

Gluck's Contribution to the Pasticcios *Arsace* and *La finta schiava*

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Christoph Willibald Gluck began his career as an opera composer in northern Italy, where he wrote eight *opere serie* mostly on librettos by Pietro Metastasio for different theaters from 1741 to 1745. His starting point and main place of work was Milan, but operas were also commissioned from Venice, Crema and Turin, resulting in the following list:

<i>Artaserse</i> (Milan 1741)	<i>La Sofonisba</i> (Milan 1744)
<i>Demetrio</i> (Venice 1742)	<i>Ipermestra</i> (Venice 1744)
<i>Demofonte</i> (Milan 1743)	<i>Poros</i> (Turin 1744)
<i>Il Tigrane</i> (Crema 1743)	<i>L'Ippolito</i> (Milan 1745)

Most of these early operas have only been preserved fragmentarily,¹ which makes it more difficult to reliably assess the extent to which vocal pieces were reused. Nevertheless, they seem to have constituted a large source from which Gluck would borrow throughout his whole career.² In particular, the operas *La caduta dei giganti* and *Artamene*, each performed at the King's Theatre in London in 1746, consisted largely of

1 Of the mentioned works, only *Ipermestra* has been preserved completely, while for *Demofonte* at least all 27 consecutive vocal numbers as well as a march and two *obbligato* recitatives are traceable; cf. the corresponding source descriptions in GLUCK, 1997, pp. 317-321, and GLUCK, 2014, pp. 299-304. Of the remaining six *opere serie*, however, even less than half of the original material has survived; cf. GLUCK, 2017, pp. 303-314. The second volume to be published by the author, GLUCK, CHRISTOPH WILLIBALD, *Fragmentarisch überlieferte Opere serie: Demetrio (Venedig 1742), Poros (Turin 1744), La caduta dei giganti (London 1746), Artamene, (London 1746), Issipile (Prag 1752)* (Christoph Willibald Gluck. Sämtliche Werke III,2), is being prepared.

2 These borrowings have been studied in detail and were presented by HORTSCHANSKY, 1973. For further borrowings accounted for by Yuliya Shein, cf. the digital *catalogue*

borrowings, a local pasticcio practice there,³ which Gluck used in order to gain popularity with the English audience similar to that which he had gained in Italy for himself and for the singers by using selected arias.⁴ Aside from these two examples of a ‘self-pastiche’,⁵ Gluck also encountered pasticcios in the proper sense, as “an opera made up of various pieces from different composers or sources and adapted to a new or existing libretto”.⁶ Thus, two pasticcios were performed in northern Italy during his early period – *Arsace* (Milan 1743) and *La finta schiava* (Venice 1744) – which historical musical sources explicitly ascribe to Gluck.⁷ This paper aims to determine Gluck’s contribution to these pasticcio productions by examining the quality as well as the according validity and reliability of these musical sources.⁸

1. *Arsace*

In 1744, Gluck made his third contribution to the Teatro Regio Ducal in Milan by submitting his opera *La Sofonisba*, which was the second and thereby more important carnival opera of the season, for which renowned composers were employed.⁹ The carnival season, however, was not opened with an opera specifically composed for this occasion but with the pasticcio *Arsace*, based on Antonio Salvi’s *tragedia per musica Amore e*

raisonné of the Gluck-Gesamtausgabe (online: <http://www.gluck-gesamtausgabe.de/gwv.html>, 06.12.2019).

3 Cf. STROHM, 2009, and SQUIRE, 1915.

4 Among the performers, the soprano Teresa Pompeati, née Imer, as well as the soprano castratos Giuseppe Jozzi and Angelo Maria Monticelli worked on Gluck’s operas *Artaserse* (Jozzi), *Demetrio* (Imer) and *L’Ippolito* (Monticelli), but presented themselves in London mostly with arias composed for singer colleagues, preferably from the operas *Il Tigrane* and *La Sofonisba*, which suggests a stronger influence of the composer in this case in selecting the arias. Cf. STROHM, 2011, p. 78.

5 According to Curtis Price, this is defined as “an amalgam of a composer’s own arias in a new context”, PRICE, 1992, p. 907.

6 IBID. Cf. also HEYINK, 1997, who emphasizes in this context: “Ob die Werkteile aus älteren Kompositionen unverändert kompiliert, bearbeitet und somit dem neuen Kontext angepaßt oder extra für diesen Anlaß neu komponiert wurden, ist für die Begriffsbestimmung zweitrangig.” (“Whether the parts of the work from older compositions were compiled and edited unchanged and thus adapted to the new context or newly composed for this occasion, is of secondary importance for the definition.”) IBID., col. 1496.

7 The reverse case that Gluck’s adaptation of the pasticcio *Arianna*, performed in Vienna in 1762, is documented through an invoice, but the music of this work nevertheless has not even been preserved in excerpts, is described by HORTSCHANSKY, 1971.

