual evade-se da tradicional atmosfera romântica e poética – originalmente, segundo a didascália, um belo jardim à beira mar – e expõe as paredes cruas e deterioradas dos bastidores de um teatro. Veja-se como o arrebatamento do momento: «Ah, guarda sorella, se bocca più bella, se aspetto più nobile si può ritrovar», se relativiza e adquire uma estranha perplexidade, afastando-se da aura burlesca e aproximando-se de um conceito de verdade essencial, quando é apresentado como quadro envolvente, um extintor, escadotes, toda uma série de indicações de segurança do teatro. Como escreve Chéreau, «La maturité des affections et le plaisir d'un plateau nu, peuplé de gens qui jouent et qui sont vrais pour tant [...]»<sup>33</sup> Incentivando esse jogo entre o teatro e a realidade, os rapazes encontram-se na plateia, e a atenção de Fiordiligi e Dorabella não se remete especificamente às suas imagens penduradas nas correntes, mas incide, em grande medida, directamente nas suas figuras, enquanto trocam de guarda-roupa.

«Toute l'éducation des femmes doit être relative aux hommes.»<sup>34</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau

**4.3** Apesar de Despina salientar que os homens também são infiéis («In uomini, in soldati sperare fedeltà?»), trata-se de uma deslealdade característica de uma merecida liberdade....: «The corruptibility of men appears to be of a different nature,» afirma Mladen Dolar, «They are free agents, free, supposedly, to take their pleasures, in our case, free to decide to put women to the test. If women are like mechanical devices, then men are like constructors of those devices.»<sup>35</sup>

O encenador estimula a visão das personagens femininas da intriga, ambicionando extrai-las da sua condição de futilidade e dependência, e apresentar a sua versão das peripécias vividas. Desenvolve amplamente o seu espectro psicológico, e prova que detêm uma complexidade muito maior do que a dos seus jovens noivos: «Comment aimer ces deux femmes plus libres que les deux garçons?» pergunta Chéreau. «Atteindre un peu de la complexité de l'oeuvre et faire entendre cette musique adulte, feminine, frémissante?»<sup>36</sup>

Criando uma intensa pausa dramática entre a questão colocada por Don Alfonso, «Chi vi fe' sicurtà che invariabili sono i lor cori?», e uma atitude hesitante e reflexiva por parte dos rapazes, Chéreau denuncia precisamente as suas débeis auto-consciência e capacidade de fundamentação das suas convicções.

<sup>33</sup> Patrice Chéreau, *op. cit.*, 12.

<sup>34</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *op. cit.*, 703.

<sup>35</sup> Mladen Dolar, *op. cit.*, 47.

<sup>36</sup> Chéreau, Patrice, *op. cit.*, 12.

«Lunga esperienza...» e «Nobil educazion...» etc. revelam-se justificações inócuas para o repto lançado pelo tutor. Sellars resolve esta situação através de um mecanismo contrário – apresentando uma dramática aceleração no discurso: entre pergunta e resposta não há sequer tempo de reflexão – os jovens debitam as palavras instintivamente, demonstrando, também assim, a sua vacuidade.

Em contrapartida, Dorris Dorrie mantém, em grande medida, os perfis de Dorabella e Fiordiligi como mulheres caricaturais, mecanismos simples, fáceis de manipular, em grande medida, equivalentes aos rapazes. Observe-se como define o carácter frívolo e instável das jovens irmãs, rodeadas por um ambiente marcadamente kitsch, no final do primeiro acto. Angustiadadas com a partida dos seus apaixonados, e perplexas com o facto de terem sido envolvidas numa trama de sedução por dois novos e estranhos pretendentes, as raparigas acabam de sair de um banho na piscina, e limpam-se com as toalhas mimando com os seus movimentos a figuração ondulante das flautas, estiram-se nas espreguiçadeiras, protegendo-se com óculos escuros da última moda, soluçando a sua tristeza e amargura enquanto, simultaneamente, espalham creme solar no corpo ou tentam encontrar o melhor ângulo para se bronzear.

**4.4** Evidenciando a componente caricatural e maquinal das personagens, a sua submissão – enquanto marionetes – a alguém que rege todos os seus movimentos, Peter Sellars introduz várias vezes ao longo da sua leitura desta obra, toda uma série de movimentos maquinais, verdadeiras coreografias que se situam entre uma gestualidade robótica e uma dança de discoteca dos anos 80. Esta produção concentra-se no interior de um snack-bar americano dos anos 80, que assume, a néon, o nome da sua proprietária, Despina. Nesses momentos, súbita e inesperadamente, as personagens deixam de estar em posse da sua consciência e autonomia, ausentam-se de si próprios e reagem maquinalmente, como despersonalizados, música e drama transferidos para o estatuto de artifício. Através desta gestualidade automática, artifício da verdade, Sellars traduz-nos a ideia de jogo em que os sentimentos se podem cruzar, como os corpos, descontextualizados do próprio sujeito, o que nos remete ao comentário de Johannes Birringer sobre a corporalidade pós-moderna: «o corpo artefacto, construído, desenhado, aperfeiçoado e logo absorvido em inúmeros e contraditórios códigos culturais de performance, estilo, e desenho global, é um corpo alienado, deslocado do sujeito, que procura encaixar-se num modelo estranho ao da sua própria produção.»<sup>37</sup> Corpo e gesto alienado, como ruptura numa narrativa que nos fala também da reificação sentimental.

## 5 Espaço vazio

O dispositivo cénico (um cenário único), criado pelo habitual colaborador de Chéreau, Richard Peduzzi, erige-se enquanto receptáculo – Leibowitz refere o próprio esquema estrutural do libreto como «vase clos»<sup>38</sup> – e laboratório de emo-

<sup>37</sup> Johannes Birringer, *Theatre, theory, postmodernism*, Bloomington, Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1991.

<sup>38</sup> René Leibowitz, *op. cit.*, 53.

ções, apoiando-se em três conceitos fundamentais: em primeiro lugar, o despojamento decorativo e a ausência de determinação de um quadro espacio-temporal, de seguida, a concentração sobre as essências, sobre a “verdade” da intriga, das personagens e as suas subtilezas emocionais, e finalmente a criação de uma estrutura épica.

Ausência de caracterização espacio-temporal, despojamento de qualquer elemento decorativo ou de figuras que dirijam e condicionem a atenção do espectador. Depurando o espaço cénico *ad-extremis*, Peduzzi e Chéreau propõem um cenário que despe o teatro,<sup>39</sup> um espaço vazio amplo e não compartimentado, os bastidores de um teatro que revelam o seu âmago, mostrando-nos as paredes nuas, de pintura envelhecida, que confluem com um chão de tábuas, criando uma base de cores neutras que homogeneíza todo o espaço.<sup>40</sup> Clément Hervieu-Léger define-o como: «Un décor pour raconter l’absence même de décor.»<sup>41</sup> Fundem-se no espaço adereços inerentes aos bastidores, tais como escadotes, cordas, aquecedores, caixas, bancos, bombas de incêndios, interruptores, tomadas, indicadores de segurança, entre outros símbolos. Peduzzi e Chéreau resgatam os conceitos das convenções que habitualmente os ornamentam, numa ampla sala onde se buscam e se combinam as essências, «machine à jouer»,<sup>42</sup> como refere o encenador, laboratório, podíamos afirmar. Espaço vazio, mágico e pleno de energia como aquele idealizado por Peter Brook: «A man walks across this empty space whilst someone else is watching him, and this is all that is needed for an act of theatre to be engaged.»<sup>43</sup>

Concentração sobre as essências, as personagens, as subtilezas e a verdade das emoções que sentem e transmitem, e as complexas interações entre eles. O dispositivo permite o desenvolvimento de uma gramática teatral complexa, mantendo um nível relevante de espontaneidade, genuinidade e inacabamento. Uma intensa vivacidade conferida, em grande medida, por um contínuo movimento e reposicionamento de cantores/actores e objectos, origina uma atmosfera de permanente instabilidade, inerente à estética de “obra em movimento”:<sup>44</sup> não existem adereços fixos – insere-se o banco segundos antes da cantora se sentar, estende-se a carpete e introduz-se uma mesa tão rapidamente quanto se retiram. O desenho de luzes reforça esta dimensão, regendo-se por um código que não permite decifração no tempo de fruição de uma récita, motivando uma permanente sensação de imprevisibilidade<sup>45</sup> Desafia-se o espectador a confrontar-se com as essências,

<sup>39</sup> Chéreau descobre a ópera em Spoleto, 1969, ao preparar *A Italiana em Alger* de Rossini.

<sup>40</sup> Refira-se que despojamento reflecte a própria economia de meios da obra em si, como o refere Leibowitz: «Ici nous avons affaire à un dépouillement total [...], à une économie des moyens employés, à une subtilité des nuances qui tiennent du prodige.» René Leibowitz, *op. cit.*, 52.

<sup>41</sup> Clément Hervieu-Léger, «En répétition» in *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Così fan Tutte*, Virgin, 2006, 6.

<sup>42</sup> Patrice Chéreau entrevistado por Odile Quirot, «Chéreau, chef d’orchestre» in *Nouvel Observateur*, 30/06/2005, <http://hebdo.nouvelobs.com/hebdo/parution/p2121/articles/a272062.html> (última consulta 25 de Outubro de 2009).

<sup>43</sup> Peter Brook, *The empty space*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1990.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Umberto Eco, *Obra Aberta*, Lisboa, Difel, 1989.

<sup>45</sup> Ora temos um projector a incidir directamente sobre um cantor, no momento da sua ária, ora o temos sobre as paredes vazias.

procurando a verdade e seriedade existencial propostas pela obra mozartiana que, segundo Chéreau, aprofundam a leitura banindo a componente de mero entretenimento que lhe é usualmente adstrita.

Criação de uma estrutura dialéctica, brechtiana que, interditando o espectador de se projectar no espectáculo, lhe recorda que está no teatro. Chéreau e Peduzzi não só confrontam directamente o público com o espaço interior de um teatro, como apresentam uma proposta ainda mais radical, expondo o local onde a ilusão se desfaz, o reverso do palco. Qualquer tentativa de identificação do espectador com a cena é ainda impedida pela imensa inscrição a vermelho na parede, «*vietato fumare*», que domina a leitura do espaço. Todo o espaço cénico é visível, os vários graus de ambiguidade são construídos sob o olhar do público. Desafiam-se as fronteiras entre o palco e a plateia, levando-se a acção ao espaço da audiência e, do mesmo modo, incluem-se, no palco, figurantes que agem enquanto espectadores – numa dinâmica que joga em permanência com diversos prismas do conceito de “teatro no teatro” e do desvanecimento da ilusão.

Observe-se o início da intriga: toda a cena inicial se desenrola na plateia, e o palco só é conquistado após Don Alfonso ter lançado o desafio a Ferrando e Guglielmo, e exposto os termos em que este se deverá desenrolar. O encenador enfatiza assim a divisão dramática que se encontra entre estas duas componentes. Como condutor da acção, Alfonso é o primeiro a pisar o palco, o que sucede no início do *recitativo secco*, mas nesse espaço, ainda na penumbra, deixa somente os seus objectos (como se de um bastidor se tratasse) e regressa à plateia, anunciando os seus pressupostos sobre a condição feminina, no que concerne, nomeadamente, a infidelidade, sentado no muro do fosso de orquestra.

Podemos identificar, em muitos aspectos desta estética teatral, a importante ascendência de Giorgio Strehler,<sup>46</sup> com quem Chéreau trabalhou e pelo qual reconhece manter uma profunda admiração. A dinâmica dialéctica que Chéreau propõe nesta encenação segue os ideais de Strehler, que defende um «*théâtre dialectique, un théâtre de la raison, un théâtre du “texte”, interprété de façon critique. Ce qui, contrairement à ce que l’on dit aujourd’hui, n’exclut rien, me semble-t-il, la créativité ni l’imagination, ni l’émotion. Un théâtre où se pratique [...] concrètement et comme base méthodologique, la technique du théâtre (épique) dialectique.*»<sup>47</sup> Recordemos que Strehler tinha uma imensa admiração por Mozart, e encarava a sua estética como consciente do seu presente, associando-lhe o passado e projectando-se no futuro. O director do Piccolo Teatro enaltecia, nas obras de Mozart, a simplicidade, clareza, legibilidade, e humanismo, e louvava a imensa facilidade com que o compositor se expressava teatralmente, demonstrando compreender a “totalidade” desta arte. Criticava as abusivas interpretações cénicas de óperas mozartianas, e salientava a importância de saber ler a essência da escrita teatral do músico: «*Il suffit de faire ce qui est écrit. [...] Dans Mozart, tout est écrit: mouvements, pauses, attitudes extérieures et intérieures, couleurs de la si-*

<sup>46</sup> Patrice Chéreau trabalha com Giorgio Strehler, no Piccolo Teatro, aos 25 anos.

<sup>47</sup> Giorgio Strehler (trad. Emmanuelle Genevois), *Un théâtre pour la vie, réflexions, entretiens et notes de travail*, Paris, Fayard, 1980, 74.

tuation, retournements dramaturgiques, atmosphères. Tout. L'extrême difficulté est d'arriver à transposer scéniquement ce jeu où musique et situation sont toujours en équilibre parfait, où aucune ne se développe aux dépends de l'autre.»<sup>48</sup> Aproximem-se as duas estéticas – Chéreau e Strehler, e encontramos os mesmos fundamentos e preocupações. E veja-se, como exemplo, a encenação de *Le nozze di Figaro*, de 1973, por Strehler, na Opéra de Paris, observando-se as prementes afinidades com a presente versão de *Così fan tutte* de Chéreau.

## 6 Imagens e conclusões do jogo da verdade

**6.1** Detenhamo-nos sobre a longa cena da separação: se, na versão de Dorrie, a despedida se passa num ambiente de comicidade, os rapazes contendo o riso, as raparigas no expoente da ansiedade, na leitura de Chéreau encontra-se um verdadeiro clímax dramático desenhado a partir de um quadro humano. Os quatro adolescentes estabelecem entre si uma cadeia corporal, ligação física que previne o seu afastamento, inspirada na *Parábola dos cegos* de Bruegel, imagem que o encenador já tinha usado em *Das Rheingold*, 1976, no Festival de Bayreuth. O encenador evidencia a crueldade do momento: os casais permanecerão, a partir daí, dissociados para sempre. A cessação da inocência dá-se no momento em que os jovens oficiais manipulam os sentimentos das suas namoradas, encenando uma partida, e em que estas se separam e despedem verdadeiramente deles, com toda a dor associada à situação. Presos entre si, nessa corrente humana, interdependentes – estão conscientes do movimento de ruptura, e do caminho que encetam para a maturidade – será Don Alfonso que, observando a cadeia, a irá quebrar, desligando-os asperamente.

**6.2** Voltemos ao final do segundo acto, e à obtenção do primeiro resultado da experiência laboratorial de Don Alfonso, anunciada imediatamente antes das falsas bodas dos amantes trocados: Ferrando e Guglielmo foram despeitados e estão numa situação de extremo desencantamento, prestes a cancelar o noivado.

A conclusão de Don Alfonso é tão breve quanto incisiva é a sua experiência alquímica e, verificando-se mesmo que, de todas as personagens, ele é o único que se mantém imutável:

*Tutti accusan le donne, ed io le scuso  
Se mille volte al dì cangiano amore;  
Altri un vizio lo chiama ed altri un uso,  
Ed a me par necessità del core.  
L'amante che si trova alfin deluso  
Non condanni l'altrui, ma il proprio errore;  
Giacché giovani, vecchie, e belle e brutte,  
Ripetete con me: "Così fan tutte!"<sup>49</sup>*

<sup>48</sup> Giorgio Strehler, «La voix mise en scène» in *Musical – Les voix mozartiennes*, Février 1987, 84.

<sup>49</sup> *L'avant scène opéra – Così fan tutte*, op. cit., 129.

Ao terem conseguido atingir os objectivos propostos pelo tutor, a sedução das namoradas trocadas, terão perdido a aposta realizada e terão provado a inconstância proclamada inicialmente por Alfonso. Confirma-se o primeiro resultado da prova laboratorial: «È la fede delle femmine / Come l'araba fenice: / Che vi sia, ciascun lo dice; / Dove sia, nessun lo sa.»<sup>50</sup> Em suma, *così fan tutte*.

«Les femmes dépendent des hommes et par leurs désirs  
et par leurs besoins; nous subsisterions plutôt sans elles  
qu'elles sans nous.»<sup>51</sup>

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Quem é, afinal, lesado, no meio deste jogo da verdade? As raparigas descobrirão que as novas conquistas não passam de um logro, ou pior, de uma prova à qual os seus namorados decidem expô-las para testar a sua lealdade, mas estes ficarão destroçados emocionalmente ao tomar consciência de que o amor pode não ser unívoco, ideal e intemporal, como tinham inicialmente sustentado e desejado... A tristeza não podia ser mais profunda do que a que nos é transmitida, na versão de Chéreau: pela imagem dos três homens sentados num banco de madeira no meio de um palco vazio, todos no lado esquerdo do banco (enfatizando a imagem de desequilíbrio) – olhar inconsolável, corpo abatido, roupa desalinhada, o disfarce confundindo-se já com o estado original.

Peter Sellars encontra uma outra solução para este momento incisivo do drama: Alfonso expõe a sua doutrina, na obscuridade do snack-bar *Despina*, enquanto desenvolve uma coreografia estrita, caracterizada por gestos tensos, simétricos e artificiais.<sup>52</sup> Progressivamente, os dois homens imbuem-se nesta coreografia e assumem um contraponto gestual com o seu mestre. Concluindo com um desesperado «*così fan tutte*», permanecem em posições fixas, dolorosas, artificiais, enquanto Despina os circunda, proclamando o sucesso do plano, pelo facto das raparigas terem aceite o casamento. A estagnação revela a total perplexidade e a apatia provocada pela percepção de que a maquinação acabara por assimilar, numa vitória-derrota geral, os próprios conspiradores.

A versão de Dorrie adopta a tradicional ascendência quase agressiva de Alfonso sobre os iniciados, e abole mesmo a 14ª cena, ligando a proclamação unânime «*così fan tutte*» ao final, os preparativos da celebração das falsas bodas.

**6.3.** Mozart aprofunda a complexidade da trama de Da Ponte, manipula subtilmente os códigos, mantendo uma constante incerteza sobre a definição dos pares certos. Quando encontramos a conjunção perfeita? No início, onde todas as convenções são respeitadas e enquanto os jovens oficiais e as belas damas declaram a sua paixão e fidelidade eternas – no momento em que Fiordiligi se despede

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<sup>50</sup> *Id.*, 46.

<sup>51</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *op. cit.*, 702.

<sup>52</sup> Note-se que, uma vez que Sellars transpõe a acção para o presente, Alfonso perde o estatuto elevado que detinha perante os dois jovens. Preservando-se claros momentos “paternais”, encontram-se, no entanto, mais circunstâncias em que a classe “masculina” se comporta de modo mais uniforme.



de Guglielmo e Dorabella de Ferrando? O compositor joga com a percepção do público quando, ao trocar os pares, sintoniza as vozes mais agudas, e as vozes mais graves, soprano com tenor, mezzo-soprano com barítono. Esta articulação introduz uma instabilidade: seria então Ferrando, tenor apaixonado, lírico e terno, cuja definição encontra origem na ópera séria, o par natural de Fordiligi (à semelhança dos casais Belmonte e Constanze ou Ottavio e Anna?).<sup>53</sup> Encontra Dorabella, mais sensual e terrena, dotada de uma voz mais grave do que Fiordiligi, uma cumplicidade natural com Guglielmo? Estarão, como tem sido proposto por vários teóricos em análises recentes da obra, os pares trocados no início e não após a peripécia que os leva a cruzarem-se?

É esta pergunta que se encontra na génese de algumas das mais recentes leituras de *Così* – e a resposta é desvendada no final, quando as circunstâncias cénicas contradizem directamente o carácter harmónico e festivo da música e a nitidez do texto. É neste ponto que se reúnem as três encenações já nomeadas, as de Dorris Dorrie, Peter Sellars e Patrice Chéreau. Em todas, encontramos um final pleno de perplexidades, um estado confusional que desafia a pretensa felicidade exposta na escrita musico-dramática, e que se refere à reiteração da forma inicial.

No final, todos os actores devem estar presentes, qualquer que seja o seu número [...]. No teatro, isso assume um valor de dogma, eles devem comparecer um a um, dois a dois, três a três, a seis, a dez, a sessenta se for necessário. Devem cantar *solì*, duos, *terzetti*, sextetos, octetos, etc. Todas as fórmulas possíveis e, se a natureza do drama se opõe, deve o poeta suplementá-lo, para lá dos critérios da razão, do bom senso, de todas as regras de Aristóteles, dos poderes da terra e do céu; e se o final é mau, paciência para o autor.<sup>54</sup>

Lorenzo da Ponte

O final transmite uma sensação de abismo e perturbação quando, sobre as palavras luminosas de apologia à razão, nos confrontamos com seis personagens num estado de profunda angústia e abandono.

Fortunato l'uom che prende  
Ogni cosa pel buon verso,  
E tra i casi e le vicende  
Da ragion guidar si fa.<sup>55</sup>

Leibowitz refere que Mozart deixa, cruelmente, os personagens de *Così* à sua sorte, não demonstrando qualquer piedade por eles. Sendo, numa primeira leitura o final entendido como reconciliador, a dimensão trágica que apresenta é, no entanto, evidente. Como refere Leibowitz, «la chose pourrait pu, tout aussi bien, tourner au plus mal et cela n'aurait rien ajouté au tragique de la situation.»<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Sylvie Huel, «Essai de typologie vocale», in *Musical – Les voix mozartiennes*, Février 1987, 21.

<sup>54</sup> Da Ponte, cit. in. Isabelle Moindrot, *op. cit.*, 28. Trad. livre da presente autora.

<sup>55</sup> Sexteto final de *Così fan tutte*.

<sup>56</sup> René Leibowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

No final de Dorris Dorrie, o carácter festivo da música é contrariado pela expressão de angústia e desespero dos jovens casais. A felicidade e regozijo concentram-se exclusivamente nas personagens de Despina e Don Alfonso, cujo pacto e afinidades se explicita.

Na encenação de Sellars, as donzelas e os dois homens encetam uma coreografia maquinal na qual dividem a atenção por ambos os pretendentes – o do casamento fictício e aquele com quem deverão partilhar o resto da vida. O final de Sellars é pautado por uma estética desconstrutivista – risos e lágrimas confundem-se numa coreografia em que os sentimentos se cruzam e se misturam e, contrariando o apelo à primazia da razão, a imagem é de um extremo desnorteio e desalento comportamental.

Na encenação de Chéreau, os casais conhecem, ao longo do extenso e complexo final, as mais profundas e contraditórias perplexidades emocionais – a inocência inicial, a candura passional que se verificara nas primeiras cenas, a inocente, feérica e tão desejada ligação dissipa-se para sempre. O percurso iniciático é cumprido do modo mais violento, a aprendizagem emocional é realizada através de complexas e insuperáveis desilusões. É isso que sentimos no fim, quando os três pares vagueiam desnorteados, através de uma teia de olhares e toques, numa imponente obscuridade, penumbra das almas, tentando encontrar, individualmente, um sentido para a premente turbulência emocional.

Chéreau assevera-nos que a razão não prevaleceu ao sentimento. Este mundo, mais complexo, denso, ou feminino – como ele afirma – das emoções, atinge os personagens e deixa-os sem rumo, perdidos e em busca de referências e símbolos, longos silêncios pontuam as dúvidas, inquietude, profunda desilusão. Em trajectos desconformes, descobrem-se dinâmicas psicológicas que se processam simultaneamente, redimensionando-se o espaço cénico de acordo com a progressão das emoções. Procuram-se os pares adequados: mas haverá uma configuração correcta? As personagens reúnem-se finalmente num círculo ritualizado como em busca de um sentido para tal desfasamento.

«Une mort,» sugere o encenador, «pour renaître, autrement, après l'apprentissage et les initiations malheureuses, parfois féroces et tendres toujours.»<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Patrice Chéreau, *op. cit.*, 12.



**APÊNDICE**

**APPENDIX**



## **Appendix: Performances and critical reception of productions of operas by Marcos António Portugal and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in London, up to the end of 1817**

Listed here are the first full theatrical productions. There were other performances of music from Portugal's and Mozart's operas both in concerts and at the theatres, some of the full operas (concert-style), some of adaptations, some of excerpts, and some interpolations into works by other composers.<sup>1</sup> The sources of the data presented here are listed below.

### **Key**

#### **Newspaper and review sources**

*BP* – *British Press, or Morning Literary Advertiser* (clipping from Ayrton papers, *GB-Lbl* Add. MS. 52335, f. 163, source identified (ms) by William Ayrton)

*D* – *Day* (clipping from *GB-Lbl* Add. MS. 52335, ff. 163<sup>v</sup>-164, source identified (ms) by Ayrton)

*DC* – *Dramatic Censor*

*E* – *Examiner*

*GDA* – *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*

*MC* – *Morning Chronicle*

*MH* – *Morning Herald*

*MP* – *Morning Post*

*S* – *Sun*

*T* – *The Times*

*TB* – *True Briton*

*TI* – *Theatrical Inquisitor, and Monthly Mirror*

#### **Other sources**

Cowgill – Rachel Cowgill, "Mozart Productions and the Emergence of *Werktreue* at London's Italian Opera House, 1780-1830", in *Operatic Migrations: Transforming*

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<sup>1</sup> For data on these performances, see Rachel Cowgill, "Mozart's Music in London 1764-1829", appendices and passim, " 'Wise men from the East' ", esp. 47-8, and "Mozart Productions and the Emergence of *Werktreue*", esp. 149.

*Works and Crossing Boundaries*, ed. by R.M. Marvin and D. Thomas, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, 145-86.

Cranmer – David Cranmer, “Portugal, Marcos António”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 22 August 2008).

Fenner – Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press 1785-1830*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.

Kelly – Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences*, ed. by R. Fiske, London, Oxford University Press, 1975.

SD – S.D., “Chronicles of the Italian Opera”, *Harmonicon*, 8 (1830), 10-13, 70-73, 112-15, 197-8, 246-8.

Smith – William Charles Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London, 1789-1820: A Record of Performances and Players with Reports from the Journals of the Time*, London, Society for Theatre Research, 1955.

### **Genre**

*burl* – *burletta*

*f* – *farsa*

*ob* – *opera buffa*

*os* – *opera seria*

*Ss* – *Singspiel*

### **Other**

nd – day not specified

Abbreviations used here for archives are RISM sigla.

Titles of operas and numbers have been transcribed as they appear in the source.

Composer	Date/Venue of London première	Work	Comments and selected reviews
Portugal	15 March 1796 King's Theatre  6 performances.	<b><i>La confusione della somiglianza</i></b> (ob, C. Mazzini) Florence, 1793  “(for the first time) a new Comic Opera, called I due gobi.”	<p><b>Cast</b> Signor Fabrizzi, Signor Morelli, Signor Viganoni “his first appearance at this Theatre”. Fenner (p. 126) states that this première was Viganoni’s benefit production, but I have not found evidence of this.</p> <p><b>Musical sources</b>  – <i>Io parto mio bene. Sung by Sig.<sup>r</sup> Viganoni, in the Opera of J Due Gobbi Composed by Sig.<sup>r</sup> Scismayer [Süßmayr]. Printed for M.<sup>r</sup> Viganoni by T. Skillern. GB-Lbl H.1652.y.(10.) and G.806.j.(80.)</i>  – <i>Per vivere contento Sung by Sig.<sup>r</sup> Viganoni, at the King's Theatre Haymarket in the Opera of J Due Gobbi, Composed by Sig.<sup>r</sup> Per. London, Printed for Longman &amp; Broderip No.26 Cheapside &amp; 13 Haymarket. GB-Lbl G.805.g.(34.) and H.1652.y.(43.)</i></p> <p>The production might have been based on the manuscript score in the Royal Music Library: “La Somiglianza o[s]sia[no] i due Gobbi [...] Opera Buffa. Firenze nell’Primavera, 1793”, etc. In 2 acts, preceded by an overture; with oboes, clarinets, horns, trumpets, drums, and strings, in score. <i>GB-Lbl R.M.23.a.13</i> (Overture and Act I 200 ff.); <i>GB-Lbl R.M.23.a.14</i> (Act II, 169 ff.).</p> <p><b>Reviews</b>  <b>T (16.3.96)</b> “The new Opera has very little in it either of Music or any other allurements; but it served to introduce Viganoni, who appears quite an <i>unique</i> for the Italian stage, since he actually appeared like a man and a gentleman, and with all that natural taste and ease which demonstrate the true player. His face is very like Johnstone’s; his voice is charming, and will be more so when he can judge better of the extent of the Theatre.”  <b>MC (16.3.96)</b> “A new Comic Opera was performed last night to bring out the new <i>Tenor</i>, Signor Viganoni. The Opera has a great deal of very charming music, enlivened by variety, and recommended by its [popular?] and easy character. Viganoni has a small but very pleasing voice. He sings with passion and sentiment. His science is perfect; and he manages his powers with very polished skill. The tenderness of his tones in the first song, in which he shewed his <i>sostenuto</i>, made a strong impression, and he was very warmly encored. In the second, which is a song of passion, he wanted volume of tone to give it effect, but he establishes an interest on the auditor, by the sweet flexibility of his voice, and by the chaste and sensible moderation of his manner. If Morelli had chosen an Opera to display all the fund of his mirth, he could not have been more happy. He gained unbounded applause. The Opera has the usual fault of new pieces – it is greatly too long; this fault will of course be corrected before the second representation.”  <b>TB (16.3.96)</b> “A new Comic Opera was brought forward last night, under the name of <i>I Due Gobi</i> (the <i>Two Hunchbacks</i>), the Music</p>



			<p>of which was composed by Portugallo. Viganoni, who was in this Country about ten years ago, appeared last night. He is a neat and an elegant Singer, and altogether the best Tenor we have heard. He combines taste and expression in a high degree, and sings with great vivacity. – His tone is good, and his voice remarkably flexible. He had two <i>encores</i>, and the first was a Song of his own. The Music of the Opera, altogether, is too monotonous. There was a large and splendid audience.”</p> <p><b>TB (21.3.96)</b> “Viganoni made his second appearance in the new Opera <i>I Due Gobi</i>, on Saturday, and was received with increased applause. His voice is hardly powerful enough for this very large Theatre, but it is peculiarly sweet in tone, and his execution, extraordinary as it is, is always governed by taste. – He is always neat and articulate. His <i>cadences</i> are new, and not too <i>long</i>. Upon the whole, he deserves the warm patronage that seems to attend him. – He had two <i>encores</i>. A <i>Trio</i> also, which is the best thing in the Piece, was <i>encored</i>. The Music of the Opera is altogether pronounced heavy by the <i>Connoisseurs</i>; but the Composer is said to be a very young man, and this work was written against <i>time</i>, (if we may use the phrase in musical affairs); and, therefore, we hope, his talents will be encouraged. The House, in all parts, was so thronged, that there was an overflow of <i>foppery</i> and females upon the stage. The Audience, in general, now and then vented their spleen against this indecorum; but the disorder was not to be cured. The Prince in <i>blue</i>, not <i>Blue</i> and <i>Buff</i>, which he has done with, looked very well, and chatted some time in the Coffee Room.”</p> <p><b>MP (21.3.96)</b> “The Opera was extremely crowded [<i>sic</i>] on Saturday night. Every part of the Stage was full; and to our surprise and astonishment, a number of Ladies, who could not procure Seats in the front of the House, made their first appearance behind the Curtain. The Music of the Comic Opera <i>I Due Gobi</i>, is light and airy. Viganoni [<i>sic</i>] is a considerable acquisition to the Musical Department. His voice is a true <i>voce di hetto</i> [<i>sic</i>], it possesses great flexibility, and his variations are those of an excellent Musician. [Comments on the ballet.] The Coffee Room presented a blaze of Beauty and Fashion.”</p> <p><b>GDA (22.3.96)</b> “Vigannani [<i>sic</i>] is a very considerable acquisition to the <i>musical</i> department of the Opera; his charming air in the second Act of <i>I due Gobbi</i>, will always command an encore. [...] We know not how to prescribe to the Complaints of the gallery, whilst a Crowded stage produces a Crowded purse to the Manager.”</p>
Portugal	17 June 1800 King’s Theatre  1 performance	<p><b><i>Lo spazzacamino principe</i></b> (<i>ob</i>, Foppa, after Carpani) Venice, 1794</p> <p>“for the first time, a new Comic Opera, in 1 Act, called Il principe spazza camino”</p>	<p><b>Cast</b> Madame Bolla, Mr Morelli, Signor Rovedino, Mr Viganoni</p> <p><b>Libretto source</b> (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.6.(4.)</p> <p><b>Advertised T</b> (17.6.1800)</p>
Portugal	31 March 1803 King’s Theatre  12 performances (1802-3)	<p><b><i>Fernando nel Messico</i></b> (<i>os</i>, F. Tarducci) Venice, 1798</p> <p>“first time, an entire</p>	<p><b>Benefit production for Elizabeth Billington</b> (for whom it was composed in Venice) – she probably brought the score with her to London (see the partial autograph score, <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS. 16112).</p> <p><b>N.B.</b> Kelly (p.276) credits Nasolini with this opera.</p> <p><b>Libretto source</b> (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.8.(6.)</p>

