

Pasticcios in Darmstadt?

Christoph Graupner and the Use of Non-domestic Librettos in the Early 18th Century

URSULA KRAMER

It began with a clear signal: a few weeks prior to taking over as the official ruler from his mother Elisabeth Dorothea, the soon-to-be Landgrave Ernst Ludwig crowned his own wedding celebrations on 1 December 1687 with Dorothea Charlotte, daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, with a special musical event – a performance of Jean-Baptiste Lully's opera *Acis et Galatée*, which had been premiered around 15 months earlier in Paris.

This choice had been anything but random as far as content and music were concerned: the pastoral subject matter seemed quite appropriate for an aristocratic wedding, and while on Grand Tour two years earlier, the young regent had spent half a year in Paris where he experienced musical life at the court of Louis XIV and evidently attended musical performances as well – even if the work given afterwards in Darmstadt had not been among them.¹ It is possible that Ernst Ludwig had still been in Paris during the early stages of the work. This could have been the reason why he ordered an envoy already in early 1687 to go to Paris, buy a copy of the score and acquire drafts of costume and decoration designs as well.² Moreover, the Landgrave could not have distanced himself in more obvious and definite terms from his mother who had had theatrical ambitions and projects of her own: the customary panegyric congratulatory musical works and their only partially fictional plots featuring the respective landgravidial family and explicit references to the worlds they inhabited³ – all 'home-made' works in Darmstadt – were replaced with a professional musical theater that he had imported directly from else-

1 Older publications (especially PASQUÉ, 1854, p. 61, and KAISER, 1951, p. 81) are incorrect, as the premiere took place only on 6 September 1686, long after Ernst Ludwig had left the French capital. Cf. MAASS, 2019.

2 KAISER, 1951, p. 81.

3 Cf. KRAMER, 2019, *passim*.

where. Even though follow-up plans were thwarted soon after by political events (i.e. the invasion of the French and the relocation of the Darmstadt court to Upper Hessen) – Ernst Ludwig ‘kept at it’ and pursued his opera plans further.

As a frequent and evidently welcome visitor of the Hamburg Gänsemarkt opera house,⁴ he realized in 1708/09 that the time had come to set a new course for Darmstadt; after all, Wolfgang Carl Briegel who had been appointed *Kapellmeister* by his mother was already 82 years old. By choosing Christoph Graupner (1683-1760), Ernst Ludwig opted for a strong proponent of the modern music for the theater based on Italian models. Graupner had not only garnered attention as an opera composer, but also earned his spurs in practical terms as harpsichordist in Hamburg’s opera orchestra.⁵ Given his expertise in both areas, Graupner was, therefore, eminently suitable for what Ernst Ludwig now envisioned for Darmstadt, namely the establishment of a permanent opera house.⁶

Although the project may have started ambitiously – Graupner even brought new vocalists from Hamburg (and elsewhere) with him to Darmstadt – it stalled a mere ten years later, primarily on financial grounds. Granted, Graupner’s appointment had a small but positive impact on the number of preserved sources – also as far as the reconstruction of the court’s efforts in support of musical theater is concerned – as at least printed librettos for the majority of Darmstadt operas have been identified in various libraries in the last few decades.⁷ These librettos have, in fact, off-set the significant number of

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- 4 A “Prologo” was dedicated to Ernst Ludwig (“Apollo ermunterte Seine Musen, Dem Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Ernestus Ludewig Land-Grafen zu Hessen-Darmstadt etc. etc. in einem Prologo zu der Opera Orpheus Ihre unterthänigste Freude zu bezeugen”) (“Apollo encouraged his muses to express their most subservient joy to His Serene Highness and Lord, Lord Ernestus Ludewig, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt etc. etc. in a prologue to the opera Orpheus”) which had evidently been performed in 1709 prior to Reinhard Keiser’s *Treue des Orpheus*. Cf. MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 64.
- 5 A detailed biography of Christoph Graupner has yet to be published. Initial research was carried out in the 19th century (see PASQUÉ, 1854, whose claims turned out to be unreliable at times, however). More narrowly defined studies on Graupner began to emerge in the early 20th century, with scholars focusing initially on aspects related to his works. A collection of primary sources pertaining to Graupner’s time in Darmstadt is included in BILL, 1987. BILL, 2004, discusses Graupner’s biography from 1781, while KRAMER, 2005, examines his autobiography from 1740. See also KRAMER, 2014. Regarding Graupner’s operatic *œuvre* see MCCREDIE, 1966 and 1987, as well as DRAUSCHKE, 2011.
- 6 Graupner’s first cantata composition for a Sunday service dates from July 1709. In February 1710 his opera *Berenice und Lucilla oder Das tugendhafte Lieben* provides tangible evidence of Graupner’s activities as an opera composer in Darmstadt.
- 7 This is true for *Berenice und Lucilla oder Das tugendhafte Lieben* (libretto of the 1710 version in: US-Wc, Albert Schatz Collection, ML 48 S 4119, online: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/musschatz.19213.0/?sp=1&r=-0.393,0.019,1.644,0.652,0, 09.12.2019>; libretto of the 1712 version in: D-W, Textb. 621; score in: D-W, Cod.Guelf.204 Mus.Hdschr) as well as for *Telemach oder Die durch Weißheit im Unglück triumphirende Tugend* (libretto only,

