

# Local Conditions of Pasticcio Production and Reception

## Between Prague, Wrocław and Moravia

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From the 1720s, the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (the Czech Lands) became one of the most important hubs of Italian *opera seria* north of the Alps.<sup>1</sup> Opera was performed both in the provincial capitals of Prague, Wrocław/Breslau and Brno/Brünn, and at the Moravian castles of Jaroměřice/Jarmeritz, Kroměříž/Kremsier, Vyškov/Wischau and Holešov/Holleschau. The preserved librettos are evidence that almost two hundred operas were produced over a short period of time (the largest concentration of operas falls within the single decade 1730-1740) and in a relatively small area (the Moravian castles in particular are only a few dozen kilometers apart). One can only surmise as to the causes of this phenomenon: in the absence of a royal court, the increased need for self-presentation of the local aristocracy, and coincidence seeming to play a role. An important *stimulus* was in all probability Fux's *festa teatrale Costanza e fortezza*, staged at a monumental open-air theater for the coronation of Charles VI in Prague in 1723.<sup>2</sup>

The first records of Italian operas in Prague date back to between 1702 and 1705, when the impresario Giovanni Federico Sartorio briefly worked there.<sup>3</sup> The systematic reception of Italian opera begins, however, only in 1724 when the company of Antonio Maria Peruzzi and Antonio Denzio started to operate in the theater of Count Sporck. Denzio put on 57 operas here between 1724 and 1734, with the works of Antonio Vivaldi playing a significant role in his repertoire.<sup>4</sup> Peruzzi left in the spring of 1725 with some of the singers for Wrocław, the capital of Silesia. Opera was performed there up

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1 The study is an output of a research project financially supported by the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc (FPVC2019/10).

2 For the latest contribution, see VÁCHA et al., 2009.

3 The following four operas have been identified: *La Rosaura*, *Il Gige fortunato*, *Libussa* and *La rete di Vulcano*. ROMAGNOLI, 2006.

4 FREEMAN, 1992.

until 1734. The main protagonist of the Silesian opera diaspora was Antonio Bioni, a composer and impresario.<sup>5</sup> The period repertoire list reports 41 operas.<sup>6</sup> Opera was played in Brno from 1732 to 1740, and in 1733 it was moved to the newly adapted municipal Teatro della Taverna.<sup>7</sup> The most important director of Brno opera was Angelo Mingotti; the librettos document a total of 23 operas.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the capital cities of the Czech Lands – Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia – Italian opera was also cultivated at Moravian castles. The year 1723 saw the first records of opera in Jaroměřice. Count Johann Adam von Questenberg, a prominent music enthusiast and supporter, only needed a few years to build up a stable artistic ensemble, which consisted of his subjects headed by *Kapellmeister* Franz Anton Miča. Operas were put on here several times a year, even during the 1740s after musical life subsided in the nearby centers.<sup>9</sup> The Olomouc/Olmütz bishop Wolfgang Hannibal von Schratzenbach had operas performed at his castles in Kroměříž and Vyškov between 1727 and 1737. As a former Neapolitan viceroy, he employed a number of Italian musicians in his ensemble and contributed significantly to the promotion of Italian oratorio.<sup>10</sup> The last Moravian center of Italian opera from 1733 to 1739 was the castle in Holešov belonging to the estates of Count Franz Anton von Rottal.<sup>11</sup>

The Czech Lands thus had two different forms of opera overlap in terms of operating conditions, namely the *teatro impresariale* in municipal theaters and private opera performances, conditioned by the personal engagement of the aristocratic patron. This had an impact on the staff (professional soloists hired for one or more seasons vs. a permanent music ensemble, in which – particularly at smaller courts – musicians were also often servants) and, naturally, on the repertoire. The existence of the dual form of opera within such a closely concentrated time and place provides excellent, ‘laboratory’ conditions for researching opera pasticcio on its transalpine journey.

Similarly to other parts of Europe with comparable conditions, an essential part of the opera repertoire in the Czech Lands was pasticcios in the original meaning of this word, i.e. new operas composed of arias by a variety of composers.<sup>12</sup> Pasticcio in the wider sense, however, also includes repeats of operas adopted from other places, as

5 Impresarios preceding Bioni included Antonio Maria Peruzzi (1725), Ludwig Wussin (1726/27), Santo Burigotti (1727/28 with Giovanni Dreyer, 1728/29) and Antonio Panteleoni with Francesco Darbes (1729/30).

6 MATTHESON, 1740. A list of 26 librettos identified to date is available in SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016a.

7 HAVLÍČKOVÁ, 2012.

8 For more on opera in Moravia, see SPÁČILOVÁ, 2021b. Other impresarios: Filippo Neri del Fantasia (1736/37, 1738/39, 1739/40), Alessandro Manfredi (1737/38).

9 PERUTKOVÁ, 2015.

10 SPÁČILOVÁ, 2018a.

11 JURÁŠKOVÁ/SPÁČILOVÁ, 2019.

12 See SIEGERT, 2016, for the latest definition of “pasticcio”.

these would undergo a number of adjustments as *opere impasticciate*.<sup>13</sup> As the present study lacks the capacity to deal with all the manifestations of the production and reception of pasticcios in the Czech Lands of the time, a few examples demonstrating the diversity of this phenomenon in the researched environment will follow below.<sup>14</sup>

## Pasticcio in municipal opera houses

The basic source for researching pasticcio in the Czech Lands is the printed libretto. The musical aspect of operas can only be guessed at, mostly based on a comparison of librettos with collections of arias in various libraries.<sup>15</sup> Data can also be obtained to a lesser extent from secondary sources such as correspondences.<sup>16</sup>

The fact that music by multiple composers was used in librettos is pointed at by a variety of indications. The usual symbol indicating inserted arias, i.e. the *stelletta* (a small asterisk), is rare, for example in *Venceslao* by Giuseppe Boniventi (Prague 1725), where asterisks indicate inserted arias by Antonio Guerra, or in the anonymous *Achille in Sciro* (Prague 1727).<sup>17</sup> The authorship of music was more typically accompanied by the phrase “excepting several arias inserted upon the request of soloists”, which is found in almost all the Brno librettos and in *Gli amori amari* from Prague (1732). Unusual references to multiple authors are found in the librettos *L’innocenza giustificata* (Prague 1725) and *La costanza di Griselda* (Wrocław 1728), where the names of the composers are printed for each aria separately. This solution is highlighted in the period Wrocław journal *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*.<sup>18</sup>

Printed *arie aggiunte* are found only in the libretto *Teodorico* (Brno 1737), which is also an interesting proof of the gradual genesis of pasticcios in municipal opera houses. It was the first opera of Alessandro Manfredi’s *stagione*; music was to be composed “eccetto alcune arie” by the new composer of the company Matteo Lucchini. The arias

13 See POLIN, 2011, for more on *opera impasticciata*. I thank Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka for kindly drawing my attention to the study.

