

A Granted Royal Wish, or Carlo Goldoni's *La buona figliuola* with Music by Niccolò Piccinni and *Il mercato di Malmantile* with Music by Domenico Fischietti, Staged in Warsaw in 1765*

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1. Circumstances of the stagings¹

During the entire reign of Poland's last king, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, the theater was the main tool of social and political propaganda, with the objective of bringing the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth closer to the illuminist tendencies of Western Europe. Hence the King's endeavor to bring two theatrical ensembles to Warsaw: a French comedy and *opera buffa*, which he initiated even before his election, the outcome of which was obvious thanks to the support of Stanislaus's former lover, the Empress Catherine II of Russia. The election took place on 7 September 1764, but a month earlier Poniatowski had contacted Pietro Mira, resident in Bologna (I have presented the achievements of this talented man in another paper),² charging him with the task of organizing an *opera buffa* ensemble for the King's expected coronation. Moreover, he planned to hire Mira for the position of the ensemble's director. Correspondence on this topic continued until October 1764, but for some reason the project never materialized. Poniatowski was so meticulous

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1 A more comprehensive account, with quotations from literature and sources, is presented in ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 1995, p. 371.

2 See ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 2016, pp. 151-170.

in his care for the musical accompaniment of his coronation festivities that he even indicated the titles of the operas that he wished to be staged. These included two *drammi giocosi per musica* by Carlo Goldoni, both already enormously popular in Europe but hitherto unknown in Poland: *La buona figliuola* with music by Niccolò Piccinni and *Il mercato di Malmantile* with music by Domenico Fischietti.

The *opera buffa* genre was unknown to Polish audiences as at the Warsaw theater of Augustus III, Poniatowski's predecessor on the Polish throne who died in 1763, almost only *opere serie* were staged to the music of the royal-electoral *Kapellmeister* Johann Adolph Hasse; additionally, a commercial French comedy ensemble, led by one J. F. Albani,³ operated briefly at the court (from late 1761 through February 1763). While an *opera buffa* ensemble was eventually not featured at Poniatowski's coronation, which took place in Warsaw on 25 November 1764 (the birthday of Catherine II!), both operas desired by the King eventually entered the repertoire of the royal theater soon after its opening. The French comedy ensemble was inaugurated on 8 May 1765, while *opera buffa* singers and dancers arrived in Warsaw in early July of the same year. They were hired in Italy by Carlo Tomatis, an Italian nobleman who served in the imperial army and became the entrepreneur of the Warsaw theater following a recommendation from the Austrian army general, Prince Andrzej Poniatowski, the King's brother, who resided in Vienna.

The seven-strong *opera buffa* ensemble recruited by Tomatis included prima donna Caterina Ristorini (*prima buffa*) who, as the manager assured the King, not exaggeratedly, was "absolutely the best subject in all Italy" ("absolument le meilleur sujet de toute l'Italie");⁴ her brother Giovanni Battista Ristorini (*parti serie*); Michele del Zanca (*primo buffo*), stage and life partner to Ristorini; Teresa Crespi (*seconda buffa*); Teresa Torri (*parti serie*); Francesco Calenzuoli/Calenzoli/Calensoli (*secondo buffo*); and Domenico Occhilupi/Ochilupi/Occhilupo (*terzo buffo*). In less than two years, between August 1765 and March 1767, they performed in Warsaw at least 18 *opere buffe*; significantly, all were to Goldoni's librettos though with music by various composers popular at that time, including Galuppi (four works) and Piccinni (three). Nonetheless, we only have partial knowledge of that repertoire.

The ensemble's members had extensive theatrical experience.⁵ This was particularly true of Michele del Zanca, member of Bologna's Accademia Filarmonica from 1761⁶ as well as librettist, and of the Ristorini siblings: Caterina had been a star of Venetian stages since 1757, while Giovanni Battista was active at the Russian court in St. Petersburg until 1789; before entering the service of Stanislaus Augustus, both also belonged to the Imperial Opera ensemble in Vienna.⁷ Before coming to Poland, Occhilupi sang

3 ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 2012, p. 630, *passim*.

4 PL-Wagad, Archiwum księcia Józefa Poniatowskiego i Marii Teresy Tyszkiewiczowej [Archive of Prince Joseph Poniatowski and Maria Teresa Tyszkiewicz], chap. I no. 1, published in WIERZBICKA, 1951, p. 11.