archival sources that were lost during the destruction of Darmstadt in 1944. Moreover, two previously unknown scores by Graupner that date from his Hamburg period, *Dido* and *Antiochus und Stratonica*,⁸ as well as his Darmstadt setting *Berenice und Lucilla*, have been identified amongst Graupner's extant scores and can now be examined.⁹ However, non-domestic musical works once held in Darmstadt suffered considerable losses due to war, especially the Second World War, as did secondary sources at the Hessisches Staatsarchiv relating to the theater's organization and administration. These losses are all the more serious as the earliest reports on the Darmstadt opera house under Landgrave Ernst Ludwig have turned out to be inaccurate and unreliable. Ernst Pasqué, a Darmstadt opera singer and the first to carry out research on local theater history in the mid-19th century, was an active author of fiction and historical studies, and he did not always distinguish between the two metiers very precisely. The required vigilance is particularly regrettable because Pasqué was the only one who studied these sources before they were destroyed. As far as the former sheet music collection that used to be part of the grand-ducal court music library is concerned, it is now possible to consult instead the card catalogue begun by Friedrich Noack in the early 20th century at the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt (D-DS) which is now available online.¹⁰

This study will follow up on the above-mentioned article by Rashid-S. Pegah who undertook a critical investigation of musical works for the stage during Graupner's tenure in Darmstadt but focused exclusively on the context and background of opera performances, rather than the music itself.¹¹ The present author will discuss Graupner's contributions to the pasticcio genre in line with the overall theme of this edited volume. Given the limited number of extant musical works, the question of whether, in addition to documented Darmstadt performances, non-domestic pasticcios were acknowledged or at least known at the court, will be addressed further via an examination of the *Katalog der Kriegsverluste der Musikalien* (Inventory of music destroyed by the war).¹² In

in: D-MZp, 3/2542; RUS-SPsc, 6.35.1.631), *La Costanza vince l'inganno* (libretto: US-Wc, Albert Schatz Collection, 4121; D-W, Textb. 638; score: D-DS, Mus.ms.413; D-W, Cod. Guelf.55 Mus.Hdschr.), *Adone, pastorale per musica* (libretto only: D-F, Sg. Mansk Mus II 180/931; RUS-SPsc, 6.79.257).

8 Both in D-B, *Dido*: Mus.ms.autogr.Graupner, C.3, *Antiochus und Stratonica* (titled here: *L'amore ammalato*): Mus.ms.autogr.Graupner, C.1. See the survey of Darmstadt opera 1710-1719 by RASHID-S. PEGAH 2011a.

9 KAISER, 1951, p. X, was not yet aware of the existence of *Berenice und Lucilla* in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (D-W, Cod.Guelf.204 Mus.Hdschr.), as it was only identified in the early 1970s.

10 <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/KK-Mus>, 09.12.2019.

11 See n. 7, *passim*.

12 Sometime after 1945 Friedrich Noack examined the music inventory he had prepared in the 1920s regarding losses suffered during the war and removed these works from the card catalogue. These continue to be accessible as a separate catalogue at D-DS and are now available online as well.

addition to the years in which Graupner was writing operas in Darmstadt, the periods prior to his appointment and following the discontinuation of opera performances will be investigated. Using a chronological approach, the research presented below will focus on the reign of Ernst Ludwig (1688-1739).

The decades prior to Graupner's arrival are notable because of the large number of French works (operas, ballets) from that period that are preserved as scores in Darmstadt, mostly prints by Ballard as well as manuscripts. The prints by Ballard might be viewed as a direct link to Ernst Ludwig's Grand Tour and his 1685/86 stay in Paris. While it is impossible now to determine when exactly these editions became part of the Darmstadt court library, there is reason to believe that it happened soon after they appeared in Paris. Ernst Ludwig's interest in theatrical events in Paris must surely have continued after the Darmstadt premiere of *Acis et Galatée*. This corresponds with several printed librettos which, unlike the music to go with them, were not destroyed by fire in 1944 but have been preserved to this day, bound together with other non-domestic texts in 1941.¹³ In fact, the Paris librettos listed in the collected volumes appear in the Landgrave's library collection prepared in 1768, after the death of Ernst Ludwig's son, Ludwig VIII, for the various residences.¹⁴ Consequently, those printed texts from Paris must have been acquired no later than in 1768.¹⁵

In the case of *Achille et Polixène* (1st act by Lully, prologue and the remaining four acts by Pascal Colasse), only a score (Ballard, Paris 1687) must have existed. In contrast, both the text and the music of the pasticcio *Telemaque, Fragments des modernes* were preserved in Darmstadt prior to 1944.¹⁶ According to Pasqué, the handwritten manuscript copy¹⁷ had allegedly been prepared by Ernst Christian Hesse in Paris prior to

