

# Debts and Destiny

## New Findings on Antonio Maria Peruzzi and the Origin of His Opera Touring Business

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BERTHOLD OVER

The title *Debts and Destiny*, which sounds like a Jane Austen novel such as *Pride and Prejudice* or *Sense and Sensibility*, alludes to the seemingly fictitious story of the first great impresario of touring opera troupes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Antonio Maria Peruzzi. But whereas Jane Austen's stories deal with the vicissitudes of love his story is, in contrast, one of the vices of crime.

Until now, not much has been known about Peruzzi. He was a native Venetian and appears in Leipzig in 1722, virtually from nowhere. There, he signed a contract of tenancy with Ernst Gottlob Siegfried, owner of the plot of land on which the opera house was built. But, he did not give any operas in Leipzig.<sup>1</sup> He must have had contacts to the Dresden court, as he claims to be in the king's, resp. elector's service<sup>2</sup> and to have written poetry or music for the royal, resp. electoral princess Maria Josepha of Habsburg.<sup>3</sup> In 1922

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1 MAUL, 2009, Textband, pp. 317-321.

2 "It should be known to all who need to know it: that this day (see below at the end) between Signor [blank] Peruzzi, *maestro di* [blank] in the service of his Royal Majesty of Poland and Electoral Highness of Saxony [...]" ("Gia noto à ciaschuno che importa di saperlo: Che questo giorno sottoscritto qui sù'l fine, trà'l Sgr: [blank] Peruzzi, Maestro di [blank] nel servizio di Sua Maestà Reale di Polonia ed Altezza Elettorale di Sassonia [...]"). D-LEsa, Tit. XXIV A Nr. 7a, fol. 103r (contract between Ernst Gottlob Siegfried and Peruzzi from May 1722; see also MAUL, 2009, Textband, pp. 317-320). At this time August II ("the Strong") was Elector of Saxony (since 1694) and King of Poland (since 1697).

3 "He wrote a small Italian composition [poetry or music?] during the fair here for which she gave him sixty *ongari*" ("Er hätte Ihnen dise Maße allhier eine kleine Italiänische Composition verfertigt; wofür Sie ihm gegeben: Sessanta ongheri; [...]"). Letter by Ernst Gottlob Siegfried to the King/Elector from 10 September 1722, D-LEsa, Tit. XXIV A Nr. 7a, fol. 101r. However, a payment to Peruzzi is not recorded in the ledgers of the princess's

Fritz Reuter claimed, without citing any sources, that he was a prompter at the Dresden opera house.<sup>4</sup> These were uncovered by Alina Źórawska-Witkowska who pointed to documents in the Dresden State Archives for the first time in 1991.<sup>5</sup> In 1724 Peruzzi was in Prague where he obtained the permission to perform operas. In collaboration with Antonio Denzio whose task it was to form an opera troupe in Venice and his father Giovanni Maria Peruzzi he staged operas until 1725. The contract between Denzio and the two Peruzzis shows that he was still planning to perform operas in Saxony since the contract was concluded with the objective of staging some operas in Prague, Dresden and Leipzig (“per far rappresentare nella città di Praga, Dresden, e Lipsia alcune opere in musica”).<sup>6</sup> After some financial troubles Denzio worked on his own and initiated a fruitful operatic life in the Prague theater of count Sporck. Peruzzi went to Wrocław/Breslau (1725) and later to Cologne (1726), Frankfurt (1726, 1731), Brussels (1727), Munich (1733, as he claimed himself), Augsburg (1733, 1735, the family remained until 1741), Verona (1744) and maybe other places where he produced operas too.<sup>7</sup> Apparently, Peruzzi and Denzio were related: Peruzzi’s father was almost certainly the brother of Denzio’s mother, Teresa Peruzzi.<sup>8</sup>

New documents show that Peruzzi came to Dresden already in 1717 as part of the project to establish Italian opera for the wedding festivities of the Saxon royal, resp. electoral prince Friedrich August and archduchess Maria Josepha of Habsburg that took place in 1719. The musical implications of this event are well known; among the musicians employed at this time the most prominent were Antonio Lotti, his wife Santa Stella, the castratos Senesino (Francesco Bernardi), Matteo Berselli and Gaetano Berenstadt, the bass singer Giuseppe Maria Boschi, the librettist Antonio Maria Luchini and the violinist Francesco Maria Veracini.<sup>9</sup>

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household (ledgers 1721 and 1722: D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 364/3 and Loc. 364/4), but this could also have been made from her private funds.

4 REUTER, 1922, p. 1.

5 ŹÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 1991, p. 487.

6 FREEMAN, 1992, p. 281.

7 Studies often contradict each other on his activities, see BÄRWALD, 2016, vol. 1, p. 15; BORCHERDT, 1910, p. 27; FREEMAN, 1995; FREEMAN, 1992, pp. 23-40; LIEBRECHT, 1923, pp. 151-158; MAUL, 2009, p. 320; NAGEL, 1911, p. 71 (Peruzzi’s request to perform in Frankfurt in 1728 was denied); PEGAH, 2011; SCHENK, 1928, pp. 170-176 (he probably also had permission for Vienna); SELFRIDGE-FIELD, 2018; STROHM, 1988, pp. 164f. (English version: STROHM, 1997, pp. 93f).

8 On his family relations JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008, pp. 83-88.

9 FÜRSTENAU, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 98-114; WALTER, 2000; WALTER, 2012; BYRAM-WIGFIELD, 2012; STOCKIGT, 2011; ŹÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 1991; D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3: „Die Operisten, Musicos, / Sänger und andere zur Opera / gehörige Personen betr. / ao 1717. / 18. / 19. / 20. / Vol: I. / Reglement für die Oper 1717 / Schreiben Franc Maria Veracini.“

Here the crime comes in: These new documents are records of a lawsuit as Peruzzi was the subject of a criminal case in 1719. He had debts with a certain merchant Connessa and Peruzzi was put under house arrest. As was typical for debtors of his time, he planned to flee, and intoxicated his two wardens with opium. The plan worked and Peruzzi made off for Prague. But, unfortunately, one of the wardens died, Peruzzi was captured and put on trial a day after his flight. This was on 21 August 1719.

The documents are preserved in the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, collection “Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv)” and consist of four volumes.<sup>10</sup> Some of the documents have been published, often in an abridged form and sometimes with names and places redacted as a kind of early data privacy, as early as 1734 in a medical-forensic book: Johann Christian Fritsch’s *Seltame jedoch wahrhaftige theologische, juristische, medicinische und physicalische Geschichte*, printed in Leipzig.<sup>11</sup> Since vol. 2 of the three most important manuscript volumes in the Hauptstaatsarchiv containing the records of the process is lost today, this publication is the only source for part of the documents used for this study.

The case itself is not as interesting as the information we can extract from the documents on Peruzzi’s life.<sup>12</sup> They give a remarkable insight into the socio-economic circumstances of a musician and impresario, his origins, migration history and social standing. Moreover, they give a clue to the reasons for the establishment of Peruzzi’s opera touring business that initiated a most influential development for the dissemination of Italian opera all over Europe: the constitution and wanderings of itinerant opera troupes.

Peruzzi was, as already known, born and brought up in Venice being 25 years old in the year of the trial, so his year of birth must be c. 1694. His father Giovanni Maria was active in the opera houses in the lagoon city;<sup>13</sup> his precise profession is not known,<sup>14</sup> but

10 D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, Loc. 11400/9, Loc. 11400/10, Loc. 9717/28. For the titles of the volumes see the “Trial records” in the Sources at the end of this article.

11 FRITSCH, 1734, pp. 673-752. Fritsch held the position of „Fürstl. Sächß. Weimarischen Leib- und Hof=Medici“.

12 Information on Peruzzi’s life is found in D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 187v-189v; 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3.

