

Dido Abandoned?

Shifts of Focus and Artistic Choices

in *Didone Pasticcios* of the Mingotti Opera Troupe

BERTHOLD OVER

In late 1747 the Mingotti opera troupe arrived for the first time at Copenhagen, a court that would remain at the center of its activity for several years.¹ Coming from Hamburg, where the troupe had performed operas during November, the repertoire the Mingottis put on stage was mostly well known by the troupe, almost no novelty was presented:

Farnace, re di Ponto

Previous performances: Hamburg (Nov. 1747), Leipzig (Michaelmas fair 1747), Graz (spring 1737)

Didone

Previous performances: Hamburg (Nov. 1747), Leipzig (Michaelmas fair 1747), Dresden (June 1747), Hamburg (Oct. 1746), Hamburg (Aug. 1744), Ljubljana/Laibach (carnival 1742), Graz (carnival 1737), Brno/Brünn (Dec. 1734), Linz (1731-1734)?

Venceslao

Previous performances: Leipzig (Michaelmas fair 1747), Hamburg (Aug. 1744), Hamburg (autumn 1743), Linz (summer 1743), Graz (spring 1737)

La furba e lo sciocco

Previous performances: Hamburg (carnival 1747)

1 On the Mingotti troupe and its stay in Copenhagen cf. THEOBALD, 2015, p. 52; MEDERER, 2012, pp. 78f.; SCHEPELEREN, 1995, pp. 14f.; MACKEPRANG, 1949-52; KROGH, 1924, pp. 7-34; MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. 77-84; OVERSKOU, 1856, vol. 2, pp. 47-49 and *passim*. On earlier opera productions cf. HANSEN, 2017, pp. 168-185; KROGH, 1929, pp. 79-87.

Il Tabarano

Previous performances: Dresden (summer 1747), Dresden (summer 1746), Hamburg (Jan. 1745), Graz (carnival 1738), Ljubljana (carnival 1733)²

To these performances must also be added *Merope*, given in February 1748. The staging of *Merope* is not documented by librettos, but is reported in the Hamburg newspaper *Hamburger Relations-Courier*:³

Merope

Previous performances: Dresden (summer 1747), Leipzig (spring 1747), Hamburg (carnival 1747)

The only relatively new pieces with few performances before the Copenhagen productions were the *intermezzi* *La furba e lo sciocco* which had been performed once, *Merope*, a new production from the previous year 1747, and, maybe, *Farnace* which was revived in Leipzig after a ten-year break, probably in a new musical version.

- 2 Dates and performance places after THEOBALD, 2015. His study is not only based on existing librettos but also on secondary literature. He does not mention the Linz performance of *Didone* in 1731-1734.
- 3 Copenhagen, 13 February 1748: "Yesterday, Her Royal Majesty the queen, together with Princess Louise, Royal Highness, attended the opera *Merope* in highest person." ("Gestern haben Ihre Königl. Maj. die Königin benebst der Prinzeßin Louise Königl. Hoheit der Opera *Merope* in höchster Person mit beygewohnet.") *Hamburger Relations-Courier*, no. 28, 19 February 1748. Also, in *Hamburger unpartheyischer Correspondent* (no. 202, 23 December 1747) there may be a reference to *Merope*: Copenhagen, 19 December 1747: "Yesterday, the high birthday of Her Majesty the reigning queen was celebrated at court with much splendor. [...] At five o'clock in the evening Their Majesties the king and the queen as well as Princess Louise, Royal Highnesses, betook to Charlottenburg and saw the opera *Nero* be performed with much pleasure and applause. The royal household servants up to the gentlemen Judicial Counsellors included were permitted to see it." ("Gestern wurde der hohe Gebuhrtstag Ihrer Majestät der regierenden Königin mit vieler Pracht bey Hofe gefeyert. [...] Des Abends um 5 Uhr begaben sich Ihre Majestäten der König und die Königin, imgleichen der Prinzeßin Louise Königl. Hoheiten nach Charlottenburg, und sahen die Opera *Nero* mit vielem Vergnügen und Beyfall aufführen. Die Königl. Hofbediente bis auf die Herren Justizräthe, mit eingeschlossen, haben die Erlaubniß gehabt, selbige mit anzusehen.") *Nero* could be a mis-spelling for *Merope* since an opera with this title is not known from the Mingotti repertoire. But it is documented that *Farnace* has been performed at the queen's birthday, cf. MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. 79f.; MACKEPRANG, 1949-52, pp. 6-8. Maybe *Merope* was originally planned for performance as birthday opera or shortly thereafter and titles have been confused. The Copenhagen performance of *Merope* is not mentioned in THEOBALD, 2015, and MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917.

Didone has a most impressive performance history and it must have been a backbone of the troupe's repertoire. First performed in Brno in 1734 by Mingotti, it was originally in the repertoire of Antonio Denzio's opera troupe in Prague where it had been given in 1731. Another performance took place in Linz between these two years,⁴ but it remains unclear whether it was staged by Denzio or by Mingotti. The libretto bears similarities to both the 1731 and 1734 productions. Since the networking of the troupes and the exchange of scores seem to have been very common, as Jana Spáčilová has already recognized,⁵ it is probable, however, that Denzio's *Didone* version may have been derived from the one given in late 1726 in Wrocław/Breslau. This production was given by the troupe Antonio Maria Peruzzi had brought to the city which, at this time, was led by Ludwig Wussin.⁶ The ties between Denzio and Peruzzi were relatively close because they were related – Peruzzi's father Giovanni Maria was almost certainly the brother of Denzio's mother Teresa Peruzzi – and they had collaborated in Prague. After some financial troubles they were still on good terms.⁷ Also, the Mingottis were part of this network; in 1732 six singers from the Denzio troupe joined their business in Brno,⁸ maybe taking over some musical material.

The aim of the present study is to have a closer look at the different *Didone* versions the Mingotti troupe performed over the years with regard to the recitatives and the arias. The focus will be on the modifications which may uncover the daily 'routine' of opera troupes, their strategies, aesthetics, the influence of the agents involved or the transfer of musical material. The basic questions are: Were different operas performed or just one that was modified constantly? How were successful operas created? How were choices made for substitute arias and which aesthetical concept is behind them? Particular attention will be given to the productions done around the existing score in Hamburg in 1744 and 1746, as well as in Copenhagen in 1748.

Recitative structure and authorship

For most of the performances the music is not extant. But, because sometimes a composer is named in the textbooks and because in some librettos, we can find handwritten composer names besides the aria texts, a partial reconstruction is possible. Moreover, there is a score of the Hamburg 1744 production of *Didone* that is preserved in Modena and has been de-

4 According to *Bibliographia dramatica* (pp. 67-69) this performance took place "c. 1732".

5 SPÁČILOVÁ, 2018, pp. 228, 244.

6 MATTHESON, 1740, p. 375.

7 After a rupture due to unfulfilled financial obligations in 1725, Giovanni Maria functioned as godfather for Antonio Denzio's child Giustiniana Vittoria in 1730, lent money some years later and stayed with the Denzios in 1735 when he died. On Peruzzi and the relationship with the Denzios see JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008, pp. 83-88; FREEMAN, 1992a, p. 66; also the article by the author in the present volume, pp. 241-269.

8 FREEMAN, 1992a, p. 61; JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008, p. 97.

scribed in detail for the first time by Reinhard Strohm.⁹ What we can say is that Peruzzi's version from 1726 derived from Tomaso Albinoni's score that was premiered in Venice at the Teatro San Cassian in 1725. In the Wrocław libretto that is rather close to Albinoni's version the composer is mentioned ("The music is by Signore Tomaso Albinoni"/"La Musica è del Signore Tomaso Albinoni") as well as substitution arias by Antonio Bioni. Albinoni is also the composer of the opera according to the librettos for Prague and Linz. In Brno the music is ascribed to Domenico Sarro who was the first to set Metastasio's libretto to music for Naples in 1724 and revived his opera in Venice in 1730 with modifications.¹⁰ The Venice version is the most likely to have been used in Brno,¹¹ but, no doubt, only partially, as we will see. The librettos for Graz and Ljubljana do not mention any composer. In Hamburg in 1744 and 1746 as well as in Copenhagen the music is ascribed to Paolo Scalabrini, the troupe's composer at this time, "except some arias by different authors" ("a risserva di alcune Arie, di diversi Autori"). For the Hamburg 1746 production composer names are quoted for the arias in a copy of the libretto preserved in Brussels.¹² So at first glance it seems that different scores by Albinoni, Sarro and Scalabrini were produced by the Peruzzi, Denzio and Mingotti troupes and that they contain music by other composers.

But if we have a closer look at the recitatives and the changes made from performance to performance it becomes evident that recitative texts remain basically the same, regardless of which composer is named as the author of the piece. Doesn't this point to the fact that the music of the recitatives must have been identical, especially in such cases where the text version deviates from the original librettos profoundly? Some examples (in comparison to Metastasio's original from 1724): the Denzio and all Mingotti librettos begin with "Donna real; del re de mori in nome" a text that is completely different from the original one and replaces "No principessa, amico" (see Appendix 1). Moreover, Scenes 1 to 5 have been contracted. Text cuts are the same in the librettos, for example in I,3 of the Mingotti version. At the beginning of Act II, Scenes 1 to 4 of the original are cut. Also, the heavy text cuts in Act III are found in every Mingotti and the Denzio libretto. Minor text changes and additions like in II,1, are repeated through all the librettos. That the librettos are based on the Albinoni version is shown by texts that are not found in the version of the premiere, but in Albinoni's only (cf., for example, the end of I,1, or II,5-6, or III,5 in the Mingotti version).¹³

9 I-MOe, Mus.F.1587. Together with other pasticcios of the Mingotti troupe the score originally was part of the music library of Elector Clemens August of Cologne. On the scores cf. STROHM, 2004; STROHM, 1999; on the library cf. REISINGER, 2018; BRANDENBURG, 1975.

10 Score of the Venetian version: I-Nc, Rari 7.2.5.

11 Cf. the article by JANA SPÁČILOVÁ in the present volume, p. 492; also SPÁČILOVÁ, forthcoming 2021, pp. 73f.; SPÁČILOVÁ, 2014. I would like to thank Jana Spáčilová for sharing her newest book with me.

12 B-Bc, 19903.

13 Most probably, Antonio Denzio was the arranger of the libretto whose task in the Denzio/Peruzzi business in Prague was to adjust the texts. Cf. JONÁŠOVÁ, 2013; SPÁČILOVÁ, forthcoming 2021, p. 73; FREEMAN, 1992a, pp. 283f.

Thus, the text version of the recitatives is the same although reportedly the composer is Albinoni, Sarro or Scalabrini and in the cases of Albinoni and Sarro they definitely never composed it as evidenced by librettos and scores. Therefore, I presume that the troupe (i.e. Angelo and Pietro Mingotti) used the same recitatives for a long time with major or minor changes due to text arrangements, style, different singers and changed keys of the varying arias. In fact, the rather awkward tonal structure of the Hamburg score suggests that the arias were inserted in a stable recitative skeleton. There are many unusual chord progressions. Twelve normal ones (same key, major/minor mode, fourth/fifth, less often third) are faced by nine uncommon ones (see Appendix 2). Thus, it seems highly probable that the recitative structure remained the same since the 1730s and that arias were exchanged when necessary and wanted. The rather high percentage of uncommon progressions – in *Catone*, performed twice until 1744 (and four times between 1740 and 1747), there is only one –¹⁴ may be explained by the rather long performance history of *Didone* that led to a high turnover of arias.

