

# Collaboration, Arrangement, ‘Dressing’

## The Different Recipes for the *pasticcio alla napoletana* in the First Half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

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In recent years a number of projects and essays have been dedicated to the operatic *pasticcio*, a topic attracting increasing interest from scholars.<sup>1</sup> The aura of suspicion which for a long time enveloped the theme, inevitably leading to a drastic aesthetic judgement linked to the identification of exclusively commercial reasons for adaptations and *impasticciamenti*, and to the fragile authorship status of operas subject to these practices, has partially dissolved, and the many reasons for the phenomenon have begun to emerge more clearly, giving a picture much richer in nuance than the previous one.

The definition of “*pasticcio*” has been discussed on several occasions;<sup>2</sup> I will just underline here how the Neapolitan reality approaches the actual *pasticcio*, passing through a series of adaptation practices, alongside a small but present vein of compositional collaborations by several hands. My investigation is focused on the activities of the Palazzo Reale and the Teatro di San Bartolomeo between the last years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and 1737, and therefore to the *dramma per musica*, given the fact that a large and recent essay by Paologiovanni Maione is dedicated to the *commedia impasticciata* of the early

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1 LAZAREVICH, 1976; STROHM, 1985 and 2009; PITARRESI, 2011a; the project *PASTICCIO. Ways of Arranging Attractive Operas* (financed by the Polish and German Research Councils – NCN and DFG), also presented in the round table *The European Pasticcio in the Eighteenth Century*, coordinated by Berthold Over in the context of the 18<sup>th</sup> Biennial Baroque Conference (Cremona 2018).

2 In addition to the literature and the project mentioned in the previous note, for a more in-depth theoretical discussion see also POLIN, 2011, and THOMAS BETZWIESER, in this volume pp. 27-43 (also for further bibliographical suggestions).

18<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>3</sup> however, I do not exclude a few episodes outside the box, for example regarding the Teatro dei Fiorentini when it proposes serious repertoire, or in the comic realm if useful to the present context.

The term “pasticcio” does not appear in the period I am dealing with, although it is clear that the concept and the practice is present in Naples in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century: the music of some operas was, to say it *alla napoletana*: “a mixed salad of different virtuosos, in which someone has put an aromatic herb, someone a flower” where “the poet put salt in it, the impresario vinegar and oil”;<sup>4</sup> as in other operatic centers of the time, they lived together peacefully with more or less invasive adaptations, *ex novo* compositional collaborations, and entirely original scores. I therefore think it is important to look at the boiling cauldron of 17<sup>th</sup>- and early 18<sup>th</sup>-century adaptations as a sort of laboratory experimenting with the potential of an increasingly modular structure, such as the one the opera then was taking on, to open itself up to additions, variations, replacements and cuts. With this training, the transition to the pasticcio was a natural step. At the same time, it is useful to maintain a certain distinction and not to use the term “pasticcio” for any kind of manipulation, because from the point of view of creative responsibilities (including those of the impresarios) the differences between the different types of interventions exist and have a relevance.<sup>5</sup>

The Neapolitan *modus operandi* of the period and of the repertoire we are considering does not abuse the ‘true’ pasticcio: the works consisting entirely or almost entirely of pre-existing material are few in number. On the contrary, the habit of adapting the works to a specific context is very regular, partly the result of the need to ‘neapolitanize’ texts born elsewhere to enhance local resources and habits and to give space to local craftsmen, be they poets, musicians, set designers or singers. The musical adaptations were mostly assigned to the staff of the Real Cappella: the Neapolitan elaborations are not the work of secondary composers, but of the top levels of the most prestigious musical institution in the city, inserted in an impresarial system as far as production is concerned, but always linked to the court.<sup>6</sup> Looking at the repertoire as a whole, we can speak of a strong ‘workshop’ imprint, a work aimed at impressing a well-defined mark on texts and scores from outside, conducted according to tried and tested methods within a system in which each of the players, from the impresario to the singers, passing through librettists, musicians and set designers, contributed to making the dish attractive to Neapolitan palates.

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3 MAIONE, 2011.

4 *Lo castiello sacchejato*, Naples 1732: “La Museca è na nzalata mescata de paricchie Vertuluse, addò chi ng’ha posta n’eversciolla addorosa, e chi no shiorillo” where “lo Poeta ng’ha puosto lo ssale, e lo Mpressareo ’acito, e l’uoglio”.

5 I am happy to refer to the considerations of Strohm’s fundamental essay on Handelian pasticcios: “In cases where an arranger modified an already existing opera by making additions that were exclusively his own, we should speak rather of an ‘adaptation’, since here again the numbers appear roughly in the same connection for which they were originally designed” (STROHM, 1985, p. 164).

6 Cfr. COTTICELLI/MAIONE, 1996; COTTICELLI, 1994; ID., 2004; MATTEI, 2009.

Compared to similar but more commercial initiatives (perhaps in small provincial theaters) or to the composite panorama of the Venetian scene, where, apart from the obvious analogy due to the operatic genre-statute, each theater could propose its own strategy, the centralized production of *drammi per musica* between the court and the theater of San Bartolomeo certainly favored a specific routine, the stability of the actors in the processes of production, adaptation, collaboration and *impasticciamento*, and some distinctive features.

In the following pages we will look at some examples for different categories of multi-handed works, from typical late 17<sup>th</sup>-century adaptations to real 18<sup>th</sup>-century pasticcio, to trace a path that goes from a practice of adaptive re-composition of sections of imported scores, the authorship of which is normally attributable to a local composer who put his signature next to that of the original author, to 'anthological' scores, in which the identification of the authors must be made on the basis of individual arias and the responsibility for the combination may also fall on figures other than composers. In the field of *dramma per musica* in Naples this combinatorial practice does not seem linked only to commercial production needs but also to the tacit desire (of singers, impresarios and composers themselves, as we will see) to offer the public the best arias available on the market: so much so that the occasions to propose pasticcios are very often the festivities linked to the viceroys, the Habsburgs, or, later, the Bourbon royal family.

## A very short remark on librettos

An issue not to be dealt with here because of its too broad implications is that of librettos. However, it is necessary to mention that in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Naples the practice was common of first rearranging all the operatic poetic text, which very often came from other stages, in some cases in homogeneous waves related to political events, to the mobility of particular impresarios or singers, or to the wish to perform on the Neapolitan stage particularly successful works.<sup>7</sup> A very large proportion of the librettos staged in Naples resulted from adaptations, rewritings, shortenings, sometimes made by several hands. Adopting a broad definition of "pasticcio" which also applies to the poetic text, it may be said that almost the entire 18<sup>th</sup>-century Neapolitan production of *drammi per musica* belongs to this category. On the other hand, this practice finds in Naples its justification not only in the need to quickly and cost-effectively respond to the demand for new productions, as well as in the obvious and in some cases explicit pragmatic reason to shorten and to change the original drama for the performer's benefit, but also in the need to imprint the brand of a particular workshop, as we have just mentioned, whose most visible feature in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century is the inclusion of comic characters even in the serious textures of the drama and their organization in *scene buffe* that are, to all intents and purposes, *intermezzi*.<sup>8</sup> The

7 In this same volume, BETZWIESER also highlights the mixed nature of many operatic texts (pp. 31-33).

8 Cf. LAZAREVICH, 1976.

outcome is a theatricality perhaps little rational but rich in contrasts and parodistic potential and clearly pleasing to the audience, both of the court and of the theater.

We have repeatedly stated that textual adaptation in new performances is connatural to the operatic genre of the period in question. In general, therefore, the Neapolitan milieu does not present significant peculiarities from the literary point of view, except for the persistence of a taste for the mixture of serious and comic, even when in other operatic production centers the clear distinction between drama and *intermezzi* was by now opted for.<sup>9</sup> However, the study of the adaptation of the librettos does not exhaust the theme of the possible specificity of the Neapolitan interventions on imported works: the question of the adaptation of the scores remains open, but unfortunately it is often destined to remain pending due to the deficient situation of the sources. But it is mainly there that we should look for the ‘neapolitanity’ of the elaborations.

