

Soloists of the Opera Productions in Brno, Holešov, Kroměříž and Vyškov Italian Opera Singers in Moravian Sources c. 1720-1740 (Part I)

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The years of approx. 1720-1740 saw an unprecedented number of *opera seria* productions being staged in the region of Moravia, which was then part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.¹ The earliest sources recording productions of Italian operas come from Johann Adam Questenberg's castle in Jaroměřice (Jarmeritz, see Jana Perutková in Part II of this study).²

Another renowned patron of Italian music in Moravia was Wolfgang Hannibal Schrattenbach (1660-1738, from 1711 bishop in Olomouc/Olmütz), who spent several years in Italy at various places and posts, the viceroy of Naples among others (1719-1721). Having moved from Italy to Moravia in 1722, he became an ardent promoter of Italian culture at his own court, where Italians played an important part as musicians and singers. Productions of opera at his *château* in Kroměříž (Kremsier) are documented from 1727 to 1734, when they were moved to another of the bishop's castles, that in Vyškov (Wischau). Operas were staged at both of the bishop's residences twice a year on the occasion of the bishop's

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- 1 The study is an output of a research project financially supported by the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc (FPVC 2015/15).
 - 2 For music performances in Jaroměřice, see the recent book PERUTKOVÁ, 2011.

birthday (12 September) and his name day (31 October).³ The productions stopped following the bishop's death in 1738.

Productions of opera in Holešov (Holleschau) are known from 1733, the date presumably coinciding with the promotion of Franz Anton Rottal (1690-1742), the owner of the estate, to count in 1728. The productions took place twice a year – on the occasion of the birthday of countess Maria Caecilia (26 July) and the count's birthday (12 October).⁴ The last records of opera productions in Holešov originate from the year 1740.

As well as the above-mentioned private aristocratic productions, Italian opera also flourished in form of *teatro impresariale* as produced in the Municipal Opera House in Brno (Brünn), the capital of Moravia.⁵ First opera productions documented there fall into the carnival season in 1732/33; they are connected with the Italian impresario Angelo Mingotti who performed with his group at the temporary wooden stage in the town's *manège* (*Teatro alla Cavalleriza*). The opening performance of the season took place on some day after 19 November 1732.⁶ Just one year later, however, the productions were moved to the newly adapted *Teatro della Taverna*, founded and operated by the municipal council and financially supported by patrons-aristocrats mentioned explicitly on the front pages of the libretti of the given operas. Mingotti's troupe performed in Brno until 1736, when the *impresa* was taken over by Filippo Neri del Fantasia (1736/37, and from autumn 1738 to the end of 1740) and later by Alessandro Manfredi (1737/38). A regular season in Brno saw up to four opera productions being staged, one in "autumn", i.e. at the beginning of the Advent (official permission allowed opera to be staged during that season) and three others during the carnival season (from 26 December to the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday).

The focus of this paper is going to be especially on the Italian singers performing in the mentioned locations, although singers of Moravian origin would also be of interest in this respect, as some of them gained

3 For opera productions at the court of bishop Schrattenbach cf. esp. SPÁČILOVÁ, 2006; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2013b, pp. 75-88.

4 SPÁČILOVÁ, 2012, pp. 27-35.

5 For the beginnings of the Brno opera see the recent book by HAVLÍČKOVÁ, 2009.

6 HAVLÍČKOVÁ, 2009, p. 126. Similarly to the following years, the impresario opened the season of 1732 shortly before the start of the Advent (the first Advent Sunday fell on 30 November this year).

acceptance not only in their native country but also abroad. One example of the latter is Rosalia Andreides, an Olomouc native, who played in Holešov from 1733, and after marrying Ignaz Holzbauer (April 30, 1737), left Moravia with him, making appearance all around Europe (Vienna, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Munich).⁷

One of the most important sources of information concerning Italian musicians in Moravia are, similarly to other locations, the libretti of the operas. These have been currently processed as part of a wider research project, the outcome of which is going to be a printed catalog of the extant items.⁸ Up to now, 78 libretti of Italian operas staged in Moravia before 1750 have been discovered, 17 coming from Jaroměřice, 24 from Kroměříž and Vyškov, 14 from Holešov and 23 from Brno. The lists of *personaggi* provide the names of the singers (the names are not stated for the Schrattenbach productions, though), the place of their origin, and – for the German versions – also the family state of the singers.⁹ This detail can be of considerable importance – for instance, the real identity of a certain “Frau Laura Bambini” was revealed as the first wife of the composer and impresario Eustachio Bambini, not his daughter as considered by previous scholars.¹⁰ Besides this, the names of employers are given with some of the artists, who, in fact, served on more or less formal terms as patrons and sponsors of the singers; an example of such a relationship is Ottavio Albuzzi, who was named “Virtuoso [di] S. E. il Sig. Conte Leopoldo di Dietrichstein” on the list from 1739.¹¹ Occasional mutilations of a name due to poor knowledge of the Italian orthography on the part of the scribe do not pose such problems as the typographical

7 SEHNAL, 1974, pp. 55-77.

8 Catalog of the Italian Opera Libretti in Central Europe in the 1st Half of the 18th Century, I: Moravia. Project supported by Grant Agency of Czech Republic, P409/12/P940 (Association for Central European Cultural Studies, Prague).

9 While in Brno the extant libretti were printed bilingually, in Italian and German on the facing pages, the different language variants of libretti from other localities were printed in separate volumes.

10 The last known performance starring Laura Bambini took place in 1742. The singer Anna Tonelli was mentioned as Bambini’s wife in summer 1755, collaborating with him from 1745. SARTORI, 1990-1994.