8 In summary, the results of this study have already been presented in the preface to GLUCK, 2017, pp. XXV-XXVII.

9 As described by KUZMICK HANSELL, 1986, p. X.

maestà written in 1715. The fact that the *dramma per musica* performed on 26 December 1743 is an adapted version and not a new setting of the *sujet* is made clear by the absence of a composer's name in the libretto of the premiere.¹⁰ Even the *Gazzetta di Milano*, the official news and publishing organ of the Habsburg government in Lombardy, does not mention a composer in its only report on the season opening with *Arsace*, which surely would have been done in the case of a new production.¹¹ However, a presumably contemporary, handwritten addition to one of the surviving librettos indicates Giovanni Battista Lampugnani as the original author.¹² In 1741, he had composed an *Arsace* for the autumn fair in Crema, which is documented through the corresponding libretto as well as through a copy of the musical score of the first act.¹³ A complete score for the production in Milan has not survived though, only single copies exist, among them eight score copies of arias and one of an *obbligato* recitative with Gluck's name included in a manuscript collection in four volumes.¹⁴ These contemporary manuscripts of Italian provenance probably arrived at the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique in Paris together with score copies of individual parts from Gluck's early *opere serie* in the late 18th century when Napoleon captured cultural artefacts during the Italian campaign. It was not until 1840 that they were bound together there with other copies of vocal and instrumental numbers from Gluck's later works.¹⁵ The score copies of *Arsace* were all produced by the same Milanese scribe, who also copied some numbers for *Demofoon-*

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- 10 Cf. libretto: I-Mb, Racc.dramm.0656 (digital reproduction available online: <http://www.braidense.it/rd/00656.pdf>, 06.12.2019).
- 11 Cf. *Gazzetta di Milano* 1 from 1 January 1744, fol. 1r. In the reports on *Demofonte* (*Gazzetta di Milano* 52 from 26 December 1742, fol. 1r), *La Sofonisba* (*Gazzetta di Milano* 3 from 15 January 1744, fol. 1r) and *L'Ippolito* (*Gazzetta di Milano* 5 from 3 February 1745, fol. 1r) Gluck is always mentioned by name and emphasized by attributes such as “noto”, “celebre” and “lodato”; cf. also HORTSCHANSKY, 1972, pp. 515f.
- 12 I-Rsc, without shelf mark. A later handwritten entry on the inside cover page also names, aside from the librettist and Lampugnani's composition, the first musical setting of Salvi's drama under the title *Arsace* by Michelangelo Gasparini (Venice 1718). Under the original title *Amore e maestà the tragedia per musica* was set to music by Giuseppe Maria Orlandini (Florence 1715).
- 13 Score: I-Fc, B-I-141 (Collocazione B.91), libretto: I-Mc, H 37. Both sources explicitly name Lampugnani as the composer.
- 14 F-Pn, D.4712-4715. Cf. the author's detailed source descriptions in GLUCK, 2017, pp. 303f. and 315.
- 15 Cf. remarks by Julien Tiersot, who was a librarian at the Conservatoire de Musique from 1909 to 1921, TIERSOT, 1914, pp. 11f. The fifth volume E described by Tiersot with the accession number 10043 contained copies of parts of Gluck's *Armide* and the French *Alceste*, which are stored independently from the bundle today: aria of *Armide* “Ah, si la liberté me doit être ravie” (F-Pn, Ms.13764) and scenes I,5-I,7 from *Alceste* (F-Pn, Ms.13765).

te.¹⁶ The score is greatly shortened to the extent that the violin part is occasionally not even written out but only indicated through “Col Canto” or “Col Basso”. Some copies do not feature any dynamic and tempo specifications and only carry few articulation markings, which does not suggest a practical use. Each of the vocal numbers is preceded by a title page, displaying numberings by two different hands and containing the title of the aria as well as the composer’s name “Del Sig.^r Cluch”. Specifically, the following pieces are included, listed according to their sequence in the first and third volumes of the manuscript collection:

Aria of Arsace “Benché copra al sole il volto” (I,8)¹⁷

Aria of Statira “Se fido l’adorai” (I,2)

Recitative “No, che non ha la sorte” and Aria of Arsace “Sì, vedrò quell’alma ingrata” (I,12)¹⁸

Aria of Artabano “Sì, cadrà con grave scempio” (I,4)

Aria of Statira “Perfido, traditore” (I,10)

Aria of Orcano “Tema quell’alma audace” (I,4)

Aria of Megabise “Quando ruina con le sue spume” (I,6)¹⁹

Aria of Rosmiri “Colomba innamorata” (I,7)

All eight vocal numbers are from the first act which led to the long-standing assumption that Gluck had composed this act as part of a collaborative production.²⁰ As early as 1966, Klaus Hortschansky critically investigated Gluck’s assumed collaborative authorship of this pasticcio;²¹ the following observations are conceived as continuing and complementing his considerations on the basis of current research.

Lampugnani’s personal involvement in the performances of *Arsace* in 1743/44 can be excluded due to the fact that he was staying in London at the time.²² Gluck, however,

16 This scribe also copied parts for Giovanni Battista Sammartini’s Sinfonia A major (J-C 62a); Newell Jenkins and Bathia Churgin refer to him as copyist B, cf. JENKINS/CHURGIN, 1976, p. 90, as well as *IBID.* the facsimile on p. 34.

17 Digital reproduction available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505452j>, 06.12.2019.

18 Digital reproduction available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505457s>, 06.12.2019. On the title page, this number is mistakenly labelled “l’Aria frà il rimorso e frà l’affanno”, which deviates from the correct text.

19 Digital reproduction available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508686c>, 06.12.2019.

20 These numbers were first attributed to *Arsace* by PIOVANO, 1908, pp. 267-273, who also studied Gluck’s involvement in this production.