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- 13 D-DS, 41/1262, 41/1263, 41/1264, 41/1265. The respective flyleaf papers (printed on combed marbled paper) were included as well. Their varying patterns and colors could provide further clues on when they were acquired for the Landgrave's library.
- 14 D-DSsa, D 4 398/1: "Catalogus über diejenige Bücher welche sich in denen Garderobben des Hochf. seeligen Herrn Landgrafen Hochfürstl. Durchl. allhier und zu Cranichstein vorgefunden haben."
- 15 No estate inventory by Ernst Ludwig is extant; the *terminus ante quem* must, therefore, be extended until the death of his son. However, it is highly likely that older librettos from the 17th and the early 18th century had already found their way to Darmstadt during Ernst Ludwig's life time.
- 16 The foreword of the libretto (D-DS, 41/1262, no. 3) contains references to collaborations involving multiple composers. They have been identified as: André Campra (*Aréthuse, Le carnaval de Venise*), Pascal Collasse (*Enée et Lavinie, Astrée, Canente*), Marc-Antoine Charpentier (*Médée*), Henri Desmarets (*Circé, Les fêtes galantes*), André Cardinal Destouches (*Le carnaval et la folie*), Jean-Féry Rebel (*Ulysse*), Marin Marais (*Ariane et Bacchus*). On the *fragments* cf. the article by THOMAS BETZWIESER in the present volume, pp. 36-38.
- 17 D-DS, *Katalog der Kriegsverluste der Musikalien*, entry on Collasse, <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/KK-Mus-C/0282/image>, 11.06.2019.

returning to Darmstadt in 1701 at the behest of his employer Ernst Ludwig,¹⁸ and a performance of this work had taken place during a visit of the Elector of Hanover in 1707.¹⁹ However, references that would confirm an actual production of that work in addition to a physical score, have yet to come to light. A copy of Ballard's full score of the 1704 pasticcio *Iphigénie en Tauride* by Henri Desmarets and André Campra was held in Darmstadt until 1944.²⁰

Christoph Graupner began to deliver his very own stage productions in Darmstadt soon after taking up the position of *Kapellmeister*. The first documented opera was *Berenice und Lucilla*, premiered in early 1710. Vague references make it impossible to determine what an earlier production in the autumn of 1709 might have entailed.²¹ There is, however, reason to believe that the latter was a separate, autonomous work rather than an earlier performance of *Berenice* based on the original *Lucio Vero* libretto by Apostolo Zeno. This hypothesis is supported by the respective entry in an overview of invoices listing existing prints from the first two decades of the 18th century.²² Furthermore, the present author suggests in the following examination of *Berenice und Lucilla* – which details Graupner's extensive reuse of musical material from his Hamburg period – that the earlier piece from 1709 could, in fact, have been a revival of sorts of another work. After all, Graupner had only just arrived in Darmstadt and thus had even less time for this production than he had for the performance in 1710 during Carnival.

In addition to several extant printed librettos,²³ a manuscript of the score has been preserved.²⁴ Since the present author provided a detailed dramaturgical examination of the text for this new Darmstadt version of the *Lucio Vero* libretto (originally in Italian, it was issued in a separate [translated] version in Hamburg in 1702 entitled *Berenice*) in

18 Since it was only premiered in 1704, the date given by PASQUÉ, 1854, p. 173, was likely an error on his part.

19 NOACK, 1967, p. 166, who does not refer to archival sources.

20 The preceding "Avertissement" contained references to the collaboration of the two composers Desmarets and Campra.

21 Cf. PEGAH, 2011, p. 211.

22 BRÄUNING-OKTAVIO, 1934. Under 1709 we read: "Komödie (11 Bogen, 1 Blatt, 400 Auflage: 43 fl. 10 xr." (p. 90), and under 1710: "Graupner, Singspiel *Berenice und Lucilla* (34 Seiten)" (p. 91).

23 See n. 7, for the title pages PEGAH, 2011, pp. 213 and 217.

24 See n. 6.

an earlier publication,²⁵ specific details will not be included here.²⁶ Suffice it to say that Georg Christian Lehms was possibly involved in the preparation of the libretto and that Graupner probably knew of the earlier Hamburg performance of that particular adaptation of *Lucio Verò*; after all, it is known that George Frideric Handel also studied the older Hamburg repertoire.²⁷

However, there are remarkable discrepancies between the 1702 Hamburg version and the Darmstadt libretto of *Berenice*. The latter's content is much closer to the Italian original, even though the plot was shortened and simplified, and several scenes have been cut altogether. Unlike in the Italian original, Lucius Verus, Berenice, and her lover Vologesus are not presented as three autonomous protagonists with individual character strengths but as suffering individuals throughout. This has musical consequences, in that the arias and duets for Berenice and Vologesus are similar in character. Furthermore, when compared to the original libretto, the cuts at the end of the third act cause dramatic problems by making Lucius Verus' sudden return to his fiancée Lucilla and his renouncing of Berenice appear somewhat unconvincing. The original Italian libretto clearly informed the 1710 Darmstadt text version, despite occasionally necessary textual revisions and rewordings, however.

Vocalists did not only sing in Italian, however; with the exception of the minor role of Claudius, all other protagonists also had to perform arias in German. Similarly, duets were based on Italian texts, but drew from German ones as well.

In contrast, there are also several additional arias included in the Darmstadt version. Based on texts that show no connection to Zeno's original, these arias will be the focus of the present author's examination of Graupner's *Berenice* below, using Rein-

25 KRAMER, 2011. The information provided on the early reception of the *Lucius Verus* text in Germany outside of Darmstadt needs to be updated as follows (I thank Rashid-S. Pegah for drawing my attention to the early versions in Germany): this libretto had already been set to music a year earlier (1701) as *Lucius Verus* in Brunswick, then as *Berenice* in Hamburg in 1702 (as discussed in KRAMER, 2011), in Leipzig in 1703 (as *Lucius Verus*), in Zeitz in 1711 (by Johann Friedrich Fasch), and in Munich in 1720 (by Pietro Torri) as *Lucio Verò*. In 1728 Reinhard Keiser oversaw a new production of the 1702 Hamburg version of *Berenice* at the Gänsemarkt Opera (also as *Lucius Verus*), with some arias having been replaced.