11 Libretto *Penelope la casta*, CZ-Pnm, B 4126. For more about Albuzzi see PERUTKOVÁ in Part II of this study.

errors; an example of the latter is, for instance, the libretto of *Argippo* (1733) that gives different names of the intermezzo singers in the two extant versions: Italian and German.¹² No sufficient explanation of this inconsistency has been offered by now and, unfortunately, the scope of this paper prevents me from exploring in detail the – otherwise extremely absorbing – topic of German versions of the libretti.

The table in the appendix shows 45 different names of Italian singers discovered in 37 libretti from Brno and Holešov by now. Several conclusions can be drawn from the material. For instance, we know that Mingotti performed his first season 1732/33 with singers hired mostly from the Prague impresario Antonio Denzio, who found himself in a pressing financial situation at that time.¹³ These included Giovanni Michaeli, Margarita Flora, Cecilia Ramis and Giacinta Spinola Costantini with her husband Antonio Costantini. Rosalia Fantasia, whose husband Filippo Neri del Fantasia took over the Brno impresa in 1736, came to Mingotti's troupe from Prague in 1734, as well as Anna Cosimi, who first became one of the big names of Denzio's ensemble, went through the critical years with him until the dissolution of his troupe, and then left for Brno to join Mingotti in the same year. The close connection of Denzio and Mingotti's *stagioni* is apparent from the Brno municipal deeds, where Mingotti is mentioned as "ein Prager Operist", although his only other previous place of activity was Vicenza during the carnival season in 1731.¹⁴ Mingotti continued with Denzio's work in terms of repertoire, too; at least eight out of eleven known operas staged in Brno during Mingotti's era were taken from Prague, though usually with newly-composed music.¹⁵ The German translations of the original libretti, the texts of which

12 "Gli Intermezzi saranno rappresentati dalla: La Sig. Laura Bambini di Pesaro, Il Sig. Mateo Luchini / Die Zwischen-Spiele werden von der Frau Caecilia Monti, und von dem Herrn Bartholomeo Cajo repraesentiret werden." Libretto SI-Ls, Z/VII 6/3.

13 FREEMAN, 1992.

14 HAVLÍČKOVÁ, 2009, p. 121.

15 *Argippo* (1730 Prague/Vivaldi, 1733 Brno/pasticcio by Costantini), *Gli amori amari* (1732 Prague, 1733 Brno, pasticcio by Costantini), *Armida abbandonata* (1725 Prague/Bioni, 1733 Brno/Bambini), *Lucio Vero* (1725 Prague/Albinoni, 1733 Brno/Bambini), *La pravità castigata* (1730 Prague/Caldara, 1734 Brno/Bambini), *Didone* (1731 Prague/Albinoni, 1734 Brno/Sari), *Orlando furioso* (1724 Prague/Bioni, 1735 Brno/pasticcio with

did not always correspond with the Italian versions due to changes in solo parts, were also taken over from Denzio.¹⁶

Notes in the Brno municipal protocols prove that Mingotti regularly traveled to Venice during the summer to recruit new singers and search for up-to-date musical pieces for his repertoire.¹⁷ Domenico Battaglini, together with Laura Bambini, came from Venice to Brno in the 1732/33 season and Rosa Cardini, together with Teresa Peruzzi detta “La Denzia” for 1733/34. As far as we know, two operas were brought from Venice to Brno, besides a number of individual arias that were grouped in pasticci, i.e. *Argenide* by Baldassare Galuppi (Venezia 1733, Brno 1734) and *Didone* by Domenico Sarri (Venezia 1730, Brno 1734).¹⁸

Some of the singers who stayed in Moravia in summer took part in the productions staged in Holešov: between 1733 and 1740, in total, thirteen singers from Italian troupes active in Brno played there together with five more foreign artists who had no connections to Brno (Catarina Mayerin, Ignaz Finsterbusch, Catarina Zane and Domenico Negri in October 1737 and Dario Luca Cattani in 1738 and 1739).¹⁹ The most important of the Brno Italian singers was Giuseppe Nicola Alberti, who held the post of “maestro di musica dell’Illustrissimo Sign. Conte / Directore der Gräffl. Opern und Music” in Holešov in 1734-1735.²⁰

Besides the names and whereabouts of the singers, the libretti from Brno offer invaluable information about three Italian musicians who worked there (and in the entire region) as composers. Since their lives and careers have been sufficiently examined elsewhere, the following text concentrates solely on the Central European engagement of the three

Vivaldi’s music), *Tullo Ostilio* (1727 Prague, 1725 Brno/pasticcio with Vivaldi’s music).

16 The topic has been partially treated in SPÁČILOVÁ, 2013a, pp. 6-21.

17 HAVLÍČKOVÁ, 2009, p. 157.

18 The opera *Didone*, staged in Brno in 1734, combined the Prague libretto from 1731 (adapted by Antonio Denzio, music by Tomaso Albinoni) and Sarri’s second version for Venice from 1730 (score I-Nc Rari, 7.2.5, RISM ID no. 850009015). See SPÁČILOVÁ, 2014, pp. 18-30.

19 Dario Luca Cattani was later employed with Domenico Tasselli in Pressburg (today Bratislava) in the 1740s. See KAČIC, 2014.