But, with respect to the recitatives, what do the composer names mean that are printed in the librettos? In the case of Albinoni, his name may in fact point to his authorship of the recitatives. Since the recitative structure remains the same it is not probable, however, that the recitatives were by Sarro, even if the 1734 libretto claims his authorship for the entire opera. Because of the stable recitative structure, it is also improbable that Scalabrini composed new music in 1744,¹⁵ even if we speculate that he might have set to music the specific *Didone* text version of the opera troupe. In fact, in some instances, not only the inserted arias but also those written by him do not fit the preceding recitative: “Vivi superbo e regna” is in B major, the preceding recitative ends in C major. Had Scalabrini written the recitatives himself the harmonic progression would be regular.¹⁶ So, it could be that in the only preserved score we may not find any recitatives by Sarro or Scalabrini, but some music originally written by Albinoni.

Moreover, there is no doubt that the existing score is a copy of the Mingotti working score containing the basic recitative structure and the inserted arias. A clue for this assumption is the insertion of “Va crescendo il mio tormento” at the wrong place in the score (between III,3 and III,4 and not at the beginning of III,5). The *cavatina* may have been cancelled already in the Hamburg production of 1744 as it was in 1746 when the text was pasted-over in the libretto. This may have been the reason why the fascicle

14 I,7, Fulvio: “Mio cor, non sospirar”, *E-B flat*. *Catone* was performed in Graz (1740), Hamburg (1744), Dresden (1747) and Leipzig (1747); the score documenting the Hamburg production is preserved in I-MOe, Mus.F.1590.

15 Or even earlier as proposed by KOKOLE (2012, pp. 76f.).

16 If we assume that the Scalabrini arias of the 1746 production were also sung in 1744 – the texts are identical, but the composer is only mentioned in the 1746 libretto – progressions are in most cases unusual as well: “Non ha ragione ingrato” (B minor/major -A major), “Se resto sul lido” (G minor/major-F major), “Vedi nel mio perdono” (G minor/major-A major). Only “L’augelletto in lacci stretto” (B flat major-G major) and “Cadrà fra poco in cenere” have a normal progression (D minor/major-G minor).

containing the music was taken out from the scene, but left elsewhere in the score. The impression of a working score is strengthened by the fact that Selene's part is written in two clefs: the recitatives in the alto and the arias in the soprano clef. Sometimes wrong clefs are written in the score: Iarba's aria "Cadrà fra poco in cenere" (III,8), for example, is clearly written in pitches of the tenor clef, but preceded by a soprano clef, suggesting that the vocal part has been transposed but the clef was overlooked. The same applies to Osmida's "Scherza il nocchier talora" (II,5) with pitches in the alto clef, but preceded by a soprano clef and Iarba's recitative in II,11 with pitches in the tenor clef, but preceded by an alto clef.¹⁷ However, these inconsistencies as well as the unusual chord progressions must have been adjusted in the performance material: either recitatives were arranged to fit the arias and/or the voices or arias were transposed to fit the recitatives and/or the voices.¹⁸

Because of the characteristic and relatively unchanged recitative version used over several years we can also definitely exclude the possibility that the *Didone* libretto Graz 1741 and the *Didone* score preserved in Pesaro, which have been linked to the Mingotti business,¹⁹ have anything to do with the troupe. They simply present another text version.²⁰

17 Similar working scores are found amongst material coming from other operas troupes. Cf. PEGAH, 2011, p. 65 (*Argippo*, Peruzzi troupe); SPÁČILOVÁ, 2018, p. 233 (*Antigona*, Burigotti troupe).

18 An example for an aria transposition may be "Quando freme altera l'onda" by Domingo Terradellas that appears in a transposed version in the Mingotti score (from D to C major) and so matches the preceding recitative. Cf. the D major version in Terradellas' *Merope* score, P-Ln, C.I.C. n.º 116 (RISM entry).

19 On the Pesaro score (I-PESo, ms.2007) cf. GIALDRONI, 1998, p. 457 (adopted by STROHM, 2004, p. 541); on the 1741 performance THEOBALD, 2015, p. 29; STROHM, 2004, p. 560; MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. 22, LXXXIV. The Graz libretto sometimes is qualified "lost", but extant in A-GI (C 135430) and D-B (Mus.Td 363, online: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00009D5800000000>, 03.02.2020). It is not signed by Angelo or Pietro Mingotti as usual, but by "the interested party" ("gli Interessati"). The copy preserved in A-GI contains a second title page linking the opera to the Viennese Kärntnertheater. This title page was pasted over with the last page of the dedication. The copy in D-B seems to contain this additional page too: it shines through the "Argomento", but it is still stuck together. This evidence suggests that the libretto, originally printed for the Kärntnertheater, was also used for a performance in Graz, most probably of the Kärntnertheater's troupe. For this purpose, a new title page and a dedication were printed and pasted over the former title. On *Didone* productions at the Kärntnertheater in 1729 and 1740/41 cf. SOMMER-MATHIS/ZSOVÁR, 2018. A similar case seems to be *Aristheus in einer teutschen Opera vorgestellt [...]*, Graz 1741, containing a second title page linking the libretto to a Kärntnertheater production in the same year.

20 See Appendix 1.

Constant and varying arias

If we have a look at the arias, we notice that they often change, though a certain performing tradition can be perceived. Especially for the roles of Didone, Iarba and Enea, Metastasio's original texts have been retained in almost every performance:

- “Son regina e sono amante” (I,1, Didone)
- “Fra lo splendor del trono” (I,3, Iarba)
- “Quando saprai chi sono” (I,4, Enea)
- “Non ha ragione, ingrato!” (I,9, Didone)
- “Se resto sul lido” (I,10, Enea)
- “Vedi nel mio perdono” (II,4 Enea)
- “Chiamami pur così” (II,12, Iarba)
- “Vivi superbo e regna” (III,1, Iarba)
- “Va crescendo il mio tormento” (III,5, Didone)
- “Cadrà fra poco in cenere” (III,8, Iarba)

It is very probable that the music of these texts changed (and, indeed, a big choice of arias was at the disposal of the singers given the numerous settings of *Didone* since Sarro's from 1724),²¹ but their persistence shows that Metastasio's emotional and affective conception of the protagonists Didone, her fugitive lover Enea and her antagonist Iarba present in their arias was perceived as rather consistent and convincing by the Mingottis. Another reason for their retention may have been that their performance was expected by the public because they were famous texts by Metastasio or indivisibly bound to a role: a Didone without “Son regina e sono amante” would not have been a Didone. For the secondary roles – Selene, Osmida and Araspe – arias were changed more often. They draw on Metastasio's text only occasionally. This suggests also that to sing a Metastasio text seems to have been a prerogative of the primary singers. It points to the role hierarchy of 18th-century opera and, at the same time, to the high status and great renown of the famous author.

21 Tomaso Albinoni (Venice 1725), Nicola Porpora (Reggio 1725), Leonardo Vinci (Rome 1726), Domenico Sarro (Venice 1730, second version), Gaetano Maria Schiassi (Bologna 1735), Giovanni Battista Lampugnani (Padua 1739), Egidio Romoaldo Duni (Milan 1739), Rinaldo di Capua (Lisbon 1741), Andrea Bernasconi (Venice 1741), Baldassare Galuppi (Modena 1741), Johann Adolf Hasse (Dresden 1742) besides pasticcios (Rome 1732; George Frideric Handel, London 1737) and numerous performances whose composers are unknown.

The Hamburg and Copenhagen productions from 1744, 1746 and 1748

Musical choices, singer's influences and professional networks

To have a closer look at aria substitutions and musical choices the performances in Hamburg (1744, 1746) and Copenhagen (1748) will be examined in detail. With regard to these productions the overview in Appendix 3 shows the music preserved. Since, as noted, several settings of the *Didone* libretto were available since its premiere in 1724 we must, however, use caution and cannot link any ascription in one source to other productions unconditionally.²² Only for arias that do not draw on Metastasio's texts may an ascription be correct, but not necessarily so, because the text could also have been set to music by another composer (e.g. as a 'baggage aria' expressly composed for a singer)²³ as by the one mentioned in a source.

As we can see, Copenhagen marks the return to the original Hamburg version that may have been considered economically safer, artistically more convincing and more apt for the singers than the other versions. Indeed, Giovanna della Stella who sang in the Hamburg production of 1744 and was engaged in the same year at the court of the Elector of Cologne, Clemens August of Bavaria,²⁴ rejoined the troupe and came to Copenhagen to sing her role of Enea, whereas other singers changed. Moreover, the lack of experience with opera of the Copenhagen public may have influenced the return to the version of 1744. And Hamburg must have been a reference for the Danish taste since Danish aristocrats and merchants were often in the city which touched the Danish border in that time.²⁵ There, they could have attended the opera. Among them was the royal prince who was responsible for the engagement of the troupe and who attended it in 1743.²⁶

Let us have a closer look at the aria substitutions. The two librettos and the score of the 1744 production reveal that the exchange of arias seems to have been a common procedure to keep public interest high. Two texts pasted over in the Brussels libretto ("Bel labro lusinghiero", "Quando fremente altera l'onda") show that the arias must have been replaced during the performances. Although no libretto with paste-overs exists

22 This procedure is used by BÄRWALD, 2016, in his study whose results must, therefore, be questioned (on *Didone* cf. vol. 2, pp. 450-454).

23 On this kind of arias cf. FREEMAN, 1992b.

24 In 1744, the Elector visited Hamburg (11-25 August), heard the Mingotti troupe and employed della Stella and Rosa Costa for his Bonn *Hofkapelle*. Between 1744 and 1746 the two singers were paid from the *Hofkammer* budget of the Bishopric of Münster where Clemens August was bishop since 1719. Cf. RIEPE, 2006; REINCKE, 1950; BEUSKER, 1978, pp. 28-30, 136, 173; also OVER, 2016, p. 73.

25 Today's Schleswig-Holstein was part of the Danish Kingdom; the city of Altona, now a district of Hamburg, was Danish too.

26 MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. 27-28.

(any more) the exchange of two arias in the *Catone* score in comparison with the libretto points to a similar strategy that may have been a general one.²⁷ It is not known how these substitution arias may have come into the possession of the impresario, the singers or other agents involved in the production.

