Italian Pasticcio Opera, 1700-1750

Practices and Repertoires

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The Italian word "pasticcio" is made up of two ingredients: "pasta" (dough, pastry) and "-iccio", a suffix indicating the mingled or deteriorated state of something originally whole or good. The combined word is already found in Vulgar Latin as "pasticium" and in Old French as "pastiche". The suffix can also describe – without any derogatory meaning – the further processing of, or derivation from, an original, as in "salsa" > "salsiccia" (sauce > sausage). In the late 17th century, the term "pasticcio" migrated from its gastronomic origins to the world of the arts, being used to describe a poem, a work of fine arts or a musical-theatrical performance of heterogeneous character. This happened, as I suggest, in analogy to "capriccio" (something comparable to the sudden leap of a goat), a term which since the 16th century had meant a work of art that was derivative or jumbled together in a fanciful way or at an author's personal will, without regard to the conventions of genre or verisimilitude.[1] In the literary debates (*discours*) on the values of French and Italian music around 1700, keywords such as "pastiche", "caprice", "rhapsodie" and "folies" are almost interchangeably used by French writers when characterizing Italian musical approaches,[2] whereas it was thought that French musicians were more inclined to stay within the formal boundaries of genre. The quality (such as there was) of a poem or stage work called "capriccio" or "pasticcio" would depend on how it managed to maintain a sense of coherence while following fanciful inspiration or containing a mixture of borrowed materials.

Stylistic and formal multiplicity in art, whether created by a single author or concocted from heterogeneous materials by an arranger, could therefore mean an aesthetic

1 Paintings such as Claude Lorrain's *Capriccio with ruins of the Roman Forum* (c. 1634) combined classicist sublimity with a fanciful arrangement within one picture. A musical pasticcio could, likewise, be regarded as a collection of venerable fragments skilfully arranged.

2 For example, in writings by Charles de Saint-Évremond and François Raguenet, see Price, 2001.

challenge to prevailing classicist ideals. This may be relevant for an assessment of the pasticcio practices in Italian opera, which became prominent in the late 17th century. Unity and single authorship of the art-work had already been classical (Ciceronian) principles, transmitted to modern Europe via humanism and Renaissance classicism. The author-work principle, although it was not universally practiced, had been applied to musical compositions already in the early 15th century.[3] In opera (the Italian word for "opus") and other performing arts, the principle worked *in tandem* with the options of performative flexibility, improvisation and undefined authorship.

The 18th-century opera pasticcio is therefore not a default option or 'natural' phenomenon in this art-form, but may often have functioned as an alternative to the classicist tradition. Educated audiences could enjoy a pasticcio opera as an exception from the author-work convention or as a stylistic license. This aesthetic function is sometimes evident in contemporary sources such as diaries, treatises or librettos. Multiplicity was intended and had a communicative function, for example, in some operas and oratorios from around 1700, which were deliberately contrived to have as many composers as possible (27 in the case of *Arione*, Milan 1694).[4] The names of composers of a pasticcio opera were often known at least to insiders; they were occasionally entered by hand in libretto copies, but could also be advertised to the public by being printed in librettos, newspaper adverts, playbills and printed editions of opera arias.[5] Multiple authorship of opera 'texts' (for example as a result of later arrangements of a work) is often acknowledged in the libretto prefaces, where more respect is paid to literary unity and authenticity than to composership. In librettos by Zeno and Metastasio, aria texts were sometimes marked by asterisks if they had not been written by the original poet – because they had been inserted together with the music.[6]

3 See, most recently, Strohm, 2016.

4 This opera was, strictly speaking, not a 'pasticcio' but a 'collaborative work', where various composers contributed original compositions.

5 For various libretto announcements of multiple authorship, see Strohm, 2011. More examples of these are quoted here below. Composer names were also occasionally printed over individual arias in pasticcio librettos.

6 An example of many is the libretto preface of *Stratonica* (Naples, 1727, libretto after Apostolo Zeno's *Antioco*), which explains that, if the drama was "different from its original state, this was done to accommodate it to the wishes of the actors, to whom the liberty was left to insert arias of their choice; these were marked with an asterisk, the others were replaced, not out of disregard for its eminent author, but only to please the whim of the performers, and this has been done by Sig. Carlo de Palma". ("Se diverso dal suo primo essere, ti verrà sotto l'occhio, il presente Drama, sappi, che si è fatto per meglio accomodarsi agli Attori, à libertà de quali s'è lasciato il poner l'arie à loro sodisfazione, e sono tutte quelle contrasegnate con il presente asterisco * l'altre si sono fatte di pianta, non già per pregiudicare il suo Degnissimo Autore; mà solo per incontrare il genio de' Rappresentanti, e questo si à fatto dal Sig. Carlo de Palma, […].") The composers of the insertions (Vinci, Porpora and others) are not named. See Strohm, 2011, p. 70.

On the other hand, the knowledge of authorship of either text or music was not always explicitly transmitted, and operatic anonymity was the rule rather than the exception in several European repertoires. Opera-goers would not necessarily care about the difference between single and multiple composership.[7] We should differentiate: the pasticcio procedure may often have been the only feasible way of getting a performance together, or of resolving conflicts between different agents involved in the opera business, whether sponsors, impresarios, *maestri di cappella*, singers, librettists or audiences. The practice was more prominent in 18th-century Italy and Germany than in France.[8] It was unequally distributed over the repertoires and could be an administrative principle of some theater companies.

Research on 18th-century pasticcio practices and repertoires began in the early 20th century, triggered by the chameleonic transmission of some comic operas. It was already clear then that pasticcio status could have resulted from the dissemination of an originally unified work in later arrangements.[9] It was ultimately found that the *dramma per musica* offered even more examples of the pasticcio procedure than comic opera; scholarly studies focused at first on the pasticcio production of famous *opera seria* composers.[10] Inevitably, the phenomenon was soon connected with post-modern objections to the author-work discourse, with reader empowerment and with a growing emphasis on aspects of performativity and event in theater studies. The pasticcio status of many transmitted operas has fueled a tendency to dispute the 'work-status' of Italian 18th-century opera as a genre altogether, and the single-author principle in opera is occasionally being challenged by declaring singers as "co-authors" in the pasticcio practice.[11] But these debates are not ideally conducted within the pasticcio phenomenon alone. In fact, the co-existence between author-work principle and performativity is as fundamental to the entire genre of opera as is the co-existence between single composership and pasticcio or collaboration. Opera composers often admitted changes and revisions to their creations, in order to achieve memorable performances, and conversely, pasticcio arrangers depending on performers' inputs were sometimes striving to design coherent musical works. Studies of the compositional genesis and the transmission of works have

7 Some audience members believed that the London Pasticcio *Catone* (1732) was an opera by Handel: see Burrows et al., 2015, p. 563: "I am just come from a long, dull, and consequently tiresome Opera of Handel's, whose genius seems quite exhausted […]." (Lord Hervey to Stephen Fox, 4 November 1732). The *Daily Advertiser* of 6 November 1732, however, informed its readers: "We hear that the Opera was not composed by Mr. Handell, but by some very eminent Master in Italy" (Ibid., pp. 563f.).

