



ISSN 2782-3598 (Online), 2782-358X (Print)

International Division

Origin article

УДК: 782.7

DOI: 10.33779/2782-3598.2022.2.104-122

***Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno:* the Original Score Examined**

Pavel V. Lutsker

*Russian Gnesins' Academy of Music,
Moscow, Russia,*

plutsker@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4456-4460>

Abstract. *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* was the first comic opera, which opened the Venetian era in the history of opera buffa. Contemporary dictionaries name Carlo Goldoni (text) and Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi (music) as its authors. The detailed review of the manuscript (preserved in the Estense Library in Modena) undertaken in the article for the first time, reveals the original “pasticcio” nature of this opera. An analysis of the handwriting and various markings shows that the score contains musical material representing two different productions of the opera: the Venice premiere in 1749 and a performance in London in 1755. Ciampi, who wrote about one third of all the musical numbers for the Venetian premiere of the opera in 1749, was apparently joined in his work by other composers. For the London production in 1755 Ciampi added a newly composed portion of musical numbers, however, still almost a quarter of the entire score remained consisting of insertions of music by other composers. The surviving music also makes it possible to establish exactly what material from the Venetian production was used in the parodies on this opera composed in Paris: *Bertholde à la ville* by Louis Anseaume (1754) and *Le Caprice Amoureux, ou, Ninette à la cour* by Charles-Simon Favart (1755). The study of *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* expands our understanding of the practices of opera buffa at the early stage of its history.

Keywords: Carlo Goldoni as librettist, Vincenzo Ciampi, opera buffa, pasticcio, textology of 18th century opera

For citation: Lutsker P. V. *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno: the Original Score Examined.* *Problemy muzykal'noj nauki / Music Scholarship.* 2022. No. 2, pp. 104–122.
DOI: 10.33779/2782-3598.2022.2.104-122

Acknowledgments: The author is grateful to Dr. Stuart Campbell (Glasgow) and Dr. Inna Naroditskaya (Chicago) for help with translation.

Международный отдел

Научная статья

***Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno*: исследование оригинальной рукописной партитуры**

Павел Валерьевич Луцкер

*Российская академия музыки имени Гнесиных,
г. Москва, Россия,*

plutsker@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4456-4460>

Аннотация. *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* – первая комическая опера, открывающая венецианскую эру в истории оперы буффа. Современные справочники и словари указывают в качестве её авторов К. Гольдони (либретто) и В. Чампи (музыка). Детальное исследование рукописи из Библиотеки Эстензе в Модене, впервые предпринятое в настоящей статье, подтверждает предположение, что оригинальная постановка представляла собой пастиччо. Анализ почерка и разнообразных помет в рукописи показывает, что партитура включает музыкальный материал двух разных постановок: венецианской премьеры 1749 года и спектакля в Лондоне в 1755 году. Чампи, написавший для венецианской премьеры около трети всех музыкальных номеров, очевидно, не был единственным автором. Для лондонской постановки он добавил порцию вновь сочинённой музыки, однако не менее четверти материала в партитуре всё ещё представляет собой чьи-либо посторонние вставки. Сохранившаяся музыка даёт также возможность более точно установить, что из венецианского оригинала было использовано в парижских пародиях на эту оперу: *Bertholde à la ville* (1754) Луи Ансома и *Le Caprice Amoureux, ou, Ninette à la cour* Шарля-Симона Фавара (1755). Исследование оперы *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* расширяет наши представления о практике бытования жанра оперы буффа на раннем этапе его истории.

Ключевые слова: Карло Гольдони как либреттист, Винченцо Чампи, опера буффа, пастиччо, текстология оперы XVIII века

Для цитирования: Луцкер П. В. *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno*: исследование оригинальной рукописной партитуры // Проблемы музыкальной науки / Music Scholarship. 2022. № 2. С. 104–122. (На англ. яз.) DOI: 10.33779/2782-3598.2022.2.104-122

Благодарности: Автор выражает благодарность д-ру Стюарту Кэмпбеллу (Глазго) и д-ру Инне Народицкой (Чикаго) за помощь, оказанную в переводе данной статьи.

