

PREFACE

Historical Background

Il barbiere di Siviglia was Rossini's first *opera buffa* for Rome, the capital of the Papal States,¹ opening at the Nobile Teatro di Torre Argentina on 20 February 1816.² The Eternal City was not the place of most of Rossini's work, although the very first opera attributed to the composer, *Demetrio e Polibio* (written during the period between 1808 and 1810) was performed in Rome at the Teatro Valle on 18 May 1812 (he was not directly involved with the performance, nor do we know exactly how much of the music he actually composed). There had been revivals of *L'inganno felice* (Teatro Valle, Carnival, 1813–1814), *Tancredi* (Teatro Apollo, 26 December 1814), and *L'Italiana in Algeri* under the name of *Il naufragio felice* (Teatro Valle, 14 January 1815). The first Rossini opera commissioned by a Roman theater was the *dramma semiserio* *Torvaldo e Dorliska*, which had its premiere at the Teatro Valle³ on 26 December 1815, during the same Carnival season in which he would compose *Barbiere*. *La Cenerentola* followed at the Teatro Valle the next year (25 January 1817), and *Adelaide di Borgogna* at the Teatro Argentina the Carnival after (27 December 1817), but then Rossini had no commissions for Rome until his *Matilde di Shabran* (Teatro Apollo, 24 February 1821).

Rossini's career as an opera composer really began with his five *farse* for Venice (1810–1812) and the success of *La pietra del paragone* for La Scala of Milan (26 September 1812). In 1815 he was called to Naples, where he was ultimately to become the music director of the royal theaters, and he produced for his first opera at the Teatro San Carlo *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra* (4 October 1815). The string of *opere serie* that followed for Naples—*Otello*, *Armida*, *Mosè in Egitto*, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, *Ermione*, *La donna del lago*, *Maometto II*, and *Zelmira*—includes most of his great serious works. After his last opera for Italy, *Semiramide* (Venice, 3 February 1823), Rossini moved to Paris, where, after one final opera in Italian, *Il viaggio a Reims* (19 June 1825), he began working with the Paris Opéra, first revising three Italian works, *Maometto II*, *Mosè in Egitto*, and *Viaggio*, into *Le Sièges de Corinthe* (9 October 1826), *Moïse* (26 March 1827), and *Le Comte Ory* (20 August 1828), then writing his masterpiece, *Guillaume Tell* (3 August 1829).

But it is *Barbiere*, its subject chosen at the last minute, written in a very short time period, and considered a fiasco on opening night, it is *Barbiere*, born even under a different name,⁴ that has remained

continuously in the repertory of Italian opera for 192 years and counting.

Roman Carnival

In mid-May of 1815 Rossini wrote to the Milanese librettist Angelo Anelli, whose *L'Italiana in Algeri* he had previously set (Venice, Teatro San Benedetto, 22 May 1813), announcing that he had a commission from Rome for the next Carnival and requesting “a comic libretto of yours full of caprices. . . . If you have an old one adapt it; I am indifferent so long as it causes laughter.”⁵ On 8 June he again wrote Anelli, complaining about a libretto the poet had apparently offered, telling him to be in touch with the impresario of the Teatro Valle, and announcing his own imminent departure for Naples,⁶ where he was about to take up his first contractual obligations at the royal theaters.

During his journey from Bologna to Naples he wrote twice to his mother. The first letter, dated 17 June, is from Florence. “I am happily arrived here where all is original and beautiful. The only things I lack to be happy are my loved ones. . . . Write me in Rome for Naples. . . .”⁷ Another letter is dated 26 June from Rome, where he had been warmly received:

I have had an excellent trip. If you should see what a welcome I have in this place you would be enchanted. Cavalier Canova, Prince N. N. They all want me and I have visited them all, and like a good sovereign I have made them happy. The roads to Naples are secured by the constant passage of the troops, so I will arrive there with my trunk.⁸

Finally, on 27 June, he reported to his mother: “I am happily arrived in Naples. Everything is beautiful. Everything surprises me.”⁹ A series of letters to Anna Guidarini from her son in Naples assures us that he remained there throughout the summer,¹⁰ preparing for the October premiere of *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*, as well as for

“Strumenti della ricerca storica. Gli ‘altri’ libretti: *Il barbiere di Siviglia* a Roma dopo il 1816,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* XLI (2006), 261–71.

5 Gioachino Rossini, *Lettere e documenti*, ed. Bruno Cagli and Sergio Ragni (Pesaro, 1992–2004), 4 vols., I: 91–2. The original Italian text is given in the Italian version of this Preface. *Lettere e documenti* prints critical texts of the documents, keeping Rossini's original spelling and capitalization and indicating all editorial interventions in punctuation, which it keeps to a minimum. In the Preface and the Prefazione, we have punctuated the quotations where necessary for clarity and silently corrected mistakes in spelling. The quotations from Saverio Lamacchia, *Il vero Figaro o sia il falso factotum. Riesame del “Barbiere” di Rossini* (Turin, 2008), are already modernized, as Lamacchia says on p. 3.

6 *Lettere e documenti*, I: 93–4.

7 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 80–1: Rossini had originally planned to leave for Naples on 17 May but postponed his departure, perhaps because of unstable political conditions in Naples (see *Lettere e documenti*, I: 90n). The Napoleonic King of Naples, Joachim Murat, had been defeated at the Battle of Tolentino, 2–3 May 1815, and Ferdinand IV was returned to the throne by the Treaty of Casalanza on 20 May.

8 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 82.

9 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 84.

10 Letters dated 4, 18, and 25 July, 8, 23, and 30 August, and 12 and 26 September chronicle his life up to the premiere of *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*. See *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 85–97.

revivals of *L'inganno felice* and *L'Italiana in Algeri*¹¹ at the Teatro dei Fiorentini, also in October.

After these performances, Rossini was scheduled to go to Rome to fulfill his contract there for Carnival. On 27 October he wrote to his mother: "Write to Rome, because I leave the day after tomorrow. Tomorrow evening *L'Italiana in Algeri* will be performed!"¹² If he truly left Naples on 29 October, as he planned, he would presumably have arrived in Rome on 30 October or 1 November at the latest. By 4 November he was writing again to his mother:

I am happily arrived in Rome and welcomed in the usual way: . . . I am well lodged because I am with my dear Zamboni who does me a thousand kindnesses and greets you.¹³

Rossini's contract was with the Teatro Valle, as we have seen from his letters to Anelli. For the Valle he was to stage a revival of *Il Turco in Italia* in the autumn season (7 November 1815), in which the *basso buffo* Luigi Zamboni would sing Don Geronio, and to write a new opera to open the Carnival season on 26 December 1815, the *dramma semiserio* *Torvaldo e Dorliska* (whose libretto was not written by Anelli, as Rossini had hoped the preceding spring, but by the Roman poet Cesare Sterbini).

Several letters from Rossini to his mother reveal how busy he was from November through January.

4 November:

I will soon have the libretto [for *Torvaldo e Dorliska*] and I hope to do myself proud.¹⁴

11 November:

The other evening *Il Turco in Italia* opened here and it created more excitement than *L'Italiana in Algeri*. Every evening I am called on stage three times to receive the general applause. These Romans are really fanatics.¹⁵

2 December:

I am working like a beast; my rewards consist of having news from you and for several days now I have been deprived of it.¹⁶

27 December:

Last evening my opera entitled *Torvaldo e Dorliska* . . . opened. The result was good . . . The public does not laugh because the opera is sentimental, but it applauds and that is enough. I will write another one immediately for the Teatro Argentina: this will be comic because my good friend Zamboni will sing there, and I am sure of a good result.¹⁷

17 January 1816:

Saturday evening [13 January] *L'Italiana in Algeri* opened and pleased as usual. . . . I am called to the stage every evening in both theaters. . . . At Valle on the same evening that Argentina opened, *L'inganno felice* was performed and had a fantastic reception. This completes the show, since the first act of the new opera [*Torvaldo e Dorliska*] gives immense pleasure and always more, but the second remained unsatisfactory, because it is too serious and depends on the lady, who is a zero.¹⁸

During these same months, Duke Francesco Sforza Cesarini, owner and de facto impresario of the Nobile Teatro di Torre Argentina,

was desperately trying to put together a season of *opera buffa* for his theater.¹⁹ The Roman theaters were very much under the control of the church hierarchy. Of course there was censorship of the librettos, but other cities too had safeguards for public propriety, differing principally in that these were managed by civic rather than ecclesiastical authorities. In Rome, however, theater seasons were totally controlled by the Church, which played a prominent rôle in their management: if the Pope fell ill, the theaters were dark.²⁰ Although the Teatro Valle had an annual cycle of productions of serious and comic opera and ballet, the Argentina was open only during Carnival, and the Vatican did not always give its permission for a season to be presented.²¹ For Carnival of 1815–1816, the chief promoter for opening the Argentina was the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Ercole Consalvi.²² But apparently permission for the Argentina to open was not given until about 10 November, for on 12 November Sforza Cesarini wrote to Carlo Mauri, the substitute Secretary of State:

I cannot recover from my surprise at the conversation with the Most Excellent Secretary of State about the theater. I would have expected quite otherwise [...] I am struck through and wounded because I find myself completely unable to execute the commands of His Excellency since by 10 November even mediocre individuals are under contract. His Excellency himself must be convinced of that, therefore I am truly most regretful because I cannot fulfill the commands of His Excellency as I would wish, and I am again most displeased to make De Santis laugh, who has easily been able to hire one or two good comic basses.²³

Mauri was the recipient of numerous letters from Sforza Cesarini, each more anguished than the last, beginning with this one and ending 24 January 1816. The Duke was forced into a frantic effort to put together a season that needed to begin in less than seven weeks. Recall that already in May Rossini was writing to Anelli concerning a libretto for the next Carnival at the Teatro Valle, and on 29 February 1816, a week after the opening of *Barbiere*, he signed a contract with Pietro Cartoni to compose "a completely new comic score in two acts . . . that should be presented as the first opera of the next Carnival 1816–1817, and precisely on the theater's opening

11 For information concerning the changes he made in Naples to the latter work, including the addition of an aria for Isabella, "Sullo stil de' viaggiatori," to replace her patriotic rondò, "Pensa alla patria," see *L'Italiana in Algeri*, ed. Azio Corghi, in *Edizione critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini*, Sezione prima, vol. 11 (Pesaro, 1981).

12 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 104–5.

13 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 106.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 108–9.

16 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 111.

17 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 113.

18 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 115–6: it would seem from Rossini's report that the Teatro Valle performed together *L'inganno felice* and the first act of *Torvaldo e Dorliska*. The prima donna he is criticizing, the first Dorliska, was Adelaide Sala.

19 See Lamacchia, *Il vero Figaro*. Until Lamacchia's study, scholars (including the editors of *Lettere e documenti*) depended for their knowledge of the correspondence of Sforza Cesarini concerning this Carnival season, which saw the conception and birth of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, on transcriptions of materials in the Sforza Cesarini archives published by Celani, "Musica e musicisti in Roma." Since 1992, however, the documents have resided in the Archivio di Stato of Rome, where Lamacchia studied them at first hand, especially Sforza Cesarini's *Minutario* or letter copy book. He also examined for the first time various documents relating to the Teatro Argentina conserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, letters from Sforza Cesarini to the Secretary of State of the Vatican, Cardinal Ercole Consalvi. Based on these materials Lamacchia argues that *Almaviva o sia L'inutile precauzione*, as the opera was designated in Rome, was created as a showpiece for the tenor Manuel García. We are most grateful to the author for providing us with a copy of this work in electronic form before its publication.

20 Lamacchia, 6.

21 Lamacchia (6) notes that in the years of the 19th century preceding 1815, the Argentina was not used in 1800–1802 or 1806.

22 Lamacchia, 2–3. As Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi participated in the Congress of Vienna (September 1814–June 1815), obtaining the return of most of the papal territory to the pre-French Revolutionary borders. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, <<http://www.newadvent.org>>, "Ercole Consalvi," consulted 10 September 2008.

23 Lamacchia, 7. Although Lamacchia (7n) refers to De Santis as "the impresario of the rival Teatro Valle," the precise relationship between De Santis, Cartoni, and Sforza Cesarini has not yet been established. Martina Grempler's forthcoming study of the Teatro Valle should clarify the matter.

night, which will occur on 26 December of the current year.”²⁴ The letters to Mauri, along with letters to and from the agents Francesco Zappi in Bologna and Matthias Cecchi in Florence, outline Sforza Cesarini’s searches for a program, a company, and an orchestra. And as we will see, Rossini himself seems to have had an important rôle beyond that of composing *Barbiere* in making the season a success.

The Season at the Teatro Argentina

The Nobile Teatro di Torre Argentina, unlike the Valle, usually staged *opera seria*, but this was not an obligatory practice.²⁵ For Carnival 1815-1816, Sforza Cesarini began to look for both comic and serious operas. To Cecchi and Zappi he sent the same letter on 11 November:

Now I have learned that a theater for *opera buffa* will perhaps open for the coming Carnival at the Teatro Argentina [...] Therefore send me as soon as possible a list of individuals, together with their minimum demands, indicating which ones are free and can handle successfully a comic opera in this Roman market during the next Carnival, 1815 to 1816. We need a good prima donna, a tenor of *mezzo-carattere*, and two *buffi*, that is, one comic and one lyrical; moreover I impress on you again that they must be individuals who can cope with the scores of famous maestros and can make a sure effect in this market, on which I implore you to act as quickly as possible with great skill, giving me the most candid information, on which will depend whether we open the Teatro Argentina with the said *opera buffa*. It will depend on the decency of the demands of these individuals whether the theater opens or not.²⁶

We lack the response that must have come from Zappi to Sforza Cesarini, to which he alludes in a letter to Monsignor Mauri on 22 November:

The answers I received in the last mail on the Theater business confirm even more that it was most opportune for me to have accepted, even before receiving approval from the lord Cardinal Secretary of State, the offer of the correspondent from Milan for an impresario . . . of opera seria with ballet for the Argentina.²⁷

Lamacchia suggests that Sforza Cesarini was operating on two fronts, insisting with Cecchi that he was not interested in *opera seria* with ballets, while with Mauri still hoping for a Milanese impresario to rescue him from doing the job himself.²⁸ But on 5 December the Duke admitted to Mauri that the unnamed impresario was not available: “Meanwhile, one can no longer think about the impresario from Milan, and the task of complying with the revered commands of His Excellency remains my obligation, following the terms already agreed upon with the same Excellency for the performance of only *opera buffa* at the Teatro Argentina.”²⁹

During this period, Sforza Cesarini had been acquiring opera scores (through rental or purchase) as well as contracting with singers for a program of *opera buffa*. By the beginning of December he thought to open the season with *Marco Tondo, o sia La cameriera astuta* by Ferdinando Paini (first performed in Venice, at the Teatro San Moisè during the spring of 1814) and to conclude it with a revival of *L’Italiana in Algeri*; Rossini had agreed to write a new *opera buffa* to complete the program. This information comes from a letter from the *buffo* bass Zamboni, already in Rome and committed to Sforza

Cesarini, in which he tried to entice his sister-in-law, the famous contralto Elisabetta Gafforini, to come quickly to Rome as part of the Argentina’s company. It is apparent from Zamboni’s letter that some negotiations had already occurred between the singer and the impresario, as he refers to “the six operas that you have indicated in writing to His Excellency.”³⁰ Since a copy of this letter is found in Sforza Cesarini’s papers, Lamacchia believes the Duke himself must have prompted Zamboni to write to Gafforini, and perhaps, as Celani suggested, may even have dictated the letter himself.³¹

In the Archivio di Stato of Rome there are two copies of a draft of the contract sent to Gafforini that same day. A printed document with many annotations, it lists *Marco Tondo, o sia La cameriera astuta* as one of the operas, plus two others: “another opera, old or new, to be chosen by the impresario” and a title left blank. There is the further stipulation that if for some reason *Marco Tondo* could not be done, Gafforini could choose a replacement from the list of six she had previously supplied.³²

But Gafforini would not commit herself, although she continued to negotiate, making ever more demands, both professional and personal.³³ Sforza Cesarini was in doubt on 4 December, after Zamboni sent his letter, for the Duke wrote that day to Mauri, “I can not guarantee that Gafforini will accept the contract, even after so much delay,” and in a postscript Sforza Cesarini added, “My Monsignor I am in a state of inexpressible violence and anguish, so that even my health suffers! I have never found myself in such a fix.”³⁴ On 13 December, while still hoping to secure Gafforini, he did consider another suggestion from Zappi: to hire instead Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi, a young contralto who had withdrawn from the stage after her recent marriage.³⁵

In addition to a prima donna and a *basso buffo cantante* (which he had secured in Zamboni), Sforza Cesarini needed a tenor and another *buffo*, this one comic. On 15 December he still lacked three of the four necessary principals. Monsignor Mauri received a letter that shows how severely stressed the Duke was.