14 Since Denzio’s *impresa* in Prague has been comprehensively covered by FREEMAN, 1992, and JONÁŠOVÁ, 2013, the examples below apply primarily to other sites.

15 This is how part of the music of Vivaldi’s *Argippo* (Prague 1730) was identified in a pasticcio of German provenance, see MACEK, 2013.

16 For example, the letters of Count Sporck claim that recitatives and selected arias in the Prague version of Albinoni’s opera *Lucio Vero* (1725) were composed by the singer Antonio Guerra, cf. FREEMAN, 1992, p. 119.

17 FREEMAN, 1992, pp. 240, 247.

18 “[...] especially since the authors of the arias are mentioned in the opera booklets in every case, therefore such a work really deserves the curiosity of this city [...]” (“[...] zumahlen in denen Operen-Bücheln die Authores von denen Arien jederzeit vermercket seyn, einfolglich ein solches Werck die Curiosität der allhiesigen Stadt würckl. verdienet [...]”) *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, no. 98, 17 June 1728.

inserted upon the soloists' requests were probably not known by the time the libretto was printed, which is why the simple word "Aria" is printed in the text in many places and the respective musical numbers are printed separately and attached at the end of the libretto.<sup>19</sup> Two of the insertions are borrowed from Metastasio's librettos, namely *Adriano in Siria* and *Temistocle*.<sup>20</sup>

The rare macaronic arias – i.e. arias in local languages inserted into Italian librettos – were a curiosity. The Czech language is recorded in only one case: in the aria *Jsme veselí a zpíváme* sung by the Venetian Teresa Peruzzi in *Il confronto dell'amor coniu-gale* (Prague 1727).<sup>21</sup> German arias feature for instance in Bioni's *Endimione* (Wrocław 1727), and were composed by Daniel Gottlieb Treu.<sup>22</sup> Several arias in German were also included in the opera *Dafni* by Emanuele d'Astorga (Wrocław 1726), according to *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*.<sup>23</sup> The newly identified libretto of the opera, however, does not bear the name of the composer of the German arias.<sup>24</sup>

## The traveling of soloists and the repertoire

Italian opera companies in Prague, Wrocław and Brno were closely connected through their personnel. Data about singers-soloists, deduced from librettos, correspondence and

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- 19 New sheet A1-A4 [fols. 49r-52v], title page: "arias to be included in the opera *Teodorico* at the place where 'Aria' is printed" ("Arie da contenersi nell' opera di Teodorico in lugo [*sic*] dove sta stampoto [*sic*] Aria"). A total of ten arias are printed with references to the act, scene and libretto page. The relevant text is only absent in the case of *Teodorico*'s aria in scene I,10.
- 20 "Al furor d'avversa sorte" (I,7), "La raggion gl'affetti ascolta" (II,15).
- 21 Noteworthy is the Italian transcription of the Czech words "nic" ("gnitz") or "život" ("ghsciut"). In addition to Czech, the opera also included parts sung in French. Libretto: CZ-Pu, 65 E 4750/3, fol 28<sup>v</sup>, cf. FREEMAN, 1992, pp. 124f.
- 22 A total of three arias, of which two bore the note "by Herrn Daniel Fedele" ("Von Hrn. Daniel Fedele") (libretto: PL-WRu, Yv 983/2). Music for these arias has been preserved in D-SW1, Mus.4716, nos. 7-9. The notes on another copy in D-B (Mus.ms.autogr. Agricola, J. F. 1, no. 10 and 11) specify the name of the soloist: "Sung by Signora Spinola under the name of Aurilla" ("Recitata dalla Sign. Spinola sotto il nome Aurilla").
- 23 "[...] it must be added that a number of arias will be sung in German so that everyone is able to understand them" ("[...] deme noch beytritt, daß auch etliche Arien werden teutsch gesungen werden, damit jedermann etwas davon verstehen könne.") *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, no. 147, 16 September 1726.
- 24 Only two Italian arias have survived (D-B, Mus.ms.autogr. Agricola, J.F. 1, nos. 12 and 13). They can be attributed to the Wrocław performance thanks to the names of the artists "Alberti" (= Giuseppe Nicola Alberti, originally written "Pinetti", crossed out) and "Vivo-li" (originally "signora Alberti", probably the composer's wife Anna Maria – for more on her, see SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016b, p. 262). More on *Dafni* in SPÁČILOVÁ, forthcoming 2021a.

meagre records in the parish registers demonstrate that once an Italian artist dared to seek happiness north of the Alps, he or she mostly stayed for several seasons or came back repeatedly. This was the case of Matteo Lucchini of Venice, who worked as a singer and composer in Dresden, Prague, Wrocław and Brno, or Giuseppe Nicola Alberti of Padua, who returned to Italy after working in Prague and Wrocław, only to set out beyond the Alps for the second time in 1733 and apart from singing in Brno, worked as the “Directore der Operen und Music” with Count Rottal in Holešov (see Table 1). Although aristocratic ensembles were more self-sufficient in terms of personnel, they also hired guest artists. This is especially true of Holešov, where Italians employed in Brno performed on a regular basis, joined in 1737 by soloists from Vienna.<sup>25</sup>

The communication network of several dozen traveling artists had a significant influence on the circulation of the repertoire, both in terms of individual *arie di baule*, and librettos and entire operas. Table 2 shows the repertoire links between Prague, Wrocław and Brno.<sup>26</sup> One of the facts it indicates is that although Wrocław is usually considered an “operatic colony of Prague”,<sup>27</sup> some of the operas had in fact been put on here before they were staged in Prague.

The relationship between Prague and Brno is much more important in terms of relationships of filiation. Although the only known place of work of Angelo Mingotti, before he arrived in Moravia, is Vicenza, according to the Brno city deeds he came there from Prague.<sup>28</sup> Antonio Denzio, who was in deep financial trouble at the time (which ultimately sent him to a debtor’s prison in August 1734) left Mingotti with most of the singers, including the composer Antonio Costantini.<sup>29</sup> Prague became, with a few exceptions, the source of Mingotti’s repertoire as well.<sup>30</sup> Some of the pieces were circulating throughout Central Europe at that time – in addition to Prague and Brno, *Lucio Vero* and *Didone* were performed in Wrocław, and the former was performed later in 1736 in Graz. A much weightier argument than the use of the same librettos with new music proves that the Brno repertoire depended on the Prague one: Mingotti used the German translations from Prague in all his librettos, for both recitatives and arias!<sup>31</sup>

25 For a comprehensive view of Italian soloists in Moravia, see SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016b. For Prague opera singers cf. FREEMAN, 1992, pp. 295-359, and for Wrocław singers, see BORCHERDT, 1910, pp. 45-47.