3 performances (1804)	New Grand Serious Opera, with Chorusses, entitled Fernando in Messico”	<p><b>Reviews</b></p> <p><b>MP (1.4.03)</b> “Last night a new Opera, called <i>Ferdinand in Messico</i>, was brought forward for the benefit of Mrs. Billington. The double attraction of a new piece, and of a benefit for an admired performer, we conceived would have produced an overflowing house. In this, however, we are sorry to say, we were disappointed. The house was by no means such as we expected. The company might in part have been driven away by the circumstances of His Majesty going to Drury-lane Theatre. – Towards the close of the first act, the private boxes exhibited a better appearance than they did at first, several of them being at length filled with Ladies; but the House could not be said to be a good one at any period of the evening. With respect to the Opera, it is not founded on any Historical fact, it is merely a vehicle for the music. Some of the Airs are pleasing, and Mrs. Billington was <i>encored</i> in two of them. – Notwithstanding the House was not such as she was entitled to expect, she nevertheless went through her part with great spirit, and displayed her great powers with much effect.”</p> <p><b>MH (1.4.03)</b> “Mrs. Billington had a brilliant audience at her benefit last night. A new Serious Opera, entitled <i>Fernando in Messico</i>, was produced on the occasion. The plot is tolerably regular, and the music, which is by Portogallo, is of the very first description, in point of science, taste, and effect. Mrs. Billington has several very charming airs, which she executes in the most finished and fascinating style. She was in full voice, and her sweet incomparable strains throughout enraptured every auditor; in some instances, the effect was electrical. Viganoni also sang in his usual excellent style, and was very deservedly applauded. The performance was altogether very perfect, and extremely well received. – The scenery is beautiful and picturesque, and the <i>tout ensemble</i> highly effective. [...] The Band was most ably led by Mr. Weischell [<i>sic</i>], who had frequent opportunities in the course of the Opera of displaying his truly admirable and unrivalled abilities on the violin.”</p> <p><b>S (1.4.03)</b> “Mrs. Billington’s Benefit took place last night at the King’s Theatre, and a new Serious Opera was brought forward on the occasion, entitled <i>Fernando in Messico</i>. The music, which is the essential consideration in these matters, was composed by Portogallo. Its general character is animated, and the accompaniments are rich and well contrived. Mrs. Billington was provided with some grand and beautiful Airs, which she gave in her very best style. Her execution was as rapid and articulate as possible, and in some <i>chromatic</i> passages we never heard her to so much advantage. – In two Duets with Viganoni, her exertions procured an encore, and she was encored also in her concluding Song, which was particularly calculated to display the full extent of her powers. The parts allotted to Viganoni were not very happily adapted to his talents. Signora Rovedino appeared in male attire, and exhibited a tolerably good figure. The Opera was on the whole very well received. [Comments on the ballet.] The audience was not so numerous as might be expected on the Benefit of so distinguished a Performer: it consisted, however, of the higher orders, and the House had a splendid aspect. Mrs. Billington obtained the most gratifying applause, particularly on her taking leave of the audience.”</p> <p><b>T (2.4.03)</b> “A New Opera, called <i>Ferdinand in Mexico</i>, was brought forward at the King’s Theatre on Thursday evening, for the benefit of Mrs. Billington. It has the merit of correct and pleasing musical composition; but the plot, incidents, and characters, are destitute of all interest. In two of the airs, she was deservedly encored. The House was not full; but the Boxes, towards the close of the performance, displayed no inconsiderable portion of rank and fashion.”</p> <p><b>S (4.4.03)</b> “<i>Il Fernando di Messico</i>, produced for the benefit of Mrs. Billington, was repeated on Saturday night: the Music is in the happiest style of Portogallo, having a sufficient degree of Science, and much lightness and pleasantry in the composition; the Arias are particularly well adapted for Mrs. Billington’s style, power, and compass, and she does them ample credit; her last Aria was executed in such a superior manner, that it called loudly for an encore, and the audience seemed more inclined to consult their own gratification, than the probably weak state of the Performer, after so severe an illness. Viganoni appears to good advantage; the Duo and Terzetto are well composed, and well given; they both received well-merited applause. The Scenery is of the highest style of finish and brilliancy. [Discussion of the ballet.] The House was exceedingly full, and displayed all the Fashion and Elegance in town.”</p>
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Portugal	<p>25 January 1806 King’s Theatre</p> <p>9 performances, as <i>Argenide e Serse</i> (1806)</p> <p>9 performances, as <i>Il ritorno di Serse</i> (1806-7)</p>	<p><b><i>Argenide</i></b> (os, Gonella di Ferrari), as <i>Il ritorno di Serse</i>, Florence 1797, rev. Lisbon, 1804</p> <p>“for the first time, the Grand Serious Opera, entitled <i>Argenide e Serse</i>”</p>	<p><b>Cast</b> Xerxes – Braham; Sebastes – Righi; Meraspes – Rovedino; Arbantes – De Giovanni; Argenis – Billington; Barsenis – Columbati. <i>S</i> (27.1.06).</p> <p><b>Musical sources</b> – <i>Ah non lasciarmi no</i>, Introduced by M<sup>rs</sup>. Billington In the Grand serious Opera of <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, Composed expressly for her by Paesiello. (published by her Permission) Printed &amp; Sold by M<sup>r</sup>. Kelly at his Opera Saloon Pall Mall. GB-Lbl G.805.a.(26.) and R.M.14.b.1.(16.) – <i>Tu l’ami e ancor per lui</i>, The Favorite Duett sung by M<sup>r</sup>. Braham &amp; M<sup>rs</sup> Billington, In the Grand Serious Opera of <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, Composed by M<sup>r</sup>. Braham. Printed &amp; Published by M. Kelly at his Opera Saloon Pall Mall. GB-Lbl G.805.b.(27.ss0) and R.M.14.b.1.(13ss0) – <i>Qual rea Viltade e questa?</i> Sung by M<sup>r</sup> Braham, At the King’s Theatre in the Grand Serious Opera of <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, Composed by Portogallo. London, Printed &amp; Sold at M. Kelly’s Opera Saloon No. 9 Pall Mall. GB-Lbl G.805.g.(38.) and R.M.14.b.1.(14.) – <i>Per te gli affetti miei</i>, Duett, Sung by Sig<sup>r</sup>. Righi &amp; M<sup>rs</sup> Billington, In the Grand serious Opera of <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, Composed by Portogallo. Printed &amp; Published at Kelly’s Opera Saloon Pall Mall. GB-Lbl R.M.14.b.1.(15.)</p> <p><b>Libretto sources</b> (printed) GB-Lbl 907.k.8.(5.) (1806), 907.k.8.(12.) (1807), and 11779.aa.74 (1807)</p> <p><b>Reviews:</b> <b>T (27.1.06)</b> “The Serious Opera of <i>Argenide e Sersi</i> [<i>sic</i>], which has been a considerable time in rehearsal, was brought out on Saturday night. The Music is the composition of Porto Gallo: for grandeur and effect it cannot be exceeded. The accompaniments are rich and beautiful, the airs are full of taste and science. Mrs. Billington’s song, in the first act, is an exquisite composition, she sung it divinely: her unequalled execution was never shewn to more advantage. The <i>Duo</i> between her and Braham, obtained an universal <i>encore</i>; it afforded both these great Singers a fine opportunity for the display of their rare powers. Righi and Rovedino met with much applause. The former supported his part very ably in the fine trio in the first act. Every part of the Theatre was crowded.” <b>MP (27.1.06)</b> “This elegant place on Saturday was crowded in every part. A new Grand Serious Opera, entitled ‘<i>Argenide e Serse</i>,’ was performed for the first time. This Opera has been got up, to use a theatrical phrase, with much care, and its merits are certainly very great. The Overture is bold and impressive, and the principal parts of it was [<i>sic</i>] most ably performed by Mr. Weischell [<i>sic</i>], who derived the most effective support from the whole Orchestra, perhaps one of the finest in all Europe. The music of the first act is</p>

			<p>unique. A <i>bravura</i> song of Mrs. Billington, with an obligato accompaniment on the oboe, she gave with such rapidity of neatness and execution, as drew down repeated plaudits from every part of the house. The Trio, which ends the first act, sung by Mrs. Billington, Braham, and Righi, is a master-piece; we never heard a finer composition. There is a sweet Duet in the second Act, which we understand is the composition of Mr. Braham; it was admirably sung by him and Mrs. Billington, and was loudly <i>encored</i>. Mrs. Billington has also a beautiful air '<i>Ah non Lafricami ne</i>', which she gave with her usual fascination. [...] Rovedino gave a Song with great effect."</p> <p><b>MC (27.1.06)</b> "A new serious Opera, entitled <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, was presented at this Theatre. The music is by Portogallo, and the Theatre is indebted for it to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, whose taste in the science is a recommendation of whatever he is pleased to patronize. The music of the Opera, and particularly of the first act, is uncommonly fine. Mrs. Billington sung with the most perfect truth and taste. Her Arcetta [<i>sic</i>] in the first act, and the Rondo in the second, are exquisite. The Terzetto at the end of the first act is a superior composition, and will be universally admired. Rovedino, in this Opera, displays his powers to great advantage. The music seems to have been written for his talent, and his first song is a <i>chef d'oeuvre</i>. Mr. Braham, as we have often had occasion to say, would be much greater if he would attempt to do less."</p> <p><b>S (27.1.06)</b> "The new serious Opera which was brought forward last Saturday at this Theatre, with the title of <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, is one of the most beautiful, in the point of composition, that has ever been heard. – The Composer is Portogallo, a Musician of well-known merit, and whose fame will be considerably augmented by this admirable produce of his professional learning, judgement, and genius. [Account of the plot.] We seldom give any account of the fable of an Italian Opera, but this is so interesting and beautiful, and is likely to be so successful from its own merit and that of the performance, that we think it entitled to more than usual attention. Well as Mrs. Billington's talents are known, and highly as they are admired, it may be said that she hardly ever appeared to so much advantage before. Her singing was characterized by every quality that could awaken surprise and admiration. All her songs were given with exquisite skill, and some of them were encored. Nothing could be more charming than her <i>duet</i> with Braham in the Second Act. It was a fine competition of skill, and though Mrs. Billington certainly carried off the prize of superiority, Braham was deservedly and loudly applauded. The trio by Mrs. Billington, Righi, and Braham, in the First Act, was also a great favourite with the Audience. The Opera was, indeed, rapturously applauded by a very brilliant and crowded Audience, and will most probably be well attended through the season."</p> <p><b>MH (27.1.06)</b> "This House was crowded in every part at a very early hour on Saturday, when a grand Serious Opera, entitled <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, was performed for the first time. This piece formed a very interesting entertainment; the music is upon the whole extremely beautiful, and the overture is one of the finest we ever heard in the Opera House. A Bravura Song was given by Mrs. Billington, which for execution, brilliancy, and expression, it would be impossible to surpass. A most beautiful Triol [<i>sic</i>] by that Lady, Mr. Braham and Signor Righi, closed the First Act, and was highly applauded. A Duet in the Second Act, between Braham and Mrs. Billington, was deservedly encored. We understand it was composed by Mr. Braham. It is a charming Air. Rovedino gave some Airs in a very chaste style, and received due applause for that gratification which he never fails to afford whenever he sings in a <i>mezzo voce</i>. Mrs. Billington sung a charming Rondo in the Second Act with the most pathetic sweetness. The dresses of the principal characters were in the true style of Oriental magnificence. [Description of ballet.] The boxes were filled with persons of the highest rank and fashion."</p> <p><b>MP (3.2.06)</b> "This elegant place of entertainment was uncommonly crowded on Saturday night. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales honoured the brilliant circle with his presence, and seemed highly pleased with the Opera of <i>Serse</i>. – From his Royal Highness's acknowledged musical taste and science, his approbation must be highly flattering to the composer and the performers. – Mrs. Billington was in fine voice: her bravura song in the first act and the sweet simple rondeau in the second, she sang with her</p>
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			<p>unrivalled excellence; and the duet between her and Braham was so finely executed, that it was loudly and universally <i>encored</i>. The whole of the music is truly excellent, and improves on every repetition. The Theatre, owing to the improvement in producing a regular degree of warmth in every part, was truly comfortable.”</p> <p><b>MP (10.2.06)</b> “The Opera, on Saturday, was crowded with brilliant company. Mrs. Billington sung with her usual taste and brilliancy. In the beautiful Rondo, <i>Ah, non, &amp;c.</i> she was uncommonly impressive; and the duet sung by her and Braham was loudly encored. A new Trio was sung for the first time, by Braham, Righi, and Mrs. Billington, at the end of the Opera; and produced a most charming effect. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales graced the splendid circle with his presence.”</p> <p><b>MH (10.2.06)</b> “This place of fashionable resort was crowded on Saturday night. The charming music of <i>Argenide e Serse</i> improves on repetition, and is highly calculated to call forth Mrs. Billington’s wonderful powers. The duet between her and Braham was universally encored. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales honoured the Performance with his presence. The Duchess of York, Duke and Duchess of Bedford, Duchess of Gordon, Duke of Montrose, Duke of Queensberry, Marchioness of Salisbury, Marquis of Stafford, and Lord and Lady Temple, were also in their boxes.”</p> <p><b>MP (24.2.06)</b> “The Opera of <i>Argenide e Serse</i>, was performed on Saturday night to a crowded House. – Mrs. Billington was in fine voice, and executed her Bravura with the most astonishing rapidity and brilliancy. The Duets and Trios are truly delightful. The Duet in the second Act in particular, was most charmingly sung by Mrs. Billington and Mr. Braham, and universally encored [...] His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales honoured the Theatre with his presence.”</p> <p><b>MH (24.2.06)</b> “Saturday night the new Serious Opera of <i>Argenide e Serse</i> was performed with its usual success. The delightful new trio introduced at the close of the Opera, by Braham, Righi, and Mrs. Billington, was greatly and deservedly applauded.”</p> <p><b>T (25.2.07)</b> “The eager curiosity to see Madame Catalani in a new character, filled every part of this capacious Theatre last night. The Opera of ‘<i>Il Ritorno di Serse</i>,’ in which the part of <i>Argenide</i> was performed by this celebrated Singer, was chosen for this occasion. It is but barely doing her justice to say, that she fully maintained the high reputation she has acquired. The music was well adapted to display the uncommon versatility of her powers. A <i>Cavatina</i> and an air in the first Act, and a Frantic <i>Scena</i> in the second, afforded her an opportunity of shewing, that either in delicacy and taste, neatness and rapidity of execution, compass and quality of voice, and energy of manner, she has not been exceeded by any singer who has preceded her. She was heard with rapture, and enthusiastically applauded. Siboni has not yet appeared to so much advantage. It is to be regretted that his powers are not equal to his taste and execution, or his talents as an actor. He was received with much deserved applause. There are some exquisite passages in the music. The <i>Cavatina</i> was encored, and is likely to become very popular.”</p> <p><b>MC (9.3.07)</b> “The Opera was very fashionably attended on Saturday evening, to Madame Catalani’s performance of <i>Argenis</i> in the serious Opera of <i>Il Ritorno di Serse</i>. She appeared in fine voice, and displayed her extraordinary vocal powers with the happiest effect.”</p>
Mozart	<p>27 March 1806 King’s Theatre</p> <p>6 performances (1806)</p> <p>16 performances (1812)</p>	<p><b><i>La clemenza di Tito</i></b> (os, Metastasio, rev. Mazzolà), Prague, 1791</p> <p>“a Grand Serious opera, with Chorusses, intitled <i>La clemenza di Tito</i>,</p>	<p><b>Benefit production for Elizabeth Billington</b></p> <p><b>Musical source</b> <i>GB-Lbl</i> R.M.22.h.12-13 (loaned to Billington by the Prince of Wales from his own library (S.D., 71)).</p> <p><b>Libretto sources</b> (manuscript) <i>US-SM</i>, Larpent MS 1479; (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.7.(2.) and <i>HIRSCH</i> IV.1377.b.(1.), title page – “[a]dapted to the modern Stage by new Scenes and Alterations, by S[erafino] Buonaiuti. The Music Entirely by Mozart, Without any Addition whatever”. Printed libretto for 1812 production, <i>GB-Lbl</i> 11716.aa.21.(2.), and 1816 production, <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.11.(11.). See Cowgill.</p> <p><b>Reviews</b></p> <p><b>MH (28.3.06)</b> “A new Opera, called <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, composed by Mozart, was last night presented, for the benefit of Mrs.</p>