More arias have been substituted in the 1746 version of the opera. As is known from other cases these aria substitutions seem to benefit mainly from two factors: the mobility of the singers and their professional network. Let us consider first the mobility aspect: almost the complete music for *Didone* was changed in the 1746 Hamburg version. Significantly, all the arias are by Giovanni Battista Lampugnani and taken from his *Didone abbandonata*, first performed in Padua in 1739. Only the final recitative with the famous death scene remains; as has been noted, the short arioso “Va crescendo il mio tormento” was cancelled.²⁸ Apparently, the soprano Giustina Turcotti joined the troupe in 1746²⁹ who had sung Lampugnani’s *Didone* just a year before in Crema.³⁰ She certainly took over her arias.³¹ Although it is not known if she sang Lampugnani’s original music or arias specifically composed for her³² the music may have been preserved. Lampugnani’s *Didone* was performed once again in Naples in 1753 and a score of the first two acts

27 On the same strategy in opera performances in Wrocław see the article by JANA SPÁČILOVÁ in the present volume, pp. 492-494.

28 It is pasted over in the libretto (B-Bc, 19903).

29 According to THEOBALD, 2015, p. 48; the Hamburg librettos of this year mostly do not mention the singers. Turcotti appeared in carnival 1746 in Ferrara and could well have been in Hamburg in autumn. Apart from Giustina Turcotti (S) Theobald lists Francesco Arrigoni (T), Cecilia Belvederi, Rosalba Buini, Settimio Canini (T), Antonio Casati (castrato), Rosa Costa (S), Giacinta Forcellini (S), Mad. Keyser, Regina Mingotti (S), Antonio Pereni (T); in addition, Gaspara Beccheroni and Pellegrino Gaggiotti for the *intermezzi*.

30 SARTORI, 1990-1994, no. 7787.

31 Turcotti seems to have adopted a similar procedure in *Catone in Utica* given by the Mingotti troupe in Dresden in 1747. If we trust the handwritten ascriptions in the libretto preserved in US-We, ML50.2.C315 (they are clearly by a late 19th- or early 20th-century hand, but conform to MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. LXXVf., who based his observations on a libretto now apparently lost), she sang exclusively arias by Leonardo Vinci in whose setting she performed in Florence in 1729.

32 An interesting example for such an aria is another version of “Son regina e sono amante” which Leonardo Vinci composed expressly for Turcotti (“alla S.^a Giustina Turcotti 1729.”, “Del Sig.^o Vinci”, GB-Lbl, Add.31605). In 1729 Turcotti sang *Didone abbandonata* in Lucca; Vinci wrote his *Didone abbandonata* in 1726 for Rome. Although the composer of the Lucca production is qualified as anonymous in *Corago* (cf. <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/00009755739>, 03.02.2020; it is not listed in SARTORI, 1990-1994), Vinci’s obvious involvement may point to the fact that his *Didone* was revived. However, if he is not the composer of the Lucca opera another setting may have been produced (at this time, apart from Vinci, Sarro, Albinoni and Porpora had set to music *Didone*) or a pasticcio with some new music written for the singers.

of this production is extant in Madrid.³³ Since the singer of the title role, Caterina Visconti, was the same in both the Naples 1753 and Padua 1739 productions she may have transferred some of the music (maybe reworked) she had sung earlier at the opera's premiere³⁴ – despite the long lapse of time. A singer's choice certainly is also the reason for inserting Lampugnani's "Chiamami pur così" sung by Iarba, i.e. Settimio Canini, who appeared in the same role in the *Didone* production in Alessandria in 1742.³⁵

The effect of the network becomes apparent in the following example: Hasse's "Tu mi scorgi al gran disegno" sung by Osmida is scored for bass, and a composition of Osmida's second aria "Scherza il nocchier talora" by Scalabrini, equally for bass, has survived in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.³⁶ One may suspect that the shift to a bass for Osmida may have occurred due to the presence of a bass singer in the troupe, but documentary evidence is lacking. It is however beyond doubt that the aria came to the troupe via Giuseppe Schuster, a bass singer in the Dresden *Hofkapelle*. Schuster sang with the troupe in the Saxon capital in summer 1746 where the Mingotti performed from June until September (he appeared in *Argenide*, *Artaserse* and *La clemenza di Tito*).³⁷ Immediately thereafter, from September 1746 to February 1747, the troupe was in Hamburg. The aria "Tu mi scorgi al gran disegno", taken from Hasse's *Didone abbandonata*, was premiered by Schuster in Hubertusburg and Dresden in 1742/43.³⁸ But since Schuster's voice was a high one in the baritone register – "Tu mi scorgi" ranges from *c* to *g'* – it also could have been sung by a tenor. Giuseppe Alberti, for example, had a voice ranging from *B* to *b flat*.³⁹ The other aria for Osmida, "Scherza il nocchier talora", is ascribed to Scalabrini in the 1746 libretto. But on stylistic grounds and because of the lower tessitura (*G-e'*) the aria preserved in the Royal Library in Copenhagen may reflect a later version or reworking of the piece.

33 E-Mn, M.2369, M.2370.

34 *La Didone abbandonata* [...], Padua 1739; I-Pmc, B.P.2572 XIII. A libretto for the Naples production is not listed neither in SARTORI, 1990-1994, nor in *Corago*, but see MAIONE/SELLER, 2005, p. 83. According to Gian Giacomo Stiffoni the opera was revised for Naples by Lampugnani himself. Cf. STIFFONI, 2001, p. 291.

35 SARTORI, 1990-1994, no. 7781.

36 DK-Kk, mu 7502.1831.

37 On Schuster cf. SARTORI, 1990-1994, nos. 2983, 5782; MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. XL, LXVIII, LXXVIII; FÜRSTENAU, 1979, p. 237 and *passim*.

38 Handwritten singer names in the libretto copy preserved in Halle: *Didone abbandonata* [...], Dresden 1742; D-HAu, Q.289 (II), online: <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd18/content/pageview/13134880>, 03.02.2020; also in the score F-Pn, Rés.1351 (p. 72: "Sig.^r Schuster."); further scores among others in: D-HAmi, 66; I-Vnm, Mss.It.Cl.IV.266 (= 09837). See also SCHMIDT-HENSEL, 2009, vol. 2, pp. 587-618.

39 See his arias in the Mingotti scores of *Didone abbandonata* (Iarba) and *Catone in Utica* (Catone).

Shifts of focus in music and emotional content

It is an interesting question how aria substitutions affected the dramaturgy of the opera. If arias are identical in emotional content there is no alteration, but if they vary, they bear numerous implications. A shift of focus can be observed in the substitution of Metastasio's original "Va lusingando amore" in the 1744 production, first by "Quando freme altera l'onda" by Domingo Terradellas from his *Merope* (Rome 1743) during the 1744 performances and then by "Io veggo [veggio] in lontananza" by Lampugnani in the 1746 production. In the preceding recitative of her solo scene Didone describes her love to Enea that persists even if he is angry with her. In "Va lusingando amore" she complains of the effects of love which apparently gives relief to her pains, but in fact only does so for a short while before the pains return. Thus, the aria presents her inner feelings. On the contrary, "Quando freme altera l'onda" is a virtuosic simile aria on the stormy sea that puts her feelings on a metaphorical level. The mariner fears to drown in the waves, but once the tempest has gone the waves take him to the shore, meaning in the case of Didone that her turmoil in love will turn out well. "Io veggo in lontananza" in turn is once again more connected to the action. It speaks of Didone's hope for her love that may, however, delude her. Here too, she presents her inner feelings. In the two arias a basically fulfilled hope stands against deluded hope. But if we compare the music of "Quando freme altera l'onda" from the Mingotti score and "Io veggo in lontananza" from the Madrid score which may, as mentioned, retain some music of the 1739 production (most probably sung in Hamburg), the pieces are very similar ("Va lusingando amore" is not preserved): they are highly virtuosic arias with coloraturas, wide leaps and an enormous voice range. They even share identical instrumental motives.⁴⁰ Whereas the music fits well in the case of "Quando freme altera l'onda" it seems out of place for "Io veggo in lontananza" and only motivated by the need for an effective aria at the end of Act II.

Whereas the musical (not the textual) ending of the scene is identical in the case just described, a shift of musical focus can be seen in the following example. Selene's "Se questo mio core" was almost certainly replaced by "Amor non prometto" from Niccolò Jommelli's *Astianatte*, Rome 1741.⁴¹ Although the aria was sung by Giovanni Cellini

40 Compare, for example, the broken chords in the Madrid and the Mingotti scores.

41 There seems to exist no other composition of the text and it appears in no other *Astianatte* libretto (alternative title: *Andromaca*) that could be checked online (the librettos of the productions in Florence 1702, London 1727, Macerata 1729, Alessandria 1729, Perugia 1743 were not available). The slightly different text in Mingotti's version ("che m'ami lo vedo / che peni lo credo" instead of "che peni lo credo / che m'ami lo vedo" in the libretto) appears in Jommelli's autograph as a correction (D-Sl, H.B.XVII.235a., fol. 61r), but not in the copies in A-Wn (Mus.Hs.17661, fols. 55r-v), F-Pn (D.6267, fols. 1r-v) and I-Nc (7.7.1-2/ Rari Cornice 5.17, fols. 39r-v/53r-v), repeating the first version of Jommelli's score. In the autograph, representing the performance version, the aria for Ermione (Giovanni Cellini) is marked "Aria 3." and, with red chalk, "un tuono sotto". Since it is not the third aria

in Rome (Ermione), it was probably transferred via Ventura Rocchetti, singer at the Dresden court and *primo uomo* (Pirro) in Jommelli's opera. The troupe could have come into possession of the piece during its Dresden stay in summer 1746. The content of the two arias is the same (Selene explains her refusal of love to Araspe) but the music is completely different. "Se questo mio core" is a passionate, virtuosic explanation marked *Presto* (Example 1) whereas "Amor non prometto" is an unpretentious aria in an *Andante* tempo bearing a certain simplicity (Example 2). This is due to the rather regular structure of the A¹ and A² sections of the *da capo* aria, including frequent literal repetitions (aabcc and aab'c'b''c'c'). Nevertheless, it is vocally demanding because of numerous leaps and arpeggios in the vocal line. In the first case, Selene appears as a 'royal' character and in the second, she is shown as a 'simple' (or 'feigned simple') personality. The substitution of a passionate aria by a rather restrained one shows a remarkable shift of focus regarding both the character and the dramaturgy of the opera.

Example 1: Anon., "Se questo mio core", vocal entry.

Presto

Se que - sto mi - o co - re ti nie - ga l'af - fet - to, ti
 nie - ga l'af - fet - to non cre - di, non cre - di il mio
 pet - to cru - de - le, spie - ta - to, e col - pa del
 fa - to, e col - pa del fa - to, e'

in the opera or an aria in scene 3 or the third aria for Ermione, the clue may refer to the third version of the aria. This thesis is corroborated by the different typeface of the piece, Jommelli using a thicker quill in comparison to the other recitatives and arias surrounding it. In addition to the non-existent text changes the copies do not realize the transposition, so that it is certain that they were copied from the un-altered score. The Mingotti version instead must have been copied from the altered score (or a source based on it) because it incorporates the text changes. This first-hand transmission of the music may confirm Rocchetti's involvement. On *Astianatte* see also D'OVIDIO, 2018; D'OVIDIO, 2017. The opera was revived in Perugia in 1743, cf. <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0005767>, 03.02.2020.