26 For a complete comparison of the repertoire in the Czech Lands, including Moravian castles, see SPÁČILOVÁ, 2018b.

27 FREEMAN, 1992, p. 74.

28 The minutes of a city council meeting from October 1732 refer to him as “ein Prager Operist”, cf. HAVLÍČKOVÁ, 2012.

29 Cf. SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016b, pp. 258f.

30 Of the eleven known operas Mingotti produced in Brno, only three were adopted from other cities (*Argenide* from Venice, *Antigona in Tebe* and *Arianna e Teseo* from Wrocław).

31 Translations were sometimes shared elsewhere (*La fede tradita e vendicata*, Prague 1727 – Wrocław 1729 or *Artaserse*, Kroměříž 1731 – Holešov 1733), but replaced arias were always newly translated.

Since the operas were staged in Brno with numerous modifications and with the music of other composers (see Table 3), the German translation disagreed in many cases with the Italian original. As it is unlikely that the Brno audiences had any deeper knowledge of Italian, and the audience in all likelihood followed a text based on the German translation, this finding raises the question of the authenticity of the dramatic situation. The fact that the theater managers were not all that concerned with the comprehensibility of the story can be demonstrated, for example, by the fact that when an aria that had not been performed in Prague was inserted in Brno, no efforts were made to have it translated into German. A simple note “Aria” was added instead.<sup>32</sup>

## Mingotti’s Brno pasticcios and their relationship to the Prague versions

Surprising conclusions can be drawn when examining pasticcios performed in Brno by Angelo Mingotti and their relationship to their Prague versions. The first example is the opera *Gli amori amari*, played in Prague at the carnival of 1732 and a year later in Brno. The music was composed in both cases by Antonio Costantini “with the exception of a few arias inserted upon the request of soloists”,<sup>33</sup> who were: Cecilia Ramis (Flavio), Antonio Denzio/Laura Bambini (Lotario), Giovanni Michaeli (Ugone), Anna Cosimi/Margarita Flora (Emilia), Giacinta Spinola Costantini (Guido) and Margarita Flora/Domenico Battaglini (Lamberto). Three of the Prague soloists sang the same roles in Brno; Margarita Flora sang the only female role Emilia instead of Lamberto, captain of the royal guards. Emilia was left, due to the change, with only three music numbers from the Prague version. The new arias included “Vo solcando un mar crudele” from Metastasio’s *Artaserse* and “Come il mar da doppio vento” from *Amore e gelosia* (Bologna 1729).<sup>34</sup> The arias are also altered for the roles of Lotario and Lamberto, which were sung by new soloists from Venice. The roles of Ugone and Flavio, however, performed by the same artists, were also changed! Thus, although the two operas were produced only a year apart, and the author of the music and four soloists out of six remained the same, almost half of the musical numbers were replaced (cf. Table 3).

The least similar to its Prague version is another opera of Mingotti’s first *stagione* in Brno, *Argippo* by Antonio Costantini (again “with the exception of a few arias”).<sup>35</sup> The only numbers it shares with the 1730 setting of Antonio Vivaldi are the two choirs

32 This is the case of the opera *Gli amori amari* (Brno 1733), scenes II,6 and II,8.

33 Prague 1732, libretto: CZ-Pu, 65 E 2524; Brno 1733, libretto: CZ-Bu, ST1-0500.998.

34 Libretto by Aurelio Aureli, music by Giuseppe Maria Buini. The aria “Come il mar da doppio vento” was later borrowed by Giacinta Spinola for the opera *Costantino riconosciuto* (Brno 1739).

35 Prague/Brno cast: Giovanni Dreyer/Margarita Flora (Argippo), Antonio Denzio/Giovanni Michaeli (Tisifaro), Anna Cosimi/Giacinta Spinola Costantini (Zanaida), Giustina Eberhard/Laura Bambini (Osira), Marianna Manzi/Domenico Battaglini (Silvero).

and the aria “Chi un dolce amor condanna” (Argippo, II,2, originally from Metastasio’s *Catone in Utica*), which was played in Prague in a textual paraphrase as “Chi quel timor condanna”. It is much closer to the untitled pasticcio preserved in Darmstadt reportedly staged in Frankfurt am Main sometime after 1730 by the ensemble of Antonio Maria Peruzzi.<sup>36</sup> It shares the same arias “Se la bella tortorella” (formerly an inserted aria in *Siface*, Prague 1729) and “Che gran pena trafigge il mio core” (originally from Hasse’s *Tigrane*).<sup>37</sup> The Brno *Argippo* is consequently a true pasticcio; 14 arias of 16 are borrowings.<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, when *Argippo* was later produced by the ensemble of Pietro Mingotti in Graz in 1738 under the name *L’innocenza difesa nell’inganno*, all that was left of the musical numbers were the two choirs again, while some of the arias were sung in the opera *Innocenza riconosciuta* produced in the very same season.<sup>39</sup>

The production which most resembles the Prague version is *Orlando furioso* staged at the Brno carnival in 1735.<sup>40</sup> The Italian version of the libretto names Vivaldi as the author “with the exception of a few arias” (“à riserva di alcune arie”), while the parallel German version incorrectly mentions Domenico Sarro as the composer.<sup>41</sup> The same applied to *Tullo Ostilio* performed at the end of the carnival, where not more than three arias can be attributed to Vivaldi.<sup>42</sup> *Orlando furioso* is nearly identical to the Prague version, except for a few deleted scenes (I,1-5, II,9, III,1). It is the only Brno opera which adopted all the arias from Prague.<sup>43</sup> *Orlando furioso* staged in Kuks/Kukus and Prague in 1724 is reportedly authored by Antonio Bioni, although it was probably an adaptation of a work of the same name by Antonio Vivaldi (Venice 1714, partially with the music by Giovanni Ristori). No agreement as to the degree to which each of the composers

36 The Frankfurt production is reported by PEGAH, 2011, another possibility is Regensburg 1733, where the local Thurn und Taxis library houses a collection of arias from this opera, cf. MACEK, 2013.

37 Arias are in different places in the two operas and are part of different roles. “Se la bella tortorella” is sung in the German pasticcio by Silvero (III,5) and in Brno by Argippo (I,5), while “Che gran pena trafigge il mio core” is written for Zanaida (II,1) and in Brno for Osira (I,6).