5 This can be deduced from the invaluable work SARTORI, 1990-1994.

6 See ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 1990, p. 130.

7 Cf. TIMMS, art. Ristorini, Caterina, and art. Ristorini, Giovanni Battista.

main roles in Venice; Torri and Crespi performed in theaters in northern Italy, the former exclusively in the *serio* repertoire, the latter in comic works. Only Calenzuoli appears to have had less experience: in his catalogue, Claudio Sartori only lists an Antonio Calenzuoli, perhaps identical to the Francesco of Tomatis's ensemble (Antonio Francesco?, Francesco Antonio Calenzuoli?).

In Warsaw, these artists were handsomely remunerated. As prima donna, Caterina Ristorini earned 700 ducats per year, while Michele del Zanca earned 500.⁸ When in spring 1767, following anti-royal political unrest in Poland, Stanislaus Augustus was forced to close his theater, Caterina Ristorini and Michele del Zanca were hired in Białystok at the court of Grand Crown Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki, the brother-in-law but also political opponent of the King. In 1770-71, they performed at London's King's Theatre, but reportedly formalized their long-term relationship with a marriage in Białystok before moving to England.⁹

The ballet ensemble included predominantly Italian dancers and totaled twelve artists, according to a contract signed in December 1764 by Tomatis. The prima ballerina was the beautiful wife of the manager Caterina Gattai-Tomatis, who was the object of a notorious duel in Warsaw 1765 between Count Franciszek Ksawery Branicki and the famous Giovanni Giacomo Casanova de Seingalt. The ballet master was Bartolomeo Cambi, and the choreographer and first dancer was Pietro/Pierre Godardi/Godard. The duty of composing ballet music was entrusted to Heinrich Megelin, cellist of the royal orchestra, formerly active at the Polish court of Augustus III.¹⁰

The arrival in Warsaw of an *opera buffa* ensemble, never seen before in this city, triggered the universal rapture of the audience, including the King. The author of a contemporary account wrote: "the King [...] several times a week has the habit of entertaining himself watching operas and [French] comedies, [...] which are so outstanding they cannot be bettered."¹¹ Stanislaus Augustus could finally satisfy his thirst for the works of Goldoni: *La buona figliuola* with music by Niccolò Piccinni and *Il mercato di Malmantile* with music by Domenico Fischietti. The former was premiered in Warsaw on 7 August and the latter on 7 September 1765.

The Curonian baron Karl Heinrich Heyking, who resided in Warsaw at the time, wrote in delight:

"the King has brought [...] from Italy an excellent *opera buffa*. [...] Warsaw has become a city of good taste and entertainment. How delighted was I when I first attend-

8 PL-Wagad, Archiwum księcia Józefa Poniatowskiego i Marii Teresy Tyszkiewiczowej [Archive of Prince Joseph Poniatowski and Maria Teresa Tyszkiewicz], 444 chap. V no. 2; published in WIERZBICKA, 1951, pp. 84f.

9 PL-Wagad, Archiwum Radziwiłłów [Radziwiłł Archive], Akta majątkowo-prawne [Property and Legal Acts], 122, fol. 25. See also ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 2005.

10 ŻÓRAWSKA-WITKOWSKA, 1995, *passim*.

11 PL-WRzno, rkps 581 I, fol. 65, *Gazety pisane z Warszawy r. 1761*, quoted after JACKL, 1967, p. 461.

ed an Italian opera spectacle! They were staging *La buona figliuola* with Ristorini as prima donna! What singing! What music! What harmony! I am truly beyond words to describe the marvel that penetrated me. The aria, 'Una puovera ragazza', captured all my senses."¹²

Heyking's feelings must have been shared by other spectators, as Caterina Ristorini was later known in Warsaw as Cecchina, derived from the name of the opera's protagonist.

The premiere of *Il mercato di Malmantile* on 7 September lasted "until the chime of eleven o'clock, because they say the King was so raptured by some of the arias that he had them repeated once or twice each."¹³

Why did Stanislaus Augustus so much desire to have these two *opere buffe* in his royal theater? They did enjoy great popularity in Europe, particularly in Vienna,¹⁴ and the King's main advisor in all theatrical matters was his brother Andrzej Poniatowski, a resident in the Austrian capital.