20 According to the libretti of the operas *Astianatte* (Holešov 1734, CZ-Bm, B 383, I-Mb, Racc. dram. 3496) and *Venere placata* (Holešov 1735, I-Mb, Racc. dram. 2720).

personalities, the first of whom is Antonio Costantini (often misspelled Constantini). He is first mentioned in the Prague records for the 1731/32 season as the author of two operas and two intermezzos; rather than a composer, he was only a compiler of pasticci, though, which is apparent from frequent references to borrowed arias in “his” librettos.²¹ He married Giacinta Spinola in Prague in autumn 1731, and they both left for Brno with the greater part of Denzio’s troupe, joining Mingotti for the 1732/33 season. Costantini is specified as the composer of two operas from the carnival season of 1733 there, *Gli amori amari* and *Argippo*, with the exception of several arias inserted according to the preferences of the singers.²² Further information about Costantini comes from as late as 1738/39, when he worked as a composer in Brno again, this time in the services of impresario Filippo Neri del Fantasia. He produced two operas there, *Elisa regina di Tiro* and *Costantino riconosciuto*, both of them once again with the exception of several inserted arias (“eccetto alcune arie”). It remains unclear if he accompanied his wife on her tour around Moravia in 1752, when she performed in Brno, too.²³

Another Italian composer to stay in Moravia temporarily was Eustachio Bambini (1697-1770). He probably arrived there as early as the end of 1732, since his wife Laura was engaged by Mingotti for the 1732/33 season. They both stayed in Holešov over the summer of 1733, where Bambini staged his operas *Partenope* and *Artaserse*, collaborating with the local composers Georg Orschler and Ferdinand Seidl.²⁴ He was employed in Brno as a composer in the 1733/34 season, where his pasticci *Armida abbandonata* (28 November 1733) and *La pravità castigata* (carnival season in 1734, “à riserva d’alcune

21 He was the composer of the intermezzo and the greater part of the opera *Ipermestra* (“degli intermezzi è la musica del Antonio Costantini, come pure la maggior parte di quella del Drama”), while the score for *Gli amori amari* contained arias by different composers according to the preferences of the singers (“a riserva d’alcune arie messe al piacere de Virtuosi”). FREEMAN, 1992, pp. 265-267.

22 “a riserva d’alcune Arie poste al piacere de virtuosi”. Libretto *Gli amori amari* (CZ-Bu, ST1-0500.998), *Argippo* (SI-Lsk Z/VII 6/3).

23 SEHNAL, 1974, p. 65.

24 Orschler composed some of the arias in *Partenope*; Seidl wrote the ballet numbers in *Artaserse*, apart from several arias in *Partenope*.

arie”)²⁵ were produced; he also seems to have participated in the adaptation of *Argenide* by Galuppi and the pasticcio *Lucio Vero* with music by the same composer. Bambini most probably left Brno for Vienna, as revealed by the letter Georg Adam Hoffmann wrote to count Questenberg in August 1735 in which he states Laura was engaged in the Kärntnertor-theater during the 1734/35 and 1735/36 seasons.²⁶ He may have shortly come back to Holešov in July 1736, as Laura starred in *L'Olimpiade* and *Cesare in Egitto* staged there at that time.²⁷

The third of the composers, Giovanni Matteo Lucchini, is actually better known as a tenor singer. He stayed in Central Europe from 1725 (Dresden), working with Denzio as a singer and composer in Prague in 1726 and 1728-1730. An interesting account survived of an argument Lucchini had had with the singer Margherita Gualandi (later married to Lorenzo Moretti, both engaged in Brno in 1735/36) over the pay for twelve arias he composed for her in summer 1729. He asked renowned European composers to express their opinions on the matter, and the letters they sent to him have fortunately survived.²⁸ Later, he became a member of the Italian opera company in Wrocław (Breslau) – his performance in eight operas has been recorded for the period from the end of 1731 to September 1733.²⁹ After the Wrocław company dissolved, he went back to Prague and tried to operate an opera business with a group of Italian artists in the theater in Malá Strana (Lesser Town of Prague); they staged his *Alessandro nell'Indie* there in autumn 1734.³⁰ Lucchini is mentioned as a singer of the Lesser Town company for the last time in spring 1735.³¹

- 25 The Brno version of the opera corresponds with the Prague one (premiered with the libretto by Antonio Denzio, and pasticcio music of Antonio Caldara in 1730) in nine arias out of 27. The reconstruction of the opera is the subject of further enquiry.
- 26 See PERUTKOVÁ in Part II of this study.
- 27 The music for both operas was allegedly written by Johann Adolf Hasse. While his participation on the composition of the latter was convincingly denied, this is not possible to state about the former, since its libretto is lost today.
- 28 FREEMAN, 1992, pp. 96-98, Appendix II, pp. 291-292.
- 29 Opera in Wrocław is subject to on-going research; at present, we have 25 libretti at our disposal.
- 30 He received permission to stage the Italian operas in the Malá Strana ball house in September 1734, see FREEMAN, 1992, p. 67.
- 31 IBID., pp. 274-275.

In the Brno records, he is mentioned in the Italian version of the libretto for *Argippo* in the carnival season of 1733 as a singer of the intermezzo for the first time, but the account is impossible to verify according to the current state of knowledge (however, no opera productions were staged in Wrocław during this carnival season). He was, beyond all doubt, employed in Brno as a singer in the 1736/37 season, and his negotiation with the *Kärntnertortheater* in Vienna is recorded from autumn 1737, as well as his engagement at count Heissler's estate.³² In the following season of 1737/38, Lucchini is already recorded as the author of music for all operas premiered in Brno in the similar way as the other two above-mentioned composers "with the exception of several added arias" ("eccetto alcune arie").³³ He was listed as a composer in the following season (1739/40) too, and the last known opera produced by him in Brno was *Alessandro Severo* in autumn 1740.