38 STROHM, 2008a.

39 MÜLLER 1917, Anhang II, nos. 76, 78 (pp. CVI-CX), cf. SPÁČILOVÁ, 2013.

40 Prague/Brno cast: Antonio Denzio/Giuseppe Nicola Alberti (Orlando), Anna Maria Gius-ti/Teresa Peruzzi (Angelica), Anna Catarina Negri/Anna Cosimi (Alcina), Barbara Bian-chi/Chiara Orlandi (Bradamante), Lorenzo Moretti/Carlo Dardoizzi (Medoro), Paolo Vida/Margarita Flora (Ruggero).

41 The German version of the libretto reprinted the composer’s name from *Didone* produced on 26 December 1734 (*Orlando* premiered on 18 January 1735).

42 Cf. SPÁČILOVÁ, 2008.

43 Libretto from Prague: CZ-Pu, 52 G 19, German libretto from Kuks/Kukus: D-W, Textb. 321. *Orlando furioso* was also produced in Wrocław in spring 1725 and in carnival 1734. The librettos have not been preserved.

contributed to the music of the opera has been reached.<sup>44</sup> The Brno libretto, explicitly naming Vivaldi, could thus testify to his authorship in retrospect.

The last example is Sarro's opera *Didone*, which opened the 1734/35 carnival season in Brno. The libretto and its German translation, again adopted from Prague, is based on a completely different version of the opera, namely on Metastasio's adaptation for Albinoni (Venice 1725).<sup>45</sup> The music is based on Sarro's revision of *Didone* for Venice in 1730, as is evident from, for example, the aria "Tu mi guardi, e ti confondi", which appears only in Brno and in the Venetian libretto, and as *aria aggiunta* in the score preserved in Naples.<sup>46</sup> As Mingotti used the Prague libretto, itself based on the revised Albinoni version of 1725, the text of the recitatives was naturally in discord with Sarro's version. Efforts to make the maximum possible use of Sarro's music led to the situation in which arias sometimes did not match the scenes in the version produced by Mingotti. The Brno version only had three aria insertions. The first of them, "Mio cor non sospirar", is logically located at the place where Sarro's score did not provide the needed music (III,4),<sup>47</sup> and the second "Son qual nave frà più venti" is found where the sources (i.e. score and libretto) regarding the 1730 Venetian version differ from each other (II,7).<sup>48</sup> The third borrowing "Anime tormentate" (II,9) is from the opera *Nel perdono la vendetta*, and Anna Cosimi singing Selene performed it already in 1732 in Prague in Costantini's pasticcio *Gli amori amari* (this aria was replaced by another in the 1733 Brno production).<sup>49</sup>

## Sources for the research of pasticcio in Wrocław

While the pasticcio in Prague and Brno can only be studied on the basis of librettos or occasional written testimonies, a wide range of other types of sources is available in the case of Italian opera in Wrocław. The first is a period repertoire list published in 1740 in Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehrenforte*, based on a report from the local organist Johann Georg Hoffmann, the second harpsichordist of the Wrocław opera company.<sup>50</sup>

44 Cf. STROHM 2008b, pp. 139f.

45 Libretto Prague 1731: CZ-Pu, 65 E 3207. The opera was produced for the first time in the Czech Lands in Wrocław in 1726 (libretto: US-Wc, ML48 [S90]).

46 I-Nc, Rari 7.2.5 (RISM ID no.: 850009015). The libretto was arranged for Sarro's setting for Venice 1730 by Giovanni Boldini, and the author of the inserted arias was allegedly Baldassare Galuppi, cf. STROHM, 1976, vol. II, p. 220.

47 The scene is only in the Venice 1725 libretto, and in none of Sarro's settings. On this aria cf. also the article by ANGELA ROMAGNOLI, in the present volume (pp. 367f.), and Berthold Over's research results in ALBRECHT-HOHMAIER et al., 2020.

48 The Venetian libretto includes "con stelletta" "Sento che il cor mi langue", while the score contains Metastasio's original, "Tacerò se tu lo brami".

49 SPÁČILOVÁ, 2014a.

50 MATTHESON, 1740.

The report provides valuable information about operas which have not been preserved (e.g. *Merope* from 1728, with recitatives by Bioni and arias by Alberti, Bioni, Caldara, Dreyer, Finazzi, Lotti, Meneghetti, Porta, Vinci and Vivaldi) and in some cases it specifies or corrects information in the librettos. One of these is the opera *Ariodante* (1727), where the libretto merely states “music by multiple authors” (“La musica è di più autori”) while Mattheson names both the original composer Pollarolo and the authors of the inserted arias.<sup>51</sup> Another is *Il Demetrio* staged in 1732 “with various arias by the best masters” (“mit vermischten Arien der besten Meister”) while the libretto refers to Bioni as the only author.<sup>52</sup>

Another major source is a collection of arias from the opera *Antigona vendicata*, stored at the Czech Museum of Music.<sup>53</sup> The printed libretto itself suggests that Orlandini’s original opera (Venice 1718) was interpolated for the Wrocław 1728 production with the music of the local singer and composer Giovanni Dreyer, whose name is printed besides the inserted arias. The collection of arias not only names another composer, Filippo Finazzi (also one of the soloists), but it also testifies to a much larger share of changed arias. According to announcements in *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, several new arias were inserted into the opera during the repeats (see below). The surviving source is probably the latest version of the opera, which reflects both the changes made during the preparation of the production and after the premiere.<sup>54</sup>

The aforementioned *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier* is an extremely valuable document, complementing data from librettos, scores, and from Mattheson, and providing remarkable insight into the period’s aesthetic evaluation of pasticcios.<sup>55</sup> Records of arias newly inserted during the repeats involve the opera *Antigona vendicata* by Orlandini

51 “*Ariodante*, actually set by Signor Polaroli, but now mixed in with arias by Bioni, Dreier, Orlandi [= Orlandini], Vivaldi and other composers” (“*Ariodante*, sonst von Signore Polaroli gesetzt, itzo aber mit Arien von Bioni, Dreier, Orlandi [= Orlandini], Vivaldi und andern untermischet.”), *IBID.*, p. 376. Libretto: PL-WRu, Yv 983/6.

52 Libretto: I-Mb, Racc.dramm.5385; PL-WRu, Yv 986/1.

53 Other music materials from Wrocław are Bioni’s *Issipile* (1732, complete score in A-Wgm, IV 27740 [Q 1214]) and *Andromaca* by the same composer (1730, collection of arias in PL-KÓ, BK 1669).

54 SPÁČILOVÁ, 2018b.

55 The journal was published twice a week in Wrocław between 1708 and 1741; regular reports on Italian opera are part of the local news. Not all volumes have been preserved, unfortunately, cf. SPÁČILOVÁ, 2016a.