<p>6 performances (1813)</p> <p>8 performances (1816) (and 1 of 1 act only)</p> <p>4 performances (1817)</p>	<p>entirely composed by Mozart; the most celebrated <i>ouvrage</i> of that great Composer, and the only one of his compositions ever produced in this country.”</p> <p>“The Music by Mozart, as originally composed” <i>T</i> (2.3.12)</p>	<p>Billington. The music is most exquisite, and we are convinced will improve on repetition. Two <i>duets</i> by Mrs. Billington and Mr. Braham possess every charm, even for the most untutored ear. – It being the last benefit of the unequalled songstress, the House was filled by all the fashion and beauty of the metropolis.”</p> <p><b>MP (28.3.06)</b> “Last night this elegant Theatre was crowded to an overflow, a just tribute to the great talents of Mrs. Billington. It must have been highly pleasing to this Lady, on her Benefit Night, to see the whole of the Boxes and the Pit occupied by persons of the first distinction. On her <i>entrée</i> she was greeted with repeated plaudits. She sang with uncommon effect, and seemed anxious to repay with every exertion, the approbation and attention of so splendid and numerous an audience. The music of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, the production of that great composer, Mozart, was heard with delight. The Overture was much admired, and the Leader, Mr. Weichsell [<i>sic</i>], exerted himself with the whole Orchestra to render every justice to one of the greatest Composers the world ever produced. Mr. Braham sang admirably; and the duets between him and Mrs. Billington were indeed a delectable treat. Signora Griglietti made her first appearance; she has a pretty voice, a pleasing person, and we have no doubt will prove an acquisition. Righi and Rovedino also filled their respective parts with great credit. – The scenery, dresses, decorations, &amp;c. were at once elegant and appropriate; and we have no doubt that <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> will be often repeated to crowded audiences.”</p> <p><b>MC (28.3.06)</b> “Last night Mrs. Billington was honoured with a most splendid and numerous company. Every part of the Theatre overflowed – and upon no occasion was the patronage of the public so properly bestowed; for we never witnessed on [<i>sic</i>] any Theatre so exquisite an Opera. It is the first time that an Opera by Mozart has been performed in England. <i>La clemenza di Tito</i> is the last work of Mozart, and it combines every essential beauty. It has the poetry of <i>Metastasio</i>, and the grand instrumental harmony of the German School softened and refined by the vocal delicacy of the Italian. It is the least complicated of all his operas. It is that of which the Germans would say the least, and the Italians the most. The most perfect and scientific critic would be at a loss to say whether the sentiments were subordinate to the airs, or the airs to the instruments – so artfully and so happily do they melt into one another. We have such an incessant variety, and the thoughts are so new and unhacknied, that it cannot fail to attract all who truly taste, and can appreciate the beauties of music to the theatre [<i>sic</i>]. It has been adapted to our theatre by M. Buonaiuti, who has skilfully curtailed much of the recitative, and it would still be improved by abridging the second act. The lateness of the hour prevents us from entering into a more particular description. The House was enraptured with the performance of Mrs. Billington, and Mr. Braham. A young Lady, <i>Signora Griglietti</i>, made her first appearance; she is engaging in her person, and has a sweet voice; but she was extremely overpowered by her terrors, and was forced after her first entre to retire. The kind encouragement of the audience, however, reconciled her, and she gave the promise of a most agreeable talent. We congratulate the Theatre on this opera. It is a chef d’oeuvre of art, and cannot fail to be popular.”</p> <p><b>T (29.3.06)</b> “On Thursday night Mrs. Billington received a most flattering mark of the public approbation, by the numerous and splendid company which attended her benefit. Nor had this admirable singer been inattentive to their entertainment, as she had provided the last and very delightful composition of Mozart, <i>La clemenza di Tito</i>. It is, we believe, the only Opera of that justly celebrated Master which has been performed in England, and would have established his reputation as a great Composer, if it had not been already acknowledged in every part of Europe. Mrs. Billington gave the charming airs allotted to her with the most powerful effect. Signora Griglietti made her <i>debut</i> on this occasion, and though under the most evident alarms, gave the promise of future excellence.”</p> <p><b>MH (31.3.06)</b> “Saturday night the grand Serious Opera, entitled ‘<i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>’, produced for Mrs. Billington’s benefit, was performed for the second time, with great success. Mrs. Billington and Braham distinguished themselves by their accustomed taste and science; Righi and Rovedino sung with much expression; Signora Griglietti made her second appearance, and acquitted herself very respectably. The House was brilliantly attended. Among the most distinguished persons present we noticed the following: Duke</p>
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			<p>of Cambridge, Duke of Montrose, Duchess of Gordon, Lady Vernon, Marquis of Winchester, Marchioness of Winchester, Marchioness of Wellesley, Lady Buckinghamshire, Lord Cholmondeley, Lord Temple, Lady Temple, Lady Sheffield, &amp;c. &amp;c. &amp;c.”</p> <p><b>MP (31.3.06)</b> “The Grand Serious Opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, drew a crowded House on Saturday night; nor will it fail to be of lasting attraction. – The Music is exquisitely fine; and in all its parts, the most fastidious critic must acknowledge it to be a <i>chef d’oeuvre</i> of the art. Mrs. Billington was heard throughout with rapture, and Mr. Braham sung admirably. Two Duets by him and Mrs. Billington were <i>encored</i> with renewed applause.”</p> <p><b>S (31.3.06)</b> “The Opera. – The very grand and beautiful Opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, composed by Mozart, and introduced by Mrs. Billington on her benefit, was repeated on Saturday last. It is one of the most excellent compositions ever heard in this country. The applause of a very numerous audience was enthusiastic, and was well deserved by Mrs. Billington and Braham. Three of the duets were <i>encored</i>.”</p> <p><b>T (2.6.06)</b> “The Opera, on Saturday night, was extremely brilliant and crowded. We could not perceive a box unoccupied, and before nine o’clock not a seat was vacant in the pit. Mrs. Billington and Braham were in admirable voice, and gave all possible effect to the delightful music of Mozart. The exquisite <i>duo</i> in the second act was university <i>encored</i>.” Similar report on 9.6.06.</p> <p><b>S (4.3.12)</b> “The admirable Opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, one of the most exquisite productions of Mozart, was represented last night at this place. Tramezzani and Catalani seemed to be both restored to health, as they put forward all their vocal strength, and sung with great energy and expression. In one <i>duet</i> their powers were exerted with such skilful union, and such touching pathos, that they were <i>encored</i>.”</p> <p><b>T (5.3.12)</b> “Mozart’s celebrated Opera, <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, was performed on Tuesday; but from the late hour at which it concluded, we were unable to take any notice of it yesterday. This inconvenient protraction, which has lately become so common, ought to be remedied; and there are few instances in which a certain curtailment of the performance would not equally add to the effect of the piece and the pleasure of the audience. The Opera on Tuesday was admirably performed in its principal parts; and if the highest powers of voice and acting could do justice to the music of the great Opera composer of Germany, the audience had a right to be gratified with the leading characters of this Opera: yet our taste is still so far native, as to make us <i>regret</i> that this music and those powers were employed upon a subject so bare, that nothing like the interest of a plot could be felt through it. [account of plot ...] Nothing can be more destitute than this plot; and yet it was this, – such was the taste of the stage in countries where the decay of political freedom spread through all the departments of intellectual effort the same spirit of tameness, weakness, and monotony, – that Metastasio selected for the subject of a drama to be set by Mozart. The fame of the composer is now almost beyond criticism; and want of delight at his works will probably be attributed in the critic to want of taste: but his composition, if it has all that can be given by science, probably bears the exclusive impression of science too strongly and too unremittingly for the general ear; and the pleasure with which the few scattered airs that occasionally relieved the ponderous and laboured character of the composition were received, might have persuaded the admirers of the unmitigated German School, that taste, nature, and simplicity might in some instances, at least, be advantageously substituted for chromatics and cadences, the crashing of disjointed harmonies, and the array of scientific discordance. Yet if the strength of science has in this Opera been sometimes employed like the unweildy [<i>sic</i>] vigour of the giant of old, to produce only more irreparable confusion, it has sometimes wrought its miracles of labour; and perhaps in the whole range of musical prowess, nothing could be a finer instance of difficulty attempted and admirably overcome, than the chorus at the end of the first act, in which the people mourn for the supposed death of <i>Titus</i>. Two of the airs, ‘Deh prendi un dolce amplesso,’ in which <i>Vitellia</i> and <i>Annius</i> express their mutual gratitude; and ‘Deh Perdona,’ in which <i>Sextus</i> gives up his claim to the hand of <i>Vitellia</i>, were highly applauded; but they were of a character wholly distinct from the general Opera. The Overture – a composition peculiarly adapted to the powers of the German school, and in which nothing is expected but instrumental display and ‘regular</p>
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			<p>confusion,’ – was ably performed, and encored. Catalani had recovered from her cold, and her acting and voice were both in their usual excellence. Her dress on her first appearance was magnificently arranged; and the glittering diadem, – the head wreathed like an antique bust, – the scarlet tunic, – and the looped and tasselled drapery, gave the full impression of regal grandeur to a face and form, fitted, beyond all that we have ever seen, to the expression of dignity and grace, – the softness of a woman mingled with the solemn and tragic majesty of a fallen queen. Tramezzani’s acting was such as left little to be desired, and the audience expressed their approbation by the loudest applause. The inferior characters admit of considerable improvement; and if Signora Griglietti is in future to support the character of <i>Annius</i>, it might be expedient to make her costume a little less of the doubtful gender.”</p> <p><b>MC (5.3.12)</b> “On Tuesday evening the real amateurs were gratified with the highest musical treat they have enjoyed for years, the beautiful opera of <i>La clemenza di Tito</i>, performed with science and taste worthy the incomparable Author. Mozart is without comparison, as we think, the Shakespear [<i>sic</i>] of the lyric drama, the man above all others who gives the passion of poetry to music, and quickens by its influence all the best emotions of the soul. It is not the man of science only, but the man of nature also, who is moved and gratified by the eloquence of Mozart. When his compositions come to be performed by an orchestra so perfect in execution, and so animated by enthusiasm as the band of the Opera always are when they have his works before them, it requires only the addition of a Catalani and a Tramezzani to make the enchantment irresistible. In truth we never witnessed more genuine applause from the connoisseur than on Tuesday night. Catalani was evidently convinced that the precious ore of Mozart, serves to heighten and to illustrate her vivid talents, and that while she has his music to perform, she reaches a higher point than that of merely astonishing by her voice, she agitates, she soothes, she subdues by her pathos. Tramezzani was uncommonly splendid in this opera. We never heard an air sung with such pure taste as that with which he concluded. The English public were first indebted to their own Billington for making them acquainted with the charms of Mozart. Her science and taste selected him from among all the masters for her favourite; and she brought out this very opera some years ago, when Braham was the Titus.”</p> <p><b>T (16.3.12)</b> “Mozart’s celebrated Opera was repeated on Saturday, to an audience as crowded and as applauding as usual. We have already given our opinion of ‘<i>Clemenza di Tito</i>,’ and its additional performances have not made any great alteration in that opinion. The Opera has a few airs of uncommon beauty, but they are as strangers in it; and the great body of this voluminous composition exhibits nothing but science, – ingenious, high-wrought, and wearisome science. We have already made a few slight observations on the insipidity of the plot, and attributed it chiefly to the general oppression of the finer faculties under all governments which do not secure individual freedom: but Metastasio, eminently gifted as he was with the graces of the poet, had none of the poet’s fire; his language is looked upon by his countrymen, who, of course, must be the best judges on this occasion, as the perfection of all that constitutes the charm of the minor poetry, – taste in the selection of images, facility of versification, and that general and exquisite power which throws a rich hue over the page, and for which, in the poverty of language, we can find no other name than the magic of genius: but for plot, – for the strong spirit that combines characters, – for the vigour that passes through the work, and makes our interest continual, – for the distinct and powerful impression by which the great writer sets his object plainly before us in the commencement, and yet urges us on with the eagerness of new impulses and new delight, we must look to minds that never grew under the vine-bowers of Tuscany, or the colourings of an Italian sky. It is to Germany in her forests and marshes, and in her rude warfare and struggling Governments, – it is to England in her cloudy sky, in her stern climate, and in her free constitution, that we must look for all that requires the stretch and nerve of moral and mental vigour. The drama is one of the large provinces of the imagination, and it is the peculiar one in which a fetter on the wing of that great and preeminent quality of genius is felt most oppressively. [...] whoever wishes to feel the manly delight of manly interest, should turn from the languid elegance of Italy, and the trim ostentation of France, to the rudeness of German genius, or the classic simplicity, the lofty, republican sternness, and the practised, prominent, athletic force of the English mind. Catalani has made some changes in her costume since the first performance</p>
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			<p>of the Opera. It is perhaps trifling with this admirable woman, and with our readers, to lay any importance on matters of this nature. We would only observe, that her appearance was more striking in her former dress. The native character of her form and countenance is dignity, – superb, haughty, tragic dignity; but by changing her brilliant and lofty tiara, and her gold embroidered robe, for others which lessen her stature, she has made some sacrifice of the dignity, which should be the first expression of the tragic stage, – to the beauty, which should only be the second. Tramezzani’s acting was highly finished: his soliloquy was delivered with all that we could expect of grace and impressiveness on the Opera stage; and the applauses with which his performance was received, entitle us to think that we can scarcely expect to meet his superior as an Italian actor.”</p> <p><b>E (22.3.12)</b> “It is so generally the unenviable lot of an Opera Critic to write in an uninterrupted strain of invective, to be armed with whips and goads on every occasion, and to frown sternly on all he hears or sees, that he scarcely knows how to lay aside his weapons, and relax his features into good humour, even when he inclined to do so. If however he enjoys this pleasure but seldom, he is repaid in some degree by feeling it more keenly, and is disposed to be grateful for every deviation that is made from folly towards intellectual entertainment. The opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, – <i>The Clemency of Titus</i>, – lately revived at the King’s Theatre, is one of those fortunate and rare productions that completely assuage the critic’s sorrows, disarm his resentment, and, by recalling the names of Metastasio and Mozart to his recollection, make him forget the Caravitas and Pucittas of the present day. Metastasio has not however on this occasion been fortunate in selecting his subject, which is of too mild and equable a nature to call forth that variety of musical expression which more violent exertions would excite. There is but one scene which deviates from tameness, but of this one Mozart has taken glorious advantage. <i>Vitellia</i>, agitated by jealousy and availing herself of <i>Sextus</i>’s love for her, prevails upon him to join a conspiracy for the murder of his friend <i>Titus</i>. It is here the genius of Mozart is powerfully called into exertion, and springs forth into the sublimest flights of imagination. His music like the mind of <i>Sextus</i> is all agitation, alternately melting into tenderness, and bursting with distraction; at length the Capitol is seen in flames, – the signal for tumult to commence, and <i>Sextus</i> finding it too late to retract, rushes desperately forth to perpetuate the murder. The shrieks of the populace, and the scene of terror and confusion that ensued, are described by the composer with a grandeur of conception, and a thrilling effect, that is beyond all praise. The rest of the opera is made up in a great measure of protestations of love and friendship, and benevolent soliloquies from <i>Titus</i>, but these passages are aided by such soul dissolving airs, such ‘linked sweetness long drawn out,’ that it is doubtful whether Mozart’s fame may not be as much indebted to them as to the grander effusions of his fancy. Of the performance of this Opera I shall say but little, for I am unwilling that censure and the name of Mozart should appear on the same page. Catalani and Tramezzani did much for the composer, and but little for the poet; both seemed to revel in a continual grin, which, however it may be calculated to display a fine set of teeth to advantage, does not exactly accord with English ideas of distress, and might be judiciously transferred to the clowns in our pantomimes, who would give the world for a similar expansion of jaw. It would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the performance of the orchestra in this Opera, which is perfection itself; the spirit and refined taste of Mr. Weichsel, the leader, infuse themselves into every individual, and the wonderful accompaniments give the principal performers ample scope to display their talents; for the whole orchestra is constantly in motion, no vacancy is to be found, and every interstice is filled up by the delicious touches of Mozart’s fancy, which sport about in every direction, conducting the ear from one beauty to another with inexhaustible variety. [Signed] H[enry] R[obertson].”</p> <p><b>MC (1.3.13)</b> “After repeated and mortifying postponements, we have, at length, the pleasure of announcing the return of Mozart to this Theatre; – he comes, attended by the Graces, to scatter his sweets among us! – to refresh the tired ear, and to relieve us from the wearying repetition of music, which, though often pleasing, and sometimes even good, is very remote from the excellence that is within our reach; excellence which it is equally the duty and interest of the Manager to bring frequently before the public. The music of Mozart charms every cultivated ear, and possesses all the exquisite beauties of the art; it abounds in the most playful, touching,</p>
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			<p>and original melodies, and is replete with harmonies the most ingenious, elaborate, and surprising. It is either gay, mournful, calm, or agitated, accordingly as the passions are to be affected; – now airy and sportive, it stimulates and exhilarates the spirits; and now flowing in a full, rich, stream of modulation, it is solemn and tranquillizing. It can inspire the mind with the tenderest, or agitate it with the most turbulent emotions, and no master of song, except Handel, ever possessed such a power of affecting the passions. The mechanism of Mozart’s compositions is not less the result of genius; the various parts always co-operate, and alternately act as light and shade to each other. He displays the particular power and character of each instrument inimitably; thus producing accompaniments so appropriate and so illustrative of the general subject, and combined in so skilful a manner, that the attention is always kept alive, and a design is recognised throughout, which is pursued through all the varieties of fancy and the labyrinths of science. The Opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> was performed at this Theatre on Saturday night, for the first time this season. The whole is so good, that, to mention all its beauties, we must distinguish nearly all its parts. The overture is very grand and effective; it is full of traits of genius, and is only inferior to the overture to the <i>Zauberflöte</i>. The delicious duet <i>Ah Perdona</i>, and the duettino <i>Deh prendi</i>, were rapturously encored; they are well known, as is also <i>Ah grazie si rendano</i>, a chorus that is unrivalled for beautiful simplicity; but the Recitative <i>Oh Dei!</i> and the quintetto that follows it, which is the finale to the first act, are not so well known. We wish to excite the attention of all connoisseurs to these sublime productions, in which all the powers of dramatic judgment, and of harmony, are united, and they manifest adequate proofs of the general talent of the composer. The Recitativo was delivered by Tramezzani, and was one of the finest specimens of musical declamation that we ever heard. In fact, his acting in this piece has seldom been surpassed upon any stage. The finale chorus, <i>Tu e’ver [sic] m’assolvi</i>, is more simple than the former, but is full of beauty. Catalani and Tramezzani supported the piece with all their exertions, and certainly such an union of talent for acting and singing, as each possesses, has never been presented to the public in any other persons. Righi, though his voice is uncertain, appeared to great advantage; his judicious action deserves no common praise. Poetry and good sense so seldom appear upon this stage, that we must welcome the strangers when they do present themselves, and this is our apology for adding a few more lines to this already extended article. The Opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, as a drama, is the most perfect that we have seen represented upon the Italian stage, and is the most generally admired of all Metastasio’s productions. The critics of Italy, who best understood the genuine Opera, and who have strictly examined the works of Metastasio, are of opinion, that a good taste in theatrical representations in music was born and died with him; and it is well observed by a most judicious writer, that Apostolo Zeno seems to have been the Æschylus, and Metastasio the Sophocles and Euripides of the modern melo-drama. Benignity was the principal feature in the character of Metastasio, it pervaded all his actions and appeared in all his writings, for it was deeply rooted in his heart; and the luxuriance with which it flourished was never more apparent than when he portrayed [sic] the character of <i>Titus</i>, and established his right to the title of <i>deliciæ humani generis</i>. Accordingly our interest is excited during the whole of this Opera, independently of the music; and, as a proof of its intrinsic merit, it was universally admired at its first representation at Vienna, 70 years ago, although it was, at that time, encumbered by the dull composition of Caldara. The music was then tolerated for the sake of the Drama, – the Drama is now enhanced in value, and perhaps, recommended by the music! Is not this the highest eulogium that can be pronounced upon Mozart? The house was full in every part, and the Company, which was very elegant, was in very good humour”; continues with a description of a protest in response to the non-appointment of the dancer Angiolini.</p> <p><b>T (8.3.13)</b> “‘<i>Clemenza di Tito</i>’ was the performance on Saturday. It is one of the attributes of good music to please less upon a first hearing, than after repeated opportunities have enabled the ear to judge of its excellence. Mozart’s composition is one of the strongest examples of this circumstance that could be given. Its ponderous and scientific harmonies confuse and distract the sense, until it has become by custom able to separate the finer spirit from the coarse and necessary clothing in which it is invested. There are but few analogies between music and painting. An art, whose defect is the want of power to give permanence to its impressions,</p>
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			<p>can but slightly resemble that other noble effort of genius and dexterity, whose defect lies in the want of means to follow the impressions as they change. But even the permanent and visible picturing of the one, may not be altogether disconnected from the various and incorporeal mutability of the other; and various conception, originality of design, and depth of science, are as plainly the characteristics of Mozart as of Rubens. Their imperfections are almost the same; and we are sometimes forced to wonder at the waste of labour with which those eminent masters overwhelmed their works. If sound strikes the mind as colour, – and probably the connection is as strong in philosophy as in metaphor, – Mozart was the first of colourists. There is no shade of harmony that is not to be found in his works; and the deepest and the most simple follow each other with a distinct rapidity of succession, which sometimes wearies, sometimes dazzles, but always presses upon us a feeling of the extraordinary acquirements of the artist. The magical facility of Rubens, his power of uniting grace with heaviness; and lighting up with hues of matchless beauty countenances and forms that nature had intended for nothing beyond the peasants of his country; the freedom of his outline, the bold and haughty prominence of his higher characters, and the sudden and natural delight with which he obviously returns to the features which nature has made beauty to the Flemish eye, – rounded contours, placid dignity, and colours borrowed from a landscape where all is calm and unbroken, all verdurous richness, broad stretches of light, or wastes of solemn shade – those and more than those find their counterpart in the labours of the great musician of Germany; and it might be no uninteresting speculation for one deeply versed in their works, to estimate how great a composer the world might have lost when Rubens first took the pencil into his hand, and how closely the exuberant invention and high sensibility of the musician’s mind might have followed upon the painter’s giant strides to fame. The ‘<i>Clemenza</i>’ is an admirable production; and defective as its plot is, probably among those on which its author would have been willing to let his reputation rest. It was well performed on Saturday; and its success should be an inducement to the exhibition of others of the same school.”</p> <p><b>MC (4.3.16)</b> “The greater part of the fashionable world at present in town, and of the Connoisseurs, were at the Opera on Saturday night, to witness the return of Braham to this stage, after an absence of many years, and to enjoy the high gratification of hearing the most beautiful compositions performed by the most exquisite tenor singer that our day, or probably any other, has produced. He resumes his station at this Theatre, with his vocal powers in their fullest vigour, with an accumulation of that experience which is one of the best sources of good taste, and with an augmentation of his ability as an actor, that immediately struck the whole audience with surprise. His reception was such as his very decided merit entitled him to; he was greeted by three distinct peals of applause, and his performance throughout seemed to afford a delight to which this house has, for some time past, been almost a stranger. The Opera was <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, the joint production of Metastasio and Mozart, and is the happiest combination of dramatic and musical talent that the Italian stage can boast; but as we had occasion to say much upon this subject when last performed, it may be unnecessary to add any further remarks upon the present occasion. Mad. Fodor took the part of <i>Vitellia</i>, and sustained it with an energy and justness of acting that gained the warmest tokens of approbation. The duets <i>deh prendi un dolce amplesso</i>, and <i>ah perdona</i>, were unanimously encored, for they were sung in a delicious manner, though we by no means approve of the cadence to the latter, which was not only unnecessary but inappropriate. The few notes added to the first duet were chaste and elegant, and well adapted, and produced a charming effect. We have not time to enter further into the merits of this performance; they were manifold, and will attract every lover of music to the Opera. A new performer appeared in the character of <i>Publio</i>, whose voice was, we apprehend, suffocated in his tremendous beard, for it never passed into the House. Why did not Le Vasseur take this part? For want of this third voice two admirable trios were almost lost, and the efforts of Fodor and Braham to support them were nearly useless.”</p> <p><b>T (4.3.16)</b> “On Saturday night, Mr. Braham, who has been constantly announced from the beginning of the season, made his first appearance at this theatre for, we believe, these ten years past, in the admired opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>. When he first came on the stage, he showed some signs of diffidence, owing, perhaps, to his not having met the Opera audience for a long time. Some slight</p>
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		<p>marks of disapprobation were heard, though no particular cause of displeasure was mentioned. These, however, were drowned amid the approbation of his friends and the public, though at that time the house was not much more than half full. It is almost unnecessary to say, that Mr. Braham fully sustained the high character which his transcendent oral talents have acquired for him. We do not know of any acquisition to the Opera company, under the present circumstances, more advantageous, both for the audience and the theatre itself, than that of Mr. Braham. The house was, in the course of the evening, crowded.”</p> <p><b>T (14.7.17)</b> “Mozart’s serious opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> was given at this theatre on Saturday evening, for the first time this season. As a musical composition it undoubtedly stands at the head of pieces of that class; and is remarkable for combining the softness and delicacy of the Italian school, with the profound knowledge of harmony and fulness of accompaniment for which the German musicians are so highly celebrated. Among the movements it contains of the simple cast, and which are employed with Mozart’s usual judgment, to mark the gentle characters of <i>Annio</i> and <i>Servilia</i>, the best are the well-known duet of ‘<i>Ah! perdona</i>,’ and the song of ‘<i>Torna di Tito</i>.’ The pieces assigned to <i>Vitellia</i> are of a bolder stamp: both her songs are noble compositions: the opening duet with <i>Sesto</i> strongly marks her haughty, vindictive character, and the trio of ‘<i>Vengo! aspiciata</i>,’ the tumult and conflict of passion. <i>Sesto</i>’s song of ‘<i>Parto; ma tu ben mio</i>,’ particularly the first movement, is beautiful; but the part which we most admire, and which we conceive to be most strongly impressed with the genius of the composer, is the soliloquy or recitative accompanied of <i>Sesto</i>, where he is deliberating on the treason he is about to commit, and the whole of the finale which follows it. The conspirator, alone, agitated, trembling at every breeze, is summoning his courage to the fatal deed. He is suddenly assailed by the recollection that it is <i>Titus</i>, his benefactor, ‘the delight of mankind,’ whom he is about to destroy. The passage is marked with inimitable tenderness. The resolution of <i>Sesto</i> then fails him, he repents, he determines to disclose the conspiracy – but, turning round, he discovers the Capitol already in flames, and exclaims with an accent of horror, that ‘repentance is too late.’ The scene which ensues, marking the terror of <i>Sesto</i>, the confusion and distress of the other characters, mingled with the cries of the chorus, thrown in at intervals with the most singular and powerful effect, forms one of those master pieces of the art, which probably a Mozart alone could conceive and execute. We have spoken hitherto of the composition only, as it exists on paper, as it passed from the mind of the author: it is the <i>beau ideal</i> of an opera. From the style of some late performances at this theatre, our expectations were highly raised on this occasion; we hoped that this ‘fine idea’ would be realized. We were disappointed. The representation of Saturday evening displayed instances of want of judgment that would have discredited any period of the Italian drama, and which we can neither palliate nor suggest a reason for. The characters, particularly that of <i>Vitellia</i>, were indifferently dressed, and out of costume; and the chorusses, who have to support some of the finest passages in the opera, were weak and inefficient. The story was ill-conducted, and languished perpetually. The absurdity of introducing a song by Paer, in an opera by Mozart, we are inclined, on reflection, to tolerate, because it may be the result of a design to show, by immediate comparison, the superiority of one composer over the other; but what the motive could be for displacing the fine dramatic song of <i>Vitellia</i> in the second act, is wholly unintelligible. Every one who is conversant with Mozart’s operas knows, that his pieces are not only beautiful in themselves, but by position, by contrast with those which precede and follow them, that no one of them can be removed from the situation in which the composer placed it without injury to the general effect. In this instance, the change is as fatal to the dramatic as to the musical effect: the singer is made to deplore an event which has not yet taken place – the condemnation of <i>Sesto</i>. We cannot help feeling that this is not only an instance of bad taste, but of disrespect to an audience with great part of whom the Italian is almost as familiar as their own language. All the characters in this opera, with the exception of <i>Vitellia</i>, were represented by the different performers for the first time in this country. Madame Fodor has not strength enough of manner for <i>Vitellia</i>. Madame Camporese’s <i>Sesto</i> was a rich, feeling, and impassioned performance. Crivelli acted well, but has not sufficient compass for the part of <i>Tito</i>: it was in his part the song by Paer was introduced, which we hope never to hear again, at least in that place. The <i>Servilia</i> and <i>Annio</i> of Madame Pasta and Begrez did</p>
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		<p>not command much attention, but there was nothing to offend; and the fine bass voice of Angrisani as <i>Publio</i>, the prefect of the palace, was always in tune, and always heard with the best effect.”</p> <p><b>MC (14.7.17)</b> “<i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, which stands amongst the dramas of Metastasio, almost without a rival, and is the most beautiful serious Opera of Mozart, was the first work of this matchless composer ever produced upon the Italian Theatre of London [<i>sic</i>]; and to Mrs. Billington is due the merit of having introduced it, who, by her graceful and scientific manner of performing the part of <i>Vitellia</i>, aided by Braham, as <i>Sextus</i>, stamped a character upon the Opera which it has never lost. Not long since it was restored to this stage by Madam Catalani [<i>sic</i>], whose fine acting and wonderful vocal powers, combined with the extraordinary histrionic talents of Tramezzani, presented it in a new light, and gave to it a more perfect dramatic form than it had before received. Last year it was again performed, but absolutely with only two efficient characters, namely, those of Madam Fodor and Mr. Braham; consequently its effect was necessarily much deteriorated. On Saturday this Opera was revived, and chiefly, we understand, for the purpose of affording Signor Crivelli an opportunity of shewing himself, before the season is closed, in the character which he considers as his best. <i>Titus</i>, the part represented by him, has hitherto been consigned to second-rate performers, and the dignity of the piece, as well as the general effect, have suffered thereby; for, in fact, upon the acting in this character much of the dramatic success depends. <i>Sextus</i> is certainly the principal personage, and Madame Catalani also manifested how much power the part of <i>Vitellia</i> is susceptible of receiving, but the want of an able <i>Titus</i> has always been strongly felt, and unequivocally admitted. Signor Crivelli certainly never has appeared in this country to so much advantage as in this Opera. The Imperial purple should, on the stage, be allowed to flow only over a majestic figure; and <i>Titus</i>, being also a cool, sedate character, is exactly calculated to exhibit the manly person of Crivelli, and his tranquil, but dignified manner. His <i>entr�e</i> was so noble, his features portrayed so much of that benignity which gave to the Roman Emperor the title of <i>deliciae humani generis</i>, that he was received with the loudest plaudits, and he did not fail, to the end of the opera, to act the character with the utmost propriety and judgment. To Mad. Camporese was allotted the arduous task of performing the part of <i>Sextus</i>. The merit of this lady, as a musician and actress, are now beginning to be well understood, and it never was more conspicuous than upon the present occasion. She appeared, of course, in male attire, and the classical correctness of her dress, which exhibited most advantageously her elegance of figure, excited the admiration of the spectators the moment she appeared on the stage. But her energetic, though graceful, action, – the admirable expression which she threw into her intelligent countenance, – and the pathos which she infused into the whole character, produced an effect which we have never witnessed since the best days of Grassini. The mode in which she sung the charming Airs, <i>Parto, ma tu ben mio</i>, and <i>deh! per questo</i>, was delicious; but the last scene of the first act, wherein, in a magnificent accompanied recitative, so many contending passions are displayed, was excellent, whether considered as a musical, or as a dramatic performance. The singing of this lady is of the best Italian school, grand, but simple; she gives to the words their true meaning, and renders vocal music that which it ever should be, a superior kind of declamation. Her voice, which in fullness [<i>sic</i>] and purity resembles that which Banti possessed, proceeds uninterruptedly from its source, without any of those modifications, which destroy that volume of tone which is so essentially necessary in the formation of a great singer. Mad. Fodor is already well known in this Opera; her opening duet with Mad. Camporese was deliciously sung by both, and deservedly encored. We were not so well pleased with the air by the former in the middle of the first act, <i>Deh se piacer</i>, which was so overlaid with embellishments, as they are erroneously denominated, that we could scarcely trace the original melody. This is an imitation of the style of Catalani; but her unique voice and unparalleled execution, which delighted many, and astonished all, were accepted as an apology for the transformation of the music. If, however, this decorative style disfigured the air above named, how much more injurious did it prove to the exquisite and universally known duet, <i>Ah perdona!</i> Many changes are made in the performance of this Opera, which are by no means advantageous; one beautiful air is omitted, another of no merit is added. But the alteration which is the most reprehensible is, the placing the last splendid recitative,</p>
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			<p><i>Ecco il punto Vitellia</i>, and the following aria, <i>Non piu di fiori</i>, in the middle of the second act, instead of being at the end of the Opera. Both dramatic and musical effect require that they should remain where Mozart stationed them; for in their present position, they are not only lost as a musical composition, but they violate common sense, and offer an insult to the understanding of the audience, who surely may be presumed to know enough of the language to enable them to discover so palpably absurd and ludicrous a transposition. From the attention which has been paid to the taste and science of the frequenters of the Opera, in all the former works brought out during the present season; we cannot believe that these abrupt liberties taken with the great author of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> have had the approbation of the director of the music. To his judgment the amateurs have truly ascribed the unprecedented success of the present season, for though we have had, on a former occasion, combined in one Opera the talents of a Billington, a Grassini, Viganoni and Braham, and in another, of a Catalani, Grassini and Tramezzani, – yet in no former season has the <i>ensemble</i> been so perfect, and such attention paid to the true and chaste performance of the master's intentions as in the representation of Mozart's Opera, under the skill of the gentleman to whom Mr. Waters confided the direction of the musical department of the theatre for the present year."</p> <p><b>T (16.7.17)</b> "We have received a very polite letter from Madame Fodor, in which, however, she reproaches us with all the warmth consistent with politeness, for having, as she is pleased to term it, accused her of insulting the public, by transferring a song in the character of <i>Vitellia</i> from the part of the opera to which it belongs, to another part where it is absolute nonsense. Madame Fodor has completely justified <i>herself</i>, for she makes it evident that the transposition is the necessary consequence of the mutilated state in which the opera of <i>Clemenza di Tito</i> always appears on the English Italian stage, being reduced from three acts to two. We are very happy to make this avowal in defence of a lady whom we never see without feelings of pleasure at her unaffected and lady-like demeanour, and of respect for her eminent talents and extensive knowledge of her art."</p> <p><b>T (17.7.17)</b> "The Opera of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> was repeated on Tuesday evening. Our last critique, though we believe it to have been perfectly in unison with the general feeling of those who knew the composition, was perhaps a little too much in the tone of disappointed expectation. We are very glad, therefore, to have an opportunity of resuming the subject – of dwelling on the brighter side of the portrait. It would be difficult, indeed, to divest such a work of all attraction. The effects of the orchestra alone, conducted by so able a leader as Weichsell [<i>sic</i>], are equal to a first-rate concert; and that the audience felt this, as well as ourselves, there needs no better proof than that the overture on both the evenings of representation has been encored. The same success attended the opening duet, '<i>Come ti piace, imponi</i>,' and that, better known, but not superior in composition, of '<i>Ah! perdona</i>;' and we must be allowed to say, without the smallest deduction from the merit of the two admirable singers who performed them, that the applause was shared with the composer and the orchestra. We have already spoken somewhat largely of the celebrated recitative of <i>Sesto</i>: the design of the composer was admirably seconded by Madame Camporese. One passage we would more particularly record, the finest of the whole; and one which, in point of situation and effect, we have seldom seen exceeded. The recollection of the sublime character of <i>Titus</i>, his friendship, and the benefits he has received from him, have already diverted the conspirator from his dark design; but all is too late, the signal for tumult is given, the Capitol is in flames. <i>Sesto</i>, however, thinks not of his own danger; he thinks only of his benefactor, the man he had a moment before been stimulated, by love for <i>Vitellia</i>, to destroy; and his first act is to offer a prayer for his safety. Madame Camporese here exerted her whole powers – having uttered that cry of horror which so finely indicates the extinction of hope, she rushes to the front of the stage, and, kneeling, implores Heaven to preserve the 'glory of the Roman Empire.' The action and singing were both in the finest style. Another very striking piece is the trio in the second act, '<i>Quello e di Tito il volto</i>.' It is always necessary to understand perfectly the situation. <i>Sesto</i>, already condemned by the Senate, pale, dejected, and unable to look his sovereign in the face, is led in by the lictors, to receive from <i>Tito</i> the confirmation of his sentence. He declares that death itself would be less cruel than his anguish. <i>Tito</i>, not yet determined to pardon him, is desiring him to</p>
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The art has nothing superior to the recitative, ‘<i>Ecco il punto, O Vitellia,</i>’ and the song which follows it. It is the climax of feeling in the breast of the ambitious Princess. The completion of her hopes, the end of all her designs, is in her power; she is solicited to share the throne of <i>Titus</i>: but <i>Sesto</i>, whom she had formerly loved, who became out of love to her a traitor to his monarch and his friend, is about to be put to death, still preserving his fidelity to her, and keeping secret, at the price of his life, the share she had in the conspiracy. After a long struggle, she determines, at the expense of empire, fame, reputation, to save him – to reveal her own guilt to <i>Titus</i>. It must be obvious to every one who will examine the text, even in its present mutilated state, that this situation must follow two events – her election to empire, and the condemnation of <i>Sesto</i>; and be followed immediately by another event – her confession to <i>Titus</i>. We readily acquit Madame Fodor of displacing this fine song; for, indeed, it never occurred to us that she had any share in it; but the fault – for we still persist in thinking it one – must lie somewhere. We believe, on investigation, that the opera was compressed into two acts at the time Mozart composed it; we have examined several foreign copies of the music, none of which contain any more, and all agree in placing this song in the situation we have described. If the dramatic effect is conceded, there is still the musical effect to be considered, and on that head we know of no appeal from the authority of Mozart. We have pointed out what appear to us the most striking beauties of this extraordinary production; but in proportion as the whole is good, the task of selection is difficult, and often becomes the result of individual taste, rather than an abstract perception of beauty. There is not a single movement that does not possess great merit; and if ever music is d[ee]med to boast a <i>classic</i> author, a name to be shaken by no future effort, that author is Mozart.”</p> <p><b>T (19.7.17)</b> “The merits of the question relating to the song which has been displaced in this opera, seem, on due inquiry, to be these: – that, on the one hand, the poet and the musician, ‘<i>par nobile fratrum,</i>’ have concurred in placing it in a particular situation, equally essential to the action and the composition; and that in this situation, Mrs. Billington, Madame Catalani, and, till the present season, Madame Fodor herself, have been content to give it: on the other hand it is alleged, that so many liberties have been already taken with the opera, that to add another (which is greater, by the bye, than all the rest put together) is too unimportant to deserve notice; that in reality the poet and the musician have committed an error on the occasion, and have placed it injudiciously; and, finally, that the alteration has become farther necessary, by the compression of the piece from three acts to two. The last reason, as matter of fact, proves to be incorrect, as the present piece never contained more than two acts; the others may be left to their fate. We trust the director of the music, who is alone responsible for the change, will put an end to this question; that he will show his taste and good sense by restoring the song to its proper place; and evince to the public that there exists in his department that which can alone give success to his efforts – complete subordination.”</p> <p><b>E (27.7.17)</b> “We are great admirers of Mozart, and have great zeal for the success of the Opera, as of every thing else connected with the genial intellect of the South; and therefore it is with great unwillingness that we are obliged to own how much we have been disappointed at the performance here of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>. In the first place, we do not much admire the piece itself as a drama, nor, to confess the truth, with all our love of Italian Literature, are we admirers of the author, Metastasio. He is, it is true, at the head of Opera writers hitherto; that is to say, all other Opera writers hitherto have been very poor ones; but he is no more to be instanced as a specimen of Italian genius, as many have instanced him, than Addison’s <i>Cato</i> or Smith’s <i>Phædra and Hippolytus</i> are to be</p>
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			<p>brought forward as specimens of English. Tasso would have scorned his pretensions, and Ariosto laughed at them. Poor Dr. Burney was taken in, as the phrase is, by his smirking manners, his cheap sentimental common-places, and above all, by the additional reputation he gave to operas and opera music, – which is unquestionable. But this was an easy task for a man who had any poetry in him at all; and from the Doctor’s own elaborate and eulogistic account of him, as well as from his dramas and letters themselves, he seems to us to have been a very middling poet, and a cold, servile, over-prudential man. [sketches out Metastasio’s career as a courtier at Vienna ...] Here, as he wrote patriotism at Rome to please the countrymen of Cato, he wrote despotism to please the successors of the Cæsars. [discusses Metastasio’s religion ...] Here is true Laureat religion: – the getting on at one court, as people get on at another; – the old degrading notion of the Deity as a dispenser of favours upon application, and a threatener of interminable horrors. Now true virtue and religion we conceive to be as different from all this, as equity and humanity are. [more on Metastasio’s ‘habits’ ...] But to the piece before us and his talents. <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> is one of the least objectionable of Metastasio’s productions, and together with <i>Artaserse</i> (with which the English public may be reckoned acquainted through the medium of Arne’s music) forms part of the fine dramas, selected by the editor of the <i>Parnaso Italiano</i> as the best and most popular of his works. With allowance for the inferiority of the translation, the public may have a pretty correct notion of the amount of the poet’s talent, even from the opera of <i>Artaxerxes</i>. His characteristics are some elegance, some interest, some knowledge of the more obvious passions, quick transition of scene, and what is best of all, a certain taste for nature and simplicity singularly spread over a great deal of common-place. We cannot compare him better, generally speaking, than with the upper class of mediocrity in sculpture. There is the same feeble elegance, the same small air of classical propriety, the same sort of decency, suavity, and cold material. And yet his southern temperament comes over him occasionally in strong and natural passion; and this, together with his taste for a natural simplicity, which was new in those times and gave him an immediate reputation, would have made him a great writer, had not all his qualities been rather negative than positive. His passion was soon checked by his want of enthusiasm; and his simplicity was rather a knowledge of the defects on the other side, than a feeling for the beautiful and elemental. He had no poetry whatsoever, particularly so called; that is to say, he saw nothing in nature beyond common eyesight. Nothing can be flatter and less fanciful than his pieces with the most poetical titles, such as <i>Galatea</i>, <i>Endymion</i>, <i>Angelica</i>, <i>the Feast of the Gods</i>, and <i>the Gardens of the Hesperides</i>. They are dull complimentary court dialogues; and will make the readers of Theocritus, Fletcher, or Spenser, as tired as walking by a brick wall in summer time. Now this sort of poet is as ill calculated as possible for a musician like Mozart, who was a much greater and more inspired person, – albeit, as still greater lovers of poetry than music, we say it with a grudge. But Metastasio was a pretty musician in poetry; and Mozart was a fine poet in music. The particular difference of their natures was unfortunate for a conjunction. Metastasio’s talent was negation, Mozart’s enjoyment. The former’s very placidity seems rather an absence of the boisterous, than a presence of the serene; whereas Mozart’s tendency was to feel all that he said, to be conscious of every idea in the shape and touch of a positive pleasure. He is therefore always at his best in direct enjoyment, – in love, in pastoral pleasure, in joyous anticipation, in deep and actual delight. This was his faculty, his peculiar self; and what he did happily out of the pale of it, was upon the strength of the contrast; but he could not feel mediocrity, which is the Leaden Mean; and the stone-coloured classicalities of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> must have put him out, almost as much as the dreary decencies of an English tea-party did Madame de Stael, or as a quaker would have neutralized Titian. The consequence is, in our opinion, that <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> is greatly inferior as a musical composition to <i>Figaro</i>, or <i>Don Giovanni</i>, or even to <i>Così fan Tutte</i>, – which, by the way, we shall be heartily glad to see forthcoming. The lovers of music, small as well as great, have instinctively selected one or two of the airs in it, and harped upon them in forgetfulness of all the rest, particularly the two duets of <i>Deh prendi</i> and <i>Ah perdona</i>; and these duets, be it observed, are both amatory, and as intense in their way as any thing in the pieces just mentioned. At the same time, it is not to be concealed that the piece, upon the whole, is not well performed. The daily papers have said so, and we agree with them. The thin benches, and the</p>
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			<p>chattering non-attention in which the coxcombs among the audience think themselves warranted in indulging, are additional proofs of it. Madame Fodor has had a dispute with the <i>Morning Chronicle</i> upon her share in the spoliation; and we must say, we think her in the wrong. Madame Fodor took it upon herself to transpose an air, though the Managers and her fellow-performers, she says, approved the alteration. But it will be best to give the Lady's own account of the matter. 'The Opera,' she says, 'consisted of three Acts; as played, it consists of two; three-fourths of the <i>morceaux</i> are no longer sung by the personages for whom they were intended, – thus <i>Vitellia</i> sings what was composed for <i>Servilia</i>, and <i>Sextus</i> what belonged to <i>Amico</i>. In the midst of this disarrangement (which is not my work) I thought I remarked an absurdity which it depended upon me to correct; it is this; – in an air, the words of which are not by Metastasio, and which was placed at the end of the Opera, <i>Vitellia</i> expresses her fears, her terror, respecting the fate of her lover <i>Sextus</i>, who had been induced by her to conspire against <i>Titus</i>; she fancies she already sees her lover led to execution, and she adopts the courageous resolution of going to reveal to the Emperor that she alone is the author of the conspiracy, and that she alone deserves death. These sentiments are noble and beautiful, but they can only interest the spectator in the moment of danger, that is to say, in the middle of the second Act, when the Emperor, informed of the crime of <i>Sextus</i>, is on the point of overwhelming him with the weight of his vengeance; whilst, on the contrary, at the end of the Opera, when the clemency of <i>Titus</i> is known, and when he has granted the pardon of <i>Sextus</i>, fearing the decree of death, and pronouncing the words <i>Viva l'Amico</i>, it becomes useless for <i>Vitellia</i> to weep over a danger which no longer exists, and to determine to die when the Emperor has willed that all should live.' Now this decision, with all due deference to Madame Fodor, is not decisive. The <i>Chronicle</i> says in reply, 'Madame F. in the above letter carefully alludes to the <i>air</i> only; whereas it is the <i>preparatory recitative</i> which contains nearly all the sense of the scene; – it is that in which the agitation of various passions is exhibited. If the air alone had been transposed, then the dramatic effect would have been less injured, though the musical effect would still have suffered. It is true that the poetry of this <i>air</i> was not written by Metastasio, but the more important words of the recitative came from his pen, and were placed at the end of the Opera by him; and surely the poet, and such a poet as Metastasio, may be allowed to know which is the proper situation wherein to station the passage upon which rests the <i>denouement</i> of the drama! But if Metastasio has proved himself ignorant of his business, he has also Mozart coupled with him in the blunder, for this great composer and able judge of effect, did not venture to change the position of the scene. Madame F. states, and truly, that the drama has been compressed into two acts, whereas the original is in three. This compression was made by Daponte [<i>sic</i>], at the instance of Mozart himself, and is not attributable to any one connected with our Italian stage. But to condense a dramatic poem is not to change its general structure; the first design, the characters, the interest remain the same, and the position of all that is not omitted ought necessarily to continue unaltered.' – It may be added, that <i>Vitellia</i>'s resolution to save her lover does not come in so well where Madame Fodor has put it, because in that place it does not agree so well with her character, and because it is pleasanter for the spectator to feel that she has nothing to do, even in anticipation, with influencing the clemency of the Emperor. She is a violent woman, acted upon by extremes; and besides being more in character, it is a greater relief to us, and helps to give her a gracefulness which she is deficient in, to see her repenting of her vehemence and ambition, and setting about doing good, when there is no real need of the change to her lover. The whole effect of it goes where it is wanted. But this is not the only error of Madame Fodor in the opera. She is certainly liable also to the other charge brought against her by the <i>Chronicle</i> of over-loading Mozart with ornament, – of cloathing his exquisite and genial figures with a fitter of drapery. We quarrelled with her on the same account in her performance of Paesiello's <i>Molinara</i>; and we were sorry to find that subsequently to public animadversions, of which she was evidently aware, she repeated the fault. Is this obstinacy, or want of taste, or love of vulgar applause, which is also a want of taste? That it cannot be the second, we are persuaded; and therefore we are loth to think it can be the first, because Madame Fodor could afford to dispense with it. We are afraid it is the love of indiscriminate applause; and if so, Madame Fodor is not aware perhaps, that such a passion will always prevent her from claiming a place in the very first rank of singers; for it is their part to form</p>
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			<p>good tastes, not to truckle to bad ones. – We must add, that Madame Fodor dresses herself very ill in this part, making the stoutness of her person too conspicuous, and pulling her hair close and tight at the back of her head like a drummer-boy’s without it’s [<i>sic</i>] queue, till she seems all face. This is very inelegant. If our excellent singer studies Roman costume, as much as she lays claim to a knowledge of Mozart and Metastasio, she may find that it is possible to know all three a little better than to select the worst kind of head-dress, to load simplicity with ornament, and to put the end of a drama in the middle. It might be as well also, while she was about her improvements, if she sang through her lips instead of her teeth, and did not bend her arms and wrists as if she were trundling a mop. Madame Camporese made a very good <i>Sesto</i>, considering the inevitable awkwardness of a female’s acting a male. Her singing is very clear and correct, though not mellow enough to satisfy ourselves; but she joined Madame Fodor in her fire-work metamorphosis of <i>Ah Perdona</i>; and we could wish that she would not think it necessary to the dignity of a Roman lover to look so very grave, not to say out of temper, especially towards his mistress. Madame Pasta would do well also to pay a little more attention to her lover, and to look a little <i>more</i> grave at the audience. When she sang <i>Deh prendi</i> with Begrez (which, by the bye, in spite of the powers of the two former ladies in <i>Ah Perdona</i>, pleased us more than any thing in the piece), she threw away all her love upon the spectators, and suffered her hand to be pressed to no purpose by her innamorato, who seemed in vain to try and recall her wandering affections. The duet was very well sung however, some little excrescences excepted; and by Begrez, very well and earnestly acted.” Concludes with some points about the ballet.</p> <p><b>TI (July 1817)</b> “<i>Saturday July 19.</i> – The Italian Opera, though but ‘a feather in the cap of youth,’ has derived a solidity from admiration, to which its intrinsic value could urge no public claim, and its prescriptive success can stimulate no serious eulogium. It is a pleasant nosegay in the hands of lassitude, with which the relaxed energies of intellect may be permitted to refreshen the hours of occupation, but to contrast its exotic allurements with our national attraction, and sit with the same face, as Dr. Brown long since observed, at Lear, the opera, and a pantomime, is an excess of indulgence, at which our philosophy, we candidly avow, will never enable us to connive. This theory, however, has been severely shaken by the brilliant exertions of Fodor and Camporese, who seem determined to ‘witch the world’ with their vocal supremacies, and induce us to hazard an assertion that nothing could be more delightful than the amusement we were preparing to record. Ridiculous as it essentially is to witness the dignitaries of classical history, chaunting their love, hatred, or revenge, to flutes, fiddles, and French-horns, dying to triple time, with ‘swan-like end,’ and ‘fading in music,’ yet there is a floating charm about all this, which identifies it, to a congenial imagination, with [‘]no mortal business, nor sound / That the earth owes.[’] We see ‘our partners rapt’ by the persuasive illusion, and gladly ‘shuffle off’ our reluctance, in a sort of Tarpeian leap from the rock of impartiality, till we mix with unalloyed transport in the feelings that surround us, and melt, like the stubborn pearl of Cleopatra, to the consistence in which we have immersed. [‘]And what is music then? Then music is / Even as the flourish when true subjects bow / To a new-crowned monarch. Such it is, / As are those dulcet sounds, in break of day, / That creep into the dreaming bridegroom’s ear, / And summon him to marriage.[’] Madame Camporese sustained the part of <i>Sesto</i>, and richly merited the reception her endeavours procured. The opening <i>duetto</i> with <i>Vitellia</i> was rapturously encored, and ‘<i>Ah perdona al primo affetto</i>,’ excited the same cordial emotion. We were positively astonished by the tasteful variety of action that Madame Camporese exhibited. It left competition at an immeasurable distance, and from the Theatrical inexperience under which, according to report, her efforts have hitherto laboured, their advance upon the path of propriety must excite surprise while it commands admiration. The Opera is, indeed, but a desert track for the march of ability, and our congratulations must be redoubled upon the present occasion, for the speed with which its impediments have been surmounted. Since the departure of Catalani, whose retirement has thrown us, at intervals, ‘into a towering passion,’ we have encountered no genuine remedy for her loss beyond the talents of Madame Fodor. We profess our sentiments of Catalani in the aggregate, and fathom her value by the general impression it caused. As a singer of taste and science her attributes were contemptible, but in bursts of impassioned grandeur, and vocal</p>
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			<p>magnificence, she was heavenly, matchless, and irresistible. Her powers rolled down upon criticism in a flood of wonder, and choaked [<i>sic</i>] the utterance that struggled to pronounce them a prey to impurities, and replete with bitterness. The voice of Fodor ‘comes forth like Echo from her cell;’ in the best requisites of her art she is faultlessly proficient, and the musician must appreciate her efforts with delight, from a conviction that every charm is united in the object before him. But praise can go no farther. To the multitude, a bulky figure and bad action will render this accomplished woman unpopular and ineffective, when the momentary influence of her talents has expired, and our English eyes have found leisure to lament the personal graces in which she is deficient. One point of this objection may be remedied. It is not necessary upon any stage to throw back the arms with a frightful jerk, and turn out the hand for an exposure of its delicate formation. In this painful habit Fodor indulges with singular freedom, and we shall feel individually favoured by a limit being put to so inelegant a custom. Crivelli has disappointed us, and we are compelled to bestow an appellation upon the Parisian journalists which decorum at present induces us to suppress. <i>Aviendo pregonado vino</i>, as the Spaniards say, <i>venden vinagre</i>. These French fellows, in their avidity to depreciate Mr. Braham, have committed an irreparable error, and will authorize us for the future, without ceremony or reluctance, to reverse their decisions. The <i>Tito</i> of Signor Crivelli was a decent specimen of mediocrity, and rose, perhaps, in his deliberations upon the sentence of <i>Sesto</i>, to a few degrees above its general texture. We confess ourselves delighted with this ebullition from the muse of Mozart, voluptuous and luxuriating as the appetite for such ambrosial fare may be considered. ‘It is but foolery,’ to quote again from <i>Hamlet</i>, we own; ‘but such a kind of gaingiving as would perhaps trouble a woman.’” (pp. 65-7).</p>
Mozart	<p>29 March 1806</p> <p>“a new Musical Piece, by Mozart, called, the Enchanted Flute”</p>		<p><b>Advertised</b> <i>T</i> (29.3.06)</p> <p>Performed at the German Theatre, Leicester Place, Leicester Square, by a troupe of child actors, under the direction of Frederick Schirmer. See <i>T</i> (13.1.06). “We are sorry to learn, that sufficient encouragement has not been given to the Children at the German Theatre, to induce them to continue another season in this country” – Schirmer and his company returned to Germany after the season closed on 14.6.06, see <i>T</i> (7.6.06).</p>
Portugal	<p>13 December 1806 King’s Theatre</p> <p>17 performances (1806-7) (and 1 of 1 act only)</p> <p>12 performances (1808)</p> <p>3 performances (1811)</p> <p>2 performances (1812)</p>	<p><b><i>La morte di Semiramide</i></b> (os, G. Caravita), Lisbon, 1801</p>	<p><b>Musical source</b></p> <p>– <i>Se altro che Lagrime. A Favorite Air as sung by Sig<sup>ra</sup> Griglietti in the Serious Opera of Semiramide. Composed by Mich.<sup>l</sup> Kelly. Printed &amp; Sold at M. Kelly’s Opera Saloon 9 Pall Mall. GB-Lbl H.1652.t.(5.)</i></p> <p>– <i>Oh Dio che colpo orribile Duett, Sung by Sig.<sup>r</sup> Righi &amp; Madame Catalani In the Opera of Semiramide, The Poetry by Sig.<sup>r</sup> Pananti, Composed by Federici. Printed &amp; Sold at M.<sup>r</sup> Kelly’s Opera Saloon 9 Pall Mall. GB-Lbl G.811.e.(15.)</i> (possibly relating to later revival)</p> <p>– <i>Lasciami per pieta – Recit.<sup>o</sup> And La Pena ch’io sento – Cavatina, as Arranged &amp; Sung by Madame Catalani, In the Opera of Semiramide, Composed expressly for her by Marcus Portogallo. Printed &amp; Sold at M.<sup>r</sup> Kelly’s Opera Saloon 9 Pall Mall. GB-Lbl G.805.g. (37).</i></p> <p><b>Libretto sources</b> (printed) GB-Lbl 907.k.8.(11.) (1807) and 907.k.10.(8.) (1812)</p> <p><b>Reviews</b></p> <p><b><i>T</i> (15.12.06)</b> “The Entertainments for the season commenced at this Theatre on Saturday night, with the serious Opera of <i>Semiramide</i>; the principal character in which was supported by Madame Catalani. The vast professional fame which this celebrated singer has obtained on the Continent, attracted one of the fullest houses that has ever been known at the commencement of a season.</p>