13 “His father’s name was Joan Maria Peruzzi; he made his living in Venice from the music at the operas. His birth mother died, but his stepmother Catarina Peruzzi still lived in Venice as well.” (“Sein Vater heiße Joan Maria [cancelled: Antonio] Peruzzi, und lebe in Venedig von der Music bey denen Opern. Seine leibl. Mutter sey verstorben, seine Stiefmutter Catarina Peruzzi aber lebe ebenfalls noch in Venedig.”), D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 188r. However, Giovanni Maria Peruzzi married Cattarina Gambaroni already on 9 March 1692 (cf. JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008, p. 84), but may have married another Catarina some years later.

14 PEGAH, 2011, claims on p. 67 that Antonio Maria was the son of a copyist in Venice referring to JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008. But Jonášová does not mention Giovanni Maria’s profession; in-

he sometimes acted as impresario on the Venetian *terraferma*.<sup>15</sup> There, Giovanni Maria must have known Antonio Lotti whom Peruzzi names as an acquaintance of his father.<sup>16</sup> In fact, Giovanni Maria staged Lotti's *Teuzzone* while being impresario in Verona in 1713.<sup>17</sup> In Venice, Antonio Maria went to school, learnt writing and some music.<sup>18</sup> After having finished school he studied music more intensively and tried to earn his living as a musician "here and there".<sup>19</sup> But obviously his efforts were not so fruitful since he went to "Morea" (i.e. Greece) on a warship as a scribe for three years together with his cousin, a captain of the Venetian army and later "Grand-Admiral" in the Arsenal. Thereafter, he went to Bologna for five or six months, the birthplace of his father, and the living place of his uncle – and probably Anna Maria and Vittoria Peruzzi "di Bologna", singers active from 1728 to 1756, were relatives of this brother, maybe his daughters or nieces.<sup>20</sup> He then proceeded to Rome where he remained a week and Naples where he practiced as a musician for two years. After that, he went to Turin for about 20 months and continued to Avignon. There he fell ill after 40 days and returned to Venice. At some time after carnival he went to Innsbruck for about five months working for the court as a musician.<sup>21</sup> This must have been in 1716/17 because there he met "the *Kapellmeister* here,

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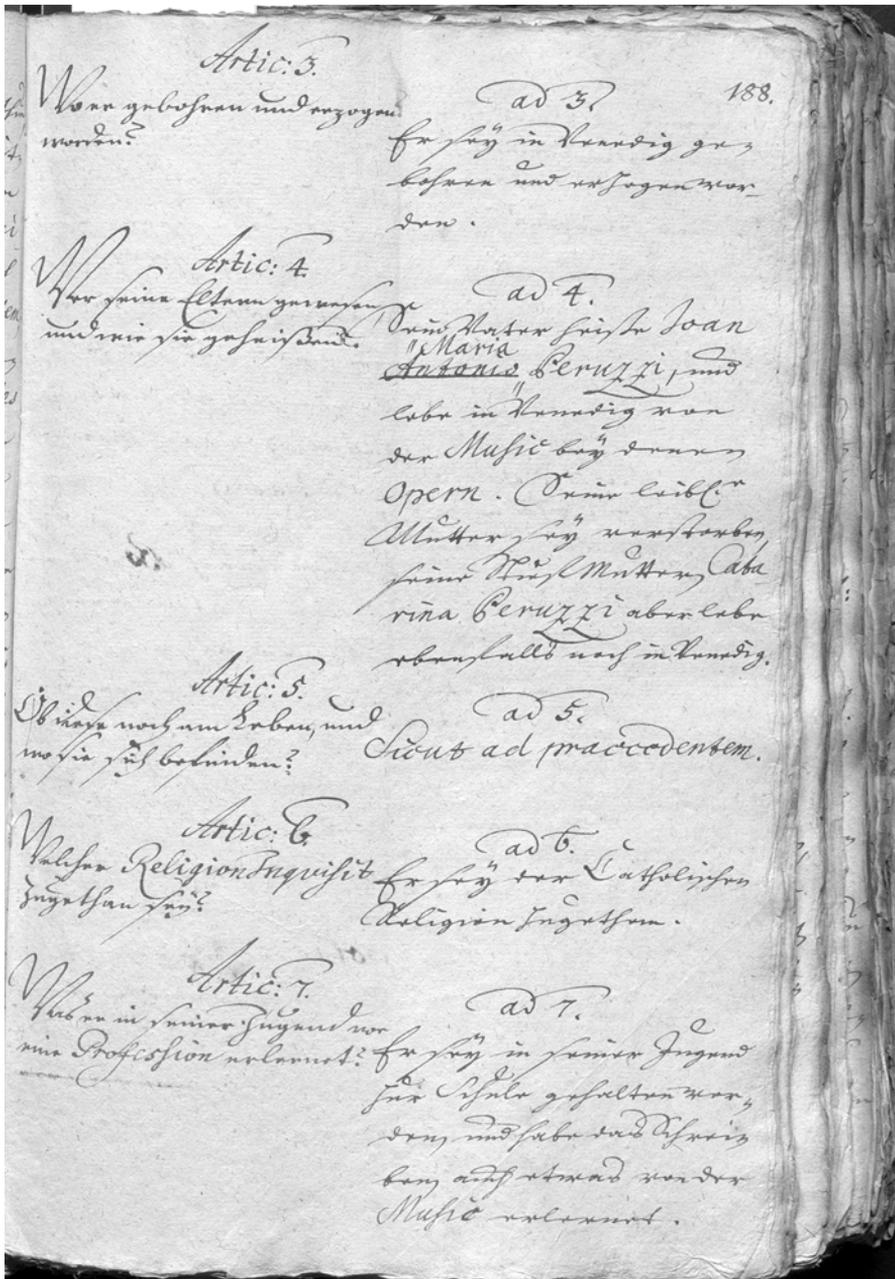
stead, Pietro Antonio Denzio, father of the impresario Antonio Denzio, was a copyist (pp. 59 [testimony by Francesco Zane: "we both copy music"/"tutti due scrivemo di Musica"], 68f., 106).

- 15 FREEMAN, 1992, p. 24 (no. 35). According to SARTORI, 1990-94, he staged *Armida abbandonata* (Ferrara 1710/11), *Astarto* (Verona 1712/13), *Teuzzone* (Verona 1713), *Camilla regina de Volsci* and *Il più fedel tra I vassalli o sia L'innocenza trionfante* (Udine 1715).
- 16 D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 193v.
- 17 Cf. FREEMAN, 1992, p. 24 (no. 35). He signed the libretto, see: *Teuzzone. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Verona il Carnovale 1713. Consacrato all'Illustrissimi Direttori della Conversatione de Nobili di Verona*, Verona 1713, p. 4. However, the composer is classified as "Anonimo" in *Corago. Repertorio e archivio di libretti del melodramma italiano dal 1600 al 1900*, <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0042325>.
- 18 "In his youth he was exhorted to go to school where he learnt writing and some music." ("Er sey in seiner Jugend zur Schule gehalten worden und habe das Schreiben auch etwas von der Music erlernet.") D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 188r.
- 19 "After having grown up and left school he was diligent in learning music and tried to earn his bread with it here and there. He succeeded in doing so." ("Nachdem er heran gewachsen und aus der Schule geblieben, habe er in der Musique Fleiß angewendet, und damit sein Brod hier und da zu verdienen gesucht, sich auch also davon hingebacht.") IBID., fol. 188v.
- 20 On their careers see SARTORI, 1990-1994, "Indice dei cantanti".
- 21 He is not recorded in SENN, 1954.