All the Warsaw scores of several hundred Italian, French, German, and Polish operas performed and gathered at Stanislaus Augustus's theater have been lost through historical turmoil, particularly during World War II. Thus the shape of the two works discussed here can only be reconstructed from the librettos printed in Warsaw by comparing the arias included therein with those from the same operatic librettos as performed earlier in Italian and Viennese theaters.¹⁵ Of course, judging on such bases whether and to what extent the Warsaw versions were pasticcios, pasticcios of pasticcios, or more or less advanced adaptations of works in their original shape, is a very complex affair, while establishing provenances is highly risky. Nonetheless, it is the only available approach to the beginnings of *opera buffa* in Poland, so important for national culture also through its influence on national opera, the creation of which it inspired in 1778.

12 "Król sprowadził z Francji wyborną trupę aktorską, a z Włoch znakomitą operę buffo. Vestris i Pic porzucili na pewien czas Paryż, Warszawa zaś stała się siedziskiem dobrego smaku i zabaw. Jakże wielki był mój zachwyt, gdy po raz pierwszy znalazłem się na przedstawieniu opery włoskiej. Wystawiano *La buona figliuola*, a primadonna była Ristorini. Cóż za śpiew! Co za muzyka! Jakie zgranie! Zaiste brak mi słów, aby opisać zachwyt, który mnie ogarnął. Aria *Una puovera ragazza* zawładnęła mymi wszystkimi zmysłami." KARL HEINRICH HEYKING, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], quoted after ZAWADZKI, 1963, vol. 1, p. 58.

13 "która trwała aż do uderzenia 11 godziny w nocy, ponieważ, jak mówią, Król wpadał w taki zachwyt przy niektórych ariach, że kazał je powtarzać raz i dwa razy." HEINE, 1962, p. 9.

14 RICE, 1998, has dedicated special attention to the Vienna stagings of these two operas.

15 I have studied them in Roman libraries: I-Rn and I-Rsc; I have also consulted the online scans of first editions from other libraries and from the online resource *Die italienische Opera buffa auf der Wiener Bühne/Die Opera buffa in Wien (1763-1782)*: <https://www.univie.ac.at/muwidb/operabuffa/projekt.htm>, 03.02.2020.

2. La buona figliuola

The title page of the Warsaw libretto mentions: *La buona figliuola puta, dramma giocoso per musica di Polisseno Fegejo P.[astore] A.[rcado] da rappresentarsi nel Reale Teatro di Sua Maestà il Re di Polonia nell'anno 1765. In Varsavia, 1765*, followed by “La Musica è del Sigr. Nicolo [sic] Picini [sic] maestro di Capella Neapolitano.”¹⁶

Carlo Goldoni's *dramma giocoso per musica La buona figliuola*, based on his *commedia in prosa* of 1750, *Pamela nubile*, which in turn was a free dramatization of the English novel by Samuel Richardson *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (London, 1740), was premiered in 1757 at Parma's Teatro Regio Ducale with music by Egidio Romoaldo Duni. One of the work's performers on that occasion was Michele del Zanca in the role of Marchese della Conchiglia.¹⁷ But Goldoni's *La buona figliuola* reached pan-European fame only with new music by Niccolò Piccinni. That version was premiered in Rome's Teatro delle Dame on 6 February 1760, with only male singers, of course. Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* quickly became likely the most popular 18th-century *opera buffa*.¹⁸ In London alone between 1767 and 1810 it had well over a hundred performances and, as Charles Burney emphasizes, that success was due not only to Piccinni's excellent music, but also to the drama itself, devoid of profanities and buffooneries so common in earlier Italian burlettas.¹⁹ Indeed, Goldoni created a libretto in the noble *comédie larmoyante* style. The protagonist, an orphan, the simple, honest and sentimental gardener Cecchina turns out to be a German baroness and thus worthy of marrying an aristocrat, the Marchese della Conchiglia, with whom she is mutually in love. The denouement was consistent with social convention, but the history of that couple also suggested the possibility of transcending existing social boundaries. As remarked by Reinhard Strohm, the drama's touching main character contributed to a veritable fashion amongst the European *beau monde* for objects and clothes “alla Cecchina”.²⁰

The success of *La buona figliuola* encouraged both Goldoni and Piccinni to continue the history of its protagonists in a sequel titled *La buona figliuola maritata* (premiered in Bologna in 1761), staged in many European theaters, including Warsaw in 1765.²¹

16 Copy held in PL-Wn, as well as a microfilm of that copy. The libretto was apparently also printed in Innsbruck (!) in 1765; see SARTORI, 1990-94, no. 4193, and *Corago. Repertorio e archivio del melodramma italiano dal 1600 al 1900*, online: <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0007491>, 03.02.2020. A libretto in D-LEm is cited on this site, but it could not be found in the library catalogue.