8 See Calella, 2007, p. 29.

9 Sonneck, 1910-11.

10 Hortschansky, 1966; Strohm, 1974 (with later English and German revised editions).

11 On this debate, see Calella, 2007; Brandenburg/Seedorf, 2011, entire volume; Strohm, 2011. Extending the privilege of authorship to performers will neither remove the contested author fixation of modern scholarship nor change 18th-century social realities of the opera business.

dominated the discussion so far; now we should focus on studying opera as 'collective action and practice', paying attention to diverse and possibly competing 'agencies' (originations) within the practice.[12]

In the field of early 18th-century Italian pasticcio opera, I found that the influence of singers on the aria contents of such operas was much less significant or statistically noticeable than had often been assumed. Rather, the musical and textual make-up of a production could variously depend on one or more of five different agents: the composer or *maestro di cappella*, the impresario, the poet, the singers, and audience members including patrons and protectors. Contemporary evidence exists for all of these agencies; Pier Jacopo Martello (1714) offers the most detailed description of the process of inserting an extraneous aria as it highlights the collaboration of the singer with the librettist, not with the composer.[13] Statistically, the pasticcio operas of Handel and Vivaldi document an increasing dominance of the composer's and impresario's agency over that of the singers, as time went by.

The recognition that pasticcio practices varied over time and between different regional repertoires, that they privileged one or the other agent and met with different audience attitudes, opens up the entire field of early 18th-century Italian pasticcio opera to particular (local) as well as generic (supra-regional) observations. In the following sections, I wish to offer observations about four different 'repertoires' (by which I mean composers' outputs, theater playlists, collections of sources, not repertoires in the sense of the modern 'repertoire theater'):

(1) Antonio Vivaldi and Venetian opera
(2) Hamburg and the Mingotti opera company
(3) London and George Frideric Handel
(4) The Theater am Kärntner Tor, Vienna.

Even within these selected repertoires there are still gaps of information, making general conclusions rather unsafe. The following observations are therefore intended as 'case studies', not as a comprehensive assessment. Court opera repertoires are not included, partly because their pasticcio practices are not well researched yet, partly because court operas used them less. There are some surprising connections between the selected four repertoires: but although migration and supra-regional transmission are typical of the pasticcio culture, explicit acknowledgement of geographic transfer or of specific local provenance is quite rare in the sources, except that "Italy" is often named as the origin of imported music. Aria 'parody' (text change) is of course frequent: if singers insisted on singing inserted arias because of their music, they had to learn new texts quite often.

12 Strohm, 2003, recommending to ground opera studies on sociological "action theory" (Talcott Parsons) and "Handlungstheorie" (Alfred Schütz, Jürgen Habermas, Thomas Luckmann). See, for example, Parsons/Shils, 2001.

13 Strohm, 2011.

Vivaldi and Venice

The statistics of Vivaldi's migrating opera arias offer a first surprise. 148 individual arias from operas by Vivaldi were inserted into 88 different pasticcio opera productions of the period (some arranged by Vivaldi himself), performed in 24 different cities of Europe.[14] But in only 15 cases of 148 did 'the same singer' perform the aria in question in both the original opera and the pasticcio, implying the singer had the piece in her/his baggage.[15] Moreover, in six of these 15 cases the *virtuosa* in question was the mezzoso-prano Anna Girò, a close associate of the composer, who will sometimes have carried out his particular wishes in the transfer of his arias. The overwhelming evidence here is the popularity of the composer's arias, spread over many European centers; since he himself was involved in several of the pasticcio productions or had business contacts with their arrangers, it is safe to conclude that the composer's popularity and agency was the strongest factor in this dissemination. Nevertheless, the insertion of the arias can still have been initiated by the singers, who followed the trend. These singers willingly took up someone else's showpiece aria as long as it was by a famous composer.

It is of course useful to compare such a set of data with others not based on a single composer's output, for example by surveying the repertoires of operatic centers in their entirety. For Venice, we have fairly comprehensive opera statistics, albeit not on the provenance or authorship of all the individual arias.[16] How widespread, however, was the pasticcio practice in Venice? Who was involved as composer, impresario, poet, singer, patron or audience member? Which theater cultivated pasticcios, at what time and in what operatic genre? Eleanor Selfridge-Field documents 528 productions of any sort of opera (excluding spoken plays, *intermezzi* and short farces) in Venice in the years 1700-1750; of these, 56 have no composer attribution either in the contemporary sources or in modern research data.[17] The Teatro Sant'Angelo performed 18 of them, San Moisé and San Cassiano twelve each, San Fantin seven (all before 1720) and other venues even fewer.[18] Half of the productions of San Moisé and San Cassiano happened in the 1740s and concerned comic opera, a genre which these two theaters had begun to favor. About half of the 56 productions seem to have been revivals of earlier single-author works, when (newly-composed?) arias by the arranger or by other composers may have been inserted ('impasticciamento'), but a genuine pasticcio character cannot be ascertained.

14 See Strohm, 2008, vol. 2, pp. 661-669.

15 For 68 of the arias, the name of the singer in the pasticcio performance is not known, but it can be concluded from other evidence that the original singer was not involved.

16 Selfridge-Field, 2007; Wiel, 1979.

17 Another 15 productions or so were 'collaborative works'; this figure is not quite certain because we do not always know whether this multi-authorship arose from revisional arrangement or was originally intended.

18 On Venetian impresarios and pasticcios in the early part of this period, see Gianluca Stefani, this volume, pp. 377-396.

Thus, the use of the pasticcio format – an opera with inserted 'pre-existing' arias by other composers – was strikingly rare in Venice. Only the Teatro Sant'Angelo, regarded by contemporaries as a cheaper and more popular venue for some of this time, and San Moisé, a small theater focusing on revivals, arrangements and spoken plays, favored pasticcio operas under certain circumstances. Even at Sant'Angelo and San Moisé, about half of the productions counted here were revivals with added extraneous arias. It is no coincidence that Antonio Vivaldi was the impresario and composer/arranger in seven of the 18 Sant'Angelo productions. This set of data could usefully be expanded by following up not only the singers involved, but also, for example, the poets, whose contribution to pasticcio operas in re-writing aria texts for pre-existing music was substantial; not every self-respecting poet would be willing to do this on a regular basis.