(1728),<sup>56</sup> *Dafni* by d' Astorga (1726),<sup>57</sup> *Filindo* by Antonio Bioni (1728),<sup>58</sup> etc. The wording clearly indicates that new music was not perceived as contaminating the existing opera, but as an enrichment or enhancement, a means of reviving waning public interest.<sup>59</sup> The opera *La costanza di Griselda* (1728), for example, conceived as a pasticcio from the very beginning, is positively evaluated for its diversity of taste.<sup>60</sup>

- 56 “*Nota bene*. To all lovers of music shall be announced how the wonderful opera *Antigona*, the one work most worthy of being seen which has ever presented on this stage, will be performed today: amongst the arias several changes will be made [...]” (“NB. Allen Liebhabern und Liebhaberinnen der Music wird zu wissen gethan, welchergestalt die schöne Opera *Antigona* heuth vorgestellet wird, so das sehenwürdigste Werth [*sic*] ist, so auf diesem Theatro aufgeführt worden: Man wird in denen Arien verschiedene Veränderungen vornehmen [...].”) *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, no. 167, 18 October 1728.
- 57 “It shall be announced obediently to all lovers of music how one had the quantity of new arias composed by the two composers and mixed them in the ongoing opera that make the work more *consummate* [emphasised by J.S.]: just as diversity and variety in music seems to be the most pleasant thing, so one cares for a numerous audience that one will hope to satisfy particularly.” (“Es wird allen Liebhabern und Liebhaberinnen [*sic*] der Music gehorsamst zu wissen gethan, welcher gestalten man in der noch fortwehrenden Opera die Menge neue Arien von denen zwey Hn. Hn. Compositoren hat componiren, und einmengen lassen, die das Werck desto *vollkommener* machen werden [emphasised by J.S.]: gleich wie nun die Diversität, und Abwechselungen in der Musiqve das Angenehmste zu seyn scheint, also versiehet man sich einer zahlreichen Besuchung, die man besonder zu contentiren verhoffet.”) *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, no. 153, 26 September 1726.
- 58 “[...] during the ongoing wool market the beautiful opera will be presented daily with particular changes of the arias.” (“[...] bey fortwehrendem Wollmarck die schöne Opera mit besonderer Veränderung der Arien alle Tag die Wochen durch praesentiret wird.”) *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, no. 77, 13 May 1728.
- 59 “[...] today changes of the arias will be heard again for *servicing the audience with diversity*” [emphasised by J.S.] (“[...] an heuth wieder Veränderungen in denen Arien werden zu hören seyn, um das Publicum *mit der Diversitaet zu bedienen* [emphasised by J.S.]”), concerning the opera *Antigona vendicata*. *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, no. 165, 14 October 1728.
- 60 “[...] but this opera contains a peculiarity which has never been seen here because it has not been set to music by a single *Kapellmeister* as it happens normally and as all the previous operas have been produced here. But the impresarios had the idea to have sent the most beautiful arias by the greatest and most renowned men from all Italy, to collect them, to choose the best and most appropriate and to put them into this opera. They did it in this way that every aria is made by another master; therefore, *the difference of taste* [emphasised by J.S.] and the strength of such various compositions should inspire necessarily a particular pleasure [...]” (“[...] diese Opera hat aber eine Besonderheit in sich, welche alhier noch niemalsen gesehen worden, massen solche nicht von einem Capell-Meister in die Music gesetzt worden, wie es ordinari geschiehet, und wie man alle vorherige Operen alhier pro-

## Pasticcio in private theaters at Moravian castles

Pasticcios tend to be more difficult to identify in private aristocratic venues, compared to municipal theaters. An exception is Bambini's opera *Partenope*, where arias by the local composers Johann Georg Orsler and Ferdinand Seidl are 'asterisked'.<sup>61</sup> Further examples are the *arie aggiunte* in Vinci's *Didone abbandonata* (Jaroměřice 1736), where analysis of both the libretto and the preserved correspondence of Count Questenberg with his Viennese agent Hofmann reveals further extensive modifications to the opera.<sup>62</sup> In other cases, pasticcios or *opere impasticciate* are identified only following a detailed analysis of the libretto. Research shows that each of the Moravian castles had different working traditions, and pasticcio practice was different in each place.

The only 'pure' pasticcios in the repertoire of Bishop Schrackenbach's castles were operas played in the early days of the local theater in the late 1720s. The librettos do not tell the names of their authors, and the Kroměříž Piarist chronicle indicates that the works were composed with the help of arias borrowed from older operas produced in Italy.<sup>63</sup> The names of the composers began to be printed in the librettos starting in 1730, although none of the operas produced in Kroměříž and Vyškov were played here in their original form. The local *opere impasticciate* typically had the inserted arias re-texted, maintaining the original meaning to the greatest extent possible, despite the potentially different verse structure. In operas based on Pietro Metastasio's librettos adapted for the particular music setting, the efforts to preserve the original meaning went to such an extent that Metastasio's original lyrics were paraphrased in the inserted arias instead of

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duciret hat, sondern die Impressarii sind auf die Gedancken gefallen, die schönste Arien von denen grösten, und renomirtesten Männern von gantz Italien sich überschicken zu lassen, diese zusammen zu tragen, als dann die besten, und so am meisten à propos kommen, zu wehlen, und in dieser Opera zu setzen, also zwar, daß eine jede Aria schier von einem andern Meister gemachet worden; mithin *die Differenz von Gusto* [emphasised by J.S.], und die Stärke so verschiedenen Compositionen nothwendiger Weise eine besondere Gefälligkeit erwecken solte [...]" *Schlesischer Nouvelles-Courier*, no. 98, 17 June 1728.

- 61 "The music is by Sig. Eustachio Bambini except the arias signed with a \* that are partly by Sig. Orsler and partly by Sig. Saitl." ("La musica è del Sig. Eustachio Bambini eccetto quell' arie segnate con \* che sono parte del Sig'r Orsler e parte del Sig'r Saitl.") Libretto: CZ-Bu, ST1-0019.303.
- 62 Libretto: CZ-Pn, Nové Hradky Chateau Library, 1437. Borrowings included "Non lascia il ben, che brama" from Metastasio's *Siface*, "Il suo crudel martire" from Giaï's *Demetrio* (Rome 1732), "Non voglio, non sento" (in Fini's version of *Didone*, Rome 1732). One of the *arie aggiunte*, "Dal tuo real favore", is from Hasse's *Euristeo* (Venice 1732). For more details on the opera genesis based on Questenberg's correspondence, see PERUTKOVÁ 2015, pp. 543-545.
- 63 It is evident from the statement concerning the local Piarist composer Jan Kopecký, celebrated for his ability to write opera "without the support of Italian parts" ("sine subsidium partium italicum"), cf. SPÁČILOVÁ 2018a, p. 116.

the ones in the model operas. An example is *Catone in Utica* by Leonardo Leo (Venice 1728/29) with a revised ending by Metastasio and further revisions, most probably by Domenico Lalli. In its Kroměříž production, the aria “Al vento che la scuote” (III,4) was replaced by the aria “Quel dolce amore, che poco accende”, which was a paraphrase of Metastasio’s “Quell’amor che poco accende” written for the original version of *Catone in Utica* (Rome 1728). Yet another case was Hasse’s *Demetrio* (Kroměříž 1732), where “Se cresce in vigore” was sung in scene I,9 (there is no aria in Hasse’s original setting), created by paraphrasing Metastasio’s text “Se fecondo, e vigoroso”. This concern, unusual for the period, to preserve dramatic unity is perhaps explained by the large number of native Italians in the Bishop’s court (including the court librettist Giovanni Battista Catena).