Mr Hennig”, that is the Dresden *Kapellmeister* Johann David Heinichen, who, after having worked in Italy for six years, was on his way back to the Saxon court (Figure 1).<sup>22</sup>

- 22 “At the beginning, from Venice he went as a ship scribe to Morea (Greece) with his cousin who was a captain on a war ship and, after three years, returned with him, and who nowadays is grand admiral of the arsenal in Venice. Then he went to Bologna to his father’s brother where he stayed for five to six months. From there he went to Rome where he stayed only seven days and then to Naples where he stayed permanently for two years practicing the profession of music. From there he hastened his return journey and went to Turin where he was for c. 20 months. After that he went to Avignon and after 40 days fell ill from a fiery fever. Then he returned to Venice and stayed all carnival long. From there he made a journey to Innsbruck where he served the court as *musicco* [musician or singer?] for c. five months. This can be testified by the *Kapellmeister* here, Herr Hennig [Heinichen] who gave him the opportunity to come to Dresden. Therefore, he left service there and entered service here as a prompter and music copyist.” (“Anfängl[ich] seÿ er von Venedig [insertion:] mit seinem leibl[iche]n Vettern, welcher ein Schiffs-Capitain gewesen auf einem Kriegs-Schiffe, als Schiff-Schreiber mit nach Morea gegangen, und nach 3. Jahren mit demselben, welcher vorietzo Grand-Admiral von dem Arsenal zu Venedig seÿ, wieder zurück geko[m]men, hernach seÿ er [end insertion] nach Bolonien [Bologna] zu seines Vaters Bruder geko[m]men, allwo er sich in die 5. bis 6. Monathe aufgehalten. Vondar seÿ er nacher Rom gegangen, daselbst iedoch nur 7. Tage geblieben und sodann nach Neapolis, allwo er 2. Jahr beständig verblieben und von der Musique Profession gemachet, [cancelled: nach diesem] gegangen, vondar er seine Rückreÿse beschleuniget, und nacher Turin sich begeben, woselbst er in die 20. Monathe ungefähr gewesen, nach diesem seÿ er nach Avignon gegangen, daselbst nach 40. Tagen an einem hitzigen Fieber krank gewesen, und darauf wieder nacher Venedig zurück gegangen, allda auch den Carnevall über verblieben, und vondannen nacher Inspruck gereÿset, an welchem Orthe er ungefähr 5. Monathe an dasigem Hofe, als Musicco, gedienet, wie solches der hiesige Capellmeister, Hr Hennig [Heinichen], wißen würde, als welcher ihn soda[n] Gelegenheit gegeben, anhero, nacher Dreßden, zu ko[m]men, gestalt er den aus alldortigen diensten anhero, und alhier als Souffleur und Notenschreiber in dienste geko[m]men.”) D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 188v-189v. On Heinichen: HORN, 1987, pp. 40-48; also OVER, 2019, pp. 57f.

Figure 1: D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 188r: Peruzzi's life, fol. 189r: Peruzzi and Heinichen in Innsbruck.



159.  
 Für den 17. März  
 geschicklich und nachher  
 Einem Hof begaben,  
 moßte er in die 20.  
 Monatsmonat 17. März  
 nachher nach diesem Hof  
 er nach Avignon ge-  
 gangen, moßte auf  
 40. Tage an einem sitzi-  
 gen Fieber krank ge-  
 wesen, und darauf  
 wieder nachher heimlich  
 heimlich gegangen, alda  
 auf den Carneval über  
 verblieben, und von da  
 nachher ins Land  
 gewandert, an welchem  
 Ort er moßte 5.  
 Monatsmonat an dem 17. März  
 Hof, als Musik, gewes-  
 net, moßte er  
 für den 17. März  
 Hof, moßte er  
 als welcher ihm jeden  
 Gelegenheit gegeben, an

In Innsbruck Heinichen's oratorio *La pace di Kamberga*, which he had offered the royal/electoral prince Friedrich August in Venice between February and July 1716, was arranged and performed in Holy Week (21-27 March 1717), most probably in the composer's presence as we now know from the Peruzzi documents.<sup>23</sup> From Innsbruck Heinichen took Peruzzi to Dresden. There, Peruzzi was engaged only shortly after the Italian operatic ensemble received its contracts in July 1717 in Venice and reached Dresden on 5 October.<sup>24</sup> On 30 November 1717 he was officially employed as first prompter of the Italian opera<sup>25</sup> and worked also as a copyist, as the documents reveal. According to his wife he also was in Bayreuth, the birthplace of the Polish queen and Saxon electress Christiane Eberhardine, for some time. This visit may have taken place during his journey to Dresden.<sup>26</sup>

Following a typical migration pattern, once he became formally employed after a life with occasional jobs, Peruzzi settled down.<sup>27</sup> Thus, in 1718 he married Anne Henriette or Ariette La France, a daughter of the Dresden court musician Robert du Houlondel called La France who was, together with his son Jean-Baptiste, employed in the *Hofkapelle* as a cellist (the father since 1707, the son since 1709).<sup>28</sup> At this time La France was

23 *La pace di Kamberga di S. Filippo Benizzi, oratorio da cantarsi in Inspruc la settimana santa dell'anno 1717. Per comando del Serenissimo Signor' Elettore Palatino*, [Innsbruck 1717]. Copies in D-BAs, A-Imf. On Heinichen's dedication of his oratorio to Friedrich August and his subsequent employment cf. HORN, 1987, pp. 40-48; on the different versions in libretto and scores and Heinichen's involvement in the Innsbruck performance see OVER, 2019, pp. 57f., 68-70.

24 ŽÓRAWKA -WITKOWSKA, 1991, pp. 485-488.

25 D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3, p. 45r.

26 "[...] she did not know where he may have taken his way, she learned from him that he will probably go to Bayreuth because he had already been in this place and did know the *Kapellmeister* there. Furthermore, he took some music on this occasion with him." ("Im übrigen wüßte sie nicht, wohin er seinen Weg geno[m]men haben möge, sie habe aber von ihm so viel vermercket, daß er sich wohl nacher baÿreuth begeben werde, weil er daselbst schon ehemahls gewesen, und mit alldortigem Capellmeister bekandt seÿ, wie er de[n]n auch einige Musicalia annoch mit sich davon geno[m]men habe." D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 21v-22r. It is not known who was *Kapellmeister* in Bayreuth around 1717 when the visit may have taken place. Hans-Joachim Bauer mentions a certain "Capellmeister Rugier" in 1712, see BAUER, 1982, p. 181.

27 The importance of this aspect is strengthened by Peruzzi's fear during the trial not to lose his job and to misinterpret his flight as a desire to quit his service. On permanent employment as the final destination of an itinerant musician see ZUR NIEDEN, 2016. An opposite concept obviously pursued Jonas Friederich Boenicke, a musician who had a family, but apparently never a long-term employment, cf. PEGAH, 2016.

28 Information on both La France are found in the *Hofbücher*, D-Dla, 10006 Hofmarschallamt, K 2, Nr. 4 (fols. 260v-261r), 5 (88v-89r), 6 (3v-4r, 75v-76r); they are also mentioned in ÁGÚSTSSON/STOCKIGT, 2014.

50 years old<sup>29</sup> and had been born in Caen in Normandy.<sup>30</sup> Before coming to Dresden he had worked in several places, including Brussels. His son was born there, and since the latter was 29 years old in 1721, he must have been born around 1692.<sup>31</sup> In 1719, Ariette was 22, so she might have been born in 1696/97, in Mons as she said.<sup>32</sup> As Ariette claims, the marriage was a love marriage, and was initially not supported by her father, but he was persuaded to agree to it by her confessor and by friends. By the time of the trial Antonio Maria and his wife had had a child and Ariette was pregnant again. The couple lived in Kleine Brüdergasse in immediate proximity of Dresden castle and just behind Taschenberg Palais/Türkisches Palais, residence of the princely couple Friedrich August and Maria Josepha.<sup>33</sup>

Although Peruzzi was employed at court, and had additional earnings through copying music and working in other capacities at the opera,<sup>34</sup> he had serious financial prob-

29 D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 136v. However, in the *Hofbücher* are found different age statements.