I am writing from bed. . . . For now I still have no contract either with Gafforini or with a *buffo*. Milan, or rather Count Somaglia, took De Begnis from me, and now Cavara, whom I was almost certain of having, since I expressly sent Benucci to Florence. If by Monday I do not have the contracts of the lady and the *buffo* you should please prepare a passport so I can leave Rome. Please do not hold it against me (particularly Your Excellency), since I am making myself ill with this passion. I have already signed contracts for more than two thousand scudi, and I would be responsible for these, so you can imagine the state of violence and anxiety that has agitated my spirit for so many days in this matter.³⁶

On the twentieth Sforza Cesarini received from Gafforini an unsigned contract, rejected by the contralto because she had been allowed only one of the six operas she had originally listed, not two. Within the week the Duke decided to hire Righetti-Giorgi, as

30 Lamacchia, 15. The entire letter, taken from Celani XXII (1915), 47–8, is found in *Lettere e documenti*, I: 113–5. Celani does not give a date for the letter. In his chronological narrative it falls between a letter dated 28 November and a reference to 4 December, hence in *Lettere e documenti* the date is given as 28 November / 1 December.

31 Lamacchia, 13, citing Celani XXII (1915), 47. Zamboni is careful to tell his sister-in-law “Ho sentito” (I heard) and “Sento che” (I hear that), without ever revealing the source of his information.

32 Lamacchia, 15.

33 These included the stipulation that the older operas she would sing would have been written originally for her; that she would have the right to approve the libretto for the new opera; and that she should have lodging not only for herself, but also for her mother and two servants. Lamacchia, 18.

34 Lamacchia, 14.

35 Lamacchia, 16. It is clear that Sforza Cesarini did not know Righetti-Giorgi, although she was known to Rossini from their school days together in Bologna (see *Lettere e documenti*, I: 116n–117n).

36 Lamacchia, 18.

24 *Lettere e documenti*, I: 147. The opera was to be *La Cenerentola*, which ultimately became the second opera of the season, opening on 25 January 1817.

25 For further information see Bianca Maria Antolini, “Musica e teatro musicale a Roma negli anni della dominazione francese (1809–1814),” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* XXXVIII (2003), 283–380.

26 Lamacchia, 9.

27 Lamacchia, 10. The document to which he refers is not preserved.

28 For further details, see Lamacchia, 9–11.

29 Lamacchia, 11.

Zappi had been pressing him to do by pointing out that Rossini could speak to her ability, her appearance, and her vocal quality. On 28 December the impresario received Righetti-Giorgi's signed contract, about which he wrote to Cardinal Consalvi himself, rather than to Mauri, telling him enthusiastically:

I can at the same time assure you that this singer, according to all the information obtained from other venues, and from what was told me by Maestro Rossini and the *buffo* Zamboni, both of whom know her personally, is a prima donna who pleases through her voice, her appearance, and her manner of singing.³⁷

After the opening of *L'Italiana in Algeri* Sforza Cesarini confided to Mauri that "The prima donna pleased more than I expected, and she has a most excellent contralto voice."³⁸

As second *buffo* the Duke had considered Paolo Rosich (who would take the part of Bartolo in Florence in the autumn), Andrea Verni (who would sing the rôle in the first revival in Bologna that summer and create the part of Don Magnifico in *La Cenerentola* the following year), Giuseppe De Begnis (who had sung in *Il Turco in Italia* at the Teatro Valle in the autumn), and Michele Cavara (who portrayed Selim in *Il Turco in Italia* in Florence the preceding year), before settling on Bartolomeo Botticelli. The choice was validated at the premiere of *L'Italiana in Algeri* on 13 January 1816, as Sforza Cesarini reported to Mauri:

The *buffo* Botticelli did all right [in the rôle of Mustafà], and was applauded in the Introduction; in the Duet with the tenor both of them were called back for applause; only in the Quintet of the second act did he try to force a bit too much, but he sang all the other pieces well, and moreover his appearance and acting are excellent. It's necessary to be content with mediocrity, since not I nor anyone else could have found anything better in the middle of December.³⁹

For the tenor rôle, during these weeks Sforza Cesarini negotiated with Giacomo Guglielmi, who requested "a horrendous sum, since it is *opera buffa*, and more than [Nicola] Tacchinardi received; furthermore it is said that he has lost his voice."⁴⁰ Having rejected Guglielmi, the Duke turned to Giuseppe Speck, who, like Zamboni, had been part of the cast of *Il Turco in Italia* at the Valle. On 16 December Sforza Cesarini wrote to Zappi that he had already hired Speck.⁴¹ Nonetheless, it would seem that either the Duke or Rossini had opened negotiations to bring Manuel García to Rome. The tenor had created the rôle of Norfolk in *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*, Rossini's first opera for Naples in October of 1815, and although the Spanish singer found himself in trouble with the Neapolitan impresario Domenico Barbaja because of his willfulness regarding attendance at rehearsals, his magnificent voice would have captivated Rossini.⁴² While we do not have any record of earlier communications, on 20 December Sforza Cesarini wrote to Mauri: "Tell His Excellency, then, that yesterday, at the last hour, I think I secured for the Argentina one of the best tenors of Europe."⁴³ Thus, he must have received on the nineteenth a response from García in Naples to a letter sent—perhaps by courier—at the latest on 18 December.

It may have been Rossini himself who opened these negotiations. The composer wrote to García on 22 December in a manner that

indicates there had been some discussion with García about what works he would sing:

I am sending you the sections from *Italiana in Algeri*, opera chosen by me, because you will shine in it, even more because the pitch in Rome is low and because, since I am there, I can make all the modifications you might desire. I suggest that you leave as soon as possible, so that we can begin rehearsals, but it is useless for me to insist, since I know how eager and honorable you are. Come, therefore, and we will be merry.⁴⁴

This copy in the letter book, dictated to Sforza Cesarini's principal scribe, is crossed out and annotated "non fu spedita" [not sent]. Another letter, beginning on the same page in the letter book but dated 26 December, was actually sent to García:

Here are the sections for the first opera. This is a part in which you will make an excellent impression, especially because—since it is a bit high—we have the advantage [in Rome] of using a very low pitch. I beg you to pardon me for not having sent them to you before, but you know that a young maestro who has to open with a new opera is so distracted that he can fail even friends. Please be indulgent with me, since I wish to count myself among the small number of those friends, and thus prepare to leave as soon as you can.

Along with the letter is a list of the pieces being sent from *L'Italiana in Algeri*:

The letter was sent, insured, to the tenor García with a package consisting of the following *particelle*: Cavatina – Part within the aria of the *Donna* – Duetto – Terzetto – Quintetto – Finale of Act I – Cavatina of Act II – Finale of Act II.⁴⁵

If we remember that 26 December was opening night for *Torvaldo e Dorliska*, we can feel some sympathy for the "young maestro" who was helping Sforza Cesarini make a success of his *opera buffa* season and would thus give the world *Il barbiere di Siviglia*.

On this same 26 December 1815 Rossini signed the contract that obligated him to compose and stage "the second comic opera to be performed in the upcoming above-mentioned Carnival season in the stated theater, using a libretto, whether new or old, that will be given [to him] by the above-mentioned Impresario during the first days of January."⁴⁶ The possibility that Rossini would compose a new opera must have been under discussion at least as early as 13 December, when Sforza Cesarini wrote to Zappi (who was sending him the scores of *La cameriera astuta*—the actual autograph manuscript—and *La pietra del paragone*):

I received yours of the 6th, and I am in agreement with you about the scores, either for the rental or for the proprietary rights to *Marco Tondo*, should I wish to acquire it, about which I will let you know later, and I will have no difficulty giving you for the same price one that I may own myself, and perhaps I will have a *buffo* opera that will be very successful, since it is written by a famous maestro.⁴⁷

From the contract between Sforza Cesarini and Rossini we learn that:

37 Lamacchia, 20.

38 Lamacchia, 23.

39 Lamacchia, 22–3.

40 Lamacchia, 16.

41 Lamacchia, 17. A letter from Sforza Cesarini to Mauri on 6 December reveals that Speck wanted to leave Rome for a few days, but because it was necessary to begin rehearsals immediately, the Duke asked the substitute Secretary to prevent a passport being issued.

42 See the communications from Barbaja to Giovanni Carafa, Duca di Noia and superintendent of the theaters of Naples, and from Marchese Donato Tommasi, Minister of the Interior, to King Ferdinand in *Lettere e documenti*, I: 102–3 and 105–6.

43 Lamacchia, 19.

44 Lamacchia, 26.

45 *Ibid.* Notice that the transcription of Celani, XXII (1915), 259–60, as reproduced in *Lettere e documenti*, I: 123, has several errors. In a private communication Lamacchia confirms that the list is in the same hand as the scribe of this and the majority of letters in the letter book.

46 The contract, held by the Biblioteca Teatrale Livia Simoni, Museo Teatrale alla Scala in Milan (CA 7552), is transcribed in *Lettere e documenti*, I: 124–6, and in Philip Gossett, introduction to *Il barbiere di Siviglia: facsimile dell'autografo* (Rome, 1993), 60–1, with an English translation, 8–9.

47 *Lettere e documenti*, I: 119, citing Celani, XXII (1915), 50, reprinted in Gossett, 62–3, with an English translation, 11. For further information on the question of whether the author or the impresario owned the manuscript and on the disposition of the autograph of *Barbiere*, see Gossett, particularly 9–11 and 29–32 (in Italian, 61–3 and 82–5).

- 1) Rossini's new opera is still listed as the second of the season. (*L'Italiana in Algeri* would open 13 January; *Marco Tondo, o sia La cameriera astuta* opened as the second opera on 4 February but after one performance was withdrawn in favor of more performances of *L'Italiana*.⁴⁸)
- 2) No libretto had yet been chosen, although Cesarini promises to give Rossini the libretto by early January.
- 3) Rossini agrees to make whatever changes may be required by the singers, at the request of the impresario.
- 4) He agrees to be in Rome by the end of December (where, of course, he already had been since the beginning of November), to complete the first act by 16 January 1816 (the "16" was canceled and replaced with "20"), and to begin rehearsals immediately, completing the second act in time to perform the opera no later than 5 February ("circa" was added). One presumes the emendations were made at the time of signing the contract.
- 5) He agrees, as was normal, to direct the rehearsals and to lead the first three performances from the keyboard.
- 6) His payment, to be delivered after the third performance, was set as 400 Roman scudi (somewhat more than that paid to Botticelli, 340 scudi, but a third of the 1200 paid to García).
- 7) He is given lodging for the duration of the contract in the same place as Zamboni (where he was already living).

Rossini was indeed rescuing Sforza Cesarini: he was already lodged in Rome under his contract with the Teatro Valle, he was to be paid a modest fee for his services, and he acted as an agent in securing a star for the new opera. The Duke thus had been assured of a company of singers and, effectively, the three operas. He still had to choose a libretto (or hire a poet) for Rossini's new opera, hire an orchestra, and carry the season through after its late start, for the Teatro Argentina had yet to commence its Carnival season, which usually began on 26 December.

One solution was to open the season with *L'Italiana in Algeri*. Since Cesarini had received the autograph score, but not the performing materials, of *La cameriera astuta* about 16 December,⁴⁹ he needed to have performing parts copied, whereas *L'Italiana in Algeri* had already been performed in Rome at the Teatro Valle the previous Carnival, so performing materials were certainly available. That may well have been the reason why it was decided to place *L'Italiana* at the beginning of the season, with *La cameriera astuta* last.

In the meantime, the Duke was struggling to get *L'Italiana in Algeri* on stage. On 9 January (a Tuesday) he expressed his distress to Mauri at having to put on an opera in eight days (hoping to open the next evening, 10 January⁵⁰):

I am leading a life that would make anyone ill, because I am trying to do something almost impossible, and I hope never to undertake anything similar so long as I live. Your Excellency will understand well what it means to produce a two-act opera in eight days. These are things that can be understood only by someone directly involved, and on opening night one must reckon with the fools of which Rome is full. I am pressing everyone to open on Wednesday. I am truly most anguished. I must speak with you, alone and with the greatest urgency, but I cannot come [to you]. It is necessary that you perform the miracle of Mohammed. I am foolish, I know it, but I beg you to consider the weight of my circumstances. You express to me the wishes of all the world etc. I would not want the whole world to have gotten it into its head that this year I have gone crazy, since I have no intention of doing so. What is certain is that having to do things this way, rehearsals, sets, decorations, and everything at double time,

does not please me. And the result will be to end up with something undigested, with the performers strained to their limits, and whether the opera succeeds, or is mediocre, or is a fiasco, everyone will still howl against me... Ah Monsignore, that is no way to run a theater! I began this note yesterday and finished it today. Last evening, after having exhausted myself all day long, I was involved in rehearsing and sharpening the entire first act [of *L'Italiana in Algeri*] from seven o'clock in the evening to midnight,⁵¹ under the direction of Maestro Rossini, who wrote the opera, and remaining thus in a theater in that kind of cold it seemed to me we were on Mount Cenis,⁵² so that Rossini, the prima donna, and the tenor were all shivering, and we were so chilled that it took me more than an hour to warm myself up once I returned home.⁵³

With everyone pulling together, they were finally able to open on Saturday, 13 January, and the next day the Duke reported his relative satisfaction to Mauri, commenting on the singers and adding:

I am not the one to comment about the sets and the costumes and the lighting of the stage. I alone know what drove me crazy, and how much it cost me, and all of this for Rome! I was very sick tonight until 5 a.m. for having truly killed myself last evening—it is more than I can chew—and for the foul odor I was compelled to smell at various times last evening. This entire morning I had a shouting match with the poet about the new book to be written for Rossini, which through no fault of my own is behind schedule, and I, dear friend, am fed up with a life like this, which does not contribute to my health and which takes me away from business, from friends, from my family. I am old now, fed up with the world, and I ought not to think of anything but leading a tranquil life. [Sforza Cesarini was 44 years old.] Give this news to His Excellency, together with signs of my respect. Last evening we had to overcome a terrible claque from the Teatro Valle that did nothing but try to silence everyone who wanted to applaud. It was noticed even by my wife in our box, while it did not even cross my mind to send people to undertake a similar action at the Teatro Valle. Rome [is] holy and [its] people etc.⁵⁴ Nonetheless the Maestro had to come out after the first-act curtain, called by the applause of the audience.⁵⁵

Sforza Cesarini's illness the evening of 14 January was brought on partly by the argument he had that morning with the poet of the new libretto for Rossini. The libretto was to have been written by Jacopo Ferretti, a well-known Roman poet, who would write *La Cenerentola* the following year. By mid-January, however, Ferretti's libretto had been rejected. According to Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi, the first Rosina (writing in 1823 in a response to an article by Stendhal in a British journal), Ferretti's libretto was refused because the Duke disliked the subject the poet proposed:

The poet Ferretti was appointed to compose a libretto for the Teatro Argentina, with a principal part for the tenor García. Ferretti presented the subject of an officer in love with an innkeeper and thwarted in his first loves by a Papal lawyer. It seemed to the impresario that the subject was quite worthless, and dismissing Ferretti he sought out the other poet Signor Sterbini. This man, who had been unfortunate with *Torvaldo e Dorliska*, wished to try his hand again. The subject

48 Lamacchia, 31–2. *L'Italiana in Algeri* thus had thirty-one performances and *Barbiere* seven, given that it premiered so near the end of the season (Lent began on 28 February in 1816—a Leap Year).