26 Apostolo Zeno's libretto is based on historical subject matter from Roman times. The protagonists are the daughter of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Lucilla, and her fiancé, Lucius Verus. He has defeated the King of the Parthians, Vologesus, in Asia Minor and has fallen in love with Vologesus's lover Berenice, Princess of Armenia. Because of Lucius Verus's long absence from Rome, Lucilla travels to Ephesus with Claudius, her confidant, to join him and learns of his unfaithfulness. Lucius Verus wants to break off their relationship for good, but Berenice turns him down and prefers to die alongside Vologesus. Lucilla is willing to forgive Lucius Verus, who returns to her and not only releases the imprisoned Vologesus, but allows him to take Berenice as his wife.

27 See MARX, 2006, especially pp. 354ff.

hard Strohm's definition of the pasticcio as a lens.²⁸ Reusing "a considerable number" ("bedeutsame [...] Anzahl") of compositions "from different sources" ("aus anderen Zusammenhängen") presents to him "the only valid criterion for the term pasticcio" ("das einzige stichhaltige Kriterium des Pasticcio-Begriffs").²⁹ Remarkably, a total of 16 texts were interpolated in the Darmstadt libretto of *Berenice*, all of which turn out to be taken from four operas written by Graupner himself for Hamburg between 1707 and 1709. (One of these aria texts was, however, replaced in Graupner's score, see below.)³⁰ They are:

Antiochus und Stratonica, 1707³¹

Il Fido Amico oder Hercules und Theseus, 1708³²

Bellerophon oder Das in die Preußische Krone verwandelte Wagen-Gestirn, 1708³³

Der Fall des großen Richters in Israel Simson oder Die abgekühlte Liebes-Rache der Debora, 1709³⁴

28 STROHM, 2009, pp. 351ff.

29 *IBID.*, pp. 351-356.

30 This discrepancy in number – 15 instead of 16 – was already taken into account in the present author's earlier article (see n. 24).

31 *L'amore ammalato* || *Die kranckende Liebe*. || *Oder: || Antiochus || Und || Strato-|| nica.* || *Musicalisches Schau=Spiel/|| Auff dem grossen|| Hamburgischen Theatro|| Vorgestellet.* || *Im Jahre 1707.* D-Hs, 44 in MS 640/3:4. (Cf. MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 49, also regarding additional source locations for copies of the libretto [with some dating from different years]). Libretto from 1708 in: US-Wc, Schatz 4120, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665884/>, 09.12.2019.

32 *Il Fido amico.* || *Oder: || Der getreue Freund || Hercules || Und || Theseus || Auf dem grossen || Hamburgischen Schau=Platz || In einem || Singe=Spiel || Auffgeführt.* || *Im Jahr 1708.* US-Wc, Schatz 4123, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665885/> as well as additional source locations in MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 164.

33 *Bellerophon* || *Oder || Das in die Preußische Krone || verwandelte Wagen=Gestirn/ || An dem frohen || Vermählungs=Feste || Sr. Königlichen Majestät von Preussen || Friderici I.* || *Mit der || Durchlauchtigsten Mecklenburgis. Princeßin || Sophie || Louyse || Zu unterthänigster Freuden=Bezeugung || In einer operetta, || Auf dem || Grossen Hamburgischen Schau=Platz || aufgeführt.* || *Im Jahr 1708. den 28. Novembr.* US-Wc, Schatz 4118, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665883/>, 09.12.2019; see also MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 80, for additional source locations.

34 *Der Fall || Des grossen Richters in Israel || Simson, || Oder: || Die abgekühlte Liebes=Rache der || Debora.* || *Musicalisches Trauer=Spiel{ || Auff dem grossen Hamburgischen Schau=Platz || vorgestellt.* || *Im November des 1709ten Jahrs.* || Hamburg. Gedruckt mit Spieringschen Schrifften, online: <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werksicht/?PPN=PPN684795361>, 09.12.2019; see also MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 159, for additional source locations.

Graupner did not draw from *Dido* (1707)³⁵, *Der Carneval in Venedig* (1707)³⁶, and *Die blut-durstige Rache oder Heliates und Olympia* (1709).³⁷

Only the music for *Antiochus und Stratonica* has been preserved and can, therefore, shed light on how adopted text passages were handled. The Darmstadt version of the *Berenice* text (hereafter: *B*) includes four pieces from *Antiochus und Stratonica* (hereafter: *AS*). They are, in order:

- 1) “Ich verbanne, verwerfe die Schöne”: I,4, aria, Lucius Verus:
Because of his love for the Armenian princess Berenice, Lucius Verus has tired of his fiancée Lucilla and wishes to dispose of her.
Taken from II,6 *AS*: aria, Demetrius
- 2) “Durch Tugend, Rach und Güte”: I,13, aria, Lucilla:
Lucilla has followed Lucius Verus to Ephesus and learns that he has met someone new; she reflects on her situation.
Taken from III,1 *AS*: aria, Ellinia
- 3) “In einer stillen Liebes-See”: II,7, aria, Anicetus:
Anicetus ponders his secret love for Lucilla.
Taken from I,6 *AS*: aria, Antiochus
- 4) “Betrügrische Hoffnung, du heuchelst mir nur”: II,9, aria, Vologesus:
Vologesus is in despair about the inescapable situation for himself and Berenice.
Taken from II,11 *AS*: aria, Antiochus
This text is only included in the printed libretto, while the score contains an aria based on the Italian text “Ho un sol core” from Zeno’s Italian *Lucio Vero* libretto. It was originally assigned to the character of Berenice.