The presence of Italian singers in Moravia is documented also by the records in civic registers, although the occurrence of such data is, in fact, scarcer than one would expect. By now, only the records from Holešov were available, having been published by Jiří Sehnal in 1974.³⁴ Three accounts connected to Giuseppe Nicola Alberti can be found there: the record from July 1735 mentions him and Anna Cosimi as godparents of an illegitimate child; the baptism of his daughter Amalie Antonie in August 1735; and the death of the child in October 1736.³⁵ Especially the second record provides interesting details about Alberti's life, e.g. the previously unknown name of his wife, Anna Maria, his position at

32 Cf. PERUTKOVÁ in Part II of this study.

33 Autumn 1737: *Teodorico*; carnival 1737: *Argene, Arsace* and *Gli veri amici*; autumn 1739: *Vincislao*; carnival 1740: *Cleonice e Demetrio*; autumn 1740: *Alessandro Severo*.

34 SEHNAL, 1974, pp. 65f.

35 15 July 1735: "Josephus spurius" [illegitimate son], "pater ignotus, mater Susanna Folin Holleschov.", godparents: "Josephus Nicolaus A[ll]berti Comes Palatinus, Anna Cosmi, ex Italia oriundi", Register of births, Holešov, Moravský zemský archiv (MZA) Brno, call mark 7534, p. 502. 6 August 1735: Amalia Antonia, parents: "Josephus Nicolaus Alberti Eques Italicus, Comes Palatinus, p. t. operista Domini Holles. Anna Maria, ambo Itali", godparents: dean Franz Karl Wagner, countess Marie Cecilie von Rottal, Register of births, Holešov, p. 504. 7 October 1736: "Amal[ia] Anton[ia] filia Josephi Alberti, Holleschov." (died in the age of 1 year and 2 months), Register of deaths, Holešov, MZA Brno, call mark 7629, p. 153.

the Rottal's court ("operista Domini Holleschoviensis"), and the fact that he was *Eques Italicus*, i.e. the holder of a minor aristocratic title, *Comes Palatinus* (it was a knightly title granted to a single person, not transferrable to his progeny).

The fourth record from April 1738 makes note of a Venetian citizen, Giacobbo Casarini and his wife Maria – it is the baptism of their twins, named aptly after their godparents, count and countess Rottal.³⁶ Incidentally, a female singer of the same name, Domenica Casarini, was employed in Brno and Holešov at the same time (1737/38 and 1738/39 engaged in Brno, in October 1738 she sang in Holešov). She is called "Jungfrau" (virgin) in the extant libretti; it seems plausible that she was actually Casarini's sister.

One of the most amazing recent discoveries was the record of Cecilia Ramis' son having been baptized in the church of St. James in Brno on March 23, 1733.³⁷ It is worth noting in this respect that Ramis performed at the carnival of the same year in *Gli amori amari*, impersonating the male character of Flavio, while she is not to be found on the list of *personaggi* of the next opera in the season, *Argippo*, apparently due to the advanced level of pregnancy. The civic register also gives her maiden name, Delfini, which allows the positive identification of the singer, whose name was falsely considered to represent two different people until now. Further research also brought insight into her dwellings before the arrival to Moravia. She made her debut in the opera *Venceslao*, produced at Theodor Constantin Lubomirsky's court in Kraków (Cracow) in 1725, later starring there in *La Mariane* (1726) and *La Griselda* (1727).³⁸

36 "Franciscus Antonius Simon et Maria Caecilia gemini", parents: "Jacobus Cassarini, Maria Venetijs", godparents: count and countess von Rottal, Register of births, Holešov (see previous note), p. 596.

37 Joannes Antonius Raphael, parents: "D[omi]no Josepho Romis Italo Venetijs, Matri Caeciliae natae Delphin", godparents: Johann Matthias Thurn-Valsassina and Antonia Rodenin de Hirzenau, born Salawin de Lippa. Register of births, Brno – St. James, MZA Brno, call mark 16863, p. 418.

38 From the period of Italian opera in Kraków only four libretti from 1725-1727 were discovered by now. However, the issue is currently being subject to further research, which has revealed names of the artists present at Lubomirsky's court in the given span of time: Veneranda Bernina (later married as Pendi-sich), Francesco Bianchi, Giuseppe Giorgio, Cecilia Grepaldi, Marc'Antonio Mareschi, Camilla Poli, Bartolomeo Straparappa. Cecilia Delfini's name was being distorted in the local versions of libretti (e.g. Dolfini, Delfhini, Delfini).

That is why she is later called Lubomirsky's *virtuosa di camera* in the libretti of *La Silvia* and *Romilda*, staged in the 1730/31 season at the Teatro S. Moisè in Venice.³⁹ She must have married Giuseppe Ramis soon after the end of the carnival season 1731, as she is found to be employed under the new surname in Prague as early as in autumn of the same year.⁴⁰ Her trace is lost at the moment of the birth of her son in 1733; attempts to find a record of her death in the Brno registers were equally fruitless.

As a matter of fact, on the one hand, quite a lot of information is available concerning the singers who performed in Brno and Holešov in the given period. On the other hand, our attempts to describe the lives of opera singers at the court of the Olomouc bishop Schrattenbach faced several complications. First of all, Italian singers were full members of Schrattenbach's court, often executing other functions – usually taking religious posts. Second, the extant libretti from Kroměříž and Vyškov do not mention names of particular singers. As a result, the Italian singers at Schrattenbach's court are still more or less *terra incognita* to us with only a few names having been confirmed recently. As for the sources available to us, they vary from musical scores to financial accounts, official letters and records in the archive of the cathedral church in Olomouc.