49 Celani, XXII (1915), 53.

50 It has generally been assumed (see *Lettere e documenti*, I: 130n) that this refers to the following Wednesday, 17 January, but this makes no sense at all in the context of the rehearsals and performance.

51 Although Sforza Cesarini wrote "da un'ora di notte fino alle cinque," he surely is referring to a system of time-keeping in which the day began at sunset (that is, approximately at 18:00). See Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Song and Season: Science, Culture, and Theatrical Time in Early Modern Venice* (Stanford, 2007).

52 Mount Cenis is part of the Alpine range that separates France from Italy.

53 Lamacchia, 22.

54 This is a licentious proverb, cited only in part by Sforza Cesarini, that goes "Roma santa e popolo cornuto" or even "A Roma stanno bene santi e puttane." See Antonio Tiraboschi, *Raccolta di proverbi bergamaschi* (Bergamo, 1875), 119.

55 Lamacchia, 23.

of the new libretto was agreed upon with Rossini, and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* was chosen by common accord.⁵⁶

No document indicates precisely when the change of librettist occurred, but the dates of all subsequent documents with Sterbini makes it likely that Cesarini's argument with "the poet" on 14 January was his final attempt to negotiate with Ferretti. Sterbini himself gives an account of what may have happened after that morning. He wrote on 26 February 1816 to Nicola Ratti, who had taken over the administration of the Argentina after the sudden death of Sforza Cesarini on 16 February. The gestation of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* happened so swiftly that Sterbini did not even have a formal contract for payment, and he waited until after the premiere of the opera to clear up the matter:

Abate Gentilezza sent me to you in order to obtain your opinion, which will be decisive, about the sum I should be paid as a fee for the drama written by me for the stage of the Teatro Argentina.

Implored by the late Duke to accept this commission against my will and pressed by Maestro Rossini, I accepted it without enthusiasm, and I did not come to an agreement about the price I would be paid, because I am above any thought of veniality and because I enjoined the Duke constantly that he himself should decide the price when the work was completed, a price that should not be less than that established for Signor Ferretti, whose work mine was supposed to replace, and who was not obliged to occupy himself with it in a frenzy day and night in order to complete it in 12 days, as I punctually accomplished. I had not thought, and I speak the truth, that after so many labors, after the burden I assumed beyond the call of duty and beyond the limits of my power so that everything would be completed in order and with the greatest care, that for a most vile self-interest would be added new vexations to those noteworthy ones I have already encountered from a mercenary and foolish public.⁵⁷ But since my fate wished it thus, so be it. However, I leave it to my father, the bearer of the present letter, to arrange everything with you, who will have clear ideas about justice and reasonableness, for I do not want to bear the dishonor of a disadvantageous comparison with the theatrical poet who was supposed to precede me, and whose service was unappreciated, though through no fault of his own.⁵⁸

Thus it seems likely that soon after the morning of 14 January Sforza Cesarini was imploring the poet Sterbini to accept the commission and countering Sterbini's protests against the lack of time and his insistence that he be paid more than Ferretti would have received.

The "Abate" Gentilezza who advised Sterbini to take his complaint to Ratti often acted as an agent for Sforza Cesarini and others. In a letter of 12 November 1815 to Gaetano Gioia,⁵⁹ Sforza Cesarini wrote:

Gentilezza is Gentilezza, besides being excessively lazy he is one who has qualities that do not please me, and if he has conducted himself well with respect to me on many occasions in things for which he was responsible, it is because—as it is said—I always had a knife to his throat, and he knew that I had long arms. . . . I have had to take musical scores out of his hands in order to send them to

their owner, Zappi, otherwise he would have kept them for at least ten years.⁶⁰

This accusation reached Gentilezza, and on 14 November he wrote to Ratti protesting that he had returned the scores to Zappi four months earlier and complaining of the treatment he had received, despite having been useful to the Duke:

for the Duke I went on pilgrimages to Naples, Florence, Bologna, and Florence. Abuse, disorder of my affairs, money lost were the results of my labors. . . . I only desire no longer to hear the word 'theater': and I will always be ready to receive your commands and those of the Duke but only for needs extraneous to the theater.⁶¹

On 17 January, although having declined two months earlier to help Sforza Cesarini in theatrical matters, Gentilezza sat down with Sterbini and wrote out a proposed scenario for the libretto of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, undoubtedly dictated by the poet, adding at the bottom a brief contract for Sterbini to sign.⁶² The document is given as the first facsimile in this volume.

Sterbini's declaration is the earliest dated evidence that the subject of the opera was to be derived from the play by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *Le Barbier de Séville*, written in 1772 and first performed in Paris in 1775. According to Righetti-Giorgi, "the subject of the new libretto was discussed with Rossini, and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* was chosen by common accord."⁶³ The simple pseudo-contract sets out in barest terms the tasks and the dates by which they needed to be accomplished. Most likely Sforza Cesarini was more interested in assuring Sterbini's commitment and getting a scenario in writing:

I, the undersigned, promise and oblige myself to adapt the libretto of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* as above; to finish the first act within eight days and the second within fifteen [replaced with "twelve"] days from today; as well as to assist the Maestro at staging rehearsals and to make changes as needed [appended in another hand:] and to make it as theatrical as possible. Rome 17 January 1816. [signed] C. Sterbini

Sterbini thus promised to deliver Act I by 25 January and Act II by 29 January, which he declares to Ratti he had accomplished by working day and night.

The shape of the opera in the document Sterbini signed on 17 January is very close to the final opera. There is no mention of an overture, but this would not be the librettist's concern. The title "Introduzione" before "Scena I" was inserted by the same unidentified person who added the amendment to the contract, probably to clarify that Scene I as described in the scenario is indeed the Introduction. Sterbini seems to have been envisioning the large, complex scene; someone (perhaps Sforza Cesarini?) may have been concerned about what would have been considered a somewhat atypical opening. In Sterbini's later list of numbers, which the librettist may have drawn up for the Duke when the poet and Rossini had clarified their plans, he wrote "Introduzione" to the left of the column of pieces. The following table compares the scenario of 17 January, the undated corrected list of numbers, and the opera's final form:

59 Gioia was a noted choreographer. "In 1812 he founded, together with Sforza Cesarini and two others, a society for the administration of the Municipal Theaters of Rome. After a very brief time he ceded his share to Pietro Cartoni." See *Lettere e documenti*, I: 44n.

60 Celani, XXII (1915), 43.

61 Celani, XXII (1915), 44.

62 Saverio Lamacchia has identified the principal hand of the document of 17 January as being that of Gentilezza (private communication, 15 September 2008). This document, known before only from Celani's transcription, came on the market in Spring 2007, advertised in Catalogue #55 of the English antiquarian music dealer, Lisa Cox, as item 93, and was purchased by the Pierpont Morgan Library, along with a companion list of numbers in Sterbini's hand whose existence was not suspected.

63 Righetti-Giorgi, 31; reprinted in Rognoni, 293.

56 *Cenni di una donna già cantante sopra il maestro Rossini in risposta a ciò che ne scrisse nella [el]state dell'anno 1822 il giornalista inglese in Parigi e fu riportato in una gazzetta di Milano dello stesso anno* (Bologna, 1823), 30–1; the text is reprinted in Luigi Rognoni, *Rossini* (Bologna, 1956, with various later editions), 293.

57 He is referring, of course, to supporters of the rival Teatro Valle, who did their best to disturb the opening night of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, as they had the first performance of *L'Italiana in Algeri* earlier in the season. See *Lettere e documenti*, I: 146n. For further information about the premiere of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, see below.

58 Lamacchia, 24n. This document has not been found in the material in the Archivio di Stato, so the source remains Celani, XXII (1915), 270. It is reprinted in *Lettere e documenti*, I: 145–6.

Sterbini declaration	Sterbini list of numbers	Barbieri (edition)
=Atto P[ri]mo=	Atto 1°	Act I
[N. 1] Scena I.= [added in another hand:] Introduzione [Gentilezza:] Tenore Serenata e Cavatina con cori, e introduzione	Introduz.° – Cavatina Tenore	N. 1 Introduzione [with serenade]
[N. 2] Scena II. Cavatina Figaro. Duetto di Carattere	– Cavatina Figaro	N. 2 Cavatina Figaro
[N. 3] Cavatina del Tenore	– Canzonetta Tenore	N. 3 Canzone Conte
[N. 5] Altra della Donna		
[N. 7] Duetto Donna, e Figaro = di Scena = Figaro spiega alla Donna l'amore del Conte	– Duetto Tenore e Figaro	N. 4 Duetto Conte – Figaro
[N. 4] Gran duetto tra Figaro ed il Conte	– Cavatina 1. ^a donna	N. 5 Cavatina Rosina
[N. 6] Aria Vitarelli [Basilio]	– Aria Basilio	N. 6 Aria Basilio
[N. 8] Aria Tutore con Pertichino	– Duetto Donna e Figaro	N. 7 Duetto Rosina – Figaro
[N. 9] Finale di gran Scena, e giocato assai	– Aria Botticelli [Bartolo]	N. 8 Aria Bartolo
	– Finale	N. 9 Finale Primo
=Atto Secondo=	Atto 2. ^o	Act II
[N. 10, N. 11] Tenore travestito da Maestro di Musica dà lezione alla Donna, e qui cade l'aria della medesima parimenti di scena	– Duetto Tenore e Botticelli	N. 10 Duetto Conte – Bartolo
[N. 14] Aria S[econ]da Donna	– Aria Donna	N. 11 Aria Rosina
[N. 13] Quartetto. Soggetto del quartetto. Figaro preparato a far la barba al Tutore, in questo mentre intanto amoreggia il Conte con la Donna. Il Tutore si crede ammalato, e si fa partire		N. 12 Arietta Bartolo
[N. 16] Terzetto Figaro, Donna, e Tenore	– Quintetto	N. 13 Quintetto
[N. 17] Grand'aria del Tenore	– Aria 2. ^a donna	N. 14 Aria Berta
[N. 18] Finaletto	– Temporale	N. 15 Temporale
	– Terzetto	N. 16 Terzetto
	– Aria Tenore	N. 17 Aria Conte
	– Finale	N. 18 Finaletto Secondo

Aside from some changes in the position of numbers, the major differences concern Act II, probably not yet fully planned on 17 January: the duet for the Conte and Bartolo that opens the act is not specified in the original scenario; Bartolo's Arietta during the music lesson is not mentioned, the Quintet was originally intended to be a Quartet,⁶⁴ and the Storm is introduced in the second document.

64 In the score, at the end of the recitative preceding the Quintet, the composer of the recitative also wrote "Segue Quartetto." Notice, however, that in Sterbini's autograph list, the title is already "Quintetto."

Writing the Opera

How could Rossini have composed and rehearsed *Barbieri* in so little time? Was the timetable proposed in his contract—barely a month from when he was to have received the libretto in early January to a projected opening on 5 February—an extraordinarily short time? Consider the dates of these premieres: *L'occasione fa il ladro* on 24 November 1812, followed two months later by *Il signor Bruschino* on 27 January 1813, and *Tancredi* on 6 February 1813, barely ten days after *Bruschino*—two and half months to write and stage two operas.

From documents concerning the composition of *La pietra del paragone* (Milan, 26 September 1812), borne out by details in the Sterbini contract and his request for payment, we learn that the librettist and composer worked concurrently, with Rossini setting portions of the text as he received them from the librettist.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Rossini did not necessarily compose the individual numbers in order. The most urgent need was for the singers' music, since they had to learn their rôles. Their *particelle* contained only the vocal line, the bass line, and perhaps occasional cues for a prominent instrument or another singer's text. Rossini's compositional method was well-suited to meet this need: he first drafted a skeleton score consisting of the bass line, the vocal parts, and the first violin or other prominent melody part, so that singers' parts could be copied even before the number was orchestrated. Later the completely orchestrated pieces would be given to the copyists for the extraction of instrumental parts. The distinction between pieces that were "composed" and those that were fully orchestrated is important. In the case of *La pietra del paragone*, ten days before the planned opening ten numbers or major portions of them still remained to be orchestrated or even "composed," but most of the numbers in Act I, including all the ensembles except for the opening section of the Finale, had been composed and largely orchestrated, and in Act II the ensembles had also been composed and all but the Quintet orchestrated. Four arias, simpler to compose than ensembles, remained to be composed, but they are for four different soloists,⁶⁶ and thus no singer was left with a large amount of music to learn. Unfortunately, we do not have documents that follow the composition of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in this kind of detail.

From a notice in the hand of Camillo Angelini, the *maestro al cembalo* and chorus master at the Teatro Argentina, we know that Rossini delivered the first act of his opera on 6 February. This could well have been in skeleton score. According to Celani:

On 6 February Camillo Angelini declared he had received the first act of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and agreed to have all the singers' parts copied from the score in order to distribute the Introduzione "this evening," all the rest "tomorrow morning 7." He promised the same for the second act and for all the orchestral parts "to keep the copyist [Giovanni Battista] Cencetti on task and to make up for his laziness, given the distressing circumstances in which management finds itself to stage the aforesaid music."⁶⁷

Angelini makes reference, furthermore, to "i giovani di Cencetti" [the assistants in Cencetti's copy shop] and agrees if necessary to hire more assistants and even another [principal] copyist at Cencetti's expense, giving us an idea of the composition of the shop.⁶⁸ Angeli-

65 *Lettere e documenti*, I: 34–41, especially 38–40. See also Patricia B. Brauner, "Feverish Composition: Writing *La pietra del paragone*" (2006), online at the Center for Italian Opera Studies <<http://humanities.uchicago.edu/orgs/ciao/Introductory/Essays> from CIAO/Feverish composition. html>.

66 Macrobio (N. 8), Giocondo (N. 13), Fulvia (N. 15), and Count Asdrubale (N. 18).

67 Celani, XXII (1915), 261.

68 The manuscripts copied in the *copisteria* of Cencetti, therefore, have particular importance for this opera. They include a complete, two-volume manuscript in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Borb. 3089, and especially a manuscript of the first act at the New York Public Library, *ZBT-77. The latter is marked: "In Roma Nell'Archivio di Gio. Batt. Cencetti Posto al Teatro Valle Via Canestrari N.° 8" and "In Roma Nel Carnevale / Nel

ni was also responsible for having similar vocal parts extracted for the second act, as well as having the orchestral parts prepared. We do not know when Rossini consigned his autograph manuscript of the second act to Angelini, nor how long it then took the composer to complete the orchestration of his opera. That *Il barbiere di Siviglia* had its premiere on 20 February,⁶⁹ however, suggests that his work was certainly not leisurely. To recapitulate the relevant dates:

17 January: the subject was established as *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and Sterbini as the librettist.