35 *Dido*, || Königin || Von || Carthago || In einem || Singe=Spiel Auf dem || Hamburgischen Theatro || vorgestellt. || Gedruckt im Jahr 1707. US-Wc, Schatz 4122, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665901/>, 09.12.2019.

36 *Der Angenehme || Betrug{ Oder: || Der || Carneval || von Venedig, || In einem || Sing=Spiele auf den grossen || Hamburgischen Schau=Platze || vorgestellt. || Im Jahr 1707*, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665908/>, 09.12.2019. The main composer was Reinhard Keiser; however, the structure of some of the arias suggests a collaboration with Christoph Graupner. D-Hs, ND VI 2889g.

37 *Die || Blut=durstige || Rache/ || Oder: || Heliates || Und || Olympia, || In einem || Sing=Spiel{ || Auf den || Hamburgischen || Schau=Platze || vorzustellen. || Gedruckt mit Spieringischen Schriften/Im Jahr 1709*. US-Wc, Schatz 5080, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665864/>, 09.12.2019; see also MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 96, for additional source locations.

Texts that were adopted from the other three operas by Graupner are listed below:

Il Fido amico oder Hercules und Theseus (hereafter: *FA*)

- 1) “Satiati o barbaro”: I,3, aria, Vologesus:
Taken from II,3 *FA*: aria, Hyllus
- 2) “Non hà tante stelle il Ciel”: I,3, aria, Berenice:
Taken from II,1 *FA*: aria, Jole
- 3) “Spirti amanti festeggiate!” I,7, aria a 2, Lucilla, Claudius:
Delighted, they arrive at the shore in Ephesus.
Taken from I,4 *FA*: aria a 2, Jole, Hyllus
- 4) “Rallegrati, o cuore”: II,3, aria, Anicetus:
Taken from II,12 *FA*: aria, Pelius
- 5) “Addio / Deh non partir!”: II,6, aria a 2, Berenice, Vologesus:
Taken from I,6 *FA*: aria a 2: Hercules, Megara
- 6) “Non puo ridere il mio core”: II,7, aria, Lucilla:
Taken from I,5 *FA*: aria, Megara

Der Fall des großen Richters in Israel Simson oder Die abgekühlte Liebes-Rache der Debora (hereafter: *S*)

- 1) “Brich nicht das Band”: II,10, aria, Berenice:
Taken from II,13 *S*: aria, Jotham
- 2) “Solo per te mio dolce ben”: II,12, aria, Lucius Verus:
Taken from II,1 *S*: aria, Elon

Bellerophon oder Das in die Preußische Krone verwandelte Wagen-Gestirn (hereafter: *Bph*)

- 1) “Vuo dar morte”: I,9, aria Claudius:
Taken from III,11 *Bph*: aria, Jobates
- 2) “Vieni o caro”: I,10, aria, Berenice:
Taken from I,6 *Bph*: aria, Philonoe
- 3) “Guancie belle”/“Luci vaghe”: I,12, aria a 2, Berenice, Vologesus :
Taken from III,10 *Bph*: aria a 2 Philonoe, Bellerophon
- 4) “Ein Mensch kann wohl auf kurze Zeit”: II,1, aria, Lucius Verus
Taken from I,3 *Bph*: arioso, Amisodor

This begs the question of why Graupner reused so many pieces from his own works written for Hamburg. Pragmatic reasons come into mind. Since he began composing in Darmstadt only in mid-1709 and performed his first opera that autumn, followed by *Be-*

renice in February 1710,³⁸ the large geographical distance between Hamburg and Darmstadt could have encouraged Graupner even more to fall back on arias from works he had just composed; and not even the Landgrave may have remembered these Hamburg works – if he had, in fact, attended their performances at the Gänsemarkt theater at all.

The aforementioned four pieces that were borrowed from *Antiochus und Stratonica* with one evidently being discarded later on, deserve closer examination as well. A different rationale was used for each, thus shifting the focus to those individuals – composer and vocalists – who were the driving forces behind such adaptations.³⁹ The text and music of two of the four adopted arias are nearly identical. Graupner even kept the original key (D minor) for Lucilla’s aria, “Durch Tugend, Rach und Güte” (B) I,13 and changed only the cadential resolution in the final four bars. Anicetus’s allegorical aria, „In einer stillen Liebes-See” (B) II,7, has been transposed from D minor to G minor, probably to cater to the vocalist’s needs.

When choosing suitable pieces to adapt, the composer would, of course, have looked for basic similarities in content and dramaturgical structure (which applies in particular to Lucilla’s aria rather than Anicetus’s).⁴⁰ But the quality of music would have been an even more important factor. This appears to be the case in Anicetus’s aria, which, in terms of sound, is the most extraordinary piece included in the Darmstadt version. Graupner scored it for “3 Viol. e Flaut: Travers.”; based on the range of the flute, the uppermost part doubled the highest voice an octave higher. In addition to the vocal line, the music features two different textural layers, which is typical for Graupner.⁴¹ Specifically, he contrasts an upper part with continuous triplets that circles around itself to capture the text’s meaning, i.e. waves, with a calmer repetition of duplets in the lower parts. At times, the bass part disengages from this lower textural layer, either to play supporting fundamental notes or to reinforce the static scenery via a pedal point.