## Compositional collaboration and adaptation

Compositional collaboration and adaptation are two areas in which we find the sharing of authorship without, however, the use of pre-existing material characteristic of pasticcios. Therefore, they cannot be ascribed to that category but represent a contiguous terrain, possibly providing a kind of training for the combinatorial practice of the pasticcio.

We dedicate only a few lines to the collaboration, just to refer to a few cases and to mention some titles. Collaborations of this kind are not a quantitatively important presence; nevertheless, they are interesting also because operas made by several hands are often proposed on relevant occasions and the realization is entrusted to the best composers available; it is therefore certainly a way to save time but does not necessarily come at a lesser financial cost. We might just recall the *Engelberta* by Antonio Orefice and Francesco Mancini (text by Zeno-Pariati revised by Giovanni Papis) for the name day of Charles III (later Charles VI) of Habsburg at the Royal Palace in 1709, where the two composers split the score in two halves.<sup>10</sup> Or *Demofonte* by Mancini, Sarro, Leo and Sellitti, for the birthday of Charles III of Bourbon (Teatro San Bartolomeo, 1735);<sup>11</sup> or, in another context, *L’Elmira generosa* (Teatro Nuovo 1753), in which the impresario Pietro Trinchera declares to have divided the score between Nicola Logroscino and Manuele Barbella so that the music would be excellent.<sup>12</sup> Therefore in the collaborations we find both attention

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9 Not by chance, perhaps, this is more evident when Naples came under Habsburg rule: Vienna is another important stage where the taste for *tragicommedia* is evident, so much that it was cultivated as a true subgenre of *dramma per musica*.

10 Cf. ROMAGNOLI, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 93-97, and ROMAGNOLI, 1998.

11 I dealt with *Demofonte* in a specific essay (ROMAGNOLI, 2011), to which I refer for every detail and for an example of compositional collaboration; on that occasion I used the term “pasticcio” in defining this opera, but today maybe I would not use it.

12 *L’Elmira generosa. Commedea pe mmusica [...] da rappresentarse a lo Teatro Nuovo a Mmonte Cravario nchisto Carnevale dell’anno 1753*, Naples 1753 (US-Wc).

to the compliance with the time limits and production needs and to the quality of the outcome, elements in common with pasticcios; nevertheless, the music composed from scratch, with full awareness of the authors in relation to the overall project, distinguishes these operations from the patchwork sewn together from pre-existing material.

Adaptations and arrangements are such a recurrent element that they can be considered structural; unfortunately, the dispersion of many scores, the incomplete state of many sources or the lack of certain attributions, problems that afflict both the corpus of the original works and that of the re-elaborations, make it hard to really deepen the topic. The librettos frequently state the authorship of the revisions, but fieldwork shows that they are often inaccurate and their apparent clarity in fact conceals more complex situations. As an example, let's take a very successful opera of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, *Tito Manlio* by Matteo Noris.

First staged at Pratolino in 1696, resumed in Venice in 1697 and then in Naples in 1698, proposed in several other theaters to return to Naples in 1720 and then continue its life on stage until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, *Tito Manlio* is an interesting and well documented case.<sup>13</sup> In Naples, the adaptation of an adaptation was staged, since the Venetian libretto is an explicit revision of the Pratolino text; in the dedication to the vicereine Duchess of Medinaceli, the publisher Michele Luigi Mutio remembers both previous productions, but is silent on the adaptation. The composer is not mentioned; according to the musical sources, however, the music is considered to be by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (composer of the Venetian score) with adaptations and additions by Luigi Mancina. We have three scores to clear the relationship between the Venetian and Neapolitan *Tito Manlio*, plus a few single numbers. The manuscripts correspond to the Venetian version,<sup>14</sup> to the Neapolitan one<sup>15</sup> and to the *buffo* scenes of the latter.<sup>16</sup>

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- 13 Various librettos and collections of arias are preserved; the texts used for comparison here are: *Tito Manlio. Drama per musica rappresentato nella villa di Pratolino*, Florence 1696 (copy in CZ-Pu); *Tito Manlio. Drama per Musica. Da rappresentarsi nel famosissimo Teatro di S. Giovanni Grisostomo. L'anno 1697*, Venice 1697 (copy in I-Rn); *Tito Manlio. Dramma per musica del sig. Matteo Nores [Noris?]*, Naples 1698 (copy I-Rn and GB-Lbl).
- 14 D-SW1, Mus.49, anonymous, ascribable to Pollarolo; concordant in large part, but not perfectly, with the Venetian libretto of 1697; according to STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 200, it could refer to a Venetian revival of 1698. This version also matches some surviving single arias.
- 15 I-Nc, Rari 6.5.11, an anthology of arias for voice and basso continuo, matches the 1698 Neapolitan libretto. It is annotated with numerous remarks by the librarian Francesco Rondinella, unfortunately misleading, indicating the presence of arias by Ignazio Prota, involved in the Neapolitan *Tito Manlio* of 1720. Rondinella clearly did not know the 17<sup>th</sup>-century libretto and this generated a series of inconsistencies.
- 16 D-DI, Mus.1-F-39,2 (fols. 149v-176r [pp. 298-351]), a full score collection with recitatives and closed numbers of ten sets of *scene buffe* (in the uniform title of the manuscript defined as "intermezzi"). At fol. 149v we find authorship and origin of the pieces clearly expressed: at the left top margin we read "Scene Buffe Breno / e Zelta / del Tito, e Manlio" and at the

In Pratolino we find only one comic character, Lindo “servant of Vitellia”, who becomes Breno in Venice. In Naples, Breno is joined by Zelta “nurse of Servilia”; the two are the protagonists of the scenes added in I,6, I,15 (with a scenery *ad hoc*, a “grove”), II,6, II,19, III,9. Breno appears in several scenes next to Vitellia; instead, apart from the *scene buffe* Zelta has only a small role in scene I,13 (which precedes the deadly duel between Geminio and Manlio), where she comments on the events with single recitative verses or distichs.

The presence of a score, even if incomplete, of the Venetian *Tito Manlio* and of a large anthology of the Neapolitan one allows us to check the musical adaptation, in many cases impossible for lack of sources; however, this is not the place for a detailed comparison: I just quickly summarize the results. The whole *buffe* parts are frankly Neapolitan and can be precisely reconstructed thanks to the Dresden manuscript. Otherwise, the collation between librettos and scores points out that the music of the arias is often different even if the poetic text is maintained, whereas the lack of indications in the libretto leads us to think of a more faithful reprise of Pollarolo’s score; assuming that Mancina was actually the composer of all modifications and not only of the *scene buffe*, the Neapolitan *Tito* is much more his own than the mere collation of the poetic text made us suspect. If this *modus operandi* was the common practice, or at least if it was quite widespread, much can still be discovered of the real relationships between the Venetian scores (or Roman ones, or the ones coming from other centers) and the Neapolitan scores, until now considered mainly on the basis of the indications in the librettos.

## Pasticcios

Despite some important contributions,<sup>17</sup> the field of the Neapolitan pasticcio of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century is still little explored: the widespread lack of scores, the inaccuracies or silences of the librettos, the complexity of the network of responsibilities that connects singers, impresarios, librettists, musicians and patrons make it still at times impervious. After 1710, pasticcios began to be identified as such (although the term doesn’t yet appear in the sources): the roles played by singers and impresarios became more evident, even if the questions of authorship of the individual arias could not always be resolved definitively and to full satisfaction.

Between 1710 and 1736, the Neapolitan *seria* scene offers only a few works that are presented as pasticcios (with music “by different authors”/“di diversi autori”) or

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center “Del Sig. Luigi Mancina”, and finally at fol. 176r at the bottom the words “Fine delle scene del Tito, e Manlio”. The arias match the Neapolitan manuscript, where present. The manuscript also contains the *scene buffe* of Mancina’s very successful *Partenope* (Naples 1699).