25 January: by this date, Sterbini promised to deliver the libretto of Act I.

29 January: by this date, Sterbini promised to deliver the libretto of Act II.

6 February: Rossini finished the first act, probably in skeleton score.

7 February: rehearsals begin.

16 February: Sforza Cesarini died suddenly during the night.

20 February: premiere of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*.

This time-table was not such an astonishing feat as it has sometimes been represented. Composers of Italian opera in the first half of the nineteenth century often required no more than a month to write and mount an opera. Indeed Rossini's original contractual agreement with the theater, although coming rather late, provided for a time-table essentially identical to this one.

A common practice among opera composers in early 19th-century Italy was to have a collaborator write the secco recitatives, facilitating the rapid tempo of production. In the only extant autograph score earlier than *Pietra*, that of *La scala di seta*,⁷⁰ all the secco recitatives are in Rossini's hand and appear to have been composed consecutively, perhaps all at one time. In the autograph of *La pietra del paragone*, on the other hand, the first-act recitatives (with the exception of two pages) are in Rossini's hand, but those in the second act are in the hands of several other people. The practice of subcontracting recitatives was widespread, often given to someone directly connected to the theater, and after Rossini's reputation was established with *La pietra del paragone*, he normally did not compose the recitatives in his comic operas (*Il viaggio a Reims* is the exception). The only secco recitative in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* written by Rossini is that within the Conte's Canzone in Act I. Yet Rossini's autograph

Teatro Argentina." Several details in the New York copy suggest that it is a very early manuscript. For more information, see the section "Sources" in the Critical Commentary.

69 The date of the performance is given in three sources. Celani, XXII (1915), 266, reports from the diary of Prince Agostino Chigi (conserved in **I-Rvat**) an entry for 21 February that reads "Last evening at the Argentina was the opening of a new *burletta* by maestro Rossini entitled the 'Barber of Seville' with a poor reception." The diary of Count Gallo (Lamacchia, 40, citing Cagli, "Amore e fede eterna," in *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, program, Pesaro, Rossini Opera Festival 2005, p. 61n) agrees: "20 February 1816, new opera by Rossini booed at the Argentina, entitled *Il barbiere di Siviglia*." These sources then place the premiere on 20 February. In a letter to his mother dated 22 February, however, Rossini wrote: "Yesterday evening my opera opened . . ." *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 119; if we can believe the date of the letter and the precision of "ieri sera," the premiere would have been on 21 February. The likelihood is that Rossini was mistaken, but the evidence is not conclusive. Furthermore, as Lamacchia (40) points out, "the date of the 21st would imply 7 consecutive performances until the 27th, without even one day of rest for the singers, whose vocal condition one can easily imagine, after 32 performances between 13 January and 19 February. To the fatigue of the performances of *L'Italiana in Algeri* (and, for one evening only, of *La cameriera astuta*), we have to add the rehearsals for *La cameriera astuta* and *Almaviva*." **WGR** adopts the date of 20 February.

70 The manuscript of the opera, which was edited by Anders Wiklund as Series I, vol. 6 in *Edizione critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini* (Pesaro, 1991), is preserved in the Nydahl collection of Stiftelsen Musikcultrens främjande in Stockholm.

score is carefully written, with few afterthoughts, and the articulation is often unusually precise. Only the Aria Berta (N. 14) appears hastily notated, and for this aria alone the recitatives preceding and following are not by the principal composer of the *Barbiere* recitatives (called hand α in the Critical Commentary).

That the recitatives in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* are composed by someone other than Rossini, and not merely copied, is apparent from the score itself. Philip Gossett has identified this composer's hand also in the recitatives of *Torvaldo e Dorliska*, which was written in Rome in the autumn of 1815. At this writing, the composer has not yet been identified with certainty. There is circumstantial evidence, however, that it may have been Luigi Zamboni himself.⁷¹ Rossini and Zamboni were lodging together in the Palazzo Paglierini in Vicolo de' Leutari; in this same building was Manuel García and his family (on their way from Naples to London), including his son, also Manuel, then nearly eleven years old and already studying singing with his father. The critic Gustave Hequet wrote: "I have it from Manuel García, who had it from his father, how the Barber of Seville was composed. . . . For his part, Zamboni, who was like García an excellent musician, . . . wrote all the recitatives."⁷² Thus far, no musical manuscript in Zamboni's hand has been identified, so it is difficult to be certain about his authorship of the recitatives.

The Orchestra

Obviously Sforza Cesarini needed to hire his orchestra for the opening of the season. *L'Italiana in Algeri*, written for Venice in 1813, required an orchestra of 2 Flutes/Piccolos, 2 Oboes, 2 Clarinets, 1 Bassoon, 2 Horns, 2 Trumpets, Strings, Bass Drum and Banda Turca—a fairly standard small orchestra. *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, however, requires 2 Flutes/Piccolos, only 1 Oboe, 2 Clarinets, 2 Bassoons, 2 Horns, 2 Trumpets, Strings, Bass Drum and Cymbals, Triangle, Pianoforte (for the lesson scene), and Guitar.⁷³ An anecdote reported by Radiciotti suggests that the instrumentalists who were available in Rome were not all professionals:

It is said that when Rossini first arrived in Rome, he called for a barber, and he was shaved several times without ever exchanging pleasantries with the man. When it came time for the first orchestra rehearsal of *Torvaldo e Dorliska*, the barber, after carefully finishing his job, cordially extended his hand to the composer, saying, "I'll see you." "What?" said Rossini, a bit surprised. "Yes! we'll soon see each other at the theater." "At the theater?" Rossini asked, ever more astonished. "Certainly. I'm the first clarinet in the orchestra."⁷⁴

For Sforza Cesarini, finding unemployed musicians late in the season was of course a problem (many were already engaged by the Teatro Valle), but a peculiarity of Rossini's orchestration of *Barbiere* presented even more difficulties. Perhaps as a result of financial constraints, the flute, piccolo, and oboe parts are written so as to

71 See, for example, Alberto Cametti, "La musica teatrale a Roma cento anni fa," *Annuario della Regia Accademia di Santa Cecilia CCCXXXII* (1915–16), 62; Giuseppe Radiciotti, in: *Gioachino Rossini: vita documentata, opere ed influenza su l'arte*, 3 vols. (Tivoli, 1927–1929), I: 189, believes that the recitatives in the score are in Rossini's hand, but he is simply wrong.

72 Gustave Hequet, "Chronique musicale," *L'Illustration. Journal Universel*, 21 October 1854, 275: "Je tiens de Manuel Garcia, qui le tenait de son père, de quelle maniere le *Barbier de Séville* fut composé. . . . Dans son côté, Zamboni, qui était comme Garcia un excellent musicien, . . . écrivit tous les récitatifs." This article also includes the story that García composed the canzone and the "petit bolero" of the second finale, but the latter is impossible (see below). See Marco Beghelli, "Wer hat die Rezitative von Rossinis *Il barbiere di Siviglia* komponiert?," *La Gazzetta*, N. 18 (2008), 4–17.

73 For issues regarding the instrumentation of the overture, see the third section of this Preface, "Problems in Editing and Performing *Il barbiere di Siviglia*."

74 Radiciotti, I: 177.

require only two players, rather than the four normally used. There was one flute player (who doubled piccolo) and one oboe player (who would have to double either flute or piccolo).⁷⁵

In Sforza Cesarini's letter book there is a note dated 28 December 1815 referring to two oboists who might be found in "Foligno, Macerata, Camerino ecc. Failing these two, find one in Florence."⁷⁶ The agent Benucci replied in a letter of 16 January 1816: "The oboe is found, he is one Antonio Benassi of Forli, a professor who, after Centroni, is the only one in the province well known to Maestro Rossini."⁷⁷ For some reason, however, Benassi was not hired, since the account sheets for the Argentina's season list Luigi Biglioni as an oboist—the only instrument specifically named in the list of orchestra members.⁷⁸ Biglioni, who is known to have played flute, clarinet, and oboe,⁷⁹ was paid 50 scudi, more than any other player except the presumed principal violinist, Giovanni Landoni (80 scudi) and Francesco Mazzanti, perhaps the first bassist, who would have accompanied the recitatives (60 scudi)—the same sum was paid to Camillo Angelini for directing the chorus and playing the cembalo. The range for the other musicians is from 15 scudi (two of the thirty-five named for the season) to 45 scudi (two). The entry specifies that Biglioni's payment included a supplement for playing oboe, presumably in addition to flute and piccolo: "Biglioni Luigi including s[cudi] 15 for the oboe, 50 [scudi],"⁸⁰ so that his payment without the supplement would have been 35 scudi, slightly above the average payment.⁸¹

The New Title

Many writers have suggested that the title of the opera as printed in the libretto for the first performances was given as *Almaviva o sia L'inutile precauzione* in deference to Paisiello's opera on the same subject, composed for Saint Petersburg in 1782 and reasonably well-known in Italy at the time. Yet all but one of the other sources from 1816 refer to it as *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. (The review in the periodical *Biblioteca teatrale* calls it *La cautela inutile*,⁸² but goes on to pun: "Maestro Rossini's precaution was truly useless."⁸³)

The title page of the printed libretto proclaimed the Beaumarchais comedy had been "newly versified in its entirety, and adapted to the requirements of the modern Italian musical stage," which might be interpreted as either distancing itself from the older score or boasting of its originality. A number of early biographers assert that Rossini wrote to Paisiello to ask his permission to reuse the subject. (Coincidentally, at this same time Francesco Morlacchi was writing his own *Barbiere* on the same libretto as that of Paisiello, supposedly by Petrosellini; it premiered in Dresden in April 1816.⁸⁴) Righetti-Giorgi unequivocally states that "Rossini did not write to Paisiello,

as is supposed, since he believed that the same subject could be treated successfully by different authors."⁸⁵ That is certainly what Rossini wrote to the composer Costantino Dall'Argine on 8 August 1868, when the latter announced to Rossini his intention to set again the Sterbini libretto.⁸⁶

More compelling is the central argument of Lamacchia, who believes the use of *Almaviva* rather than *Barbiere* was in deference to the saving presence at the Teatro Argentina of Manuel García as the Conte d'Almaviva.⁸⁷ The principal tenor rôle of *L'Italiana in Algeri*, Lindoro, was not only too high for the Spanish tenor *baritonale*—recall Rossini's assertion to him that the pitch in Rome was lower than that of Naples and that in any case the composer would be on hand to make adjustments—but was out of character for one who normally sang more virile rôles. That García favored the more robust style over the sweeter, lighter, more delicate tenor typical of comic opera can also be inferred from a remark his son, Manuel García Jr., makes in his *Traité complet de l'art du chant* (1847). He presents contrasting versions of vocal variants for the *cantabile* of the Conte in the Introduzione (N. 1). The first, likely to represent García Sr.'s own variations, is brilliant and lively, while the other is sweeter and gentler. García Jr. prefers the former, for he finds the second "too languorous for the character of the rôle."⁸⁸ And what could be more robust and brilliant than the bravura aria Sterbini and Rossini gave Almaviva in the final scene of the opera—"Cessa di più resistere"!

The Question of the Overture

Of the many myths still circulating about *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, that of the supposed lost overture can be dealt with by carefully considering the documents. Philip Gossett, in his introduction to the facsimile of the *Barbiere* autograph, points out that the early commentators who mention the overture know that it is borrowed from *Aureliano in Palmira*, and that the tale of another overture becomes popular only in the middle of the century.⁸⁹ It may have been Rossini himself, in his *vieillesse*, who encouraged the rumor. On behalf of the publisher Escudier Rossini asked his friend Domenico Liverani to look in the autograph score (since 1862 in the possession of the Conservatory in Bologna) for the "original" overture. In a letter of 12 June 1866, Rossini wrote to Liverani:

. . . here am I to thank you for the trouble you went to in trying to locate (in my so-called autograph of *Barbiere*) the original of my overture and of the concerted piece for the Lesson. Who could own them now? Patience—Escudier wanted, as a pendant to the *Don Giovanni*, to do a complete edition of *Barbiere* according to my original, and he hoped that I could help him by obtaining the replaced pieces. But it will have to be less because fate wants it that way . . .⁹⁰

Was Rossini too embarrassed, as Gossett suggests, to tell Escudier that he had borrowed the overture? Or did Escudier possess a source in which the overture to *Aureliano in Palmira* had been replaced by that of *Il Turco in Italia*, as in three of the manuscripts studied for this edition, or of the version of *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*, as in two, or of a new overture in *B♭ major*, as in some German printed editions?⁹¹ Did Escudier's source also lack "Contro un cor,"

85 Righetti Giorgi, 31; reprinted in Rognoni, 293.

86 Radiciotti, I: 196.

87 Lamacchia; see particularly Chapter II, "Per comprendere il vero Conte. Il tenore di Siviglia (Manuel García a Napoli, 1812–15)."

88 Manuel García Jr., *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant en deux parties* (Paris, 1847), Part II, 37: "trop languoureuse pour le caractère du personnage." (See Appendix V of the Critical Commentary for an edition of these vocal variants.)

89 Gossett, 23–4 (in Italian, 76).

90 We wish to thank the music antiquarian dealer James Camner for kindly sharing a copy of the original document with us.

91 For information about this piece and a citation of its principal melody, see Philip Gossett, *Le sinfonie di Rossini*, published as Anno 1979 of the *Bollettino del centro rossiniano di studi* (Pesaro, 1979), 114–5.

75 The different orchestration required for the overture alone, which is borrowed from *Aureliano in Palmira*, is discussed in the Critical Commentary.

76 Lamacchia, 172.

77 *Ibid.*; Lamacchia adds that the name is properly "Benazzi."

78 The complete list is in Celani, XXII (1915), 273. The expense sheets are missing from the papers in the Archivio di Stato in Rome and are known only through Celani, XXII (1915), 272–80. The libretto, RO¹⁸¹⁶, does not list the principal players, as some librettos do.

79 Lamacchia, 171, citing Renato Meucci, "La costruzione di strumenti musicali a Roma tra XVII e XIX secolo, con notizie inedite sulla famiglia Biglioni," in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio*, ed. B. M. Antonini, A. Morelli, V. V. Spagnuolo (Lucca, 1994), 591–3.

80 For further details about Biglioni, see Lamacchia, 170–2.

81 Among the many payments itemized in the expense sheet are "a pair of silk breeches for the use of the tenor 5:60" and "a green velvet hat with feathers for the use of the same 4:20." See Celani, XXII (1915), 276.

82 "The Useless Prudence," a variation on the subtitle, "L'inutile precauzione."

83 Annalisa Bini, "Echi delle prime rossiniane nella stampa romana dell'epoca," in *Rossini a Roma – Rossini e Roma*, 165–98: 176.

84 Radiciotti, I: 194.

a number frequently replaced in performances? Interestingly, both manuscripts of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris lack an aria for Rosina in the lesson scene; **PA D** has the overture to *Turco* and **PA 8330** has the version for *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*. But why could Liverani not produce copies of the originals? Certainly both the original aria for Rosina, whose text appears in the first libretto, and the overture for *Aureliano in Palmira* (represented, as is typical in such borrowing, by a bass part in a copyist's hand) remain firmly in their places in the autograph score in Bologna (see the section "Sources" in the Critical Commentary). Perhaps some day Liverani's report to Rossini will emerge to answer this question.

Opening Night

The myths surrounding the disasters of the premiere are legion and refuse to go away. Even modern-day opera houses make use of them in publicity, as in this notice from the website of the Dallas Opera for its 2006-07 season:

Conversation Starter: Rossini's masterpiece was a legendary opening night disaster! The audience was filled with hecklers who made fun of the composer's ostentatious clothing, the cat that wandered onstage, and the singer who tripped and gave himself a nosebleed just before he had to start singing!⁹²

Rossini told his mother that at the premiere, his music was scarcely heard above the noise of the audience.