B*ertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* is a *dramma comico per musica* performed in the Venetian Teatro San Moisè on 26 December 1748 at the very beginning of the carnival season.¹ [1, p. 55] It was the first fully independent attempt of playwright Carlo Goldoni to try his hand in the genre of large-

scale musical comedy that had recently arrived in Venice from the southern cities of Italy – Naples and Rome. However, Goldoni did not feel at ease in what was evidently a new field for him, and his name was not mentioned on the title page of the printed libretto (as well as the name of the opera's composer). Quite

possibly it could be the result of working in tremendous haste that accompanied the preparation of the spectacle, since very little time (about one month only) was given to the process of the opera's creation and rehearsal. But it cannot be denied that Goldoni most probably was not counting on the great success of opera and therefore did not wish to disclose his name to the public ahead of time. Nonetheless, the opera must have enjoyed some success, since its performances quickly moved beyond Venice and spread out to many cities in Italy and abroad.

At the present time there are no doubts about Goldoni's authorship of the opera text: the libretto was included in the first print of the collected works that Goldoni prepared himself and published in 1753 in Venice.² It is quite different with the opera's music, i.e. there is still no consensus on the issue of its musical authorship. Most of the dictionaries and reference books claim as the author Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi (c.a. 1719–1762) – an Italian composer, who was very active in Venice in the late 1740s. The opinion has been expressed, however, that Ciampi was not the only composer who participated in the creation of the work, and the names of some others have been mentioned along with him. To a certain degree, the beginning of this controversy was given by Goldoni himself in his preface to the printed libretto, where he wrote about the opera's arias: “As for the arias, some of them are lawful and natural daughters of the book, some were added, others are spurious, and others conceived in adultery, inserted for convenience and pleasure of the virtuosi, etc.” [*Circa le arie, alcune sono figlie legittime e naturali del libro, alcune addotate, altre spurie ed altre adulterine per comodo e compiacimento de' virtuosi, onde, eccetera*].³ Though, already in the 18th century Ciampi's name as the composer of the music of *Bertoldo* appeared

sporadically, among other places, on the title pages in librettos for the performances in Bologna (1751), Paris (1753), Ferrara (1755), Piacenza (1758), Munich (1759), Brunswick (?1759), Prague (1760), and in two London-based performances (1755 and 1762).⁴

History seemed to place Ciampi in the second tier (if not the third) among the composers whose artistic achievements are presently known only to music specialists. Public discussion involved only one short work by him – the aria *Tre giorni son che Nina*, which is still performed and appreciated at the present time. In the 19th century this aria was attributed to Pergolesi, a claim disputed and disproved by several scholars who argued in favor of attributing the authorship to Ciampi.⁵ Overall, the musical legacy as well as the life story of Ciampi, which has received little scholarly attention, remains largely unexplored and replete with uncertainties and contradictions. For example, it was asserted that Ciampi participated in the production of his *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* at the beginning of the Venetian carnival of 1749 (including undertaking the work of composing music for it). However, according to some reports, at that exact time Ciampi was, in fact, in London, where he directed the production of several comic operas played by Giovanni Francesco Crosa's Company at the King's Theater.⁶ Although this and many other discrepancies call for an investigation, this article focuses specifically on Ciampi's relationship to the opera *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno*.

In the present day the opera is not found in repertoire of any opera company. Nevertheless, it enjoyed success and wide popularity two-and-a-half centuries ago. The historical significance of *Bertoldo*, however, is defined not only by its appreciation by the fans of eighteenth-century music. In many respects, *Bertoldo* played a critical role in the



development of the genre of comic opera and in the emergence of Goldoni on the operatic horizon. *Bertoldo* marked a turning point in his theatrical career. Even before 1748 Goldoni revealed his keen interest in the operatic genre, perhaps envisioning himself next to the operatic colossus Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750) and Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782). However, his initial efforts brought little success, partly because of Goldoni's natural predisposition to comic rather than serious opera. Venetians did not show much interest in comic opera at the time before Goldoni escaped the city (in 1743). Returning to Venice five years later, Goldoni found a very different picture – comic opera arriving from South Italy had become the greatest fashion in Venice. Witnessing this occurrence, Goldoni, while fulfilling his contract writing plays for Girolamo Medebach's theatre troupe, simultaneously began creating librettos for comic operas for the Venetian off-venue theaters.