17 In spite of the obvious need to revise data decades later, STROHM, 1976, pp. 266-285 is still essential. For its specificity is also important PITARRESI, 2011b, who provides a list of pasticcios.

that are unequivocally such, including the *drammi per musica* staged at the Teatro dei Fiorentini:<sup>18</sup>

- *Il comando non inteso et ubbidito* (Silvani/?Giuvo), Fiorentini, May 1713 (?Gasparini, Lotti, Orlandini, D. Scarlatti)
- *Eumene* (Zeno/?), San Bartolomeo 1715 (Gasparini, Leo, Orlandini, Ristori, Vivaldi)
- *Il duello di Amore e di Vendetta* (Silvani/?), San Bartolomeo 1715 (Feo, Ziani and various unidentified)
- *?Merope* (Zeno/?), Palazzo Reale 1716
- *Lucio Papirio* (Zeno), San Bartolomeo 1717 (Gasparini, Orlandini, Feo)
- *Rinaldo* (Rossi/?), San Bartolomeo 1718 (Bononcini, Gasparini, Handel, Leo, Orlandini, Porta)<sup>19</sup>
- *La fortezza al cimento* (Silvani/?), San Bartolomeo 1721 (Mancini)<sup>20</sup>
- *Arianna e Teseo* (Pariati/Saddumene), San Bartolomeo 1721 and 1722 (A. Bononcini, Leo, Orlandini, Porpora, Vivaldi)
- *Bajazete imperador de' Turchi* (Piovene/Saddumene), Palazzo Reale 1722 (Gasparini, Leo, Porpora)<sup>21</sup>
- *Turno Aricino* (S. Stampiglia/L.M. Stampiglia), San Bartolomeo 1724 (Albinoni, Cappelli, Chelleri, Giacomelli, Leo, Lotti, Porpora, Scarlatti, Vinci)
- *Stratonica* (Salvi/De Palma), San Bartolomeo 1727 (Orlandini, Porpora, Porta, Vinci, Vivaldi)
- *Siface* (Metastasio/?), San Bartolomeo 1734 (Giacomelli, Hasse, Porpora, Porta, Sellitti)

The Neapolitan *Ciro* from 1716, repeatedly classified as a pasticcio following Reinhard Strohm's hypothesis,<sup>22</sup> in my opinion should, according to the evidence we have today, be attributed exclusively to Domenico Sarro, as indicated in the libretto preserved in a single copy in Parma.<sup>23</sup> The comparison with Scarlatti's *Ciro* performed in Rome in

18 Cf. also *IBID.*, pp. 171f.; COTTICELLI/MAIONE, 1996, pp. 323-360; SARTORI; STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 286-321. It seems appropriate to consider also the *drammi per musica* staged at the Fiorentini, where clearly in continuity with the repertoire of the San Bartolomeo and the Royal Palace theaters in terms of subjects, adaptation methods, authors and singers.

19 The identification of many arias is a hypothesis due to Giovanni Andrea Sechi: see below, n. 27.

20 It is actually a self-pasticcio by Mancini, with six arias from *Alessandro Severo* (Rome 1718): for all details and a precise text comparison cf. ROMAGNOLI, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 144-158.

21 The opera is preceded by a *Componimento per musica* to celebrate the birthday of Empress Elisabeth Christine (text by Silvio Stampiglia, music by Leonardo Leo; libretto in GB-Lbl and I-Rn, missing in other copies).

22 STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 223f.

23 I-Pac, F. Libretti sc89/412; a modern handwritten pencil note on the back cover attributes the music to Scarlatti and Sarro, but the libretto states unequivocally "Musica di Domen-

1712, of which libretto and score are still preserved, confirms the mismatch between the two texts; the arias in the manuscript GB-Lbl, Add. 31515 reported by Strohm do not match the 1716 libretto; the list of singers has only one element in common, Senesino, who in Rome sang the role of Arsace while in Naples that of the protagonist.<sup>24</sup> On the contrary, the anonymous *Merope* of the same year could perhaps be a pasticcio. Strohm considers it one of Sarro's dubious works on the basis of an aria in the pasticcio *Elpidia* (1725) stemming from the 1716 *Merope*;<sup>25</sup> the libretto in I-Bu bears a handwritten annotation that attributes the opera to Orlandini (citing also the Milanese performance, again attributed to Orlandini) with Leo's adaptations, and indicates Giovanni Papis for the re-elaboration of Zeno's text; Franco Mancini (and several scholars with him) considers it Scarlattian<sup>26</sup> (but the work does not even appear among the doubtful works in the Scarlatti article in the *New Grove*);<sup>27</sup> in her precious essay on Zeno's *Merope* Francesca Menchelli-Buttini is silent on the authorship of this production, for lack of objective data.<sup>28</sup> This opera is therefore a good candidate to increase the number of pasticcios in the years we are considering, and would deserve to be investigated further.

Among the works listed above only a few have been focused on by scholars and, to my knowledge, only *Turno Aricino* has been the subject of a specific essay.<sup>29</sup> *Rinaldo* was the subject of a recent reconstruction that attempted to attribute the authorship of several arias;<sup>30</sup> a brief discussion of *Arianna e Teseo* appears in the appendix to an essay on Porpora.<sup>31</sup> Here, I will focus on three titles in the list, representing different moments and situations and which are also useful for pointing out the research paths that open up by digging into the repertoire of pasticcios (declared, confirmed or concealed): *Il*

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ico Sarro", without any indication of either adaptation or reuse of previous texts (which, however, can never be completely excluded: the trunks of the singers certainly struggled to remain closed even in the presence of a robust compositional authorship).

- 24 On the singers of the Roman *Ciro*, not mentioned in the printed libretto, cf. ROMAGNOLI, 1994, pp. 330f.
- 25 STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 222.
- 26 MANCINI, 1964, p. 219; COTTICELLI/MAIONE, 1996, p. 335, suggest Scarlatti as adaptor of the Venetian score of Gasparini.
- 27 BOYD et al., 2001.
- 28 MENCHELLI-BUTTINI, 2018.
- 29 PITARRESI, 2011b.
- 30 For an overview of the Neapolitan *Rinaldo* see EHRMANN-HERFORDT, 2011. The reconstruction, available on CD and DVD, was presented at the 44<sup>th</sup> Festival della Valle D'Itria (13 July-4 August 2018). The editor of the performance score, Giovanni Andrea Sechi, has not yet published an essay on the subject, but his reconstruction work is outlined both in the festival program notes, in the CD and DVD booklets, and in some online materials, first of all the daily operatic information *Opera Click* that dedicated ample space to the reconstructed *Rinaldo*: <http://www.operaclick.com/specials/deeps-merito-al-rinaldo-na-poletano-saggio-di-giovanni-andrea-sechi-interview-di>, 20.08.2019.
- 31 SECHI, 2018, pp. 259-263.

*comando non inteso ed ubbidito* of the 1710s (the first on the list), the *Stratonica* of the 1720s, and *Siface* of the 1730s (the last on the list).

As it is presented in the libretto, which as we will immediately see makes no mention of the presence of arias by different authors, *Il comando non inteso ed ubbidito* at first glance seems to belong more to the category of adaptation than to that of pasticcio; it is sufficient, however, to dig a little below the surface to realize that it is fully within the scope of the latter.

The address to the “generous reader” (“Generoso lettore”) points out that the “drama” (i.e. the poetic text) has been changed in comparison to the original and that the added *scene buffe* have been composed by Sarro; it does not mention the authors of other adaptations, although they are numerous. The Neapolitan setting is based on the Venetian production of February 1710 (1709 *more veneto*, text by Silvani, music by Lotti); a copy of the libretto in I-Bu presents handwritten notes that match the cuts and – less regularly – the additions to be found in the Neapolitan version.<sup>32</sup> Strohm indicates Nicolò Giuvo as the adaptor of the text and, even if in very general terms, hypothesizes Sarro’s intervention in the adaptations or in the new composition of the serious arias,<sup>33</sup> something that cannot be excluded but, at the same time, cannot be accepted without perplexity, since the possible interventions of the authors of the comic scenes in the serious fabric of the drama were usually pointed out.