Within Vivaldi's own production, we find a great variety of pasticcio practices, apparently resulting from different circumstances.[19] *Orlando furioso* 1714, for example, is a revival of Giovanni Alberto Ristori's opera of 1713 with many new arias by Vivaldi himself. These 'refresher arias' were inserted already in the first season to keep audience interest at a high level, a motivation clearly shared by singers and the composer-impresario. The 1714 libretto does not name the composer. At the other end of the Vivaldi series, *Rosmira* of 1738 was attributed to him in the libretto, although twelve inserted arias by six different composers are evidenced by the composer's own score – not in the libretto. In *Nerone fatto Cesare* of 1715, by contrast, Vivaldi as impresario, arranger and co-composer published a list of the arias and their composers in some exemplars of the libretto (see Figure 1).[20]

The agency of singers is evident or possible in most of these cases, except with a few arias coming from Giacomo Antonio Perti's original version of this opera (Venice 1693), or composed by his contemporary Francesco Antonio Pistocchi: no singer was old enough to have sung or rehearsed the originals. The bass virtuoso Anton Francesco Carli (or his father)[21] composed an aria for himself and is duly named as its composer in the libretto. Definite evidence for the agency of a singer seems also present in *Armida al Campo d'Egitto* of 1738, where Vivaldi's score contains the actual manuscript gatherings of two arias inserted for the soprano Margherita Giacomazzi. They were performed by her in an opera by Leonardo Leo in Naples, 1736: the two manuscripts, copied by Neapolitan scribes, attribute the music to Leo. The anonymous libretto contains no clue about these and some other insertions. In this and other pasticcio operas, Vivaldi tends to allocate arias written for superior virtuosos, whom he could not employ, to his own singers, presumably satisfying their ambition. In his *Tamerlano* (Verona 1735), for example, arias originally performed by Carlo Broschi "detto Farinelli" were sung by the sopranos Pietro Morigi and Margherita Giacomazzi, and arias by the famous contralto Vittoria Tesi were heard from her fellow Florentine Maria Maddalena Pieri. Although the recipients of these pieces must of course have agreed and were perhaps pleased

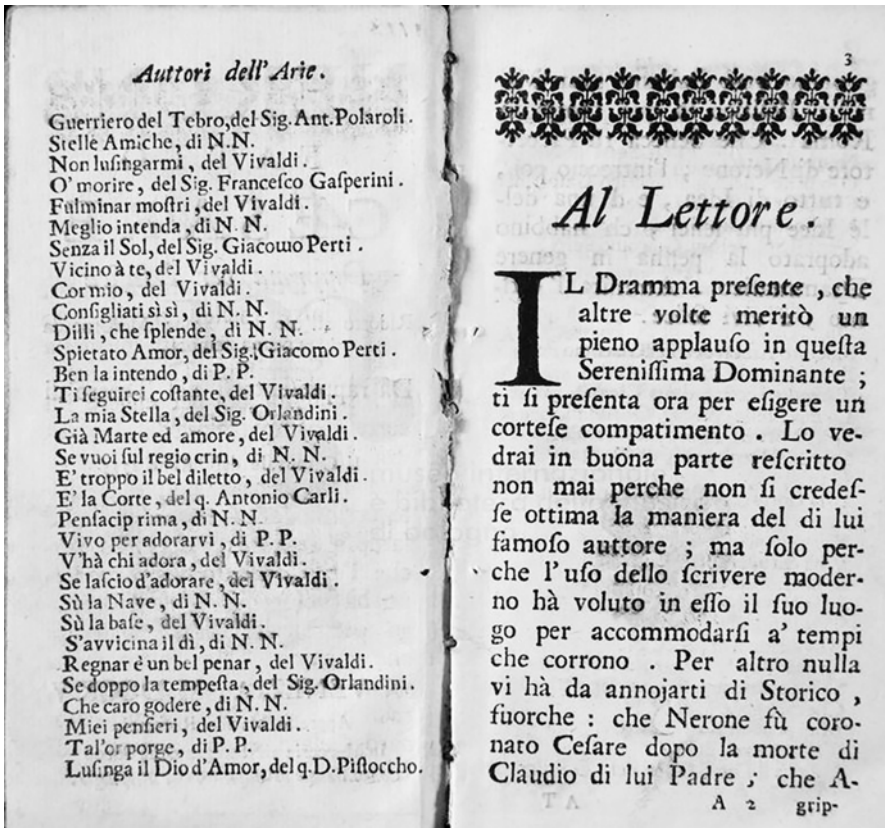
19 See the respective titles in Strohm, 2008.

20 See also ibid., pp. 155-159.

21 See Stefani, this volume.

about the opportunity, I have no doubt that the composer-impresario Vivaldi allocated the arias to them after some scrutiny.[22]

Figure 1: Libretto Nerone fatto Cesare*, Venice 1715 (I-Bc Lo. 06808), pp. 2f.*



Auttori dell'Arie.

Guerriero del Tebro, del Sig. Ant. Polaroli.
Stelle Amiche, di N.N.
Non lusingarmi, del Vivaldi.
O' morire, del Sig. Francesco Gasperini.
Fulminar mostri, del Vivaldi.
Meglio intenda, di N. N.
Senza il Sol, del Sig. Giacomo Perti.
Vicino à te, del Vivaldi.
Cor mio, del Vivaldi.
Consigliati sì sì, di N. N.
Dilli, che splende, di N. N.
Spietato Amor, del Sig. Giacomo Perti.
Ben la intendo, di P. P.
Ti seguirei costante, del Vivaldi.
La mia Stella, del Sig. Orlandini.
Già Marte ed amore, del Vivaldi.
Se vuoi sul regio crin, di N. N.
E' troppo il bel diletto, del Vivaldi.
E' la Corte, del q. Antonio Carli.
Pensacip rima, di N. N.
Vivo per adorarvi, di P. P.
V'hà chi adora, del Vivaldi.
Se lascio d'adorare, del Vivaldi.
Sù la Nave, di N. N.
Sù la base, del Vivaldi.
S'avvicina il dì, di N. N.
Regnar è un bel penar, del Vivaldi.
Se doppo la tempesta, del Sig. Orlandini.
Che caro godere, di N. N.
Miei pensieri, del Vivaldi.
Tal'or porge, di P. P.
Lusinga il Dio d'Amor, del q. D. Pistoccho.

3

Al Lettore.

IL Dramma presente, che altre volte meritò un pieno applauso in questa Serenissima Dominante; ti si presenta ora per esigere un cortese compatimento. Lo vedrai in buona parte rescritto non mai perche non si credesse ottima la maniera del di lui famoso auttore; ma solo perche l'uso dello scrivere moderno hà voluto in esso il suo luogo per accommodarsi a' tempi che corrono. Per altro nulla vi hà da annojarti di Storico, fuorche: che Nerone fù coronato Cesare dopo la morte di Claudio di lui Padre; che A-

A 2 grip-

Hamburg and the Mingotti company

The old Hamburg opera house near the Gänsemarkt was an impresario theater like the Venetian theaters, and for all of the period in question here, Venice was a main supplier of its Italian opera repertoire. From about the turn of the century, imported Italian material came in the form of librettos and individual arias, then more and more of entire Italian scores. Local composers such as Reinhard Keiser, Johann Mattheson and

22 Strohm, 2008, pp. 552-556. The Venetian soprano Maria Camati Brambilla "detta La Farinella" (fl. 1729-1775) surely earned her nickname by singing arias composed for more accomplished colleagues. On her personal repertoire, see Zsovár, 2019; id., forthcoming 2021.