Although today Goldoni is known as a master playwright, during his lifetime his plays captured the audience in Venice very sparsely and were rarely performed elsewhere. [2] In contrast to this, *Bertoldo* – Goldoni's very first experimental work on the new field – only one year following its premiere performance in Venice was staged in Milan, Padua and Verona. Two years later it was performed in Bologna and in 1753 it received its recognition in Paris. Upon the order of Frederick the Great, *Bertoldo* was produced in Potsdam in 1754, after that enjoyed performances throughout Europe, including its premiere in St. Petersburg in 1761. Some of the later comic operas composed to Goldoni's librettos matched an equal or even greater amount of success, which made him one of the most famous librettists of the 18th century, however, *Bertoldo* was the first opera that opened for him the path towards this position.

Bertoldo played a major role in the establishment of the genre of comic opera. The beginning of the famous *Querrelle des Bouffons* is often associated with Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* performed by an Italian touring company of Eustacchio Bambini in Paris's *Académie Royale de Musique* on September 1, 1752. The premiere of *Bertoldo* on the same stage one year later is mentioned less often, even though Goldoni's *Bertoldo* inspired the parody vaudeville *Bertholde à la ville* by Louis Anseaume (The St. Germain Fair Theatre on March 9, 1754). Goldoni's *Bertoldo* was also followed by Charles Simon Favart's parody opera pasticcio *Le Caprice Amoureux, ou, Ninette à la cour*, which premiered at the Hôtel de Bourgogne on 12 February 1755 and performed there for two seasons. These early examples of the French *opera comique* followed the storyline, protagonists, and details of Goldoni's *Bertoldo*. [3, pp. 262–289] The formulas adopted from Goldoni's work, could also be traced in many librettos of comic operas created in second half of the 18th century. At the center of these comic operas is a simple peasant girl who finds herself in aristocratic circles and withstands the temptations of “high society”. The most significant example is the opera *La Contadina in corte* by Antonio Sacchini composed to a libretto by Niccolò Tassi, which enjoyed high popularity for ca. 20 years after its appearance in 1766.

Bertoldo not only influenced the French *opera comique* but also played a critical role in the development of comic opera in Italy. Already in this first work, Goldoni had demonstrated his ingenuity and unusual approach. For example, in the Neapolitan *commedia per musica*, which flourished during the 1730s and 1740s (for example, in the exceptionally popular libretti by Gennarantonio Federico), the libretto typically focused on young wealthy urbanites,

whose amorous relations ended up becoming complicated by an *incognito*-character (often a friend with concealed or obscure origin and family) and incidental obstacles (often caused by parents who made their own plans for the future of their children). In contrast to this Neapolitan formula, Goldoni divides the characters in his libretto into two groups: the rural family of Bertoldino, including his father Bertoldo, his wife Menghina, and his son Cacasenno, on the one hand; and the court of King Alboin with his wife Ipsicratea, his sister Aurelia, and her betrothed Erminio, on the other hand. This type of unusual grouping of characters could be determined by a specific theatrical troupe which at that particular season could consist of four comic singers and also several high-priced singers of the heroic-gallant style. Goldoni made a bold decision and constructed his libretto from the collision between the simple patriarchal peasant world of Bertoldino's family and the court society of the legendary Langobardic King Alboin, who founded his kingdom in north Italy in the 6th century. Being fatigued by his bustling life in the capital city of Verona and by the constant quarrels with his jealous spouse Ipsicratea, the King ventured a voyage far into the country. He was informed that many pretty peasant women lived there, but one of them was exceptionally beautiful and lovely – Menghina, who lived close by to that area. The gallant King, desiring to become acquainted with her, invited the whole family to visit the court. But the appearance of Bertoldino's family at the court sowed discord in the upper-class society and disturbed the harmony and peace in Bertoldino's family itself. As a result everyone was upset, so the King bade farewell to all the family members, and permitted them go back home. In contrast to the socially homogeneous world of the previous operas, restricted to the sphere of private interests, Goldoni presented in his *Bertoldo* a society

divided into diverse social layers. He did not stress their irreconcilable antagonism. Unlike Giulio Cesare Croce, whose ideas and images guided him,⁷ Goldoni did not emphasize the peculiarities of peasant characters. Instead Goldoni devised for his village persons a language that conveyed the philosophy of *common sense*. As a result, Goldoni's comic libretto is profoundly humanistic, filled with the most burning issues of those days and transmitted the ideas and perspectives that the generation of the enlightened intellectuals brought to the public.