The starting point for our research was the accounts for the production of an opera *Nitrocri* staged in 1735 in Vyškov.⁴¹ The accounts provide seven names of singers involved in the productions: Santo, Antonio, Mauro, Wegschmitt, John, Rosalia and Teresa.⁴² With a high level of certainty, we succeeded in determining the identity of native singers (Rosalia Bees-Majerin, Teresia Majerin, Anton John and Anton Weckschmidt) with other sources, namely the civic registers and records of the Piarists in Kroměříž.⁴³

39 SARTORI, 1990-1994, no. 22031, 20116.

40 FREEMAN, 1992, p. 355.

41 MZA Brno, fund G 76, family archive Kálnoky Letovice, inv. n. 83, cart. 16; inv. n. 144, cart. 18.

42 The account of the tailor Ignatius Polsator: "H. [= Herr] Santo, H. Antoni, H. Wegschmitt, H. John, Don Mauro and Jungfrau Rosalia" (sign. 144, cart. 18, fol. 8). The account of Jacob Joseph Čžada (ibid., fol. 1-2): "Jungfr. Rosalia, Jungfr. Theresa, Herr P. Wegschmidt, Herr Santo, Herr Antonio, Herr Jonn."

43 SPÁČILOVÁ, 2010, pp. 198-206.

Another score of the *Stabat Mater* by Girolamo Pera deposited in Vienna, helped us determine the voice register of the given singers.⁴⁴ Girolamo Pera was Schrattenbach's *maestro di capella* in 1738, as is recorded on the title page of the oratorio *Il giusto afflitto nella persona di Giobbe*, performed in Brno during Lent in the same year.⁴⁵ His composition was apparently produced at the bishop's court in 1737, as the solo parts bear the names of the singers corresponding to those recorded in the Moravian sources. According to these notes, Antonio and Santo were, most probably, castrati; both female singers were sopranos; Weckschmidt tenor and John bass. Besides these, a certain Italian singer, Don Domenico, is mentioned in the score, who seems to have been a baritone, since he sang both tenor and bass parts.

"Don Mauro" could represent the bishop's curate and musician Mauro Fanti, whose discharge record from August 1738 is to be found in the documents of the Olomouc consistory.⁴⁶ As for Don Domenico, his true identity has not yet been determined, although it is highly probable that he – like Fanti – favored a religious position at the bishop's court; according to my hypothesis, Domenico could be identical with the noted Italian bass singer who is said to have participated in the first opera productions in Kroměříž at the end of the 1720s.⁴⁷

On the contrary, the said "Signor Antonio" is doubtless Antonio Fornarini, whose discharge papers from July 1738 are deposited in the Olomouc archive.⁴⁸ According to the document, Fornarini entered Schrattenbach's service as a chamber musician in May 1734. Sartori's catalog makes note of this singer only once, in connection with *Alessan-*

44 Score: A-Wgm, I 2761.

45 "La Musica è del Sig. Don Girolamo Pera, Maestro di Cappella di Sua Altezza Em." Libretto: I-Mb, Racc. dram. 5510.

46 "Presbyter Ecclicus. et Quonda. Em. Cels. B. B. Eppi. Olomucen. Capellanus Aulicus & musicus Maurus Fanti supplicat pro testimonialibus vitae apud dictam aulam actae literis, ut his provisus ad Italiam redire valeat." Zemský archiv Opava, pobočka Olomouc [Provincial Archives Opava, Branch Olomouc] (ZAO-Ol), fund ACO – Arcibiskupská konsistoř [Archbishop consistory] Olomouc, cart. 9, 21.8.1738.

47 BOMBERA, 1979, pp. 326–348.

48 "Dominus Antonius Fornarini de Urbino, apud altem fatam Eminentissimam Suam Celsitudinem, quatuor annis, et tribus mensibus, pro Camerae Musico serviverit." ZAO-Ol, fund AO, Arcibiskupství [Archbishopric] Olomouc, sign. F IV a 49/4c.

dro nell'Indie by Leonardo Vinci (Urbino 1734).⁴⁹ The same piece was staged in Vyškov in October 1734;⁵⁰ the later production is well documented in the letters between Schrattenbach and his brother Felix, bishop of Ljubljana (Laibach), which I discovered in November 2013 in the archive of the Ljubljana archdiocese.⁵¹ Several of these letters from the end of October and November 1734, written by Wolfgang Hannibal Schrattenbach, mention two Italian singers who had recently arrived in Vyškov and, thanks to their artistry, made the production of the last opera a great success.⁵² Bishop Felix was, in fact, so generous as to lend his brother 25 ducats (100 fl.) to cover the expenses of the singers' trip to Moravia.⁵³

One of these singers must have been Fornarini himself (the lapse of time between May and October is of no importance here, as singers were usually contracted in advance). The more important question is: who was his counterpart? It may have been Carlo Tessarini from Urbino, mentioned as the “direttore della musica stromentale” at Schrattenbach's court in 1737.⁵⁴ Tessarini was employed as a musician in the Urbino cathedral in the 1730s, his name being mentioned in the cathedral records for the last time in 1733, and then only one more time on 27 December 1738; that is already after the bishop's death (July 23). However, the formulation in the bishop's letter rather suggests that the “two virtuosos” were, in fact, two singers, which brings us to the identification of the second virtuoso with Sante Lorenzini. He performed together with Fornarini in the above-mentioned opera by Vinci in Urbino; moreover,

49 SARTORI, 1990-1994, no. 724.

50 Libretto: Cz-OP, STA 250.

51 Si-Lna, fund Škofijski arhiv, ser. Škofje, sign. Šal/Šk., fasc. 5, Sigmund Schrattenbach 1728-1742.

52 Letter from 27 October 1734: “Morgen wird meine anderte Opera anfang, welche gewisslich um so mehr zu jedermannes approbation reusiren muss, als die zwey aus Wällischland neuangekommene Musici in Wahrheit rechte Virtuosi seynd, ob welchen ich eine besondere Vergneigung habe [...]” Letter from 3 November 1734: “die opera ist bey denen neuangekommenen zwey virtuosn so gutt reusirt, dass alle insgesamdt hierob ein besonderes wohlgefallen gehabt haben [...]”