21 Cf. HORTSCHANSKY, 1966.

22 He was employed in autumn 1743 as Baldassare Galuppi’s successor at the King’s Theatre as resident composer, where his opera *Rossane* (an adaptation of Handel’s *Alessandro*) was premiered on 15 November, cf. BURNEY, 1789, p. 842.

was present in order to complete and rehearse the second carnival opera *La Sofonisba*. It therefore seems obvious that he was also responsible for the performances of the opening opera in his function as *maestro di cappella*. This is proven by a balance sheet from 1744, unknown to Hortschansky, according to which 225 lire were paid “to signor Christoforo Cluck *maestro di cappella* as recognition for the first opera” (“Al Sig.^r Cristoforo Cluck Maestro di Cappella per ricognizione della prim’opera”) on 26 February.²³ Taking the payment of 1,500 lire into account,²⁴ which Gluck received for the composition, rehearsals and conducting the first performances of *La Sofonisba* on 7 February, this additional fee can be interpreted as a sign of appreciation for his work on *Arsace*. It is even conceivable that Gluck himself initiated to reuse the work by bringing back the score of Lampugnani’s setting from his stay in Crema, where he had performed *Il Tigrane* on 26 September 1743, and arranging it for the Milanese season, i.e. for the local singers. It has to be determined to what extent he merely arranged the opera or if he also contributed his compositions.

Two of the arias associated with Gluck, “Se fido l’adorai” (I,2) and “Perfido, traditore” (I,10) are musically and textually identical with Lampugnani’s version as documented in the copied score of the first act. These are the first two arias of Statira, composed for the soprano Caterina Aschieri, who had already performed this role in Lampugnani’s *Arsace* in Crema (cf. Table 1) and who therefore will have sung these arias again in Milan. Like Giovanni Carestini, Aschieri had worked on another *Arsace* production immediately beforehand. It was performed for the first time in Venice on 16 November 1743 and is presumably also a pasticcio, for which no composer’s name and score have been preserved.²⁵ Aside from the aforementioned arias, the accompanying libretto, however, is textually identical to all of Statira’s numbers in the Milanese textbook (cf. Table 2).²⁶ This suggests that Aschieri took over all the vocal pieces for the

23 Quoted from VEZZOSI, 1999, p. 339.

24 *IBID.*, p. 337.

25 It is incomprehensible why Dale E. Monson lists this opera among Galuppi’s works; cf. MONSON, 2001, p. 487. Although Galuppi returned to Venice from London in the summer of 1743, there is no indication that he was responsible for the *Arsace* production of the autumn season, even though this cannot be ruled out. This attribution is corrected in Reinhard Wiesend’s revised list of Galuppi’s works where the opera is not even listed under “Zweifelhafte Bühnenwerke” or “Bearbeitungen”; cf. WIESEND, 2002, cols. 482-485. However, WIESEND, 1984, pp. 307 and 357, attributes two arias of the pasticcio to Galuppi (“Voi, che languite” and “Voi, che regnate”) presumably because of identical texts, but he does not elaborate any further. That notwithstanding, there is no evidence in favor of Gluck’s involvement in this production or of the use of his individual compositions; cf. also HORTSCHANSKY, 1966, pp. 58-60.

26 Only the aria “Forse vedrai placato” (II,10) in place of Megabise’s aria “Spero veder placata” can exclusively be found in the libretto of the Venetian production: I-Mb, Racc. dramm.3803 (digital reproduction available online: <http://www.braidense.it/rd/03803.pdf>, 06.12.2019).

performance in Milan from the two previous *Arsace* performances, not least due to time reasons.

The arias “Colomba innamorata” (I,7) and “Sì, vedrò quell’alma ingrata” (I,12) are not part of the score of Lampugnani’s *Arsace* but are included in surviving single copies with his name.²⁷ While Hortschansky concedes that ascribing these arias to Lampugnani could have been just as erroneous as ascribing them to Gluck, it has been possible to confirm Lampugnani’s authorship by determining that the arias originated from two of his previously written operas: “Colomba innamorata” comes from his setting of *Semiramide riconosciuta*²⁸ performed in Rome in 1741 and was possibly already taken over into the Venetian *Arsace* production, the libretto of which also contains the aria text. The text “Già vedrai quell’alma ingrata” from the score copy F-Pn, Vm⁴ 880 slightly deviates from “Sì, vedrò quell’alma ingrata” and refers to the identical aria from Lampugnani’s *Ezio*,²⁹ in which Carestini sang the title role in Venice in May 1743. He presumably carried over the aria to the Milanese performance of *Arsace*, where he also played the title hero. It is hardly surprising that this number does not occur in the libretto of the Venetian pasticcio as Carestini could not perform the same aria only half a year later in the same place.³⁰ This is different in the case of the corresponding recitative “No, che non ha la sorte”, included in the librettos of all three *Arsace* productions but which Lampugnani had set to music as a *secco* recitative for the performance in Crema. Whether Gluck composed a new *obbligato* recitative for the performance in Milan or whether Carestini used the recitative he had sung shortly beforehand in Venice cannot be determined. In the latter case, however, Gluck would have been responsible for adapting to the possibly diverging key of the now different subsequent aria.