The success of the production of *Bertoldo* was hardly the consequence of its artistic perfection. The opera was composed quite quickly, completed in a rough-and-ready fashion. Thus it was Goldoni's skill and originality that brought to life this type of spectacle, endowing the Italian (and subsequently the European) comic opera with an impulse for a new direction. This is the reason why the opera *Bertoldo*, *Bertoldino* and *Cacasenno*, the circumstances of its origin and the qualities of its character deserve meticulous study.

American researcher Oscar George Sonneck was the first who tried to solve the problem of authorship for this opera. In the article *Ciampi's 'Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno' and Favart's 'Ninette à la Cour'*. *A Contribution to the History of Pasticcio* he compared many variants of the available libretti and came to the conclusion that in most of them the list of musical numbers and the configuration of actions had been heavily revised, and most parts of the text differ between each other radically, thereby, deviating from the original Venice libretto.⁸ Sonneck concluded that in the musical sense *Bertoldo* was first and foremost a pasticcio. However, at the time Sonneck wrote his article, no score, of the opera had been discovered yet, and Sonneck could



have only relied upon dozens of accessible 18th-century printed librettos, as well as on certain published musical numbers from the Paris (1753–1755) and London (1755) performances. In contrast, nowadays there is at least one extant score that definitely dates back to the beginning or middle of the 1750s. Examination of this score allows us to clarify the issue and resolve numerous questions which had been previously considered insoluble.

The manuscript of *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* is kept in the Department of Rarities of the Estense Library in Modena.⁹ The score consists of three volumes (in accordance with the number of acts) bound together from separate compilations of ten-staff music paper in a motley format, where the different arias, ensembles, recitative scenes and choral numbers are written in various handwritings. A major part of the latter is notated on different types of music paper and is written in the same fashion, which bears clear features of a hasty type of handwriting, i.e. a careless type of notation of letters and notes, many corrections and strikethrough lines, followed by inclusion of separate pieces of music paper (either empty or notated) with traces of sealing wax in the places where these insets were evidently cancelled and withdrawn. All this imparts to the described parts of the score, the outward appearance of a working score (draft), or an autograph manuscript, probably, by Ciampi himself.¹⁰ Several musical numbers are also written by the same hand, which from now on we should indicate as an ‘*aut*’ (autograph). However, with the exception of these few numbers, all the rest have the appearance of clean copies fixed on other sorts of paper and apparently written by several different copyists’ hands.

An analysis of the handwriting makes it possible to distribute all the musical numbers in accordance with a certain system.

Somewhat less than half of the opera’s arias (13) are written by one particular copyist (here and further in the text his hand is marked as a ‘*h. A*’) who introduced to the score quite a lot of additional information. So, by using the textual insertion “*di Vincenzo Ciampi*” twelve times in the upper right corner of the title pages, he mentions the actual composer of these musical numbers. Seven of them include in the left corner an inscription of the name of the performers to whom this aria was evidently consigned. These are: *Sig^{ra} Paganina* (i.e. Maria Angiola Paganini), *Sig^{re} Paganini* (i.e. Carlo Paganini) and *Cosime* (Giuseppe Cosmi), *la Puttella* (?).

Another group of six numbers is written in a similar, but slightly varied handwriting, which we mark as a ‘*h. B*’. In these numbers annotations about the composer are absent, but instead of them in four cases in the upper right corner some other performers’ names can be found, i.e. *Ninetta* (i.e. Ninetta de Rosennaw), *Tedeschini* (i.e. Christian Tedeschini-Koerbitz), *Castelli* (i.e. Anna Castelli). Two residual numbers of them are the choral scenes.

The third group of numbers (which also contains six pieces) forms music written by one more type of handwriting (‘*h. C*’). No records about the composer or performer can be found here. In addition, five of these arias are written as a reduced, rather than a full score: only the vocal and bass lines are present.