While mostly re-texted arias were inserted in the operas produced in Kroměříž and Vyškov,<sup>64</sup> those produced in Holešov present the opposite extreme. The local librettos are marked by a noticeable amount of textual (and probably also musical) borrowings, probably due to the hiring of soloists from Brno-based Italian ensembles. A typical example is the classical *aria di baule*, where the same interpreter sings the same aria in different operas. Laura Bambini sang the aria “Scende dal monte” in the pasticcio *Lucio Vero* (Brno 1734). Two years later she performed the same aria in *Cesare in Egitto* (Holešov 1736). In both cases it was a male role; the aria is part of the original libretto *Cesare in Egitto*.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Domenico Battaglini used the aria “Frà speme, e timore”, which he had sung a few months earlier in *Artaserse* (Holešov 1733), in *Lucio Vero* (Brno 1734). The text was slightly altered in connection with the new dramatic situation, but the music probably remained the same. The influence of the Brno opera is also evident in arias, originally sung by Italian soloists, which were now performed by local artists in Holešov. An example is “La ragion, gli affetti asconda”, sung by Cattarina Personé in *Teodorico* (Brno 1737) and by Rosalia Holzbauer in *Amore e fortuna* (Holešov 1739). The aria is originally from Metastasio’s opera *Adriano in Siria*.

Jaroměřice is the only one of the locations studied where a larger number of scores have been preserved. More than 40 scores have been identified from the music collection of Count Questenberg to date. Productions have, however, been documented only for some of them.<sup>66</sup> The most interesting pieces given the topic of the present study are *Demofonte* (Giuseppe Ferdinando Brivio, 1738) and *Alessandro in Persia* (Domenico

64 According to the current state of knowledge, there are only three ‘pure’ borrowings (i.e. borrowing which contain both textual and musical elements) in Kroměříž and Vyškov operas. They are “Quando saprai chi sono” (*Didone abbandonata*, Naples 1724, sung in Kroměříž in anonymous *Merope*, 1727), “Care dell’idol mio luci adorate” (*Venere placata*, Venice 1731, used in Giacomelli’s *Lucio Papirio*, Kroměříž 1732) and “Luci belle voi piangete” (*Attalo, rè di Bitinia*, Naples 1728, used in Porpora’s *Ezio* 1732/33).

65 The aria was part of the 1728 original setting of *Cesare in Egitto* by Luca Antonio Predieri and of the 1729 Pesaro version, from where the opera was adopted for Holešov. It was then inserted in *Lucio Vero*.

66 PERUTKOVÁ, 2015, pp. 547-570.

Paradies, 1740).<sup>67</sup> The *Demofonte* score contains ten inserted arias, made by various Jaroměřice copyists.<sup>68</sup> The insertions are fitted in the score; Brivio's original music is preserved. The aria "T'intendo, ingrata" (I,6) was identified as an aria from Leo's opera *Farnace* thanks to the title "Napoli 1737" and the original text "Pensi l'iniquo figlio" (Mitridate, II,9). Another borrowing, "Non odi consiglio", is from Caldara's *Demofonte* (Vienna 1733). The *licenza* "Il ciel sereno" was written by *Kapellmeister* Míča.

Only Acts II and III of the opera *Alessandro in Persia* have survived.<sup>69</sup> The final note "Fine L. D. D. V. M. 1738 in Lucca" suggests that the source is linked to the premiere. The score contains four inserted musical numbers written on different paper and by a different copyist. The original music is preserved. Two insertions share text with the replaced arias "Al tuo merto" and "Vorrei del perfido". The other two – the aria "Deh qual mai propizia sorte" and the duet "In questo amplesso" – were taken, text included, from Pampani's opera *Anagilda*, the score of which Questenberg also had in his possession.<sup>70</sup> Although this opera was never staged in Jaroměřice, it became the basis for the anonymous pasticcio *Anagilda* produced in Brno in 1737 (15 musical numbers out of 23 were adopted from Pampani). *Anagilda* was produced in Brno by the impresario Filippo Neri del Fantasia, who was in close contact with Questenberg.<sup>71</sup>

Pasticcios were highly popular in Jaroměřice, as is evident from, in addition to the examples above, one of the copies of the libretto of Conti's *Issipile*, stored in the Nové Hradý Chateau Library. Luckily, it seems to be a copy used for adapting the opera for yet another production, as is evidenced by special pencil inscriptions pointing to a new text or a whole new aria, or to an aria's transposition or its transfer to a different place.<sup>72</sup>

## Conclusion

These examples demonstrate that pasticcios and *opere impasticciate*, which one would expect predominantly in municipal theaters, were also often performed in the Czech Lands in private aristocratic venues. The pasticcio practice was so widespread that it began in the mid-1720s to penetrate other genres such as the oratorio and the Latin mo-

67 Other preserved scores documented to have been produced thanks to the libretto include: *Amalassunta* (Caldara, 1726, autograph), *L'amor non ha legge* (Caldara, 1728, autograph), *L'origine di Jaromeriz* (Míča, 1730, only 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> act), *Pirro* (Hasse, 1734) and *Merope* (Broschi, 1737). Productions without preserved librettos: *La contesa de' numi* (Vinci, after 1733) and *Issipile* (Bioni, 1737).

68 Score: A-Wgm, IV 27698 (Q 20883).

69 Score: A-Wgm, IV 27708 (Q 20949).

70 The opera is listed under the name of Riccardo Broschi despite the fact that he only composed the overture. Cf. PERUTKOVÁ, 2015, pp. 531-534.