Example 2: Niccolò Jommelli, “Amor non prometto” from *Astianatte* (Rome 1741).

A - mor non pro - met - to, non nie - go pie - ta, con - ser - va l'af -
 fet - to, va, spe - ra chi sa che m'a - mi lo ve - do, che pe - ni lo
 cre - do, ti ba - sti co - si, ti ba - ti co - si, ti

To expand this observation and to prove that shifts of focus are a common practice in the Mingotti troupe, I will adopt a diachronic perspective. In II,9, for example, Selene has a solo scene. In a short recitative she laments on her love and realizes that she only can reveal Didone’s love pains to Enea, but not her own. In Metastasio’s original follows a simile aria (II,13, “Veggio la sponda”) where Selene compares her situation with a mariner who wants to reach the shore but is held back by the waves, alluding to her wish to declare her love that is inhibited by duty. In the Mingotti productions, several compositions were presented at this place. It seems that all but one of them are still extant – but it must, however, be repeated that authorship cannot be completely ascertained in every case.

Table 1: *Selene’s arias in II,9*

Year	City	Aria	Taken from	Singer
1731-34	Linz	Son come far-falletta	A. Vivaldi, <i>Arsilda regina di Ponto</i> , Venice 1716 or Vicenza 1720	unknown
1734	Brno	Anime tormentate	?	Anna Cosimi
1737	Graz	Privo del caro bene	J. A. Hasse, <i>Dalisa</i> , Venice 1730	Marianne Pirker
1742	Ljubljana	Sino alle stelle andranno	G. Carcani, <i>La concordia del Tempo con la Fama</i> , Venice 1740	Giovanna Rossi

Year	City	Aria	Taken from	Singer
1744	Hamburg	Di quest'alma il fier tormento	G. A. Paganelli, <i>Barsina</i> , Venice 1742	Catarina Bäräth
1746	Hamburg	Speme di dolce calma	P. Pulli, <i>Cajo Marzio Coriolano</i> , Reggio Emilia 1741/ Naples 1745?	Giacinta Forcellini?
1748	Copenhagen	Di quest'alma il fier tormento	G. A. Paganelli, <i>Barsina</i> , Venice 1742	Giacinta Forcellini

In the Linz production of 1731-1734 by the Denzio or Mingotti troupe “Son come farfalletta” was sung, most probably from Antonio Vivaldi’s *Gl’inganni felici per vendetta* (Vicenza 1720, RV 699-C = reworking of *Armida al campo d’Egitto*, Venice 1718, RV 699-A),⁴² taken over from *Arsilda regina di Ponto* (Venice 1716, RV 700). The texts are very similar:⁴³

Vivaldi 1716	Vivaldi 1720	Denzio/Mingotti 1731-1734
Son come farfalletta che in mezzo a due facelle dubbiosa errando va.	Son come farfalletta ch’in mezzo due facelle dubbiosa errando va.	Son come farfalletta che intorno ad una face dubbiosa errando va.
Ambe le sembran belle e in tanto semplicitta arde di qua e di là.	Timor si fa rubelle speranza mi diletta peno di qua, di là.	E mentre pena e tace lo sguardo altrui diletta col gir di qua e di là.

The Graz production from 1737 features the aria “Privo del caro bene” from Hasse’s *Dalila* (Venice 1730).⁴⁴ The text of the aria (originally sung by Faustina Bordoni) was slightly changed in the first and more extensively in the second stanza to fit into the situation. But note also its references to the aria sung in 1731-1734. In the second stanza “tortorella” was exchanged by “farfalletta”, which was the basic theme in the earlier aria:⁴⁵

42 Note the takeover of the word “diletta” in the second stanza from the 1720 to the 1731-1734 text.

43 1716: II,12, *Arsilda* (Anna Vicenza Dotti); 1720: III,6, *Osmira* (Cecilia Belisani). Two scores of *Arsilda* are preserved in Turin (I-Tn, Foà 35, online in *Internet culturale*), a copy of the aria in a reduced version for soprano instead of alto with basso continuo only and a different bass line in Dresden (D-Dl, Mus.1-F-30, fols. 34v f./pp. 68f.).

44 Several sources (cf. RISM and *Internet culturale*) including D-MÜs, Sant.Hs.1981 and I-Rc, Ms.2252.

45 The text has nothing to do with “Privo del caro bene” from Zeno’s *Amor generoso* (present in the librettos Venice 1707, Milan 1709).

Hasse 1730

Priva del caro bene
 ah! che **partir** conviene.
 E pur (non so che sia)
 sento nell'alma mia
 qualche speranza ancor.

Mingotti 1737

Privo del caro bene
 ah! che **morir** conviene
 e pur non so che sia,
 sento nell'alma mia
 qualche speranza ancor.

Tal per campagna errando
vedova Tortorella
 trova **la cara, e bella**
delizia del suo amor.

Vicina al lume errando
 trova **la farfalletta**
una morte diletta
mercede del suo amor.

In Ljubljana in 1742, “Sino alle stelle andranno” by Giuseppe Carcani was sung at this place. The aria was taken from his serenata *La concordia del Tempo con la Fama* which he wrote in Venice in 1740 for the Ospedale degl’Incurabili to pay homage to the Electoral Prince Friedrich Christian of Saxony.⁴⁶ Only in the second stanza were changes made:

Carcani 1740

Sino alle stelle andranno
 spinte dal vento l’onde:
 tutte si scopriranno
 le valli più profonde
 del procelloso mar.

Mingotti 1742

Sino alle stelle andranno
 spinte dal vento l’onde,
 tutte si scopriranno
 le valli più profonde
 del procelloso mar.

Così **l’odiato** pegno
 in braccio a mille morti
Fia scopo del mio sdegno:
 così **saprò i miei torti**
irata vendicar.

Così **l’amato** pegno
mi getta a mille morti
 in braccio **de l’affanno,**
 così **crudel tiranno,**
 che mi fa sospirar.

46 D-DI, Mus.F-82,5-8; on his stay cf. ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 1996.

“Di quest’alma il fier tormento”, sung in Hamburg in 1744, is an aria ascribed to several composers in different sources: Christoph Willibald Gluck,⁴⁷ Carl Heinrich Graun,⁴⁸ Giuseppe Antonio Paganelli.⁴⁹ In the Mingotti score it bears no composer name. But there is no doubt that Paganelli composed it and that it was transferred to the Mingotti score once again by a singer. The aria is found in Paganelli’s opera *Barsina* which premiered in Venice in autumn 1742.⁵⁰ The role of Statira singing the aria in I,13 was created by “Catterina Barat, Romana”, i.e. Catarina Bäräth who was member of the Mingotti troupe in summer 1744 and appeared as Selene in Hamburg. The text is slightly different in the original and a different prosody resulting in a rather clumsy word setting in the Mingotti source suggests that the adaptation was not made very carefully and perhaps in a hurry.⁵¹

Paganelli 1742

Di quest’alma il fier tormento
idol mio solo è per te.
Caro amor
questo cor
sì costante ogn’or sarà.

Mingotti 1744

Di quest’alma il fier tormento
idol mio solo è per te.
Caro amor
questo cor
sì costante ogn’or sarà.

- 47 Modern ascription in D-SW1, Mus.146 (RISM entry). The sources in A-Wn, Mus.Hs.1039 (ascribed to Gluck) and Mus.Hs.17881 present the aria in an arrangement with French text (“Dors aimable Aurore”). It is part of the pasticcio *Tircis et Doristée* produced in Laxenburg in 1756. However, the pasticcio, text by Charles-Simon Favart, was already given in Paris in 1752. The new edition of the libretto of 1759 presents some of the music, including on pp. 3-6 the mentioned air (*Tircis et Doristée. Pastorale; parodie d’Acis et Galatée; représentée pour la première fois par les Comédiens Italiens Ordinaires du Roi, le 4 Septembre 1752. Nouvelle édition [...]*, Paris 1759, several copies in F-Pn). It shows the vocal line only and presents a simplified version of the first part of the Italian aria on the text “Paresseuse Aurore”. In the 1752 edition of the libretto the music is not printed, but there is a clue instead: “N° 1. Air: *De la Serva Padrona*.” However, Pergolesi’s *Serva padrona* does not contain an air with the same music. Maybe it was substituted or added in the Paris performances in 1752 since the editor of the published score claims that the *intermezzi* had been given at Paris opera in a corrupted form: “L’Editeur de cet Ouvrage le donne au Public, non dans l’état de mutilation où l’on a été contraint de le mettre à l’opera de Paris pour satisfaire l’impatience des spectateurs, mais entier, et tel qu’il fait depuis trente ans l’admiration publique sur tous les Theatres de l’Europe.” (*La Serva Padrona Intermezzo. Del Sig.^r Gio. Batta. Pergolese. Rappresentato in Parigi nell’Autunno 1752*, Paris [1752]).
- 48 CZ-Pak, 432, with text „O rosetta semper laeta”.
- 49 PL-Wu, RM 4749, with text „Ave maris stella”/”O rosetta semper laeta”.
- 50 *Barsina [...]*, Venice 1742; online: <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0006811>, 03.02.2020.
- 51 The original text is also found in the manuscript in D-SW1.

E la morte più crudele
venga pure,
che mia fè non vincerà.

E la morte più crudele
venga pure,
che per te lieta mi fa.

As a parenthesis, it may be of interest that the aria already had a past history. It was sung in Prague during the coronation ceremonies that made Maria Teresa of Austria Queen of Bohemia in 1743. As one of the operas given during the ceremonies Paganelli's *Barsina* was revived.⁵² But "Di quest'alma il fier tormento" is already found in the libretto of the pasticcio *Semiramide riconosciuta*, the first coronation opera, where the text appears in III,8 (Scitalce). Consequently, it is not included in the Prague version of *Barsina*.⁵³ Since documentation on the ensemble is lacking it is not known if Catarina Bäräth was singing during the coronation ceremonies. It is, however, documented that the Mingotti were interested in performing operas during that same period. In March 1743 Pietro Mingotti applied for permission to give performances in the Prague theater (Kotzentheater).⁵⁴ He did not obtain permission but still came with his troupe to Prague in early 1744.⁵⁵ Thus, whereas it must remain speculation whether Bäräth was engaged for the Prague coronation operas where she could have created once again the role of Statira in *Barsina* and the one of Scitalce in *Semiramide riconosciuta* singing in the latter "Di quest'alma il fier tormento" and where she may have been engaged by Mingotti when he came to the city some months later, it is obvious that the aria was inserted in Mingotti's pasticcio *Didone* at her instigation.

In 1746 this aria was substituted by Pietro Pulli's "Speme di dolce calma", taken from his opera *Cajo Marzio Coriolano* (III,5, Volunnia; maybe Reggio nell'Emilia 1741, maybe Naples 1745).⁵⁶ Only a minor textual change in the second stanza which may be the result of misreading can be observed ("languo" instead of "langue" at the very beginning).⁵⁷

52 JONÁŠOVÁ, 2009, p. 80.

53 See the libretto *La Barse* [...], Prague 1743; online: <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/0001008614>, 03.02.2020.