30 See the *Hofbücher*.

31 On his age and birth place see the *Hofbücher*. Apparently, a musician du Houlonde or La France is not recorded in the Brussels household of Max Emanuel of Bavaria (governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1691 to 1706) or in other musical establishments in the city. OVER, 2016; HÖRNER/WERR 2012 (index).

32 “She was born in Flanders in Mons and not grown up constantly at a single place since her parents moved from time to time because of their profession. At the age of eleven she came with them to Dresden.” “It is c. eleven or twelve years that she has been here with her parents.” (“Sie seÿ in Flandern zu Mons gebohren, und an keinem beständigen Orthe erzogen worden, weil ihre Eltern hin und wieder ihrer Profession nach gereÿset, im 11.<sup>ten</sup> Jahre ihres Alters aber mit anhero nacher Dreßden geko[m]men.” “Es werde nun bald 11. oder 12. Jahr seÿn, daß sie mit ihren Eltern sich alhier befinde.”) D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 261v-262r.

33 “in his apartment in the Gutkäse house in Kleine Brüdergasse here” (“in seinem Logis im Gutkäsischen Hauß auf der Kleinen Brüdergaße alhier“). *IBID.*, fol. 1r.

34 In 1718 he “invented” an Italian ballet together with “Mauro” (the stage designer Alessandro or the carpenter Gasparo?), i.e. he probably was responsible for the concept or choreography of a ballet that, obviously, opposed Italian dancing to the usual French, and received 12 thalers. Several documents in D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3, fols. 50r-54r, one is dated 31 March 1718. The ballet in question may have been inserted in Lotti’s *Gl’odi delusi dal sangue*. The opera was performed during carnival which lasted until 1 March that year. However, in the libretto, the invention of the ballets is attributed to “Monsieur Caret” (in the French translation: “Coret”): “The ballets – the first Roman, the second heroic, the third of geniuses – are invented by Monsieur Caret, second choreographer of His Royal Majesty of Poland and Elector of Saxony.” (“Gli Balli: Primo Romano, / Secondo Eroico, / Terzo de Genii. / Sono invenzioni di Monsieur Caret, Secondo Compositore di S.M.R. di Polonia & Elettore di Sassonia.”) It could also have been a ballet for another occasion.

lems. These were caused by his low salary, delays of payment and a rather ostentatious life style. If the list provided by his creditor, the merchant Contessa, is right (many entries are marked “non è vero” – “that is not true” by another hand), he bought rather luxurious things like tea, coffee, French wine, silver tobacco tins, cut glass or a clock.<sup>35</sup> Also his wife had a maidservant<sup>36</sup> and he accrued debts through offering rather opulent meals on occasion of his marriage. These were provided by Charles La Place, the French cook of the Count of Saxony, i.e. Moritz Graf von Sachsen, the later famous Maréchal de Saxe who was the illegitimate child of August “the Strong” and his mistress Maria Aurora von Königsmarck.<sup>37</sup> La Place helped Peruzzi during his flight. Peruzzi discussed the delayed payments with Baron Johann Siegmund von Mordax, the director of the musical establishment,<sup>38</sup> and asked him for an increase of his salary. For this latter purpose he also made a trip to Vienna where he wanted to present his case to the royal/electoral prince Friedrich August with the aim of being granted a higher remuneration.<sup>39</sup>

35 D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 9717/28, no pagination.

36 She is mentioned several times in the documents.

37 On his biography see TREFFER.

38 On Mordax see FÜRSTENAU, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 44-47.

39 “In the first two months he lived from his own money and after that Herr Baron von Mordax promised him 200 thalers as an annual salary. After having presented his objection that he would not be able to live from this money, Mordax made him hopes that he, like the others, would have free lodging and firewood, also pleasure money. But this dragged on so that he did not receive any further money until he obtained some writing jobs. But he did not earn a lot because he had not much work. When afterwards he heard that His Royal Highness the Prince came to Vienna, he also undertook a journey there to recommend himself to him. Since he was even unable to live from the stipulated 200 thalers annually he therefore needed to spend money for it and make some debts that he had paid back little by little for the most part. He added that Herr Baron von Mordax had given him some hope that he might be awarded 100 thalers as a present being a grant for his better living, but he did not receive them as well although he supplicated His Royal Majesty in person.” (“Als er aber anfängl. 2. Monathe alhier vor sein Geld gezehret gehabt, und ihm nachhero durch den Hn Baron von Mordax jährl. 200. [Taler] pro salario versprochen worden, So habe derselbe, auf seine Vorstellung, daß er davor nicht leben könne, ihm noch Hoffnung gemachet, daß er, [insertion:] gleich denen anderen, [end insertion] freÿe Wohnung haben, und Holtz, auch Lust-Geld beko[m]men solle; Es habe sich aber damit in die Länge verzogen, daß er weiter nichts erhalten, bis er noch etwas zu Schreiben darzu beko[m]men, iedoch habe er sich auch damit nicht viel verdienet, weil er damit nicht viel zu thun bekommen, und nachgehends gehört, daß Ihro des Königl.<sup>n</sup> Printzens Hoheit nacher Wien geko[m]men, dahero auch eine Reÿse dahin angetreten, um bey deroselben sich zu reco[m]mendiren, da er dann, und weil er von denen ihm ausgemacheten 200. [Taler] jährl. nicht mahl ausko[m]men können, freÿl. Geld aufgewandt und einige Schulden machen müßen, er habe aber auch diese meistens nach und nach wieder bezahlet. Worbey er annoch hinzu gefüget, daß von dem Hn Baron von Mordax ihm auch [insertion:] einige Hoffnung, daß er [end insertion] 100. [Taler] als

Friedrich August stayed in the imperial city during the marriage negotiations from October 1717 until March 1719.<sup>40</sup> The prince was the leading figure behind the establishment of Italian opera in Dresden, so Peruzzi obviously hoped to have more success in achieving his aims with him than with his father August. On the day the fatal event took place Peruzzi still copied music<sup>41</sup> and his wife tried to obtain outstanding remunerations for work he had done for *Oberkapellmeister* Johann Christoph Schmidt, *Kapellmeister* Heinichen and Francesco Maria Veracini.<sup>42</sup> Her efforts were not successful.

During the trial, Peruzzi made use of his musical network. As advocates he called Girolamo (Personelli/Personè?), a friend of his father, who, however, was friendly to him at first but later became his enemy,<sup>43</sup> the second prompter Felizetto (Felicetti, i.e. Giovanni Felice Maria Picinetti),<sup>44</sup> Antonio Lotti whom his father knew as well, his wife Santa Stella, and the castratos Matteo Berselli and Senesino. The judge summoned Lotti and his wife.<sup>45</sup> But in the end Berselli showed up together with Johann Friedrich Lotti.

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ein praesent zu einem Zuschuße, seines beßern Ausko[m]mens wegen beko[m]men sollen, gemacht worden, seÿt [?] er aber auch diese nicht erhalten hätte, ob er wohl darum auch beÿ Ihro Königl. Maj: selbst suppliciret.” D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 194v-195v.

40 STASZEWSKI, 1996, pp. 87-94.

41 “He wrote music on Friday afternoon and he wrote on the same Friday and Saturday so much that he could claim 12 thalers, for every sheet 12 groschen.” (“Es habe derselbe Freÿtags Nachmittage Musicalia geschrieben wie er denn sothanen Freÿtags und des So[n]nabends bis zum Abend so viel geschrieben, daß er 12. [Taler] dafür zu fordern beko[m]men, vor ieden bogen 12 [Groschen].”) D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 291r. Only few musical manuscripts in Peruzzi’s hand are known today: Giovanni Porta, *Apollo in Tempe* (D-Dl, Mus.2444-L-1, D-Ds, Mus.ms.1174 [modified, only text written by Peruzzi]), *Argippo* (pasticcio, D-DS, Mus.ms.245 [score, only text written by Peruzzi]) and some minor manuscripts, cf. PEGAH, 2011, pp. 66-68.