Apart from the aria’s musical quality – within the space of a few short bars, three different affects, virtue, vengeance, and mercy are integrated into a greater musical whole, without disclosing vengeance’s actual state signalled by coloraturas and extremely erratic melodic lines – Graupner’s decision to keep it may have been motivated by a personal connection. Two Hamburg vocalists, Margaretha Susanna Kayser and Anna Maria Schober, had followed him to Darmstadt. Little is known about the vocalists who performed during Graupner’s early years in Hamburg.⁴² It is likely, however, that Madame Kayser had performed the part of Ellenia (from *Antiochus und Stratonica*) in Hamburg and then sang the role of Lucilla in Darmstadt;⁴³ as a result, Graupner did not have to make any revisions to cater to a different singer’s needs. Furthermore, a Ham-

38 Graupner’s first cantata for Darmstadt dates from the 7th Sunday after Trinity, 14 July 1709.

39 Cf. STROHM, 2011.

40 The problematic feelings experienced by the protagonist Antiochus for his stepmother Stratonica are different in nature from Anicetus’s secret feelings for Lucilla.

41 Cf. DRAUSCHKE, 2011, specifically p. 154.

42 Cf. ZELM, 1978, pp. 39ff.

43 See KAISER, 1951, p. 165.

burg collection of arias from Reinhard Keiser's opera *Der Carneval von Venedig*,⁴⁴ in whose production Graupner was supposedly involved, contains an important piece of information about the identity of the vocalist. The arias sung by Celinde contain the annotation "Mme Schober".⁴⁵ They do not contain any coloratura passages, just like Berenice's music written for Darmstadt; this suggests that Anna Maria Schober may have sung this part (along with Margaretha Susanna Kayser as Lucilla).⁴⁶ Therefore, one must assume that, in addition to the author's and composer's intentions, the performer's wishes played a role as far as the reuse of this particular aria is concerned.

The above-mentioned cuts in the *Lucio Vero* libretto also affected the text of Lucius Verus's aria "Ich verbanne, verwerfe die Schöne" (B) I,4, taken from *Antiochus und Stratonica*. It replaced an aria from the Italian original that had been sung by his confidante Claudius. Even though Graupner adopted the older (Hamburg) text of *Antiochus und Stratonica* without changes, he composed entirely new music for it. Different explanations come to mind. The melodic writing is much more convincing and sophisticated in the Darmstadt version, with the result that the dramaturgy of the scene becomes more precise and the protagonist comes across as more vigorous. Vocal considerations and singers' wishes could also have made a difference. The role of Lucius Verus was taken by Gottfried Grünwald whom Graupner knew from his Leipzig days and who had also sung at the Hamburg Opera in the meantime.⁴⁷ Perhaps, he wished to show off his special vocal skills more prominently, given that the original version of the Demetrius aria in *Antiochus und Stratonica* contains virtually none of the coloratura runs (first sixteenth notes, then sixteenth triplets) that were included in the new Darmstadt version.⁴⁸

A different case is the fourth aria text adopted from *Antiochus und Stratonica*. The older text, "Betrügerische Hoffnung, du heuchelst mir nur" (B) II,9, would have worked perfectly to depict Vologesus's supposed hopelessness. In Graupner's score, however, it was replaced with an Italian text, "Ho un sol core, un sol' alma", which had been assigned to Berenice in Zeno's original *Lucio Vero* libretto (as II,5). Since both lovers are portrayed as victims, reassigning the text to Vologesus would not have presented a problem. The decision to favor the Italian text may have been related directly to the person who performed the role of Vologesus in Darmstadt. Guido Erdmann has examined performing materials of Graupner cantatas and drawn attention to both German (*Kurrentschrift*) and Latin scripts as well as additional phonetic aids being used in different contexts, and he argues that those could have assisted Italian singers performing

44 D-Hs, ND VI 2889g.

45 IBID.

46 Cf. NEUBACHER, 2009, pp. 432f.

47 Immediately prior to his Darmstadt appointment, from 1707 to 1709, he had served as Vice-Kapellmeister in Weißenfels and performed the role of Lucius Verus in February 1710 as a guest. In 1711 he moved to Darmstadt permanently and served as Vice-Kapellmeister until his death in 1739.

48 The exception in the original version are bars 15-17, a short passage of no more than six fast, consecutive notes which are vocally much less challenging.

at court.⁴⁹ An Italian alto (castrato) might have been at Graupner's disposal for the first time in December 1709 as well as in February 1710, and throughout 1712.⁵⁰ This means that Graupner would likely have finished the *Berenice* libretto (including the one aria from *Antiochus und Stratonica* in German) prior to casting the role of Vologesus and replacing the initially intended aria with a new one in Italian.⁵¹ This hypothesis is also supported by a reprint of the *Berenice* libretto for performances that took place in 1712. This source shows both the original German text and the Italian version from the score in the exact same spot as before – but the layout makes it seem as if it were simply a translation, which it is not.

The change of language from German to Italian is also accompanied by a change in the aria's character. A multi-sectional piece featuring a multi-faceted dramatic text (signalled by changes in meter from 4/4 to – a faster – 3/8 and back, followed by 6/4 and *da capo*) is replaced by a continuous *Adagio* in 4/4. Musically, the new aria is much more unassuming, but it appears that the composer had taken into account the specific vocal skills of his (presumably Italian) performer by writing melismas and long coloraturas.