Georg Philipp Telemann contributed many newly-composed arias in both languages.[23] Full German-language operas continued to be produced alongside these imports. Some Italian scores were brought from Vienna and London; personnel connections and shared repertoire also temporarily linked Hamburg with the court (and civic) opera of Brunswick, and with London and Copenhagen. From 1740 onwards the Gänsemarkt opera house was used by the traveling companies of Angelo Mingotti (in 1740) and then Pietro Mingotti, with all-Italian casts and *maestri di cappella,* who produced many pasticcio operas. But even under the old regime before 1740, musical and textual arrangements, translations and pasticcio were daily practice at Hamburg: not a single Italian composer worked there before 1740 and the singers were mostly German.[24]

Hamburg's repertoire relied on opera imports as much as Venice produced operas for export.[25] The share of pasticcios in the total repertoire was higher in Hamburg; but since composer attributions in the librettos are haphazard and fewer scores are extant than for Venice, statistics cannot be conclusive. About 240 musical stage works were produced between 1700 and 1750, including Italian operas, German operas, *intermezzi*, prologues and festal acts; multiple composership can be proposed for at least 30 productions before 1740. In addition, there were perhaps another 20 collaborative works with original contributions by various composers. 20 genuine pasticcio productions were given from 1740 onwards by the Mingotti companies, mostly under the musical direction of Paolo Scalabrini, who habitually added extraneous arias to scores he had created in outline himself.[26]

Earlier works were often revived at Hamburg with new musical additions of diverse origin ('impasticciamento'), in arrangements by local *Kapellmeisters* (mainly Keiser, Mattheson, Schürmann and Telemann). The tendency to repeat popular works as often as feasible was more pronounced here than in Venice. 'Repertoire works' (in the modern sense of the word) were Keiser's *Fredegunda* (first given in 1715 and repeated in thirteen subsequent years until 1738), and the two pasticcios *Der ehrsüchtige Arsaces* (1722) and *Nero* (1723), both with music by Giuseppe Maria Orlandini, arranged by Mattheson, which remained popular for many years, too. The original opera from which *Arsaces* was derived was itself a pasticcio, performed in London in 1721 with music by Orlandini and Filippo Amadei; in Hamburg, Mattheson added arias, recitatives and choruses.

The Hamburg 'repertoire tendency' was apparently related to a relatively stable ensemble of singers, some of whom never traveled outside the city to take up alternative employment; Margaretha Susanna Kayser, the most popular local prima donna, worked in Hamburg from 1708 to at least 1727. Under these circumstances, it was near-impossible for singers to come up with new pieces from a famous rivalling opera house, as

23 A comprehensive catalogue of the productions is Marx/Schröder, 1995. Analyses of Hamburg pasticcios are in Strohm, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 266-285.

24 Marx/Schröder, 1995, Anh. 2, pp. 439-457.

25 For further information about Hamburg's opera imports see Strohm, 2013.

26 See Strohm, 2004. On Scalabrini's biography, see Hauge, 2018.

would have been possible in Italian centers with their rotating ensembles; in order to insert new arias singers had to rely on the music director or impresario, on patrons or even the audience for the manuscripts. The demand for variety, especially in revived operas, was partly met by repeating pieces from 'inside' the Hamburg repertoire: favorite songs thus traveled from one Hamburg production to another for years.[27] (This practice of internal 'recycling' also happened in the pasticcio repertoire of the Kärntnertor Theater at Vienna).

A few examples may suffice to illustrate pasticcio practices at Hamburg before 1740. The German opera *Der grossmüthige Roland* of 1720 (called *Der rasende Roland* in a second, identical libretto edition) was an adaptation of *Der grossmüthige Roland* by Agostino Steffani of 1695 (a translation of his *Orlando generoso*, Hanover 1691): apparently only the German recitatives of 1695 were retained, and new German and Italian arias by various composers were inserted, including four from Ristori's and Vivaldi's *Orlando furioso* (Venice 1713/1714). The music director was the Brunswick *Kapellmeister* Georg Caspar Schürmann, who temporarily worked at the Gänsemarkt opera in the absence of Reinhard Keiser. He gave an Italian *Orlando furioso* in Brunswick in 1722, where the libretto preface explicitly states: "The music has been assembled by G. C. Schürmann from selected arias by the most famous Italian composers" – a description which would also have been true of the Hamburg opera of 1720, although its contents were not identical.[28] In his Hamburg pasticcio *Jason, oder Die Eroberung des Güldenen Flüsses* of 1720, Schürmann used his own German setting for Brunswick (of 1707, 1708 and 1713) but modernized it with several Italian arias, some extracted from an opera on the same subject, Antonio Bononcini's *La conquista del vello d'oro* (Reggio 1717). In 1726, another Hamburg music director (Telemann or Keiser?) similarly enriched an older opera skeleton, Steffani's opera *Der hochmüthige Alexander* of 1695 (a translation of his *La superbia d'Alessandro*, Hanover 1690) with newer Italian arias, this time all taken from Handel's *Alessandro* (London 1726), a different opera on the same subject. In the same year, Keiser arranged a genuine pasticcio opera, *Der lächerliche Prinz Jodelet*, with arias by eight different Italian composers, most of them composed between 1719 and 1724 in Venice, although five arias and one duet had already been used in Hamburg operas of 1717 and 1725. The latter was *Bretislaus, oder Die siegende Beständigkeit* (1725), where the libretto explains: "The music is by *Kapellmeister* Keiser, with the

27 The duet "Mio tesoro – mio diletto" in *Der lächerliche Printz Jodelet*, a pasticcio arranged by Keiser in 1726, had already been sung in the pasticcio *Jobates und Bellerophon* (Hamburg, 1717), whilst "Leon feroce", "Nel suo sangue", "Non temer" and "Se avete influssi o stelle" came from *Bretislaus* (Hamburg, 1725). "Aura seconda" in *Nero* (1723) reappeared in *Der sich rächende Cupido* (1724), and so forth.

28 "La musica è messa in ordine dal G. C. Schürmann, sopra gran parte delle arie scelte da più famosi Compositori d'Italia." *Orlando furioso*, Wolfenbüttel: Bartsch, 1722. Details in Strohm, 2008, pp. 138f. and Table *Orlando furioso* 22.

exception of some inserted Italian arias".[29] In all these cases, the singers would have to learn new Italian arias and probably were keen to opt for them – but it is unlikely that they had any influence on their supply, since the scores were imported from Italy, where none of these singers had recently been.

Possibly the contrary happened in the serenata *Die gecrönte Beständigkeit*, given on 7 December 1726 as a benefit performance of the soprano Maria Domenica Polone (Polon, Pollone), one of the few Italian singers at Hamburg in this period, who had formerly served at the court of Waldeck. She was perhaps personally responsible for assembling the arias and duets for this short work. The Hamburg newspaper *Relations-Courier* advertised the performance on 6 December by attributing the music to the "world-famous Italian virtuoso, Signor Vivaldi".[30] Seven items can be shown to have been by him; others were by Orlandini and other contemporary composers. One aria was repeated in the popular pasticcio *Nero* soon afterwards. Polone had been educated at the Ospedale della Pietà under Vivaldi; nevertheless, in 1721 her Waldeck employer had to use the help of Joachim Christoph Nemeitz to send vocal music from Venice to Pyrmont, "in order to supply the court soprano with suitable repertory".[31] In another Hamburg serenata of 1730, also apparently created by and for Polone (*Die in ihrer Friedens-Hoffnung gestärckte Europa*, *in einer serenata fürgestellet von M. D. Polone*), the stylistic horizon is much changed as the libretto announces "arias by Porpora and Leo, choruses and recitatives R. Kayser":[32] in fact most arias came from Nicola Porpora's *Ezio* and Leo's *Catone in Utica*, performed in Venice in 1728 and 1729, respectively. Two items had been heard at Hamburg itself in *Pharao und Joseph* (1728), a pasticcio derived from Antonio Caldara, in which Polone had also appeared.