Yesterday evening my opera opened, and it was grandly booed. Oh what craziness, what extraordinary things are seen in this stupid town. I'll tell you that, despite all of this, the music is quite beautiful and there are already wagers for what will happen at the second performance, when it will be possible to hear the music, unlike what happened yesterday evening, because from the beginning to the end only an immense murmur accompanied the show.⁹³

That the hecklers were present is affirmed by Cesare Sterbini's letter to Nicola Ratti of 26 February 1816:

I had not thought, and I speak the truth, that after so many labors, after the burden I assumed beyond the call of duty and beyond the limits of my power so that everything would be completed in order and with the greatest care, that for a most vile self-interest would be added new vexations to those noteworthy ones I have already encountered from a mercenary and foolish public.⁹⁴

That the claque was connected with the Teatro Valle can be inferred also from Duke Sforza Cesarini's letter to Cardinal Mauri describing the opening of *L'Italiana in Algeri* on 13 January: "Last evening we had to overcome a terrible claque from the Teatro Valle, that did nothing but try to silence everyone who wanted to applaud."⁹⁵

Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi, the first Rosina, was herself a transmitter, if not the source, of the anecdote that Rossini allowed García to compose music that he performed at the premiere. In her memoir *Cenni di una donna* (1823), she claimed:

Through an ill-fated indulgence Rossini, full of esteem for the tenor García, allowed him to compose the songs that he was to sing after the Introduction under Rosina's windows. In this way, Rossini hoped to accentuate better the expression of a Spanish character. García, in fact, composed them using themes from love songs of that nation. But García, having tuned his guitar on stage, provoking laughter among the foolish, performed his songs with so little spirit that they were greeted with scorn. I was prepared for anything. Trembling I climbed the ladder, which was to bring me to the balcony to intone these few words: "Segui, o caro, deh segui così." Accustomed to

show me with applause in *L'Italiana in Algeri*, the Romans expected I would earn it with a pleasing and amorous Cavatina. When they heard instead those few words, they broke out in whistles and catcalls.⁹⁶

Gossett comments that "her testimony does not ring true. The text she cites, 'Segui, o caro, deh segui così,' appears in the Canzone written by Rossini, and it seems very unlikely that García would have reused these very words in a piece of his own."⁹⁷ But the autograph of the Canzone suggests it is possible that García improvised the accompaniment. For the guitar Rossini wrote only a group of chords near the end of the strophe. They are designed to ensure the modulation from *A minor* to *C major*. At a later date another hand filled in the accompaniment—not without some errors. The earliest copies of the score do not have this added material but only Rossini's chords, so the accompaniment had not been written in before the first copy was made. Perhaps García improvised it for the performances, and later another musician added it to the autograph (García was a composer in his own right, so it is not likely that he would have made the mistakes found in the score).⁹⁸

Righetti-Giorgi goes on to say that at least her Cavatina pleased the Roman audience, but the Valle's claque continued to thwart the efforts of the company:

After that, what had to happen, happened. The Cavatina of Figaro, although sung masterfully by Zamboni, and the most beautiful duet between Figaro and Almaviva sung by Zamboni and García were not even listened to. . . . We hoped that the opera might come to life again; but it was not to be. Zamboni and I sang the lovely duet for Rosina and Figaro, and envy, still more enraged, displayed all its wiles. Whistles from everywhere. The finale was reached, a classic composition, which the greatest composers in the world would have been honored to write. Laughter, shouts, and the most penetrating whistles, and they quieted down only to let even louder ones ring out. At the moment we arrived at the lovely *unison* "Quest'avventura," a hoarse voice from the upper balcony screamed: "There's the funeral music for D[uke]. C[esarini]." That was all it took. It is impossible to describe the abuse showered on Rossini, who remained undaunted at his cembalo, as if to say: "Apollo, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

At the end of the first act, Rossini signaled the audience to applaud, not his opera (as was generally believed) but the performers, who, to tell the truth, had attempted to do their duty. Many were offended by his gesture. Let that suffice to give some sense of the fate of the second act.⁹⁹

The prima donna makes no mention of cats or broken guitar strings, pratfalls or bloody noses, all of which have entered the lore of that opening night.

Rossini wrote to his mother again on 27 February, the date of the last performance of the season, to tell her how fortune had turned:

I wrote you that my opera was booed, now I write you that the aforementioned has had the most fortunate result since from the second evening and at all the other performances given they have done nothing but applaud this, my production, with an indescribable fanaticism, making me appear five and six times to receive applause of a type totally new and that made me weep with satisfaction. Momentarily you will receive some money, which you will invest. I leave tomorrow for Naples and then return to Rome next Carnival and I have already made the contract. My *Barbiere di Siviglia* is a masterpiece and I am sure that if you should hear it, it would please you since this is a music that is spontaneous and imitative [natural] to excess. Kiss my Father for me and tell him that he will get from

95 Lamacchia, 23.

96 Righetti-Giorgi, 32–3; reprinted in Rognoni, 294.

97 Gossett, 22 (in Italian, 74).

98 For further information on the accompaniment of the Canzone, see the Critical Notes to N. 3.

99 Righetti-Giorgi, 33–5; reprinted in Rognoni, 294–5.

92 <http://www.dallasopera.org/the_season/060702-index.php>, consulted April 2008.

93 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 119.

94 Lamacchia, 24, citing Celani, XXII (1915), 270.

Zamboni the package of the various items he sought from me. Wish me well, write to me in Naples, and believe me wholeheartedly
Your son,
Gioachino Rossini¹⁰⁰

Did the claque quietly go away, after having made their point? Righetti-Giorgi offers important evidence that Rossini made some changes in the score, and the autograph supports the suggestion:

The next day Rossini removed from his score what seemed to him justly censurable;¹⁰¹ then he pretended to be ill, perhaps to avoid reappearing at the cembalo. The Romans meanwhile came to their senses and decided that they should at least listen attentively to the entire opera, so as to judge it fairly. They therefore flocked to the theater also the second evening, and they remained in rapt silence. . . . The opera was crowned with general applause. Afterwards, we all went to see the pretended invalid, whose bed was surrounded by the most honored men of Rome, who had come running to compliment him on the excellence of his work. At the third performance the applause grew stronger still: and finally Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* joined the ranks of those musical compositions which never age and which are worthy to stand beside the most beautiful comic operas of Paisiello and Cimarosa.¹⁰²

Two reports published in Roman periodicals shortly after the performances confirm Righetti-Giorgi's memoir. The first appeared in the *Biblioteca teatrale*:

La Cautela inutile [The useless precaution]. Truly useless was the Precaution taken by Rossini and his collaborators, since on opening night the public gave vent to the wrath it feels when it is bored to death. By the second night, the opera came to life, and it was a true miracle. The Teatro Argentina was full, and the cashbox of the ticket office half-empty. The magic recipe succeeded. Unquestionably there were some sublime passages, such as the Trio, the orchestration of the Calumny Aria, the stretta of the Introduction, etc. Signora Giorgi displayed a most beautiful contralto voice and gave rise to the surest hopes in her; had Signor García not been so enamored of singing florid passages and immoderately embroidering the music, he would perhaps have excited twice as much enthusiasm; but, truth to tell, a voice so beautiful in its ornaments and such great professionalism is found in no other tenor, and the Roman public showed its appreciation.¹⁰³

A fortnight after Carnival ended, the *Diario di Roma* (13 March 1816) commented:

If the last opera buffa composed for the Theater of Torre Argentina, entitled *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, did not meet public approval the first night, on the next night and on those following its merits were savored, and it excited such enthusiasm that the theater rang with bravos for Maestro Rossini. The people wanted to see him on stage several times, and he was even accompanied by torchlight from the

theater to his lodging, such has been the reception given this latest composition of the renowned Maestro Rossini, so full of joy and verve.¹⁰⁴

"Finally," wrote the first Rosina, "the world has judged Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* to be a masterpiece of art."¹⁰⁵

Important Early Revivals

After the last performance of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* at the Teatro Argentina, Rossini wrote two letters to his mother, the one above describing the success of the opera after its unhappy premiere, the other a note that Zamboni was to carry to her in Bologna, along with some things requested by his father and a large portion of his payment from the Argentina. He was looking ahead to his return to Naples. He ended the letter, "Goodbye. I am going to Naples to crown myself with new laurels. Be happy Mammotta and Papotto the die is cast."¹⁰⁶

Bologna, Florence (1816)

Il barbiere di Siviglia was appreciated enough that it was revived in two other cities later the same year.¹⁰⁷ Although Rossini was not involved in these productions, he was aware of the first, perhaps through his parents, since it took place at the Teatro Contavalli of Bologna during the summer of 1816. Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi again took the rôle of Rosina, but the rest of the cast was different. Rossini wrote to his mother on 27 August (some two weeks after the revival opened on 10 August): "My *Barber of Seville* will surely be booed in Bologna since [Andrea] Verni [Figaro], [Amerigo] Sbigoli [the Conte], La Giorgi, etc. cannot perform this [opera] without offending good sense."¹⁰⁸ Righetti-Giorgi in this production appropriated for Rosina the Act II aria written for García, "Cessa di più resistere," a practice documented by many printed vocal scores. She also made a change that quickly became a custom and continued into the twentieth century: she substituted an aria of her own choice (in this case, "La mia pace, la mia calma") for "Contro un cor," the aria of the lesson scene. Her Bologna aria is included in Appendix III of this edition because of the way in which it integrates Rossini's own *tempo di mezzo* of "Contro un cor" into the new context. As an example of how habitual was the practice of substituting a new piece in the lesson scene, in a production at the Metropolitan Opera of New York that opened on 19 February 1954, Roberta Peters sang "Contro un cor," and the Metropolitan archive specifies "From this date onward, until 1/23/71, the selection sung by Rosina in the Lesson Scene was Contro un cor, the aria originally written by Rossini for this episode."¹⁰⁹

In Florence, the second revival took place during the autumn of 1816 at the Teatro della Pergola. No letters from Rossini (who was in Naples producing *La gazetta* and *Otello*) indicate that he was even aware of this production. Again Rosina was sung by Righetti-

100 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 121–3.

101 The autograph score has indications of some cuts. Although we cannot specifically associate them with the first performances, they may reflect this immediate revision after the premiere. They include: the end of the recitative after Figaro's Cavatina (N. 2), the Canzone of the Conte (N. 3), and the first four measures of the recitative after the Canzone (N. 3); part of the recitative after Rosina's Cavatina (N. 5); the beginning of the recitative after Bartolo's Aria (N. 8); and most of the recitative after Rosina's Aria (N. 11), together with the whole of Bartolo's Arietta (N. 12). A passage in the Quintet (N. 13) may have been cut after the premiere, although it seems more likely that it was omitted before Rossini orchestrated his score. For further details, see the Critical Commentary to these numbers.

102 Righetti-Giorgi, 35–6; reprinted in Rognoni, 295–6.

103 See Lamacchia, 41. Bini, "Echi," 176, mentions that Ferretti wrote for this periodical, implying that the report may have been somewhat biased by Ferretti's rôle in the story.

104 Bini, "Echi," 176.

105 Righetti-Giorgi, 37; reprinted in Rognoni, 296.

106 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 124.

107 For a detailed description of how the librettos printed for these revivals differ from the Roman original, and for music not by Rossini that was inserted in them, see Appendix III in this score and in the Critical Commentary.

108 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 140–2. Notice that Rossini includes Righetti-Giorgi in the list of singers who would draw derision from the audience and that he refers to the opera as "il mio *Barbiere di Siviglia*," the name under which it was performed in Bologna and, in the autumn of that year, in Florence.

109 Metropolitan Opera, <<http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm>> [Met Performance] CID:164950. For a sympathetic discussion of the practice of introducing a different aria in the lesson scene, see the chapter "Che vuol cantare? The Lesson Scene of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*" in the forthcoming book by Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford, 2009).

Giorgi and the Conte by Sbigoli, but the Figaro was Antonio Parlamagni and the Bartolo Paolo Rosich, a comic bass whom Sforza Cesarini had considered too expensive,¹¹⁰ rather than Nicola Cenni as in Bologna. In the Florence production Righetti-Giorgi replaced the aria in the lesson scene with “Perché non puoi calmar,” probably by Stefano Pavesi, an aria more elaborate than the one she had inserted in Bologna, and “Cessa di più resistere” was omitted entirely. But an even more significant change was made for Bartolo, whose grand *buffo* aria “A un Dottor della mia sorte” was replaced by one written by the theater’s resident composer Pietro Romani, “Manca un foglio.” The Romani aria was soon widely performed and is present in nearly half of the manuscripts studied for this edition. Righetti-Giorgi refers to this aria in the following terms: “The aria of D. Bartolo that replaced in Florence the one in the score is a composition by Sig. Pietro Romani. It is a beautiful aria, and it does not displease Rossini that it has been introduced into his opera.”¹¹¹ Radiciotti reports and disproves the story that Romani claimed to have written “Manca un foglio” in Rome during Carnival because Rossini had forgotten to write an aria for Bartolo.¹¹² Nonetheless, because the aria of Romani played such a significant rôle in the history of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, with performances of it continuing regularly until the twentieth century, this edition includes the piece in Appendix III.

Pesaro (1818)

During the Spring of 1818 Rossini traveled to his native city, Pesaro, for the next-to-last time in his life.¹¹³ Although he frequently referred to himself as “the Pesarese,” he never formed significant emotional ties with his birthplace. In 1818, however, he agreed to help celebrate the opening of a new theater, the Teatro Nuovo (since renamed the Teatro Rossini). To do so, he supervised a revival of *La gazza ladra*, which took place on 10 June 1818 and ran for twenty-four performances.¹¹⁴

The intention was to produce afterwards *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, and on 12 June Rossini wrote to his father:

May it please you to go to Sig. Zappi and have him prepare at once all the vocal parts and the score of my *Barbiere di Siviglia*, which I would like to produce as soon as Remorini has to leave.¹¹⁵ I hope that the aforementioned Zappi will be modest in the price he requests, since we are talking about an old opera and owned by him. Let me have a prompt response, indicating also the price.¹¹⁶

That Rossini sought to have the score from Bonoris Zappi in Bologna reinforces the likelihood that by this time Zappi was the owner of Rossini’s autograph manuscript.¹¹⁷

Apparently there were only two performances of *Barbiere*, beginning on 2 July. But Rossini had fallen ill after the Pesaro premiere of *La gazza ladra* and there is no reason to believe that he participated in this revival in any way.

110 Lamacchia, 12.

111 Righetti-Giorgi, 37; reprinted in Rognoni, 296.

112 Radiciotti, I: 189.

113 An unhappy visit in May 1819 was his final, brief appearance in the Adriatic city. See *Lettere e documenti*, I: 374–5.

114 For further information, see the Preface to the critical edition of the opera, ed. Alberto Zedda, Series I, vol. 21 of the *Edizione critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini* (Pesaro, 1979), xxiv–xxx. The passage involved was written by Philip Gossett.

115 Ranieri Remorini was singing the rôle of Fernando, and after his departure further performances of *La gazza ladra* would have been impossible.

116 *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 212.

117 See the letter from Sforza Cesarini to Zappi of 13 December 1815, cited above.

Naples (1818)

While there is no evidence that Rossini himself was directly involved in performances of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in Naples, the opera became very well known there, beginning with its production at the Teatro La Fenice on 14 October 1818, while Rossini was completing work on his opera *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, which had its first performance at the Teatro San Carlo on 3 December 1818. There are many letters from Rossini to his mother in this period, but none so much as mentions *Il barbiere di Siviglia*: the operas to which he refers are *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, *Adina* (a recent commission from a Portuguese nobleman), and *Ermione* (which was to have its premiere on 27 March 1819).¹¹⁸ Rossini’s absence from activity pertaining to *Il barbiere di Siviglia* may reflect the terms of the contract between Domenico Barbaja, impresario of the Teatro San Carlo and Teatro del Fondo, and the Neapolitan government, which did not give Barbaja the right to produce comic operas at the principal theaters he controlled.