Despite the discrepancies amongst the four aria adaptations and the subsequent modifications made to the Darmstadt *Berenice* version, it is evident that Graupner was very probably closely involved himself in the creation of the new libretto. The lack of additional scores from his Hamburg period is most regrettable, in that borrowings – such as the ones observed in *Berenice und Lucilla* – could potentially have occurred on a much larger scale.

We are also still somewhat in the dark about Graupner's other operatic output for Darmstadt: The music for *Telemach* (1711) and *Adone* (1719) has been lost; only two handwritten scores of the *pastorale La Costanza vince l'inganno*, performed in 1715 and in 1719, have been preserved.⁵² At present, further adaptations, borrowings, etc. are not known.

49 ERDMANN, 2005.

50 *IBID.*, p. 28. This was evidently not the castrato Campioli, who appears in Darmstadt sources from 1718 but could conceivably have participated in earlier cantata performances. *IBID.*, pp. 17f., 27.

51 *IBID.*, p. 12. Erdmann argues in favor of that same Italian castrato having sung the role of Vologesus, rather than Johann Gottlob Renner, as suggested by KAISER, 1951, p. 98. The fact that, with the exception of one aria in III,13 (“Ja, glaub es”), all vocal pieces (arias and duets) involving Vologesus are sung in Italian, also implies that they were performed by an Italian. In all the other major characters' parts, there are Italian as well as German aria and duet texts given side by side.

52 See above, n. 7. Musically, *La Costanza vince l'inganno* is very different and even features several “Tanz-Arien” (arias with dance rhythms). Adaptations have not been identified to date; one must also keep in mind that operas with a similar libretto have frequently not been preserved. Pragmatic reasons, such as a lack of preparation time as seen with *Berenice und Lucilla*, do not apply here.

The discontinuation of operatic performances in 1719 meant the end of musical ‘in-house’ productions at the Darmstadt court. The theater was used only sporadically for events such as balls. Only references to works from outside of Darmstadt, possibly pasticcios, remained, as documented by the *Katalog der Kriegsverluste der Musikalien* held at the University and State Library in Darmstadt. Among them was music for French productions (operas and ballets dating from the 1720s and 1730s), as well as several collaborations by François Rebel and François Francœur, *Pyrame et Thisbé* (1726), *Le Trophée* (1745), and *Zélinde, roi des Sylphes* (1745).⁵³

Of the works that have been preserved, the Italian opera *La fedeltà coronata* deserves special attention because it may owe its existence to a historic mistake.⁵⁴ In the 19th century Ernst Pasqué had attributed this work to Ernst Christian Hesse (who served at the court both as a jurist and a gambist and who, in the meantime, had also been active as music director). That may have been the reason why it was singled out by the authorities tasked with protecting particularly significant holdings (manuscripts) that were part of the Darmstadt historical court library during the Second World War. In fact, it was taken to Heppenheim an der Bergstraße together with numerous other scores. Several years ago Rashid-S. Pegah showed that this work had not been composed by Hesse or for Darmstadt.⁵⁵ His detailed philological study of the score took into consideration earlier research presented by Reinhard Strohm regarding the identity of Antonio Vivaldi’s *Argippo* and its dissemination north of the Alps.⁵⁶ Pegah also shed further light on its rather complicated links to Venice, Vivaldi, and its scribe Antonio Maria Peruzzi.⁵⁷ Since the music has been preserved and Peruzzi was active as an impresario in Frankfurt in 1731/32, it is possible that he could have been in direct contact with the Darmstadt court, despite the absence of references to a performance of *La fedeltà coronata* given there.⁵⁸ In contrast, Peruzzi’s copy of the *serenata Apollo in Tempe*⁵⁹ has been identified as a work by Giovanni Porta (with the exception of three arias), thanks to another copy preserved in Dresden.⁶⁰ The Darmstadt version contains a special dedication to

53 According to the respective entry in the Darmstadt *Katalog der Kriegsverluste der Musikalien* (see n. 16), the two works of 1745 had been bound together. According to PITOU, 1985, p. 555, *Le Trophée* is the prologue to *Zélinde* which was not part of the printed libretto.

54 D-DS, Mus.ms.245.

55 PEGAH, 2011b.

56 STROHM, 2008.

57 IBID., especially pp. 64-67. On Antonio Maria Peruzzi cf. the article by BERTHOLD OVER in the present volume, pp. 241-269.

58 IBID.

59 D-DS, Mus.ms.1174. This work had also initially been linked to Ernst Christian Hesse.

60 D-DI, Mus.2444-L-1, online: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/113128/1/>, 09.12.2019.

Landgrave Ernst Ludwig and could have been performed in 1731 on the occasion of his birthday.⁶¹

Finally, it remained to Grand Duke Ludewig I, the great-grandson of Christoph Graupner's employer Ernst Ludwig, to re-establish a permanent opera for the town of Darmstadt and its court in 1810: by offering tenure to a former traveling theater troupe as well as reactivating and expanding the *Hofkapelle*, he became the founder of the Grand-Ducal Court Theater (Großherzogliches Hoftheater) and re-established a theater tradition in Darmstadt that is ongoing. On occasion, compositions by the former *Hofkapellmeisters* and other Darmstadt musicians associated with the stage – specifically Carl Wagner, Georg Joseph Vogler, Wilhelm Mangold, Carl Amand Mangold, and Willem de Haan – were also performed. However, they played a negligible role as far as overall programming was concerned, and, for that matter, the 'Age of the Pasticcio' had passed.⁶²

Translation: Barbara M. Reul

Sources

ANON. [VIVALDI, ANTONIO], *La fedeltà coronata*; score: D-DS, Mus.ms.245.