Keiser's pasticcio *Circe* (1734) is a work on a new libretto; its literary model had been a pasticcio drama in French and Dutch. The special task of the poet (Johann Philipp Praetorius) was to accommodate as many existing Italian arias as possible: "The Italian arias are all still new on our stage, and by the best masters in Europe […] The other arias, choruses and recitatives are compositions by […] Keiser".[33] Of the 18 arias and five duets with Italian texts, eleven arias and two duets by Hasse, Handel, Orlandini,

29 "Die Musique ist ausser einigen eingerückten Italiänischen Arien von dem Hrn. Cpm. Kayser" Libretto in D-B, 1 in Mus T 6 R (and elsewhere). Details in Strohm, 1976, vol. 2, p. 270; see also Marx/Schröder, 1995, pp. 98f., without mention of the composer specification and with partly incorrect composer names.

30 "Von dem Welt-bekannten Italiänischen Virtuosen Signor Vivaldi": see Becker, 1956, p. 26.

31 Brusniak, 1993, p. 12.

32 "Arien von Porpora und Leo, Chöre und Recitative R. Kayser". Libretto in D-B, 5 in Mus T 7 R (and elsewhere), preface by J[ohann] G[eorg] Glauch[e]. See also Marx/Schröder 1995, p. 238, where this annnouncement is not mentioned.

33 "Die Italiänischen Arien sind auf unserer Schau-Bühne noch alle neu, und von den besten Meistern in Europa […] Die andern Arien, Chöre und Recitative sind die Arbeit […] Keisers." Libretto in D-B, 27 in Mus T 7 R (and elsewhere), "Vorwort". See also Marx/

Giacomelli and Leonardo Vinci can be identified in the score, none of them older than 1729. Although there is little doubt that the main beneficiaries of this effort were the singers, it seems equally certain that selection, negotiation, adaptation and rehearsal had to be shared between several agents, perhaps including audience members and singers' patrons. Singers had to present their arias to the musical director or impresario in any case to get them inserted into the performing score and libretto, usually with textual and musical adaptations; a major factor was the competition of rivalling performers for the best possible aria set within a production.[34] The influence of audience members and patrons has recently attracted more attention.[35]

The pasticcio practice of the Mingotti companies was obviously different from that of a resident opera company, because traveling troupes would carry their musical repertoire with them, enabling them to repeat many items as novelties in different places.[36] The Mingottis had a relatively stable ensemble (although individual singers joined or left each year), so that the artists could repeat their own personal 'repertoire' from venue to venue. Pietro Mingotti regularly played in Hamburg from 1743 to 1748, often repeating successful operas in subsequent seasons. Variety was created by replacing many arias from season to season while maintaining the recitatives and some aria skeleton (by Scalabrini) for each opera. The newly-inserted arias, which often replaced earlier insertions, partly came from opera productions in the North-German area, including the court operas at Berlin and Dresden, or were transmitted in manuscripts circulating in the region. The librettos usually only say that the music was "by Scalabrini except for some inserted arias by various composers"; but manuscript scores contain further composer attributions, and several libretto copies have handwritten attributions which are largely correct.[37] Since the Mingottis were in the habit of selling copies of favorite arias through their concert master (Franz Joseph Carl Pirker), knowledge of composer attributions

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Schröder, 1995, p. 111, where this annnouncement is not mentioned. Details about the composers of 13 numbers in Strohm, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 270f.

34 Brandenburg, this volume (pp. 271-283), presents compelling evidence for the struggle of a singer (Marianne Pirker) for favorable treatment in Hamburg and Copenhagen productions of 1748-1749 – at the time when she began to obtain *prima donna* roles under Mingotti on a regular basis.

35 Strohm, 2011, p. 79, with reference to English patrons returning from Italy. Further important patrons are mentioned in Over, 2019, especially pp. 95f. and 102f. Impresarios and courtly patrons surely owned music collections exceeding those of individual performers. An example is Marianne Pirker's account on arias sung by her in private at the Danish court on 14 December 1748: the Queen herself had sent arias from her collection to the singer, who on the day of the audition had to sing five more "from the Queen's books", of her own only one. See Müller von Asow, 1917, p. 91.

36 For essential information see ibid., and Theobald, 2015.

37 See Strohm, 2004, detailing arias and composer ascriptions (based on musical scores and contemporary libretto ascriptions) in Hamburg productions and revivals of nine different operas in 1743-1747.

can have spread through this secondary market as well as by hearsay.[38] It seems, in any case, that the selection of compositions to be inserted in the Hamburg operas of 1743-1747 was firmly in the hands of the *Kapellmeister*, Scalabrini, and his librettists and translators. The Mingottis must have had an opera library which migrated with them on their tours; it would have held the repertoire from which the company's singers could be fed for each performance. It was being developed by the acquisition of new scores from patrons and colleagues in the centers visited.[39]

London and Handel

Pasticcio practices of Italian opera in London, 1700-1750, followed several different procedures over the years.[40] In the earliest phase between 1705 and 1717, Italian opera scores were imported to serve as the basis of adaptations for the London stages – first the Drury Lane theater, and from 1708 the Haymarket theater under its director John Vanbrugh. The creation of "operas after the Italian manner" involved local composers, immigrant adaptors, for example the Roman-born Nicola Haym, and many Italian singers, spearheaded by the Tuscan soprano Margarita de l'Épine and the castrato Valentino Urbani from Udine; Nicola Grimaldi, Diana Vico and others followed.[41] Few manuscripts of the opera music are still extant, but the "symphonies" and arias were usually printed. Because of the intense free publicity and the musical competition that surrounded these performances, there are numerous written testimonies in newspapers, pamphlets and satires. At least 24 London operas before 1718 had multiple authorship, against only six or seven operas by a single composer – mostly Handel. The pasticcio practice was somehow congenial to this fashionable society in its craze for Italian culture.

Successful productions were repeated in later seasons, usually enriched with new imported arias ('impasticciamento'); English arias of the earliest versions were replaced by new Italian ones. Internal recycling of favorite songs was frequent; the most popular items migrated from one singer to another in successive seasons, with parodied words if reappearing in a different opera. The pasticcios *Thomyris, Pyrrhus and Demetrius, Clo-*

38 In 1744 Franz Pirker was responsible for the sale of copies of the company's arias to the public in the context of public concerts: see Müller von Asow, 1917, pp. VI and VII.

39 On the acquisition of manuscript and printed arias by Franz Pirker in London (1748-1749), for his wife Marianne Pirker, or in general for the impresario Pietro Mingotti, see Brandenburg, this volume, pp. 271-283. Inevitably, traveling companies carried opera scores and librettos (a 'traveling library') with them, since they repeated many performances in distant places. The six opera scores performed in Hamburg in 1743-1747 (see Strohm, 2004) were 'Archivpartituren' showing successive layers of use over several years. From this stock of musical material fresh copies could be derived as required.