54 Concurrent applications were made by Felix Kurz and Franz Johann Deppe, but the permission was given to the Viennese impresario Joseph Selliers. Cf. JONÁŠOVÁ, 2009, pp. 55-57.

55 THEOBALD, 2015, p. 33. I would like to thank Tanja Gözl from the Gluck-Gesamtausgabe for her valuable suggestions regarding the aria.

56 Score in I-Vnm, Mss.It.Cl.IV.770 (= 10176); single aria in B-Bc, 12613. The Reggio and Naples performances are recorded in JACKMAN/McCLYMONDS, based on secondary literature. However, no librettos for these seem to be extant and they are not recorded in the two cities' opera chronologies: FABBRI/VERTI, 1987; MAIONE/SELLER, 2005. In Venice, the opera was given at the Teatro San Cassian in carnival 1747 with Gerolima Giacometti as Volunnia. The libretto had a second edition, so the opera seems to have been a success. Cf. <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0008037>; <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0008039>, 03.02.2020.

57 In the libretto Venice 1747 the second verse of the second stanza reads "fra doppio vento il fior"; in the Venetian score "copra" instead of "copre" in the other sources is used.

Pulli 1741?/1745?

Speme di dolce calma
che mi scintilla in sen
par che prometta all'alma
il placido seren d'amica pace.

Mingotti 1746

Speme di dolce calma
che mi scintilla in sen
par che prometta all'alma
Il placido seren d'amica pace.

Langue così smarrito

da doppio vento il fior
ma un Zeffiro gradito
lo copre dal furor di Borea audace.

Languo così smarrito

da doppio vento il fior
ma un zefiro gradito
lo copre dal furor di Borea audace.

It is, however, not clear which musical version was sung in Hamburg. The aria is preserved in an opulent and sonorous scoring for flutes, "Trombe con sordine", violins "con sordine", viola, bass and two solo violins in the B section in Venice and in a reduced version for strings only in Brussels. In Copenhagen in 1748 Mingotti returned to "Di quest'alma il fier tormento", sung at this time by Giacinta Forcellini.

If we compare the music of these pieces, we must affirm that it is very different in each case. In the Linz version the simile aria by Vivaldi is a rather catchy tune with gentle syncopations in an extravagant scoring with divided first violins (Example 3).

Example 3: Antonio Vivaldi, "Son come farfalletta", vocal entry (voice and basso continuo only).

Allegro

Son co-me far-fal-let-ta che in mez-zo a due fa - cel-le, che in mez-zo a due fa - cel-le dub-
bio - sa cr-ran-do va, far - fal - let-ta, far - fal - let-ta cr -
ran - - - - do va, in mez-zo a due fa

The Graz aria “Priva del caro bene” is a virtuosic piece containing the original singer’s vocal specialties: syncopated rhythms, tone repetitions, alternating chromatic notes (Example 4).⁵⁸

Example 4: Johann Adolf Hasse, “Priva del caro bene”, vocal entry (voice only).

Allegro assai/Andante

Pri - va del ca - ro, del ca - ro be - ne

ah che par - tir, par - tir con - vie - ne e pur non

so che si - a sen - to nel - l'al - ma mi - a qual - che spe -

ran

Carcani’s simile aria on the conventional stormy sea is an *aria di bravura* with lots of coloraturas as well as typical tremolo figures and broken chords in the (Example 5).

Example 5: Giuseppe Carcani, “Sino alle stelle andranno”, vocal entry (voice only).

Allegro assai

Si - no al - le stel - le an - dran - no spin - te dal ven - to l'on - de, tut - te si sco - pri -

ran - no le val - li piu pro - fon - de, le val - li piu pro - fon - de

del pro - cel - lo - so mar.

58 Cf. WOYKE, 2010, pp. 116-125. Tempo markings vary in the sources. Whereas D-MÜs, Sant.Hs.1981, says *Andante*, the short score in I-Rc, Ms.2252, says *Allegro assai*, a tempo more often used by Bordoni.

Like “Anime tormentate” (Brno 1734), whose music is lost, “Di quest’alma il fier tormento” is not a simile aria and describes a psychic state of the character not with images but with explicit words. In the latter Selene is characterized as a more sensible human being than in the former, more generic simile arias. Consequently, “Di quest’alma” presents a tender musical language in a minuet tempo with appoggiaturas and a scoring including two transverse (Example 6).

Example 6: Giuseppe Antonio Paganelli, “Di quest’alma il fier tormento”, vocal entry (voice only).

Tempo di Minuett

Di que - st'al - ma il fier tor - men - to i - dol - mi - o so - lo e per te,
ca - ro a - mor que - sto cor si co - stan - te o - gnor sa - ra,
si, si, si co - stan - te o - gnor sa - ra, o - gnor sa - ra.

“Speme di dolce calma” in an *Andante* tempo shows in the first stanza the hope for calm (in the turmoil of love) that is illustrated in the second by an image. An irregular melody structure due to the attempt to unify the verses makes the aria a little bit awkward. The melody contains syncopations and leaps that characterize Selene’s rejoicing at the first glimmer of hope. It also conforms to the tender type of aria (Example 7).

The arias are very different in style and mood. They certainly reflect the strengths and predilections of the singers, but they also show different facets of the character and result in a protean dramaturgy. In every pasticcio production Selene appears in a different way at the end of the scene, even though the preceding recitative always remains the same.

Selene shows in the same single scene different psychic states: in Linz she is graceful, in Graz passionate, in Ljubljana emotional, in Hamburg sensible and two years later cautiously rejoicing. In Copenhagen she continues to follow the sensible pattern. Thus, all in all, in this scene a shift from conceptions of ‘external’ passions to concepts of ‘internal’ sensibility can be perceived – a shift that, of course, conforms to overall tendencies in the mid-century.⁵⁹ It seems that in Selene’s scene a consistent role conception was not intended, but a reflection of aesthetic and social developments.

59 After its beginnings in France around 1700, in England around 1720 this tendency reaches Germany around 1740. Cf. amongst others SAUDER, 2015; LLOYD, 2013; BECKER-CANTARINO,

Example 7: Pietro Pulli, “*Speme di dolce calma*”, vocal entry (voice only).

Andante

Spe-me di dol-ce ____ cal-ma che mi scin - til - la in sen par che pro-met-ta al -

l'al-ma il pla-ci - do se-ren d'a mi-ca pa-ce, par che pro - met - ta al-l'al-ma il

pla - ci - do se - ren d'a - mi - ca pa -

ce, pro - met-ta al-l'al-ma il bel se

At the same time, it seems that music was at the center of attention. This approach may be traced back to two facts: the fact that Metastasio’s texts were well-known all over Europe⁶⁰ (so that they can be qualified as truly European cultural assets at the time) may have called the audience’s attention to other aspects of the operatic spectacle than the action – music, aria disposition, emotions, singer performance, etc. The fact that the audience of the Mingotti performances in Northern Europe was non-Italian and unfamiliar with traditions and conventions of Italian opera may have caused problems in understanding (despite German translations printed in the librettos) so that the German audiences may have enjoyed music above everything else – just like an anonymous German reviewer put it when he wrote on the Hamburg performances by the Mingotti troupe in 1740: “Anyway, the action of an opera is a forced work. Will we do wrong if we praise the singing as the principal element of the opera we heard?”⁶¹ Mingotti may have taken this situation into account while arranging his operas.

2005; RENDALL, 2004; SWEETMAN, 1998, pp. 77-95. Also, in the Hamburg *lied* production of the mid-century tendencies for more emotional approaches can be perceived (although this aspect is not deepened in Hottmann’s study). For the first *lied* collection from 1742 “Feuer” (“fire”) is as important as “das Zärtliche” (“the sentimental”); some years later developments in taste emphasize emotional immediacy. HOTTMANN, 2017, pp. 662, 667f.

60 See the numerous translations of his librettos, including French (Paris 1749), English (London 1767) and German (Leipzig 1769-1774) translations of his works. On the reception of Metastasio especially in northern Germany cf. LÜTTEKEN/SPLITT, 2002.

61 “Die Handlung einer Oper ist überhaupt ein gezwungenes Werk. Thun wir also unrecht, wenn wir bey dieser Oper, welche wir gehöret haben, daß Singen als das Hauptstück frei-

Nevertheless, opera was not a concert. The action must not be underestimated and seems to have been an important element of the operatic spectacle too. In fact, in the Mingotti version of the *Didone* libretto there are several sequences of scenes that contain no arias, for example I,7-9 and III,5-8 (about 100 lines each, 10-12 pages of music in the score), and, the longest II,10-12 (about 160 lines long, 15 pages). In order that the opera would not become boring for the German speaking audience (because it did not understand the rather long Italian recitatives)⁶² these sequences must have capitalized on the acting abilities of the singers.⁶³ With regard to these long recitative passages the Mingotti troupe foregrounded Italian drama (we have to bear in mind that, at the heyday of a Goldoni, Chiari or Gozzi, almost no serious spoken theater existed in Italy worth mentioning and therefore *opera seria* must be considered the true serious dramatic art form there)⁶⁴ as opposed to, for example, George Frideric Handel who in similar conditions cut the recitatives drastically to emphasize music.

Conclusion

It is not a new insight that characters of 18th-century *opera seria* do not behave in a psychologically coherent manner. It has been repeatedly stated that characters are variable and change their mood from scene to scene. But what is striking in the case of Selene's aria is that a single scene is subject to so much change. An invariable scene as constituted by always the same recitative can have variable music-dramatic realizations in the aria.⁶⁵ It also gives the singers various opportunities for self-fashioning. Moreover, this scene is found in an opera that was repeatedly performed by the same impresarios. Though a certain performance tradition was established, a performing tradition or a tradition of interpretation cannot be perceived. Since the scene obviously was not considered a stable entity with a

sen?" *Hamburgischer unpartheyischer Correspondent*, no. 154 (24 September 1740), review of JOHANN GOTTLÖB KRÜGER's *Naturlehre* (Halle 1740).

- 62 See also Reinhard Strohm's characterization of the Hamburg audience in the 1720s: "The Hamburg audiences were sufficiently interested in the opera plots to expect that recitatives were actually sung in German." (STROHM, 2013, p. LVIII).
- 63 This applies even more for *Catone in Utica* where numerous scene sequences are actually longer.
- 64 Cf. BUCCIARELLI, 2000. A well-known exception was Luigi Riccoboni (1676-1753) and his troupe, cf. ALFONZETTI, 2016.
- 65 This is, however, not the rule. It is amazing to see how similar the musical realization of a scene resp. its emotional climax, the aria, could be in different settings. Metastasio's *La clemenza di Tito*, for example, was set by different composers and the musical features employed in the arias resemble each other very closely (cf. LÜHNING, 1983, pp. 376ff.). Whereas this regards settings of the same text Handel's approach to the emotional content of the scene is similar in his pasticcio *Catone* (London 1732). In *Catone* he inserted arias that often reflect the musical features of the model, Leonardo Leo's *Catone in Utica* (Venice 1729). Cf. OVER, 2020.

specific emotional content and instead displayed variable emotional endings, the opera plot and the opera story appear here as a mere vehicle for music of every kind.