Card catalogue, (handwritten) of all musical works held in D-DS (manuscripts and prints), including the old court *Kapelle* library collection, but not those compositions that were destroyed in the Second World War: they were removed and catalogued separately in the *Katalog der Kriegsverluste der Musikalien* which can be accessed in person as well as online (see below).

Catalogus über diejenige Bücher welche sich in denen Garderobben des Hochf. seeligen Herrn Landgrafen Hochfürstl. Durchl. allhier und zu Cranichstein vorgefunden haben, D-DSsa, D 4 398/1.

Collection of various librettos, D-DS, 41/1262, 41/1263, 41/1264, 41/1265.

GRAUPNER, CHRISTOPH, *Adone. Pastorale per musica*; libretto: D-F, Sg. Mansk Mus II 180/931; RUS-SPsc, 6.79.257.

ID., *Bellerophon || Oder || Das in die Preußische Krone || verwandelte Wagen=Gestirn/ || An dem frohen || Vermählungs=Feste || Sr. Königlichen Majestät von Preussen || Friderici I. || Mit der || Durchlauchtigsten Mecklenburgis. Princeßin || Sophie || Louyse || Zu unterthänigster Freuden=Bezeugung || In einer operetta,|| Auf dem || Grossen Hamburgischen Schau=Platz || aufgeführt. || Im Jahr 1708. den 28. Novem-*

61 PEGAH, 2011b, p. 71, refers to performance annotations in the score.

62 For further development of opera in Darmstadt see KNISPEL, 1910; KAISER, 1955; ID., 1964. For the intermediate stage (traveling troupes by Leppert, Jüngling, Nestrich, Berner and Krebs) as well as the performances organized and realized by members of the landgravian family during the 1770s and 1780s cf. KAISER, 1951, pp. 127-161.

- br.; libretto: US-Wc, Schatz 4118, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665883/>, 09.12.2019; see also MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 80, for additional source locations.
- ID., *Berenice und Lucilla oder Das Tugendhafte Lieben*, Darmstadt 1710; libretto: US-Wc, Albert Schatz Collection, ML 48 S 4119, online: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/musschatz.19213.0/?sp=1&r=-0.393,0.019,1.644,0.652,0>, 09.12.2019.
- Berenice und Lucilla oder Das Tugendhafte Lieben*, Darmstadt 1712; libretto: D-W, Textbuch 621.
- Score: D-W, Cod.Guelf.204 Mus.Hdschr.
- ID., *Dido, || Königin || Von || Carthago || In einem || Singe=Spiel || Auf dem || Hamburgischen Theatro || vorgestellt. || Gedruckt im Jahr 1707*; libretto: online: <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN68454282X>, 09.12.2019; see also MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 120, for additional source locations.
- Score: D-B, Mus.ms.autogr.Graupner, C.3.
- ID., *La costanza vince l'inganno, Die Beständigkeit besieget den Betrug Welches in einer Pastorale auf dem Hochfürstlichen Theatro vorzustellen gnädigst verordnet worden in Darmstadt*; libretto: online: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-638/start.htm?image=00007>, 09.12.2019.
- Score: D-DS, Mus.ms.413, online: <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Mus-Ms-413>, 09.12.2019; D-W, Cod.Guelf.55 Mus.Hdschr.
- ID., *L'amore ammalato || Die krankende Liebe. || Oder: || Antiochus || Und || Strato-|| nica.|| Musicalisches Schau=Spiel||Auff dem grossen|| Hamburgischen Theatro|| Vorgestellt.|| Im Jahre 1707*; libretto: D-Hs, 44 in MS 640/3:4, cf. MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 49, also regarding additional source locations for copies of the libretto (with some dating from different years). Libretto from 1708 in: US-Wc, Albert Schatz Collection, 4120, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665884/>, 09.12.2019.
- Score: D-B, Mus.ms.autogr.Graupner, C.1.
- ID., *Der Fall || Des grossen Richters in Israel|| Simson, || Oder: || Die abgekühlte Liebes=Rache der || Debora. || Musicalisches Trauer=Spiel{ || Auff dem grossen Hamburgischen Schau=Platz || vorgestellt. || Im November des 1709ten Jahrs. || Hamburg. Gedruckt mit Spieringschen Schriften*; libretto: online: <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN684795361>, 09.12.2019; see also MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 159, for additional source locations.
- ID., *Il Fido amico.|| Oder:|| Der getreue Freund|| Hercules|| Und||Theseus||Auf dem grossen || Hamburgischen Schau=Platz || In einem ||Singe=Spiel || Auffgeführt. || Im Jahr 1708*; libretto: US-Wc, Schatz 4123, online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010665885/>, 09.12.2019, as well as additional source locations in MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, p. 164.
- ID., *Telemach oder Die durch Weißheit im Unglück triumphirende Tugend*; libretto: D-MZp, 3/2542; RUS-SPsc, 6.35.1.631.
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