Nonetheless, there was a long, significant tradition in Naples of producing *Il barbiere di Siviglia* at smaller local theaters, where *buffo* parts were usually sung in Neapolitan dialect. Rossini himself participated in one such endeavor when he composed for the Teatro dei Fiorentini *La gazetta* (first performance, 26 September 1816), in which the rôle of the principal comic character, Don Pomponio, is entirely in Neapolitan dialect, both in secco recitative and in the concerted numbers.¹¹⁹ When comic operas first performed in other cities were reproduced in the smaller theaters of Naples, they were often rewritten so that the principal comic characters could employ Neapolitan.

And so it comes as no surprise that *Il barbiere di Siviglia* was usually performed in Naples, at least during the first half of the nineteenth century, with Don Bartolo speaking in Neapolitan dialect. What is extraordinary is the number of sources that preserve this version, beginning with a musical manuscript in the Naples Conservatory (NA 189–190) and continuing with a range of printed librettos (of which editions are known to exist from 1825 through 1857). In these sources, all the secco recitative of the opera is replaced by dialogue, most of it featuring Don Bartolo. Several musical numbers are omitted: the Aria Bartolo (N. 8), the Aria Berta (N. 14), and the Recitativo Strumentato ed Aria Conte (N. 17). Complete information about the Neapolitan version of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* is given in Appendix IV in the Critical Commentary, which includes a transcription of all the spoken dialogue.

No contemporary source, neither NA 189–190 nor the printed librettos, provides information concerning whether Don Bartolo employed Neapolitan dialect during concerted numbers. The pieces in which he participated, including the Finale Primo (N. 9), the Duetto Conte – Bartolo (N. 10), the Arietta Bartolo (N. 12), and the Quintetto (N. 13), have only the original Italian form of his interventions. Judging by Rossini’s procedure in *La gazetta*, however, it seems likely that Neapolitan Bartolos must have modified the sung text in performance. Should a modern company decide to produce the opera in accordance with the version given in Appendix IV of this Commentary, we would strongly advise the Don Bartolo to transform his text in the concerted numbers into Neapolitan dialect.

Venice (1819)

The Neapolitan publisher Girard issued eight extracts from *Il barbiere di Siviglia* between 1820 and the early 1830s. The third of these (pl. no. 289 of c. 1822) is an aria for a soprano Rosina with the text “Ah se è ver che in tal momento.” The title page specifies that it was “Cantata dalla Signora Mainvielle Fodor nell’Opera *Il Barbiere*

118 See *Lettere e documenti*, IIIa: 214–34.

119 See the critical edition of the opera, ed. by Philip Gossett and Fabrizio Scipioni, in *Edizione critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini*, Series I, vol. 18 (Pesaro, 2002).

di *Siviglia*. Musica del Maestro Gioacchino Rossini.¹²⁰ In 1818 Joséphine Fodor-Mainvielle first assumed the rôle of Rosina in London.¹²¹ She soon traveled to Venice, where in April 1819 she opened the Lenten season singing the title rôle in Rossini's *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*.¹²² According to Marie and Léon Escudier, she was particularly beloved of the Venetian public:

In order to hear Madame Fodor in *opera buffa*, a theater was opened at the expense of the subscribers, where she played Rosina in the *Barbiere* of Rossini, *La capricciosa corretta* of Martino, and obtained another crown and new honors.¹²³

Although no libretto confirming her participation in performances of *Barbiere* has been identified, Radiciotti confirms that such performances took place,¹²⁴ and they are likewise mentioned by Righetti-Giorgi, who claims to have heard Fodor-Mainvielle singing the rôle in Venice:

As for the trills and runs of Rosina, perhaps the Sig. Journalist wishes to criticize Mad.^{me} Fodor, who sang the part for several months in Paris and whom I myself heard in Venice, where she sang the part of Rosina perhaps with overabundant ornamentation.¹²⁵

Returning to Paris later that year, Fodor-Mainvielle soon assumed the rôle at the Théâtre Italien.¹²⁶ She then sang Rosina in Naples in both 1822 and 1823 and in Vienna in 1823. She was scheduled to sing the title rôle in *Semiramide* in Paris 1825, but serious vocal problems beset her, and she ultimately had to relinquish the part to Giuditta Pasta.¹²⁷

Rossini was in Venice from 9 April 1819 until late May, preparing his pasticcio *Eduardo e Cristina*, which opened 24 April 1819. Therefore it is eminently possible that he could indeed have prepared for Fodor-Mainvielle an aria to insert into *Barbiere*. That the piece was associated with Fodor-Mainvielle is certain: her name appears on the Neapolitan Girard edition of 1822 and the Viennese Cappi and Diabelli edition of 1823, both venues in which she must have sung the composition. A copyist's manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio "S. Pietro in Majella" in Naples (**I-Nc**, Fondo Rossini 21.3.41bis) is the only source that has both an orchestral accompaniment for the piece and an introductory accompanied recitative. The music of the cabaletta, furthermore, is derived from a similar cabaletta in the aria for Sigismondo, "Alma rea il più infelice," from Rossini's *Sigismondo* (Venice, Teatro La Fenice, 26 December 1814), transposed from *E major* to *G major* and rendered somewhat more florid, precisely the kind of changes we might expect Rossini to have made had he prepared the revision.

Part of the texts, furthermore, are quite similar, although they are not presented to the same music:

<i>Sigismondo</i>	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i>
Ah se m'ami, idolo mio,	Se innocente è il caro bene
Qual maggior felicità!	Qual maggior felicità.
Più non sento le mie pene,	Più non sento le mie pene,
Più bramare il cor non sa.	Di più il cor bramar non sa.

The composition is printed in full in Appendix II of this edition.

Although the piece is not present in any complete source for *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, it was surely intended to follow the recitative after Berta's aria (N. 14), immediately before the Temporale. The text of the recitative and aria (see Appendix II) is specific to Rosina's predicament at this point in the opera; it is not a generic expression of emotion. In the recitative Rosina fears she may have lost Lindoro, but her heart tells her he is innocent. In the aria, she says that if her beloved is indeed innocent, what a great happiness it will be and prays "piteous love" to reveal "Lindoro's innocence." It should be noted that Rossini had taken with him to Venice the poet Gherardo Bevilacqua Aldobrandini¹²⁸ to polish the libretto of *Eduardo e Cristina* (based on a libretto by Giovanni Schmidt written for Stefano Pavesi in 1810) and thus had a collaborator to furnish a text on demand.

Subsequent history

Il barbiere di Siviglia soon emerged as the Rossini opera most widely produced and loved throughout Europe. It remains one of the operas most frequently performed today. The very popularity of *Barbiere* contributed to its dismantling, trimming, substituting, and distortion, a history well worth the telling, but one that demands a book in its own right, not brief remarks in this Prefazione. Yet it always remained *Barbiere* in its heart and soul.

Starting with Alberto Zedda's 1969 edition,¹²⁹ essentially based upon the autograph in Bologna, modern performances have had a basis from which to reexamine Rossini's score. This present critical edition, the first to study multiple copies, prints, arrangements, and librettos from the nineteenth century, benefits from nearly forty years of new scholarship. It offers conductors, singers, directors, and scholars an accurate score with historic and additional musical material that permits broad opportunities for adapting Rossini's opera to the needs of the modern opera house.

The first performance of this new edition, in a preliminary version, took place at Lyric Opera of Chicago on 16 February 2008.

Sources for the Opera: General Observations

A. Autographs

The principal source for the present critical edition of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* is the composer's score (**A**), preserved in the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna (**I-Bc**: UU 2^{1. 2}), an institution formerly known as the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale and before that as the Liceo Musicale.¹³⁰ The autograph was donated to the Liceo Musicale in May 1862, on the death of the Bolognese lawyer Rinaldo Bajetti, a member of the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna.¹³¹ The manuscript is bound in two volumes,

120 For further information, see the description of **epvGI** in the section on "Sources" in the Critical Commentary.

121 The entire history is recounted by Philip Gossett in *The Operas of Rossini: Problems of Textual Criticism in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Princeton University doct. diss., 1970), 2 vols., I: 296–302, on which this Preface draws heavily.

122 A printed libretto in **F-Pn** (Yth. 51919) documents this performance and mentions Fodor-Mainvielle explicitly: "ELISABETTA / REGINA D'INGHILTERRA / DRAMMA PER MUSICA / DA RAPPRESENTARSI / NEL NOBILE TEATRO / DI SAN SAMUELE / PER L'OCCASIONE DELLA SUA NUOVA APERTURA / nella quadragesima dell'anno / 1819. / VENEZIA / DALLA STAMPERIA CASALI."

123 Marie and Léon Escudier, *Vie et aventures des cantatrices célèbres* (Paris, 1856), 247: "Pour entendre Madame Fodor dans l'opéra buffa, un théâtre fu ouvert aux frais des abonnés; elle y joua Rosina dans le *Barbiere* de Rossini, *La capricciosa corretta* de Martino, et obtint une autre couronne et de nouveaux honneurs."

124 Radiciotti, III: 209.

125 Righetti-Giorgi, 36; reprinted in Rognoni, 296.

126 See the description of **pvC** in the "Sources" section of the Critical Commentary, as well as Appendix V in that Commentary.

127 For further details, see the Prefazione by Philip Gossett to the critical edition of *Semiramide*, ed. Philip Gossett and Alberto Zedda, in *Edizione critica delle opere di Gioacchino Rossini* (Pesaro, 2001), Serie I, vol. 34, LII–LIX.

128 *Lettere e documenti*, I: 370n.

129 Gioacchino Rossini, *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, ed. Alberto Zedda (Milan, 1969).

130 A facsimile edition of the autograph manuscript with Introduction by Philip Gossett was published under the auspices of the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia (*L'arte armonica*, Serie I – Fonti, 2) (Rome, 1993).

131 For a discussion of how Bajetti may have come to possess the autograph, as well as a complete description of the manuscript, see the section "Sources" in the Critical Commentary.

one for each act. All the closed numbers in the opera are written in Rossini's own hand, although much of the guitar accompaniment to the Canzone Conte (N. 3) is in another hand. Most of the secco recitatives are in the hand of a musician who collaborated with Rossini, possibly Luigi Zamboni, the *buffo* bass who created the rôle of Figaro. Two recitatives, those before and after the Aria Berta (N. 14), are in the hand of a second, unknown collaborator, while Rossini himself wrote the brief passage of recitative within the Canzone Conte (N. 3). The autograph is complete except for the absence of a full score of the Sinfonia, which Rossini borrowed from his opera *Aureliano in Palmira* (Milan, Teatro alla Scala, 26 December 1813) and which is represented in **A** by a bass part alone.

On various occasions, Rossini himself prepared ornaments for the use of singers. A half-dozen pages of autograph variants for *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and other operas exist in libraries in Brussels, Milan, and Paris, and in a private collection. The variants in Rossini's own hand pertaining to *Barbiere* are all edited in Appendix I of this edition. The existence of autograph variants testifies to Rossini's embracing the practice of ornamentation as an integral part of performing Italian opera in the early 19th century.

B. Manuscript Copies

All secondary manuscripts examined for this edition were studied from microfilm or digital copies, although most had earlier been examined *in situ*. Two sets of manuscripts have been consulted. Of *Barbiere* itself, twenty manuscripts were examined, and fifteen scores of *Aureliano in Palmira* were consulted for the Sinfonia, which is borrowed from that opera.

Among the copies of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, there is considerable variety in content. While a few of them are quite close to **A** (**MI**, **NY 77**, **PR 3089**, and **RO 707-708**), others (including **BU**, **FI B** and **436**, **MO 995**, **PA D** and **8330-8331**, **PR 180-182** and **1112**, **RO 704-706**, and **VE**) show significant traces of somewhat later performance traditions, postdating the revivals in Bologna and Florence that took place later in 1816 (nearly half the copies, for example, replace the original aria for Bartolo, "A un Dottor della mia sorte" [N. 8], with "Manca un foglio," composed by Pietro Romani for Florence in 1816). One manuscript (**NA 189-190**) reflects the performing tradition that grew up in the Neapolitan dialect theaters of Naples, beginning at the Teatro La Fenice in 1818; another (**NA G**) is also related to that tradition. One (**WR**) reflects the German performing tradition, beginning at the Theater an der Wien in Vienna in 1819.¹³² Certain similarities allow us to postulate other groupings: **BU**, **FI B** and **436**, **MO 995**, **PA D**, **PR 180** and **1112**, and **VE**, for example, lack Figaro's offstage singing at the beginning of his Cavatina (N. 2). A significant number of sources omit the Canzone Conte (N. 3), and very few retain the Aria Conte "Cessa di più resistere" (N. 17), no doubt because most tenors were not capable of singing this piece written for Manuel García.

A manuscript of Act I only (**NY 77**) is particularly interesting because it comes from the archive of Giovanni Battista Cencetti, whose *copisteria* was responsible for preparing performing materials for the Teatro Argentina during Carnival of 1816 (see the "Historical Background" of this Preface).

Since the Sinfonia in Rossini's autograph is represented by a bass part alone,¹³³ it is not surprising that many *Barbiere* manuscripts lack an overture (sometimes it has been removed, sometimes it was never present) or substitute a different one (commonly either the version of the same Sinfonia with substantial modifications from *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra* or the overture to *Il Turco in Italia*). Editing

the Sinfonia of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* is complicated by the absence of an autograph manuscript for *Aureliano in Palmira*. Still, a comparison of all known secondary sources of *Aureliano* provides a coherent picture of the overture. **MO**, a manuscript from the Biblioteca estense universitaria di Modena (**I-MOe**, Ms. F. 998), was chosen as the primary source for this edition. It was first compared with every other surviving *Aureliano* manuscript, then its readings were compared with the *Barbiere* manuscripts that preserve the Sinfonia. Additional evidence from the autograph of *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra* was used where appropriate. Issues pertaining to its instrumentation are discussed in the third section of this Prefazione. The very few points of uncertainty are described in the Critical Notes.

C. Printed Sources

Three full scores of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* were printed during Rossini's lifetime. The first (**CB**), issued in Paris in 1821, reflects the French adaptation of the opera by Castil-Blaze, first performed at Lyon in September 1821, and is not particularly useful for editing the principal score. It has, however, contributed to the discussion of early vocal ornamentation by Will Crutchfield in Appendix V. The second is a Roman score, published by the firm of Ratti, Cencetti, e Co. (**RCC**) in 1825. Although it has many errors, **RCC** presents the entire opera (including recitatives) in its original form; its readings have therefore been taken into account when there are uncertainties in the authentic sources, particularly in the recitatives. The third full score, issued much later (1864) by the Florentine firm of Guidi (**GUI**), is an early effort to base editorial work directly on Rossini's autograph manuscript.

The vocal scores of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* present a complex picture, and no one has yet succeeded in unraveling all its details. The popularity of the opera—in whatever form it was known—gave rise to a large number of editions, printings, and reprintings. Since Rossini had no part in any of them, these editions had only a secondary rôle to play in the preparation of this critical edition. The earliest vocal scores¹³⁴ were apparently published in German-speaking countries, followed by those in France. Italian vocal scores do not begin to appear until **pvRI I** in 1827. The section "Sources" in the Critical Commentary presents a broad sample of vocal scores of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* published during the first half of the nineteenth century. Many of them embody the tradition of substituting a different aria for Rosina in the lesson scene. For example, "Cara adorata immagine," an aria borrowed from Giovanni Pacini's *Il barone di Dolsheim* (Milan, 23 September 1818), appears in some German and French sources; Romani's "Manca un foglio" often appears as the Aria Bartolo (N. 8a), and the Aria Conte "Cessa di più resistere" (N. 17), if it is present, may be assigned to Rosina (as in Bologna, 1816; see Appendix III), transposed a fifth higher. Other numbers may also be transposed. Furthermore, the secco recitatives are generally lacking in vocal scores, although they are present in editions published by Ricordi in 1827 and c. 1853 (**pvRI I** and **II**) and Lucca in 1838 and later (**pvLU I** and **II**).