It was possible to identify Andrea Bernasconi as the composer of the aria “Sì, cadrà con grave scempio” (I,4). The aria comes from his opera *Temistocle*, premiered in Padua

27 F-Pn, Vm⁴ 879 and 880, as well as a further score copy of the aria “Sì, vedrò quell’alma ingrata”: A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17680/4 Mus.

28 According to RISM ID no. 000118354 (online: <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=000118354&View=rism>, 14.02.2019), the aria is preserved in another score copy in D major (US-SFsc, M2.5 v.55), which contains the name of the singer from *Semiramide*, Gioacchino Conti, detto Gizziello in addition to the composer, place and year of performance.

29 The text is not by Metastasio and can be found in place of his original aria “Recagli quell’acciario” (II,6) in the libretto of the *Ezio* setting of 1743, cf. libretto: I-Mb, Racc. dramm.3231 (digital reproduction available online: <http://www.braidense.it/rd/03231.pdf>, 06.12.2019).

30 For the aria “Torbida notte intorno” used in the Venetian *Arsace*, he probably used the composition of the same name by Giovanni Battista Sammartini from his opera *L’Agrippina moglie di Tiberio*, in which Carestini had participated during the premiere in Milan in February 1743.

in 1740, and was sung to the text “Serberò fra ceppi ancora” (II,8) by the title hero.³¹ The tenor Settimio Canini, who played the role of Artabano in the Milanese *Arsace*, did not participate in this opera, but rather in Bernasconi's *Bajazet* (Venice 1742). He possibly became familiar with the aria this way, which he sang with a different text in the *Arsace* pasticcio. The vocal progression shows no changes compared to the original aria aside from two omitted bars to be repeated at the end of the A' part, indicating that the Milanese librettist had ideally adapted the new text.³²

While it is certain that Gluck did not author the aforementioned five arias, it has not been possible to identify a different composer for the remaining three arias. The text of the aria “Benché copra al sole il volto” (I,8) from Metastasio's *azione teatrale Endimione* can be found in the librettos of all three *Arsace* productions. Whereas the setting attributed to Gluck differs from Lampugnani's setting, it is identical to the musical text of a further contemporary copy, containing short scores of five transposed arias for transverse flute.³³ These are all pieces from Venetian productions from 1743/44,³⁴ so that it can be assumed that Carestini also brought the setting of “Benché copra al sole il volto” from the *Arsace* performance in Venice to Milan and sang it there again. Accordingly, this aria seems to have been wrongly attributed to Gluck as well, whereas the other two remaining vocal numbers could indeed be his compositions. The aria “Tema quell'alma audace” (I,4) belongs to Orcano's part, which had not been included in the preceding productions but was created for the first time for the Milanese performance of *Arsace*, presumably in order to match the number of actors of the second carnival opera, *La Sofonisba*. The role was performed by the *secondo tenore* Francesco Trivulzi, who was employed for the first time during this season and therefore was not able to draw on earlier performed pieces. As a result, it is very likely that Gluck composed the re-

31 Cf. the presumably autograph score D-Wa, 46 Alt 632, titled with his name as well as the individual parts of a sacred parody of the aria with the Latin text “Caelites beati” (A-WIL, 34).

32 The librettist can be identified using the payroll list, according to which “Al Sig.^r Dott.^o Claudio Nicola Stampa Poeta per l'assistenza prestata al Regio Ducal Teatro” was paid 600 lire on 6 March 1744, quoted from VEZZOSI, 1999, p. 339.

33 The bundle is titled “Arie d'Opera / Per il Flauto Traversiere / dell'anno 1743/4”, cf. I-Vc, B. 43 N° 18.

34 The arias “Perdona amato bene” and “Pensa a serbarmi” were identified as musical settings from Lampugnani's *Ezio* version from 1743, cf. KORSMEIER, 2000, p. 553, as well as RISM ID no. 456011353 (online: <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=456011353&View=rism>, 14.02.2019). The aria “Cara ti lascio, addio” is from Pietro Pulli's opera *Vologeso, re de' parti* (online: <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=212008141&View=rism>, 14.02.2019), which premiered in Reggio in 1741 where Carestini participated as well and from where he probably took the piece to the Venetian and subsequent Milanese *Arsace* performance. The aria “Conservati fedele” comes from Domènec Terradellas' *Artaserse* (online: <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=850025952&View=rism>, 14.02.2019) and was sung by Caterina Fumagalli in the premiere in Venice in 1744.

citatives and Orcano's two arias mentioned in the libretto for him.³⁵ "Quando ruina con le sue spume" (I,6) is a similar case: the text of this aria, taken from Metastasio's *fiesta teatrale Gli orti esperidi*, is also found in the libretto of Lampugnani's *Arsace*, but the musical setting differs from the one attributed to Gluck. Lampugnani's aria, composed for the alto castrato Domenico Buccella, probably did not fit the vocal demands of the soprano Giuseppa Useda, who played the role of Megabise in Milan. She had made her debut at the same theater only a year earlier and could not have sung pieces from the previous season as the audience would not have appreciated the performance of familiar arias. Therefore, it can be again concluded that Gluck set the arias provided in the libretto to music for her anew.³⁶ Thus, Hortschansky's argument has to be regarded as too much of a generalization as he assumes that if five arias had been wrongly passed down under Gluck's name, the other three also have to be considered as doubtful.³⁷ It seems to have been necessary for the responsible *maestro di cappella* to newly compose the arias "Tema quell'alma audace" and "Quando ruina con le sue spume", resulting in Gluck being the original composer. The mistaken attribution of the remaining six arias to Gluck can probably be explained by the fact that the pasticcio *Arsace* as well as *Demofonte* and *La Sofonisba*, three consecutive works of the Milanese carnival seasons of 1743 and 1744, were assumed to be Gluck's original compositions during the copying process.³⁸ Consequently, this does not suggest that individual copies with different composers' names served as a basis for the process of making copies, but rather that a complete score was used, presumably drawn up for the performance, the existence of which would be indirectly proven this way.