Overall, the work presents few real differences in the vocal range of the characters, except for the replacement of Leone (captain of the imperial guards, played by the contralto castrato Giuliano Albertini) with the *buffo* Frullo, performed by the bass Giovanni Battista Cavana accompanied by Spilletta, the soprano Livia Nannini. However, the *buffo* roles are interwoven with the drama, often even intervening in scenes which were originally monologues of the serious characters; in addition to the *scene buffe* as *intermezzi*, therefore, we have a comic ‘stuffing’ that requires a conspicuous adaptation of the recitative. The *scene buffe* added from scratch are six (I,11, II,9, II,17, III,5, III,12), to which are added six scenes in which the *buffi* interact with the serious characters (I,9-10, 12-13, 17; II,6, 8; III,2, 9-10, 14-15). Some scenes are cut to give space to comic interventions or as a result of the elimination of Leone’s role. The recitative is shortened and, in some cases, like the passage of lines from Leone to Frullo, modified in a comic direction, as exemplified by the few comparable lines to the beginning of III,13:

32 I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.F.III.31.01; already mentioned in STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 217.

33 STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 217. The libretto makes no mention of Giuvo; the information presumably derives from FLORIMO, 1881, p. 36, also cited in SARTORI, *ad vocem*.

**Leone, Venice 1710**

Signor, tutto è perduto.  
 Fremono baldanzose  
 D'intorno a questa reggia  
 le schiere armate, e con guerriero orgoglio,  
 Zoe si richiama imperadrice al soglio.

**Frullo, Naples 1713**

Signor, per ogni piazza  
 Si grida, ammazza, ammazza.  
 La regia [*sic*] è quasi piena  
 di schiere armate, e con guerriero orgoglio,  
 Zoe si richiama imperadrice al soglio.

The only role that requires an adaptation of the vocal register is Isacio, performed by the bass Giuseppe Maria Boschi in Venice and by the tenor Gaetano Borghi in Naples; otherwise the Neapolitan company could have easily resumed the Venetian score, but evidently this was not the case, given the number of arias replaced and added. Together with Isacio, the other two main characters, Zoe (the soprano Angiola Augusti) and Costantino (the castrato Antonio Archi, Cortoncino), present considerable interventions compared to the Venetian version; minor but not irrelevant is the incidence of changes for the roles of Teodora (the soprano Maria Maddalena Tibaldi), Argiro (the bass Giovanni Paolo di Domenico) and Maniace (the contralto specialized in male roles Silvia Lodi). In light of the observations on *Tito Manlio*, it is difficult to say to what extent the maintenance of the text necessarily entails the adoption of Lotti's setting without variations. The following table summarizes the situation, and gives an account of the added or replaced arias that can be identified with relative certainty even in the absence of a score:

*Table 1: Il comando non inteso ed ubbidito: the Neapolitan version compared with the Venetian one*

A,S: Act,Scene; = : unchanged aria; + : added aria; Repl.: replaced aria; Var.: varied aria

Character	Incipit	A,S	=	+	Repl.	Var.	Origin or Concordance
Isacio	Più a penar non mi condanna	I,2		X			<i>La fede tradita e vendicata</i> , Rome 1712
	Atterrate, diroccate	I,12	X				
	Par di Zeffiro soave	I,15		X			
	Verrò mia stella	II,6	X				
	Già vicino è il mio contento	II,15		X			
	Ho costanza, ho cuor sì forte	III,13		X			

Character	Incipit	A,S	=	+	Repl.	Var.	Origin or Concordance
Zoe	Ne la calma degl'affetti	I,3			X		
	D'un tiranno ch'ac-carezzi	I,8			X		<i>Ifigenia in Tauri</i> , Rome 1713
	Ombra errante del caromio sposo	I,14	X				
	Deh dipingi me fedele	II,2	X				
	Passo di pena in pena	II,4			X		<i>Ifigenia in Tauri</i> , Rome 1713
	Cieco amore e cieco sdegno	II,10			X		<i>Giustino?</i>
	Volere di stella	III,2			X		
Il cor più non sente	III,10						
Costantino	Mi sento nel seno	I,10			X		<i>Publio Cornelio Scipione</i> , Rome 1713
	Nacqui vassallo, il so	I,13	X				
	Agitato in alto mar	II,5			X		<i>Amor tirannico</i> , Rome 1713
	S'io so levarti un trono	II,7	X				
	Di speranza una lusinga	III,2		X			
	Per me / non v'è / timore	III,4			X		<i>Amor tirannico</i> , Rome 1713
	Parto o cara e lascio il core [a 2?]	III,11			X		
Teodora	Tu non m'intendi, il so	I,9	X				
	Nel tuo bel volto	I,15	X				
	Un non so che mi sento	II,3	X				
	Non gli do certa speranza	II,8					Venice 1710, I,12, adapted
	Sin, che non scocca	III,4	X				
	Vanne, pugna, e 'l tuo valore [a 2?]	III,11			X		
Maniace	Bella gara occhi amorosi	I,4				X	Venice 1710: "Bella gara è di splendore"
	Dentro al campo di quest'alma	I,16	X				
	Veggio impresso nel tuo volto	II,1	X				
	Verrò per ubbidirti	II,9					
	Dirò ch'ellè un'ingrata	II,15		X			
	Ho diviso il cor, è vero	III,3	X				
	Vi vendica begl'occhi il mio tormento	III,9	X				
Argiro	Amor sdegnato / s'è vendicato	I,8	X				
	Cedo a destra più felice	III,8		X			

The identified arias come from previous Roman productions:<sup>34</sup>

- *La fede tradita e vendicata* (Silvani/?Capece – ?Gasparini/?Orlandini), Rome, Capranica 1712: Borghi sang Rodoaldo, Archi Vitige; Cavana acted in the *intermezzi* *Madama Dulcinea e il cuoco*. Isacio's aria is a parody of Rodoaldo's: "Sino a questo ne condanna" (I,2).
- *Publio Cornelio Scipione*, Rome, Capranica 1713 (?Piovene/? – ?Pollarolo/?Orlandini): Borghi sang Indibile, Archi Lucejo, Cavana Brenno in the *intermezzi*. Cortoncino's aria matches Lucejo's aria in I,7.
- *L'Amor tirannico* (Lalli/? – Gasparini/Orlandini), Rome, Capranica 1713: Archi sang Radamisto, Cavana Delfo in the *intermezzi*. "Agitato in alto mar" matches Radamisto's aria (III,12); "Per me / non v'è / timore" is a very clear parody of Polissena's "Per me / non v'è / chi parli" (I,12).<sup>35</sup>
- *Ifigenia in Tauri* (Capece – D. Scarlatti), Rome, palazzo Zuccari 1713: both arias had been sung by Ifigenia, respectively in I,3 and II,2.
- *Giustino*: the case is more complex. Zoe's aria is found in various librettos of *Giustino*, but not in Bologna 1711, where Augusti sang the role of Eufemia.<sup>36</sup> I just record the coincidence.

Considering the content of the pasticcio *Il comando non inteso*, there are several elements of interest. *In primis*, it is clear that while the Neapolitan librettos were often (but not always) taken over from the Venetian stages, the same cannot be said of the music: in the case we are examining, for example, there is a substantial Roman contribution. In addition, the role of the singers is beginning to become evident: it is not by chance that Borghi, Archi (and Cavana) were part of the same troupe in Rome and that the added and substituted arias identified come from their *bauli*, or, as in the case of Polissena's aria, from the appropriation of presumably very effective arias of other roles in operas which they had sung. Moreover, the presence of the two *Ifigenia* arias sung by Augusti opens up an interesting perspective on the cast of Domenico Scarlatti's *Ifigenia in Tauri* (and perhaps also of the previously given *Ifigenia in Aulide?*), whose singers are un-

34 For data relating to the authorship of text and music not reported in the librettos cf. FRANCHI, 1997, pp. 87-100; however, it should be remarked that the attributions of the Roman versions are often, if not always, conjectural.

35 In Rome, Polissena had been performed by the castrato Francesco Natale; the aria concluded the beautiful solo scene.

36 The aria does not even appear in the *Aggiunta d'arie nuove nell'opera del Giustino*, Bologna 1711 (I-IE). It is found instead as an aria for Arianna (I,14) in *Giustino* librettos for Bologna 1691 and 1692, Lucca 1694 and Modena 1697; we do not know the singer names for these performances, but Augusti seems to have begun her career after the early years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1706 is the first attestation in a libretto according to SARTORI's singer index); moreover, the recovery of an aria from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century in 1713 is musically totally unlikely.

known. We have no evidence of Augusti's activity immediately before the Neapolitan engagement in 1713: her presence is documented only in two performances in 1712.<sup>37</sup> At the same time, we do not know the performers who were active at the private theater of Maria Casimira of Poland in the 1713 season; if Augusti brought the two arias to Naples, we can assume that she was the performer in the Roman opera, and with this we would add a small piece to the knowledge of the stage of the Ex-Queen of Poland.