17 I quote information on the performances of all works after SARTORI, 1990-1994.

18 See *IBID.*, though even this is incomplete in this regard.

19 BURNLEY, 1789, vol. 4, p. 490.

20 STROHM, 1991, subchapter “Goldoni/Piccinni: ‘La buona figliuola’ (1760)”, p. 274.

21 This is substantiated by the Warsaw libretto, a copy of which is held PL-Kj, while a microfilm is available in PL-Wn. The Warsaw performance of this opera was not a known fact before.

In Warsaw, *La buona figliuola* was staged as *La buona figliuola puta*, which was an idiosyncrasy as this title was only ever elsewhere used in Verona in 1766 (but with music by Baldassare Galuppi).²² The Piccinni version was replayed in Warsaw in 1776 and 1783, while the Polish translation by Wojciech Bogusławski was staged successfully under the title *Czekina, albo cnotliwa panienka* [Cecchina or the virtuous girl] in 1782-1783, 1790, and 1792-1793.²³

In the case of the Warsaw *La buona figliuola puta* version, I have used the following sources for comparison: 1) a libretto of the first performance at Rome's Teatro delle Dame in 1760; and 2) a libretto of the opera's performance at Vienna's imperial Teatro Privilegiato vicino alla Corte (Burgtheater) in 1764, where the six performers included the Ristorini siblings Caterina as Sandrina and Giovanni Battista as Mengotto. Earlier, the two took part in various stagings of this opera in Italy and Vienna: Caterina as Marianna/Cecchina in Milan (1761), Mantua (1763), and Venice (1764); Giovanni Battista as Marchese della Conchiglia in Mantua (1763), Mengotto in Venice (1764) and Armidoro in Vienna (1764). Likewise, Domenico Occhilupi shone in the role of Tagliaferro at Venice's Teatro San Moisè in 1760, where the opera was staged to music by Salvatore Perillo, which however failed to gain popularity. In turn, Michele del Zanca sang Tagliaferro and Colonello in *La buona figliuola maritata* in Mantua (1763) and Venice (1764) as well as Mengotto in Vienna (1764). Thus, the librettos of both *La buona figliuola* and *La buona figliuola maritata* were well familiar to four of the singers of the Warsaw *opera buffa* ensemble.

Amongst the seven *personaggi*, the Warsaw edition of *La buona figliuola puta* distinguishes two *parti serie*, played by Teresa Torri (La Marchesa Lucinda) and Giovanni Battista Ristorini (Il Cavaliere Armidoro), as well as five *parti buffe*: Caterina Ristorini (Cecchina giardiniera), Teresa Crespi (Sandrina Contadina), Domenico Ochilupi (Il Marchese della Conchiglia), [Francesco] Calenzuoli (Mengotto contadino) and last but not least, Michele del Zanca (Tagliaferro corazziere Tedesco, a character both comical and sentimental). Goldoni delighted in using in his works not only a number of Italian dialects, but also the awkward Italian pronunciation by foreigners: the German Tagliaferro in this case. According to Reinhard Strohm, this distinction between *parti serie* and *parti buffe* does not fit the opera's protagonist which, as the prototype of a truly romantic character, is the work's true dramaturgical innovation and original element.²⁴ The Warsaw cast also included supernumeraries: "uomini armati custodi del feudo" and "cacciatori del Marchese." Moreover, the opera was embellished by ballets with choreo-

22 See SARTORI, 1990-94, no. 4196 a.

23 See BERNACKI, 1979, vol. 2, p. 212. I have spoken about the Polish translation of this opera by Bogusławski at the 2013 Mainz conference *Schrift, Klang und Performanz. Forschungsperspektiven zur italienischen Oper des langen 18. Jahrhunderts* in my paper *Sui vantaggi musicologici e storici della librettologia. Alcune riflessioni di un musicologo polacco*.

24 STROHM, 1991, p. 277.

graphy by Bartolomeo Cambi, performed by nine dancers whose names are listed in the libretto. The ballet composer is omitted, however: it was likely Heinrich Megelin.