2. *La finta schiava*

Unlike with *Arsace*, there is no evidence of Gluck's personal involvement in the pasticcio *La finta schiava*, which opened the Ascension fair on 13 May 1744 at the Teatro di Sant'Angelo in Venice. The corresponding libretto does not name an author; however, a handwritten note on the cover of one of the preserved copies attributes the text to Francesco Silvani and labels the music "di Diversi".³⁹ According to Taddeo Wiel's performance catalogue, the music is composed by "Giacomo Maccari (ed altri)",⁴⁰ presumably

35 The second aria "Sento un'acerbo duolo" (II,1) has not been passed down according to present research.

36 The second aria "Spero veder placata" (II,10) of this part has not been preserved either.

37 Cf. HORTSCHANSKY, 1966, p. 60.

38 Concerning the context and reason for creating the single copies preserved in the manuscript collection, cf. the author's explanations on the dependency and assessment of the sources in GLUCK, 2017, pp. 320f.

39 Libretto: I-Mb, Racc.dramm.2982 (digital reproduction available online: <http://www.braidense.it/rd/02982.pdf>, 06.12.2019).

40 WIEL, 1897, p. 151. On Maccari's work, cf. Pozzi, 1992.

indicating him as *maestro di cappella*, who arranged the pasticcio and used pieces of other composers as well as his own settings. *La finta schiava* was performed two years later by Angelo Mingotti in Graz, Prague and Leipzig, of which the librettos contain the reference: “music mainly by the famous masters Vinci, Lampugnani and Gluck” (“Musica la Maggior parte. / Delli Celebri Maestri Vinzi Lampugnani, e Cluch.”)⁴¹ Although some arias were exchanged for Mingotti’s new performances compared to the Venetian performance, works by the aforementioned composers may already have been used for that production as well. It is currently not possible to study this in detail as no complete scores of these productions have survived. However, score copies of two arias have been preserved which refer to the Venetian performance through their title “1744 in the S. Angelo theater during the ascension fair” (“1744 In S. Angelo nella ascensa”) and name Gluck as the composer. Both are included in the fourth volume of the aforementioned manuscript collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and exhibit the same copyist for the text.⁴² The aria “Troppo ad un’alma è caro” (I,5) can clearly be identified as taken from Gluck’s opera *Il Tigrane*, as a copy of the original aria of the same title exists as well. It reads “Signora Giuditta Fabiani - in the theater in Crema 1743 - by Signor Cristoforo Gluck (“Sig.^a Giuditta Fabiani – nel Teatro di Crema 1743 – Del Sig.^r Cristoforo Gluck”) and thereby explicitly indicates the corresponding production.⁴³ In comparison to the original aria, the copy from *La finta schiava* shows individual changes revealing adaptations to the singers’ needs: aside from several raised notes in the singing voice, two bars were inserted at the end of the A and B part each in order to make a cadenza possible for the performer Caterina Barberis.

The second aria “Ch’io mai vi possa” (III,5) is a vocal number for which the original cannot be identified based on the currently available information. The slightly modified text can be traced back to Metastasio’s *Siroe*, a *dramma per musica* which Gluck did not set to music. In light of the erroneous attribution on the *Arsace* copies, another author may be expected here as well. However, the aria could not be attributed to any other musical settings of this drama from before 1744 and thus Gluck’s authorship could not be refuted.⁴⁴ Accordingly, it can be assumed that the aria is from one of his earlier operas

41 Cf. the source descriptions of the librettos published in Graz and Prague in 1746 in GLUCK, 2017, p. 318, and in MÜLLER VON ASOW, 1917, pp. XCVI-XCIX, as well as the description of the libretto printed for the third performance during the Easter fair in Leipzig in 1746 in BÄRWALD, 2016, pp. 390-393. I would like to thank Berthold Over for providing me with information from Bärwald’s study.

42 F-Pn, D.4715. On this and other copies of arias, cf. the source descriptions in GLUCK, 2017, pp. 316-318.

43 This score copy is passed down in addition to further single copies of *Il Tigrane* in the first volume of the manuscript collection (F-Pn, D.4712); cf. the source descriptions in *IBID.*, pp. 306f.