*Il comando non inteso ed ubbidito* is therefore fully added to the list of Neapolitan pasticcios of the period and shows with great clarity that when the sources are not very explicit on the details of adaptation and authorship, it is always appropriate to question the possibility that we are encountering a pasticcio.

About 15 years later, pasticcios had made their way to the San Bartolomeo opera house; the impresario Angelo Carasale staged *Stratonica*, recovering an old libretto by Antonio Salvi (Florence 1707), but radically refreshing the aria stock with a robust insertion of elements from other librettos plus texts composed *ex novo* by Carlo de Palma.<sup>38</sup> The address to the "most considerable reader" ("Discretissimo lettore") declares:

"[...] If this drama comes to you different from its first being, this was done to accommodate it to the actors, to whom liberty was left to put on arias for their satisfaction, and these are all marked with the asterisk \*; the others were written *ex novo*, not out of disregard for its eminent author, but only to please the genius of the performers, and this has been done by Sig. Carlo de Palma, who had all the veneration for the erudite pen of the aforementioned first Author."<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, the composite nature of the work and the contribution of the performers are proclaimed *apertis verbis*: the "genius of the performers" seems to be here the pasticcio's *raison d'être*. The arias coming from the vocal baggage of the performers (marked with an asterisk) need to be identified: the Neapolitan libretto is silent on the authorship

37 *Alarico* (text by Silvani?/, music by Albinoni), Piacenza, carnival 1712, and *Peribea in Salamina* (music by Pollarolo), Vicenza, May 1712 (Cavana performed in the *intermezzi*).

38 STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 283, brings the libretto back to Zeno's and Pariati's *Antioco* (first performance Venice 1705), but the recitative is clearly derived from Salvi's Florentine libretto; even a comparison with a Venetian *Seleuco* of 1725, derived from Zeno's *Antioco* and chronologically the closest to the Neapolitan *Stratonica*, gives a negative result, if not for some occasional concordance of individual verses. MARKSTROM, 2007, p. 201, re-proposes Strohm's hypotheses.

39 "[...] Se diverso dal suo primo essere, ti verrà sotto l'occhio, il presente Drama, sappi, che si è fatto per meglio accomodarsi agli Attori, a libertà de quali s'è lasciato il poner l'arie a loro sodisfazione, e sono tutte quelle contrassegnate con il presente asterisco \* l'altre si sono fatte di pianta, non già per pregiudicare il suo Degenissimo Autore; ma sol per incontrare il genio de Rappresentanti, e questo si è fatto dal Sig. Carlo de Palma, il quale ha avuta tutta la venerazione alla erudita penna del detto primo Autore." *Stratonica*, Naples 1727, p. 4.

of the score at all (and consequently also on that of the individual airs). Logically speaking, recitatives and arias without an asterisk should have their own author, presumably a homogeneous one, but he is not mentioned. Strohm proposed to attribute recitatives and unmarked arias to Vinci, supported by some surviving arias (in the absence, it seems, of other documents); the hypothesis has been accepted by all subsequent scholars.<sup>40</sup>

Characters and performers are as follows:

Seleuco re dell'Assiria: Antonio Barbieri (tenor)

Antioco suo figlio: Carlo Scalzi (soprano)

Stratonica promessa sposa di Seleuco: Maria Giustina Turcotti (soprano)

Arsinoe Principessa nipote di Seleuco: Barbara Stabile (soprano)

Tigrane principe confidente d'Antioco: Anna Bagnolesi (contralto)

*Intermezzi*: Madama Vespetta e D. Valasco (Celeste Resse, soprano, and Gioachino Corrado, bass)

Once again, a table helps to have an overall view of the opera (the arias marked in the libretto in bold):

Table 2: *Stratonica*: origin of the arias and musical sources

A/S	Singer: Character	Incipit	Origin and musical sources	Remarks
I,2	<b>Barbieri: Seleuco</b>	<b>Vedi lo scoglio in mar</b>	unidentified	Partial concordance with <i>Tullo Ostilio</i> , Prague 1727, II,3: Curazio, "Sarò qual scoglio in mar"; however, no elements of contact with Barbieri or with the Neapolitan <i>Stratonica</i> have emerged.
I,4	Scalzi: Antioco	Dirti vorrei qual sia		
I,6	Barbieri: Seleuco	Con tuoi prieghi, e con l'impero		

40 STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 283; MARKSTROM, 2007, p. 201, also lists *Stratonica* as one of Vinci's pasticcios, apparently based only on Strohm's attribution. Neapolitan *Avvisi* do not help us either, as they are silent for the period of time we are interested in. The attribution of the entire work to Vinci, but with an earlier date (1719 or 1720) has ancient roots: it appears in the Neapolitan historical bibliography, starting with SIGISMONDO, 2016, p. 164.

A/S	Singer: Character	Incipit	Origin and musical sources	Remarks
I,7	Turcotti: Stratonica	<b>Piange la lontanza</b>	<i>Isacio Tiranno</i> , Livorno 1725 (anonymous), Pulcheria (Turcotti) I,2 US-Wc, M1505. V64 A 4: ascribed to Vinci; in the margin "Sig.ra Giustina Turcotti" (RISM 108487). D-B, Mus.ms.30208, previously attributed to Hasse and now to Vinci (RISM 455032611).	In <i>Arianna imperatrice d'Oriente</i> (pasticcio?, Palermo 1726), Turcotti sang "Gode la rondinella" which has the same metric-rhythmic scheme, is compatible from an expressive point of view and could be a parody.
I,9	Stabili: Arsinoe	Un lampo solo / Di due bei lumi		
I/10	Turcotti: Stratonica	Fuggi dagl'occhi miei		
I,11	Scalzi: Antioco	<b>Quel nocchier, ch'il suo naviglio</b>	The text matches the aria sung by Bartolomeo Bartoli in <i>Ormisda</i> , Bologna 1722, II,15, and <i>Alessandro Severo</i> , Milan 1723, II,14, both by Orlandini.	
I,12	Bagnolesi: Tigrane	Se a danni miei	Vinci, I-Rc, 2773	STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 283; GIALDRONI, 2005, pp. 309, 322
INTERMEZZO 1				
II,4	Turcotti: Stratonica	D'un cor, che adora, e tace	Vinci, F-Pn, Vm <sup>7</sup> 7694	STROHM, 1976, vol. 2, p. 283
II,6	Scalzi: Antioco	<b>T'inganna il tuo pensier</b>	<i>Il trionfo della virtù</i> , Venice 1724, Cornelia (Faustina Bordoni) II,2	Scalzi sang Elio and Barbieri Silla.
II,7	Stabili: Arsinoe	<b>Vaghe luci, luci belle</b>	Vivaldi, <i>Ipermestra</i> 1727, Linceo (Lucia Lanzetti) I,1	RV Anh. 124; Stabili sang Delmiro.
II,8	Bagnolesi: Tigrane	Priva del caro sposo		
II,9	Barbieri: Seleuco	<b>Nave altera, che in mezzo all'onde</b>	Vinci, <i>Gismondo re di Polonia</i> , Rome 1727, Primislao (Barbieri) I,8 I-Rc, 2513	Cfr. GIALDRONI, 2005, pp. 308, 321, 329
II,11	Bagnolesi: Tigrane	<b>Ape amorosa / Fugge, e disprezza</b>	Porta, <i>Siroe re di Persia</i> , Florence 1726, Siroe (Carestini) I,4	Bagnolesi sang Emira.
II,13	Scalzi/Turcotti A2 Antioco/Stratonica	A: Parto sì mia cara addio		