The opera with music by Duni included eight characters during its premiere in Parma (1757) and repeated performances in Florence and Modena (1759), but in Turin (1758) and Modena (1759) these were reduced to seven (in Turin, Cecchina was omitted!). In the Piccinni version the characters ranged from eight in the Roman premiere to as few as five in Rome's Teatro Capranica in 1762, where the opera was presented as "a *farsetta* for four voices arranged from the *burletta in musica* by Polisseno Fegejo, Arcadian shephard" ("farsetta a quattro voci ridotta dalla burletta in musica di Polisseno Fegejo P[astore] A[rcade]."), and one of the singers played both Mengotto and Tagliaferro.

In the opera's librettos I analyzed (Rome, 1760; Vienna, 1764; Warsaw, 1765) the opera each time has a different structure. In Rome, the text is essentially consistent with the Parma original. In Vienna, two characters were deleted from the Roman version: Cavaliere Armidoro and Cameriera Paoluccia, which triggered significant abridgements and modifications to the text. Michele Calella, who analyzed the musical score of that version, indicates that not only two arias of Armidoro and Paoluccia were omitted but also two by the Marchese: "Furia di donna irata" and "Sento che il cor mi dice"; two by the Cavagliere della Conchiglia: "Cara s'è ver ch'io v'ami" and "Chi più di me contento"; one by Sandrina: "Son tenera di pasta"; and one aria by Mengotto: "Vedo la Bianca".²⁵ In total, as many as eight from the original 24 arias were deleted, while four new ones were added, borrowed from other works: two sung by Sandrina: "Se mi vedo alla fontana" (instead of "Poverina, tutto il dì") from the opera *I bagni d'Abano* (?) by Goldoni and Galuppi (1753) and "Trovare un amante" by unknown authors (replacing "Sono una giovane"), which, according to the online database *Die italienische Opera buffa auf der Wiener Bühne/Die Opera buffa in Wien (1763-1782)*, shares a text with *Le vicende della sorte* by Giuseppe Petrosellini and Piccinni (1761) and the *intermezzo Le avventure di Ridolfo* by Piccinni (1762). Another new aria is sung by Mengotto, "Recipe di quegli occhi" (replacing "Non comoda all'amante"), borrowed from *La calamita dei cuori* by Goldoni and Galuppi (1752), while Cecchina's "Alla larga, alla larga, Signore" was sung in Vienna in a musical setting by Perillo taken from his Venice score of *La buona figliuola* (1760).

Calella is right in observing that the reduction of characters from eight to six in the Vienna version resulted from the cast of the local ensemble, which at that time included only three female and three male singers. Calella believes that together with Giovanni Lovatini and Francesco Carattoli, who sang the roles of Marchese and Tagliaferro, respectively, at the 1760 Rome premiere, the work's original score also traveled to Vienna, but that due to the participation at the imperial theater of the esteemed Ristorini siblings (coming from Venice), that music had to be modified. In any case, the Vienna version is not merely an adaptation of the Rome version's text, but also a musical pasticcio of it, as shown by the use of two arias by Galuppi, one by Perillo, and one by an unknown com-

25 CALELLA, 2009, table 3, pp. 159f.

poser, perhaps Piccinni, as well as another work by the latter. In total, twelve arias are modified in the Vienna version – half of those included from the original Rome version.

Surprisingly, in Warsaw the opera was presented in a form similar to the Rome version. So far, I have been unable to substantiate why the Vienna version, in which both Ristorini siblings took part, was not used instead. In Warsaw, only the character of Paoluccia was removed, thus her aria “Che superbia maledetta” was deleted. As for the other characters, only Sandrina, sung by Teresa Crespi, received an aria different from the original: “Io sono una ragazza” (instead of “Sono una giovane” in the Rome version and “Trovare un amante” in the Vienna version), the text of which was then used in Vienna in 1764 in Goldoni’s and Galuppi’s *Le nozze* (with Caterini Ristorini also performing in that opera, by the way). The remaining arias are textually identical to the Rome version. Therefore, if the Warsaw staging is to be considered a pasticcio, it is only on the basis of that single aria. It is debatable whether such a minor change is sufficient for this genre qualification.