	4 performances (1813) (and 1 of 1 act only)		<p>The Pit was completely filled within twenty minutes after the doors were opened, and before the curtain rose the crowd was so great, that it was not possible to obtain admission into any part of it. Such of the <i>Amateurs</i> as were disappointed of places in this part of the House, immediately betook themselves to the Gallery, in consequence of which it was crowded to the top. When the Performance commenced, the anxiety to hear Madame Catalani was so great, that the Audience, in the eagerness of their expectation, mistook Signora Grigietti for her, and received that promising singer with such thunders of applause as quite embarrassed her. They soon became sensible of their mistake, and some merriment, as might have been expected, succeeded. At length the magnet which had drawn to one little spot almost all those who were most distinguished for taste and genius appeared, when Madame Catalani was honoured with that fervent and cordial reception which must have impressed her with a high opinion of the characteristic kindness of a British audience. It was apparent that she was extremely affected and agitated by the applause. Our limits will not allow us to examine at length into the particular qualities of those talents which have raised her to that pre-eminence which she is supposed to possess over all her contemporaries; but in point of voice, feeling, and deportment, she has never been exceeded by any of the Italian school whom we have seen. We may even say, without in the least derogating from the merits of those who have preceded her, she has never been equalled. The volume and compass of her voice are astonishing. We cannot, upon a first hearing, measure with precision its extent upon the gamut, but we believe it comprehends more notes than have ever been included in the compass of any female voice. The tone of it is rich, mellow, and substantial. There is no labour in her singing; she filled the whole of this immense theatre with as much apparent ease as if she had been practising in her drawing-room. For neatness and rapidity of execution, she is almost equal to Billington, while in her voice, feeling, and deportment, we discover the combined excellencies of a Banti, a Mara, and a Grassini. The power and effect with which she sustained some notes towards the top of her voice, were really astonishing. They struck and hung upon the ear like the silvery tones which are sometimes drawn from that exquisite instrument, the musical glasses. Her merits as an actress, too, are of the first order. The character fortunately afforded her some fine opportunities for attitude and expression. In her interview with the Ghost of <i>Ninus</i>, and her manner of following it, she reached all the dignity and passion of the Tragic Muse. Her exclamations, when the tomb opens, will not easily be forgotten. We cannot better describe it, than by comparing it to that impassioned shriek of Mrs. Siddons in <i>Isabella</i>; of which it had all the effect, without the discord. Madame Catalani, in stature, is of the middle order. Her countenance is extremely expressive, bearing some resemblance, particularly in the upper part, to that of Mrs Siddons. With a piercing and intelligent eye, she possesses a smile truly fascinating. Should she ever condescend to drop occasionally from the higher rank of her profession, we are persuaded she would distinguish herself greatly as a comic performer. She treads the stage with a commanding dignity, equal to Grassini. Her age, we should suppose, to be about twenty-five. Where the whole of the performance exceeded any thing which has been before heard in this country, we feel some difficulty in selecting particular excellencies. The Bravura at the end of the first act, however, deserves particular notice. For strength and variety of expression, for fire and feeling, and a degree of effect in some sort <i>electrical</i>, we have never heard it equalled. Throughout this pre-eminent passage, as well as of her whole performance, she was heard with the deepest attention. Once indeed, while she was on the stage, there was some chattering in one of the boxes, which appeared to embarrass her a little; but it was immediately silenced by the imperative interference of the whole pit. When the curtain fell, the applause was continued much longer than we have known it on any former occasion. [Comments on the ballet.] The boxes afforded as great a shew of fashion as if it were the midst of the season. All the Princes, except the Heir Apparent, were present, as was also the Duchess of York.”</p> <p><b>MP (15.12.06)</b> “On Saturday evening this superb house opened with the new serious Opera of <i>La Semiramide</i>, which introduced to an English audience, for the first time, Madame Catalani, who has been for several years a favourite performer in all the principal Theatres of the Continent. Her person is finely formed, and calculated to display all the graces of dress, with the best possible effect. Her features are extremely expressive, yet softened with all the delicate loveliness of female beauty. Her action is most pleasingly</p>
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			<p>graceful, and evinces a perfect knowledge of the antique figure, which she seems to have copied with the happiest effect. With respect to her vocal abilities, there never was perhaps a singer of any age or country who possessed such powers of voice, and execution, as this Lady. She appears a perfect mistress of music, and when aided by great physical ability, and that playfulness of voice which accompanies her singing, she charms their senses into ecstasy. Among the most astonishing of her vocal efforts, we must notice her <i>Bravura</i> at the end of the first Act, which exceeds all possibility of description, as to scientific execution, and sweetness of expression. In the third scene of the second Act, with <i>Arsace</i>, she electrified the house with her great powers; and her air in the seventh scene of the second act was given with such surprising effect, that the Theatre resounded with the applause that was bestowed on this accomplished Singer. The Opera has been got up under the direction of Mr. Kelly, with great judgement and taste; and <i>Rovedino</i>, <i>Signora Griglietti</i>, and the other personages of the Opera, personated their respective characters extremely well.”</p> <p><b>MH (15.12.06)</b> “The King’s Theatre opened on Saturday with a grand Serious Opera, entitled <i>La Semiramide</i>, composed by Portogallo, and written expressly for the vocal heroine of the night – Madame Catalani. This Lady, who has already excited the admiration of Madrid, Lisbon, Naples, and Paris, and whose arrival in this country was preceded by a celebrity which great talents only could have created, appeared on that night for the first time before a British audience. The great expectation which her fame had raised was not disappointed; and a more enthusiastic reception was perhaps never experienced by any performer; but all the tributes of applause which were bestowed upon her, we may safely assert, were fully justified by the wonderful powers she displayed. The compass of her voice exceeds any ever heard in this country, and she possesses uncommon science with great brilliancy of execution. She is of the middle size, elegantly formed, and Nature has bestowed on her a countenance full of expression. In addition to all these advantages, she possesses dramatic talents of a very superior kind. She was enthusiastically encored in a charming air at the conclusion of the first act, which she gave with such consummate skill and effect, that no doubt remains but she will prove the grand magnet of attraction during the present season. The music of the Opera, which she brought over with her, is sublime, tasteful, and scientific; and the choruses are impressively grand. The band was led in a masterly style by Weischell [<i>sic</i>]. The <i>vox humane</i> [<i>sic</i>], however, though played upon skilfully by the brother of Catalani, was an instrument which added no brilliancy to the passages it accompanied. [Observations on the ballet.] The interior of the house has not undergone any material alteration since last year. It was one of the fullest ever seen at the opening of a season.” Long list of notable attendees.</p> <p><b>S (15.12.06)</b> “The entertainments at this Theatre commenced on Saturday last with the serious Opera of <i>Semiramide</i>; but the great attraction of the night was Madame Catalani, whose fame is so high on the Continent, that it naturally excited a very eager curiosity among the higher orders in this country. The Theatre was nearly filled soon after the doors were opened, and an impatient anxiety prevailed over the whole of the audience to see and hear the new musical wonder. When Griglietti first appeared, the audience, conceiving that she was Catalani, burst forth in a general plaudit, which somewhat confused that agreeable performer. At length Catalani rushed forward, with the emotion which her character required, but the zealous acclamations which arose in all quarters put an end at once to her theatrical exertions. – She received this liberal and hearty reception with every appearance of modest gratitude and timid delicacy; and it should be observed, that the applause bestowed on her during the whole of her performance was received by her with the same indications of unaffected diffidence and sensibility. – Her vocal powers are of the very first order. – Her voice is remarkably extensive. – Her highest tones are distinct and pleasing, and her lowest strong and musical. – She executes the most difficult <i>chromatic</i> passages with perfect ease and facility, and her voice is uniformly clear, strong, and sweet. Her style of singing resembles that of Mrs. Billington more than any other Performer that we recollect; but she is a very interesting Actress, as well as a very great Singer. She never lost sight of her character in the midst of all her vocal exertions, except to testify her acknowledgements for the applause that was so abundantly conferred on her. There was an earnestness and a simplicity in her manner that strongly</p>
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			<p>interested the general feelings. Her stature is of the middle size, and her person altogether rather pleasing than commanding. Her action was elegant, and wholly unlaboured. In her face, particularly the upper part, she resembles Mrs. Siddons. She has fine eyes, and knows how to make use of them. Her manners in general are more like those which mark the females of this country than the affected grace of a foreigner. Altogether she is a very extraordinary Performer, and amply justifies the high character which preceded her arrival in this country; and she has full reason to be as much satisfied with her reception here as she could possibly be in any other country. The Opera in which she appeared was composed by Portogallo, purposely for the display of her powers. The music is altogether very good. The Duet between Catalani and Righi, in the first act, was encored, on account of the excellence which she displayed in it. It is proper, however, to observe, that Righi is very much improved, and is a very able performer. The scenery was magnificent, but there is no alteration in the Theatre since last season. [Observations on the ballet.] The audience, besides being as numerous as the Theatre would admit, was distinguished by all the beauty and fashion now in the metropolis.”</p> <p><b>MC (15.12.06)</b> long account of institutional history, then “The first night of the new order of things was distinguished by the <i>debut</i> of the Catalani, who certainly of all the Artists we ever heard, is endowed by Nature with an organ of the greatest extent, melliflence, and variety. It is the rare talent of Catalani to unite and appropriate to herself the talents of all other Lyric Performers. One is distinguished for the upper, and another for the lower tones of the voice; one is renowned for the powers of astonishing execution – another endears herself by the superior gift of affecting pathos. One is celebrated by the clearness of articulation, and another by the elegance of deportment. In Catalani we have the wonderful combination of all those graceful qualities, adorned by a form of beautiful expression, and engaging address. In each distinction of quality, the admirers of other Artists, may dispute her palm to the single pre-eminence – but, to the wonderful union of all – to the compass of her voice – to the rapidity, ease, and gracefulness with which she passes through the whole region of sound – to the gift of equally astonishing and pleasing, in every start, from the highest to the lowest note on the scale, there can be no doubt as to the superiority of her claims. She stands unrivalled in sweetness and extent. The first of these is above every thing else the most desirable in the human voice – for mere compass without quality is not better than an instrument without a soul. It is the richness of the quality that makes the impression on the heart; and, when this happens to be the gift of Nature to a person sufficiently cultivated by science to enforce and ornament the tone by taste, the power over the affections is complete. Such a creature attains the summit of the musical art, and, if we may judge from the influence of Madame Catalani on the passions, alternately roused, agitated, softened, and subdued, that praise was rendered to her by the audience of Saturday night. The Opera was <i>Semiramide</i>, as it was composed at Lisbon by Portogallo, expressly for Catalani. It has very good music, and is in parts highly impressive. Its chief character, however, is its adaptation to the powers of this wonderful Artist.”</p> <p><b>MC (17.12.06)</b> “Madame Catalani, of whose extraordinary talents we gave an account in our Paper of Monday, appeared last night to the greatest possible advantage, in the Opera of <i>La Semiramide</i>. She no longer possesses those fears which accompanied her first performance, and having recovered from a severe cold, she presented herself to the Public in the full possession of powers, which diffused delight through every part of the house. Madame Catalani gave her <i>bravura</i> at the end of the first act, in the first style of excellence, and every other part of her performance was equally great.”</p> <p><b>MP (17.12.06)</b> “The vocal phenomenon, Madame Catalani, exerted her abilities last night in the Opera of <i>La Semiramide</i>. However great and astonishing her first performance was of the above character, her second representation of it far exceeds any description that is within the scope of language to justly characterize. All the timidity which accompanied her first appearance before a British public, had subsided, from the unexampled manner with which she was received on the former night, and she now presented herself with additional claims to approbation. Thus unembarrassed, she stood before the town in the full possession of all her energies, and poured forth all the native sweetness of her voice, under the direction of a most scientific ear. Her <i>bravura</i>, at the end of the first act,</p>
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			<p>beginning with the words, <i>Qual pallor, qual terra; e ardire, &amp;c.</i> was sung in such a style of excellence, that produced the most enthusiastic tributes of applause; and her air in the 7<sup>th</sup> scene of the 2d act was an exertion of vocal ability, not easily to be described. For majesty of stage demeanour, power and sweetness of voice, Madame Catalani stands unrivalled. Her dress was most elegant and superb, and does much credit to the taste of Madame Jaymond, by whom, we understand, it was entirely designed. [Observations on the ballet.] The House was filled with a very elegant and fashionable assemblage of persons.”</p> <p><b>MH (17.12.06)</b> “Madame Catalani made her second appearance last night before a crowded and enraptured audience. Those wonderful powers of voice, which excited so much astonishment on Saturday, were displayed on this occasion to still more advantage, and were listened to with increased admiration. On Saturday she seemed to feel some of that timidity, of which it was not to be expected she could be entirely divested on a <i>debût</i>; but last night, when she was more familiarized with her situation, her voice possessed its full tone, and exhibited all its richness and melody. Her execution, energy, and pathos, far exceeded any idea that could have been formed of her powers. Nature and art seem to have combined to produce in her the highest perfection of the vocal art. Her bravura, at the end of the First Act, was enthusiastically applauded and encored. [Observations on the ballet.] There were a number of persons of high rank and distinction among the audience, which was very numerous.”</p> <p><b>S (17.12.06)</b> “The Opera. – The second appearance of Madame Catalani last night, in the Opera of <i>Semiramide</i>, again produced a crowded Audience at the King’s Theatre. The very favourable reception of the former night had dissipated her fears, and her powers were drawn forth with increased effect. She is, as we have said, a very surprising singer, and her performance excites great pleasure as well as astonishment. The Audience in general were emulous in bestowing applause on this great Performer, particularly in her <i>bravura</i> passages at the close of the first act.”</p> <p><b>MH (22.12.06)</b> “The curtain drew up on Saturday to the Serious Opera of <i>La Semiramide</i>, which introduced Madame Catalani to an English audience. In proportion as this Lady becomes acquainted with a British Public, her performance is more easy, and her extensive powers of voices are regulated by a cooler judgment. On the above evening we never saw or heard her to more advantage. She gave the most surprising effects in her bravura in the First Act, and displayed the utmost vocal ability in the other parts of the Opera. Those who thought her more than great, on the first and second nights of her performance, were justified in considering her a phænomenon on Saturday evening. There appear no bounds to her native talents, which have been directed by an excellent musical education. Her powers increase with public encouragement, and will no doubt raise her to the very summit of vocal honours. Righi, Rovedino, and Signora Griglietti personated their respective parts with great <i>éclat</i>. [Comments on the ballet.] The House was crowded with fashion.” Lists notable attendees.</p> <p><b>E (17.1.08)</b> Extract from review of Catalani in Paesiello’s <i>Frascata</i>, referring to her appearances in Portogallo the previous season: “We have hitherto seen her small but elegant figure pressed with a load of regal ornaments, and a constant smile on her face, which neither the sorrows of <i>Cleopatra</i>, nor the misplaced love of <i>Semiramis</i>, could repress. [...] In the light music of <i>La Frascata</i>, Catalani is divested of that profusion of ornament, with which she disguised the music of the operas produced last season, and which rendered it very immaterial to the hearer whether she sung the lofty strains of Cimarosa, or the dry insipidity of Portogallo. [...] Signed] H[enry] R[obinson].”</p> <p><b>E (7.8.08)</b> “On Tuesday last this theatre closed for the season, which has been struggled through with more success than the mean economy of the Manager deserved. The opera of <i>La Semiramide</i> was selected for this occasion, which is calculated more than any other to exhibit the wonderful talents of Madame Catalani as a singer; but in this character, as in all others that are serious, it is to be lamented that she pays so little attention to common sense. Surely <i>Semiramis</i> is sufficiently detestable without Madame Catalani’s adding to her other crimes the most hardened insensibility. She is more like the jester of a court than the queen of it; the discovery of a son in her lover, is to her a very merry incident, and the shade of her murdered husband is treated with less respect than <i>King Arthur</i></p>
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			<p>pays to the flower-faced ghost of <i>Gaffer Thumb</i>. Upon the whole, the present season must have been highly pleasing to the lovers of music, who have had opportunities of enjoying the works of some of the finest Italian composers, although with very little variety. Three operas of Paisiello have been represented, and Cimarosa, Nasolini, and Sarti, have each borne a share in ennobling the entertainment. Fiorillo has also added much to his fame by the music of <i>Le Mariage Secret</i>, which will always be remembered with pleasure. That our delight might not be unmixed, or perhaps for the sake of contrast, the manager has dragged forth several children of dullness into light. The compositions of Fioravanti and Venua have frequently exercised our patience, and by their continual repetition contributed to destroy the pleasure that the noble entertainment of this theatre is otherwise calculated to inspire. [Discussion of ballets ...] Owing to managerial disputes, this has been by far the worst season that I ever remember, but as they must terminate before the theatre can again open, it is to be hoped that it's [<i>sic</i>] former splendour may be again revived; and that the fascinating charms and exquisite singing of Catalani may at some future period be contrasted with the sublime acting of Madame Grassini. [Signed] H[enry] R[obinson]."</p> <p><b>DC (February 1811)</b> review of 5.2.11 – "This evening was revived the serious opera of <i>Semiramide</i> [...] composed by the celebrated Portogallo, at Lisbon, for the purpose of exhibiting the full and varied power of Madame Catalani's incomparable voice. [Lists Dramatis Personæ] The scene of this magnificent, and in some degree, interesting spectacle, is laid in the famous city of Babylon, about which more fables have been circulated than about the city of Rome, and that is somewhat like a bold assertion. The immediate and impressive subject of this drama is the notorious <i>Semiramis</i>, who, like some other Ladies of more modern date, would haply [<i>sic</i>] indulge her passions at the expence of her discretion! If we may give implicit credit to Diodorus, Siculus and Justin, (which is a point that requireth some consideration, for they were both critics) this celebrated Lady combined the impulses of either Minerva, as she was both wise and a victrix! On the death of her poor old spouse Ninus, she enlarged the estate of the family by adding Ethiopia, Media, Libya, Egypt, and India, to her domains; then she caused a tomb to be erected over the remains of her good man, of so ponderous and extinguishing a nature, that it was then deemed impossible for him ever to trouble her more: but Signor Caravita hath proved, by the events of this Opera, that Madame <i>Semiramis</i> was out in the reckoning on this essential head, as he hath contrived to introduce his spirit (very <i>mal a propos</i>.) just at that moment when an Assyrian Blacksmith was going to rivet her hand to <i>Arsaces</i>, who had the solid recommendation of being both young and handsome: now this was rather an uncivil proceeding on the part of this Dramatist; but what will not Bards attempt! – The <i>denouement</i> of this piece is in strict accordance with the page of history, which ascribes her death to her son Ninus, or Ninyas, whom the libellers of that day would have us believe she had solicited to be <i>mal-avisé</i>, and who murdered his Mamma in the consequence. But Signor Caravita hath ingeniously contrived to make the perpetrator assume the name of <i>Arsaces</i>; by which slight deviation from truth he hath softened the horror of the transaction, though it is at the expence [<i>sic</i>] of the reputation of the innocent; but as <i>Arsaces</i> can never bring his action for damages, Signor Caravita need not apprehend the issue of the violation. – The Catalani sustained the character of the great but impassioned <i>Semiramis</i>, and we never heard her with more pleasure. She executed all the divisions, and even subdivisions of vocal expression, with taste, skill, feeling, and force; and was, in each instance, both matchless and charming. When she rapidly, but lucidly, ran, from the altitude of her voice, / 'To the lowest note of her compass,' / it was in a continued and connected chain of melody and beauty, and both were subservient to the interests of sentiment. – / [' – Like a rich stream / That leaps and gushes from the mountain rock, / Bounding from stage to stage, in progress pure; / Sparkling, by starts, irregularly grand, / Until it sunk on its reposing base, / And mingled with the tide of harmony! ['] / It is a peculiar feature in the power of this Lady, that she can always rise above the band of the opera, (which is, perhaps, the finest in the world,) and be articulate to the auditor when they are playing <i>forte</i>; while all other Singers, when thus circumstanced, but merely appear to sing, but are not felt as singing; or, at any rate, the most potent of them are not duly understood. – The Catalani was most enthusiastically encored in the following sweet Air / 'Qual pallor, qual tema! [...] Ne mi vince</p>
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			<p>vil timor.’ / When she sang the ensuing declaration to the Assyrian Princes and Nobles, there was, apparently, an unusual sensation visible in every part of the Theatre! / ‘Principi dell’Assiria [...] Giuri a colui, che ne sarà l’Erede.’ / Signor Tramezzani personated the unhappy <i>Arsaces</i>, and we should not be fulfilling our critical duty if we did not inscribe our testimony to the public merits of this performer. This merit is not confined to the voice of Mr. Tramezzani, (which is not of the first quality, though ably managed,) but to his style of singing, and his acting conjoined. There were some scenes executed between him and the Catalani in this Opera, that were so nearly perfect in the tone of delivery, and the illustration of gesture, that they might have served as examples for some of our professional tragedians, who carry their heads too near the clouds, from a presumed consciousness of the possession of perfected ability! There is an energy and justness in the manner in which both Madame Catalani and Mr. Tramezzani deliver the recitatives, which we never observed to have been carried to the same extent and bearing of emphasis by any preceding performers; and it should operate as a mark of their superior good sense and knowledge, that they are thus studiously particular upon enforcing this main medium of communicating the business of the scene. It is well known that the music among the antients [<i>sic</i>] consisted, for a long time, of nothing more than simple melody in the nature of recitative; and Strabo informs us that the Greek poets rehearsed their verses to the sound of some instrument (the lyre), and in the manner that they judged as the most likely to captivate the senses of their hearers. From this mode of the Minstrels, in delivering their strophe and antistrophe, eventually emanated those lyrical compositions which we denominate songs. If we had leisure, or space, to pursue this theme, we should quote Aristoxenus on the progress of music in the antique world, in order to fortify this feature in our argument. Signor Rovedino enacted the essential character of <i>Oroe</i>, and this respectable Gentleman (who is the stock priest of the establishment) managed his local influence with address. At his personal request, the Lybian god sends him a scroll, explanatory of the horror that is involved in the second marriage which is contemplated by <i>Semiramis</i>; when he, like a conscientious Mufti, shews the letter to <i>Arsaces</i>, and forbids the bans. Though the construction of this Opera is not very classically arranged, yet the translation is less offending to the grammatical institutes than we have been accustomed to behold on many recent occasions; and improvement, in any sort, should be lauded.” (pp. 135-8).</p> <p><b>T (6.2.11)</b> “Portogallo’s opera of <i>Semiramide</i> was produced last night, after an interval of two years. When it is recollected that this interval has been filled up by the works of Signors Per [<i>sic</i>], Guglielmi, and Pucitta, the <i>malus, pejor, pessimus</i> of modern composition, it may be conceived that the revival of such an opera as <i>Semiramide</i> was gratifying to the audience. But it has claims which do not arise solely from the comparison with its unhappy competitors; the most distinguished days of the Italian school never produced a work with more of the power and vigour of genius. The recitatives have a rich and bold expression, which makes a striking contrast with the usual tameness of recitative; and the bravuras were composed for Catalani’s voice. There cannot be, in our opinion, a higher panegyric.”</p> <p><b>S (15.1.12)</b> Much applause for Catalani, but “We cannot speak very favourably of the manner in which the rest of the vocal department was sustained, but we suppose that arrangements are made for rendering it more effective.”</p> <p><b>T (16.1.12)</b> “This Theatre opened on Tuesday, with the Opera of <i>Semiramide</i>; but from the lateness of the hour at which the curtain fell, we were unable to give any account of it in our publication of yesterday. Catalani was of course the heroine; and she was received with universal applause. Her figure is as striking and dignified as when we saw it last season; and her voice only gave us the increased delight with which such a voice must be heard, after such a privation. The opera is an admirable effort of genius, and the finest exemplification of the powerful and the splendid in music, that has been offered to the world by a Modern. We are told, that it was composed for Catalani’s voice; and even this adds an interest to the performance. She has three bravuras, which, probably, require the most distinct and separate, yet the most difficult exertions of science and taste. The heroine, in love with the warrior who has fought and conquered for her throne, yet depressed with an unaccountable heaviness of heart, comes to the tomb of her husband to supplicate his spirit. The strain begins with the wildness of despair; and after a long succession of deep and struggling tones, sinks</p>
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			<p>into a measure of ‘linked melody;’ an exquisite expression of impassioned tenderness and sad delight. She hears of her lover’s return in triumph, assembles her Nobles to meet him, and proclaims him for her husband. Her song, <i>Son’ Regina</i>, is a bravura of the most superb and spirited style: she discards the bodings which had hung over her, speaks of her dignity, her victories, her power, and determines on pursuing the purposes of her ambition and her love. Her voice is now bold, rapid and resolute, sweeping through the scale, and full of the ardour and animation of successful passion. We know, that language which attributes the effect of visible beauty to sound may seem unusual, but in those swift and sudden springs, – those rich and sparkling flights of voice, – we could almost image the shooting of a meteor, with all its train of scintillation, brief, brilliant, and sublime. Towards the close of the Opera, when <i>Semiramide</i> has learned the extent of her crime, and returns to the tomb once more with the fixed resolution to die, the bravura ‘<i>Ombra Adorata</i>,’ addressed to the shade of her husband, exhibits a new character of talent. There is no more of despair, or exultation of severe and stormy grandeur, or diffuse and magnificent beauty; the melody wanders through sounds of resignation and repose; – the pressure of a noble heart broken by an involuntary crime, and finding the last consolation in the last atonement: it swells and falls with a liquid, sweet, and solemn music; like the breathings of the wind, or the murmuring of the last faint wave that throws the wreck upon the shore. We can speak of these things only as we felt them: but we will acknowledge, that we preferred this song, with its melancholy passion, and subdued sweetness, and soft, low, lengthened cadence, to the most imposing execution that we have ever heard even from Catalani.”</p> <p><b>T (20.1.12)</b> “<i>Semiramide</i> was repeated on Saturday, with the usual applause. Catalani is a host in herself; but as she is the <i>only singer</i> at this Theatre, it may be presumed, that a very humble measure of justice is dealt out to this fine Opera. Righi has risen into the place which Tramezzani held, and Giovanni is actually become a person of importance.”</p> <p><b>E (2.2.12)</b> “Good music too has lent it’s [<i>sic</i>] aid, and Portogallo’s opera of <i>La Semiramide</i>, which is of all the best calculated for Madame Catalani’s surprising power of voice, has succeeded to the compositions of the dull tribe, who have so long held arbitrary sway over good taste.”</p>
Portugal	<p>16 April 1807 King’s Theatre</p> <p>10 performances (1806-7)</p> <p>1 performance (1809)</p>	<p><b><i>La morte di Mitridate</i></b> (<i>os</i>, Sografi), Lisbon, 1806</p>	<p><b>Benefit production for Angelica Catalani</b> (for whom it was composed in Lisbon). (1809 production for D’Egville’s benefit.)</p> <p><b>Cast</b> “Grand Serious Opera, with Choruses, in which Mad. Catalani, Sig. Righi, and Sig. Siboni will perform [...] The Music composed expressly for Madame Catalani”.</p> <p><b>N.B.</b> Possible confusion with Nasolini’s setting, see <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS. 16064, which is ostensibly Nasolini’s, but with members of the London cast named and the scene and duet “Il tuo destino” from Portugal’s setting. See also Add. MS. 32183, f. 89. Advertisement in <i>T</i> (24.4.09) states that ‘In the course of the Opera Madame Catalani will introduce, in addition to the songs of the Opera, the favourite air of ‘O, quanto l’Anima,’ Mozart’s celebrated variations, and a Grand Bravura, never performed in this country.’</p> <p><b>Libretto sources</b> (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.8.(10.)</p> <p><b>Reviews</b></p> <p><b>MP (17.4.07)</b> “Yesterday evening, at an early hour, the pit door of the Opera was crowded with persons of the first respectability, who were waiting to obtain an admission to Mad. Catalina’s [<i>sic</i>] performance, in the Serious Opera of <i>La Morte di Mitridate</i>, which has been got up with great splendor, and at considerable expence, for the benefit of this great vocal Actress. As soon as the doors of the house were open, the people pushed forward with an unprecedented eagerness, and in the course of ten minutes, the pit, which contains upwards of eight hundred persons, was so full, that it was with great difficulty that any one could pass round the passage of</p>

			<p>it. By the time the curtain drew up, the house exhibited one blaze of beauty, wealth, and fashion. [...] there was scarcely a personage of title and dignity in town, who did not grace the Theatre on this occasion. – Before this an English audience never heard Madame Catalani to so much advantage. She was so astonishingly great in every part of the Opera, that it would be superfluous to name either the particular air, or passage, in the execution of which she did not electrify her audience, and diffuse universal delight.”</p> <p><b>S (17.4.07)</b> “Catalani’s Benefit last night at the Opera House was an overflowing bumper. She introduced a new Serious Opera on this occasion, entitled <i>La Morte di Mitridate</i>, which was received with the most rapturous applause.”</p> <p><b>MC (17.4.07)</b> “Madame Catalani was honoured last night with a most splendid and numerous assembly of all the rank and fashion of the metropolis to her Benefit. – We rejoice to see the just and liberal respect thus paid to talents so conspicuous. It is this magnificent return for great exertions, which will ever draw to our shores whatever is eminent in art, from every quarter of the world; and certainly we have never had any Singer so wonderfully endowed as Catalani. She gave <i>La Morte di Mithridate</i>, by Portogallo, an Opera which combines more musical beauties for a Performer, than any that we know; and it derived new charms from the power and taste of Catalani. The difficulties she has to execute, and the graceful manner in which she triumphed over them, were sources of high gratification to the skilful few – and by her exquisite delicacy and emotion in the touching passages, she equally affected the untutored crowd. This was peculiarly felt in the influence over the heart, which she obtained by her fine air in the Second Act, ‘<i>Per questa amore ligrime [sic].</i>’ – It produced a rapturous burst of applause; and at the end of it a chaplet of laurel, with a copy of verses, was flung on the stage from one of the upper boxes. The spectators of our Theatres are not accustomed to this kind of compliment, and though a number of voices in the pit, chiefly foreigners, called out aloud to crown her with the laurel, the ceremony did not take place. The verses were beautifully written on embossed paper, and eminently encomiastic, as our readers shall judge; for they are as follows:--Verses / Flung on the stage as a tribute to Madame Catalani / ‘Hail, sweet Enchantress! Music’s Queen, / Whose melting tones in mingling measure, / Have raised my soul beyond the scene / Of worldly woes or common pleasure. // Still, still, I hear th’enchanted strain, / That woke to sympathy each heart. / Stay sweet delusion – yet again / Cheer, cheer my soul, not e’er depart. // For never did I hear till now, / A song like what thy lips have giv’n; / Nor ever yet did mortal bow / To one like thee who breathed of Heav’n!’.”</p> <p><b>MH (18.4.07)</b> “Madame Catalani’s benefit at the King’s Theatre, on Thursday evening, was brilliantly apportioned to the established superiority of her vocal talents. Her performance throughout Gallo’s celebrated Opera of <i>Mithridate</i>, composed expressly for her extensive powers, was exquisite throughout; but her excellence in the grand quartetto in the first Act, and her duo with Siboni in the last, far exceeded all she had hitherto displayed in this Country. The graceful and energetic action of Madame Catalani through every scene, gave a dramatic interest to her whole recitative, as well as her airs, which Operatical Performances very seldom command.”</p> <p><b>S (20.4.07)</b> “the fine serious Opera of <i>La morte di Mitridate</i>”, repeated the previous Saturday.</p>
Portugal	13 June 1808 Drury Lane  1 performance	Catalani performs scenes from <i>La morte di Semiramide</i> (see also, Kelly, p. 303)	<p><b>Benefit performance for Michael Kelly</b></p> <p><i>Advertised</i> MP (13.6.08): “Madame Catalani will act for the first and only time on the English Stage, the celebrated Ghost Scene, in the serious Opera of Semiramide, and will sing the grand Bravura of ‘Son Regina’.” Unclear if this was a staged performance or not.</p>
Mozart	9 May 1811 King’s Theatre	<i>Così fan tutte</i> (ob, Da Ponte), Vienna, 1790	<p><b>Benefit production for Teresa Bertinotti Radicati</b></p> <p><i>Advertised</i> MC (9.5.11, with puff); T (1.5.11, 2.5.11, 3.5.11, 6.5.11, 7.5.11, 8.5.11, 9.5.11 – “Madame Bertinotti, anxious to comply</p>