44 The aria is not documented in the librettos of the *Siroe* productions of the following composers: Leonardo Vinci (Venice 1726, Prague 1734), Giovanni Porta (Milan and Florence 1726), Nicola Porpora (Rome 1727), Antonio Vivaldi (Reggio 1727, Ancona 1738), An-

and was carried over into *La finta schiava* with a different text. Of the singers involved in this pasticcio, only the soprano castrato Giuseppe Gallieni, whose part of Rodrigo includes the aria “Ch’io mai vi possa”, had collaborated on productions of Gluck’s earlier works: as Olinto in *Demetrio* and as Oronte in *Il Tigrane*. Thus, it can be presumed that he took this aria from one of these two operas. *Demetrio* had been performed in Venice two years earlier as well, leaving *Il Tigrane* as the more likely source for this aria. This is supported by the fact that “Troppo ad un’alma è caro” was taken from this opera and possibly also “Se spunta amica stella”, of which the text can be found in a slightly altered version in the libretto for *La finta schiava* in Rodrigo’s first aria (I,2).⁴⁵

The existence of a further copy (P1) of the aria “Ch’io mai vi possa”, which has the same musical text as the one attributed to Gluck but the original wording from Metastasio’s *Siroe*,⁴⁶ even suggests an additional step in its transfer: after performing in Gluck’s *Il Tigrane*, Gallieni participated in Daniele Barba’s setting of the same title in Verona during the carnival season of 1744 and took on the role of Medarse in the opening pasticcio *Il Siroe*, of which the music is described as “a choice made from the most virtuous masters” (“una scelta fatta da’ più Virtuosi Maestri”).⁴⁷ According to current research, no score of this production has been preserved either. The corresponding libretto, however, not only contains Metastasio’s aria “Ch’io mai vi possa” (III,12), belonging to Emira’s part, but also the text of “Nero turbo il cielo imbruna” replacing the original aria “Non vi piacque, ingiusti dei” in II,15. In particular, since the wording of this rare aria⁴⁸ is identical to Gluck’s setting, it can be assumed that Gallieni transferred at least two arias from Gluck’s *Il Tigrane*: the favorite aria “Nero turbo il cielo imbruna” originally composed for Caterina Aschieri, with which his singer colleague from the

drea Stefano Fiorè (Turin 1729), Anonymus (Genoa 1730, Bergamo 1743), Vinci, Pescetti and Galuppi (Venice 1731), Antonio Bioni (Wrocław 1731), Johann Adolf Hasse (Bologna 1733), Giuseppe Scarlatti (Florence 1742), Paolo Scalabrini (Prague 1744). The aria settings by Domenico Sarro (Naples 1727), George Frideric Handel (London 1728), Gaetano Latilla (Rome 1740), Davide Perez (Naples 1740), Gennaro Manna (Venice 1743) and Andrea Bernasconi (? 1737-1744), however, differ from the one attributed to Gluck.

- 45 HORTSCHANSKY, 1973, p. 265 already supposed that this aria of the pasticcio is also composed by Gluck. However, this remains to be proven. While the original aria sung by Gallieni has been passed down, the musical text attributed to *La finta schiava* has not been preserved.
- 46 Score: F-Pn, Vm⁷ 119 (digital reproduction available online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525085576>, 06.12.2019). This is a copy of French provenance. The version used to make this copy probably came from Italy in the 1740s but has not been preserved.
- 47 Libretto: I-Mb, Racc.dramm.4525 (digital reproduction available online: <http://www.braidense.it/rd/04525.pdf>, 06.12.2019).
- 48 With “Se il fedel compagno amato”, the libretto of Barba’s setting of *Il Tigrane* also uses a different text for the closing aria of Cleopatra in the first act, cf. libretto: I-Mb, Racc.dramm.4258 (digital reproduction available online: <http://www.braidense.it/rd/04258.pdf>, 06.12.2019).

Siroe pasticcio Anna Medici could give an excellent performance, as well as a further soprano aria which now used Metastasio's text. Whether Tigrane's aria "Se s'accende in fiamme ardenti" (I,4) was also included in *Il Siroe*, in which the text from Metastasio's *azione teatrale Endimione* matches the first stanza from Medarse's closing aria in the first act (I,17), can only be presumed. In this case, Gallieni would have tried to perform an aria originally composed for the famous soprano castrato Felice Salimbeni, which Gluck would certainly have composed in a virtuoso style as the *primo uomo's* entry aria.

The aria "Ch'io mai vi possa" would then have been transferred from Verona to Venice⁴⁹ and the text would have been marginally modified in order to be used in *La finta schiava*. The changes apply to each of the closing lines of both stanzas: "Né men per gioco / v'ingannerò" becomes "Né men la morte / mi cangerà" and "E voi sarete, / care pupille, / il mio bel foco / fin ch'io vivrò" becomes "E lo sarete, / care pupille, / sino, che vita / in me sarà", which puts additional emphasis on what is said in the first case while the message remains the same in the second. These changes can be found both in the score copy included in the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and in a *canto e basso* reduction made by the same copyist, which thus can also be placed within the Venetian performance context of the pasticcio.⁵⁰ However, in deviating from the libretto for *La finta schiava* both copies retain the original personal pronoun "voi" in the second stanza instead of the pronoun "lo", required by the changed verse which – aside from other corresponding details in the musical text – indicates that these copies and the score copy P1 are based on a common version.⁵¹ This was probably a now lost copy of the aria originally composed by Gluck for one of his operas from before 1744, which was owned by one of the singers and could have served as the basis for other copies used in the following productions in order to write new texts or make changes.