A/S	Singer: Character	Incipit	Origin and musical sources	Remarks
INTERMEZZO 2				
III,1	Scalzi: Antioco	Serba fede, al bene amato		
III,2	Stabili: Arsinoe	All'or ch'è più fiera		
III,3	Bagnolesi: Tigrane	<b>Si confonde quel nocchiero</b>	?Pasticcio, <i>Mariane</i> , Florence 1726, Tolomeo (Bagnolesi) I,14 ?Porpora, <i>La Verità nell'inganno</i> , Livorno 1727, Attalo (Bagnolesi) I,7	The aria appears in a <i>Componimento per musica</i> by Giovanni Bernardino Pontici performed for Christmas 1721 in Rome, Palazzo Apostolico, music by Orlandini.
III,4	Scalzi: Antioco	<b>In sen più non scintilla</b>	Pasticcio, <i>Flavio Anicio Olibrio</i> , Florence 1723, Olibrio (Scalzi) I,10 Porpora, <i>Damiro e Pitia</i> , Munich 1724, Damiro (Scalzi) III,5	
III,5	Turcotti: Stratonica	Nell'ardor di questo core		
III,7	Barbieri: Seleuco	<b>La sorte tiranna</b>	Unidentified	
III,ult	TUTTI	Brilla e gode in seno il core		

*Stratonica* is a pasticcio that, on the basis of a fairly solid dramatic structure due to Salvi's original, musically seems to have no other common thread than the comfort of the actors denounced by the aforementioned address to the reader. Without a complete score it is, however, impossible to really evaluate the musical choices, but at least on paper the arias are a series of pearls of a certain value; nevertheless, no particular strategy is recognized in the selection. The origin, contrary to what was seen in *Il comando non inteso*, is quite varied and the singers generally reproduce arias sung by themselves in other productions (with due exceptions). The attribution to Vinci of the arias written from scratch seems to be confirmed by the surviving musical sources, as well as by the tradition that attributed the entire work to the Calabrian composer. *Stratonica* was not set up for special occasions, but is part of the usual theatrical routine of San Bartolomeo: perhaps this is a reason that may have led to the use of a pasticcio form similar to that widespread in other operatic centers, simply to meet the pressing production needs.

The third example, Metastasio's *Siface*, dated to the end of the San Bartolomeo era (closed in 1737, with the opening of the new Teatro San Carlo), was performed in December 1734; it constitutes a different case from the previous ones but equally significant, and shows how over the years the attitude towards pasticcios was more and more explicit. From a political point of view Naples had just undergone an important change: the Kingdom passed from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons, punctually reflected in the dedications and calendars (except that the coincidence in name between the Habsburg emperor and the Bourbon king gave continuity to the tradition of celebrating the name

day on 4 November). *Siface*, dedicated to King Charles of Bourbon, was staged on 4 December for his sister-in-law's birthday; in the dedication, the impresario Salvatore Notarnicola makes explicit reference to the "heroic feelings of Viriate" ("eroici sentimenti di Viriate") and his virtues, which also "adorn" ("adornano") the celebrated princess of Asturias.

The text had been circulating for about ten years and had its first performance in the same theater, in 1723,<sup>41</sup> but very little of the original arias remains in our pasticcio. A remark in the libretto at the end of the cast list allows us to attribute the score: "The music of both the Drama and the Intermezzi is by Signor Giuseppe Sellitti, Neapolitan Chapel Master, except for some arias of different Authors, marked with an asterisk \*".<sup>42</sup> The score and at least one copy of the libretto have survived; we are therefore able to identify the insertions with greater certainty.<sup>43</sup>

The cast was very impressive:

Siface: Gaetano Majorano (Caffarelli) (soprano)

Viriate: Giustina Turcotti (soprano)

Erminio: Maria Marta Monticelli (soprano)

Ismene: Catarina Fumagalli (soprano)

Orcano: Francesco Tolve (tenor)

Libanio: Margherita Chimenti (soprano)

*Intermezzi*: Lesbina: Laura Monti (soprano); Sempronio: Gioachino Corrado (bass)

The arias marked with an asterisk and their origin are evidenced in the following list:

Table 3: *Siface: origin of the marked arias*

I/2	Viriate	Mi vuoi dividere / il cor dal petto	Porpora, <i>Annibale</i>
I/4	Siface	Se tu mi vuoi felice	Hasse, <i>Siroe re di Persia</i>
I/5	Ismene	Mio cor non sospirar	doubtful: Fiorillo? Giacomelli?
II/3	Ismene	Ride il ciel per me sereno	Hasse, <i>Siroe re di Persia</i>
II/4	Siface	Ti parli nel seno	Porta, <i>Farnace</i>

41 *Siface* is a radical revision by Metastasio (published anonymously) of old librettos linked to the tradition of Domenico David's *La forza della virtù*, and the poet has always had a conflictual relationship with this work: cf. CANDIANI, 1998, pp. 91-147, and TUFANO, 2001; cf. also MELLACE, 2004, for a recognition of some stagings prior to our pasticcio linked to the analysis of Hasse's *Viriate*, yet another variation of the text.

42 "La musica tanto del Drama, quanto degl'Intermezzi è del Signor Giuseppe Sellitti, Maestro di Cappella Napolitano, a riserva di alcune arie di diversi Autori, quali sono segnate coll'Asterisco \*".

43 The score in I-Nc (Rari 32.4.12; available online at [www.internetculturale.it](http://www.internetculturale.it)) is erroneously attributed to Vinci; the libretto is preserved in I-Rsc, Carv.14240. SARTORI, 1990-1994, no. 21960, reports a copy in I-Nn, but it has not been possible to locate it.

II/14	Siface	Quell'usignolo	Giacomelli, <i>Merope</i>
III/3	Libanio	Non ho più core	Hasse, <i>Demetrio</i> ; unmarked
III/6P	Erminio	Tu che m'accendi / d'un bell'ardire	Sellitti, <i>Nitocri</i> In the score but not in libretto
III/6L	Erminio	Per godere il bene amato	Text in libretto (marked) but not in the score

The arias inserted seem to follow not only the ‘*baule* logic’, but also that of the professional challenge or the professional competition maintained between those singing title roles, which in the present example relates especially to the title role performed by Caffarelli. His true and impressive presentation to the public (besides the recitatives), i.e. Siface’s first aria, is indeed a piece of his repertoire, coming from *Siroe re di Persia* by Hasse staged in Bologna in 1733, where Majorano appeared as Medarse, brother of the eponymous protagonist entrusted to Farinelli’s voice. As in *Siface*, it was his first aria, in scene I,3; the text has been slightly adapted for the Neapolitan score. The musical authorship is confirmed by the score of Hasse’s *Siroe* preserved in D-DI, Mus.2477-F-16.<sup>44</sup>

The other two marked arias were originally sung by Farinelli. The confrontation with Carlo Broschi characterized a large part of Majorano’s study and career; before *Siface* the two had also sung together several times, as we have also seen in Bologna in *Siroe*, and Caffarelli seemed to agree to be placed a step below his colleague. The aria “Ti parli nel seno” from Porta’s *Farnace* can be traced back to Farinelli’s baggage: he played Merione, who sang “Mi parla nel seno”. Majorano was not part of the cast but takes up the aria by Porta in *Siface*, also in this case subject to some textual adaptation.<sup>45</sup>

At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> act Caffarelli uses the workhorse aria of his most gifted colleague, “Quell’usignolo”, written by Giacomelli for Farinelli who was Epitide in his *Merope* (II,4) (Venice 1734), where Caffarelli impersonated Trasimede.<sup>46</sup> In Porpora’s

44 As a proof of its success, there are also several copies of the aria, either detached or in anthologies, including: D-B, Mus.ms.9056, which bears the indication “Mr. B. Mus. ms. Cafariello Bologna 1733”; D-MÜs, Sant.Hs.1982 (no. 12); GB-Lbl, Add.14219 and R.M.22.d.25.(9). For further copies see RISM online.