	<p>12 performances (1810-11)</p> <p>9 performances (1816) (and 2 of 1 act only)</p> <p>2 performances (1817)</p>	<p>with the wishes of the British Musical World for the Performance on the stage of an Opera Buffa of Mozart's, will have the honour to present the Opera <i>Così fan tutte</i>, which will be performed on that Night only") (see Cowgill)</p> <p><b>Libretto sources</b> (manuscript) <i>US-SM</i> Larpent MS 1672; (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.10.(4.)</p> <p><b>Reviews</b>  <b>MC (10.5.11)</b> "We announced in yesterday's paper (from the disinterested motive of making it known to the real judges of music), the delightful treat which Madame Bertinotti had prepared for the public, by getting up one of the best works by Mozart. <i>Così fan tutte</i>, 'All do so,' or 'They are all alike,' was the Opera performed; and certainly so exquisite a performance, in point of musical merit, was never given within the walls of the present Theatre. It is a treat so truly intellectual, that every ear and every breast, susceptible at once of harmony and of impression, was gratified to a degree beyond our power to describe. The effect not only upon the audience, but upon the orchestra, was actually magical. There was a rapturous animation in every countenance, which, while it gave force and brilliancy to the performance of the band, produced a sympathetic emotion in the auditors; and [...] we felt ourselves as it were in another climate. [How] did the influence of this beautiful work confound the falsehood of those who affect to apologize for buffoonery, by saying, that the vitiated taste of the public, prefers what is glittering, to the purity of truth and science! The exquisite enjoyment of this work of Mozart, proved that nothing is wanting to the refinement of the public mind, but the opportunity of seeing what is beautiful. Madame Bertinotti has conferred a lasting favour on the frequenters of the opera, in presenting to them a work so different from the stile of the mummery to which they have been so long condemned."</p> <p><b>DC (June 1811)</b> Letter to the editor (13.5.11) printed in lieu of a review – "I was induced to visit the King's Theatre, on Thursday night last, to hear an Opera buffa of Mozart's, entitled <i>Così fan Tutte</i>, which, besides the attraction of Mozart's name, had the additional charm of novelty, it being known in this country to only a very few connoisseurs. – The work was produced by Madame Bertinotti-Radicati for her benefit, and such a choice affords a decided proof of her good taste, and of her contempt for that bitter jealousy and vicious prejudice against the German composers, which has so long actuated the Italian musicians, and so long been successful in withholding [<i>sic</i>] from the public the noble performances of [J.C.] Bach, Mozart, and Winter. My pleasure, however, in the anticipation of this treat was somewhat damped by fearing that the original composition would be altered and marred by caprices of the Performers, and that we should have <i>Così fan Tutte</i> in the same state as <i>Il Principe di Tarente</i> was some time since given to us; in which representation little of the composition of <i>Per</i> was discoverable – not more, perhaps, than a fourth, the rest being supplied by whimsies of the singers, in conjunction with the vanity of those composers retained by the house, who, elate with applause obtained from the shallow part of their audiences, are eternally pushing forward their bald compositions to the disgust of every one possessing the least feeling for the science. – My apprehensions on this head were, however, re-assured by a printed advertisement of Madame Bertinotti's, distributed about the House, written, in my opinion, in a very good spirit, and evincing a proper care for the reputation of Mozart, and a laudable enthusiasm for the dignity of music. After stating her fears that the 'Opera having been composed for a Stage on which little dancing was introduced, would be found long on representation here,' she says, 'but the same reason that forbids the re-touching a picture of Corregio's, or Raphael's, or the alteration of a thought of Milton's or Pope's, induces Madame Bertinotti to hold sacred an Opera of Mozart's: how, indeed, would it be possible to retrench a work so celebrated, without the rebuke of the critic, and the regret of the amateurs of genuine music?' It will be recollected that the <i>Clemenza di Tito</i>, of the same author, was performed some years ago for Mrs. Billington's last benefit at the Opera; but it left the Stage with her! [F]or after the Italians had regained their ascendancy, we were again pestered with the meagre trash of an host of bad composers, not only to the exclusion of the learned Germans, but likewise of the best musicians of their own country, as Paesello,</p>
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			<p>Cimarosa, Andreossi, &amp;c. Mr. Salomon told a friend of mine, that he had been endeavouring in vain for twelve years to effect the performance of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, and it was only when Mrs. Billington, by her superior talents, became more influential than the Italians, that he was enabled to succeed! – Madame Bertinotti, therefore, considering the prevalence of this jealousy, and the consequent opposition she must have encountered from her compeers in producing this work of Mozart’s, is entitled to the meed of applause and ought to have received a more ample pecuniary encouragement, for it appears that the sale of her tickets, together with the receipts of the House, were inadequate to a mere remuneration of the expences she sustained. To what can such a reception of such a work be ascribed? – Not to any parsimony in the public, I am sure; for we daily see most immense sums lavished in amusements and proceedings effecting only a contamination of the mind, and serving to make the ‘dread diary’ of conscience more terrible: nor is it to any puritanical dislike of theatrical exhibitions; for witness the crowded avenues of Covent-Garden Theatre, when <i>‘Timour the Tartar’</i> is performed, for whose blessed sake Shakespeare and Addison are played to full benches. What is it then but the <i>longevity</i> of bad taste? – A member of the House of Commons in the debate, the other night, on the expediency of erecting a third Theatre, said that the predominance of a bad taste had been the theme of every age, and every country: and he was in the right. [Traces this back to the Ancient Greeks’ invention of tragedy, and quotes Dryden’s preface to Juvenal ...] I come now to speak of the Opera itself, which is, indeed, a work approximating to perfection. Mozart has not only soared in it, but never descended – he has preserved an equal elevation, and the dignity of his flight must be gazed at with surprise. One great distinction between the German and Italian schools of music is in the accompaniments to the vocal performances; the former being rich, elaborate, and illustrative, and the latter consisting in a succession of trite modulations, a[n]d exhibiting nothing but poverty. The following trio in the first act afforded a glorious specimen of Mozart’s talents in this part of the science: ‘Soave sia il vento / Tranquilla sia l’onda, / Ed ogni elemento / Benigno risponda / Ai nostri desir.’ The accompaniments to this were enchanting; the orchestra moving under the voices in a gentle undulation, sweetly expressive of the desired tranquillity of the winds and waves. The performance was highly creditable to the singers concerned in it, with the exception of Madame Collini, who was frequently out of tune. Had Mozart been present to have heard Bertinotti, I am sure he would have given her his unqualified praise: her style was chaste and impressive, yet at the same time abounding in the most exquisite ornament; not such, indeed, as it is now the fashion to thrust upon every air, whether its character will bear the intrusions or not, but always accommodating itself to the peculiar nature of the melody, and preserving its rhythm [<i>sic</i>] unbroken. I esteem this lady among the first class of singers, and now that Mrs. Billington has retired, she has, in my humble opinion, no female competitor (*Editor’s note: this is an opinion to which we cannot wholly subscribe.), for independent of the superior quality of her voice, her taste is of the first description, and I am much mistaken if she be not deeply scientific. – Signor Cauvini likewise displayed considerable ability, particularly in a duet with Bertinotti in the second act; and Naldi and Tramezzani were, as usual, very excellent. Upon the whole I think the performance of Thursday night will make a durable impression on the memory of every lover of music who was present at it; and, at the same time, their disgust may be excited that an individual should be suffered to become a loser, for her zeal, in giving so fine a work to the public consideration. [Signed] C.O.” (pp. 283-6).</p> <p><b>E (19.5.11)</b> Expresses criticism of William Taylor, manager of the King’s Theatre, then “When managers and composers are without taste, we can look with anticipation of pleasure to the principal singers alone, who sometimes possess judgment in selection; but even here expectation has been disappointed, since Madame Catalani’s arrival in England. – Her powers are nearly confined to a wonderful voice and rapid execution, which, unrestrained by musical knowledge, have run wild and indulged in every extravagance that false taste could adopt. From her ambition to outshine others, she prefers the works of those servile composers who, depending for their existence on her smiles or frowns, are ready in all respects to conform to her will, by keeping the rest of the performers in the background, and rendering the accompaniments of the orchestra too insignificant to share with her the admiration of the audience. In this hopeless state of affairs, Madame Bertinotti, with a zeal that cannot be too much praised, has revived the opera of</p>
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			<p><i>Così fan tutte</i>, one of the most masterly works of the great Mozart. To convey by words an idea of the electrical effect this music produces, is impracticable, and to recommend any particular composition to the notice of those unacquainted with the opera, would be useless, where the whole is one collected mass of excellence. It is only by hearing such beauty and variety of the airs, the uncommon richness of the harmony, or the genius displayed in the accompaniments, which sport through all the mazes of the science; at one time flowing with a calm solemnity, and at another bursting forth in modulation as unexpected as inspiring. Extremely difficult as Mozart's compositions are to execute with effect, the performers were generally, and I must say contrary to my expectation, fully adequate to them. Nothing like the singing of Madame Bertinotti has been heard at the opera for some years, as it left nothing to be wished for. It was, as it has not always been lately, perfectly in tune, and given with feeling that evinced a proper estimation of Mozart's merit. No meretricious ornaments were added, but every grace was introduced in its proper situation, and executed with a precision that no other singer but Mrs. Billington could equal. The rest of the performers, as if by inspiration, exerted themselves beyond their usual efforts, with a success commensurable to their goal. Signor Naldi and Tramezzani acted as well as sang with more than usual spirit, and Signor Cauvini executed his songs with peculiar pathos, and an elegance of ornament that did great credit to his taste. Owing to some inharmonious disputes between the performers and the managers, the repetition of the opera has hitherto been prevented; but it is hoped that the public will not ultimately suffer; nor, after enjoying the works of Mozart, be turned back to their old insignificant acquaintance, rendered doubly tedious by the contrast."</p> <p><b>DC (May 1811)</b> review of 30 May 1811 – "The good sense, as well as the good taste, of the <i>Beau Monde</i> was re-gratified by another representation of Mozart's fine opera of <i>Così fan tutte</i> [for Mr Vestris's benefit], the Music of which is so thoroughly <i>Orphean</i> that the veriest of the vulgar in the Gallery and the Pit, (as unhappily there is the high vulgar as well as the low!) were allured into much attention by the fascination of melody, and the concord of sweet sounds! Now this is as it should be, and we trust that a prominent encouragement will be given exclusively, in future, to such works of art as the more cultivated order of society can honestly appreciate, and ardently approve; while the flimsy productions of the <i>modern</i> Italian School are banished, for ever, from our senses. – The following <i>quinque</i> was admirably executed / [']Il dessin così defrauda [...] la vita amor? ['].'" (pp. 279-80).</p> <p><b>T (3.6.11)</b> "The Comic Opera of '<i>Così Fan Tutte</i>,' or, '<i>La Scuola degli Amanti</i>,' which was brought out for Madame Bertinotti Radicati's benefit, and repeated for that of Vestris, was again performed on Friday evening. The music of this Opera is by the celebrated Mozart, and has been much known and highly esteemed on the Continent for several years, although not introduced at the King's Theatre until this season. It is, in reality, a most exquisite musical composition. It does not aim at surprising the auditor by fantastic irregularities, or any of those tricks which are contrived merely to set off the peculiarities of some eminent performer; it is a just musical combination, wherein art and nature, and consequently good taste, are not at variance. The admirers of the Opera will rejoice to be put in possession of more pieces of this meritorious description. Custom has taught us to think little about the dramatic merit of Operas: of the dialogue, therefore, nothing need be said; but it is only justice to say, that the incidents of the fable are very well managed, and the interest of the audience sufficiently kept up throughout the plot, which turns upon a story of female fickleness. Two young officers and two young ladies swear to each other mutual fidelity. The officers are supposed to go to the campaign; but are introduced afterwards in disguise, and after much affectionate hesitation on the part of the fair ones, succeed in their <i>new</i> characters in gaining their affections, and entering into contracts of marriage with them. The experiment is carried on by an old philosopher and a clever young waiting-woman. The <i>eclaircissement</i> finally takes place, and produces the ultimate union of the parties in their original characters. We can scarcely praise too much the merits of all the performers. Madame Bertinotti, as <i>Fiordiligi</i>, sang with the utmost sweetness. If this lady has not the astonishing powers of some others, she certainly does not lose in the comparison, in respect of melody and truth. Signora Collini displayed very considerable talents, and executed her airs in the most pleasing manner. Signora Cauvini had much archness and readiness in the various transformations of her character. Tramezzani</p>
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			<p>evinced those qualifications as an actor and a singer which have already procured him so much distinction. Cauvini was little inferior to him, except in power of execution; and Naldi's comic capabilities were the same as ever. Great applause was bestowed, and several <i>encores</i> were called for by the audience, which, though it did not crowd the pit, was both numerous and elegant in the boxes. The Princess of Wales was present. Upon the whole, we have not seen a Comic Opera for some time that merited equal approbation."</p> <p><b>MC (8.6.16)</b> "That an opera, possessing the extraordinary merit which every body ascribes to <i>Così fan Tutte</i>, should have been suffered to remain dormant for seven long years [<i>sic</i>], seems to us to be a fact altogether incomprehensible: an opera that places the performers in the most favourable situations, and attracts an audience, who never fail to manifest the delight which it affords by the most enthusiastic applause. Why then has it been withheld? In proportion to the difficulties or prejudices which have so long kept this admirable work locked up, is Madame Fodor's praise for having brought it into light again. It was performed on Thursday last for her benefit, and the excellent judgment and good taste which prompted her to produce it were equally conspicuous in her own performance of the principal character. The whole of this exquisite work of Mozart, with the unimportant exception of the part of the <i>Soubrette</i>, was filled in the most admirable manner, as follows: <i>Fiordiligi</i>, Madame Fodor; <i>Dorabella</i>, Madame Vestris; <i>Ferrando</i>, Braham; <i>Guglielmo</i>, Begri; and <i>Don Alphonso</i>, Naldi. From such an arrangement every expectation was not only excited, but realized; we never heard this delicious piece to such advantage – every department was well conducted; the band co-operated in their efforts with the stage – the accompaniments were aiding, and not overwhelming, as is too usual: the acting and management of the theatrical effect were duly attended to, and the whole performance was in perfect unison. To enumerate each piece of music distinguished for its beauty, would be an almost endless undertaking; it would be an equally difficult task, if not an impossible one, to point out any thing bad. <i>La mia Dorabella – Di scrivermi – Soave sia il vento</i>, &amp;c., were encored; but the delightful air, <i>Un'aura amorosa</i>, sung by Braham with a taste and tenderness of passion that no other singer can arrive at, was not received with the same demonstrations of approbation: it was applauded certainly, but with a languor that did no credit to the feeling or discrimination of the audience. The character of <i>Fiordiligi</i> in this opera is exactly suited to Madame Fodor's powers, and she supported it with the most consummate musical ability. How far superior is such a singer as this Lady, whose knowledge of her art enables her to convey the author's real meaning in the most graceful manner, to a performer who trusts to meretricious ornament, and to those bursts of voice which only shew physical strength! Madame Fodor is daily gaining in the public estimation, and we do not fear contradiction, when we say that she is the best qualified person, taken altogether, for the <i>prima Donna</i>, that has been on this stage since Mrs. Billington's retirement. – Madame Vestris played her part with a delicacy and playfulness that were excessively charming. Braham and Begri acted with great judgement and vivacity, and Naldi was the very soul of the drama." Also describes Fodor's performances between the acts.</p> <p><b>T (15.7.16)</b> "The opera of <i>Così fan Tutti</i> [<i>sic</i>] was repeated on Saturday to a much more crowded audience than London often furnishes so late in the season. Although perhaps this opera may not be calculated to excite such wonder, or to yield upon the whole such unmixed pleasure, as the music of <i>Figaro</i>, from the same noble stock, it is a distinguished favourite with the town, and goes off with unabated spirit. The trio in the first act, between Naldi and Mesdames Fodor and Vestris, was warmly encored; and the finale of the same act was boldly and strikingly executed." Followed by notes on the ballet.</p> <p><b>E (4.8.16)</b> "In Schlegel's work on the Drama, there are the following remarks on the nature of the Opera: – 'In Tragedy the chief object is the poetry, and every other thing is subordinate to it; but in the Opera, the poetry is merely an accessory [<i>sic</i>], the means of connecting the different parts together, and it is almost buried under its associates. The best prescription for the composition of the text of an Opera is to give a poetical sketch, which may be afterwards filled up and coloured by the other arts. This anarchy of the arts, where music, dancing, and decoration endeavour to surpass each other by the most profuse display of dazzling charms,</p>
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			<p>constitutes the very essence of the Opera. What sort of opera music would it be where the words should receive a mere rhythmical accompaniment of the simplest modulations? The fantastic magic of the Opera consists altogether in the luxurious competition of the different means, and in the perplexity of an overflowing superfluity. This would at once be destroyed by an approximation to the severity of the ancient taste in any one point, even in that of costume, for the contrast would render the variety in all the other departments quite insupportable. The costume of the Opera ought to be dazzling, and overladen with ornaments; and hence many things which have been censured as unnatural, such as exhibiting heroes warbling and trilling in the excess of despondency, are perfectly justifiable. This fairy world is not peopled by real men, but by a singular kind of singing creatures. Neither is it any disadvantage to us that the Opera is conveyed in a language which is not generally understood; the text is altogether lost in the music, and the language the most harmonious and musical, and which contains the greatest number of open vowels and distinct accents for recitative, is therefore the best.’ The foregoing remarks give the best account we have seen of that splendid exhibition, the Italian Opera. These German critics can explain every thing, and upon any given occasion, <i>make the worse appear the better reason</i>. Their theories are always at variance with common sense, and we shall not in the present instance undertake to decide between them. There is one thing, however, which we will venture to decide, which is, that the feelings of the English people must undergo some very elaborate process (metaphysical or practical) before they are thoroughly reconciled to this union of different elements, the consistency and harmony of which depends on their contradiction and discord. We take it, the English are so far from being an opera-going, that they are not even a play-going people, from constitution. You can hardly get them to speak their sentiments, much less to sing them, or to hear them sung with any real sympathy. The boxes, splendid as they are, and splendid as the appearance of those in them is, do not breathe a spirit of enjoyment. They are rather like the sick wards of luxury and idleness, where people of a certain class are condemned to perform the quarantine of fashion for the evening. The rest of the spectators are sulky and self-important, and the only idea which each person has in his head seems to be that he is at the opera. Little interest is shewn in the singing or dancing, little pleasure appears to be derived from either, and the audience seem only to be stunned and stupefied with wonder. The satisfaction which the English feel in this entertainment is very much <i>against the grain</i>. They are a people, jealous of being pleased in any way but their own. We were particularly struck with the force of these remarks the other evening in the gallery, where our fellow-countrymen seemed to be only upon their good behaviour or self-defence against the ill-behaviour of others, some persons asserting their right of talking loud about their own affairs, and others resenting this, not as an interruption of their pleasures, but as an encroachment on their privileges. Soon after a Frenchman came in, and his eye at once fastened upon the Ballet. At a particular air, he could no longer contain himself, but joined in chorus in an agreeable under-voice, as if he expected others to keep time to him, and exclaiming, while he wiped his forehead from an exuberance of satisfaction, his eyes glistening and his face shining, ‘<i>Ah, c’est charmant, c’est charmant!</i>’ Now this, being ourselves English, we confess, gave us more pleasure than the opera or the ballet, in both of which however we felt a considerable degree of melancholy satisfaction, <i>selon la coutume de notre pays</i> – according to the custom of our country. The opera was <i>Così fan Tutti</i> [sic], with Mozart’s music, and the ballet was the <i>Dansomanie</i>. The music of the first of these is really enough (to borrow a phrase from a person who was also a great man in his way) ‘to draw three souls out of one weaver:’ and as to the ballet, it might make a Frenchman forget his country and the Bourbons. [describes the ballet ...] The Opera had less justice done it than the Ballet. The laughing Trio was spoiled by Mr. Naldi, who performs the part of an ‘Old Philosopher’ in it, but who is more like an impudent valet or <i>major-domo</i> of an hotel. We never saw any one so much at home, who seems so little conscious of the existence of any one but himself, and who throws his voice, his arms and legs about with such a total disregard of <i>bienseance</i>. The character is a kind of opera Pandarus, who exposes the inconstancy of two young ladies, by entangling them in an intrigue with their own lovers in disguise. Mr. Braham, we are told, sings Mozart with a peculiar greatness of gusto. But this greatness of gusto does not appear to us the real excellence of Mozart. The song</p>
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			<p>beginning <i>Secondate</i>, in which he and his friend (Signor Begri) call upon the gentle zephyrs by moonlight to favour their design, is exquisite, and ‘floats upon the air, smoothing the raven down of darkness till it smiles,’ / ‘And Silence wish’d, she might be never more / Still to be so displaced.’ / Madame Fodor’s voice does not harmonize with the music of this composer. It is hard, metallic, and jars like the reverberation of a tight string. Mozart’s music should seem to come from the air, and return to it. Madame Vestris is a pretty little figure, and is in this respect a contrast to Madame Fodor.”</p> <p><b>T (13.6.17)</b> “The charming opera of <i>Così fan tutte</i> was revived last night at this theatre, for Naldi’s benefit. This is, perhaps, the gayest of Mozart’s compositions, whose genius and disposition naturally inclined him to the tender, the melancholy, or the sublime. The music is highly dramatic, particularly in the part of <i>Don Alphonso</i> (an old philosopher, who ridicules and reasons upon the folly of two lovers), which is marked throughout by a strong vein of sarcasm. We also highly admire the discrimination that is shown in the two female characters, <i>Fiordiligi</i> and <i>Dorabella</i>, which are in a style essentially different. Naldi is the original <i>Don Alphonso</i> in this country, and this is reckoned one of his most successful efforts. It may be so; but we fear this opinion rather refers to past merits than present excellencies; and that he is doomed, like other great performers of the present day, to live on the remembrance of past reputation. Madam Fodor and Madam Camporese, who sustained the characters of <i>Fiordiligi</i> and <i>Dorabella</i> [<i>sic</i>], were nearly all of life and spirit that the piece contained. The parts were given with admirable taste and precision. Several of the pieces were encored; and the opera, though unnecessarily curtailed in some of its fair proportions, was received throughout with strong marks of favour and approbation.”</p>
Mozart	6 June 1811  King’s Theatre 1 performance (and 1 compressed)	<p><b><i>Die Zauberflöte</i></b> (Ss, Schikaneder), Vienna, 1791</p> <p><i>As Il flauto magico</i>, in the translation by Giovanni de Gamerra</p>	<p><b>Benefit production for Giuseppe Naldi. (Subsequent performance of compressed version for benefit of Madame Collini.)</b> Puffs published by <i>MP</i> (5.6.11 and 6.6.11) and <i>MC</i> (6.6.11)</p> <p><b><i>Libretto sources</i></b> (manuscript) <i>US-SM</i> Larpent 1679; (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.10.(6.) See Cowgill.</p> <p><b><i>Reviews</i></b> <b><i>MC</i> (8.6.11)</b> “To Mrs. Billington we are indebted for having first introduced Mozart’s Music to our Theatre, and to Madame Bertinotti and her Husband for having revived it, and rescued the Opera Stage from the frivolities to which we were doomed. <i>The Zauber Flöte</i>, however, has not been got up with the <i>splendour</i> that it had at Vienna and Paris. An apology was made by Naldi, that it could not be given with adequate <i>spectacle</i> on the stage of the King’s Theatre. And this, unfortunately, is true, for its wants <i>depth</i> for perspective. The Overture was given with all its genuine effect, and it was impossible quite to destroy the beauties of the Airs as they did of the Chorus; but even with all the faults of the performance it was a grand treat to a musical ear.”</p> <p><b><i>E</i> (16.6.11)</b> Laments the state of public taste, then “This doctrine has been disseminated by the composers of the opera, who, whatever they may profess, write badly only because they cannot write well. The fallacy of this libel, as far as it is applied to the musical world, has been proved by Madame Bertinotti, who, prompted by good taste, has ventured to free herself from the trammels of these gentlemen, in reviving <i>Così fan tutte</i>, the success of which must satisfy every one that there is no want of admirers when there is any thing to admire. Influenced by its attraction, Signor Naldi has brought out the opera of <i>Die Zauber Flöte</i>, – <i>The Magic Flute</i>, – another work of Mozart’s of great celebrity. Unfortunately, the state of the company, deficient in number as well as excellence, prevented this noble work from being executed as it deserved. Many of the best pieces were unavoidably allotted to Signor De Giovanni, who sings in a whisper just audible enough to shew that he is out of tune; or to Signor Rovedino, whose ‘big voice’ has no medium, but is always either growling with an undefined rumbling like distant thunder, or bellowing forth with the most dissonant and ear-rending harshness. Madame Bertinotti was the only performer competent to her part; but some praise is due to Madame Collini, whose deep and powerful voice was well exerted in the lower part of several trios for female voices, which, as</p>

			<p>they did not require a cultivated style, she was enabled to give with considerable effect. The greatest treat the opera afforded was the overture, which is one of the greatest efforts of musical genius, if not altogether unrivalled. Nothing can surpass the solemnity of the opening movement, or the animation with which it afterwards takes its flight through all the labyrinths of science, till it at last finds a resting place, where it is relieved by a few magnificent bursts from the wind instruments, when it again sets forward, its wanderings becoming more involved and intricate as it proceeds, till it arrives at the highest pitch of grandeur to which music is capable of soaring. The pleasure that the wonderful music of this opera gives, receives a serious drawback from the almost unprecedented absurdity of its plot and language, which are so incoherent, that they can scarcely be imagined the work of an intellect above that of an idiot [<i>sic</i>]; and it does not reflect a little discredit on the taste of the Germans, that this opera, sublime as its music is, should not only be tolerated, but even enthusiastically admired by them. Our stage has not yet arrived at such a state of literary degradation, as to disregard altogether the language of our operas, for we have lately seen in Mr. Morton's contemptible drama, the <i>Knight of Snowdown</i>, that the admirable compositions of Mr. Bishop, many of which would have done honour to Mozart, have not been able to protract its existence beyond a very limited period. However much we may regret that works of genius should thus be dragged into oblivion by our modern authors, we have the pleasure of hoping it will prove a salutary lesson to our composers, and impress upon them the necessity of carefully selecting the poetry on which they bestow their pains, without which their music can never become a lasting favourite. [Signed] H[enry] R[obertson]"</p> <p><b>MC (5.7.11)</b> "The <i>Zauber Flaute</i> was last night performed at the Opera, for the Benefit of Madame Collini. Though the House was thin, yet we remarked that all those who really taste the charms of music, and are not governed by fashion, were present. The Duchess of York, for instance, was there before the curtain drew up, to enjoy the incomparable Overture; and it was most deservedly <i>encored</i>."</p>
Portugal	27 Feb 1812 Pantheon  2 performances	<b><i>Il diavolo a quattro ou [sic] Le donne cambiate</i></b> (f, Venice, 1797)	<p><b>Cast</b> "Principal characters – Signora Bertinotti Radicati, Signora Cauvini, Signor Rovedino, Signor Cauvini, Signor Bertini, Signor Morelli, Signor Balassi. Composer and Director of Music, Signor Trento. Poet, Sig. Caravita. Leader of the Band, Sig. Spagnoletti. At the Piano, Mr. Novello." <b>MC</b> (26.2.12). See Cowgill.</p> <p><b>N.B.</b> Overture, cavatina, and variations sung by Bertinotti Radicati were composed by her husband, Felice Radicati (<i>T</i>, 7.3.12).</p> <p><b>Advertised MC</b> (26.2.12); <i>T</i> (22.2.12, 26.2.12, 7.3.12)</p> <p><b>Review</b> <b>T (28.2.12)</b> "The <i>Burlettas</i> were little ingenious pieces with the music of Mayer and Portagallo [<i>sic</i>], well performed, and received with applause." The Mayer <i>burletta</i>, which opened the evening's performance, was <i>Il venditor d'aceto</i>.</p>
Mozart	2 May 1812 Pantheon  3 performances	<b><i>Le nozze di Figaro</i></b> (ob, Da Ponte), Vienna, 1786 (as 2-act <i>burl</i> )	<p><b>Libretto source</b> (manuscript) <i>GB-TNA</i> (The National Archives): PRO LC7/4, part 2, ff. 213-43. See Cowgill.</p> <p><b>Advertised MC</b> (2.5.12, 3.5.12, 11.5.12)</p>
Mozart	18 June 1812 King's Theatre  8 performances (1812)	<b><i>Le nozze di Figaro</i></b> (ob, Da Ponte), Vienna, 1786	<p><b>Benefit production for the Scottish Hospital</b></p> <p><b>Libretto sources</b> (manuscript) <i>US-SM</i> Larpent MS. 1722; (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.11.(13.) (1816). See Cowgill.</p>