D. Librettos

The libretto printed for the production of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* at the Teatro Argentina in Rome during Carnival of 1816—the only

132 Many other German manuscripts bear witness to this tradition, too, but they have not been considered significant for the purposes of this edition.

133 For a fuller discussion, see the section "Problems in Editing and Performing *Il barbiere di Siviglia*" in this Preface and also the Critical Commentary to the Sinfonia.

134 Richard Macnutt, the antiquarian music specialist, in his article "The early vocal scores of Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*: a can of bibliographical worms," in *Festschrift Otto Biba zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Ingrid Fuchs (Tutzing, 2006), 705–25, cites a *pasticcio*, in English alone, as "the earliest vocal score of any form of the opera to be published," based on the arrangement of the work by Henry Bishop for the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. For further information about this adaptation, see Nadia Carnevale, "... That's the Barber!". Henry Rowley Bishop e l'adattamento del *Barbiere rossiniano*," in *Ottocento e oltre: Scritti in onore di Raoul Meloncelli*, ed. Francesco Izzo and Johannes Streicher (Rome, 1993), 99–113. This vocal score has limited relevance for **WGR**.

production in which Rossini is known to have been directly involved—differs in some details from the text actually set to music by Rossini. This is true of most librettos of the period: often the printed text follows rules of versification that the composer does not feel compelled to observe, sometimes there are typographer's errors in the libretto, and sometimes the composer has erred in writing the text in his score. For the first time in the history of critical editions of Rossini published under the direction of Philip Gossett, **WGR** prints at the conclusion of this introduction to the musical text a reading version of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in the form in which it was essentially set to music by Rossini and his collaborators. Because it is a reading text, however, **WGR** intervenes to preserve the correct poetic meters and verse forms, drawing when appropriate on the structure of the original printed libretto (**RO**¹⁸¹⁶). Every intervention is signaled in footnotes.

In the section "Sources" of the Critical Commentary **WGR** provides information about the libretto of the original production in Rome (**RO**¹⁸¹⁶) as well as two reprints (**RO**^{1816b,c}), issued in 1824 and 1826, respectively.¹³⁵ In Appendix III, it also provides full information about librettos for productions in Bologna and Florence from 1816 (**BO**¹⁸¹⁶ and **FI**¹⁸¹⁶, respectively): many changes introduced in these productions remained part of the performing tradition. Finally, in Appendix IV of the Critical Commentary it analyzes sources, especially a libretto, **NA**¹⁸²⁵, that reflect productions of the opera in dialect theaters in Naples from 1818 throughout at least the first half of the nineteenth century.

Problems in Editing and Performing *Il barbiere di Siviglia*

A. Instrumentation

1. Flute, Piccolo, Oboe

A peculiarity of Rossini's orchestration of *Barbiere* (except for the Sinfonia; see below) is that the flute, piccolo, and oboe parts are written so as to require only two players, rather than the four normally used. He employed one flute player (who doubled piccolo) and one oboe player (who would have to double either flute or piccolo). Thus whenever the oboe plays, there is only one flute or piccolo, and conversely, when there are two flutes or piccolos (or one of each), there is never an oboe. A modern orchestra has no need to use only two players (and should one hope to save money by doing so, it might be as difficult to find the versatile oboist as it was in Rossini's day; see the first part of this Preface), but it should not feel it necessary to *add* a 'missing' part. The situation is somewhat different in the Sinfonia (see below).

2. Guitar

At m. 98, the end of the first section (Moderato) of the Introduzione (N. 1), Rossini wrote in his autograph score "Several guitars are heard tuning, and then segue." Then comes the full orchestral *C major* chord that opens the Largo introduction to the Conte's serenade, "Ecco ridente in cielo." In the serenade, the guitar part is written in full, entirely in Rossini's hand. Since there are no records from this production that indicate whether any guitarists were hired, we can only infer that at least two guitarists tuned up, and at least one played the written part. (One manuscript copy [**RO 707**] replaces the guitar part in mm. 100–106 with an independent, arpeggiated part for Vc; another [**NA G**] adds to the score an independent Vc part at 99–142.)

The guitar in the Canzone of the Conte (N. 3) is a different matter. Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi, the original Rosina, tells us that García, accompanying himself, tuned his guitar onstage, provoking the

audience to laughter;¹³⁶ the tale expanded in the lore to include guitar strings breaking. The libretto and the score specify that the guitar should be played by the Conte, who in the preceding recitative is handed the instrument by Figaro; the barber says, "Here's the guitar: quickly, let's go," followed by the stage direction "he [the Conte] takes the guitar and sings, accompanying himself." The Canzone differs markedly from the serenade in that the guitar is the only accompanying instrument. The autograph score suggests that García may have improvised the accompaniment. Rossini wrote only a group of chords near the end of the strophe, designed to ensure the modulation from *A minor* to *C major*; the rest of the part he left blank. At some later date another hand filled in the accompaniment, and early copies of the score (**FI 436**, **NY 77**, **PA D**, and **PR 3089**) do not have this added accompaniment. While the entire Canzone is absent from many copies and early vocal scores, the complete accompaniment from the autograph is present in **NA 31** (with an additional 6-measure introduction) and **NA 189**; **RO 704** and **707** share a different accompaniment for guitar, modifying even Rossini's own chords; and **NY 80** replaces the guitar with an accompaniment for harp.

3. Sistri

In three numbers in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* Rossini called for the use of "sister" or "sistri": Introduzione ("Sistr"), Finale Primo ("Sister / Gran Cassa"), and Quintetto ("Gran Cassa / Sistri"). The part is notated on a single pitch and in the case of *Barbiere* is most likely the same as "Triangolo." Looking at the orchestration of several operas before and after *Barbiere*, we find the same term in *Otello* (1815, Sinfonia only,¹³⁷ and in conjunction with Timpani, not Gran Cassa) and *Armida* (1817, with the full complement of Timpani, Gran Cassa, Piatti, and "Sister"). "Triangolo," on the other hand, appears in *La gazza ladra* (1816, Sinfonia only, in conjunction with Timpani, Gran Cassa, and two Tamburi), *Mosè in Egitto* (1818, with Timpani, Gran Cassa, Piatti, and Banda Turca), *La donna del lago* and *Bianca e Falliero* (both 1819, both with Timpani, Gran Cassa, and Piatti). It is implied by the indication "etc." in *Semiramide* (1823, "Timpani, Gran Cassa, et et.", probably meaning Piatti as well). Only in *Ermione* (1819) do both terms appear in the same opera—and only within one number. The instrumentation is Timpani, Gran Cassa, Piatti "etc." in the Sinfonia and the Marcia (N. 5); in the Coro (N. 2), Rossini wrote "Sistri" at the beginning of the piece but "Triangolo" when the instrument enters. Notice that the use of one name or the other does not depend on the theater for which the opera was composed.

Renato Meucci's thorough study of 19th-century percussion instruments in Italian opera has an illustration of the layout of the orchestra in the Teatro San Carlo of Naples, dated post-1816, which shows a triangle with three (metallic) disks on one side, labelled simply "Triangolo,"¹³⁸ next to a Cappello cinese and Piatti (a Serpentone is included in this group). The *Bollettino del centro rossiniano di studi* recently published an article by the conductor Simone Fermani¹³⁹ in which the author attempts to understand what sort of instrument could be implied by the notation of the part as separate eighth notes with alternating stems. Meucci finds this notation used particularly for various drums, probably indicating right and left

136 Righetti-Giorgi, 32–3; reprinted in Rognoni, 294. Did the tuning of guitars in the Introduzione not have the same effect because it was only the stage musicians who were involved, and not the opera's eponymous hero?

137 The Sinfonia of *Otello* is derived from that of *Sigismondo*, but a complete autograph is present in the score of *Otello*.

138 Renato Meucci, "I timpani e gli strumenti a percussione nell'Ottocento italiano," *Studi verdiani* 13 (1998), 183–254, in particular 203–5, "Banda Turca," and 221–2, "Triangolo (acciarino, sistro)." The illustration is on 242.

139 Simone Fermani, "Il sistro del *Barbiere di Siviglia* di Gioachino Rossini: un'ipotesi di riscoperta e ricostruzione," *Bollettino del centro rossiniano di studi* XLVI (2006), 67–79.

135 The history of these later Roman librettos has been established by Daniela Macchione, "Strumenti della ricerca storica. Gli 'altri' libretti: *Il barbiere di Siviglia* a Roma dopo il 1816," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* XLI (2006), 261–71.

hand striking. In any case, says Meucci, referring to the percussion section, we often find:

a part for 'sistri' (always plural) that is understood as a generic request by the composer for instruments of the 'banda turca'; this request, because of the variety of the instrumentation [among different theaters], from time to time had to be adjusted to what was available locally.

As evidence of the 'adaptability' of this section of the percussion instruments, one can cite the prescription, in Rossini's score of *Barbiere* (at the beginning of the Aria Conte "Cessa di più resistere" in Act II), of a Gran Cassa "ad libitum" whose staff, except for two notes, is completely empty . . . evidently delegating to others the task of providing the necessary instrumentation for that orchestral part.¹⁴⁰

B. Sinfonia

The Sinfonia of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* is and always was the same as the overture of *Aureliano in Palmira* (1813), despite legends that an original overture based on Spanish themes had been lost. In the autograph manuscript of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (A), however, only a part for Vc and Cb is to be found. Examination of the range of sources makes clear that the composer made *no* modifications in this Sinfonia when he inserted it in *Barbiere*. He had, in the meanwhile, used the Sinfonia in a new form, with a new orchestration, in *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra* (1815), this version has left essentially *no* mark on sources for the *Aureliano / Barbiere* overture. The absence of a complete score of the Sinfonia in A, however, has meant that several manuscripts of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*: 1) have no Sinfonia at all; 2) use a substitute Sinfonia, normally the Sinfonia to *Il Turco in Italia*; 3) adopt the Sinfonia to *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*.

In the absence of an autograph manuscript for *Aureliano in Palmira*, this edition has made a comparison of all known secondary sources of *Aureliano*, deriving a picture of the overture. The autograph of *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra* has provided some help in determining dynamics and articulations, although there are enough differences between the two versions that the *Elisabetta* reading cannot always be adopted.

There is a more significant problem, however, about the *Aureliano* Sinfonia and its reuse in *Barbiere*. In *Aureliano in Palmira* Rossini wrote parts for 2 Flutes, 2 Oboes, and Timpani, but in the more modest orchestra of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* he had only two players for the Flute and Oboe parts and no player for Timpani (although he did have one for Gran Cassa, which is also present in *Aureliano* sources). This is clear from the entire score and also from documentary evidence concerning the first performance, where his orchestra consisted of 1 Flute player (who doubled Piccolo) and 1 Oboe player (who could double either Flute or Piccolo). Thus, in the entire opera, there are never two Oboe parts, and where there are two Flutes or Piccolos, the Oboe falls silent.

None of the *Barbiere* sources that include the Sinfonia, however, takes any heed whatsoever of this limitation: they simply reproduce the *Aureliano* overture in its original form. **WGR**, on the other hand, prefers to allow opera houses to make their own determination about the matter. Therefore in this edition of the Sinfonia, the original *Aureliano* musical lines for 2 Flutes, 2 Oboes, and Timpani are included in smaller type, while a suggested arrangement of the Flute and Oboe parts for one instrument on each part, the orchestration of the remainder of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, presents a compendium of the four notated parts. Since it is unlikely for a modern theater to employ an oboist who will double Flute and Piccolo, however, it would be perfectly appropriate to use two Flutes and an Oboe for the Sinfonia, with the second Flute normally playing the Fl II part from *Aureliano in Palmira*, but occasionally adopting a note from the Ob II part of *Aureliano*.

C. Other self-borrowing¹⁴¹

Apart from the Sinfonia, Rossini borrowed only a few themes from other operas, and in almost every case either rewrote them extensively or placed them in a new context. Since scholars can rightly differ about what constitutes a borrowed theme, no list of such themes can ever be considered definitive. The following borrowings, however, would probably appear on all lists:

1) The opening theme of the Introduzione (N. 1), "Piano pianissimo," is taken from *Sigismondo*, where it appears in the choral introduction to the second act, "In segreto."

2) The main theme of the Conte's solo in the Introduzione, "Ecco ridente in cielo," is taken from a chorus in *Aureliano in Palmira*, "Sposa del grande Osiride." Rossini also used this theme in his first cantata for Naples, *Giunone*, performed (in the composer's absence) on 1 January 1816, to celebrate the birthday of the King. It served there as the introductory chorus, "Dea, cui d'intorno ai talami."

3) Part of the cabaletta theme of the Cavatina Rosina (N. 5), "Io sono docile," was used by Rossini twice before: in *Aureliano in Palmira*, where it was the cabaletta ("Non lasciarmi in tal momento") of the Gran Scena for Arsace; and in *Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra*, where it also served as a cabaletta theme ("Questo cor ben lo comprende") for the Cavatina Elisabetta.

4) The theme of the crescendo in the Aria Basilio (N. 6) is encountered earlier in *Sigismondo*, within the first section of the Duet for Aldamira and Ladislao, "Perché obbedir disdegni."

5) A melody similar to the cabaletta theme ("Ah tu solo, amor, tu sei") of the Duet for Rosina and Figaro (N. 7) is first encountered in *La cambiale di matrimonio* (Venice, Teatro San Moisè, 3 November 1810), as the cabaletta of the Aria Fanni, "Vorrei spiegarvi il giubilo."

6) An orchestral melody in the Aria Bartolo (N. 8), accompanying the text "I confetti alla ragazza?," derives from the Duet for Sofia and Gaudenzio in *Il Signor Bruschino*, "È un bel nodo" (at the words "Deh quai sono a me spiegate").

7) Many themes in the Temporale (N. 15) are derived from a group of similar storm scenes found throughout Rossini's earlier operas. The most closely related is the Temporale in *La pietra del paragone*, but the concluding theme was present already in the sixth of Rossini's early *Sonate a quattro*, where it formed part of the last movement, "Tempesta."

8) One of the principal themes of the Terzetto (N. 16), "Dolce nodo avventurato," was used earlier as the last movement of Rossini's cantata for two voices and piano, *Egle ed Irene*, written in Milan in 1814, where it figured, with the same characteristic interplay of voices, to the text "Voi che amate, compiangete."

9) The theme of the Finaletto Secondo, "Di sì felice innesto," was actually employed by Rossini a few months earlier, in Rome, for a cantata prepared for a Russian Princess, Caterina Kutusoff, *L'Aurora*. It served as the main musical idea of an Allegro to the text "E qual cagion sì insolita."¹⁴²

Quotations, reminiscences, hints: these self-borrowings come in all sizes and shapes. Yet, with the exception of the overture, none brings with it even a hint of its original use or significance. Rossini gave each of them its own character in the context of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. They certainly did not make his compositional efforts less strenuous. To quote once more from Righetti-Giorgi, the composi-

141 The following section is largely derived from Gossett, 25-6 (Italian 77-8).

142 See E. Rudakova, "РУССКАЯ КАНТАТА Дж. РОССИНИ „АВРОРА," *Sovetskaja Musika*, N. 8 (1955), 60-8. In a supplement the entire cantata is transcribed. According to Rudakova, the theme of the concluding Allegro, which Rossini reused in the Finaletto Secondo, is borrowed from a Russian folk melody. Somewhat less convincing is the theory, propounded by Galina Kopytova and Thomas Aigner in their "Russische Volksmelodien bei Rossini und Strauss," *Die Fledermaus*, Mitteilung 9-10 of the Wiener Institut für Strauß-Forschung (November, 1995), 89-92, that the theme of the Aria Berta (N. 14) is derived from a Russian folk song.

tion of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* “cost Rossini study and hard work.”¹⁴³ There is really no reason to doubt her words.