There are several motivations behind such a procedure: besides the singer's wishes they could involve economics or the expectations of the public or local taste or overall socio-cultural tendencies. In Hamburg in 1746 a further motivation behind the aria exchanges was certainly to present the opera as a variation. The piece was well known from the performance in 1744. Two years later it was given with substituted arias and even during the short stay of the Mingotti troupe in Hamburg in 1747 before traveling to Copenhagen it was presented to the audience (most probably with modified music). In the advert the troupe put in the *Hamburger Relations-Courier* it functioned as a crowd puller.⁶⁶ Thus, in 1746 *Didone abbandonata* became a 'new' opera with new singers and new arias, maintaining the curiosity of the Hamburg public, enabling a comparison and guaranteeing income. Moreover, the threefold repetition of the opera over several years conforms to a concept that was well established in the city. Hamburg had a long experience of 'repertoire opera' in the modern sense: operas were repeated in successive seasons.⁶⁷ *Didone abbandonata* was not the only opera to be revived by the Mingotti troupe over successive years, there are many others (see Appendix 4). The fact that in other centers where the Mingotti played several seasons, for example in Graz, Leipzig or Copenhagen, the repertoire aspect is almost inexistent shows that in Hamburg the troupe followed local traditions and expectations. The quasi-seismographic observance of local preconditions is corroborated by the fact that popular arias were taken over to other productions. In *Didone*, not all arias were substituted in 1746, but some remained.⁶⁸

The fact that in several cases the entire or most of the music is ascribed to a composer in the libretto may not refer to the recitatives, most probably the same in all the

66 "Herewith, it is notified that the opera *Didone* will be performed in the known opera house at the Gänsemarkt, together with the *intermezzi Monsieur de Porsignac*, next Wednesday, 15 November. All Sirs who rented boxes in the opera in the past shall retain them during the two weeks, beginning from the mentioned date, during which six operas shall be presented, i.e. on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday." ("Es wird hiemit notificiret, daß nächstkünftigen Mittwoch, als den 15 Novemb. im bekannten Opernhause auf dem Gänsemarkt, die Opera DIDONE, mit dem Intermezzo oder Zwischenspiel, *Monsieur de Porsignac*, vorgestellt werden soll, und daß alle diejenige Herren, welche vormahls in der Opera die Logen gemiethet, solche während vierzehn Tage, von obigem Dato ab an, in welchen Sechs Operen, nemlich Montags, Mittwochs und Donnerstags repräsentiret werden sollen, auch die nehmlichen Logen behalten wollen.") *Hamburger Relations-Courier*, no. 178 (10 November 1747); see also BECKER, 1956, pp. 27f. The other opera presented was *Farnace* (THEOBALD, 2015, p. 52).

67 See, for example, the performance calendar in MARX/SCHRÖDER, 1995, pp. 469-501; also STROHM, 2013, pp. LVf. and *passim* as well as his contribution in the present volume, pp. 52f.

68 On the transfer of popular arias in Hamburg cf. REINHARD STROHM's article in the present volume; also STROHM, 2013, p. LVII.

Denzio and Mingotti productions, but to a big portion of arias of a single composer. Looking at Scalabrini in 1746, he wrote seven out of 19 arias, plus the *sinfonia*, plus the last recitative scene. Twelve arias are from other composers (amongst them four by Lampugnani and one by an unknown composer). This conception of opera as a ‘work’ (however problematic this term may be) made of arias was well established in the latter part of the century as we know from several cases, of which Mozart’s *La clemenza di Tito* is only the most prominent.⁶⁹

69 It is probable that Mozart wrote only the closed numbers of the opera and entrusted another composer with the composition of the recitatives. (In older accounts his pupil Franz Xaver Süssmayr is mentioned, but there is no evidence.) Cf. GIEGLING, 1968. Another case is Giovanni Paisiello whose *Zenobia in Palmira* (1790, score in I-Nc, 16.5.11-12 [Rari 2.8.1-2]) contains autograph arias and ensembles together with recitatives by another scribe. Whether this scribe is the composer of the recitatives is not known, but possible.

Appendix 1

Overview of the *Didone* text versions Naples 1724 (premiere); Venice 1725/Wrocław 1726; Denzio and Mingotti troupes (several cities, 1731-1748); I-PESo, ms.2007; Graz 1741

Naples 1724 (Sarro)		Venice 1725 (Albinoni) Wrocław 1726 (Albinoni, Peruzzi/Wussin)		Prague 1731 (Albinoni, Denzio) Linz, 1731-1734 (Albinoni, Denzio or Mingotti?) Brno 1734 (Sarro, Mingotti) Graz 1737 (Mingotti) Ljubljana 1742 (Mingotti) Hamburg 1744 (Scalabrini, Mingotti) Hamburg 1746 (Scalabrini, Mingotti) Copenhagen 1748 (Scalabrini, Mingotti)		unknown (I-PESo, ms.2007)	Graz 1741 (Kärntnertheater troupe?)
Act I							
I,1	No principessa, amico	I,1	No principessa, amico	I,1	No principessa, amico	(I,1)	No principessa, amico
I,2	Enea d'Asia splendore	I,2	Enea d'Asia splendore	I,2	Enea d'Asia splendore	(I,2)	Enea d'Asia splendore
I,3	Parte così, così mi lascia Enea?	I,3	Parte così, così mi lascia Enea?	I,3	Parte così, così mi lascia Enea?	(I,3)	Parte così, così mi lascia Enea?
I,4	Venga Arbace qual vuole	I,4	Venga Arbace qual vuole	I,4	Venga Arbace qual vuole	(I,4)	Venga Arbace qual vuole
I,5	Vedi, mio re...	I,5	Vedi, mio re...	I,5	Vedi, mio re...	(I,5)	Vedi, mio re...
I,6	Araspe alla vendetta	I,6	Araspe alla vendetta	I,6	Araspe alla vendetta	(I,6)	Araspe alla vendetta
I,7	Quant'è stolto se crede	I,7	Quant'è stolto, se crede	I,7	Quant'è stolto, se crede		
I,8	Empio! L'orror che porta	I,8	Empio! L'orror che porta			(I,7)	Empio! L'orror che porta

I,9	Già tel dissì, o Selene	I,9	Già te'ì dissì, o Selene	I,4	Già te'ì dissì, o Selene	I,8	Già te'ì dissì, o Selene	
I,10	Tutta ho scorsa la regia	I,10	Tutta ho scorsa la regia			I,9	Tutta ho scorsa la regia	
I,11	Non partirà se pria...	I,11	Non partirà, se pria...	I,5	Non partirà se pria...	I,10	Non partirà, se pria...	
I,12	Non è più tempo	I,12	Non è più tempo	I,6	Non è più tempo, Araspe	I,11	Non è più tempo	
I,13	Dove corri o signore?	I,13	Dove corri o signore?				Araspe	
I,14	Lo so, quel cor feroce	I,14	La mia giusta vendetta			I,12	Lo so, quel cor feroce	
I,15	Come? Da' labri tuoi	I,15	Come? Da' labri tuoi	I,7	Come? Da' labri tuoi	I,13	Come? Da' labri tuoi	(I,8)
I,16	Ecco il rival né seco	I,16	Ecco il rival, né seco			I,14	Ecco il rival, né seco	(I,9)
I,17	Siam traditi o regina	I,17	Siam traditi o regina	I,8	Siam traditi o regina	I,15	Siam traditi o regina	(I,10)
I,18	Enea, salvo già sei	I,18	Enea, salvo già sei	I,9	Enea, salvo già sei	I,16	Enea, salvo già sei	(I,11)
I,19	E soffrirò, che sia	I,19	E soffrirò, che sia	I,10	E soffrirò che sia	I,17	E soffrirò, che sia	(I,12)
Act II								
II,1	Signor ove ten vai?					II,1	Signor ove ten vai?	(II,1)
II,2	Giovino i tradimenti					II,2	Giovino i tradimenti	(II,2)
II,3	Chi sciolse					II,3	Chi sciolse	
II,4	Chi fu, che all'inumano					II,4	Chi fu, che all'inumano	(II,3)
II,5	Tu dici ch'io non sperì						Tu dici ch'io non sperì	(II,4)
II,6	Già so che si nasconde			II,1	Già so, che si nasconde		Già so, che si nasconde	(II,5)
				II,2	Teco vorrebbe Enea	II,6	Teco vorrebbe Enea	(II,6)
II,7	Come! Ancor non partisti? Adorna ancora			II,3	Come! Ancor non partisti? Adorna ancora	II,5	Come! Ancor non partisti? Adorna ancora	(II,7)
II,8	Io sento vacillar la mia costanza			II,4	Che fa l'invitto Enea? Gli veggio ancora	II,6	Io sento vacillar la mia costanza	(II,8)

II,9	Così strane venture io non intendo!	II,9	Così strane avventure/venture io non intendo!	II,7	Così strane venture io non intendo!	(II,9)	Così strane venture io non intendo!
II,10	Fra il dovere, e l'affetto	II,10	A ragione infedele	II,10	Fra il dovere, e l'affetto		
II,11	Tanto ardir nella regia? Olà fermate!	II,12	Tanto ardir nella regia? Olà fermate	II,7	Tanto ardir nella regia? Olà fermate	II,8	Fra il dovere, e l'affetto
II,12	Allor, che Araspe a provocar mi venne	II,13	Allor, che Araspe a provocar mi venne	II,8	Allor, che Araspe a provocar mi venne	II,9	Tanto ardir nella regia? Olà fermate
II,13	Chi udi, chi vide mai	II,14	Chi udi, chi vide mai	II,9	Chi udi, chi vide mai	II,10	Sia qual si vuole Araspe, or non è tempo
II,14	Incerta del mio fato	II,15	Incerta del mio fato	II,10	Incerta del mio fato	II,11	Chi udi, chi vide mai
II,15	Didone a che mi chiedi?	II,16	Didone a che mi chiedi?	II,11	Didone a che mi chiedi?	II,12	Incerta del mio fato
II,16	Senti	II,17	Senti	II,12	Senti	II,13	Didone a che mi chiedi?
II,17	E pure in mezzo all'ire	II,18	E pure in mezzo all'ire	II,13	E pure in mezzo all'ire	II,14	Senti
				II,14	Senti	II,15	E pure in mezzo all'ire
Act III							
III,1	Compagni invitti a tollerare avvezz	III,1	Compagni invitti a tollerare avvezz	III,1	Compagni invitti a tollerare avvezz	(III,1)	Compagni invitti a tollerare avvezz
III,2	Dove rivolge, dove	III,2	Dove rivolge, dove	III,2	Dove rivolge, dove	(III,2)	Dove rivolge, dove
III,3	Ed io son vinto ed io soffro una vita	III,2	Ed io son vinto ed io soffro una vita	III,3	Ed io son vinto ed io soffro una vita	(III,3)	E soffrirò una vita
III,4	Già di larba in difesa	III,4	Infelice, che sento!	III,4	Già di larba in difesa		
III,5	Parti da' nostri lidi			III,5	Parti da' nostri lidi		
III,6	Non son contento			III,6	Non son contento		
III,7	Principessa ove corri?			III,7	Principessa ove corri?		
III,8	Addio Selene			III,8	Addio Selene		
III,9	Sprezzar la fiamma mia	III,5	Tutta di larba all'ira	III,3	Tutta di larba all'ira	III,9	Sprezzar la fiamma mia
		III,6	So che lasciar dovrei	III,4	So che lasciar dovrei		
III,10	Va crescendo il mio tormento	III,7	Va crescendo il mio tormento	III,5	Va crescendo il mio tormento (1744, 1746: —)	III,10	Va crescendo il mio tormento
III,11	Oh dio germana!	III,8	Oh dio germana!			III,11	Oh dio germana!