40 Price, 2001, discusses London pasticcios of the entire 18th century; most noteworthy is his introduction on the aesthetic premises.

41 Lindgren, 1988.

tilda, Almahide, Hydaspes and *Ernelinda* lasted longer in London than the singers who originally presented them. Although particular arias were "introduced" or "inserted" by certain singers for particular performances, as Lindgren has formulated,[42] it is clear from the arias' origins and other evidence that the impresarios (John Jacob Heidegger, among others) and music directors (Nicola Haym, among others) were in charge and distributed the musical material to the singers as they saw fit. To give examples, two opera scores by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, *La fede riconosciuta* (Vicenza 1707) and *La vendetta d'amore* (Rovigo 1707) have been identified by Lindgren as the sources for arias and a sinfonia movement surfacing in five different London pasticcios in the years 1709-1713: they were all connected to the castrato Nicola Grimaldi, who personally arranged these pasticcios and apparently owned the two scores, which are still extant in London today.[43] Arias from Antonio Bononcini's *La regina creduta re* (Venice 1706) were sung in three different London pasticcios by Grimaldi, Urbani and Mrs Catherine Tofts, although none of these singers had participated in the original Venetian production.[44] The various singers who presented such arias in London must have received them from Grimaldi: he was the 'agent' of these pasticcio arrangements in both senses of the word. An opera from which arias were transferred into several London pasticcios was Handel's *Agrippina* (Venice 1709): the composer also used this score himself in London as a quarry for his *Rinaldo* (1711).[45] Yet in none of his operas of these years did Handel insert pieces by a different composer (except by reworking them musically); thus he established a contrast between the multi-author type of pasticcio and the 'pasticcio from one's own works', a distinction he observed until the late 1730s.

Since modern reception and research has privileged Handel's operas over those of his contemporaries, his pasticcios have also received more attention than those arranged by his colleagues.[46] This may seem an unfair distraction from the real cultural circumstances of the time. But Handel's habit of not mixing his own compositions with those of others in the same opera does seem to distinguish him from most of his colleagues in London and in Italy.[47] Three exceptions, all of the later 1730s, are known today: Handel inserted four arias by other composers (Vinci and Ristori) into a revival of his *Poro* in 1736, for the benefit of the newly-engaged castrato Domenico Annibali, who had

42 Ibid., p. 646, and similarly elsewhere. Some arias can have been chosen by singers, for example by Diana Vico in the case of Vivaldi's arias (see p. 651). Lindgren does show, however, that Valentino Urbani and Nicola Grimaldi acted as impresarios when introducing arias for themselves and others in operas under their responsibility (see pp. 637f. and 641f., respectively).

43 GB-Lam, MS 77: *La fede riconosciuta*; MS 78: *La vendetta d'Amore*.

44 Lindgren, 1988, pp. 658f.

45 See Kubik, 1982.

46 Research until 2008 is used in Strohm, 2009. On the pasticcio *Catone* (1732), see Over, 2019.

47 In Italy, Leo, Vinci, Porpora, Orlandini, Vivaldi and many others occasionally performed their operas with inserted pieces by other composers.

sung the Ristori arias in Dresden; in a revival of his *Ariodante* in 1736, Handel inserted several arias by Leo, Gaetano Maria Schiassi, Pietro Vincenzo Chiocchetti and perhaps others for Gioacchino Conti "detto Gizziello", who had sung them in Italy before. In Handel's *Giove in Argo* (1739), a pasticcio mainly taken from his own works, the composer inserted two arias and an accompagnato recitative by Francesco Araja for the new mezzosoprano Costanza Posterla. She had not sung these in their original performance in Venice in 1735, but had since traveled with Araja as far as St. Petersburg and was surely familiar with the pieces.[48] Handel also produced the pasticcios *Oreste* (1734) and *Alessandro Severo* (1738), which contained only his own music. Many of the arias used in *Oreste* were considerably older and may not have been familiar to their new singers, whereas in *Alessandro Severo* the borrowed music allowed several singers to repeat earlier successes. In the pasticcio operas made up of music by other composers which Handel arranged for London from 1730 to 1737, he had to write or adjust many recitatives, transpose and sometimes adapt arias by others, and may have composed shorter items (duets? sinfonia movements? choruses?), although his authorship of any item has yet to be demonstrated. A pasticcio opera in which Handel's creative involvement had been presumed, *Elpidia* (1725), has recently been separated from his output altogether: John H. Roberts showed that the main composer of this score, Leonardo Vinci, was also himself the arranger and composed the recitatives, on a commission negotiated for him by the London agent Owen Swiney in Venice.[49]

That Handel's pasticcios had the function of presenting new singers to the audience with arias that suited their skills seems beyond doubt. This was also the practice of his London rivals, for example in the so-called "Opera of the Nobility", which presented pasticcios in the 1730s for vocal stars such as Farinelli and Caffarelli. The question is, again, one of agency: how often did the singers actually propose these arias themselves, and how often did the music directors allocate them from their own resources? Was there a compromise, a negotiation, a collaboration? A newly-engaged singer usually had greater influence on his parts, especially when taking on a role originally intended for a colleague with different vocal preferences (as happened in revivals of *Elpidia* and *Ormisda*). A few singers seem to have been particularly privileged in this matter. Antonia Merighi sang nine arias from her previous Italian roles in the two Handel pasticcios of 1730-31; Giovanni Carestini sang altogether 15 arias from his earlier repertoire in three Handel pasticcios of 1733-34. The castratos Bernacchi and Senesino also concentrated on arias from their own background in their respective appearances in 1730 and 1731.[50] Aria 'substitutions' made by Handel in his pasticcio scores often reflected the preferences of newcomers – although by the same token, it often seems that he originally had other arias in mind for them and did not wait for their suggestions. Generally,

48 Roberts, 2009.

49 Roberts, 2016.

50 See the tables in Strohm, 2009.

it seems that not many singers supplied arias from their own repertoires for the London performances.[51]

We have to ask, however: what 'was' actually the repertoire of these singers? Celeste Gismondi, for example, had been an *intermezzi* (*buffa*) singer in Naples before arriving in London in autumn 1732; she was the talk of the town.[52] In the pasticcio *Catone* (based on Leonardo Leo's *Catone in Utica*, Venice 1729) she sang five arias, none of which had been part of Leo's original score; three of them were replaced by others before and during the London performances. Did she have access to any of these eight arias before she arrived in London? Berthold Over has suggested that Gismondi might have brought her arias personally with her from Naples, where she had known them through her participation in the respective operas as *buffa* singer, and from travels in Italy.[53] It is more likely that these *opera seria* arias were already available in London when she arrived. Three arias from Hasses's *Attalo* (Naples 1728) had been sung by Antonia Merighi in Handel's pasticcio *Venceslao* (1731);[54] thus the two remaining arias from Merighi's role in *Attalo*, which were now inserted for Gismondi, may also have been available already. These and other Neapolitan items seem to have reached London in 1729 through Merighi and Antonio Bernacchi, her Naples partner, as well as Anna Maria Strada. *Catone* contains no arias performed in Naples in the seasons 1729-1732, when Gismondi was still engaged there. This pasticcio is a predominantly Venetian product: in addition to the music by Leo, it includes three arias by Hasse, composed for Venice in 1730-1732, and seven (regardless of their original place of performance) by Vivaldi and Porpora, who also worked in Venice at the time.[55] English patrons such as Charles Sackville and others, who visited Venice in 1732, may well have brought Leo's *Catone in Utica* and most of the other music of *Catone* with them back to London.[56]