71 He wrote the libretto *Il delizioso ritiro scielto da Lucullo, console Romano* (1738) for the Count. *IBID.*, p. 245.

72 Libretto: CZ-Pn, Nové Hradý Chateau Library, 1430. Cf. *IBID.*, pp. 512-514.

nastic play. The oldest example is the oratorio *Fides, spes, charitas* consisting of arias by George Frideric Handel, produced at the Prague Knights of the Cross in 1725.<sup>73</sup> Interpolating oratorios with opera arias was popular at the court of Bishop Schrattenbach, where a number of pasticcio oratorios with music by famous Neapolitan composers were created in the 1730s.<sup>74</sup> Arias by Italian composers were identified in the oratorio *La vittima d'amore* by Joseph Umstatt (Brno 1741)<sup>75</sup> and in the anonymous Latin carnival play *Facetum musicum* from the Osek/Ossegg Cistercian monastery (1738).<sup>76</sup>

The reasons for the insertions or for new music-dramatic pieces in the form of pasticcios were probably quite diverse. The traditional reason for pasticcios – the demands or requests of music stars – is reflected in the references to arias inserted “upon the soloists’ request” in Brno and Prague librettos or in the (randomly, to date) identified arias traveling between Prague, Brno and Holešov.<sup>77</sup> The use of pre-existing music allowed for a significantly cheaper and faster rehearsing of new operas, which is the reason why it was also advantageous for theater managers. Private venues, where singers were mostly the subjects of the patron, were probably much less willing to lend an ear to their requests. Nor did they suffer from such circulation of personnel and audiences as the municipal theaters did, and so it was not advisable to recycle too much music. The issue of soloists is also related to a certain difference between the share of borrowed arias, including the text (prevalent with professional traveling ensembles), and compared to re-texted arias (more typical for private theaters).

Musical adjustments, due to the technical limitations of the singers, were more likely to take place in private aristocratic venues where it is possible that local artists may not have been as skilled as their Italian colleagues. This is, nonetheless, only partially true, for example with Schrattenbach’s court opera, where female roles were sung (at least in the initial phase) by boys from the Kroměříž Piarist vocal seminary.<sup>78</sup> In Jaroměřice, on the other hand, score analysis and works composed directly for local singers testify to their excellent interpretive abilities.

What all the venues shared, however, were changes made for practical reasons. Arias were replaced or at least transposed due to the different voice types of the new cast or

73 Libretto and the adaptation of music by Karel Kořínek. Cf. SPÁČILOVÁ, 2019.

74 SPÁČILOVÁ, 2014b. Inserted arias are found in the oratorios *Morte, e sepoltura di Christo* (Brno 1730, score: D-B, Mus.Ms.2720, music by Caldara, inserted aria by Porpora) and *Cristo nell'orto* (Brno 1731, score: A-Sm, RaraHs Fux 2, music by Fux, inserted arias by Vinci and Giacomelli), for example. On the other hand, two arias from Porpora’s oratorio *S. Giovanni Nepomuceno* (Brno 1732) were used in the opera *Nitocri* (Vyškov 1735).

75 Arias by Caldara, Feo, Hasse, Leo, Pescetti and Porta, see VOSS, 2018, p. 266.

76 Arias by Handel, Lotti and Vivaldi, see SPÁČILOVÁ/MACEK, 2011.

77 A comprehensive approach to the traveling aria would require a detailed analysis of the librettos of all Central European opera centers.

78 Numerous simplifications (deletions in coloraturas, breath rests, etc.) were made, for example, in the score for the Brno version of Porpora’s oratorio *S. Giovanni Nepomuceno* (D-B, Mus.Ms.17781).

instrumentation demands. It should be noted that the opera orchestra was far from being standardized at this time, and some instruments requested by the score might not be available at the venue at all.<sup>79</sup> The practical reasons also included the period customs regarding the acquisition and circulation of music scores. It was certainly easier (and cheaper) for traveling impresarios and artists to deal with separate arias, compared with the full scores of complete operas.

Music-aesthetic and commercial reasons definitely had a major impact on the form of the repertoire. Conforming to the audience's tastes was vital for the theater director, particularly in the smaller cities like Wrocław or Brno, where the audience inevitably lost interest quickly. This struggle for attention and entrepreneurial success was not always easy, as is evident from the above-mentioned financial problems of Antonio Denzio and the fluctuation of impresarios in Wrocław (where the city council confiscated stage decoration sets due to debts).<sup>80</sup> The aesthetic aspect was also important in private theaters supported by a noble patron. Questenberg himself was an active musician, personally intervening in the final shape and rehearsals of the productions. While living in Italy, Schrattenbach saw the best of contemporary opera, and logically expected his private ensemble to deliver high-quality and modern music. They and their guests must have appreciated the productions.

The true reason for composing pasticcios was therefore the effort to revive or modernize an existing musical work.<sup>81</sup> The need for self-presentation of local composers also played an important role, as can be seen in the stubborn mentioning of the names of the authors, be it with the whole operas (only a small number of the librettos under study are truly anonymous), or with 'asterisked' arias. On the other hand, the creation process of the pasticcio is marked by the 'very best of' principle – i.e. the involvement of high-quality, established music by renowned Italian composers, whose names served as the 'label' and guarantee of success.<sup>82</sup> Local authors were tasked with carefully balancing this local pride with the interest in new music from abroad.

In short, the reasons for the instigation of creative efforts concerning pasticcio ranged from those of prestige through practical and aesthetic reasons to those of public demand. Italian opera was highly popular in the Czech Lands, as is evidenced by the growing presence it gained across musical genres (besides the oratorio, the opera aria

79 This is why e.g. the aria "Fiume altier và pur con l'onde" in Giacomelli's opera *Lucio Papirio* (Kroměříž 1732) was replaced, requesting trumpets in the original version, as well as aria "A dispetto d'un volto amoroso" with the obligato French horns in Gasparini's opera *Bajazet* (Kroměříž 1728).

80 Cf. BORCHERDT, 1910, p. 36.

81 An example is Bononcini's opera *Astarto* (Rome 1715), where all the arias with basso continuo, considered outdated by then, were replaced for the 1730 Kroměříž production, cf. SPÁČILOVÁ, 2018, p. 219.

82 Such misattributed pasticcios include *L'Olimpiade* and *Cesare in Egitto* (Holešov 1736), labelled "Hasse"; and "Vivaldi's" *Tullo Ostilio* (Brno 1735).

also enters the church loft as part of liturgical music).<sup>83</sup> The method of creating new operas using pre-existing music was therefore perceived not only as fully legitimate but also as aesthetically valuable.