42 “She went to Herr *Kapellmeister* Schmidt, as well as to Herr *Kapellmeister* Heinichen and to Monsieur [Francesco Maria] Veracini and tried to get money for [outstanding] payments for her husband.” (“Sie seÿ beÿm Hn Capellmeister Schmieden ingl[eichen] beÿm Hn Capellmeister Hennigen und beÿ Ms. Varazzini gewesen und habe sich noch um Geld vor ihren Mann zur Zahlung bemühet.”) D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 294v.

43 Some other Italians spoke ill of Peruzzi too: the Italian painter in the opera, Gasparo Mauro (in other documents he is called a carpenter), the “Opfern=Aufwärther” Giovanni Antonio Bon (according to another document he substituted Felicetti as second prompter in 1718, see D-Dla, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3, fol. 50r ff.) and the singer of the *Hofkapelle* Natale or Natalin Pelotti. D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 174r-180r.

44 On his identity cf. STOCKIGT, 2011, p. 24.

45 D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 193r-194v, 338v-344v; 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 907/3, fols. 45r-46r.

The latter, a violinist active at the Dresden court since 1709, was Antonio's brother and born in Hanover where his father Mattio Lotti (or Trento) was employed as an organist from 1667 to 1679.<sup>46</sup> Previously in the trial, he had appeared as translator.<sup>47</sup>

Peruzzi's flight from house arrest took place at night. Horses were provided by La Place and his scullion Johann Baptist Blasius or Gauer, a colored person ("Mohr") whose peripatetic life brought him from London probably as far as the Crimea.<sup>48</sup> Both accompanied him for a while on the way to his destination, Prague, where he wanted to stay until his affairs were put in order. His father-in-law provided him with a letter of introduction to one of his acquaintances, dance master Dilange,<sup>49</sup> with whom Peruzzi could stay. But on his way Peruzzi lost time by going to several inns, he fled through Pirna, "Closter Graupen" in Bohemia, i.e. Kloster Mariaschein in today's Krupka (Czech Republic), and finally was captured in "Zschochau", i.e. Groß Tschochau or Řehlovice (Czech Republic).

As has been said, the trial deals mostly with the question of whether Peruzzi had used a poison in addition to opium; as one of the wardens had died, he could be culpable of murder, punishable by death. This could not be proved and in the end Peruzzi was sentenced to public flagellation and expulsion from the Saxon territory in November 1719.<sup>50</sup> He did not accept this verdict and appealed several times.<sup>51</sup> Even the latest document from 27 April 1722, in which he and his wife officially accepted the punishment (reduced to lifelong expulsion), was immediately questioned by him,<sup>52</sup> for shortly thereafter we find him in Leipzig together with another Italian (maybe Denzio or his

46 On Lotti's family cf. BYRAM-WIGFIELD, 2016, pp. 40-44.

47 FRITSCH, 1734, pp. 691, 694, 712-714 (supposed "Mons. Lotti" and "Mons. Johann Friedrich" being the same person); D-Dla, 10006 Hofmarschallamt, K 2, Nr. 4 (fols. 259v-260r), 5 (87v-88r), 6 (1v-2r, 74v-75r); he is also mentioned in ÁGÚSTSSON/STOCKIGT, 2014.

48 The documents refer to the Tartars who named him "Gauer", meaning in their language Christian. D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fols. 81r-81v.

49 "Because he, the inquired, for the rest did not know anyone in Prague. Therefore, his father-in-law gave him the letter to dance master Dilange that can be found in the records." ("Gestalt de[n]n er, inquisit, sonst in Praag Niemanden gekannt, sein Schwiegervater aber ihn deshalb den von ihm ad Acta gegebenen Brief an den Tantzmeister Dilangen annoch mit gegeben.") D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8, fol. 199v. Dilange could not be identified; he is not mentioned in SALMEN, 1997; the letter is found on fols. 64r-65v.

50 FRITSCH, 1734, pp. 702-710.

51 *IBID.*, pp. 714f., 717-735 (a lengthy pleading ["Defension-Schrifft"]), 736f. (sentence 8 October 1731 [*sic*, probably 1721]); 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 9717/28, no pagination (pleading ["Defension"] from 4 April 1720, letter from the king/elector reducing the punishment to lifelong expulsion from 27 September 1721); 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/10, no pagination (Ariette leaves the office without permission to hand over a memorandum ["Memorial"] to the king/elector, without date).

52 D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/10, no pagination.

father who both were involved in the opera business in Prague two years later) where he negotiated with Ernst Gottlob Siegfried about the opera house and concluded a contract in May on the use of the building for opera performances during all the Leipzig fairs in the three years to come.<sup>53</sup> But, for the time being Peruzzi obviously was indeed leaving the Saxon territory, since he wanted to speak to Siegfried in a hurry before traveling to Venice.<sup>54</sup>

Peruzzi never produced an opera in Leipzig. But the reason must not be sought in Michael Maul's argument that the Leipzig officials waited for the employment of the opera expert Georg Philipp Telemann whom they hoped to engage as *Thomaskantor* after the death of Johann Kuhnau in 1722,<sup>55</sup> but in Peruzzi's expulsion. Siegfried sent his letter to the king/elector exposing Peruzzi's project and surely the latter forbade opera staging under Peruzzi because he himself had commanded his expulsion (although documents are not extant to prove this assumption). The Prague contract of 1724, where he planned to perform not only operas in the Bohemian capital but in the Saxon territory (i.e. in Leipzig and Dresden) as well, shows that Peruzzi still hoped to be rehabilitated.

Why is this story important for Peruzzi's reputation of being the first great impresario of an itinerant opera business in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in our days? I presume that he engaged in this business because he had no other choice. He had no other option but to build up an independent musical business on his own. As he notes himself, he no longer had any credit amongst musicians after he was sentenced:

“since this kind of life [of a musician] is characterized by the fact that one person alone cannot practice this art and earn his living, but many partners are needed that

53 “2.) Siegfried concedes his place with the mentioned opera house to Signor Peruzzi for performing Italian operas there for three years during all the Leipzig fairs.” (“2.) Concede il Siffrido al Sigr: Peruzzo, la di lui piazza, colla soprastrutta [*sic*] Casa d’Opera per far rappresentare colà Opere Italiane, durante Trè Anni, tutte le Fiere di Lipsia; [...]”) D-LEsa, Tit. XXIV A Nr. 7a, fol. 103r.

54 “Shortly after the last Easter fair two Italians came to my house. They made many compliments I did not deserve: // They wanted to be acquainted with me; they had to talk with me the same day because they were to leave for Venice tomorrow.” (“Kurtz nach vergangener Oster Meße a.c. waren 2. Italiäner in mein Haus gekommen, hatten viel mier nicht gebührende Complimenten gemacht: // Sie wollten gern mit mier bekannt seyn; Sollten u. müßten selben Tages annoch, mit mier sprechen; Weil sie morgen nach Venedig gingen.”) *IBID.*, fol. 100v. Siegfried wrote his letter on 10 September and added a contract concluded in May. Leipzig Easter fair began officially on Sunday Jubilate and ended on Sunday Cantate, but was preceded and followed by exhibition times. In 1722, Jubilate fell on 26 April and Cantate on 3 May, so Peruzzi and the other Italian must have negotiated with Siegfried in early May. On Leipzig trade fairs see HASSE, 1885, pp. 17 and 211f.; *Leipziger Handwörterbuch*, vol. 1, cols. 1529f. I would like to thank Manuel Bärwald from the Bach-Archiv Leipzig for his valuable information on the fairs.