Handel's soloists sometimes cultivated the repertoire of a more illustrious colleague. Anna Maria Strada, for example, not only took over the *prima donna* parts of Faustina Bor-

51 The term "arie di baule" (suitcase arias) originally used to refer to composers, who of course often re-deployed their own older arias in newer operas; in the recent literature, however, it is mistakenly interpreted as if it referred to singers only. As regards the 'uses' of baggage arias, a distinction should be made between stage productions – where many other interests were competing – and solo auditions, academies or benefit concerts. A solo audition for a court opera (Stuttgart) was probably the purpose of the arias Franz Pirker recommended to his wife Marianne, see Brandenburg, this volume, p. 279, n. 32; the arias loosely assembled in Domenica Polone's Hamburg serenata of 1726 (see above) were intended for concert performances.

52 See Strohm, in prep.; Strohm, 1985, pp. 249-258.

53 Over, 2019, pp. 88-101.

54 Ibid., p. 91.

55 An early Venetian copy of Hasse's *Attalo* is I-Vnm, Cod.It.Cl.IV.483 (= 10007).

56 Over, 2019, pp. 95 and 102f. On Hasse's *Demetrio* (from which Faustina Bordoni's aria "Fra tanti pensieri" was sung by Gismondi in *Catone*), and its dedicatee, Charles Sackville, see Hasse, 2014.

doni and Francesca Cuzzoni in Handel operas revived with her, she also preferred arias written for the castratos Farinelli and Carlo Scalzi, and for the Venetian soprano Lucia Facchinelli, in her pasticcio appearances. As mentioned above, similar ambitions were held by Vivaldi's Venetian singers with arias originally written for a Farinelli or a Tesi.

London patrons and audiences were usually informed about authorship and singers' preferences. The librettos of the Handel pasticcios, and of pasticcios arranged by others in the years 1720-1740, lacked composer attributions. Hearsay, newspapers, and notably the published scores of favorite songs transmitted many composer names, especially when the composers were present in the city or had noble patrons.[57] Just as in Hamburg, librettos with handwritten composer attributions exist, for example one of *Elpidia* (in the British Library, 639.g.29).

In the 1740s (and later), pasticcios were again the main fare of London serious opera. Foreign impresarios and traveling opera ensembles or soloists imported much music, appreciated on the continent, which local poets and musicians had to arrange. When Christoph Willibald Gluck wrote two operas for the impresario Francesco Vanneschi in 1745-46, he partly derived the music from his own earlier works, a common practice of musical visitors to London. This may be compared with the Vienna Burgtheater, where Gluck presented his *Semiramide riconosciuta* in 1748 and where Baldassare Galuppi (in 1748-49) and Niccolò Jommelli (in 1749) both had their foreign debuts in opera. All these Viennese operas were newly composed, ambitious works. We are faced with two different operatic environments, of which London was in many respects the more modern one.

The Theater am Kärntner Tor in Vienna, 1728-1748

The opera repertoire of this theater is at present being researched by an international research group under the direction of Andrea Sommer-Mathis (Vienna).[58] The theater itself, built as *Comoedi-Hauss* by the city magistrate of Vienna in 1709, began to play Italian operas in 1728, along with spoken comedies, farces and *intermezzi*; in 1748, when the Burgtheater (Theater nächst der Burg) was officially inaugurated, repertoires

57 A typical title of many is the printed edition by John Walsh: *Farinelli's celebrated Songs &c. Collected from Sigr. Hasse, Porpora, Vinci and Veracini's operas. Set for a German flute, violin or harpsicord. vol.1. no.1, 2*. [Continued as:] *Hasse, Vinci, Veracini & Pescetti's Chamber Aires. For a German flute, violin or harpsicord. Being the most celebrated songs & ariets collected out of all their late operas. vol. 1. no. 3-5.* [Continued as:] *Galuppi, Hasse, Vinci, Lampugnani, Veracini & Pescetti's Chamber Aires, etc. vol. 1. no. 6, 7. vol. 2. no. 1-7* [c.1737-1750]. (GB-Lbl, Music Collections g.444). These pieces are not 'chamber music' in the modern sense, but opera arias for domestic use, arranged for instruments.

58 The present state of knowledge is outlined in Sommer-Mathis, 2015. See also the contribution of Judit Zsovár in this volume, pp. 425-446. A volume presenting new research of several authors, edited by Andrea Sommer-Mathis, is scheduled for publication in 2021.

of staged works in Vienna began to be differently assigned by the court. Until 1735, the Kärntnertortheater could not officially declare its productions to be "operas", as this would have conflicted with an Imperial privilege awarded long ago to the singer Francesco Ballerini, who died in 1734.[59] Thus the productions of the *dramma per musica* genre before 1735 were officially called "Intermezzi" ("Zwischenspiele"); act divisions were not shown in the librettos, although the performances mostly had act divisions, involving set-changes and often also ballets and/or comic *intermezzi*. There was no language mixture (unlike Hamburg); the full operas were all in Italian until 1741, with German translations published alongside.

The pasticcio status was predominant: of c. 150 operas produced in 20 years, at most 30 are attributable to a single composer. This is at present only an estimate: most of the librettos lack a composer attribution, and of the only eleven extant complete scores, although mostly attributed to individual composers, five are nevertheless *impasticciati* with arias by others. 16 other operas have been attributed to single composers in the libretto or other contemporary sources (the Viennese newspaper, *Wiennerisches Diarium*, and the correspondence of the Questenberg court agent Georg Adam Hoffmann):[60] yet some of these attributions make characteristic exceptions pinpointing pasticcio procedures. The libretto preface of *La caccia in Etolia* (3 April 1733) ascribes the music to Geminiano Giacomelli "and others".[61] Two attributions to Johann Adolf Hasse are similarly inflected: for *Lo specchio della fedeltà* (1st January 1733), the newspaper *Wiennerisches Diarium* tells us that "the arias are mostly by the famous Sassone, and the remainder equally by the most prominent Italian masters".[62] In *Tarconte principe de' Volsci* (14 August 1734), the „music was by the famous composer Hasse detto il Sassone, except for two arias" (we are not told which).[63] *Lo specchio della costanza* (December 1738) was intended to be a medley of arias from earlier seasons; it served for the internal recycling of the music. The libretto describes it as "a new opera, except for many arias sung in carnival 1736 in this privileged theater, and some others, which have been applauded in the current year".[64] The precise make-up of the opera includes repeated items from the years 1736, 1737 and 1738, but also at least two others (the titles of Kärntnertor productions in the right-hand column are preceded by a <):

59 On the administrative history of the theater, see Schenk, 1969.

60 On Hoffmann and the Kärntnertortheater, see Perutková, 2015.

61 A-Wn, 444.612-A.M.

62 "Die Arien seynd mehrentheils von dem berühmten Sassone" [Hasse] „und das übrige gleichfalls von den vornehmsten welschen Meistern".