D. Autograph vocal variants (Appendix I)

On various occasions, Rossini himself prepared ornaments for the use of singers. The pages containing them may or may not be specified as having been prepared for a particular singer, and the variants may include some for operas by other composers, but it is clear that Rossini undertook this work for specific individuals. The significance of autograph variants, as opposed to those written down by others, is twofold: first, their very existence testifies to Rossini’s full acceptance of the practice of ornamentation as an integral part of performing Italian opera in the early 19th century; second, we can deduce from these examples the kinds of ornamentation he found appropriate. From these examples, for instance, we can begin to address the question: Was the practice of ending allegros with high notes and/or fermatas known at all in the Italian style of Rossini’s day? For a response based on observation of both autograph and non-autograph variants, see Appendix V.

Appendix I includes all the known Rossini variants, written exclusively for the part of Rosina and embracing sections of her Cavatina (N. 5), the Duet with Figaro (N. 7), and the Terzetto (N. 16). Those for the Cavatina are derived from four separate manuscripts, only one of which is dated (1852). The variants for the Duet come from a twelve-page manuscript written before 1839 and dedicated to the singer Madame de Chambure (*née* Eugénie Rouget). This manuscript contains variations for several of Rossini’s operas as well as those of others, but only the *Barbiere* variants are included in this edition. Likewise, the variants for the Terzetto come from a single (undated) source, which includes variants for other of his operas. Rossini’s notation is relatively clear and does not present problems of interpretation beyond those generally found in his scores. Where the ornamentation is not found within the context of a piece, the primary scholarly problem is to identify the piece to which it belongs and to place it within the composition. Appendix I identifies the specific measures to which each variant pertains and prints them with the appropriate text. To facilitate study of the variants for “Una voce poco fa,” which come from multiple sources, Appendix I contains the entire solo line of mm. 13–42 and 80–114 of the Cavatina, with the variants appropriately aligned.

E. An aria for Rosina added by Rossini in 1819 (N. 14bis), “Ah se è ver” (Appendix II)

Sopranos began to sing the rôle of Rosina very early in the history of the opera, but it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that they attempted to transform Rossini’s heroine into a mechanical doll, à la Olympia in *Les Contes d’Hoffman*. It remains our hope that this transformation of Rossini’s music, associated with singers such as Estelle Liebling, Lily Pons, and Beverly Sills, will pass with no further ado into history. It remains possible for a soprano to sing the rôle of Rosina without resorting to coloratura antics, and there is every reason to think that Rossini would not have disapproved. Indeed, he himself seems to have prepared an aria for the soprano Rosina Joséphine Fodor-Mainvielle in Venice during the Spring of 1819. The cabaletta is derived from an aria in *Sigismondo*, while the text of the aria, “Ah se è ver che in tal momento,” and its introductory recitative is specific to Rosina’s predicament at the point in the opera, just before the Temporale (N. 15), where the composition was meant to be introduced. It was published in a piano-vocal reduction by Girard of Naples, where Fodor-Mainvielle also sang Rosina, and it is likely that she used this aria there, where there would be a market for the music. For further information about the composition and its history, see the first part of this Preface and Appendix II, in which a complete edition of the composition is published.

¹⁴³ Righetti-Giorgi, 26; reprinted in Rognoni, 291.

F. A Cavatina for Rosina added in 1816 (N. 11a), “La mia pace, la mia calma” (Appendix III)

The mezzo-soprano who first sang the rôle of Rosina, Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi, went on to reprise the part in two revivals that same year, Bologna in the summer and Florence in the fall (see Appendix III). She must have been quite taken with the bravura aria (N. 17) Rossini had written for García, the Conte Almaviva, because she adopted it for herself in Bologna (the libretto adjusts the preceding recitative to make this possible). Other singers made similar adjustments, and numerous musical sources assign the aria to Rosina. The following Carnival Rossini himself, surely at Righetti-Giorgi’s behest, used the music of the concluding section of this aria in the final section of Cenerentola’s concluding composition, “Non più mesta accanto al fuoco,” a rôle also created by the mezzo-soprano.

In Bologna, however, Righetti-Giorgi also made an important modification in the lesson scene (N. 11), replacing the Aria Rosina, “Contra un cor” (N. 11), with a new Cavatina, “La mia pace, la mia calma” (N. 11a), a piece whose composer is unknown. Righetti-Giorgi continued the practice of replacing the original lesson scene in the next revival, in Florence, although this time she substituted a different piece (attributed to Stefano Pavesi). Soon prima donnas were adopting the practice, although not necessarily these arias (“La mia pace, la mia calma” is found in only four of the manuscripts consulted for this edition). One frequent substitution was the cabaletta “Di tanti palpiti,” from the Cavatina Tancredi; Joséphine Fodor-Mainvielle sang it, for example, in Paris, and the practice became so widespread and expanded to such an extent that early twentieth-century audiences came to expect a miniature concert at that point.

What is particularly interesting about “La mia pace, la mia calma,” however, and the reason it is included in this edition, is that within this new context, the *tempo di mezzo* of Rossini’s original aria was inserted, offering a suggestion for modern singers as to how such substitute arias might be made more relevant to *Il barbiere di Siviglia* through a similar adaptation of Rossini’s original *tempo di mezzo*.

G. An Aria for Bartolo added in 1816 (N. 8a), “Manca un foglio” (Appendix III)

In the autumn of 1816, the second documented revival of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* took place at the Teatro della Pergola of Florence. For this production a significant change was made for Bartolo, sung by Paolo Rosich: the grand *buffo* aria by Rossini, “A un Dottor della mia sorte” (N. 8), was replaced by “Manca un foglio” (N. 8a), written by the composer Pietro Romani, associated with the Florentine theater for most of the first half of the nineteenth century. “Manca un foglio” was soon widely performed and is represented in nearly half of the manuscripts studied for this edition. Geltrude Righetti-Giorgi, who was again the Rosina, refers to this aria in her memoir and claims that Rossini was not unhappy to have it sung in his opera (see above in the first section of this Preface). There is no evidence, however, that Rossini knew anything about this Florence production. One can only imagine that he would have preferred to have a Bartolo who could sing “Manca un foglio” well than one who sang “A un Dottor della mia sorte” badly. Since the Romani aria formed an integral part of *Barbiere* performances into the twentieth century (especially outside of Italy), this edition includes it within Appendix III.

H. The Neapolitan version (Appendix IV)

Although Rossini himself does not seem to have been directly involved in any of the revivals of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* that took place in Naples, beginning in October 1818, the opera had an enormous success there, and the composer could not have been unaware of its good fortune. The Teatro San Carlo, the principal Neapolitan theater, generally produced only opera seria and did not mount

Il barbiere di Siviglia until 1821.¹⁴⁴ As a result, the first Neapolitan performances took place at the Teatro La Fenice of Naples, one of several smaller opera houses that were not under Barbaja's control. The Teatro La Fenice of Naples usually produced operas with prose dialogue (instead of recitative), with the principal comic character using Neapolitan dialect. At this time the primary arranger of librettos using Neapolitan dialect was Filippo Cammarano, who was particularly well known for having adapted several Goldoni plays in Neapolitan. According to announcements in the *Giornale del Regno delle Due Sicilie*, there were over one hundred performances of *Barbiere* from October 1818 to March 1820, first at the Teatro La Fenice then at other small theaters, the Teatro Nuovo and the Teatro San Carlino, with still more during the 1820–1821 season at the Teatro San Ferdinando. There is every reason to believe that all these performances used a version of the opera in which the recitative was replaced with spoken dialogue and Don Bartolo employed Neapolitan dialect. Although no libretto of the opera in this form is known to have been published in Naples until 1825 (NA¹⁸²⁵), this is also the form the opera takes in a surviving manuscript score in the Naples Conservatory (NA 189–190), and it is the version documented fully by WGR in Appendix IV.

I. Early vocal ornamentation (Appendix V by Will Crutchfield)

Il barbiere di Siviglia was composed at a time when the liberal variation of vocal lines was still central to operatic interpretation, to the public's appreciation of performances, and to the singer's craft. Rossini's own written variants give us our best idea of how he understood this practice, and in the case of *Barbiere* we have a richly informative supply of his own interventions, though confined to the music of Rosina (see Appendix I). Many other artists, however, left documents that supplement those of Rossini. Variants are found added in several of the manuscript copies studied for this edition, as well as in some vocal scores. Singers such as Laure Cinti-Damoreau kept notebooks with variations. Printed editions may include ornamentation as part of the vocal line, either without indicating that these are variants at all or proclaiming that they are derived from the practice of a specific singer, as, for example, the early Carli print of N. 7, the Duet for Rosina and Figaro (c. 1821), which reads: "Duo / sung by M.^{me} Fodor and M.^r Pellegrini / in the *Barbiere di Siviglia*. Music by Rossini / with all the ornaments these two singers introduce there, written by themselves."¹⁴⁵ Printed editions of arrangements for piano solo, piano four hands, or for other instruments frequently include ornamentation. An important source for this kind of information is instruction books, particularly the *Art du chant* of Manuel García Jr., son of the great tenor who created the rôle of Conte Almaviva.

After collecting for several decades abundant instances of ornamentation, Will Crutchfield has analysed these instances and organized the examples presented here to show the types of variants used by singers contemporary with Rossini or associated with his contemporaries. Users of the present edition—whether or not they choose to embrace performing styles of later origin—may be interested to know how these stylistic elements were understood by the composer's own colleagues and audiences. The broad impression gleaned from period sources is not of singers studiously choosing a particular variant for a particular reason, but rather of the spontaneous embrace of a musical language spoken by composer and interpreter alike, in a musical milieu where respect for the author's ideas did not seem to contradict the freedom of performers to paraphrase those ideas, or to replace the surface-level expression of them with inventions of their own.

¹⁴⁴ See *Lettere e documenti*, I: 76n.

¹⁴⁵ "Duo / Chanté par M.^{me} Fodor et M.^r Pellegrini / dans le *Barbier de Séville* / Musique de Rossini / avec tous les agréments que ces deux chanteurs y font, écrits par eux mêmes." For full information, see Appendix V in the Critical Commentary.

J. Lisa/Berta

A non-problem in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* is that Rossini originally thought the name of the *seconda donna*, a soprano, would be Lisa, not Berta.¹⁴⁶ He wrote the name in this form three times in the Finale Primo (N. 9), but corrected it twice (see the second facsimile for one example). This is the first time Berta sings in a concerted number in the opera, so Rossini may have been uncertain about the correct name. Afterwards, her only appearance in concerted numbers is in her aria (N. 14), where she is called exclusively Berta, and in the Finaletto Secondo (N. 18), where Berta has the highest part. The composers of the recitatives always refer to her as Berta.

If one follows Rossini's indications precisely there is no reason for Berta and Rosina to switch parts in the Finale Primo. The only place where Rosina sings above Berta in a significant way is at 176–190, a reprise of 72–86, where Rosina clearly must have the principal melodic part. It is, of course, Berta who ascends to the high *c*'' at the end of the Finale Primo (655 and 663), as Rossini indicates clearly.

Acknowledgments

Editors—and other scholars on whose labors they build—must find and evaluate sources, struggle with their contradictions and uncertainties, seek feedback from performers, proofread over and over in order to eliminate inadvertent error (not even the best edition is error-free). There is romance, to be sure, but also much *Sitzfleisch*. Through all of this, however, the critical editions continue to recognize the composer as the central figure in the Italian operatic landscape and to seek where possible to reproduce his voice as fully and accurately as possible.¹⁴⁷

For helping us to locate and examine sources, we thank first the libraries that provided copies of the many manuscripts and printed editions that we studied in preparing this volume (see the list of principal sources). Despite the advance in technological services in libraries, there are still librarians who have personally assisted us, and for their kind help, we thank (in alphabetical order): Fran Barulich, Pierpont Morgan Library; Pierangelo Bellettini, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna; Domenico Carboni, Conservatorio «S. Cecilia», Rome; Andrea Cawelti, Houghton Library, Harvard University; Robert Dennis, Loeb Music Library, Harvard University; Johan Eeckeloo, Royal Conservatory Library, Brussels; Denise Gallo, Library of Congress; François-Pierre Goy, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Tiziana Grande, Conservatorio "S. Pietro a Majella," Naples; Ryan Hendrickson, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University; Douglas Hoeck, Northwestern University Music Library; Sabine Kurth, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; Francesco Melisi, Conservatorio "S. Pietro a Majella," Naples; Diane Ota, Boston Public Library; Maria Adele Ziino Pontecorvo, Accademia Filarmonica, Rome; Licia Sirch, Conservatorio "G. Verdi," Milan.

In addition to librarians, book lovers, book dealers, and scholars helped us locate and examine sources. We thank: Marco Beghelli for information concerning Zamboni; Franz Beyer, Munich, for making it possible to examine at first hand the autograph of Rossini variants in his possession; Maria Birbili for research assistance in Naples; Mauro Bucarelli for first bringing to our attention a manuscript at the Fonds Michotte that had previously not been catalogued; Rosa Cafiero for sharing her data base of Neapolitan newspapers; James Camner for providing a copy of an important Rossini letter; Lisa Cox for promptly helping us to locate the Sterbini "Dichiarazione"; Mark Everist for examining sources at the

¹⁴⁶ Recall that in Beaumarchais the two servants, both male, are called "La Jeunesse" and "L'Éveillé," while in the opera by Paesiello there is only one male servant.

¹⁴⁷ Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago, 2006), 165.

Bibliothèque nationale; Saverio Lamacchia for providing us with a preprint copy of his book on *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, which includes transcriptions of documents from the Sforza Cesarini archive; Richard Macnutt for help with the early printed sources of the opera; Reto Müller for signaling the appearance on the market of Sterbini's "Dichiarazione"; Fiamma Nicolodi for assistance with sources in Florence; Hilary Poriss for information about substitute arias in the lesson scene; John M. Ward, Professor emeritus, Harvard University, for his many kindnesses pertaining to the remarkable collection of printed scores he is assembling for the Houghton Library at Harvard University; Agostino Ziino for help with sources at the Accademia Filarmonica of Rome.

This edition in preliminary form was fortunate to have had three productions, and we are grateful to the performers who gave us so much encouragement and feedback. In particular, we thank: from Chicago Lyric Opera's staging in February-March 2008, Donato Renzetti, conductor, Joyce Di Donato and cast, and John Rosenkrans, Librarian; from the July 2008 Caramoor (New York) production, Will Crutchfield, conductor; from the October 2008 Baden-Baden production, conductor Thomas Hengelbrock and Dramaturg Thomas Krümpelmann. At Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel, we thank

Wolfgang Thein, Annette Thein, Douglas Woodfull-Harris, Tobias Gebauer, and the entire staff, who have taken great pains to produce an accurate and beautiful edition.

As always, there are those who have helped in so many or such unusual ways that their contributions cannot be counted. In this category are Charles Brauner, Daniela Macchione, and Sergio Ragni.

For many years, I have worked with and learned from Philip Gossett, *erudito prelibato*, and on his labors this edition has been built. Gossett as a director of editions is deeply and actively involved in every stage of the work, and it is because of him that the critical editions of Rossini's music have been so well received by performers and scholars alike. This volume should have been his to co-sign, and it is with humility and joy that I thank above all Philip Gossett, to whom this finaletto:

ROS. Costò sospiri e pene – un sì felice istante . . .

FIG. Ecco che fa un'*Inutil precauzione*.

Patricia B. Brauner
Oak Park, Illinois
October 2008

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