	<p>6 performances (1813)</p> <p>4 performances (1816)</p> <p>11 performances (1817)</p>	<p>“the heroic-comic opera of Figaro” <i>T</i> (6.7.12); “the favourite grand heroic-comic opera”, <i>T</i> (8.3.13)</p>	<p><b>Reviews</b></p> <p><b>S (19.6.12)</b> “Mozart’s standard opera of <i>Figaro</i> was performed last night with a strength of musical talent which has seldom been displayed at one time, at this or any other Theatre. Mrs Dickons, who commenced her engagement as <i>second Donna</i>, seemed to be animated with a spirit of rivalry, which produced exertions far beyond what we have ever witnessed, even from this charming singer. The surprise which this new display of her powers excited, drew down thunders of applause at the close of almost every cadence.” The Duke of Cambridge was present.</p> <p><b>T (6.7.12)</b> “Mozart’s opera of <i>Figaro</i> was performed on Saturday. Mr. Fisher [<i>sic</i>] was the <i>Count</i>. We have already said something of this singer, and in his later efforts have seen no change to justify a change of our opinion. His voice appears to us decidedly unsuited to the compass of the house, and unequal to the leading part in what ever house he might exhibit. Employed as a subordinate, he might be useful, and assist in a chorus very tolerably; but though it is, perhaps, no very violent stretch of fastidiousness to require that an actor should have some pretension to grace, and a singer to skill, as Mr. Fisher does not seem qualified to satisfy even those moderated requisitions, we think that he may be spared any further experiments on his audience. Catalani’s voice was unusually harsh, probably in consequence of her late cold. The dance introduced in the Opera was rather an unhappy substitute for the divertissement, and more pains ought to be taken in its preparation.” Discusses the ballet.</p> <p><b>E (12.7.12)</b> “The works of Mozart, which have long lain dormant, and enjoyed the repose due to so many of our living manufacturers of music, have at length shone forth from the obscurity in which jealousy and bad taste had involved them. Till the last two or three years, this great genius has been known chiefly as an instrumental writer, and might have still have remained so, had not a society of amateurs, who were capable of perceiving where true merit was to be found, laudably exerted themselves to diffuse the delight his vocal works had given themselves. With this view, and aided by some tasteful professors, they brought forward the Opera of <i>Don Giovanni</i>, and followed it up, successively, with performances of two of his other productions, which required only to be heard, to ensure them a high reputation. Till they had gained this, none of the Opera Performers thought of reviving them, and of the four which have been performed at the King’s Theatre, only one has been produced by the Manager, – so little have the Public to thank Mr. Taylor for his endeavours in their behalf. The last which has been produced, <i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i>, is perhaps, altogether, the finest of his works. The subject is taken, with little alteration, from Beaumarchais’ celebrated comedy of ‘<i>La Folle Journée</i>,’ and, in its quick succession of incident, gives full scope to the fancy, which teemed with delightful combinations of sound, and sprung from subject to subject, with inexhaustible freshness, vigour, and originality. Every air, and almost every close, has strong character of novelty, and seems carefully to shun resemblance to other authors; for even when the passages seem to lead to something we have heard before, a dextrous turn or an unexpected change redeems them from all charge of plagiarism. This attempt at constant novelty would be dangerous in unskilful hands, and might repress merit, or draw it into passages only original for the extravagance. Here, Beethoven, with all his gigantic powers, his wonderful harmony, and splendid effects, seems to have failed; and, without possessing the charms of melody that play so perpetually through the works of Mozart, he sacrifices our pleasure to our astonishment; gaining in novelty what he loses in feeling, and speaking to the ear rather than to the heart. An Opera, combining such variety of excellence as <i>Figaro</i>, requires a proportionate combination of musical talent in those who are to execute it. And here, unfortunately, with the exception of two Performers, there is at the King’s Theatre a woeful deficiency. These two are, Madame Catalani and Mrs. Dickons. The vivacity of the former, so misplaced in her serious performances, comes into full play in the character of the chambermaid <i>Susannah</i>, and there is something very pleasing in the archness of her manner, and the eager interest with which she enters into all the schemes that are to extricate her mistress and herself from the dilemmas in which they are constantly involved. Mrs. Dickons, who has been judiciously engaged to assist the performance, gives a gratifying instance of good taste, in abstaining considerably from that excess of ornament in which she too often indulges, and which, like the hoop and</p>
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		<p>embroidery of a court dress, serves only to incumber and disfigure the beauty it is intended to adorn. Her acting too gives her a decided superiority to all but Madame Catalani, and ought to afford the Italians an instructive lesson of the advantages which even a foreigner can obtain over them, by a proper attention to the business of the piece. Signor Fischer performs the <i>Count Almaviva</i>, and proves as clearly as in <i>Camilla</i>, that unless he could get rid of his voice, his figure, and his rough German accent, he cannot reasonably hope to become a favourite. The soft flow of the Italian language he converts into most rugged and guttural sounds, and his voice is accompanied with a strong breathing, that, overwhelming the notes he would utter, produces a tone more like the bellows of an organ than that instrument itself. He however breathes in tune, and that is a praise due to no other male performer at the theatre. [...]</p> <p>[Signed] H[enry] R[obertson].”</p> <p><b>MC (11.3.13)</b> “<i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i>, an <i>Opera Buffa</i> by Mozart, was performed on Tuesday night for the first time this season. This Opera, which is a free and very pleasant trans[la]tion, by Da Ponte, of <i>La folle Journée, ou le Mariage de Figaro</i>, of Beaumarchais, the sequel of <i>Le Barbier de Séville</i>, may be considered as the <i>chef d’œuvre</i> of Mozart, for it combines all his excellencies. It possesses as much science as his <i>Don Giovanni</i>, and is more full of melody; and, while it is as highly distinguished for melody as <i>Così fan tutte</i>, it is far more elaborate and scientific. Its merit is known and acknowledged in every great city in Europe, and it is to be found in the collection of every amateur of music. It is sung by all who have the power to sing, and it is adapted to various instruments, for the convenience of those to whom nature has not given vocal powers. It is performed by every military band, and it possesses charms even for the lowest ranks of the people, for the strolling bands of Pandians have found the means of executing some of its more simple pieces. Under these circumstances is it not surprising, that in the first city in the world – that in this metropolis, unequalled for its wealth and for the encouragement which it holds out to musical merit, an Opera of such undisputed excellence should be performed in a manner that would disgrace a minor theatre in the suburbs? Yet such, we regret to say, was the case on Tuesday night. The Orchestra alone did its duty well. The greater part of the performance upon the stage was the result of either misconception or inability. We are extremely unwilling to make so unfavourable a remark, but the preservation and improvement of the art, and the duty we owe to the public, extort from us this censure. Righi was quite inadequate to the part assigned to him; it was too low for his voice, and his acting is more suited to the serious than the comic opera. Upon this occasion we must observe, that though not yet acquainted with the merits of the case, Tramezzani seems to have considered more the letter than the spirit of his articles with the theatre. He ought to have taken the part of the Count, for his admirable talents qualify him well for either department of the Opera; he excels as much, and perhaps more, in comic as in tragic characters, and he should not have thought of etiquette at the present moment. Mrs. Dickons should not appear upon the Italian stage. She is as great a favourite at the English theatre, to which she ought to be confined. She did not seem to understand the character of the music allotted to her, particularly the lovely air <i>Porgi Amor</i>, which at its commencement we could scarcely recognize; and the delicious duet, <i>Su l’aria</i>, which produces a trial of skill between the two principal female performers, and very injudicious is the fair one who attempts to rival the neatness of execution possessed by Catalani, and exhibited in this duet. But the termination of this piece produced a laugh from all connoisseurs, in consequence of Mrs. Dickons introducing a shake upon the penultimate note in the second and subordinate part, where we think it was never introduced before. Naldi’s acting was, as it ever is, excellent, but he, upon whom the piece very much depends, seemed to be suffering from a cold, or debility, and appeared to be disabled to sing with any power. Catalani sang with her usual and unequalled brilliancy, and her <i>acting</i> in the part of <i>Susannah</i> [sic] was every thing that could be wished; her natural playful manner was quite fascinating, but she so amply supplied with embellishments Mozart’s music, that it had, at least, the merit of being quite novel to those who are intimately acquainted with his works. We entered the house with an expectation of hearing <i>arie</i>, <i>duetti</i>, &amp;c. that were composed five and twenty years ago. We certainly discovered the foundations of them, but the superstructures were quite new! The public does ample justice in every way to the powers of Mad. Catalani, and let the public be the judge between her</p>
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			<p>skill as a <i>composer</i>, and that of Mozart. We must, however, except from the operation of this remark, her performance of <i>Deh vieni</i>, the last air in the piece, which was sung with a chaste and admirable taste.”</p> <p><b>T (19.4.13)</b> “[o]n Tuesday, Signor Tramezzani will perform, for the first time, in Mozart’s popular opera of <i>Il Matrimonio di Figaro</i>, the music of which having been adapted to his voice” (see notices in and letters to <i>The Times</i> on 8.3.13, 9.3.13, 13.3.13, 16.3.13, 17.3.13, 18.3.13, and 23.3.13) (see Cowgill)</p> <p><b>T (26.4.13)</b> “Signor Tramezzani’s first appearance in Mozart’s popular Opera of <i>Il Matrimonio di Figaro</i> is postponed to Thursday next, the 29<sup>th</sup> instant, when it will certainly be performed, and given as a Subscription Night; ‘Signor Tramezzani, with a view of obliging the Public, having kindly consented to comply with the request of the direction to appear in <i>Figaro</i>, and will endeavour to adapt the music to his voice,’ which are the words that he himself has required to be used, in announcing his performance in the Opera in question”.</p> <p><b>T (4.6.13)</b> “Last night Signor Naldi brought forward the opera of <i>Figaro</i> for his benefit. It is one of the masterpieces of that consummate musician Mozart, and abounds in an unlimited variety of the richest and most delicate harmonies. Signor Naldi is conferring a benefit on the public taste, by the presentation of so fine a specimen of musical science; and we wish his example may be followed by other performers, who, in spite of the bad management of this Theatre, may shew at least on one night, that they have the taste to prefer the great masters of their art to the tinsel composers who in general usurp that stage. The Opera was well executed in most of its parts. Naldi played <i>Figaro</i> with much spirit and humour; and Tramezzani, from the success of his last night’s performance, will have no reason to regret that he has condescended to sing in a comic opera. It is quite needless to say that Madame Catalani was, as usual, a perfect Syren: the music and the singer were worthy of each other: but it may not be useless to mention, that Mrs. Dickons seems to improve every time she comes before the public, and is acquiring all the marks of an accomplished singer: she executed a duet with Catalani with the most finished skill and elegance. We were glad to see the house well filled.”</p> <p><b>T (19.7.13)</b> “Mozart’s <i>Figaro</i> was presented on Saturday. As a specimen of composition, nothing can exceed the variety, taste, and skill of this Opera. A loftier character of style might have been inconsistent with the subject; and Mozart probably enjoyed in his finished work, if genius is not always dissatisfied in proportion to its strength, the rare felicity of equalling his own conception. Catalani was of course the most active performer in the piece, and all her exertions were received with the applause which is now become customary to her. Mrs. Dickons was the Countess. This singer appears to have derived more advantage than we could easily have predicted from her practice on the Italian stage. Her voice on Saturday was fuller, more distinct, and more expressive than usual, her cadences articulated with more fidelity, and her ornaments interwoven with more taste. The ‘<i>Bocca Toscana</i>’ may not be the most exact description of her Italian pronunciation, but this single shade to her performance is too easily obviated to become a serious charge.”</p> <p><b>T (24.6.16)</b> “The musical world were delighted on Saturday evening with the performance of the far-famed opera of <i>Figaro</i>, which ranks very high among the finest works of Mozart. It is seldom that the genius and science of music have been so happily directed, as in this noble composition, to the too much despised but paramount object of giving pleasure to the majority of hearers. This being a merit which the greatest number of persons can fully appreciate, we would recommend the opera of <i>Figaro</i> to our readers as a source of exquisite gratification to the uneducated ear, rather than for the claims it indisputably possesses to the admiration of those who can trace its more hidden principles, and seize and dwell upon its artificial charms. Besides the delicious and captivating melodies by which it is distinguished, this work is held up by amateurs more competent than we are to pronounce its praise, as a model of firmness, depth, and richness, in its harmonies – where bold inversions and ingenious complexities, such as none but a master of the art could risk, are made to enhance the effect of those first conceptions, the fruits perhaps of feeling rather than intelligence, which the science of an inferior artist is employed too frequently to overpower and obscure. Whatever musical strength is to be found at this theatre, has been brought forward on the present occasion; and, generally speaking, we never heard the principal singers to greater advantage. Madame Fodor, who adds to profound knowledge a refined and exquisite taste, afforded specimens</p>
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			<p>throughout the evening of these various qualifications. Her duet with Madame Vestris, in the second act, beginning, we think, ‘Scrivi, scrivi,’ was executed with admirable truth, and loudly encored: as was the song in the first act, ‘Voi che sapete’ – the purity, delicacy, and expression of which was deeply felt by the audience. Le Vasseur, who gradually improves in his action, but whose visage still preserves its inflexible gravity, ought to borrow from Madame Fodor a few of her supernumerary smiles. Though he made love, however, like a Cynic, he showed himself a good musician, and his voice did more justice than we had expected to the songs of Almaviva. He was encored in the duet with Madame Vestris ‘Crudel! perche finora;’ and bore his part in the magnificent harmonies towards the conclusion of the first act, and in its finale, with spirit and effect. Madame Vestris has made a sensible progress in strength of voice, and in its management, since her accession to this theatre. She sung delightfully some very trying passages in the course of the opera, and played the character of <i>Susanna</i> with considerable comic talent. But Naldi, in <i>Figaro</i>, was inimitable, and quite at home. He played with his voice – with his part – and with the audience; and, in producing the highest amusement and admiration, neither song nor action seemed to cost him a single effort. He gave the bold and difficult air commencing ‘Non piu andrai,’ &amp;c. with a grand energy which animated every hearer; and had the great proportion of the audience followed his Italian dialogue through the piece, they would have felt his powers as a comic actor not less forcibly than those of his song. We yet hope to see this opera repeated before the season closes.”</p> <p><b>T (3.2.17)</b> “The performance of Saturday was <i>Figaro</i>, being, among all the works of Mozart, that which combines in the greatest degree the two qualities of sprightliness and grandeur. This opportunity was taken to introduce to the audience Signor Ambrogetti, who may be considered a very important acquisition. With a masculine figure and strong countenance, this singer possesses a contre-tenor voice, deep, flexible, and mellow. He fills the theatre with apparent ease; some of his tones are extremely powerful, his ear true, and he crowns the whole by a free and natural style of acting. Signor Ambrogetti played on this occasion the part of the <i>Count Almaviva</i>. So much of the success of the opera of <i>Figaro</i> depends on the comic talent of the actress who performs <i>Susanna</i>, that great judgment must be exercised in the choice. Madame Vestris had the part last year, and charmed all the world by her vivacity. Madame Camporese has taken her place; and though she does not vie with her attractive predecessor in archness or playfulness of manner, she more than compensates that inferiority by a voice of superior richness and extent. Madame Fodor, in the <i>Countess</i>, maintained her own pre-eminent sweetness, delicacy, and science. Naldi is the same agreeable rogue as ever; and if his voice seems to have lost something of its original volume, he continues to manage it with masterly skill. The opera, altogether, was got up in great force, and was received throughout with the most animated applauses. It is not easy to select the particular subjects of approbation from a piece the whole of which was excellent; but there were some beauties which cannot be left unnoticed; and amongst them it is fair to remark the fine song by Naldi, addressed to Cherubini, ‘Non piu andrai,’ which he executed with extraordinary spirit and energy. Madame Fodor’s beautiful air ‘Voi che sapete’ (properly, we believe, belonging to <i>Susanna</i>) was listened to with delight for its soft variety of expression. But we are inclined to think the long, various, and nobly sustained harmony, which commences with the entrance of <i>Susanna</i> from the closet, and which is continued until the curtain drops, increasing gradually in the number of its parts, and bringing out at length all the dramatis personæ of the opera, to the first act of which it forms the finale – this, we repeat, we are disposed to consider among the masterpieces of the Italian stage.”</p> <p>Details given of the ‘persons of rank and fashion’ who attended.</p> <p><b>MC (3.2.17)</b> “The admirers of Mozart enjoyed a great treat at this house on Saturday, in the performance of his admirable Opera <i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i>, a work which is by many considered as his chef d’oeuvre; though others contend for the right of superiority in favour of <i>Don Giovanni</i>; a question concerning which the public will soon have an opportunity of judging, as it appears that the latter is to be brought out immediately. But, whatever may be the comparative merits of the two, <i>Figaro</i> possesses so many positive beauties, that it attracts and it charms, wherever beautiful melody, rich harmony, and passionate expression are admired. It certainly never was performed so advantageously for the credit of the great composer as upon this occasion; nearly the whole force of the</p>
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			<p>establishment was employed to give effect to it. From such a body of talent every thing was to be expected, and all expectations were amply fulfilled. The merits of Madame Fodor, as the <i>Countess</i>, are already well known by her excellent performance of it last season. Madame Camporesi [<i>sic</i>], in the part of <i>Susanna</i>, was, for the first time, seen amongst us in a comic character. Though perhaps nature may have given to her more of dignity than vivacity, and qualified her rather for the tragic, or grand, than the familiar and cheerful scene – an opinion generally entertained by those who have witnessed her performance at the private theatre of the Tuileries – yet upon this occasion any deficiency in the animal spirits was so well supplied by art – by a knowledge of what the part required, and of stage effect – we that [<i>sic</i> = that we] can point out but very little, if any thing, that admits of a beneficial alteration. Her singing was delightful – her round, rich voice, flowing uninterruptedly from the chest, united to a pure taste and a delicate ear, gave the most delicious effect to the many choice <i>morceaux</i> with which the opera abounds. Her duet ‘<i>Crudel! perchè finora</i>,’ sung with Ambrogetti, was most deservedly encored by all the house: so also was the duet with Madame Fodor, ‘<i>sull’ aria</i>.’ [<i>sic</i>] It is long since we have heard such a performance as this latter; – never before, nor since, the days of Billington and Grassini! Signor Ambrogetti made his debut in this opera. His voice is termed, in musical language, a <i>baritone</i>, or a high base: it is smooth, very pleasing, and sufficiently powerful. To these qualities he adds a purity of style, and a judgment – we might indeed say an elegance – in spite of his person, which inclines to corpulency – in acting, which lead us to expect much from his future exertions. Madame Pasta, as the <i>Page</i>, was quite fascinating; but she sung her first air too slow: it requires, in order to express the words, quickness and agitation. The <i>finales</i> were executed <i>a merveille</i>, and astonished, by their perfectness, the connoisseurs, who numerously attended this performance. The wonder, however, will be rather abated, when it is considered that every person now engaged in the opera department of this theatre is a good musician, and it requires that thorough knowledge of the art which these artists possess to produce such an effect as was witnessed in the quartetts, &amp;c. on Saturday night. The house was completely filled. The Grand Duke Nicholas was in his box a quarter of an hour before the overture began, resolving not to lose one note of such music; and the Princess Charlotte, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, &amp;c. soon followed. After the opera ‘God save the King’ was called for, and at length played by the orchestra. It is known to be the wish of the Royal Family not to be publicly noticed when they attend the opera; but as the band performed the loyal anthem, the vocal strength should have been added; but we understand that part of them were already disrobed when the orchestra commenced.” Comments on the ballet.</p> <p><b>T (24.2.17)</b> “The house was crowded with brilliant company; many members of the Royal Family, amongst other distinguished personages, being present.”</p>
Portugal	<p>3 June 1815 King’s Theatre</p> <p>8 performances</p>	<p><b><i>Barsene regina di Lidia</i></b></p> <p>“a new Grand Serious Opera Barsene, Regina di Lidia”</p> <p>Cranmer suggests it was a pastiche including music by Portugal.</p>	<p><b>Possibly benefit production for Marianna Sessi</b> (for whom it was specially prepared).</p> <p><b>Libretto source</b> printed libretto, <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.11.(8.)</p> <p><b>Advertised MP</b> (3.6.15, 6.6.15, 9.6.15, 16.6.15, 20.6.15); <b>T</b> (6.6.15, 16.6.15, 3.2.17)</p> <p><b>Reviews</b> <b>MP (5.6.15)</b> “The frequenters of this House, had an exquisite treat on Saturday night, in the first representation of a new, grand, serious Opera, entitled, Barsene Regina Di Lidia. The music, which is composed by the celebrated Marco Portogallo, possesses excellencies of the highest cast, and was heard to the end with unusual delight. A beautiful trio in the first act, between Sessi, Graam, and Marzocchi, executed in the finest style, obtained strong marks of approbation, and was encored – indeed, the whole of the Opera excited particular attention, and drew forth more applause than we recollect having fallen to the lot of any of its predecessors, for a great length of time.” Gives details of plot.</p>