63 „Die Music von dem berühmten Compositor Hasse ditto il Sassone [...] ausser zwey Arien." (*Wiennerisches Diarium*).

64 „Operetta Nuova, a riserva di molte arie, che sono state cantate il Carnovale dell 1736 in questo Privileggiato Teatro, & alcune, che hanno avuto aprovazzione in quest Anno corrente"/„Eine Neue Operette biß auf verschiedene Arien, so in dem Fasching im Jahr 1736. und anheuer mit beliebter Genehmhaltung gesungen worden": *Lo specchio della costanza*, Vienna 1738: A-Wn, 444.311-A.M.

“Prima vedrassi” (Farasmane)	<*Fausta fedele* 1736
“Care pupille amate (Alvida)	?D. Terradellas; <*La vendetta vinta* 1738 <*Angelica e Medoro*
“Chi mai d’iniqua stella” (Alvida)	*Temistocle* (Metastasio) <*Candace* 1738
“Amo te solo, te solo amai” (Alvida)	*Clemenza di Tito* (Metastasio) ?Leo (Venice 1735) ?G.Fr.M. Marchi (Milan 1738)
“Quel folle nochiero” (Farasmane)	<*Flavio Anicio Olibrio* 1737 A. Bernasconi
“Questa d’un fido amore” (Erminio)	*Lucio Vero* Araja (Rome 1731)
“Almen se non poss’io” (Alvida)	*Clemenza di Tito* (Metastasio), <*Girita* 1738

Yet further internal and external imports are presumably hidden under parodied texts; there are altogether 16 arias including those in the *intermezzi*, one duet and the *coro finale*. In *Bacco trionfante dall’Indie*, by Franz Pirker (1728), the libretto preface says: “The reader is informed that for respectable motives a few arias have been inserted that had already been sung in Italy”.[65] Surely the most important of these “respectable motives” was the wish of singers to repeat Italian arias, whether they had themselves sung them before or not. A major research difficulty, however, is the absence of singers’ names from almost all of the extant librettos, so that the agency of performers cannot be easily assessed.

Analysis of the extant full scores and comparison of the theater’s librettos with musical repertoires elsewhere in Europe leads further.[66] Italian singers frequently arrived in Vienna to perform at the Kärntnertor; their home-base was usually Venice, sometimes Milan (then under Habsburg administration) or Bologna. That these singers imported opera music from Italy is certain, although only occasionally can it be shown that they had sung the arias before.[67] Far more frequently do we have to assume a simultaneous and parallel transfer of musical scores through impresarios and their agents, through patrons (such as Count Questenberg of Jaroměřice/Jarmeritz, who was a patron of the theater, or the Graz noble family of Attems),[68] or through traveling musicians and other artists. Some musical copies were sent by post on request of regional patrons. A theater library must have existed at the Kärntnertor in which musical repertoire was assembled to feed the demands of an excessively rich and rapid production.[69]

65 “S’avverte il leggitore che per degni motivi si sono messe alcune canzonette già cantate in Italia.“ *Bacco trionfante dall’Indie*, Vienna, 1728, US-CAh, Eferding-Collection “The Viennese Theatre, 1740-1790”, Reel 4, No. 139.

66 For details see Strohm, forthcoming 2021.

67 For important case studies see Zsovár, forthcoming 2021, and id., this volume.

68 See Perutková, 2015; Kokole, 2016.

69 This hypothesis is elaborated in Strohm, forthcoming 2021.

Complete operas by external composers rarely made it to the stage unchanged. Instead, local musicians and poets, surely in collaboration with the singers, stuffed them out with new arias, the more so when the same (skeleton) opera was to be revived in a later season – which, however, happened relatively rarely by comparison with Hamburg, for example. The 'impasticciamento' of five extant full scores is briefly described as follows:[70]

- *Eumene* (1730).[71] Score attributed to Francesco Rinaldi (probably a pseudonym for the music director in those years, Franz Joseph Carl Pirker); but also containing four arias by Giovanni Antonio Giai, Orlandini, Leo and Giovanni Battista Pescetti (all originally given in 1729 and 1730 in Rome and Venice).
- *Giulio Cesare* (1731).[72] Score attributed to "Hendl" and based on his *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (London 1724). Only six closed numbers of the present 21 were taken from this opera (which include two accompagnatos), for which probably only the printed London edition had been used; three came from his *Admeto* (1727), one from *Rodelinda* (1725); one each of the others was by Caldara, Tomaso Albinoni and Porpora. The recitatives were of course written locally.
- *Artaserse* (1732).[73] The score is attributed to Leonardo Vinci. Its contents correspond to the Roman premiere of 1730, but two arias by Handel are inserted; one of these ("Fra tempeste il legno infranto") had also been sung in the Vienna *Giulio Cesare* and was parodied here as "Vanne pur tra selve ircane", imitating Metastasio's original words.
- *Medea riconosciuta* (1735).[74] The score is attributed to Vinci and is derived from his *Medo* (Parma 1728). Eleven arias are inserted, one each composed by Leo, Vinci, Andrea Stefano Fiorè and Luca Antonio Predieri, the others are of unknown provenance.
- *La fedeltà sin alla morte* (1741). The score in Vienna (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17950) is of Florentine provenance; the work is the opera *Arsace* (originally *Amore e maestà*, 1715) by the Florentine court *Kapellmeister* Giuseppe Maria Orlandini. This opera was well-known all over Europe and circulated in many versions. The present version seems to hail from a Florentine production of 1732, which was itself a pasticcio of Orlandini's own compositions, with a few arias by others. The Viennese libretto shows that the performance exactly reproduced the version found in this score.

70 Further details in IBID.

71 Full score: D-MEIr, Ed 147p.

72 Full score: D-MEIr, Ed 129a. With sinfonias and ballets by other composers. See PERUTKOVÁ, 2012.

73 Full score: A-Wgm, IV 11476 (Q 2100).

74 Full score: A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17945 (dated 1736). See ZSOVÁR, this volume.

The performers, authors and audiences of pasticcio operas in Hamburg, London and Vienna were interested in brilliant music with theatrical impact. They did not care exactly from where or how the scores had arrived, except that everyone gave Italy credit for the best music of the time. Venice, in turn, offered the fantastic entertainment of opera to anyone who arrived with money in the city, employing many non-Venetian Italians as well as citizens. Just as these two major aspects of the genre, the aesthetic-imaginary and the commercial-professional, worked into each other, so the contributions of individual arts and artists to individual productions can seldom be neatly separated. The foregoing study has focused on singers and arias, a relatively narrow aspect of this 'dream factory'.[75] But it may have demonstrated how variable or contradictory the solutions were. Sweeping statements about abstract concepts such as "authorship" or indeed "co-authorship" are easy to make; we should be listening more to the evidence found on the factory floor of human behavior.

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75 Without isolating this topic, opera history through the perspective of singers and singing seems an important new project. I do not mean singers' biographies: rather, a view on the productions from the angle of the interests and actions of their creators or 'agents'. Some remarks on such a history of 'voices' (as I called them then) are in Strohm, 2002.

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