45 The identity of the two arias is confirmed by the manuscript HR-PORzm, ZMP 13702 (for voice and basso continuo). I could not control the collection of arias from *Farnace* by Porta in F-Pn, VM4-30, which also presents the aria we are interested in; the full score D-DI, Mus.2444-F-2, refers instead to the 1740 production in Munich, a different version. In an anthology of arias taken from works by Hasse coming from London and kept in US-BEm, MS 129 (RISM 120500), the aria is attributed to Hasse; here it is also found in a reduced form for soprano and basso continuo, and bears the indication “Con oboè solo nel primo violino”; however, this attribution does not seem to find any other confirmation.

46 Confirming Farinelli’s privileged relationship with this aria, we find it in the precious manuscript donated to Empress Maria Theresa of Austria a few decades later, in 1757 (A-Wn Mus.Hs.19111); a recording of the version reproduced in that manuscript is available thanks to the work of the ensemble Stile Galante directed by Stefano Aresi with Ann Hallenberg (*The Farinelli Manuscript*, Glossa 2019).

*Siface* (Rome, Capranica 1730) Majorano (in the title role) closed the 2<sup>nd</sup> act with an 'ornithological' aria: "Usignolo sventurato";<sup>47</sup> in Naples the 'baule logic' should have led rather to the recovery of this aria, but Caffarelli obviously wanted to impose himself on the attention of the Neapolitan public – and perhaps especially of the new King Charles of Bourbon, from whom he obtained positions and roles of the old Matteo Sassano (Matteuccio) in the Royal Chapel – with the repertoire of his rival. Let us not forget that 1734 was the year of Caffarelli's debut on the Neapolitan stage: in summer he had been Ruggiero in *Il castello di Atlante* by Mariani – Leo, and then Farnaspe in *Adriano in Siria* by Metastasio – Pergolesi, set up on the occasion of the birthday of Charles of Bourbon; the *Siface* pasticcio, given in December and for another Bourbon occasion, offered him the opportunity to close the season with a pyrotechnical series of arias put together to bring out his best talents and attempting to position himself on the same level as his rival Farinelli.

Let us quickly review the arias related to the other singers. Turcotti has only one aria extraneous to Sellitti's score; like in Caffarelli's case, it is the first one she sings, her calling card for the public. "Mi vuoi dividere" (I,2) is attributed to Porpora in the only apparently surviving source in addition to the score of *Siface*.<sup>48</sup> Going back to Turcotti's career, we come across an aria with the same identical metric scheme in Porpora's *Annibale*:

**Porpora, *Annibale*, Venice 1731, I,3 Elisa**

In seno accogliere / Sì dolce affetto  
Non sa quest'anima / che ha solo diletto  
Di sempre vivere / in libertà.  
Ad altre imprese / rivolsi il core  
Più di me degne / del genitore  
Che Roma un giorno / rammenterà.

***Siface*, Naples 1734, I,2 Viriate**

Mi vuoi dividere / il cor dal petto  
Lunge quest'anima / Dal caro oggetto  
Non sa più vivere / Goder non sa.  
Forse altro volto / T'accende il core  
Ma più bel foco / Più puro ardore  
Di quel ch'io sento / Non vanterà.

Porpora's score confirms the identity of the aria, appropriately disguised in Naples to make it compatible with the new context.<sup>49</sup> As in the case of Caffarelli's first aria, Turcotti also takes up her first aria of *Annibale* for her first appearance in *Siface*; however, she does not import other numbers, at least if we trust the libretto.

Ismene's (Fumagalli) first aria marked in the libretto is "Mio cor non sospirar": in this case the authorship is not easy to identify. An unlikely Pergolesian attribution is

47 The aria has a certain notoriety even today thanks to the recording by Cecilia Bartoli with Giardino Armonico directed by Giovanni Antonini (*Sacrificium*, Decca 2009).

48 I-MC, 5-B-18/11; see also INSOM, 2003, p. 954, no. 7103. Following the manuscript titles, the aria is classified as "cantata", but it is isolated and not included in the usual alternation of recitatives and arias typical of the cantata of the period.

49 *Annibale* is preserved in B-Bc, 2032; a heartfelt thanks goes to Olivia Wahnon de Oliveira and Isabelle Mattart who have made available to me a reproduction with great courtesy and helpfulness.

reported in the manuscript D-MÜs, Sant.Hs.3090 (Nr. 14). The manuscript B-Bc, 3724 attributes it to Andrea Bernasconi instead, but the composer's operatic activity, as far as we know, did not begin before 1737, therefore three years after our *Siface*; on the basis of the attribution of the Brussels manuscript the catalographic entry<sup>50</sup> of the manuscript F-Pn, Vm7 7272 also indicates, albeit as "compositeur présumé", Bernasconi as possible author of an interesting score that bears the indication "For Mrs. Fumagalli" ("Per la Sig.ra Fumagalli"). For the aforementioned chronological reasons, I do not believe, however, that Bernasconi's authorship is really to be taken into consideration. The attribution to Giacomelli to be found in the manuscript I-Mc, Noseda L.45.25 would seem more likely, given the fact that he was a much-appreciated author and present in the Neapolitan pasticcios. However, the first occurrence of the text can be located in *La Zoe* (Vienna 1732); it was probably sung by Maria Camati, called Farinella, in the role of Teodora.<sup>51</sup> The same singer sang the aria, but with a slightly altered text, in Ignazio Fiorillo's *Egeste* (Trieste 1733), and, with the text we find in *Siface*, in *Gli amici, a pastorale per musica* by Pier Jacopo Martello deeply reworked and performed in Bologna in May 1734 (III,5); in the copy in I-Baf a handwritten note on p. 8 reads: "The music is by [Giuseppe Maria] Buini" ("La musica è di Buini"); the aria is sung by Filli. At present the puzzle cannot be reassembled with certainty. But strategically it seems more likely for an ambitious singer early in her career to choose an aria of a well-established composer like Giacomelli instead of an unknown composer. In any case, the question is open and cannot be resolved without the scores of the operas she sang and more solid evidence of the authorship of Giacomelli.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> act, Fumagalli takes up an aria from the already mentioned *Siroe* by Hasse, in which she had not participated: "Ride il ciel per me sereno" (Laodice, II,4) was sung in Bologna by Anna Maria Peruzzi, and in Naples is subjected to some textual adaptation.

Again, Libanio's aria "Non ho più core" must be attributed to the *Sassone*; although not marked in the libretto, it comes from *Demetrio*, where it was sung by Faustina Bordoni (Cleonice, II,3). The aria is transmitted in several sources, including the manuscript D-Dl, Mus.2477-F-108 (no. 4) (for harpsichord and voice). Also in this case we can perhaps think of Margherita Chimenti's intention to emulate the great Faustina Bordoni.

Interesting, finally, is the replacement of the aria "Per godere il bene amato" (Erminio, III,6), with "Tu che m'accendi", the first in the libretto, the second in the score. The aria bears the asterisk, and is present in a Milanese *Zidiana* (1728, music by Giacomelli), sung by the celebrated tenor Annibale Pio Fabri (Cino), one of the most acclaimed tenors of the time. The cast included Monticelli (Erminio in *Siface*) in the role of Zelinda. I do not think we can completely exclude that in the first instance the singer wanted

50 <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41274884f>, 15.01.2020.

51 I am grateful to Berthold Over for bringing this match to my attention (the Vienna appearance based on information by Judit Zsovár and Reinhard Strohm), as well as the match in *L'Egeste* and in the Parisian manuscript. On Over's findings cf. also ALBRECHT-HOHMAIER/HEROLD in the present volume (pp. 738f., n. 13) and ALBRECHT-HOHMAIER et al., 2020.

to try her hand at Fabri's aria, obviously transporting and adapting it, and then for some reason she backed down. However, it was impossible to follow the fate of this aria in the years from 1728 to 1734, nor to trace musical sources, and I was able to find only this occurrence of the text before *Siface*. The replacement in the score is instead a parody of the aria "Qual ripercossa" from Sellitti's *Nitocri* (III,2, Manete, sung by Caterina Giorgi), staged in 1733 in Venice during the carnival season; the libretto and some musical sources have survived, including a complete score.<sup>52</sup> Musically the aria is identical to the one we find in the Neapolitan *Siface*, except for some details, especially in section B; the text instead is completely rewritten:

***Nitocri*, Venice 1733, III,2, Manete**

Qual ripercossa / Selce sfavilla

Tale riscossa / Mia fè scintilla

Dall'alta forza / Del tuo parlar.