55 MAUL, 2009, pp. 321-324.

constitute an integral whole. Therefore, nobody would accept such a person hereafter or let him earn his living at his side if he had been in the hands of the headsman and would have suffered the punishment. This happens because amongst craftspeople and guilds such kind of unfortunate persons is not tolerated and the liberal arts possess such dignity that unworthy persons are not suffered.”<sup>56</sup>

Although Peruzzi’s statement may be somewhat exaggerated, it nevertheless seems reasonable that for him regular employment in a musical establishment was rather unattainable. To pursue a musical career, he could only count on musicians who knew about his fate and accepted it. And he was forced to maintain a certain degree of mobility.

On the other hand, Peruzzi seems to have seen the demand and the business opportunities for opera production in cities where there was a public, but no supply. Since 1693 Leipzig almost regularly had opera performances during the trade fairs which also were attended by the Dresden court. Thus, the normal opera-going public – the nobility and wealthy merchants from all over Europe – was present in the city. The opera was closed in 1720, however.<sup>57</sup> Dresden had experienced opera in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries only occasionally, but during Peruzzi’s time the city was the residence of the important royal Polish/electoral Saxon court as well as of the opera loving prince Friedrich August. In Dresden too, the Italian opera had been closed at the beginning of 1720.<sup>58</sup> The empty opera houses and the public were there, but opera was too expensive to be firmly established.

Following his father’s and uncle’s footsteps and considering Peruzzi’s personal situation and the wider regional situation, a touring business, presenting opera for a restricted time (and, thus, avoiding any developments of market saturation with the ensuing

56 “Hiernechst ist hierbey wohl zu erwegen, daß bey erlittener Straffe des Staub=Besens und der ewigen Landes=Verweisung Defendent unfähig gemacht würde, seinen Unterhalt durch die freye Kunst der Music zu suchen, denn wie insonderheit dieses vitae genus von der Eigenschaft ist, daß einer alleine die Kunst nicht exerciren, und dadurch sein Brod erwerben kan, sondern viele consortes erfordert werden, so ein totum integrale constituirn, also würde ihn hinführo niemand in der Compagnie leyden, oder aber neben sich das Brodt erwerben lassen, wenn er unter des Scharffrichters Händen gewesen, und die dictirte Straffe ausgestanden hätte, weil auch unter Handwercks-Leuten und Innungen dergleichen unglückseligen Leute nicht geduldet werden wollen, und die freyen Künste von solcher Dignität seyn, daß unter ihnen keine indigni gelitten werden.” FRITSCH, 1734, p. 732.

57 MAUL, 2009, Katalogband, pp. 858-864 (chronology). On the visitors of the Leipzig trade fair cf. HOFMANN-POLSTER, 2014, pp. 74-88; on opera and spoken theater during the fairs *IBID.*, pp. 177-198. That Peruzzi himself was an eyewitness to this situation in the first half of 1722 when he claims to have written poetry or music for Princess Maria Josepha “during the fair here” seems improbable (see above, n. 3). Maybe the wording “during the fair” is a simple adverb of time, but, anyway, it seems rather questionable that he had any contacts to the court at this time at all given his conflicts with the law.

58 ŻÓRAWKA-WITKOWSKA, 1991, pp. 495f.; FÜRSTENAU, 1979, vol. 2, pp. 153f.

decrease of audience and income) and trooping together freelance musicians (being fine with Peruzzi), would have been an ideal solution. Peruzzi was not an expert in the opera business, but his father and his uncle Pietro Antonio, Antonio Denzio's father, were. Together with Antonio and his father he staged the first season of opera in Prague, the capital of Bohemia and therefore in an important administrative center.<sup>59</sup> In addition, Pietro Antonio Denzio had a similar career to Peruzzi: although he did not get in trouble with the law, he initially was a music copyist before becoming an impresario in northern Italy (Ferrara, Venice, Bergamo, Mantua, Verona) from at least 1711 until 1726. In this function he made rather a fortune, as is evident from his and his wife's wills,<sup>60</sup> a fortune that Peruzzi certainly hoped to make in northern Europe.<sup>61</sup> The possibility to draw upon his father's and uncle's experiences, competences and skills may as well have favorably affected his decision to establish an opera troupe.

All in all, the mobile, itinerant opera business must be considered a derivative of the fixed, permanent one combined with the business model of theatrical companies. In itinerant and stable opera there is an impresario, often moving from opera house to opera house organizing the opera performance. In both, there are opera personnel (composer, singers, etc.) who do not come from the place. But the difference with the itinerant business is that it relies on a core group (impresario, his wife, some singers, some members of the orchestra, etc.) complemented by changing personnel (singers, instrumentalists) which performs opera in a place for a restricted time and then turns to another. As for Peruzzi we know that he was accompanied at least by his wife to Brussels and that he came to Augsburg with her and four other persons,<sup>62</sup> whereas the situation of his parents and the Denzios was different: the wives remained in Venice

59 A similar strategy can be observed with other touring companies. The Mingotti, for example, played in residence cities (Bonn, Dresden, Copenhagen), capitals (Bratislava/Pressburg, capital of Hungary; Prague, capital of Bohemia), cities with Estates (Brno/Brünn – Moravia; Klagenfurt – Carinthia; Graz – Styria; Linz – Austria “ob der Enns”; Ljubljana/Laibach – Carniola), trade fair cities (Frankfurt, hosting also the imperial coronations; Leipzig) and important trade cities (Hamburg, Lübeck). Peruzzi first went to Prague with Denzio and then concentrated on residence cities (Brussels, Austrian Netherlands), two times connected to the Palatine dynasty (Wrocław, residence city of Bishop Franz Ludwig of Pfalz-Neuburg; Augsburg, residence city of Bishop Alexander Sigmund of Pfalz-Neuburg), but also played in Frankfurt. On the Mingotti see THEOBALD, 2015; MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917; on Peruzzi see n. 7.

60 On the Denzios' activities cf. JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008.

61 Actually, Peruzzi seems not to have been as successful as his uncle. He finished his seasons with debts in Brussels and Augsburg. Cf. LIEBRECHT, 1923, p. 152; SCHENK, 1928, pp. 172-175.

62 LIEBRECHT, 1923, pp. 151-158; SCHENK, 1928, p. 170. Liebrecht assumes erroneously that the singer Anna Maria Peruzzi was Antonio Maria's wife.

when their husbands ran their opera business abroad.<sup>63</sup> The core group of the Mingotti troupe consisted of Angelo and/or Pietro Mingotti, the latter's wife Regina Valentini (for a short time), the singer-composer Giuseppe Nicola Alberti (by the way, active earlier in the Peruzzi troupe where he sang in Wrocław in 1725),<sup>64</sup> the violinist and translator of librettos Franz Joseph Carl Pirker<sup>65</sup> and the composer/arranger/conductor (Paolo Scalabrini, Christoph Willibald Gluck, and others). Other singers may have joined the troupe over several seasons too. The advantage of itinerant opera troupes in comparison to a stable opera was an effective cash management. Through the performance of the same opera at different places resources were better utilized.<sup>66</sup> Whereas the costs for musical manuscripts, arrangements, copies of parts and even scenes<sup>67</sup> were paid once, income could be generated several times. Through the employment of young professionals (the most striking example being Regina Valentini soon to become Pietro Mingotti's wife and to be employed at the Saxon court), second-rate singers (for example Anna Dotti who performed in Vivaldi's and Handel's operas or Anna Girò, Vivaldi's protégée), fading divas with a certain renown (Francesca Cuzzoni, Giustina Turcotti) and normally only one castrato singer, the high male parts being sung by women, costs for singers could be diminished considerably. So, I think that Peruzzi's precarious status after the trial and, hence, his failed career is responsible for the beginning of a development that took Italian opera, mostly in the form of pasticcios, to many major and minor centers in the north and that resulted in the Europe-wide dissemination of Italian music and style during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In this sense Peruzzi's repertoire may be prototypical for the one later troupes brought to the north. As a first overview shows (Peruzzi's repertoire is not much investigated), his repertoire consisted mainly of rather unchanged opera productions, *opere impasticciate* and pasticcios, coming from different operatic centers, mainly from Ven-

63 JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008, *passim*. Antonio Denzio's wife joined him in Prague after having remained several years in Venice.