53 Letter from 3 November 1734: “[...] e. E. belieben hier 25 stuck dukaten zuempfangen welche vor die meinen zwey Musicis vorgestreckte 100 fl. Seyn sollen und bedanke mich hiemit nochmahls vor die Ihnen gethane vorschliessung [...]”

54 On the title page of his collection *La Stragavanza*, Amsterdam c. 1737.

his not very common first name, Sante, corresponds with “Herr Santo” from the bishop’s accounts. Last but not least, he is further recorded to perform in Italy only in 1740, which gives him enough time to move to Moravia for some years.⁵⁵

Other Italian singers connected to Schrattenbach’s court were the castrato Andrea Devoti, whose presence at the court is documented in 1732, and “ecclesiasticus Aulae, Capellanus et Musicus Cremsirii” Filippo Regini, who died in Kroměříž in 1731.⁵⁶

The libretti and other Moravian sources presented in this study include a wide range of information about more than 50 Italian singers performing in Brno, Holešov, Kroměříž and Vyškov in the 1730s. The ways in which the Italians participated in the Moravian opera productions were manifold: in Jaroměřice, the cast was completely local,⁵⁷ while in Holešov and in bishop Schrattenbach’s ensembles, Italian musicians mixed with the locals, the bishop employing his own court artists, and count Rottal hiring singers from Brno; the vocalists of the municipal opera in Brno were exclusively Italian.

A considerable amount of Italian artists known from Moravian sources was also related to other transalpine centers of Italian opera (Prague, Wrocław, Kraków, Vienna, Graz, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana) as well as with the later *imprese* of the Mingotti brothers in Germany. To put it simply: if an Italian singer grew bold enough to cross the Alps, he usually stayed there for a longer period of time, or returned back later. The traces of the movement of opera singers and other *operisti* all over Europe, together with their professional and personal relationships, a large intertwined network, create the separate threads which can be found and interpreted on the basis of careful research of the local sources.

Speaking from the point of cultural studies, the fact that they provide information not only about the professional engagement and family relationships of the concrete people, but also about their position and relationships within the society is the most important aspect about these sources. The Moravian civic registers are especially telling when it comes to the dichotomic position of the *operisti* in the microcosm of Moravian towns, which oscillate between respect and distrust (as Reinhard Strohm

55 In Vinci’s *Artaserse*, Macerata, carnival 1740. SARTORI, 1990-1994, no. 2966.

56 BOMBERA, 1979, p. 329; SEHNAL, 1974, p. 63.

57 See PERUTKOVÁ in Part II of this study.

indicated in his study *Italian Operisti North of the Alps*).⁵⁸ For instance, godparents of the *operisti*'s children are usually the aristocrats; this is surprising, since the aristocratic presence at such events in the role of godparents was considered a great honor reserved only to the members of the same estate, important members of the family household, and for special occasions, such as baptisms of Jewish children, etc. The crossing of social boundaries is traceable also in the opposite direction, although under certain restrictions: if *operisti* became godparents at all, they were – as a foreign and floating element to the home society – invited only to the private environment of the lesser courts (such as count Rottal's Holešov estate), and the illegitimate children's baptisms.

Since the local civic registers paid great attention to the presence of Italian singers, they sometimes reveal their personal circumstances which otherwise would have remained unknown. Good examples of such instances are the already mentioned Cecilia Delfini Ramis and Giuseppe Alberti.

The network of locations and relationships also enables us to identify and follow the communication channels through which the Italian opera repertoire was transferred across Europe not only in the form of the frequently quoted "arie di baule" (baggage arias), but also as libretti and entire operas, for instance Vinci's *Alessandro nell'Indie* produced in Kroměříž by Italian artists, who had arrived from Urbino shortly before.

The presented examples were designed to show the ways local sources can be helpful in providing and specifying somewhat discontinuous information about the movement of artists and the repertoire of Italian opera throughout Europe during the 18th century. A necessary precondition of further research is an international cooperation of researchers dealing with the particular nodal points on the map of the Italian opera's realm in Europe, which would bring together the scattered pieces of information to create a comprehensive picture. First steps in this field have already been taken with respect to the informal grounds between Moravia, Ljubljana and Vienna that instantly bore fruits.⁵⁹ However, a profound extension of such manners of cooperative research will need to be established in future to allow us to grasp and understand the complexity of Italian opera in transalpine countries.

58 STROHM, 2001, pp. 1-59.

59 Many thanks to Metoda Kokole from Ljubljana and Andrea Sommer-Mattis from Vienna for the fruitful information exchange.

Appendix

Italian opera libretti from Brno and Holešov

Brno – Angelo Mingotti:

- 1733/1 *Argippo* (carnival),
- 1733/2 *Gli amori amari* (carnival),
- 1733/5 *Armida abbandonata* (28 November),
- 1734/1 *Lucio Vero* (1st January),
- 1734/2 *Argenide* (26 January),
- 1734/3 *La pravità castigata* (20 February),
- 1734/6 *Arianna e Teseo* (25 November, lost),
- 1734/7 *Didone* (26 December),
- 1735/1 *Orlando furioso* (18 January),
- 1735/2 *Tullo Ostilio* (carnival),
- 1736/1 *Antigona in Tebe* (carnival, lost).