III, 12	Ah non fidarti. Osmida	III, 9	Ah non fidarti. Osmida	III, 6	Ah non fidarti. Osmida (1731-34: Vanne a lui, priega, e piangi)	III, 12	Ah non fidarti. Osmida		
III, 13	Araspe in queste soglie!	III, 10	Araspe in queste soglie!			III, 13	Araspe in queste soglie!	(III, 6)	Araspe in queste soglie!
III, 14	Osmida.	III, 11	Osmida.	III, 7	Osmida. (1731-34: -)	III, 14	Osmida.	(III, 7)	Osmida.
III, 15	Al tuo periglio	III, 12	Al tuo periglio			III, 15	Al tuo periglio		
III, 16	E tu qui resti ancor? Né ti spaventa	III, 13	E tu qui resti ancor? Né ti spaventa			III, 16	E tu qui resti ancor? Né ti spaventa	(III, 8)	E tu qui resti ancor? Né ti spaventa
III, 17	I miei casi infelici	III, 14	I miei casi infelici			III, 17	I miei casi infelici	(III, 9)	I miei casi infelici
III, 18	Fuggi o regina	III, 15	Fuggi o regina	III, 8	Fuggi o regina (1731- 34: = III, 7)	III, 18	Fuggi o regina	(III, 10)	Fuggi o regina
III, 19	Fermati	III, 16	Fermati			III, 19	Fermati	(III, 11)	Fermati
III, 20	Cedi a larba o Didone.	III, 17	Cedi a larba o Didone.	III, 9	Cedi a larba o Didone. (1731-34: = III, 8)	III, 20	Cedi a larba o Didone.	(III, 12)	Cedi a larba o Didone.
III, 21	Ah che dissì infelice! A qual' eccesso	III, 18	Ah che dissì infelice! A qual' eccesso	III, 10	Ah che dissì infelice! A qual' eccesso (1731-34: = III, 9)	III, 21	Ah che dissì infelice! A qual' eccesso	(III, 13)	Ah che dissì infelice! A qual' eccesso

Appendix 2

Chord progressions between recitative and aria in *Didone abbandonata* (Hamburg 1744); unusual progressions in bold, progressions of a third in italics, composer names, if known, in brackets.

I,1, Didone, Son regina e sono amante: G minor/major-C major

I,2, Osmida, Sdegno, ingegno, affetti, inganni: A minor/major-G major

I,3, Iarba, Fra lo splendor del trono: F major-F major

I,4, Enea, Quando saprai chi sono: C major-B flat major

I,5, Selene, Nel tuo sen ignoto affetto: G major (sixth chord)-F major

I,6, Araspe, Costanza, mio core (B. Galuppi): D major-D major

I,9, Didone, Non ha ragione ingrato: B minor/major-A major

I,10, Enea, Se resto sul lido: G minor/major-F major

II,3, Didone, Tu mi guardi e ti confondi: D major-G major

II,4, Enea, Vedi nel mio perdono: G minor/major-A major

II,5, Osmida, Scherza il nocchier talora: A major-C major

II,7, Selene, Bel labro lusinghiero (G. Giacomelli): D minor/major-E major

II,9, Selene, Di quest'alma il fier tormento (G.A. Paganelli): G minor/major-G major

II,12, Iarba, Chiamami pur così: G major-A major

II,13, Didone, Quando freme altera l'onda (D. Terradellas): G major (hereafter an additional, but rather superfluous C)-C major

III,1, Enea, Vivi superbo e regna (P. Scalabrini): C major-B flat major

III,3, Selene, Se questo mio core: D major-D major

III,4, Araspe, L'augelletto in lacci stretto: B flat major-G major

[III,5, Didone, Va crescendo il mio tormento: G minor-A major (sixth chord)]⁷⁰

III,8, Iarba, Cadrà fra poco in cenere: D minor/major-G minor

III,9, Didone, Ah che dissi: B flat major-G major

70 The short aria stands at the beginning of the scene and is followed by a recitative. Chord progressions of the following recitatives are much freer. The piece was possibly cancelled in the 1744 production because it is found at the wrong place in the score: it appears between Scene 3 and 4 of the third act. It was definitely cancelled in the 1746 production.

Appendix 3

Comparative overview of the *Didone* productions Hamburg 1744, Hamburg 1746 and Copenhagen 1748

bold = music extant, grey = musical changes from production to production
Since in the 1746 libretto singers are not listed the cast has been conjectured. Conjectures are based on the troupe’s singer ensemble of that year,⁷¹ the singers in the previous and subsequent performances and the music inserted.

Act, Scene role	Hamburg 1744	Hamburg 1744 (rev.) = version in score (I-MOe)	Hamburg 1746	Copenhagen 1748
		[G.M. Marchi (?)], Sinfonia ⁷²	„di Scalabrini“ Sinfonia	
I,1 Didone	?, Son regina e sono amante (R. Costa)	?, Son regina e sono amante different from 1746 production (R. Costa)	“di Lampugnani” G.B. Lampugnani, Son regina e sono amante (<i>Didone abbandonata</i>, Pa- dua 1739, I,5⁷³) subsequent perfor- mances: Alessandria 1742, Crema 1745) different from 1744 production (G. Turcott?)	most probably: [G.B. Lampugnani], Son regina e sono amante (G. Turcott)

71 THEOBALD, 2015 (p. 48), lists the following singers for the 1746 season in Hamburg: Francesco Arrigoni (T), Cecilia Belvederi, Rosalba Buini, Settimio Canini (T), Antonio Casati (castrato), Rosa Costa (S), Giacinta Forcellini (S), Mad. Keyser, Regina Mingotti (S), Antonio Pereni (T), Giustina Turcott (S) (in addition: Gaspera Beccheroni and Pellegrino Gaggiotti for the *intermezzi*).

72 Concordances: B-Bc, 7745 (“Giov. Mar. Marchi / Symphonie (= Ouverture)”, “Sinfonia / à 2 Corni / Violino primo / Violino secondo / Viola / Violoncello / e / Cembalo / di / Giov: Mar: Marchi.”, score and parts from 1909); D-DS, Mus.872 (“Sinfonia / a Corno 1 / Corno 2. / Violino 1. / Violino 2 / Viola e / Basso. # / del Signore”, anonymous, 18th century).

73 Maybe in E-Mn, M.2369 (“*Didone Abbandonata* / Musica / Dell Sig.^{re} Lampugnani”, score, Naples 1753 version), no foliation/pagination; Turcott sang Didone in the 1745 production in Crema.

Act, Scene role	Hamburg 1744	Hamburg 1744 (rev.) = version in score (I-MOe)	Hamburg 1746	Copenhagen 1748
I,2 Osmida	?, Sdegno ingegno, affetti, inganni (A. Romani)	?, Sdegno ingegno, affetti, inganni for alto (A. Romani)	“di Asse” J.A. Hasse, Tu mi scorgi al gran disegno (<i>Didone abbandonata</i> , Hu- bertusburg 1742/ Dresden 1743, I,6) ⁷⁴ for bass (F. Arrigoni?)	?, Sdegno ingegno, affetti, inganni (L. Calvetti)
I,3 Iarba	?, Fra lo splendor del trono (G. Alberti)	?, Fra lo splendor del trono (G. Alberti)	?, Si vò l’empio al suol svenato (S. Canini?)	?, Fra lo splendor del trono (F. Arrigoni)
I,4 Enea	?, Quando saprai chi sono (G. della Stella)	?, Quando saprai chi sono (G. della Stella)	“di Lapis” S. Lapis, Quando saprai chi sono (R. Valentini Min- gotti or R. Costa?)	?, Quando saprai chi sono (G. della Stella)
I,5 Selene	?, Nel tuo sen igno- to affetto C. Bäräth)	?, Nel tuo sen ignoto affetto (C. Bäräth)	“di Carcani” G. Carcani, Tremo pen [per] l’idol mio ⁷⁵ (G. Forcellini?)	? Nel tuo sen ignoto affetto (G. Forcellini)
I,6 Araspe	most probably: [B. Galuppi], Costanza mio core (R. Valentini Min- gotti)	[B. Galuppi], Costanza mio core (<i>Arsace, Venice</i> 1743, III,12) ⁷⁶ (R. Valentini Min- gotti)	“di Galuppi” B. Galuppi, Costanza mio core (R. Valentini Min- gotti or A. Casati?)	most probably: [B. Galuppi], Costanza mio core (A. Casati)

74 Several sources (cf. RISM entries), for example: D-HAmi, 66 (“DIDONE / ABBANDONATA. / DRAMMA PER MUSICA / Da rappresentarsi / alla / REGIA ELETTORAL / CORTE DI DRESDA. / nel Carnovale dell’Anno / MDCCXLIII. / Fu posto in Musica dal Sig.^r Gio. Adol. Hasse, / Maestro di Cappella di S.M.”), fols. 32v-36v; F-Pn, Rés.1351 (“Didone / Abbandonata / Dramma per Musica / Del Signor Gio: Adolfo Hasse, d.^{lo} il Sassone, / Maestro di Cappella di S. M. / del Rè di Pollonia, Elettore di Sassonia”, partly autograph), pp. 72-83; I-Vnm, Mss.It.CL.IV.266 (= 09837) (in left corner: “La Didone” or “Didone”), fols. 31r-35r.

75 The provenance of the aria is not known. However, Giacinta Forcellini sang in Giuseppe Carcani’s *Ambleto* in Venice in 1742 so that the aria may have been a classic ‘baggage aria’ expressly commissioned by the singer and written for her by the composer. On this kind of arias cf. FREEMAN, 1992b.