*Translation: Eva Černínová*

## Appendix

*Table 1: Soloists traveling between Prague, Wrocław and Brno (Holešov)*

Year/year – one season (usually from autumn to the end of carnival)

Year-year – multiple seasons defined by the years given

Year – performance in the summer season, Holešov only (July, September)

Name of the artist	PRAGUE	WROCLAW	BRNO	HOLEŠOV
Alberti, Giuseppe Nicola	1727/28	1725-27, 1728/29	1733-36	1734-36
Albuzzi, Ottavio			1738/39	1738
Bambini, Laura			1732-34	1733, 1736
Battaglini, Domenico			1732-34	1733, 1736
Bianchi, Barbara	1724-26	1727-30		
Bianchi, Francesco Maria	1734	1733/34		
Cajo, Bartolomeo	1729-32		1733-36	1734, 1735
Cosimi, Anna	1729-34		1734-36	1735
Costantini, Antonio (composer)			1732/33, 1738/39	
Costantini, née Spinola, Giacinta	1731/32	1725-27	1732/33, 1738-40	1739
Danese, Veneranda	1738/39		1737/38, 1739/40	
Dreyer, Giovanni	1730/31	1725-30		
Eberhard, Giustina	1730/31	1733/34		
Fantasia, Rosalia	1733/34		1734/35	
Flora, Margarita	1729-32	1733/34	1732/33, 1734/35	
Galetti, Filippo	1729/30		1735/36	
Giusti, Anna Maria	1724/25	1725/26	1736/37	
Gualandì, Diamante Maria	1725/26	1726/27		
Lucchini, Matteo	1726-30, 1734/35	1731/32, 1733/34	1732/33?, 1736-40	
Madonis, Girolama	1729-31		1737-39	
Mareschi, Marc'Antonio		1729-32	1739/40	
Mazzioli, Giuseppe	1738/39		1736/37	
Michaeli, Giovanni	1731/32		1732/33, 1734/35	
Monti, Cecilia	1729-32		1733-36	1734, 1735

83 JONÁŠOVÁ, 2008.

Name of the artist	PRAGUE	WROCLAW	BRNO	HOLEŠOV
Monza, Margherita	1732-35	1732		
Monza, Maria	1732-35	1732		
Moretti, Lorenzo	1724-26, 1728/29, 1733- 35	1727/28	1735/36	
Moretti, née Gualandi, Margarita	1728/29, 1733- 35		1735/36	
Negri, Giovanni Domenico	1732/33			1737
Negri, Marina	1724-27	1728/29		
Orlandi, Chiara	1727/28	1725-27, 1728/29	1733-36	1734
Personé, Catterina	1738/39	1733/34	1737/38	
Peruzzi, Teresa	1725-27		1733-36	
Ramis, née Delfini, Cecilia	1731/32		1732/33	
Taselli, Domenico	1738/39		1737/38	
Vida, Paolo	1724/25, 1726/27	1725/26		

Table 2: Repertoire links between Prague, Wrocław and Brno

Table data order: Year of production/impresario (initials in square brackets – no preserved libretto), composer (according to the libretto)

AB	Antonio Bioni
AD	Antonio Denzio
AM	Angelo Mingotti
AMP	Antonio Maria Peruzzi
AP	Antonio Pantaleoni
FD	Francesco Darbes
FNF	Filippo Neri del Fantasia
GD	Giovanni Dreyer
LW	Ludwig Wussin
SB	Santo Burigotti

Title	PRAGUE	WROCLAW	BRNO
<i>Armida al campo</i>	1728/AD, Guerra	1726/LW, Bioni	
<i>La costanza combattuta in amore</i>	1728/AD, Porta	1725/AMP, Porta	
<i>La fede tradita e vendicata</i>	1727/AD, Gasparini	1729/SB, Bioni	
<i>Filindo</i>	Regensburg 1733/AD	1728/[SB+GD] Bioni	
<i>Teseo in Creta</i>		1729/AP+FD	1734/AM ( <i>Arianna e Teseo</i> )
<i>Alessandro Severo</i>		1733/[AB], Bioni	1740/FNF, Lucchini
<i>Antigona vendicata</i>		1728/SB, Orlandini	1736/AM, Orlandini ( <i>Antigona in Tebe</i> )
<i>Ulisse</i>		1726/LW, Treu	1739/FNF, Porta ( <i>Penelope la casta</i> )
<i>Gli amori amari</i>	1732/AD, Costantini		1733/AM, Costantini

Title	PRAGUE	WROCLAW	BRNO
<i>Argippo</i>	1730/AD, Vivaldi		1733/AM, Costantini
<i>La pravità castigata</i>	1730/AD, [Caldara]		1734/AM, Bambini
<i>Tullo Ostilio</i>	1727/AD		1735/AM, Vivaldi [pasticcio]
<i>Armida abbandonata</i>	1725/AD, Bioni	1726/[LW], Bioni	1733/AM, Bambini
<i>Didone</i>	1731/AD, Albinoni	1726/LW, Albinoni	1734/AM, Sarro
<i>Lucio Vero</i>	1725/AD, Albinoni	1727/LW, Bioni	1734/AM, Galuppi [pasticcio]
<i>Orlando furioso</i>	1724/AD, Bioni	1725/[AMP], 1734/ [AB] Bioni	1735/AM, Vivaldi

Table 3: Authors of the Mingotti operas adopted from Prague

Title	PRAGUE Year: Composer	BRNO Year: Composer	Total musical numbers/ common with Pragu
<i>Gli amori amari</i>	1732: La Musica è del Sig. Antonio Costantini, a riserva d'alcune Arie messe al piacere de Virtuosi	1733: La Musica è del Sig. Antonio Costantini, a riserva d'alcune Arie posse al piacere de Virtuosi	27/15
<i>Argippo</i>	1730: La Musica è del sempre celebre Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi	1733: La Musica è del Sig. Antonio Constantini, a Riserva d'alcune Arie poste al piacere de Virtuosi	18/2 (+1 paraphrase)
<i>Armida abbandonata</i>	1725: La Musica è del Sig. M. Antonio Bioni	1733: La Musica è del Sig. Eustachio Bambini	32/14
<i>Didone</i>	1731: La Musica è del Celebre Sig. Maestro Tomaso Albinoni	1735: La Musica e del Celebre Sig. Domenico Sarro Maestro della Capella Reale di Napoli	21/9
<i>Lucio Vero</i>	1725: La Musica è la maggior parte del Signore Tommaso Albinoni Veneto	1734: La Musica è la maggior parte del Sig. Baldassare Galuppi di Venezia à riserva dell'Arie, che sono di diversi Auttori	27/7
<i>Orlando furioso</i>	1724: La Musica del Sig. Gio. Antonio Bioni, Virtuoso di Venetia	1735: La Musica e del Signore Antonio Vivaldi à riserva di alcune Arie [German version: Sarro]	28/28
<i>La pravità castigata</i>	1730: la Musica delle Arie (avventurosamente ottenuta) d'un Autore di cui si compiace frequentemente il primo Monarca del Mondo [Caldara]	1734: La Musica è del Sig. Eustachio Bambini di Pesaro à riserva d'alcune Arie	27/9
<i>Tullo Ostilio</i>	1727: –	1735: La Musica e del Signore Antonio Vivaldi à riserva di alcune Arie [German version: Sarro]	26/21

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