Brno – Filippo Neri del Fantasia:

- 1736/4 *Cambise sacrilego* (fall),
- 1737/1 *Anagilda* (carnival),
- 1738/5 *Elisa regina di Tiro* (fall),
- 1739/1 *Penelope la casta* (carnival),
- 1739/2 *Costantino riconosciuto* (carnival),
- 1739/6 *Vincislao* (fall, lost),
- 1740/1 *Cleonice e Demetrio* (carnival),
- 1740/2 *Alessandro severo* (fall, lost).

Brno – Alessandro Manfredi:

- 1737/3 *Teodorico* (fall),
- 1738/1 *Argene* (carnival),
- 1738/2 *Arsace* (carnival),
- 1738/3 *Gli veri amici* (carnival, lost).

Holešov:

- 1733/3 *Partenope* (July),
- 1733/4 *Artaserse* (15 October),
- 1734/4 *Amore e pace* (26 July),
- 1734/5 *Il Matrimonio per forza*, intermezzo (fall),

1735/3 *Astianatte* (26 July),
1735/4 *La Contadina*, intermezzo (summer),
1735/5 *Venere placata* (12 October),
1736/2 *Cesare in Egitto* (26 July),
1736/3 *L'Olimpiade* (?26 July, lost),
1737/2 *Lucio Papirio dittatore* (12 October),
1738/4 *Sesostri rè d'Egitto* (12 October),
1739/3 *Amore e fortuna* (summer),
1739/4 *Nel perdono la vendetta* (fall),
1739/5 *Vologeso re di Parti* (fall).

Italian singers and characters in libretti from Brno and Holešov

Fr. = Frau (Mrs); Jfr. = Jungfrau (Miss); interm. = intermezzo

Alberti, Giuseppe Nicola, di Padova: 1733/5 *Rambaldo*, 1734/1 *Lucio Vero*, 1734/2 *Idomeneo*, 1734/3 *Don Alvaro*, 1734/6 *Minosse*, 1734/7 *Iarba*, 1735/1 *Orlando*, 1735/2 *Tullo Ostilio*, 1735/3 *Pirro*, 1736/1 *Creonte*. Composer: 1734/4, 1735/3 (“maestro di musica dell’illustrissimo Sign. Conte”), 1735/5.

Albuzzi, Ottavio, di Milano: 1738/4 *Amasi*, 1738/5 *Fenicio*, 1739/1 *Ulisse* (“virtuoso di S. E. il Sign. Conte Leopoldo di Dietrichstein”), 1739/2 *Foca*.

Andreides Holzbauer, Rosalia: 1733/3 *Partenope*, 1733/4 *Mandane*, 1734/4 *Diana*, 1735/3 *Ermione* (“virtuosa del Sign. Conte di Rottal”), 1735/5 *Aminta*, 1736/2 *Cornelia*, 1736/3 *Aristea*, 1737/2 *Quinto Fabio*, 1738/4 *Artenice*, 1739/3 *Arnea*, 1739/5 *Berenice*.

Bambini, Laura, di Pesaro (Fr.): 1733/1 *Osira*, ?interm., 1733/2 *Lotario*, 1733/3 *Rosmira*, 1733/4 *Artabano*, 1733/5 *Tancredi*, 1734/1 *Aniceto*, 1734/2 *Telemaco*, 1734/3 *Manfredi*, 1736/2 *Tolomeo*, 1736/3 *Megacle*.

Battaglini, Domenico, di Pesaro: 1733/1 *Silvero*, 1733/2 *Lamberto*, 1733/3 *Arsace*, 1733/4 *Arbace*, 1733/5 *Ubaldo*, 1734/1 *Claudio*, 1734/2 *Aristo*, 1734/3 *Don Ottavio*, 1736/2 *Giulio Cesare*, 1736/3 *Licida*.

Cajo, Bartolomeo, di Venezia: ?1733/1 interm., 1733/5 interm., 1734/1 interm., 1734/2 interm., 1734/3 *Mallorco*, 1734/5 *Gerondo*, 1735/4 *Don Tabarano*, 1736/1 *Ormino*, interm.

Cardini, Rosa, di Venezia: 1733/5 *Rinaldo*, 1734/1 *Vologeso*, 1734/2 *Climero*, 1734/3 *Don Giovanni*.