76 Concordant source: F-Pn, Vm⁷ 7345 (“Aria del Sig.^r Galuppi”). In the libretto I-Mb, Racc. dramm.3007, the opera is qualified a pasticcio (handwritten notice: “M:^a di Diversi”); in

Act, Scene role	Hamburg 1744	Hamburg 1744 (rev.) = version in score (I-MOe)	Hamburg 1746	Copenhagen 1748
I,9 Didone	?, Non ha ragione, ingrato! (R. Costa)	?, Non ha ragione, ingrato! (R. Costa)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, Non ha ragione, ingrato! (G. Turcotti?)	most probably: P. Scalabrini, Non ha ragione, ingrato! (G. Turcotti)
I,10 Enea	?, Se resto sul lido (G. della Stella)	?, Se resto sul lido (G. della Stella)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, Se resto sul lido (R. Valentini Min- gotti or R. Costa?)	?, Se resto sul lido (G. della Stella)
II,3 Didone	?, Tu mi guardi e ti confondi (R. Costa)	?, Tu mi guardi e ti confondi (R. Costa)	“di Lampugnani” G.B. Lampugnani, Ah non lasciarmi no (<i>Didone ab- bandonata</i>, Padua 1739, II,⁷⁷ subsequent perfor- mances: Alessandria 1742, Crema 1745) (G. Turcotti?)	?, Tu mi guardi e ti confondi (G. Turcotti)
II,4 Enea	?, Vedi nel mio perdono (G. della Stella)	?, Vedi nel mio perdono (G. della Stella)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, Vedi nel mio perdono (R. Valentini Min- gotti or R. Costa?)	?, Vedi nel mio perdono (G. della Stella)
II,5 Osmida	?, Scherza il noc- chier talora (A. Romani)	?, Scherza il noc- chier talora for alto different from 1746 production (A. Romani)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, Scherza il nocchier talora⁷⁸ most probably for tenor/bass different from 1744 production (F. Arrigoni?)	?, Scherza il noc- chier talora (L. Calvetti)

Grove Music Online (MONSON) it is listed under Galuppi's operas, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (WIESEND, 2002) it is not found at all.

77 Two different musical versions of Lampugnani's aria are known: S-Skma, T-SE-R, fols. 15r-17r (“da Lampugnani”); E-Mn, M.2370 (Naples 1753 version), no foliation/pagination.

78 The manuscript in DK-Kk, mu 7502.1831, probably contains a later or reworked version of the aria, see p. 294.

Act, Scene role	Hamburg 1744	Hamburg 1744 (rev.) = version in score (I-MOe)	Hamburg 1746	Copenhagen 1748
II,7 Selene	?, Se la bella tor- torella (C. Bäräth)	[G. Giacomelli], Bel labro lusinghiero, (<i>Epaminonda</i> , Venice 1732, III,4) ⁷⁹ (C. Bäräth)	“di Giacomelli” G. Giacomelli, Bel labro lusinghiero (G. Forcellini?)	?, Se la bella tor- torella (G. Forcellini)
II,9 Selene	most probably: [G.A. Paganelli], Di quest’alma il fier tormento (C. Bäräth)	[G.A. Paganelli], Di quest’alma il fier tormento (<i>Bar- sina</i> , Venice 1742, I,13) ⁸⁰ (C. Bäräth)	“di Pulli” P. Pulli, Speme di dolce calma (<i>Caio Marzio Coriolano</i> , Reggio Emilia 1741) ⁸¹ (G. Forcellini?)	most probably: [G.A. Paganelli], Di quest’alma il fier tormento (G. Forcellini)
II,12 Iarba	?, Chiamami pur così (G. Alberti)	?, Chiamami pur così different from 1746 production (G. Alberti)	“di Lampugnani” G.B. Lampugnani, Chiamami pur così (<i>Didone abbandona- ta</i> , Padua 1739, II,17) ⁸² subsequent perfor- mances: Alessandria 1742, Crema 1745) different from 1744 production (S. Canini?)	Most probably: [G.B. Lampugnani], Chiamami pur così (F. Arrigoni)

79 Concordant source: B-Bc, 2109 (“EPAMINONDA. / DRAMMA PER MUSICA / Sogget-
to, e Poesia di diversi / Musica / Del Sig.r Giminiano Jacomelli”), fols. 347v-353v.

80 Concordant sources: D-SW1, Mus.146 (“Aria Canto solo / Allegretto. / 2 Flaute Travers. /
2 Violin / Con Bassus / et Partitur”, score), Mus.160 (parts), modern ascription to Gluck in
RISM; CZ-Pak, 432 (ascribed to Graun, with two additional horns and text „O rosetta sem-
per laeta”; in HENZEL, 2006, listed under Graun’s doubtful works, [D:X:16]); PL-Wu, RM
4749 (manuscript from 1754, first ascription to “Graun” crossed out in favor of “Paganelli”,
with text “Ave maris stella”/“O rosetta semper laeta”, see RISM entry). See also n. 46ff.

81 Concordant sources: B-Bc, 12613 (“Pulli / Aria / Speme di dolce calma”, “Aria Del Sig.r
Pulli”); I-Vnm, Mss.It.Cl.IV.770 (= 10176) (“IL CORIOLANO / MUSICA / DEL SIG.R PIETRO
PULLI”), fols. 163v-173r (score of Venice 1747 production).

82 Maybe in E-Mn, M.2370 (Naples 1753 version), no foliation/pagination; Canini had sung
the aria in the 1742 production in Alessandria.

Act, Scene role	Hamburg 1744	Hamburg 1744 (rev.) = version in score (I-MOe)	Hamburg 1746	Copenhagen 1748
II,13 Didone	?, Va lusingando amore (R. Costa)	[D. Terradellas], Quando freme altera l'onda, (<i>Merope</i> , Rome 1743, I,13) ⁸³ (R. Costa)	“di Lampugnani” G.B. Lampug- nani, Io veggio in lontananza (<i>Didone abbandona- ta</i> , Padua 1739, II,18 ⁸⁴ subsequent perfor- mances: Alessandria 1742, Crema 1745) (G. Turcotti?)	?, Va lusingando amore (G. Turcotti)
III,1 Enea	most probably: [P. Scalabrini], Vivi superbo e regna (G. della Stella)	[P. Scalabrini], Vivi superbo e regna ⁸⁵ (G. della Stella)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, Vivi superbo e regna (R. Valentini Min- gotti or R. Costa?)	most probably: [P. Scalabrini], Vivi superbo e regna (G. della Stella)
III,3 Selene	?, Se questo mio core (C. Bäräth)	?, Se questo mio core (C. Bäräth)	author not mentio- ned, most probably: [N. Jommelli], Amor non promet- to, non niego pietà (<i>Astianatte</i> , Rome 1741, I,8) ⁸⁶ (G. Forcellini?)	?, Se questo mio core (G. Forcellini)
III,4 Araspe	?, L'augelletto in lacci stretto (R. Valentini Min- gotti)	?, L'augelletto in lacci stretto (R. Valentini Min- gotti)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, L'augelletto in lacci stretto (R. Valentini Min- gotti or A. Casati?)	most probably: [P. Scalabrini], L'augelletto in lacci stretto (A. Casati)

83 Concordant sources: P-Ln, C.I.C. n.º 116 (score, D major); D-RH, Ms 583 (C major); S-Skma, T-SE-R (C major). The tonality of the aria in the Mingotti score is C major.

84 Maybe in E-Mn, M.2370 (Naples 1753 version), no foliation/pagination. The text is slightly different from Metastasio's *Semiramide riconosciuta* that Lampugnani had set to music for Rome in 1741 (II,5).

85 Concordant source: F-Pn, L.19908 (“Scalabrini / Aria | Vivi superbo e regna”, “Aria. / Vivi Superbo / del Sig. Scalabrini”). The manuscript in DK-Kk, mu 7502.1738, contains another version.

86 Sources: D-Sl, H.B.XVII.235a. (no title), fols. 61r-63r (autograph score); A-Wn, Mus. Hs.17661 (9) (no title), fols. 55r-58v; A-Wn, SA.68.D.1 (7) (“Verschiedene Opern-Arien” by Jommelli); F-Pn, D 6267 (“Argentina / 1741 / Del Sig.^{re} / Nicolò Jom[m]elli”); I-Nc, Rari 7.7.1-2/Rari Cornice 5.17 (“L'Astianatte / = Tomo Primo =”, score without recitatives), fols. 39r-42v/53r-56v.

Act, Scene role	Hamburg 1744	Hamburg 1744 (rev.) = version in score (I-MOe)	Hamburg 1746	Copenhagen 1748
III,5 Didone	?, Va crescendo il mio tormento (R. Costa)	?, Va crescendo il mio tormento [maybe cancelled] (R. Costa)	[cancelled]	?, Va crescendo il mio tormento (G. Turcotti)
III,8 Iarba	?, Cadrà fra poco in cenere (G. Alberti)	?, Cadrà fra poco in cenere (G. Alberti)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, Cadrà fra poco in cenere (S. Canini?)	most probably: [P. Scalabrini], Cadrà fra poco in cenere (F. Arrigoni)
III,10 Didone	?, Vado... Ma dove?... Oh dio! (R. Costa)	?, Vado... Ma dove?... Oh dio! (R. Costa)	“di Scalabrini” P. Scalabrini, Vado... Ma dove?... Oh dio! (G. Turcotti?)	most probably: [P. Scalabrini], Vado... Ma dove?... Oh dio! (G. Turcotti)

Appendix 4

Repeated opera performances of the Mingotti troupe until 1755

Brno

(4 seasons: 1733, 1733/34, 1734/35, 1736)

none

Copenhagen

(7 seasons: 1747/48, 1748/49, 1749/50, 1752/53, 1753/54, 1754/55, 1755/56)

La furba e lo sciocco: 1747/48, 1752/53

Artaserse: 1748/49, 1752/53

Demofonte: 1749/50, 1754/55

Dresden

(2 seasons: 1746, 1747)

Don Tabarano: 1746, 1747

Graz

(13 seasons: 1736, 1736/37, 1737, 1737/38, spring 1738, autumn 1738, 1739, 1739/40, 1741/42, 1742/43, 1745, 1746, 1749)

Semiramide riconosciuta: 1742/43, 1746

Hamburg

(11 seasons: 1740, 1743, 1744/45, 1745, 1745/46, 1746/47, 1747, 1748, 1751/52, 1753, 1754)

Ipermestra: 1740, 1743, 1744/45, 1746/47

Venceslao: 1743, 1744/45

La serva padrona: 1743, 1744/45, 1745, 1746/47, 1751/52, 1753

Artaserse: 1743, 1746/47

Siroe: 1743, 1751/52

Amor fa l'uomo cieco: 1743, 1744/45

Didone abbandonata: 1744/45, 1746/47, 1747

Bacocco e Serpilla/Il marito giocatore e la moglie bacchettona: 1744/45, 1745/46, 1748, 1753

Demetrio: 1744/45, 1746/47

Fiammetta: 1745, 1745/46

Diomeda: 1745, 1753

Monsieur di Porsugnacco: 1745, 1745/46, 1747, 1753

La clemenza di Tito: 1745/46, 1748

Lucio Vero: 1745/46, 1746/47

Le gelosie fra Grullo e Moschetta: 1745/46, 1746/47, 1748

La furba e lo sciocco: 1746/47, 1748

Leipzig

(6 seasons: 1744, 1745, 1746, spring 1747, Michaelmas fair 1747, 1751)

none

Ljubljana

(3 seasons: 1733, 1740, 1742)

none

Lübeck

(3 seasons: 1746, 1752, 1753)

none

Prague

(4 seasons: 1744, 1745, spring 1746, summer 1746)

none

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