64 MATTHESON, 1740, p. 374.

65 Also active in the Vienna Kärntnertheater, see the article by JUDIT ZSOVÁR in the present volume, pp. 425-446.

66 Cf. STROHM, 1988, p. 163; STROHM, 1997, pp. 92f.

67 There are several options regarding stage designs: as so-called *scene di dotazione* they could have been the property of the theater (and adjusted for different performances in different opera seasons), they could have been made expressly for an opera production or they could have been the property of the impresario. On the first option see, for example, DIANA BLICHMANN's article in the present volume, p. 128; as a late testimony REISINGER/WILSON, 2018, pp. 111f.; on the second LIEBRECHT, 1923, p. 151; BRAUNECK 1996, pp. 912f.; PIGOZZI; MACKEPRANG, 1949-52, pp. 3f.; FABRIS, 1930, pp. 27-35 (Jacopo Fabris's designs for the Mingotti opera troupe in Copenhagen); on the third D'OVIDIO, 2017, p. 108 (numerous sceneries found in the estate of the deceased Roman impresario Giuseppe Polvini Faliconi in 1741). It is not known explicitly if opera troupes took their stage designs with them to different places, but this can definitely not be excluded.

ice (cf. Appendix). The overview shows that he relied at first on older repertoire that was sometimes updated by newly composed music, only a few operas were taken over shortly after their premiere. Operas were revived in different cities and exchanged between different troupes. Sometimes singers seem to have been responsible for their material transfer. Some examples may be presented here: Antonio Bioni's *Orlando furioso* was first given in Prague in 1724 as the first production of the Peruzzi-Denzio business at the Sporck theater, Peruzzi signing the dedication of the libretto. A year later the opera was performed by the Peruzzi troupe in Wrocław implying that the impresario took a score of this opera with him or obtained it from his cousin. Another case seems to be Francesco Bartolomeo Conti's *Alba Cornelia* which was first performed in Wrocław in 1726 by Ludwig Wussin (who took over Peruzzi's *impresa* after the latter had left the city in late 1725 or early 1726) and his troupe.<sup>68</sup> In 1728, the opera was given by Peruzzi in Brussels. Both impresarios based their operas on Conti's version performed in Vienna in 1714 (and not on the one of the Milanese performance of 1704), maybe using the same score for their adaptations.<sup>69</sup> A third case is *Siface* given in Frankfurt in 1732 that uses the version produced in Prague in 1729. The Prague *Siface* is distinguished by the added comic role of Mustafò who reappears in Frankfurt and receives an additional aria. In both versions the comic role was sung by the same singer, Sebastiano Zane.<sup>70</sup> Some singers may have taken opera scores to the troupe, namely from opera houses where they performed earlier: Anna Maria Giusti and Paolo Vida sang in the Venetian premiere of Giovanni Porta's *La costanza combattuta in amore* (1716), in a revival in Verona (1723) and later in Wrocław (1725). The same applies to Anna Dotti who performed in Domenico Sarro's *Arsace* in the premiere in Naples (1718) and later in Brussels (1727).<sup>71</sup> As for the musical shape of the operas the following examples may be given: *Orlando furioso* (Wrocław 1725) was based on a more than ten-year-old opera by Giovanni Alberto Ristori (second version with some new music by Antonio Vivaldi,

68 US-Wc, ML48 [S2203]; MATTHESON, 1740, p. 375, who had all his information from the eye-witness Johann Georg Hoffmann, harpsichord player in the opera; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016.

69 Wussin cuts the role of Lentulo whereas Peruzzi shortens the text considerably. Peruzzi points to the Viennese origin in his dedication claiming that the opera had been given "on the stage of the Istro" ("sopra le Scene dell'Istro"), i.e. the Danube. In *Corago*, the Milanese premiere is attributed to Conti as well, but his name is not mentioned in the libretto. This attribution, however, must be questioned because it seems rather unlikely that a composer employed at the imperial court may have written an opera dedicated to Philipp V of Bourbon, the opponent of the Habsburg emperor in the struggle over the Spanish crown during the War of the Spanish Succession.

70 I would like to thank Jana Spáčilová for sharing with me a copy of the Prague *Siface*. The Frankfurt *Siface* is preserved in D-F, Mus W 330.

71 The influence of singers on the choice of opera scores was not unusual as Senesino's example shows, cf. BUCCIARELLI, 2017.

Venice 1714).<sup>72</sup> Except for one aria (coming from the opera's premiere, Venice 1713) there are no changes. One opera contains substitute arias from the troupe's composer Giuseppe Antonio Paganelli (Giovanni Porta's *Amore e Fortuna*, Augsburg 1733, an opera from 1725 or 1727).<sup>73</sup> Scores are continuously modified like Porta's *Apollo in Tempe*, performed in Darmstadt for the birthday of Landgrave Ernst Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt, most probably in 1731 when the troupe was in nearby Frankfurt, and different from a score preserved in Dresden.<sup>74</sup> 'Real' pasticcios were part of the repertoire too like *Argippo* (probably Frankfurt 1731, maybe based on Vivaldi's opera, Prague 1730, and, hence, maybe coming from the Denzio troupe) or *Il Siroe* (Verona 1744).<sup>75</sup> Rather 'new' operas from current opera production are only rarely found such as Antonio Cortona's *Amor indovino* (Venice 1726 – Brussels 1727), Tomaso Albinoni's *L'incostanza schernita* (Venice 1727 – Frankfurt 1731) or (probably) Vivaldi's *Argippo* (Prague 1730 – Frankfurt 1731), already mentioned. Representatives of the upcoming 'Neapolitan style' are barely present in Peruzzi's repertoire (the mentioned Sarro opera). Thus, with his new business model Peruzzi not only gave the prelude for the wanderings of opera troupes in his aftermath, but set also the standard for the musical shape of the operas presented. This standard was, however, not different from common opera practice in Italy, a practice that cared for the current adaptation of the operatic repertoire to local tastes, singer's abilities, modern styles, as well as specific musical conceptions and strategies.

72 On *Orlando furioso* cf. STROHM, 2008b, vol. 1, pp. 122-141. Notwithstanding Vivaldi research the libretto is, however, not identical with the one Antonio Bioni set to music for Prague in 1724.

73 On Paganelli cf. SL (FOLKER GÖTHEL), 2004; TALBOT; SCHENK, 1928 (pp. 17ff., on Peruzzi in Augsburg pp. 170-176). Similar cases are Conti's *Alba Cornelia* (Wrocław 1726) with substitute arias by Daniel Gottlob Treu (Fedele) (US-Wc, ML48 [S2203]) and Tomaso Albinoni's *Didone abbandonata* (Wrocław 1726) with substitute arias by Antonio Bioni (US-Wc, ML48 [S90]); for both cf. MATTHESON, 1740, p. 373ff.; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016.