3. *Il mercato di Malmantile*

The title page of the Warsaw libretto announces: *Il mercato di Malmantile, dramma giocoso per musica di Polisseno Fegejo P[astore] A[rcade] da rappresentarsi nel Reale Teatro di Sua Maestà il Re di Polonia nell'anno 1765. In Varsavia, 1765*. Within the edition, a note adds: “La musica è del sigr. Domenico Fischiatti.”²⁶ The opera was staged to celebrate the first anniversary of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski’s coronation on 7 September 1765, though apparently “a part of the audience demanded that the Polish theatre be inaugurated on that occasion.”²⁷

The opera was performed by the same cast as *La buona figliuola puta*, interpreting the parts of seven characters. Again, Teresa Torri and Giovanni Battista Ristorini played the two *parti serie* (La Marchesa Giacinta vedova and Il conte della Rocca, respectively), while the *parti buffe* were sung by Michele del Zanca (Lampridio governatore di Malmantile), Caterina Ristorini (Brigida figlia di Lampridio), Domenico Occhilupi (Rusicone ciarlatano), Teresa Crespi (Lena contadina rustica), and Francesco Calenzuoli (Berto contadino rustico). The opera was accompanied by one (or more?) ballet with choreography by Bartolomeo Cambi, performed this time by ten dancers.

The opera had been premiered during Carnival 1758 at Venice’s Teatro San Samuele, although from the printed libretto Claudio Sartori gathers that on that occasion Goldoni’s work was staged to music by Giuseppe Scarlatti.²⁸ The name of that composer might have been the editor’s error, however, as the subsequent performances of *Il mercato di*

26 A copy of the libretto is held in PL-Kcz, and a microfilm in PL-Wn.

27 WOŁOSZYŃSKA, 1967, p. 40. In fact, the Polish theater held its first performance only on 19 November 1765, but included no operas in its repertoire until 11 July 1778.

28 SARTORI, 1990-1994, no. 15437. See also the digital copies in *Corago*: <http://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0028121>, 03.02.2020.

Malmantile in the same year of 1758 (Bologna, Bonn, Florence, Leghorn and Milan) all list Fischietti as the author of the music. “Domenico Fischietti” is indeed pasted over Scarlatti’s name in a libretto preserved in Washington.²⁹ In any case, eight characters took part in the Venice premiere, including Cecca contadina, which is absent from later versions from Rome (1759), Vienna (1764), and Warsaw (1765), while one of the original performers was Caterina Ristorini in the role of Lena.

Il mercato di Malmantile gained widespread fame by 1765, having been staged throughout northern Italy as well as in Bonn (1758), London (1761), Dublin (1762), Vienna (1763), Lisbon and Warsaw (1765), but it did not match the popularity of *La buona figliuola*, likely because it is in content a standard Goldoni *dramma giocoso*, a pithy satire on human stupidity and other vices. For this opera, I have compared its Warsaw structure primarily with the libretto published in Vienna in 1764, while also referring to the versions of Milan (fall 1758) and Rome (1759).

The libretto as staged in Milan’s Regio Ducal Teatro in the fall of 1758 (“dramma bernesco per musica”) mentions that the music is by the Neapolitan composer Domenico Fischietti, but “with various songs by another author” (“con diverse ariette d’altro autore”), though sadly unnamed and also unmarked in the libretto. The ballets were composed by Pietro Godard, who was later part of the Warsaw ballet ensemble, while the eight singers included Caterina Ristorini, again in the role of Lena. Earlier in spring 1758 and later in 1764, Caterina Ristorini also sang Lena in Bologna and Vienna. Also the libretto of the version staged in Rome’s Teatro delle Valle in 1759 notes: “The music is by signor Domenico Fischietti from Naples with various arias from another eminent author” (“La musica è del sig. Domenico Fischietti Napoletano con diverse arie d’altro celebre Autore”) who is again unnamed.³⁰ Formerly in three acts, the opera here becomes an *intermezzo* composed of two parts (not acts), with the participation of six characters (the Marchesa and Cecchina are omitted), with Il Conte being a silent part (“non parla”). In Leghorn in fall 1758 and Vienna in 1763 and 1764, there were seven characters. The choreography of the ballets accompanying the Verona version of 1761 was by Bartolomeo Cambi, later also the choreographer of the Warsaw ballets.

In Vienna, the opera was premiered on 16 July 1763 at the Teatro Privilegiato vicino alla Corte (Burgtheater) where it was repeated in 1764. The latter libretto includes, according to the already quoted online database, five *Einlagenarien*. These include two arias by unknown composers sung by Lampridio: “Ci sposeremo fra suoni e canti” and “Dunque mia cara Lenina”; one aria each for the Marchesa and the Count, also by unknown authors: respectively “Io non so se infido sei” and “Sento oh Dio il seno mio”; and an aria for Rubicone, “Cara, quest’occhi miei” by Niccolò Piccinni, originating probably from his *Le donne vendicate* to a libretto by Pietro Petrosellini (1763).