			<p><b>MC (5.6.15)</b> “An Opera, new to this country, and intended to be brought out at Mad. Sessi’s Benefit, if she had taken one, was produced at this Theatre on Saturday night. Its title is <i>Barsene, Regina di Lidia</i>, the dramatic part of which is by the renowned Caravita, and the music by Portogallo. The story, we presume, is to be placed to the credit of the Poet, for we only recollect one <i>Barsene</i> in ancient history, who was a daughter of <i>Darius</i>, and married to <i>Alexander</i>; whereas, the heroine of the Poem before us is united to <i>Alceste</i>, a man of course, and moreover a valiant general; though it is the first time that we have ever known this well-remembered classic name applied to any of the masculine gender, and our scholastic feelings and notions of fitness were much troubled at the circumstance. <i>Barsene</i>, Queen of Lydia, had been desired by her dying father, <i>Arpagus</i>, to wed <i>Narsete</i>, King of Armenia, in order to terminate a war which was maintained between the two countries. The lady, however, had been so provident as to supply herself clandestinely with a husband, <i>Alceste</i>, long before. The sure result of which was, a battle between the real and the <i>soi-disant</i> spouse. The latter is vanquished, and the High Priest, who, like most High Priests, thought that the person, apparently the strongest, would make the best Monarch and husband, and therefore recommended <i>Narsete</i>, now is rejoiced in giving his benediction to the successful Chief, and cheerfully does homage to <i>Alceste</i>, who suddenly bursts upon us as King, and announces the fact in the following <i>viva voce</i> proclamation, delivered by himself, [‘]Re son ’io! [‘] an admirable specimen of brevity, and an indisputable proof in favour of Goldsmith’s assertion relative to the creation of Princes, – ‘A breath can make them, as a breath has made’. The music very much resembles most of this composer’s other works – it is without fault and without vigour; but it contains some good points, and is certainly the best piece that the Opera-house has boasted this season. The recitative <i>Narsete giunse</i>, and the following aria, <i>La mia Sposa</i>, in the first act, have great merit; so have the accompanied recitative and aria, sung by Mad. Sessi, in the same scene. A terzetto in this act, <i>Bella Pace</i>, was deservedly encored; it is full of expression and good harmony. – The <i>Finale</i> to the first act is a spirited and ingenious composition; only it should have been adapted to words expressive of joy, rather than of fear, agitation, and grief, to which it is now allotted. The second act is not equal to the first, but it is judiciously short, and does not tire. This Opera was, upon the whole, favourably received, and the performers exerted themselves to their utmost; Marzocchi in particular deserves praise; he is a modest singer, who, it appears to us, has merit which a little encouragement would bring forth.”</p> <p><b>MH (5.6.15)</b> “A new serious Opera was produced at this Theatre on Saturday night, entitled <i>Barsene, Regina di Lidia</i>. It is the composition of Portogallo, who, availing himself, in some degree, of the labours of his predecessors, has nevertheless displayed enough of originality and of excellence to confirm his title to the rank which he previously held among composers. – With nothing lavish in scenery or decorations, this Opera deservedly found more friends than have latterly appeared at the King’s Theatre on any similar occasion. Some of the Music is full of genuine pathos, while it is not deficient in science; and an apostrophe to Peace, beginning <i>Bella pace a noi discendi</i>, by Sessi, Graam, and Marzocchi, was loudly encored. They gave this trio in very excellent style. The chorus <i>Desolata, agita, volente</i>, which concludes the first act, we consider rather inappropriately set; the expression is too lively for the words or the occasion. We never heard Sessi to more advantage than in <i>Sopirando afflitta, e mesta</i>, which procured for her, as well as the composer, great applause. The noise of the battle at a distance, and two or three other little things, we thought might have been better managed; but these are minor considerations in a piece where music is almost every thing, and especially where that music is good.” Gives an account of the plot. “The house was very well filled.”</p> <p><b>MP (21.6.15)</b> “Last night the favourite Opera of <i>Barseni</i> [<i>sic</i>] was repeated with undiminished success. Madame Sessi never sung better, and Marzocchi, Le Vasseur, and Graam, who appeared rather indisposed, were alike fortunate in gaining the plaudits of a numerous and fashionable auditory. The beautiful trio of ‘<i>Bella Pace</i>,’ between Mad. Sessi, Marzocchi, and Graam, was, as usual, encored. We know of no Opera in which Mad. Sessi displays so much scope of voice, richness of tone, and exquisite taste, as in this delightful piece, composed expressly for her by Portogallo, who, we have reason to believe, is somewhat indebted to the professional abilities of this distinguished performer.”</p>
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Mozart	12 April 1817 King's Theatre  26 performances	<b><i>Don Giovanni</i></b> (ob, Da Ponte), Prague, 1787	<p>Puff published by <i>T</i> (31.3.17, and 11.4.17 with material from the historical preface to printed King's Theatre libretto)</p> <p><b><i>Libretto sources</i></b> (manuscript) <i>US-SM</i> Larpent MS. 1966; (printed) <i>GB-Lbl</i> 907.k.12.(4.). See Cowgill.</p> <p><b><i>Reviews</i></b></p> <p><b><i>T</i> (14.4.17)</b> "That highly celebrated Opera, the <i>Don Juan</i> of Mozart, was, after being announced for many weeks, at length brought forward on Saturday evening. So much has already appeared in the papers on the musical history and merits of this grand composition, that little of the critic's duty remains to be performed. We can but place on record what had been so generally anticipated; and on the present occasion we have pleasure in stating, that the success of <i>Don Juan</i> was eminent and complete. The acting throughout was just and spirited; the music was delightfully executed; and the new scenic decorations were picturesque and splendid. Ambrogetti acquitted himself with extraordinary energy; and with respect either to vocal or dramatic action, we have rarely seen any performance more powerful than his, from the opening of the second act, to the conclusion of the supper scene, where the statue and a host of devils beset <i>Don Pedro</i>'s murderer. Naldi's <i>Leporello</i> was a piece of comic and assured extravagance, which relieved the sombre complexion of the crimes upon which it was employed. Crivelli was correct enough, but overpowered by superior organs. Some of the airs by the female performers displayed much taste and feeling; and the noble, and often terrible and thrilling, harmonies were poured forth by the assembled corps of singers with masterly precision. Among the decorations of the Opera must be noticed the striking view of the Cemetery and Equestrian Statue in the second act, where the shades are managed with unusual depth and softness, and the moonbeam is thrown with prodigious effect upon the ghastly figure of the horseman. The story may be comprised in the following statement: – <i>Don Juan</i> is a dissolute nobleman, a libertine of the higher class: regardless of the impediments, moral or divine, that impede the gratification of his passions, he commences his career with an attempt to violate a lady of beauty, wealth, and rank. Her father, <i>Don Pedro</i>, comes to her assistance, and receives a wound from the libertine that shortly terminates in his death. The hero then proceeds through a variety of adventures, all having the same object; and at length, to avoid the consequences of an unfortunate dilemma in which he has placed himself, he takes refuge in the cemetery in which the remains of <i>Don Pedro</i> are deposited. Here commences the terrific part of the scene: a sound from the Equestrian Statue excites his attention; – it is the warning voice of the figure of <i>Don Pedro</i>, which tells him, that before the dawn his mirth will have an end: it denounces the vengeance of Heaven for his daring to disturb the repose of the dead; and says it waits for vengeance on the impious man who deprived him of life. <i>Don Juan</i> disregards these threats, and invites the spectre to supper. The invitation is accepted. Afterwards, at a splendid banquet, the guests are disturbed and terrified by the entrance of a ghost of <i>Don Pedro</i>, clad in complete white armour. The spirit, in its turn, invites the libertine to supper: this invitation is likewise accepted; and <i>Don Juan</i>, presenting his hand to the figure, is instantly seized with a mortal terror: his conscience is awakened, and he is at once distracted and stung with remorse. Dæmons arise, bearing fiery torches; a flaming abyss opens into which he is precipitated, to receive the punishment due to his crimes. Such are the materials of the drama. The music, as was before noticed, is altogether of so high a cast, the melodies are so original and enchanting, the harmonies so profound and full of genius, that we confess we have not time at present to lay so perfect an account of it before our readers as its merit requires; we therefore beg to defer, till its next performance, the remarks we have to offer, when its beauties shall be fully entered into, and some defects pointed out, which we think a little attention may remedy. It was received with the most enthusiastic applause by one of the most crowded audiences we have ever seen at this theatre." Unsigned, but the author can be identified as Thomas Massa Alsager (see letter from Thomas Massa Alsager to William Ayrton, postmarked 22 May 1817, <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS. 52339, f. 185).</p>
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			<p><b>MC (14.4.17)</b> “The hopes of the public have been raised so high in favour of the <i>Don Giovanni</i> of Mozart, that we entered this house on Saturday under some apprehensions, knowing that very sanguine expectations in all matters relating to the Fine Arts are commonly followed by proportionate disappointments. – Moreover, so much has been written and said concerning this work, the difficulty of executing it has been so universally allowed, and the attempt has so often failed, that during the interval between admission and the rise of the curtain, our anxiety for the credit of our favourite Composer, excited in us an agitation by no means inconsiderable. This Opera is at once the greatest work of Mozart, and the finest specimen that exists of dramatic music. Its effect upon the stage, which is inconceivable to those who have not witnessed it, is sufficient to shew the power of harmony in expressing passion and exciting sympathy. There is something of so high an intellectual nature in the whole of its formation, that the Author by this composition, has placed his art in a more exalted sphere than it ever reached before. [Details of cast and plot ...] From a work like this, where nothing but excellence is to be found, it is not easy to select parts for distinct praise. The first trio between <i>Don Juan</i>, <i>Leporello</i>, and <i>Don Pedro</i>, where the latter is mortally wounded, is in the highest degree pathetic; and the duet that soon succeeds, for <i>Donna Anna</i> and <i>Don Octavio</i>, is equally well calculated for dramatic effect, and at the same time is one of the finest musical compositions known. The pastoral duet, <i>Giovinette</i>, so simply elegant and full of melody, was encored; so was also the duet, which all amateurs know and admire, <i>La ci darem</i>. An air for <i>Zerlina</i>, <i>Vedrai carino</i>, and one for <i>Don Juan</i>, <i>Finche dal vino</i> [<i>sic</i>], were repeated; and we are persuaded that, but for the length of the opera, more than half the pieces would have been called for over again. The extremely difficult sestett, <i>Sola, Sola</i>, was performed with an astonishing degree of accuracy. It is not in the power of words to describe the merit of this beautiful and elaborate composition. The finale to the first act, in which there is so much variety, went off <i>à merveille</i>. In this are introduced three different species of dances, performing at the same moment; and also three distinct orchestras, each playing a different piece of music, and all in opposing measures. The two airs sung by <i>Octavio</i> are so exquisitely beautiful that we rather expected one or both to be encored; and the last <i>bravura</i> by <i>Donna Anna</i> combines the two qualities so seldom united, of the pleasing and the surprising. The music in the scenes where the statue speaks, is quite marvellous. Mozart, who knew well the power of association, has, in the first of these, imitated the chant of the Catholic Church, and the effect is solemnly sublime. In the last scene, the burst of the whole orchestra upon the entrance of the stone figure is tremendous; which with the wind instruments, ascending the musical scale in various keys, in mysterious progressions, and wailing sounds, renders the whole almost petrifying. The whole of the performers executed their arduous task with the utmost accuracy. Mad. Camporese, as the afflicted <i>Donna Anna</i>, was full of pathos; the music of this part i[s] well calculated for her rich voice and grand style. Miss Hughes, in the character of <i>Elvira</i>, gave it with the energy which a deserted and vindictive female naturally feels; her singing in this most difficult part was excellent. Mad. Fodor represented a lively girl upon the point of marriage – but who is an abominable coquette, and not insensible to the wit and gallantry of a Spanish Grandee. The charming <i>naïvete</i> with which she performed this part, and the delicious manner in which she sang the airs, &amp;c. produced thunders of applause. Crivelli gave a force and dignity to the character of <i>Octavio</i>, which it never possessed before; his voice, which flows so naturally from his manly chest, is music itself. Naldi, as <i>Leporello</i>, was excellent; his drollery produced many bursts of laughter. Angrisani personated two characters, <i>Don Pedro</i> (afterwards the Statue) and <i>Masetto</i>. His liveliness in one, his stately dignity in the other, and the judgment and accuracy with which he displayed in both, procured the loudest applause, which this very good singer and actor richly merited. But the most distinguished part in this Opera is <i>Don Juan</i>; and it is only doing justice to declare, that it was performed in the most perfect manner by Ambrogetti, both as an actor and as a singer. The whole audience were enraptured by him; his gaiety, activity, address; his power of commanding his countenance, his by-play, and attention to all the <i>minutiae</i> of the scene, render him the first performer in his department that has been seen on the Italian stage. The progress which he has made in the public esteem has been uncommonly rapid, and he is deserving of the notice by which he is marked, for no man takes more pains to merit it. The scenery is chiefly new, and bears honourable testimony to the liberal</p>
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If those who are now at the head of the Opera Establishment, had no other claim on our approbation, than that of having introduced this sublime work, in a perfect shape, to the notice of the British public, we should have thought ourselves accountable to them for a debt of praise, which, however well earned, we feel scarcely able to liquidate. – Where moderate pleasure has been given, moderate thanks will suffice, and the tongue will readily find words to express the feelings of the heart – but, where extraordinary delight has been imparted, the mind, dwelling with earnestness on the enjoyment it has experienced, finds it a very difficult task to frame a suitable acknowledgement to those who have been the proximate cause of producing the most exquisite sensations. Thus are we situated with respect to the Proprietors of the Opera-house. We are so much occupied in reflecting on the immortal work of Mozart, that we can scarcely spare a thought on those, whose excellent taste placed it before us, rich in all the attributes of genius – now enchanting us with the most delicious pastoral strains – now exciting the liveliest feelings, by airs, which, however new the expression, may well be denominated comic – now lifting the mind to heaven, by the sublimest harmonies – and now, by the introduction of powerful discords, causing the soul to shrink back upon itself, as though it had heard echoed from the grave, the appalling language of another world. Such is this sublime composition – comprising within itself all that is playful, all that is lively, all that is sublime, all that is terrific in music. It has for some time been a question amongst the <i>connoisseurs</i>, whether <i>Figaro</i> or <i>Don Giovanni</i> be the master-piece of Mozart? We think <i>Giovanni</i> a more profoundly scientific work than <i>Figaro</i> – but we doubt whether two pieces, so very different in character, ought to be opposed to each other. The elements of <i>Figaro</i> are gaiety and sprightliness – but, in <i>Giovanni</i>, the mirthful, the pensive, and the awful, are artfully introduced. We have heard it remarked (and the remark, we think, arose from want of observation) that the opera of <i>Giovanni</i> is too <i>sombre</i> – that there is no contrast to give life to the picture – which, therefore, though highly wrought, has a dull and heavy effect. This is a complete fallacy. The contrast of character, and, consequently, the contrast of music, through which medium the passions are here expressed, could hardly have been carried farther – and this continual opposition, which has been managed with exquisite skill by Mozart, who has given to each character sounds perfectly appropriate to its peculiar situation, forms one of the chief beauties of the Opera. This may be clearly perceived in the <i>finales</i>, where, by contrasted sounds, each individual maintaining his own peculiarity of manner, the finest harmony is produced. Indeed, a glance at the <i>Dramatis Personæ</i> proves that this assertion is unfounded. We there find, the volatile <i>Giovanni</i>, the comic <i>Leporello</i>, the lively <i>Zerlina</i>, and the rustic <i>Masetto</i> – they are opposed to the pensive <i>Elvira</i>, and <i>Don Ottavio</i>, the sighing lover. The former, until the catastrophe is nearly accomplished, breathe none but cheerful strains – the latter, throughout, give vent to an impassioned melancholy. So much for the assertion of want of contrast. Again, we have heard it said, that the different parts of the Opera, being exquisite, when performed by themselves, lose much of their effect when brought together, and formed into a perfect whole. The continuity of beauty, without blemish, occasioned, it seemed, disgust instead of admiration. We have heard this seriously asserted; and, doubtless, those who have imbibed the idea, would not scruple to tell a very beautiful woman, that they disliked her face, because it was faultless – but that they would have adored it, if she had been fortunate enough to squint, or to be mistress of any other defect, which would have set off her remaining charms to advantage. We published, on Saturday, the very</p>
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It may not be improper to remark, that <i>Giovanni</i> is thus far unlike <i>Don Juan</i>: – The latter commits several murders, the former only one – the latter succeeds in seducing the affections of the women who come in contact with him on the stage – the former fails in every instance – but the catalogue in which his servant <i>Leporello</i> inscribes the names of his various mistresses, to the amount of a couple of thousand, shews that he has not been always so unsuccessful. The Opera has been produced in the most brilliant style. The orchestra, filled with musicians of rare ability, executed Mozart's admirable compositions with wonderful skill – and the vocal performers vied with each other in representing their respective characters with effect. From such an orchestra, and such an union of vocal talent, a perfect representation of this beautiful piece was naturally expected – and perfect it undoubtedly was. Signor Ambrogetti sustained the character of <i>Don Giovanni</i> most excellently. Both as an actor and a singer he well deserved the praise which was abundantly poured on him. He described the thoughtless gaiety, and careless depravity, of the hardened rake, with much spirit and effect. He sang exceedingly well. His full and musical tones, subservient to a fine natural taste, and a highly cultivated judgment, were heard with great pleasure. He sang the air, '<i>Finchè dal vino</i>,' which was rapturously <i>encored</i>, with delightful vivacity. Signor Naldi, as <i>Leporello</i>, was more than usually entertaining. He seemed to be inspired with a double portion of comic genius. Nothing could exceed the humour with which he sang the air – 'Madamina! il catalogo è questo [<i>sic</i>] / Delle belle ch'amo' 'I [<i>punctuation sic</i>] padron mio' The part of <i>Don Octavio</i> is of a confined nature. He is little more than a walking gentleman; but Signor Crivelli, to whom the character was assigned, executed the music attached to it, in a very superior style. He was particularly happy in the fine air, '<i>Il mio tesoro intanto</i>,' which was very much applauded. Signor Angrisani appeared in two characters – that of <i>Don Pedro</i> and <i>Masetto</i> – the former an old grandee, the latter a peasant. We were highly pleased with him in both, particularly in the latter character. Madame Fodor appeared as the interesting <i>Zerlina</i>, a young and innocent country girl. Her frank and easy manner – her jocund and heart-contented looks – her simple and melodious strains, which glided across the ear as softly as the refreshing breezes of the spring – united to form an enchanting picture of rural innocence. An <i>encore</i> followed her duet with <i>Masetto</i>, '<i>Giovinette, che fate all'amore</i>;' and the same mark of approbation was bestowed on her duet with <i>Don Giovanni</i>, '<i>Là ci darem la mano</i>,' which was exquisitely performed. She was also <i>encored</i> in two of her airs, '<i>Batti, batti, O bel Masetto</i>,' and '<i>Vedrai carino</i>.' Indeed her whole performance excited the admiration of the audience. Madame Camporese gave proof of very great talent in her performance of <i>Donna Anna</i>. The duet with <i>Octavio</i>, '<i>Fuggi, crudele, fuggi</i>,' and the two airs, '<i>Or sai chi l'onore</i>,' and '<i>Non mi dir, bell'idol mio</i>,' were greatly applauded. Miss Hughes, as <i>Donna Elvira</i>, sustained her reputation as an eminently scientific singer. The dresses are splendid, and the scenery very beautiful. The view of the cemetery, with the statue of <i>Don Pedro</i> in the centre, was particularly admired. The reflection of the moon on the statue was well managed, and produced a fine effect. [Points about the ballet ...] The house was crowded to excess. Long before the rising of the curtain the pit was completely filled – and, soon after the Opera commenced, the boxes exhibited a dazzling display of beauty and fashion."</p> <p><b>D (nd.4.17)</b> "On Saturday was represented at this Theatre, for the first time in this country, Mozart's Grand Opera of <i>Don Giovanni</i>, and in a style highly creditable to the managers of that establishment. Although unknown here as a public spectacle, this work has in private long been a favourite study with all true musicians and amateurs of music. It is this circumstance which could alone enable us to give any distinct account of the performance; the beauties it comprises are so numerous, so various, and of so high an order, as to exceed, if presented for the first time to the contemplation, the grasp of the most powerful mind. We propose to point out the</p>
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		<p>characteristic excellencies of the Opera, considered in relation to the music absolutely, and as an auxiliary to that purpose rather than an account of any merit or interest the story possesses, we mean to give a sketch of the subject and situation of the principal scenes, and to connect with that sketch some account of the different beautiful compositions arising out of them. [Gives account of plot. On the duet 'Là ci darem'] This is a piece of simple structure, but very charming. However popular and well known it may be, every one who heard it on Saturday evening will confess that it was given with a grace of which they could not have believed it susceptible. It was rapturously encored. [Continues account of plot ...] [Highlights ...] the beautiful song of <i>Batti, batti, o bel Masetto</i>, which has been long known and admired [and ...] the finale of the first act, which is one continued piece of music, consisting of eleven different movements, and containing solid substance enough for half a dozen of the common flimsy race of Italian Operas. [Of the ball ...] This scene forms one of the most striking features of the Opera. Mozart has here contrived that three bands of music shall play respectively, a minuet, a country dance, and a waltz; all of which are essentially to a different measure, yet he has managed with the most exquisite skill to make them harmonize and blend together. [Continues account of plot ... The trio at the beginning of Act 2] will be admired the more it is heard. [Continues to recount plot ... Mentions] the beautiful air of <i>Vedrai Carino</i>, a movement of the most touching simplicity and tenderness. [and ...] the sestett <i>Sola, sola in bujo loco</i>, one of the finest pieces in the Opera. It was executed with great correctness. [Continues plot ... Mentions] the singular duet <i>O statua gentilissima</i> [<i>sic</i>], full of strange and original effect. It is very difficult, and requires allowance; we hope, nevertheless, at the next performance to here [<i>sic</i>] it more accurately given. This scene was greatly overacted, it sunk at the latter part into perfect pantomime. [Continues plot ...] As [Elvira] is going out the tremendous visitor the statue arrives, to the dismay of all but the inflexible <i>Don Juan</i>. A terrible scene ensues; the effect is exclusively produced here, not by the situation itself, which, perhaps, borders on the ludicrous, but by the singular and mysterious sounds which support it from the orchestra. <i>Don Juan</i> having taken the hand of the statue, is finally after fruitless exhortations to repentance, seized with despair, the ground opens and he is swallowed up. On such an occasion as the first performance of an Opera like the <i>Don Giovanni</i>, an Opera which we had almost despaired of seeing attempted on the English stage, so minute a detail of the fable as we have here given, will doubtless be found acceptable to the greater part of our musical readers. It will enable those who are unacquainted with this charming production to follow more closely the design of the composer: while those who already know it, will not be displeased to retrace its delightful recollections. In our eyes the incidents assume a high importance – they are hallowed by the touch of Mozart's genius. Various as were the merits of the performers we cannot afford them at present even a brief notice; they must yield to the greater interest arising out of the production before us. Let it be their best and truest praise, a source of the most lasting reputation, that they have contributed by their exertions to present Mozart's <i>Don Giovanni</i> to the British public in a manner worthy of its immortal author! At some future time we shall, perhaps, renew this subject: meantime we recommend to all who are lovers of the art, or who wish to become so, to draw their materials from the fountain head of excellence. The house overflowed in every part, all the private boxes were filled, and in the pit there was scarce room to stand. From the beginning to the end the pleasure derived from the performance was manifested by continual plaudits. So many of the airs were encored, that it was not until near eleven the Opera finished. Among the persons of distinction were – The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, Princess Sophia of Gloucester, Dukes of Grafton and Argyle, Duchesses of Richmond and Argyle, Marquises of Anglesea and Ormond, &amp;c.”</p> <p><b>MH (14.4.17)</b> “It has at length become the boast of England, that her capital possesses a fund of musical enjoyment, which is not perhaps to be equalled in any other city of Europe. The King's Theatre, which was opened for the present season under auspices so peculiarly favourable, has gone on in its career, mending all its former imperfections, and increasing every night its various attractions. The principal operas which were performed last year, have this year been repeated with improved effect. The new operas which have already been produced, have been all eminently successful, and respectively are stamped with the public favour. We</p>
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			<p>apprehend, however, that the Drama which was exhibited on Saturday evening, will for some time engross the imagination of the musical world. High anticipations had been formed of this composition – the very announcement of Mozart's <i>Don Giovanni</i>, was sufficient to kindle a hope of pleasure, which soon became almost enthusiasm. The story of this Opera is familiar to most persons, for it has been dramatized with various incidents upon several of the minor stages, and such was the interest it raised, that whether as a pantomime, or a romance, it has never been utterly unsuccessful. It must, however, when rendered into an Italian Opera, be necessarily conducted with as much simplicity as possible, because the object here is not so much to win the attention by the intricacy of fable, as to charm the ear by the combination of numbers. The plot is therefore confined within a narrow limitation. <i>Don Juan</i>, a nobleman, and an incorrigible libertine, commences the action of the piece with an attempt to violate <i>Donna Anna</i>, a lady of superior birth and beauty, but being defeated by her firmness, and alarmed by her cries, he is endeavouring to make his escape, when her father, <i>Don Pedro</i>, comes to her assistance. A combat ensues, in which <i>Don Pedro</i> is mortally wounded. The hero then proceeds through several other adventures, which have all the same end in view, namely, to gratify his passion for the fair, and at length, to obtain a safe retreat from an unfortunate dilemma in which he was placed during one of his nightly excursions he flies to the cemetery where the body of <i>Don Pedro</i> was buried, over whose monument stands an equestrian statue. To this place of graves he is soon followed by his servant <i>Leporello</i>, who had been searching for him, and while <i>Don Juan</i> is relating with great gaiety the various dangers he had undergone, an awful sound from the tomb is heard – the statue is seen to move, the thunder rolls above, and a warning voice announces 'Ere the dawn this mirth will have an end.' The solemnity of the scene, the terror of the prophecy, makes no impression on the depraved heart of <i>Juan</i>. He learns that the statue is that of <i>Pedro</i>, and, with a tone of mockery, he invites the 'exquisite old fool' to supper. He then returns to his house, where a splendid banquet is prepared, and while he is yet sitting with his guests, enjoying the festivity of the hour, and surrounded by musicians and dancers, the spectre of <i>Don Pedro</i> appears in the hall, and proceeds onward to the saloon. The guests fly from the table in disorder; <i>Juan</i> is still not alarmed. The spirit, in his turn invites him to be his guest, and <i>Juan</i>, yielding to his request, gives him his hand; but the moment he touches <i>Don Pedro</i>, he stands appalled – remorse for his crimes agonises his conscience – an abyss opens beneath him, whence arise the spirits of the damned, who surround him on every side, and hurry him down to the infernal regions. The part of <i>Don Juan</i> was sustained by Signor Ambrogetti. It appeared to us that his vivacity was sometimes inelegant, and his courtship on several occasions wanted that seductive sweetness of manner which generally characterizes an experienced libertine. His deportment was frequently without the ease and dignity of a Nobleman. His conception of the character seemed to be correct, but it was not executed with equal perfection. Wherever his vocal powers, however, were concerned, he was deservedly admired, particularly in the duetto with <i>Zerlina</i> (Madame Fodor) a country maid whom he was endeavouring to ensnare. He was also exceedingly animated and powerful in the air <i>Finche dal vino</i>. Madame Fodor in the character just alluded to, and Madame Camporese, as <i>Donna Anna</i>, were frequently encored. One of the most beautiful melodies in the piece is that duetto, in which the former bears so conspicuous a part – <i>Giovinette, che fate all'amore</i>. It has all the joyfulness and enchantment of the <i>Matin</i> song in <i>Cymbeline</i>, and was executed in the happiest style. Angrisani and Crivelli, as <i>Pedro</i> and <i>Masetto</i> [<i>sic</i>] (the lover of <i>Zerlina</i>) were also very effective. Angrisani's fine bass voice was heard with peculiar advantage in the spectre scenes. The music of the whole of the Opera is wonderfully fine, but upon those occasions where it conveys the voice of the spirit, it assumes a majesty which awes the senses. It seems truly an unearthly sound; it is simple, but it is at the same time fraught with sublimity. Miss Hughes personated <i>Donna Elvira</i> with more success than we have yet seen her attain; she sung in admirable style. Naldi, as <i>Leporello</i>, was, as usual, highly spirited; he excited much mirth by his happy elastic manner. Upon the whole, the Opera was performed in a superior strain of excellence. There was some new beautiful scenery, particularly the <i>Cemetery</i>. The moon is seen glancing on the statue; a charming blue is cast over the clouds, and the silvery tint which is shed upon the lifted arm of the statue was finely imagined. We have never beheld so faithful a representation of nature as this was. The house overflowed</p>
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			<p>in every part. Among the persons of distinction were – The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, Princess Sophia of Gloucester, Dukes of Grafton and Argyle, Duchesses of Richmond and Argyle, Marquisses of Anglesea and Ormond, &amp;c.”</p> <p><b>MP (14.4.17)</b> “Mozart is the Shakspeare [<i>sic</i>] of the Italian Stage. We do not mean by this assertion to provoke any discussion on the relative merits of poetry and music; we leave that question to be decided whenever a sufficient number of candid disputants, equally versed in both, shall be found. In the meantime we hazard nothing by saying, that his pre-eminence, and that of our immortal bard, is equally great and indisputable. Saturday last, which presented, for the first time to the public of this country, his great Opera, <i>Don Giovanni</i>, will be an æra in the history of music. The greatest exertions have undoubtedly been used in every department of the King’s Theatre to make the representation worthy of its author. The perseverance, the judgment that has been shewn on this occasion, can alone be fully estimated by those who are aware of the difficulty of the undertaking. [Lists dramatis personæ.] Don Juan, the profligate hero of the story, is in love with Donna Anna; impatient of the regular delays of courtship, he penetrates by night, and in disguise, into her apartment. Alarmed by her cries, her father, Don Pedro, comes to her assistance, but is killed by Don Juan, who, in consequence, escapes detection. He is occupied throughout the greater part of the Opera by designs on different women, which are frustrated by the interference of <i>Donna Elvira</i>, who has followed him from Burgos, to regain his lost affections, or to be revenged for his desertion. The interest chiefly arises out of this, and the attempts of <i>Donna Anna</i> and <i>Don Octavio</i>, her lover, to detect and punish the murderer of her father. This vengeance, however, is reserved for the hand of heaven. – <i>Don Juan</i>, in the course of one of his nocturnal rambles, takes refuge in a cemetery, wherein is placed an equestrian statue, erected to the memory of the unfortunate <i>Don Pedro</i>. This statue, by a sort of mysterious agency peculiar to this drama (and which causes it to be distinguished by the epithet grotesque), moved by his atrocities, is made to speak and warn him of his approaching fate. <i>Don Juan</i> hears with unconcern the supernatural admonition, and by way of bravado invites the statue to sup with him. A deep sepulchral voice utters the word <i>Yes!</i> To conclude, in the last scene this awful figure comes to supper, and after vainly urging him to repentance, takes him by the hand. At this an icy coldness comes over <i>Don Juan</i>; he is seized with despair; the ground opens, and discovers gulfs of fire, demons appear – he is precipitated into the abyss. These materials, rugged as they seem, were singularly calculated for the display of Mozart’s genius, which is strongly impressed on every part of the work. He here found passion, sentiment, and, above all, supernatural agency. One of the admirable qualities of this Opera is the exactness with which the characters are preserved in the music. Here in colours strongly marked we trace the eternal, unrepressed gaiety of <i>Don Juan</i>; the archness, and half knavery, half folly of <i>Lessorello</i> [<i>sic</i>]; the love of <i>Elvira</i> for her betrayer struggling with her resentment, her desire of revenge; grief, inconsolable grief, for her father’s death, the predominant feature in the character of <i>Donna Anna</i>, for ever like a smothered flame, bursting forth; the perfect, the disinterested attachment of her lover <i>Octavio</i>, who ever yields to her wish, making his own happiness subservient to her’s [<i>sic</i>]; the artless simplicity of the peasant girl, <i>Zerlina</i>; but still above all this, excellent and inimitable as it is, our astonishment is excited by the wonderful, the supernatural effects which accompany the first speaking, and the introduction of the Statue in the supper scene – all here is terrible, obscure and undefined – our blood absolutely runs cold. Never do we recollect any such impression produced from a combination of musical sounds. It remains to do justice to those to whom the public are indebted for the production of this admirable work, and to the performers who have assisted in its representation. To the gentleman who is now well known as the arbiter of the public taste, who takes a leading part in conducting the two first musical establishments in this country, the chief merit is to be ascribed. He has planned the performance; he has superintended it in its progress, and has brought it by his exertions to the perfect state in which the public now receive it. His efforts have been zealously seconded by all the performers. This is incomparably the best musical performance we have ever witnessed on the boards of this Theatre. – Ambrogetti, who sustained the principal character, has the reputation all over the Continent of being the best <i>Don Juan</i> that ever appeared – he fully realized the expectations that have been formed of him – his song of ‘<i>Fin ch’han del vino</i>,’ remarkable for its spirit and gaiety, was encored. –</p>
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			<p>Naldi is so well known to the public, that it may be said of him that he acted the part of <i>Lessorello</i> with his usual humour, and sung it with his usual judgment and accuracy. – Madame Fodor made a charming <i>Zerlina</i>, and Madame Camporesi gave us in the part of <i>Donna Anna</i> all the effect intended by the Author. – Miss Hughes was completely successful in <i>Elvira</i>. This lady is quite at home on the Italian stage. It has on some occasions been considered that, giving scope to her great powers, she was apt to overact her parts; but as high spirit is the characteristic of <i>Elvira</i>, this character was perfectly suited to her high talents, and her success was consequently most complete. She is indeed a brilliant and accomplished singer, and proves herself a great acquisition to this Theatre. – Angrisani, who sustained the parts of <i>Don Pedro</i> and of <i>Masetto</i>, is, as well as Ambrogetti, one of the new performers of the present season, selected by the taste of the present Manager, and does infinite [<i>sic</i>] taste to the selection. His voice is a clear bass, he sings well in tune, and is an excellent musician. The house was crowded at an early hour in all its parts, and the curtain fell amidst the unanimous applause which was to be expected from the taste and discernment of an English audience. Among the distinguished fashionables we noticed – The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, Duke and Duchess of Portland, Duke of Dorset; Marquisses of Buckingham, Anglesea, Ormond, and Winchester; Marchionesses of Anglesea, Salisbury, and Lansdowne; Count and Countess St Antonio; Spanish Ambassador; General Anson; Lords Ossulston; Cranborne, Valletort, Palmerston, Clive, Lowther, Hill, Hamilton, Walpole, Westmorland, Lauderdale, Boringdon, and Granville.”</p> <p><b>MP (16.4.17)</b> “The <i>chef d’oeuvre</i> of the greatest musical genius that ever lived, the <i>Don Giovanni</i> of Mozart, was repeated at this Theatre last night. Some slight alterations were made in its performance, but its first representation was so excellent, that we can scarcely imagine that it was possible to make any beneficial change. At least half of the first act was encored, and every performer seemed to enjoy the Opera as much as the audience. We have already entered so largely into the various inimitable beauties of the work, the production of which does so much credit to the establishment, that it is difficult to add more in its praise. That it will run to the end of the season, and be wished for during many years to come, seems to be past any doubt; and that it will operate in improving the public taste for dramatic music is equally certain. When such results flow from a system of management, all the admirers of the arts must not only wish success to the persons concerned, but will feel it a duty incumbent upon them to afford every assistance in aid of so grand a project. At half-past eight o’clock, the Theatre presented the novel spectacle of a Pit completely full at that early hour on a Tuesday night. If this fact be not a sufficient proof of the taste of the English for fine music, it will be in vain to seek for one elsewhere.”</p> <p><b>T (16.4.17)</b> “<i>Il Don Giovanni</i> was represented for the second time yesterday evening. The beauties of this opera, which, like a mass of light, would not at first allow the eye to dwell on particular parts, begin to unfold themselves more distinctly. Mozart’s vocal music appears to us not only of a higher rank, but of a different order from that of almost every other composer. We venture with some diffidence to characterise it, to record the impressions we receive from it, by saying, that it appears to us a more perfect eloquence, a medium for sentiment, and passion of the most exalted kind: he seems always to take the tone suited to the occasion, and to transfer the emotion to the mind of the hearer. We quote, as an example, the first movement that occurs to us. <i>Don Juan</i>, in the 10<sup>th</sup> scene of the 1st act, learns from <i>Leporello</i> that he has dexterously contrived to remove <i>Elvira</i>, who was the impediment to his designs on <i>Zerlina</i>, out of the way. His joy at this, his exultation, know [<i>sic</i>] no bounds; he cannot express his delight – he begins impetuously the air of ‘<i>Fin ch’han del vino:</i>’ full of riotous transport; an abandonment to the feeling of the moment. It seems a pure effusion of the mind. This was sung with great effect by Ambrogetti: his volubility and his articulation are surprising. The impulse seemed to seize on the audience; he was encored with unanimous plaudits. Another charming instance occurs in the scene following that last mentioned. <i>Zerlina</i>, the peasant girl, is endeavouring to pacify her jealous lover <i>Masetto</i>, but without effect – her caresses, her wiles, her tears, the whole artillery of female blandishment is exhausted – without the least preparation from the orchestra, without any symphony to intimate that an air is about to be sung, she begins that charming movement ‘<i>Batte, batte [sic], O bel</i></p>
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			<p><i>Masetto!</i> – it proves an irresistible appeal to the tenderness of her lover – he relents, and our perfect sympathy accompanies him: we are not surprised that he could resist no longer. The peasant himself just after seems to wonder at this effect, for he says ‘See, now, how this little [<i>sic</i>] syren contrives to bewitch me.’ This is the true magic. An elegant specimen of Mozart’s taste (we still fear, in so short an acquaintance, to enter upon the more refined, upon the sublime parts of this composition) is the canzonet in the second act, ‘<i>Deh viene [<i>sic</i>] alla finestra,</i>’ which <i>Don Juan</i> sings to attract the notice of his mistress, to bring her to the window. A soothing tenderness pervades this air, which is at the same time simple, manly, and unaffected. The accompaniment was written, originally, we understand, for the mandoline; but as that instrument is too weak to produce any effect in so large a theatre, it was played by Weichsell on the violin, and produced a very masterly effect. Another of our favourites is the song of ‘<i>Vedrai carino,</i>’ sung by <i>Zerlina</i>, to console her lover <i>Masetto</i>, who had just before received a severe beating from <i>Don Juan</i>, in the disguise of <i>Leporello</i>. The music assigned to the part of <i>Zerlina</i> is of a more simple and popular cast than that of any other in the opera; it is in fact beautifully in harmony with her character, as drawn in the drama. Some trifling errors occurred in the conduct of the drama, which we notice solely from a desire we entertain that it should be in all parts perfect. In the masquerade scene, <i>Don Juan</i>, in his attempt on <i>Zerlina</i>, should carry her into the adjoining apartment; at which moment her cries (which produce so marked an effect in the music) alarm the company, and bring them to her assistance. Instead of this, she invokes help by her shrieks, at a time when she is surrounded by the peasants, and consequently in no sort of danger. And on the first night, in the supper scene, the musicians and servants remained on the stage all the time the spectre is addressing <i>Don Juan</i>; whereas it is evident, that they should fly in alarm, unless they can be supposed to be accustomed to such visitors [<i>sic</i>]. <i>Leporello</i>, too, who should hide himself under the table, prefers continuing his supper to being placed in so inglorious a situation. These latter errors, however, were last night corrected. Mad. Camporese gave us great pleasure in <i>Donna Anna</i>; her acting was very good; and her singing chaste, unaffected, and full of feeling. The best parts of her performance were the recitative, accompanied, wherein she relates to <i>Don Octavio</i> the atrocious attempt of <i>Don Juan</i>, which was followed by the murder of her father; and the song that succeeds it, wherein she urges him to revenge. The duet with Crivelli, in the second scene, where she discovers the body of <i>Don Pedro</i>, was given with the truest pathos. Madame Fodor becomes even more interesting in <i>Zerlina</i> than at first: the manner in which she yields to the solicitations of <i>Don Juan</i> in the charming duet of ‘<i>La ci darem la mano,</i>’ was quite enchanting. There was a pride of heart about it in having exchanged the simple <i>Masetto</i> for the gay, well-dressed cavalier: it was the first triumph of her beauty, the first feeling of its power. Crivelli has one of the finest tenor voices we have ever heard; it is music itself. Considering the great reputation of the singer, the part of <i>Octavio</i> is, in point of consequence, perhaps below his merit: but that it is a character in Mozart’s great opera, should always give it importance. Ambrogetti’s <i>Don Juan</i> is his celebrated character: it is that on which his reputation on the Continent is more particularly founded: he is indisputably one of the best actors we have seen on the boards of this theatre. Miss Hughes’s <i>Elvira</i> was a very spirited performance, and she sang with much judgment and effect. Naldi acted and sung with great spirit, but we have heard him more accurate in his execution. Angrisani sustained two characters, <i>Don Pedro</i>, the commander, and the peasant <i>Masetto</i>; the latter is the best: we think his deportment in the supper scene not sufficiently solemn and emphatic. This is a very trifling fault, and will no doubt be corrected. He is a most excellent musician, and every way an acquisition to the theatre. There is one custom which in all our public performances of music, but particularly in the present instance, where a work of such peculiar merit is in question, we should be very glad to see reformed; we mean that of yielding (in a way very honourable, no doubt, to the taste and feeling) to the impulse of admiration excited by a fine passage, and interrupting it by an applause which, however judicious in itself, is perfectly ruinous to the effect. The end of the movement or piece is the proper time to testify approbation. The poetry of this opera possesses considerable merit. Our classical readers, who are fond of parallel passages, will perhaps be amused by tracing the idea of <i>Leporello</i>’s song of ‘<i>Madamina</i>’ [<i>sic</i>] to one of Anacreon’s odes, and also to one of Ovid amatory elegies. We take leave of this</p>
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			<p>opera with regret. The enthusiasm its representation has excited is an unerring testimony to the true musical taste that prevails in this country. The house – a thing quite unexampled on Tuesday evenings – was to the full as much crowded as on Saturday.” Unsigned, but the author can be identified as Thomas Massa Alsager (see <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS. 52339, f. 185).</p> <p><b>E (20.4.17)</b> “Mozart’s celebrated Opera of <i>Don Juan</i> has been brought forward at this theatre with ever attraction, and with all the success which could be anticipated. The house was crowded to excess on Saturday week (the day of its being first brought out): on Tuesday it was but thinly attended. Why was this? Was it because the first representation did not answer the expectation of the public? No; but because Saturday is the fashionable day for going to the Opera, and Tuesday is not. On Saturday, therefore, the English are a musical public; and on Tuesday they are not a musical public: on Saturday they are all rapture and enthusiasm: and on Tuesday they are all coldness and indifference, – impose a periodical penance on themselves for the plenary indulgence of their last week’s ecstasies, and have their ears hermetically sealed to the charms of modulated sounds. Yet the writer of the preface to the translation of <i>Don Juan</i> assures us that ‘the people of this country who frequent the Opera, are inferior to those of no other nation in their taste for fine music.’ That may be so. But still we doubt, if <i>Don Juan</i>, ‘the matchless work of its immortalized author,’ had been presented to the English public for the first time on Saturday week, without those wonderful helps to public taste and discernment, the name and reputation of the composer, whether it would have met with any better success than it did at Prague in 1787, or at Paris some years after, and whether we might not have had to observe of its representation at the King’s Theatre, as Garat, the singer, did of its representation at the <i>Academie de Musique</i> – <i>Don Juan a paru incognito à l’Opera!</i> The only convincing proof that the public, either in this country or on the Continent, are become more alive to ‘the refined and intellectual music’ of <i>Don Giovanni</i> than they were thirty years ago, is – That the author is dead. What inclines us the more to believe that the admiration of Mozart’s music in this instance is more a thing of rote than the consequence of any general feeling on the subject, is that we hear of nothing but the sublimity and Shakespearian character of <i>Don Juan</i>. Now, we confess that, with the single exception of the Ghost scene, we not only do not feel any such general character of grand or strongly-contrasted expression pervading the composition, but we do not see any opportunity for it. Except the few words put into the mouth of the great Commander, (<i>Don Pedro</i>) either as the horseman ghost, or the spectre-guest of <i>Don Juan</i>, – which break upon the ear with a sort of awful murmur, like the sound of the last trumpet ringing in the hollow chambers of the dead, but which yet are so managed, that ‘airs from heaven’ seem mingled with ‘blasts from hell,’ – the rest of the opera is scarcely any thing but gaiety, tenderness, and sweetness, from the first line to the last. To be sure, the part of the great Commander is a striking and lofty catastrophe to the piece; he does in some sort assume a voice of stern authority, which puts an end to the mirth, the dancing, the love and feasting, and drowns the sounds of the pipe, the lute, and the guitar, in a burst of rattling thunder; – but even this thunder falls and is caught among its own echoes, that soften while they redouble the sound, and by its distant and varied accompaniments, soothes as much as it startles the ear. This short episode, which is included in four or five sentences printed in capital letters, is the only part of the opera which aims at the tragic: this part is not of a pure or unmixed species, but is very properly harmonized with the rest of the composition, by middle and reflected tones; and all the other scenes are of one uniform, but exquisite character, a profusion of delicate airs and graces. Except, then, where the author reluctantly gives place to the Ghost-statue, or rather compromises matters with him, this opera is Mozart all over; it is no more like Shakespear than Claude Lorraine is like Rubens or Michael Angelo [<i>sic</i>]. It is idle to make the comparison. The personal character of the composer’s mind, a light, airy, voluptuous spirit, is infused into every line of it; the intoxication of pleasure, the sunshine of hope, the dancing of the animal spirits, the bustle of action, the sinkings of tenderness and pity, are there, but nothing else. It is a kind of scented music; the ear imbibes an aromatic flavour from the sounds. It is like the breath of flowers; the sighing of balmy winds; or Zephyr with Flora playing; or the liquid notes of the nightingale wafted to the bosom of the bending rose. To shew at once our taste or the want of it, the song of ‘<i>La ci darem</i>’ gives us, we confess, both in itself, and from the manner in which it is sung by Madame Fodor, more</p>
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			<p>pleasure than all the rest of the opera put together. We could listen to this air for ever – with certain intervals: the first notes give a throb of expectation to the heart, the last linger on the sense. We <i>encore</i> it greedily, with a sort of childish impatience for new delight, and drink in the ethereal sounds, like draughts of earthly nectar. The heart is intoxicated through the ear; and feels in the tremulous accents of <i>Zerlina</i>'s voice, all the varying emotions of tenderness, of doubt, of regret, and giddy rapture, as she resigns herself to her new lover. Madam Fodor's execution of her part of this duet was excellent. There is a clear, firm, silvery tone in her voice, like the reverberation of a tight-strung instrument, which by its contrast gives a peculiar effect to the more melting and subdued expression of particular passages, and which accords admirably with the idea of high health and spirits in the rustic character of <i>Zerlina</i>. We are tempted to say of her in this character, what Spenser says of <i>Belphebe</i>, – / 'And when she spake, / Sweet words like dropping honey she did shed; / And 'twixt the pearls and rubies softly brake / A silver sound, that heav'nly music seem'd to make.' / She was less successful in the execution of the song to <i>Massetto</i> [<i>sic</i> here and elsewhere] just after, 'Batte, batte [<i>sic</i>], <i>Massetto</i>:' for she seemed to sing it as if she had hardly learned it by heart. To this, however, she gave a characteristic simplicity of expression; she appeared in the first part as if she would willingly stand like a lamb, <i>come agnellina</i>, to be beaten by her provoked lover, and afterwards, when she is reconciled to him, as if she was glad she had escaped a beating. Her song <i>Vedrai carino</i>, promising him a remedy, when <i>Massetto</i> himself gets beaten, by offering him her heart, was charming both from the execution of the air, and from the action with which she accompanied it. Of the other performers we cannot speak so favourably. Signor Ambrogetti gave considerable life and spirit to the part of <i>Don Giovanni</i>; but we neither saw the dignified manners of the Spanish Nobleman, nor the insinuating address of the voluptuary. He makes too free and violent a use of his legs and arms. He sung the air <i>Finche dal vino</i>, in which he anticipates an addition to his list of mistresses from the success of his entertainment, with a sort of jovial, turbulent vivacity, but without the least 'sense of amorous delight.' His only object seemed to be, to sing the words as loud and as fast as possible. Nor do we think he gave to <i>Don Juan</i>'s serenade, <i>Deh vieni alla finestra</i>, any thing like the spirit of fluttering apprehension and tenderness which characterises the original music. Signor Ambrogetti's manner of acting in this scene was that of the successful and significant intriguer, but not of an intriguer – in love. Sensibility should be the ground work of the expression; the cunning and address are only accessories. Naldi's <i>Leporello</i> was much admired, and it was not without its merits, though we cannot say that it gave us much pleasure. His humour is coarse and boisterous, and is more that of a buffoon than of a comic actor. He treats the audience with the same easy cavalier airs that an impudent waiter at a French table-d'hôte does the guests as they arrive. The gross familiarity of his behaviour to <i>Donna Elvira</i>, in the song where he makes out the list of his master's mistresses, was certainly not in character; nor is there any thing in the words or the music to justify it. The tone and air which he should assume are those of pretended sympathy, mixed with involuntary laughter, not of wanton undisguised insult. Signor Crivelli and Madame Camporese did not add any particular prominence to the serious parts of <i>Don Octavio</i>, and <i>Donna Anna</i>. Signora Hughes's <i>Donna Elvira</i> was successful beyond what we could have supposed. This lady at the Italian Opera is respectable: on the English stage she was formidable. Signor Angrisani <i>doubles</i> the part of <i>Massetto</i> and the Ghost. In the former, he displayed much drollery and <i>naivete</i>; and in the latter, he was as solemn, terrific, and mysterious as a Ghost should be. – A new translation accompanies the Opera House Edition of <i>Don Giovanni</i>. It is very well executed. But as it is not in verse, it might have been more literal, without being less elegant. <i>Anecdote relating to the Overture of Don Giovanni</i>. – This original composition, which is on all hands admitted to be a masterpiece of genius and science, was begun and finished in <i>one</i> night. Mozart wrote the opera of <i>Don Juan</i> for the Theatre at Prague, (1787). The songs, finales, in short all the vocal pieces of the work had been finished, studied by the singers, and rehearsed; nay, the last grand rehearsal took place, without the Overture being even begun by the composer, although the public performance was fixed for the next day. Mozart's friends, his wife, and above all the Manager, were in a state of alarm, easily to be conceived; they represented to him the ruinous consequences, to the Theatre as well as to himself, which must result from an eventual</p>
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			<p>disappointment, and conjured him not to blast his greatest work by so wanton a procrastination. ‘I shall write the Overture this afternoon; I have it all in my head,’ was the answer given to them. The afternoon came; but Mozart, seduced by the fineness of the weather, took a trip into the country, and made merry, returned in the evening, and sat down – to a bowl of punch, with some friends, who trembled at the idea of his situation. It was midnight before he left this jovial party, in a state so little calculated for mental exertion, that he determined to lie down for an hour, at the same time charging Mrs. Mozart to call him at the expiration of that time. The fond wife, seeing him in the sweetest slumber, and conscious of his power, suffered him to lie <i>two</i> hours, called him up, made a bowl of punch, his favourite beverage, put pen, ink, and staves before him, sat down by his side, and while filling the glass, entertained the composer with a number of laughable stories, in the telling of which she possessed a peculiar talent. Mozart listened with the greatest glee, and laughed till the tears trickled down from his eyes. All at once the divine spark within him brightened into radiant flame, he felt ‘full of the God,’ and exclaimed, ‘Now is the time, Constantia; now we are in trim for it.’ Showers of crotchets and quavers now gushed from the rapid pen. At times, however, and in the midst of writing, nature would assert her sway, and cause the composer to relapse into a nod or two. To these, it is generally pretended, the leading passage in the Overture, turned, repeated and modulated into a hundred varied shapes, owed its origin. – The somnolent fits, however, soon gave way to the cheerful converse of Constantia, and the excellent punch which formed its accompaniment. The Overture was completed before breakfast, and the copyists scarcely had time to write out the score. A rehearsal being thus out of the question, the orchestra played it at the public representation in the evening without previous trial, and it is no small eulogium on their talents to add, that the execution electrified the audience, who with thunders of applause called for a repetition.”</p> <p><b>T (21.4.17)</b> “The King’s Theatre is assuming its true rank and character; it is becoming, not only the most elegant place of public resort, but the scene of the most attractive and perfect musical performance in the kingdom. We cannot, indeed, imagine a higher enjoyment, either to the lovers of the art, or to those who are possessed of strong natural sensibility, than the representation of such an Opera as the <i>Don Giovanni</i> of Mozart, seconded by the talent, both vocal and instrumental, which is required to bring out the effect intended by its composer. It has been urged as a defect in the works of this extraordinary man, by the admirers and partisans of the Italian school, that he frequently overwhelms the voice with a mass of accompaniment, which either renders it inefficient altogether, or makes it of secondary importance. This objection is ill-founded. It is true, that his accompaniments are generally of the richest and fullest kind; but we venture to assert, that whenever they produce the result abovementioned, it is the fault of the orchestra. The admirable discipline and precision of the present band not only secure us against this, but show us the true effect arising out of the rich and full support of the instruments. We point out, as a particular instance, the manner in which they accompanied the fine impassioned song of ‘<i>Or sai chi l’onore</i>,’ in the first act, which was so ably executed on Saturday night by Madame Camporese. A perfect cloud of notes, moving in rapid succession, is here given to the instruments; yet so judiciously were they played, that they produced all the effect that depth of colour does in the back-ground of a fine painting, by bringing out and supporting the principal figure. Other instances may easily be adduced, but one is sufficient; we are perfectly satisfied of the general truth of the observation. Among the features which distinguish last Saturday’s representation of <i>Il Don Giovanni</i>, we have to mention, and to commend, an increased zeal in all the performers to do the composer justice. They appear to enter fully into his merits, and to be aware of the high estimation in which he is held by the people of this country. We observe, too, that some of the more refined movements are growing into public favour. The pathetic duet ‘<i>Fuggi, crudele, fuggi</i>,’ in the second scene, appeared to make a deeper impression, and to be understood in a much greater degree, than on former occasions. A beautifully serious song, also, which we confess had at first partly escaped our notice, is becoming attractive: we mean the air of ‘<i>Dalla sua pace</i>,’ sung by Crivelli in the first act. It is composed throughout in a plain unornamented style, and breathes a delicious tranquillity and resignation. With its melody is connected a harmony, rich, original, and profound. This movement is not only capable of gratifying any ear at all</p>
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			<p>trained to musical sounds, it is at the same time a perfect study for those who apply themselves to the principles of composition. We were also gratified by an improved effect in the statue scene. The instruments which accompanied the speaking of this mysterious being were at the first performance too loud – the voice was overpowered. They now give the notes in a sort of subdued, stifled, tone, which, at the same time that it allows the voice to be prominent, greatly increases the effect of the passage. The house was filled at an earlier hour than on either of the preceding evenings; long before the rising of the curtain every seat in the pit was occupied.”</p> <p><b>MH (21.4.17)</b> “Saturday evening <i>Il Don Giovanni</i> was repeated to one of the most crowded auditories we have witnessed. Before the overture commenced, there was literally not room for one more individual in the pit. We are not astonished that this opera has attracted such numbers to the Theatre. The music is all through of that magnificent description, that leaves behind it impressions singularly strong and pleasing. We have already recorded our opinion of the great merits, both of the composition and of the manner in which it is performed. Ambrogetti has improved very much in his personation of the libertine, and we think we never heard Madame Fodor to more advantage than in that exquisite duetto which she sings with this Gentleman. It in truth teems with melody, and we were delighted to find that its excellence was universally appreciated, as it was encored from every quarter of the house. The boxes were all occupied by a most brilliant assemblage of talent, and even the gallery was crowded to excess.”</p> <p><b>MP (21.4.17)</b> “The company present at the Opera on Saturday night was unexampled. Before the curtain rose every part of the house was literally crammed. By eight o’clock the pit was insufficient to accommodate the numerous visitants who had at an early hour presented themselves at the doors. In this extraordinary assemblage every exertion was made by the officers of the Theatre to afford, by favour of the occupiers of boxes, and by other means, every practicable accommodation to the overflow; many, however, were deprived of the pleasure they had so anxiously and naturally calculated upon in the performance of Mozart’s <i>Don Giovanni</i>. Here is the best evidence in the world of the absurdity of five thousand pound salaries to individual performers, as well as of the taste and discrimination of the public in estimating the real merit of musical composition by fair and competent representation, unaided by the extravagant and hysterical mimicry of that which is always best in its original purity.” List of notable attendees.</p> <p><b>MP (28.4.17)</b> “The Opera on Saturday night had again a complete overflow; every part of the house was occupied at an early hour, and hundreds were seen promenading the lobbies without the possibility of getting a sight of <i>Don Giovanni</i>. This is indeed a happy æra for the Italian Opera. The receipts, we understand, exceed the best nights of Catalani’s day; and many of the boxes, unconnected with the immediate interests of the proprietor (called property boxes), have been let as high as ten guineas each; this is not, however, the case at the office of the Theatre, for there, no variation is ever made.” List of notable attendees.</p> <p><b>TI (April 1817)</b> “To the readers of the ‘Theatrical Inquisitor’ the plot of this opera must be familiar. It would be as impertinent to recite a story so well known, as it would be to lavish praises on a production, which has been the theme of universal admiration, and has already exhausted the powers of panegyric. – The opera of ‘Don Juan’ is confessedly the <i>chef-d’oeuvre</i> of Mozart; but this praise, high as it is, is only understood by those who duly appreciate the compositions of this master of his art. It is one of the most stupendous works of human genius, and fitted to rank with the Iliad of Homer, the Eneid of Virgil, or the Macbeth of Shakspeare [<i>sic</i>]. The managers of this Theatre have greatly obliged every lover of music by the revival of this opera, which has never been performed in this country in a dramatic shape. The style of getting it up has evinced great liberality and judgment. As it regards the performers, we have equal cause of congratulation. The gay and heedless deportment of the libertine, <i>Don Giovanni</i>, was admirably sustained by Signor Ambrogetti. His style of singing the serenade, at the window of <i>Donna Elvira</i>, in alto [<i>sic</i> = <i>atto</i>] secondo, was inimitably excellent. ‘<i>Deh vieni alla finestra</i>,’ was never better given – his other performances were excellent. The <i>Leporello</i> of Signor Naldi was such as to leave us nothing to wish for. Signor Crivelli, and the other gentlemen engaged, evinced great skill and taste, as well in the solos assigned them, as in the concerted pieces. The arduous part of <i>Donna Anna</i> was beautifully portrayed [<i>sic</i>]</p>
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			<p>by Madame Camporese. Her duo with Signor Crivelli, where she entreats him to be her avenger, after having discovered her murdered father, was a musical treat but rarely equalled. Madame Fodor and Miss Hughes were also entitled to every commendation. – The piece has since been repeatedly performed, and met with the encouragement it deserves.” (pp. 297-8)</p> <p><b>E (18.5.17)</b> “The last time we saw the Opera of <i>Don Giovanni</i> was from a distant part of the house: we saw it the other evening near; and as the impression was somewhat different, we wish to correct one or two things in our former statement. Madame Fodor sings and acts the part of <i>Zerlina</i> as charmingly as ever, but she does not <i>look</i> it so well near as at a greater distance. She has too much <i>em bon point</i>, is too broad-set for the idea of a young and beautiful country girl; her mouth is laughing and good natured, but does not answer to Spenser’s description of <i>Belphebe</i>, – and it cannot be concealed that <i>Zerlina</i>, the delightful <i>Zerlina</i>, has a cast in her eyes. Her singing, however, made us forget all these defects, and after the second line of <i>La ci darem</i>, we had quite recovered from our disappointment. On the whole, we at present prefer the air of <i>Vedrai carino</i>, which she sings to <i>Masetto</i> to comfort him, even to the duet with <i>Don Giovanni</i>. There was some uncertainty about <i>encoring</i> her in this song, – not, we apprehend, because the audience were afraid of tiring the actress, but because they were tired themselves. Madam Fodor was <i>encored</i> in all her songs throughout the piece: – this might be thought hard upon her; we dare say she would have thought it harder if she had not. Signor Ambrogetti’s acting as <i>Don Giovanni</i> improves upon a nearer acquaintance. There is a softness approaching to effeminacy in the expression of his face, which accords well with the character, and an insinuating archness in his eye, which takes off from the violent effect of his action. The serenade of <i>Don Giovanni</i> was omitted. As to Naldi, he is in too confirmed possession of the stage to be corrigible to advice. He is one of those old birds that are not to be caught with chaff. The sly rogue, <i>Leporello</i>, seems to have grown grey in the service of iniquity, and hangs his nose over the stage with a formidable <i>bravura</i> aspect, as if he could suspend the orchestra upon it. Angrisani is an admirable, and we might say, first-rate comic actor. He has fine features; a manly, rustic voice; and we never saw disdain, impatience, the resentment and relenting of the jealous lover, better expressed than in the scene between him and Madam Fodor, where she makes that affecting appeal to his forgiveness in the song of <i>Batte, batte [sic], Masetto</i>. It was inimitably acted, on both sides.”</p> <p><b>T (28.5.17)</b> “The Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, who had arrived from Claremont in the morning, honoured this theatre with their presence yesterday evening, to witness the representation of <i>Don Giovanni</i>. The Princess appeared a little thinner than usual, but in good health and spirits. She was particularly attentive to the performance, and showed a lively sense of its beauties. The Opera was given throughout with great spirit, and the pieces, now the established favourites of the public, the two songs of Madame Fodor, her duet with Angrisani, Ambrogetti’s song in the first act, and the duet of ‘<i>La ci darem la mano</i>,’ were all encored. The appearance of this production will form a remarkable period in the history of our Italian Theatre; since, independently of the improvement it will have effected in the national taste, it serves to mark the introduction of good acting, of pure dramatic effect, hitherto neglected entirely on this stage, or confined to one performer. Ambrogetti, Angrisani, Madame Fodor, and Madame Camporese, are all admirable in their several parts. The tone of voice, the look, the gesture, is faithfully adapted to the occasion, the by-play is well preserved, and the whole effect is such as would strike any intelligent spectator without referring to any other sources of attraction. With this as an auxiliary to good music and fine singing, the Opera cannot but be popular. The machinery and chorusses still want reformation.”</p> <p><b>MP (28.5.17)</b> “The Opera last night was again honoured with the presence of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte and Prince Coburg. <i>Don Giovanni</i> was repeated, and received, if possible, with increased applause.” Long list of notable attendees.</p> <p><b>MP (4.6.17)</b> “<i>Don Giovanni</i> last night again attracted nearly all the rank and fashion in town; the encores in both Acts exceeded any former occasion, and the whole of the Opera went off with increased success and effect.” Long list of attendees.</p> <p><b>MP (11.6.17)</b> “We were astonished at this advanced period of the season to perceive so general an overflow as was last night in every part of this Theatre. The avenues to the pit were literally crammed, and a considerable number of persons could not even get a</p>
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		<p>sight of the stage, although on a Tuesday. It may therefore be inferred that the attraction of <i>Don Giovanni</i> is still as great as ever.” Long list of notable attendees.</p> <p><b>E (3.8.17)</b> “Though <i>Don Giovanni</i> has already been criticised in this journal by a great writer, we cannot help indulging ourselves with a few more words upon it, in consequence of the delight we received from it’s [sic] performance on Tuesday last. We avail ourselves of the opportunity with the more eagerness, in as much as we were compelled to express our disappointment both with the performance and comparative merit of <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>; but <i>here</i> the notes are struck up to love, and gaiety, and coquetry, and all the intensities of pleasure; and Mozart is himself again. When he gets into this vein, he turns criticism into mere admiration and transport. One has nothing to do but to reckon the songs in succession, and panegyryze them as they go by, like a dance of beauties. What can be more jocund and full of anticipation than the <i>Giovinette, che fate all’amore</i>, with it’s [sic] undulating commencement and it’s [sic] jump in the fourth bar? What more genteel on the one side, and hesitating and tremulous on the other, than the duet, <i>La ci darem la mano</i>, with it’s [sic] ardent close and delicious symphonies? What more airy, thoughtless, and triumphant than <i>Fin ch’han dal vino</i>? What a prettier little irresistible piece of penitence than <i>Batti, batti, o bel Masetto</i>, with it’s [sic] humble beginning, and the tearful and heaving repetitions on the words <i>Staro qui</i>? What more suggestive of beautiful turns and movements, – more elegantly self-possessed, than the minuet, when the maskers enter? What more voluptuously impassioned than the serenade, <i>Del [sic] vieni alla finestra</i>, with the exquisite contrast of it’s [sic] accompaniment? What more promising than the air, and thrilling than the symphonies, of <i>Vedrai carino</i>? What more expressive than the half-grumbling half-whining commencement of <i>Notte e giorno faticar</i>, with it’s [sic] ascent on the climax, and then the prodigious <i>politesse</i> of the sequel, <i>Voglio far il gentiluomo</i>? Madame Fodor in <i>Zerlina</i> retrieves all the reputation she lost in <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i>, singing with the truest taste and simplicity. Does she get less praise for this? A little less noisy praise perhaps; but that she loses nothing else, and gains infinitely more of the very best kind, is manifest from the looks of all, from the silence, and from the pertinacious clappings of the hand for encores. She sang all charmingly, particularly <i>Giovinette che fate all’amore</i>, with a face full of glee, and <i>Batti, batti, o bel Masetto</i>, with quite a reverse aspect and in a most submissive and patient tone of appeal. Ambrogetti is an excellent <i>Don Giovanni</i> as far as animal spirits as well as powerful singing are concerned. He is seen to much more advantage in this character than in the <i>Count in Figaro</i>, where we thought him not quite easy enough, and in the <i>Governor in La Molinara</i>, where we could not at all enter into the humour of his song about perukes, great and little, and his elaborate mode of referring to the moon. In <i>Don Giovanni</i> he contrives to be at once gentlemanly and vehement, and makes us lose sight of the redundancy of his size in the youthful fire of his vivacity. He is always ready and energetic; and perhaps, considering he is so active, makes even his robustness contribute to a certain air of the imposing, defying, and sensual. We do not think he succeeds in the serenade, <i>Del [sic] vieni alla finestra</i>, but then he succeeds as much perhaps as <i>Don Giovanni</i> should: for Mozart in this instance has outrun his character, as Shakspeare [sic] was accustomed to do; and made his profligate hero say more than he intended. The song is too sincerely amorous, and would suit <i>Romeo</i> better than a rake. Signor Ambrogetti is very happy in his mixture of acting with singing. He completed, by this means, the effect of <i>La ci darem</i>, turning away, in all the self-will of mere debauchery, with an impatient movement at <i>Zerlina</i>’s mention of <i>Masetto</i>. His <i>Fin ch’han dal vino</i> is also a complete thing, full of animal ardour and a sort of remorseless enjoyment. To say the truth, the better the character of <i>Don Giovanni</i> is performed, the more disgusting at times he becomes; for there is nothing whatever to excuse his villainy, – no jealousy, no resentment, no ill treatment, no scorning or being scorned, – nothing that makes a shadow of excuse for his contempt of others’ comfort. He cannot even muster up for himself the common rake’s excuse, of conferring pleasure in spite of pretences; for he is visited by an eternal reminding him of his hard-heartedness from those he has seduced; and one’s impatience sometimes arises at seeing a fellow ranging in this manner among women as if they were unreflecting cattle, till the catastrophe comes; and then indeed, as a friend has remarked to us, it seems as if he had been hardly dealt with in having the visitations just mentioned, and such a</p>
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			<p>tremendous retribution to-boot. But this does not hinder one's unpleasant feelings meanwhile. And now, how are we to break to the worshippers of Mozart, that we do not like his serious parts in this opera, and his marble ghost? Yet such is the case. The lady in mourning, however well performed by Madame Camporese, excites in us nothing but a dreary sense of fatigue; and the seduced lady (Miss Hughes) is another tiresome personage, who would excuse any thing but such treatment as <i>Don Giovanni</i>'s. Then as to the Statue, – we must confess, however unwillingly, and with whatever mixture of humility in our opinion, that we not only, in common with the friend who formerly criticized this piece for us, regard it as inferior to the other parts of the opera, but as a total failure and mistake. There is certainly some good music in the part, and the dreary undulating accompaniment in one passage has a fine effect; but the whole is too loud and crashing, and of too vulgar a description of the terrible. We know not that an apparition of stone has any particular claims to be noisy and bullying. The terror of spectral visitations consists in ghastliness, obscurity, and sepulchral hollowness, like the Ghost in <i>Hamlet</i>, – in short, in the quietest possible exhibition of power, which is always awful in proportion to it's [sic] ease, and to it's [sic] contempt of human vehemence. To these parts of the opera we are sorry to be compelled to state our objections. With all the rest we are not only transported, but we may safely say, they make us grateful to their immortal author; for setting genius itself aside, the delight which such works afford is no mean addition to the sum of human comfort. Take away Shakspeare [sic], and Raphael, and Mozart, – poetry, painting, and music, – and our thoughts, eyes, and ears, wou'd lose a great deal indeed, especially since the green fields, the affections, and Nature, seem to have been so much forgotten."</p> <p><b>E (17.8.17)</b> "We cannot mention <i>Don Giovanni</i> again without again expressing the delight it has given us. The Managers have shewed their taste, as well as a sense of their true interest, in getting it up so well, and repeating it so often. Our objections to the marble Ghost (always begging the reader to keep in mind, that we speak with very unaffected deference on the works of this great Master) still remain; but it appears that some have mistaken the nature of them, and we cannot afford to let their error continue. It is the <i>noise</i>, and the noise only, of the music in which the Ghost is concerned, that we find fault with, not the chords, or the rest of the feeling. But to the noise we have very strong objections, and we think they are founded in reason, and in the practice of Mozart's brethren, the poets. We have not our former criticism by us, but we believe we there stated, though briefly, that loudness on such an occasion was contrary to the finest idea of the supernatural, – which is that of power in it's [sic] most powerful shape, and consequently it's [sic] least vehement and assuming. We ought therefore to have mentioned before, that the first scene in which the statue speaks, is that in which he affects us most. The cemetery [sic] by moonlight, the gleaming in it (which by the way is very finely managed) of the statue on horseback, the air of deathlike repose, the solemn and mute inclination of the statue's head, when <i>Don Giovanni</i> asks him if he will come to sup with him, and then the terrible words it utters – / ["Di rider finirai pria dell'aurora"] / –Thou shalt have done with laughter before morning – / in which every word is syllabled out with so awful a monotony, till there comes a drop on the <i>o</i> in <i>aurora</i>, – present a combination, than which nothing can be more grand or fearful; but then nothing at the same time can be more quiet, and full of a conscious power. Now when Mozart got his statue off the horse, and set him in motion, it appears to us that he spoiled him; and we think Wieland or Schiller would have told him so, had he known and been in the habit of talking with them on his works; just as Raphael made use of his friend Ariosto, and Ariosto perhaps did of Raphael, when he wrote his picture of Alcina. All the great professors of the arts profit by this sort of communication with each other. They exchange, as it were, their experiences. There is no necessity for the Ghost to make a noise. He is not a pretender, and therefore he need not resort to the arts of human ones; and all power is great, and commanding, and awful, in proportion to it's [sic] ease. The loudness, the crashing, the slamming thumps, are all comparatively vulgar. We rouse ourselves instinctively against them: – we seem to say – 'Oh, is that your mode of proceeding? – Well, I can be as noisy as you.' There is a feeling of equality in it, as well as a reference to common human terrors, extremely hurtful to the ideas of the supernatural and the potent. It is on these principles of our nature that the great poets, ancient and modern, have always represented power as quiet in proportion to it's [sic] strength; and to ghosts they</p>
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			<p>have given an especial dimness and obscurity, as beings that least of all require ordinary appearances in order to affect us. With regard to mere power for instance, look at the noble difference made by the ancients between Mars and Jupiter, the former a much inferior god to the other, and extremely given to noise. His shout in Homer makes the two armies start, – a very sublime fancy, no doubt; but yet nothing compared with the solitary nod of Jupiter, at which the whole universe trembles. And there was something still greater and more powerful than Jupiter himself, which was Fate, – a thing, or being, or whatever it was, that lay hidden in the silence and darkness of infinitude. The sublime thought of Moses is well known: – ‘And God said, let there be light; and there was light.’ – He does not say, ‘And a grand and mighty noise ensued, with shouts of cherubim and seraphim, &amp;c.’ but we are to imagine the calm utterance of power issuing from the darkness; and light <i>is</i>. In the Psalms of David, it is observable, that wherever the author gives way to the more violent and warlike part of his character, and makes the characteristics of the Deity loud and shewy, or the effects of his appearance tumultuous, his taste is by no means at it’s [<i>sic</i>] best, – his effect is not greatest. When he says, for instance, that the Divine Being breaks people in pieces ‘like a potter’s vessel,’ – that he consumes them in fire ‘like the fat of lambs,’ – that he breaks Rahab in bits, ‘like one that is slain,’ – that he will cause ‘the righteous to bathe their legs in the blood of their enemies,’ and that he will ‘dash the heads of little children against the stones,’ we are only shocked; but when he talks of the ‘pestilence that walketh in darkness,’ and of fear and terror coming upon men, – and when he says, that God sits with ‘darkness under his feet,’ – that ‘his pavilion round about him is dark waters and thick clouds of the skies,’ that his lightnings enlighten the world, which sees and trembles, – that he gives out his voice, – that he stills the seas with it, – that his eye is upon his creatures, – and that if David could take ‘the wings of the morning and remain in the uttermost part of the sea, even there also his hand would be’, – we acknowledge that these indeed, however faint in the comparison, are something like ideas of the great and wonderful Spirit of Nature. There is a very fine passage in the 1<sup>st</sup> book of <i>Kings</i> (chap. xix.) where the union of power with quietness is remarkably expressed, being contrasted, as if it were on purpose, with various striking pieces of violence, so that it has an air of complete climax. Not that we mean to say it was at all written critically; – but such are the instinctive feelings of our nature in all ages. The passage is as follows: – ‘And he said, Go forth, and stand upon the mount before the Lord. And behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the Lord; but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a <i>still small voice</i>.’ – The voice was the mighty Being. This is very magnificent, and appears to have given rise to a fine passage in the Koran, where there is a succession of similar agitations, after which comes a small voice, saying, ‘Peace be to the righteous!’ And this brings us more particularly to the idea of power as connected with apparitions. And first observe the very word <i>apparition</i>; – it is a something noiseless, and only visible, – an appearance. All the other words are of similar import, or still more shadowy. Thus the word <i>Ghost</i> is the same as <i>Spirit</i>, which is nothing but <i>Breath</i>; – there is also a vision, a visitation, a spectre, a sight, a goblin, a shape, a phantom, a phantasma. Milton has used the force of this indistinctness to wonderful advantage in his introduction of Death, whom he calls the shadow, the monster, the goblin, the griesly [<i>sic</i>] terror, the hellish pest, the execrable shape, the ‘shape, if shape it might be called:’ – he defines nothing: – / ‘What <i>seemed his head</i> / The <i>likeness</i> of a kingly crown had on; – / and yet this indescribable something was ‘fierce as ten furies,’ who are the most raging and violent of [‘]all supernatural beings;’ and the phrase ‘fierce as ten furies’ is not a tenth part so dreadful as that other one, ‘Black <i>it</i> stood as night.’ There is another passage in Milton, which instantly came into our minds when we were thinking of that speaking, as it were, in <i>hyphens</i>, which we have mentioned above, and with which Mozart makes his spectre dole out his terrible words. It is in the same awful and shadowy style. It is where the <i>Lady</i> speaks in <i>Comus</i>, when she is benighted in the forest: – / ‘A thousand fantasies / Begin to throng into my memory, / Of <i>calling shapes</i>, and <i>beckoning shadows dire</i>, / And fiery <i>tongues</i> that <i>syllable</i> men’s names, / On sands, and shores, and desert [<i>sic</i>] wildernesses.’ / It is gratifying to notice this point of contact between Mozart and Milton, the latter of whom</p>
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			<p>was more than fond of music, – which he both played and composed. – But we must not indulge ourselves with all the poetical passages that present themselves to our recollection. Suffice it to say, that the greatest Greek and Latin Poets, that Dante, Camoens, Spenser, and Shakespear [<i>sic</i>], and all other writers, whose imaginations have been of the loftiest and whose feelings of the intensest order, have agreed to place the height of the terrible or the powerful in the indistinct, the solemn, and the quiet. The Ghost in <i>Hamlet</i>, who ‘revisits the glimpses of the moon, making night hideous,’ and who walks ‘slow and stately’ by his dumb-stricken beholders, who are ‘distilled / Almost to jelly with the act of fear,’ – / is alone a complete specimen of the overpowering nature of the quiet supernatural. When it moves, it is slowly; when it speaks, it is slowly also, and with a hollow voice; when it goes away, it <i>fades</i>. We cannot however help concluding our observations on this subject with an extract from the sublimest book in the Scripture, the Arabian story of <i>Job</i>. It is another curious proof of what has been felt on these points in ages, when the feelings of mankind were in all their ruder freshness, and when they were prepared to resist the ordinary appearances of terror and violence, as things within every body’s power to inflict or resent. It is Eliphaz, Job’s friend, who is speaking. – ‘In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up; – it stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof; an image was before mine eyes, – <i>there was silence</i>, – and I heard a voice, saying, ‘Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his maker?’ Now from all this we infer, that however fine Mozart’s Ghost is in one scene, it is very inferior in another, and as far as the loudness and clatter are concerned, is a mistake. Doubtless, something of a more distinct nature than in general, as far as <i>form</i> is concerned, may be allowed a <i>marble</i> ghost: and the idea of ‘the man of stone,’ the ‘white man,’ as <i>Leporello</i> in great horror announces the Statue when it comes to supper, is very fearful; but the noise, – the noise – it is the noise only with which we quarrel; and we cannot help thinking, that had the music in the orchestra been all in an under tone, the Ghost undertoned also, and the whole house comparatively silent, – leaving at the same time all the chords as they are, – the effect would have been twenty times finer, not to mention the double force that would have thus been given to the subsequent despair and outcries of <i>Don Giovanni</i>. [Discusses other aspects of the night’s entertainment...] We cannot take leave of the Opera this season, without expressing our sense of the very great merits of the Band. It is a masterly one, ready, powerful, tasteful, with one hand and one feeling; and whether its business was to be playful or serious, loud or soft, – whether it had to wait upon the voice of a fine singer, or make the best of that of an inferior one, was sure to do just what it ought. It was of itself a treat to the lovers of music throughout the whole of the evening. We ought not to forget that we have omitted to do justice to the performance of Signor Angrisani, in the Opera abovementioned. He is very natural and pleasant in the part of <i>Masetto</i>, and turns himself to stone, nevertheless, with great effect in the Ghost. The Performers indeed altogether have done well; and the Managers, if they go on as they have begun, will deserve riches as well as get them. It is understood, we believe, that there has hardly ever been so excellent a season, or one in which the public attention has been so forcibly awakened to the beauty and merit of this graceful kind of establishment.”</p> <p><b>TI (August, 1817)</b> “<i>Saturday, August 9.</i> – The celebrity of this performance is a proof that public feeling is sometimes excited by an adequate cause, and may occasionally follow the efforts of genius, with correct and unabating ardour. That every man had ‘music in himself’ who cried <i>bravo</i> and <i>encore</i> to the sweet sounds of Mozart, we most religiously disbelieve, and assert, without fear of contradiction, that music of this divine order, if commensurately felt, would have produced a very different impression. When Shakspeare [<i>sic</i>] adduces his ‘wild and wanton herd,’ in illustration of musical influence, he tells us [‘]If they, perchance, but hear a trumpet sound, / Or any air of music touch their ears, / You shall perceive them make a mutual stand, / Their savage eyes <i>turn’d to a modest gaze</i>, / By the sweet power of music.[’] In opposition, however, to these principles, our <i>cognoscenti</i>, assisted by a translation of the Opera, rattle their canes and their snuff-boxes, at every favourite air, attract the attention of many silent observers by jargon and grimace, insist upon a repetition of some particular tune, and then walk out to avoid it. Such is a fair specimen of English taste,</p>
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			<p>and the talents that are permitted to stamp an Italian opera with its best claims to popularity. Signor Ambrogetti, beyond a doubt, is the <i>vis animi</i> of this production, and dull indeed must be the bosom which his spirited exertions are not calculated to warm and enlighten. The British stage, within our own observation, has never exhibited an actor possessing half his ability, as the representative of a dissolute yet finished cavalier. His vivacity would be incomparable, but his elegance surpasses it, and in every glance, tone, and gesture the best comedian upon our national boards may gather materials for study and improvement. As a mere singer his powers would not exceed mediocrity, and the serenade, '<i>Deh vieni alla finestra</i>,' where intonation is strictly required, substantiates this assertion. But in the song, '<i>Fin ch' han dal vino</i>,' his buoyancy of manner and fervent expression carried him to a towering height, and he probably excelled the best efforts of a more accomplished competitor. The duties of <i>Donna Anna</i> are more elaborate than imposing, and a singer in this arduous part can never obtain the applause it deserves. Madame Camporese, with the disadvantage of a diminutive figure, badly dressed, was received in the most favourable manner we could expect, since Fodor eclipsed her proudest exertions so effectually, as to engross universal admiration. This lady wins upon us at every meeting, and we are faithfully of opinion that in natural powers and acquired embellishment, the opera has at length obtained the firmest pillar of its tasteful dominion. Catalani, like the Athenian demagogue, must corrupt wherever she is caressed, but Fodor has a title of unsullied integrity to the brightest honours that science can award. Her jocund method of opening the <i>Coro</i>, '<i>Giovinette che fate all'amore</i>,' was peculiarly beautiful, and her acting in '<i>Batti, batti</i>'—redeemed every inadvertence we have previously exposed. The <i>Leperello</i> [<i>sic</i>] of Naldi was contemptible and insignificant. Angrisani, as <i>Masetto</i>, played with uncommon <i>naïveté</i>, and will justify encouragement. His deep solemn tones were afterwards exerted with great effect as the <i>Statue</i>, which appears to be managed at intervals in a deplorable taste. As a romantic fiction, nothing can be more poetically effective than the creation of this ghost, but then his slightest movement should be made in silence and in horror. Mozart, however, [<i>']Hath op'd his ponderous and marble jaws,[']</i> to bray out a few terrific strains with a sublime accompaniment, explanatory of all we would gratefully save him the fatigue of announcing. 'The Examiner' has treated this objection with less freedom than discernment, but still urged enough to convince those who are inclined to decide for themselves, that the immortal composer must have 'wax'd desperate with imagination,' when he wantoned in such glaring and excessive frivolity." (pp. 136-8)</p>
Mozart (adapted by Bishop)	20 May 1817 Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	<b><i>The Libertine</i></b> (adaptation of <i>Don Giovanni</i> , ob, Prague, 1787)	<p><b>Reviews</b></p> <p><b>T (21.5.17)</b> "A new afterpiece, called <i>The Libertine</i>, was brought out here last night, with Mozart's music to the opera of <i>Don Giovanni</i>. Whether it was the effect of the language or the fault of the singers we do not know, but we were upon the whole disappointed. It is not enough that an opera is done out of Italian, unless it is also done into English. With respect to the acting, the part of <i>Leporello</i>, by Liston, was the best sustained, and had some comic point. The song also, in which he gives the list of his master's mistresses, was well managed, as a mixture of the serious, and of burlesque on the Italian opera. We cannot give much praise to Charles Kemble's <i>Don Juan</i>. Miss Stephens's <i>Zerlina</i>, of which great expectations were entertained, was, we thought, a failure. The music, with some few exceptions, was well arranged by Bishop, from Mozart's Opera. The celebrated duet, sung in the original by <i>Don Juan</i> and <i>Zerlina</i>, pleased us the least; for, by transferring the part of <i>Don Juan</i> to <i>Masetto</i> [<i>sic</i>], the whole effect of the sentiment was lost. The piece was not very enthusiastically received; Miss Stephens's song of '<i>List, and I'll find love</i>,' translated from <i>Vedrai Carino</i>, was the only one that was encored; but the opera was given out for repetition without any opposition."</p> <p><b>MP (21.5.17)</b> "An Operatic Drama, called <i>The Libertine</i>, founded on the story of <i>Don Juan</i> (which has so long been familiar to our Readers) was performed last night, with infinite success. The Scenery, Machinery, and Dresses, are of the most splendid, ingenious and appropriate description; and the harmonic effect of the piece is not a little increased by the introduction of the Music of Mozart's <i>Don Giovanni</i>. The part of <i>Don Juan</i> is very finely performed by Mr. C. Kemble; Mr. Liston, as his <i>Valet</i>, also appears to considerable advantage; and the principal vocal parts were admirably sustained by Mr. Sinclair and Miss Stephens, the latter of</p>