49 Mariano Nicolini, who like Giuseppe Gallieni participated in all three productions, could have transferred further arias from the Veronese operas *Il Siroe* and *Il Tigrane* to *La finta schiava*. This is indicated e.g. by the textual congruence between the aria "Ecco ti lascio, o cara" (I,12) of the title hero Tigrane, played by Nicolini, and Amurat's aria – also sung by Nicolini – in *La finta schiava* (II,8).

50 I-Vqs, MS CLVIII.14 (1128), as part of a manuscript collection with 117 vocal and instrumental numbers of various composers. The questionable attribution of the aria in RISM ID no. 850025961 (online: <https://opac.rism.info/search?id=850025961&View=rism>, 21.02.2019) to a non-verifiable *Siroe* setting by Terradellas probably comes from the fact that six numbers from Terradellas' *Artaserse* (Venice 1744) precede the aria in the manuscript collection. But despite numerous replacement arias in the libretto of this production, the text of "Ch'io mai vi possa" is not included, cf. libretto: I-Mb, Racc.dramm.3787 (digital reproduction available online: <http://www.braidense.it/rd/03787.pdf>, 06.12.2019).

51 On the dependency and assessment of the source, cf. the explanations in GLUCK, 2017, pp. 323f.

The next step of the aria “Ch’io mai vi possa” is documented by another, musically identical copy of Slovenian provenance.⁵² Its handwriting points to a copyist from the theater in Graz, thus establishing a connection to the subsequent performances of *La finta schiava* in Graz, Prague and Leipzig under Angelo Mingotti’s direction in 1746.⁵³ This assumption is also supported by minor text modifications, which repeat the verses differently than the sources of the production in Venice. These changes as well as some varying notes suggest that a different initial version was used as the basis for this copy; another intermediary source has to be assumed which may have served Mingotti for the production of his material after the Venetian performance of the pasticcio.

3. Conclusion

The fact that complete score copies of pasticcios have been preserved even less frequently than those of original opera compositions of the 18th century⁵⁴ makes it both difficult to reconstruct these works as well as to correctly attribute them to the composers involved. The predominantly preserved single copies virtually depict the individual momentum of these continually used numbers, to which minor or extensive changes were made, depending on the production conditions. It is only in a few cases that the copies contain explicit ascriptions to performances and/or composers, with the result that attributing the numbers to a musical work has to draw on the involved singers, if they can be determined. Also, comparing the copies with the preserved librettos, provided that the arias are rare or contain characteristic textual differences enabling identification, has proven to be a potential solution. The presented analyses of the pasticcios *Arsace* and *La finta schiava* are consistent with this approach. In the context of *Arsace*, it was demonstrated that specifications of authors are especially prone to error as only two out of eight arias attributed to Gluck from the pasticcio are presumed new compositions. Based on *La finta schiava* and the four copies of the preserved aria “Ch’io mai vi possa”, a conceivable path was traced from the original composition to subsequent productions. In *Arsace*, it was mainly the singers of leading roles who contributed their favorite arias

52 SI-Mpa, SI_PAM/1857/010/00085. The copy is from the collection Gospoščina Bistriški grad (Schloss Feistritz) and therefore property of the noble family Attems, who resided in Slovenska Bistrica from 1717-1945. Especially Ignaz Maria II Count of Attems (1714-1762) and his wife Maria Josepha, née Countess of Kuehn and Auer (1721-1784) greatly contributed to cultivating music, in particular by singing contemporary Italian operatic arias. Copies from their private music collection have been preserved in various collections in the Maribor Regional Archive, cf. KOKOLE, 2016. See also KOKOLE’s article in the present volume, pp. 507-525.

53 On the connection between individual aria copies from the noble family Attems and the theater in Graz of the 1730s and 1740s, cf. IBID., pp. 362-364.

54 Reinhard Strohm’s discovery of five complete score copies of Pietro Mingotti’s pasticcio productions is rather a welcome exception than the rule, cf. STROHM, 2004.

because they either did not have enough time to rehearse new pieces or because they wanted to be successful again with preferred arias. However, the outlined transfer of arias in *La finta schiava* was linked to Giuseppe Gallieni, a singer of secondary roles, who not only brought his own pieces but also those of his singer colleagues from preceding productions which were then performed either by himself or by other musicians (cf. Table 3).⁵⁵ While comparing the aria texts preserved in the respective librettos inspires further considerations on adoptions of arias or attributions of authors, these must remain speculative due to the absence of preserved music. Inherent in this problem of historical transmission is the realization that Gluck's actual contribution to these pasticcios cannot be definitively established.

Appendix

Table 1: Singers involved in the respective *Arsace* productions

	Crema 1741	Venice 1743	Milan 1743/44
Arsace	Giuseppe Appiani	Giovanni Carestini	Giovanni Carestini
Statira	Caterina Aschieri	Caterina Aschieri	Caterina Aschieri
Rosmiri	Albina Aschieri	Marianne Pirker	Domenica Casarini
Mitrane	Giuseppe Jozzi	Giuseppe Jozzi	Rosalia Andreides
Artabano	Francesco Arrigoni	Cristoforo del Rosso	Settimio Canini
Megabise	Domenico Buccella	Lorenzo Perucci	Giuseppa Useda
Orcano	–	–	Francesco Trivulzi