Questo rossore / Che in me si vede

Parte è del sangue / Che tutto chiede

Questo mio core / Per te versar.

***Siface*, Naples 1734, III,6, Erminio (score)**

Tu che m'accendi / d'un bell'ardire

Tu mi difendi / fra i rischi, e l'ire

Al caro bene / mi guida amor.

Se tu mi rendi / l'idolo mio

L'antico affanno / spargo d'oblio

Non mi rammento / del tuo rigor.

The presence of this piece adds a small brick of self-pasticcio that probably responds more to the composer's needs than to those of the singers and further confirms the complexity of the network of interrelationships connecting the scores of the time. In any case, the investigation of this pasticcio, as of those seen above, confirms the need to examine every single piece, since the indications in the librettos, although apparently precise, are often deficient.

## A quick look at the *commedia per musica*

Although my focus is on the serious repertoire, I would like to just mention the comic one, from a certain point of view more 'authentically Neapolitan', given that even the *impasticciamento* process tends to be managed locally, with less recourse to imports from outside. Moreover, they are pasticcios in which the role of the 'cook' who really organizes and chooses the ingredients is much more recognizable in the impresario, who explicitly claims it: we remember here the above mentioned examples of Pietro Trinchera for *Elmira generosa*,<sup>53</sup> and of *Lo castiello sacchejato*, where the impresarios who put the dressing in the musical salad were Filippo Ferretti und Gioacchino Grieco.<sup>54</sup> Towards the middle of the century, Neapolitan comedies also began to spread more widely to other opera centers, and it is often seen that the term "Neapolitan" became an element of the marketing of Neapolitan impresarios in Italy and Europe. In an expanding

52 D-B, Mus.ms.20720, available online.

53 See above, p. 352.

54 See above, p. 350.

market that greatly appreciated the new comic repertoire, the pasticcio was an excellent solution to quickly increase the offer without losing quality in the individual arias, normally chosen from the best of production. Librettists' and impresarios' skills generally guaranteed at least an acceptable minimum of dramaturgical coherence, and a universal public could enjoy the novelties of a great opera capital like Naples.

In 1748 we encounter a somewhat unusual case for the reverence explicitly proclaimed for the two authors of the original text: the revival at the Teatro Nuovo of *Lo frate 'nnamorato* by Gennarantonio Federico and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi.<sup>55</sup> The address to the "friendly reader" ("Amico lettore"), unsigned (the dedication is signed by the "interested party of the Teatro Nuovo"/"Interessati del Teatro Nuovo"), is in Italian (and not in Neapolitan) and is a long defense of the adaptation and *impasticciamento* practice put in place for the new performance. The most relevant adjustments are: the shift of Lucrezia's role from the Neapolitan language to Tuscan "out of pure necessity, since the actress of the same cannot pronounce the Neapolitan" ("per pura necessità, non potendo l'Attrice della medema pronunziare il Napoletano"); the addition of a new character, Moscardino, with a brand-new part composed by the conductor of the performance; the adaptation of the score to the singers' talents. It is declared, however, that they have remained "religiously" ("religiosamente") faithful to the "essence" ("essenza") of the opera, due to the veneration of its original authors; to the devotion are added, however, more pragmatic reasons related to the appreciation of the audience, which in the past would have shown no positive reception of the deformations of a perfect original simply due to "whim" ("capriccio"). Therefore, interventions carried out without solid reasons can harm the impresario's interest; even taking into account that here evidently speaks *Cicero pro domo sua* (the anonymous writer is marketing his own dramatic proposal), this means, that not all the pasticcio works were received and assessed in the same way, and not all the *impasticciatori* worked in the same direction. The flaunted reverence towards the original authors and the declaration of respect for the essence of the work in the face of extensive adaptation and mixing looks almost paradoxical; but we know well how much the notion of work, as well as of authorship and text, have changed over time. The construction of a pasticcio using music of a single composer (except for the new character) when it is not, as we have seen above, the work of the composer himself, is apparently not a very frequent case, and seems to be linked to the special aura that surrounded Pergolesi already in the years immediately after his death. Nevertheless, this case makes clear that the study of pasticcio allows us to enter into the production process but also, precisely, in the understanding of the work's 'essence' according to the mentality, conventions and aesthetics of the time.

There are many examples in the comic realm; more or less since the middle of the century the practice of pasticcio has been spreading like wildfire, with increasingly explicit statements. The Neapolitan authors are also present in pasticcios staged elsewhere, making 'pasticci napoletani' in substance many works staged far from the Neapolitan

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55 On the adaptations in the years after the premiere of *Lo frate 'nnamorato* see also MAIONE, 2018.

theaters; pasticcios built with Neapolitan components but performed on other stages are not the subject of this essay, but it is worth mentioning the topic, giving just a few quick examples.

In Mantua in 1750 the Neapolitan impresario Onofrio d'Aquino dedicated the *dramma giocoso Amor tutto può* whose music is partly his own work (the opening symphony and the arias marked with \*), and partly "by various Neapolitan authors" ("di varj autori napoletani") to the Austrian governor of Lombardy Ferdinando Bonaventura Harrach. In the same year *Il conte di Culagna* ("favoletta" from Alessandro Tassoni's *La secchia rapita*) is staged in Pavia with the warning that "the arias marked with the following asterisk \* have been placed for the actors' convenience, nor are those born with the Drama. The music is by several authors, most of them Neapolitan."<sup>56</sup> In Bologna in the 1755 carnival for the resumption of Galuppi's *La calamita dei cuori* (which had debuted in Venice in the previous carnival) to the music of Buranello is juxtaposed that of "other celebrated Neapolitan masters" ("altri celebri maestri napoletani"). And much more would be presumably found by digging into the repertoire staged on other European stages. Naples seems to become a trademark of guarantee, and the pasticcio an available channel of dissemination of the Neapolitan repertoire.

## In conclusion

In Naples, the practice of pasticcio was part of a widespread habit of intervening on works from other sources, both in terms of texts, most of which were imported from other centers and, to a lesser extent, in terms of scores. In the case of imported musical products, the need was not only to respond to a generic local taste, but above all to reduce the compositions produced elsewhere to a form corresponding to the characteristics of Neapolitan orchestras, singers and theatrical workforce (we must not forget, for example, the visual aspect of the scene, which was anything but secondary even in the adaptation process), which soon became a tried and tested production system aimed at providing public and private patrons with a continuous flow of works.

The whole world of arrangements at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – the moment where the *dramma per musica* acquires a full modularity that allows for the easy extrapolation of the closed numbers and their use for the benefit of singers, composers and impresarios according to several needs – can be seen as a kind of training in the pasticcio, and can in fact conceal undeclared practices of *impasticciamento*; the explicit statement of pasticcio becomes evident in the 1710s. Pasticcios were often staged on the occasion of birthdays and name days of the ruling family, suggesting an artistic dignity and not exclusively a convenient trick to escape time constraints. In fact, there was plenty of time since dates of birthdays and name days were known well in advance. The arias were

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56 "le arie segnate col seguente asterisco \* sono state poste per comodo degli attori, né sono quelle nate col Dramma. La Musica è di diversi Autori la maggior parte Napoletani". *Il conte di Culagna*, p. 8.

picked from the best of contemporary production and it allowed each performer to show off the best of his talent, an element of sure audience success.

Over the 18<sup>th</sup> century we find more often actual pasticcios, i.e. composite works resulting from mixing components of different origins, mostly pre-existing, where the authorship is shared between several players: the *pasticcere* can be identified, depending on the case, in a prominent singer, in the impresario, in the composer, or in a balanced sharing between different skills, as we would say today. In a very general way, it would seem that the role of the impresario emerges with greater clarity earlier in the comic opera, while in the serious one we can perhaps identify, at least in the time frame considered here, a greater responsibility of the singers.

The continuation of the research on adaptations and pasticcios, precisely identifying both the original contexts of the borrowed arias and the responsibility for the Neapolitan choices will be of great help in the reconstruction of the complex canvas that connects authors, performers and texts (verbal, musical, spectacular) of the *dramma per musica* of the period in all the centers of production.

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