- Casarini, Domenica (Jfr.): 1737/3 *Leone*, 1738/1 *Cambice*, 1738/2 *Megabise*, 1738/3 *Tilamè*, 1738/4 *Sesostri*, 1738/5 *Nino*, 1739/1 *Eurimaco*, 1739/2 *Alessandro*.
- Cattani, Dario Luca, di Pistoia: 1738/4 *Orgonte*, 1739/3 *Creonte*, 1739/5 *Anicetto*.
- Cosimi, Anna, di Roma (Jfr.): 1734/6 *Carilda*, 1734/7 *Selene*, 1735/1 *Alcina*, 1735/2 *Sabina*, 1735/3 *Andromaca*, 1735/5 *Adria*, 1736/1 *Giocaste*.
- Danese Pischlin, Teresia: 1737/2 *Rutilia*, 1738/4 *Nitocri*, 1738/5 *Cirene*, 1739/1 *Antiope*, 1739/2 *Fausta*, 1739/3 *Ormonda*, 1739/5 *Lucilla*.
- Danese, Veneranda (Jfr.): 1737/3 *Antigono*, 1738/1 *Zamiro*, 1738/2 *Artabano*, 1738/3 *Lagide*, 1740/1 *Alceste*, 1740/2 *Alessandro*.
- Dardozzi, Carlo, di Faenza: 1734/6 *Alceste*, 1734/7 *Araspe*, 1735/1 *Medoro*, 1735/2 *Curazio*, 1735/3 *Pillade*, 1735/5 *Tirsi*, 1736/2 *Achilla*, 1736/3 *Clistene*.
- Delfini Ramis, Cecilia (Fr.): 1733/2 *Flavio*.
- Della Parte, Anna Caterina (Fr.): 1740/1 *Cleonice*, 1740/2 *Giulia*.
- Della Stella, Giovanna (Jfr.): 1740/1 *Barsene*, 1740/2 *Sallustia*.
- Fantasia, Rosalia, di Mantova (Jfr.): 1734/6 interm., 1734/7 interm., 1735/1 interm., 1735/2 interm.
- Finsterbusch, Ignaz: 1737/2 *Marco Fabio*.
- Flora, Margarita, di Venezia (Jfr.): 1733/1 *Argippo*, 1733/2 *Emilia*, 1734/6 *Tauride*, 1734/7 *Osmida*, 1735/1 *Ruggero*, 1735/2 *Silvio*.
- Gabbiati, Giuseppe, di Venezia: 1738/4 *Fanete*, 1738/5 *Agenore*, 1739/1 *Medone*, 1739/2 *Argiro*, 1739/3 *Aristeo*, 1739/5 *Lucio Vero*.
- Gaggiotti, Pellegrino: 1739/6 interm., 1740/1 interm., 1740/2 *Claudio*, interm.
- Galetti, Filippo, di Cortona: 1736/1 *Evalco*.
- Giusti, Maria (Fr.): 1737/1 *Anagilda*.
- Isola, Anna: 1739/6 interm., 1740/1 interm., 1740/2 interm.
- Lucchini, Matteo: ?1733/1 interm., 1737/1 *Rodrigo*, 1737/3 *Odoacre*, 1738/2 *Arsace*, 1738/3 *Amasi*. Composer: 1737/3, 1738/1, 1738/2, 1738/3, 1739/6, 1740/1, 1740/2.
- Madonis, Girolama (Fr.): 1737/3 *Ostilia*, 1738/1 *Barsene*, 1738/2 *Statira*, 1738/3 *Candace*, 1738/5 *Elisa*, 1739/1 *Penelope*, 1739/2 *Zoe*.
- Mareschi, Marc'Antonio: 1740/1 *Fenicio*, 1740/2 *Marziano*.
- Marini, Francesca (Fr.): 1739/1 *Aquilio*.
- Mayerin, Catarina: 1737/2 *Cominio*.

- Mazzioli, Giuseppe: 1737/1 *Fernando*.
- Michaeli, Giovanni, di Padova: 1733/1 *Tisifaro*, 1733/2 *Ugone*, 1734/6 interm., 1734/7 interm., 1735/1 interm., 1735/2 interm.
- Monteviali Rubini, Angelica (Fr.): 1737/1 *Dantea*, 1737/2 *Papiria*.
- Monti, Cecilia, di Roma (Fr.): ?1733/1 interm., 1733/5 interm., 1734/1 interm., 1734/2 interm., 1734/3 *Rosalba*, 1734/4 *Adone*, 1734/5 *Rosmene*, 1735/4 *Scintilla*, 1736/1 interm.
- Moretti, Lorenzo, di Venezia: 1736/1 *Ceraste*.
- Moretti, Margarita, di Bologna: 1736/1 *Osmene*.
- Negri, Domenico: 1737/2 *Lucio Papirio*.
- Orlandi, Chiara, di Mantova (Jfr.): 1733/5 *Erminia*, 1734/1 *Lucilla*, 1734/2 *Ercena*, 1734/3 *Donna Beatrice*, 1734/4 *Venere*, 1734/6 *Teseo*, 1734/7 *Enea*, 1735/1 *Bradamante*, 1735/2 *Silvio*.
- Pampini, Teresa (Jfr.): 1737/1 *Sancio*.
- Personè, Catterina (Jfr.): 1737/3 *Clotilde*, 1738/1 *Mitrena*, 1738/2 *Rosmiri*, 1738/3 *Niceta*.
- Peruzzi, Teresa, detta La Denzia, di Venezia (Jfr.): 1733/5 *Armida*, 1734/1 *Berenice*, 1734/2 *Argenide*, 1734/3 *Donna Isabella*, 1734/6 *Arianna*, 1734/7 *Didone*, 1735/1 *Angelica*, 1735/2 *Marzia*, 1736/1 *Antigona*.
- Sosue, Teresa: 1740/1 *Mitrane*, 1740/2 *Albina*.
- Spinola Costantini, Giacinta (Fr.): 1733/1 *Zanaida*, 1733/2 *Guido*, 1738/5 *Clearco*, 1739/1 *Telemaco*, 1739/2 *Eraclio*, 1739/3 *Ismero*, 1739/5 *Vologeso*, 1740/1 *Olinto*.
- Susanni, Antonia (Jfr.): 1737/1 *Florindo*.
- Tasseli, Domenico: 1737/3 *Teodorico*, 1738/1 *Argene*, 1738/2 *Mitrane*, 1738/3 *Evergete*.
- Zane, Cattarina: 1737/2 *Servilio*.

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