29 The librettos in I-Mb and US-Wc name Scarlatti as the composer of the opera. In another copy in US-Wc Scarlatti’s name is pasted over with a small sheet of paper bearing the name of Fischietti.

30 A unique copy of this libretto is held in I-Rsc; it has no title page, but includes a handwritten note with the time and location of the work’s performance.

In the Warsaw version, apart from extensive changes in the recitatives, seven arias also have texts different from the Vienna version. Some are printed in the Warsaw libretto with a different font from the others, as if they were interpolated at the last minute. These include three arias by Lena, sung by Teresa Crespi: “Povere donne, che fa da far!” of unknown origin; “Ah quegl’occhi ladroncelli” with a text identical to that used in Goldoni’s and Piccinni’s *La buona figliuola maritata* in Vienna (1764) and Warsaw (1765) as well as Goldoni’s and Galuppi’s *Il filosofo di campagna* in Dresden (1755), an opera also staged in Warsaw (1766); “Bricconcelli disgrazziati” with a text identical to that used in Goldoni’s and Galuppi’s *Il mondo alla roversa, o sia Le donne che comandano* (Prague 1754), *Il filosofo di campagna* (Dresden, 1755), and Antonio and Baldassare Galuppi’s *Li tre amanti ridicoli* (Bologna, 1761). There are also two arias for the Marchesa: “Se tanto e in lui straniera” and “Son tradita abbandonata”, unknown to me; one aria each for Lampridio (“Bella Lenina”, identical to the 1758 Venice premiere) and the Count (“Pria vò lasciar di vivere”, identical to Goldoni and Florian Leopold Gassmann’s *Li uccellatori*, Venice, 1759, an opera also played in Warsaw in 1765). On the other hand, the Warsaw version omits Rubicone’s aria in Vienna “Cara, quest’occhi miei”, while it reinstates two arias for the Marchesa omitted in the Vienna version: “Son tradita abbandonata” and “Dammi di pace un segno”; one for Rubicone, “Se siete bella” (present in the 1758 Venice version); and one for the Count, “Non vi sdegnate” (also from the original premiere).

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The above-cited information suggests that the operas by Goldoni were each treated differently in their respective Warsaw stagings. *La buona figliuola puta*, which was the first demonstration of the capacities of the newly hired opera ensemble, despite the earlier participation of the Ristorini siblings in a 1764 Vienna staging of the same work, was based not on that Vienna version but instead was very similar to the Rome premiere with Piccinni’s music. *La buona figliuola puta* was thus an adaptation of the premiere but rather not a pasticcio, unless a work with just one borrowed aria can be termed as such. On the other hand, Fischietti’s *Il mercato di Malmantile*, staged a month later, was undoubtedly a pasticcio, including hitherto unidentified arias alongside other ones borrowed from Florian Leopold Gassmann’s *Li uccellatori*, Piccinni’s *La buona figliuola maritata*, and Galuppi’s *Il filosofo di campagna*. Interestingly, those operas were also staged in Warsaw in that period.

Why did the stagings follow different approaches? Perhaps *La buona figliuola puta* was a case of respecting a composer already widely appreciated in Europe, while for *Il mercato di Malmantile* by Fischietti, an author less popular than Piccinni, the introduction of foreign arias had been encouraged by the stagings in Milan (1758) and Rome (1759), where that *dramma giocoso* was performed “con diverse arie/ariette d’altro celebre autore.” Undoubtedly, the final say on the musical shape of each work presented in that period in Warsaw belonged to the singers, who had extensive experience from many other European theaters. At the court and theater of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski,

there was no composer equally able in operatic art. Nonetheless, it seems that the choice of foreign arias (*Einlagenarie*) was dictated by the authorship of their texts, which were always by Goldoni. The interference of the King himself, a great connoisseur of drama and literature, cannot be excluded, too.

We must hope that future research on the operatic pasticcio, still to be undertaken by Polish scholars, both musicologists and theater historians, will reveal numerous other filiations and the fuller scope of said practice. If only we could find the scores of the Warsaw opera performances from the time of King Poniatowski!

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