Table 2: Vocal numbers in the various text versions of *Arsace*⁵⁶

		Crema 1741	Venice 1743	Milan 1743/44
I,1		Coro “Col tuo cinto”	Coro “Col tuo cinto”	[Coro “Col tuo cinto”] (in <i>virgolette</i>)
I,2	Statira	Aria “Se fido l’adorai”	Aria “Se fido l’adorai”	Aria “Se fido l’adorai”
I,3	Rosmiri	Aria “Non sò dirlo”	Aria “Sento, che l’alma mia”	Aria “Sento, nè so, che sia”
I,4	Orcano	-	-	Aria “Tema quell’alma audace”
	Artabano	Aria “Vada pure quell’ardito”	Aria “Vantar allori e palme”	Aria “Sì, cadrà con grave scempio”
I,5	Mitrane	Aria “Un’aura di speme”	Aria “Un’aura di speme”	Aria “Empio amor, onor tiranno”
I,6	Megabise	Aria “Quando ruina”	Aria “Col Zefiro amico”	Aria “Quando ruina”

55 On this principle, cf. STROHM, 2011, p. 71.

56 The text beginnings in bold print indicate preserved musical settings.

		Crema 1741	Venice 1743	Milan 1743/44
I,7	Rosmiri	“Non sò se sdegno sia”	Aria “Colomba inamorata”	Aria “Colomba inamorata”
I,8	Arsace	Aria “Benchè copra al sole il volto”	Aria “Benchè copra al sole il volto”	Aria “Benchè copra al sole il volto”
I,9	Mitrane	Aria “Già sento, che amore”	- (whole scene is missing)	- (whole scene is missing)
I,10	Megabise	[Aria “Se vanti un core amante”] (in <i>virgolette</i>)	without aria	without aria
I,11	Statira	Aria “Perfido, traditore”	Aria “Perfido, traditore”	Aria “Perfido, traditore”
I,13	Arsace	Rec. “No, che non ha la sorte” Aria “Son qual legno, che in procella”	Rec. “No, che non ha la sorte” Aria “Torbida notte intorno”	Rec. “No, che non ha la sorte” Aria “Si, vedrò quell’alma ingrata”
II,1	Orcano	-	-	Aria “Sento un’acerbo duolo”
II,3	Statira	Aria “S’hai di morir desio”	Aria “Sperai da te crudele”	Aria “Sperai da te crudele”
II,4	Arsace	Aria “Fissa il guardo in questo aspetto”	Aria “Se mai senti spirarti sul volto”	Aria “Se mai senti spirarti sul volto”
II,5	Artabano Rosmiri	Aria “Ah, se il rivale odiato”	Aria “Non temer, son la tua sposa”	Aria “Nel fiero mio tormento”
II,7	Rosmiri	Aria “Molto vuoi, troppo un chiedi”	- (whole scene is missing)	- (whole scene is missing)
II,8	Mitrane	Aria “Voi, che languite”	Aria “Voi, che languite”	Aria “Voi, che languite”
II,9	Artabano	Aria “Non temer nel grande impegno”	Aria “Per far le tue vendette”	Aria “Non temer, quell’empio e indegno”
II,10	Statira Megabise	Aria “Spero veder placata”	Aria “Forse vedrai placato”	Aria “Spero veder placata”
II,11	Statira/ Arsace	Duetto “Se non t’avessi amato”	Duetto “Se non t’avessi amato”	Duetto “Se non t’avessi amato”
III,2	Statira	Aria “Agitato questo core”	Aria “Voi, che regnate”	Aria “Voi, che regnate”
III,3	Megabise	Aria “Se usar pietà ti pace”	without aria	without aria
III,4	Arsace	Aria “Vado a morir costante”	Aria “Cara ti lascio, addio”	Aria “Cara ti lascio, addio”
III,5	Rosmiri	Aria “Idol mio se tu morrai”	Aria “Questa, che ’l cor m’ingombra”	Aria “Questa, che ’l cor m’ingombra”
III,8	Artabano	Aria “Vittima sanguinosa”	Aria “Vittima sanguinosa”	Aria “Vittima sanguinosa”
III,12	Mitrane	Aria “Vado costante e forte”	Aria “Costanza mio core”	Aria “Vado costante e forte”
III,14	Statira	Rec. obbl. “Vieni Arsace, ah, dove sei?”	Rec. obbl. “Vieni Arsace, ah, dove sei?”	Rec. obbl. “Vieni Arsace, ah, dove sei?”

Table 3: *Vocal numbers carried over into La finta schiava*⁵⁷

<i>Il Tigrane</i> (Gluck, Crema 1743)	<i>Il Siroe</i> (Pasticcio, Verona 1743/44)	<i>La finta schiava</i> (Pasticcio, Venice 1744)
Aria “Troppo ad un'alma è caro” (Giuditta Fabiani)		Aria “Troppo ad un'alma è caro” (Catterina Barberis)
Aria “Se s'accende in fiamme ardenti” (Felice Salimbeni)	Aria “Se s'accende in fiamme ardenti” (Giuseppe Gallieni)	
Aria “Se spunta amica stella” (Giuseppe Gallieni)		Aria “Se spunta amica stella” (Giuseppe Gallieni)
Aria “Nero turbo il cielo imbruna” (Caterina Aschieri)	Aria “Nero turbo il cielo imbruna” (Anna Medici)	
unknown aria	Aria “Ch'io mai vi possa” (Anna Medici)	Aria “Ch'io mai vi possa” (Giuseppe Gallieni)

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