74 PEGAĀ, 2011. Peruzzi made a first attempt to perform operas in Frankfurt during the trade fairs (Easter and autumn fair) between January and June 1728, but his request was denied. In 1731 and 1732 he had contact with the Frankfurt city council (PEGAĀ, 2011; NAGEL, 1911, p. 71; three letters to Johann Friedrich von Uffenbach are preserved in D-Gs). In 1731, *L'incostanza schernita* and in 1732, *Siface re di Numidia* were performed in Frankfurt linking Peruzzi to the Thurn and Taxis family through the dedications "all'Altezza Serenissima di Madame la Principessa della Tour e Tassis nata Lobkowiz" and "A. S. Alt. Ser<sup>ma</sup>. Il Principe della Torre & Tassis". These offer an explanation for the existence of an aria collection from *Argippo* – probably performed in the same year 1731 – in the family's library (D-Rtt, Protā 4). The music is written by the scribe who also wrote the music in scores where Peruzzi added the text (see n. 41 and PEGAĀ, 2011).

75 Another performance of *Argippo* took place at the Vienna Kärntnertortheater in a shortened version in the same year 1730. On *Argippo* cf. PEGAĀ, 2011; STROHM, 2008a. In the libretto of *Il Siroe* we can read (p. 6): "La Musica è una scelta fatta da' più Virtuosi Maestri."

## Appendix

### *First overview of the repertoire of the Peruzzi troupe<sup>76</sup>*

Year	Place	Composer/Title	Premiere	Source
1724	Prague	A. Bioni, <i>Orlando furioso</i>		CZ-Pu, 52 G 19
1725	Wrocław	A. Bioni, <i>Orlando furioso</i>	Prague 1724	MATTHESON, 1740, pp. 374f.; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016
1725	Wrocław	[G. Porta], <i>La costanza combattuta in amore</i> Peruzzi's version seems to follow Porta's version rather closely with some cuts and three substitute arias for Barsina; Anna Maria Giusti (Statira) and Paolo Vida (Cassandro/Perdica) sang also in the premiere and in the revival Verona 1723; see also below Brussels 1727	Venice 1716	PL-Wn, BN.XVIII.2.6288/S.2.3453
1725	Wrocław	D.G. Treu (Fedele) <i>Astarto</i>		MATTHESON, 1740, pp. 374f.; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016
1725	Wrocław	F.B. Conti, <i>Trionfo dell'Amore e dell'Amicizia</i>	Vienna 1711	MATTHESON, 1740, pp. 374f.; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016
1727	Brussels	[G.A. Ristori/A. Vivaldi], <i>Orlando furioso</i> Peruzzi's version seems to follow the 1714 version closely and contains an aria from the first performance of the opera (Venice 1713)	Venice 1714	D-F, Sg Mansk Mus II 180/921; D-MHrm, T 37; NL-DHk, KW 312 L 108
1727	Brussels	A. Cortona, <i>Amor indovino</i>	Venice 1726	LIEBRECHT, 1923, p. 155
1727	Brussels	[G. Porta], <i>La costanza combattuta in amore</i> with many substituted arias; see also above Wrocław 1725	Venice 1716	B-Bc, 22252

76 Based on *Corago*; SARTORI, 1990-1994; MATTHESON, 1740, pp. 374f.; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016; PEGAH, 2011; STROHM, 2008a; LIEBRECHT, 1923, pp. 151-156, and own research.

Year	Place	Composer/Title	Premiere	Source
1727	Brussels	D. Sarro, <i>Arsace</i> with some changes, cuts and many substitute arias; Anna Dotti (Statira/Rosmiri) sang also in the premiere	Naples 1718	B-Bc, 22253
1727	Brussels	[C.F. Pollarolo], <i>Faramondo</i> Peruzzi's version seems to follow A. Zeno's original libretto first set to music by Pollarolo rather closely with only few substituted arias and changes; previous revivals (Pratolino 1699, Verona 1704, Milan 1705, Messina 1709, Bologna 1710, Genoa 1712, Naples 1719, Rome 1720) are much heavier changed	Venice 1698	B-Bc, 22254
1728	Brussels	F.B. Conti, <i>Alba Cornelia</i> many text cuts and substituted arias also performed in 1726 by Ludwig Wussin, Peruzzi's successor in Wrocław, with Lentulo's role cut and substitute arias by D.G. Treu (Fedele) maybe both impresarios used the same score for their adaptations	Vienna 1714	B-Br, IV 16.603 A
1731	Frankfurt	T. Albinoni, <i>L'incostanza scchernita</i> many arias exchanged in comparison to the premiere; the aria texts in the revival Bologna 1728 are sometimes identical; this and the revival Fano 1731 are certainly connected to Giovanna Gasparini singing in Venice and Bologna and Paola Corvi (la Morotti) singing in Bologna and Fano, but it is not known if one of these singers was in the Peruzzi troupe later	Venice 1727	D-Rtt, 8/K PrD 15; D-MZp according to SARTORI, 1990-1994, not detectable

Year	Place	Composer/Title	Premiere	Source
?1731	Frankfurt?	<i>Argippo</i> pasticcio, probably based on A. Vivaldi's opera	Prague 1730	score: D-Ds, aria collection: D-Rtt (see Sources); PEGAH, 2011; STROHM, 2008a
?1731	Darmstadt?	G. Porta, <i>Apollo in Tempe</i> in comparison to the earlier version the score in D-Ds contains three substitute arias, a modified quartet and a slightly different end	Venice 1712	score: D-Ds, earlier version: D-DI (see Sources); PEGAH, 2011
1732	Frankfurt	G. Nelvi, <i>Siface re di Numidia</i> text almost identical to the version Prague 1729 (N. Porpora) which is distinguished by the addition of the comic role of Mustafo because of the rather identical Prague version ascribed to Porpora it is not clear which role the obscure Nelvi played, whether he composed the entire opera or only the new aria for Mustafo and some other arias	Prague 1729	D-F, Mus W 330
1732?	Frankfurt	[G. Porta], <i>La sorte nemica</i> (= <i>Amore e fortuna</i> ) produced by Peruzzi's singers after he had left the troupe, probably because of financial troubles text almost identical with Augsburg production	Naples 1725	D-F, Mus W 329
1733	Augsburg	G. Porta, <i>Amore e fortuna</i> with substitute arias by G.A. Paganelli and additional ones at the end of Act III recitative text almost identical with Frankfurt production, all but two arias changed, cut or added	Naples 1725	D-Mbs, 4 P.o.it.12
1744	Verona	<i>Il Siroe</i> pasticcio		I-Mb, Racc. dramm.4525

## Trial records

- Vol. I. / Acta inquisitionis, / contra / Den am 20. Aug: 1719 aus seinem Wech / sel Arrest flüchtig gewordenen Ita / liänischen Opfern Schreiber, / Antonio Maria Peruzzi, / wie ingleichen / Dessen Eheweib, Arietten, / und / Seinen Schwieger-Vater, Robber / tum la France, / wie auch / Charles la Place / wegen der von dem ersteren [un] / terno[m]menen Vergifft[ung] / zweÿer Raths-Wächte[r] / und, was deme anhä[ngt] / Ergangen [im] / Amte Dres[den] / 1719; D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/8.
- Vol. III / Fasciculus, / Worinnen die beÿ der Peruzzischen / Inquisitions-Sache concipirte Inqui- / sitional-Articul zu befinden. / [with pencil:] 1719; D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/9.
- N: 4. / Den Italiäner Antonio Maria / Peruzzi betr[effend] welcher, da er, / einer Wechsel Schuld hal- / ber, die Wache gehabt, denen / Wächteren Opium beyge- / bracht, daran der eine so fort / verstorben, a[nn]o 1720. / ged[achten] Peruzzi und seines Ehewei- / bes abol[ition] Betr[effend] 1721. 1722. / Loc: XXIII; D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 9717/28.
- Acta / welche / Wegen Antonio Maria Peruzzi / Schulden / und Cons. / nachgeführter Inquisition / noch ergangen sind. / de A[nn]o 1720 / 1721 / 1722 [captioned:] Antonio Maria Peruzzi / betr[effend] 1720; D-Dla, 10024 Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 11400/10.

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