			<p>whom was rapturously applauded in a most beautiful air. The piece was received throughout with universal applause, and promises to be a lasting favourite of the public.”</p> <p><b>E (25.5.17)</b> “The <i>Libertine</i>, an after-piece, altered from Shadwell’s play of that name, and founded on the story of <i>Don Juan</i>, with Mozart’s music, was represented here on Tuesday evening. Almost every thing else was against it, but the music triumphed. Still it had but half a triumph, for the songs were not <i>encored</i>; and when an attempt was made by some rash over-weening enthusiasts to <i>encore</i> the enchanting airs of Mozart, that heavy German composer, ‘that dull Beotian genius,’ as he has been called by a lively verbal critic of our times, the English, disdaining this insult offered to our native talents, <i>hissed</i> – in the plenitude of their pampered grossness, and ‘ignorant impatience’ of foreign refinement and elegance, they hissed! We believe that unconscious patriotism has something to do with this as well as sheer stupidity; they think that a real taste for the Fine Arts, unless they are of British growth and manufacture, is a sign of disaffection to the Government, and that there must be ‘something rotten in the state of Denmark,’ if their ears, as well as their hearts, are not true English. We have heard sailors’ songs by Little Smith and Yorkshire songs by Emery, and the <i>Death of Nelson</i> by Mr. Sinclair, <i>encored</i> again and again at Covent-garden, so as almost ‘to split the ears of the groundlings,’ yet the other night they would not hear of encoring Miss Stephens, either in the duet with Duruset, <i>La ci darem</i>, nor in the song appealing for his forgiveness, <i>Batte</i> [<i>sic</i>], <i>Massetto</i> [<i>sic</i>]; yet at the Opera they tolerate Madame Fodor in repeating both these songs, because they suppose it to be the etiquette, and would have you believe that they do not very warmly insist on the repetition of the last song she sings there, out of tenderness to the actress, not to spare their own ears, which are soon cloyed with sweetness, and delight in nothing but noise and fury. We regard Miss Stephens’s <i>Zerlina</i> as a failure, whether we compare her with Madame Fodor in the same part, or with herself in other parts. She undoubtedly sung her songs with much sweetness and simplicity, but her simplicity had something of insipidity in it; her tones wanted the fine, rich, <i>pulpy</i> essence of Madam Fodor’s, the elastic impulse of health and high animal spirits; nor had her manner of giving the different airs that laughing, careless grace which gives to Madam Fodor’s singing all the ease and spirit of conversation. There was some awkwardness necessarily arising from the transposition of the songs, particularly of the duet between <i>Zerlina</i> and <i>Don Giovanni</i>, which was given to <i>Massetto</i>, because Mr. Charles Kemble is not a singer, and which by this means lost us exquisite appropriateness of expression. Of Mr. Duruset’s <i>Massetto</i>, we shall only say that it is not so good as Angrisani’s. He would however have made a better representative of the statue of <i>Don Pedro</i>, than Mr. Chapman, who is another gentleman, who has not ‘a singing face,’ and whom it would therefore have been better to leave out of the Opera than the Songs; particularly than that fine one, answering to <i>Di rider finira pria della Aurora</i>, which Mr. Chapman was mounted on horseback on purpose, it should seem, <i>neither to sing nor say</i>! Mr. Charles Kemble did not play the <i>Libertine</i> well. Instead of the untractable [<i>sic</i>], fiery spirit, the unreclaimable licentiousness of <i>Don Giovanni</i>, he was as tame as any saint; / ‘And of his port as meek as is a maid.’ / Mr. Kemble went through the different exploits of wickedness assigned him with evident marks of reluctance and contrition; and it seemed the height of injustice that so well-meaning a young man, forced into acts of villainy against his will, should at last be seized upon as their lawful prize by fiends come hot from hell with flaming torches, and that he should sink into a lake of burning brimstone on a splendid car brought to receive him by the Devil, in the likeness of a great dragon, writhing round and round upon a wheel of fire – an exquisite device of the Managers, superadded to the original story, and in striking harmony with Mozart’s music! Mr. Liston’s <i>Leporello</i> was not quite what we wished it. He played it in a mixed style between a burlesque imitation of the Italian Opera, and his own <i>inimitable</i> manner. We like him best when he is his own great original, and copies only himself. / ‘None but himself can be his parallel.’ / He did not sing the song of <i>Madamina</i> half so well, nor with half the impudence of Naldi. Indeed, all the performers seemed, instead of going their lengths on the occasion, to be upon their good behaviour, and instead of entering into their parts, to be thinking of the comparison between themselves and the performers at the Opera. We cannot say it was in their favour.”</p>
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O presente volume reúne textos de investigadores nacionais e estrangeiros que realizam pesquisas, por um lado, sobre Mozart – o compositor mais emblemático do último quartel do século XVIII – e, por outro, sobre o seu contemporâneo mais novo, Marcos Portugal – compositor, eventualmente, mais característico da Europa do seu tempo e, sem dúvida, mais largamente em voga do que o próprio Mozart – assim como sobre a época em que os dois se inserem. A aparente disparidade entre as vidas e fortunas destes dois compositores resulta numa ampla e fascinante discussão dos contextos de composição e recepção das obras de ambos.



The present volume brings together texts by researchers from Portugal and abroad working, on the one hand, on Mozart – the composer who most fully symbolises the last quarter of the eighteenth century – and, on the other, on his younger contemporary Marcos Portugal – a composer possibly more typical of the Europe of their time and certainly more widely in fashion than Mozart was – as well as on the period in which they worked. The apparent disparity between the lives and fortunes of the two composers results in a fascinating, broad-based discussion of the contexts of composition and reception of the works of both.

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