All these three groups together establish nearly the whole content of the Modena score with the exception of two more arias written by different handwritings (‘*h. D*’ and ‘*h. E*’), as well as one duet and two variants of a final chorus fixed in a handwriting that is very similar to the one in most of the recitatives, i.e. ‘*aut*’ (see II. 1–7). The Overture exists in the manuscript as a bass line only.



a) ?autograf ('?aut')
'Cara sei tu il mio bene' – Re, Regina (Act II, sc. 16)



d) Copyist C ('h. C')
'Torbida notte intorno' – Regina (Act II, sc. 7)



b) Copyist A ('h. A')
'Ahi ahi, non farò più' – Cacasenno (Act I, sc. 7)



e) Copyist D ('h. D')
'Basta ch'io sia fedele' – Regina (Act I, sc. 1)



c) Copyist B ('h. B')
'Un volto amabile' – Erminio (Act I, sc. 3)



f) Copyist E ('h. E')
'Maledetti quanti siete' – Bertoldino (Act II, sc. 3)

Il. 1. Examples of handwriting (a – f)
from the manuscript copy of opera *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* by Vincenzo Ciampi (?)



At this stage of analysis two principal assertions must be put forward. First, from all the opera numbers, only twelve that are marked with the record of Ciampi's authorship have a good claim to be considered authentic and undoubtedly created by him. Attribution to other composers requires additional evidence and arguments. One of them must be admitted as very problematic – namely Menghina's aria "Io so quel che costumano" (Act I) written by the 'h. A.' "per la Sig^{ra} Paganina" (as it is fixed in the left upper page corner), but without any indication of Ciampi as the composer. Whether this was simply the carelessness of their copyist, or a sign of different authorship of that aria, it is

still unclear. Second, the record of the performers' names give us the key for associating the numbers with a particular opera performance, or performances. The set of names in the first group of numbers (written by the 'h. A') must be an indication of the Venice première during the Carnival season of 1748–1749,¹¹ while the second group (written by 'h. B') refers to the Covent Garden performance of 1755.¹² It is known that Ciampi took part personally in the preparations of London productions and, most probably, in Venice premiere too.¹³ For the sake of proceeding to the next step of the analysis, and coordinating many various sides of the manuscript score, we assembled all the basic information together in Table 1.

Table 1. Complete summary description of the handwritten score of the opera *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno*

Page No.	Scene No.	Personage/ part	Text of original version	New texts (replacements / insertions)	Notes	Hand	Author	Performer
p. 10		Ouverture	Allegro-Andantino-Allegro	{only Basso part}				
ATTO I								
p. 1	I, 1	Regina	[Bastan gli affanni miei]	Basta ch'io sia fedele	{reduced}	hand D		
p. 12	I, 1	Coro	[Amor discenda lieto]	L'amor vero il grato affetto		hand B		
p. 6	I, 2	Aurelia	Infelice chi vi crede			hand A	(di V.C.)	
p. 16	<i>Orig^{le} 1734 – Primo atto – Di Vincenzo Ciampi</i>					hand A		
p. 18	I, 3	[Erminio]	→	Un volto amabile		hand B		Ninetta
p. 50	I, 4	Bertoldo	Quando s'incontrano			hand A	(di V.C.)	Sig ^{re} Paganini
	I, 6	Re	[Sento che nel mio seno]	(absent)				
p. 22	I, 7	Coro	Qua si fatica			hand A	(di V.C.)	
p. 27	I, 7	Cacasenno	Ahi ahi, non farò più			hand A	(di V.C.)	
p. 30	I, 8	Menghina	Ciascun mi dice			hand A	(di V.C.)	Sig ^{ra} Paganina
p. 35	I, 9	Menghina	Io so quel che costumano			hand A	?	per la sig ^{ra} Paganina
p. 42	I, 10	Bertoldino	[Sento ohimè che il mio cervello]	Aver moglie è un brutto imbroglio	{reduced}	hand C		
	I, 12	Regina	[Teneri affetti miei]	(absent)				

	I, 14	Bertoldino	[Lasciate... Non potete...]	(absent)				
p. 63	I, 15	(Finale)	Ferma, ferma, non conviene			hand A	(di V.C.)	
ATTO II								
p. 70	II, 2	Menghina	Largo, largo alla signora			hand A	(di V.C.)	Sig ^{ra} Paganina
p. 75	II, 3	Bertoldino	Maledetti quanti siete			hand E		
p. 81	II, 4	Menghina	Se di me gelose siete			hand A	(di V.C.)	Sig ^{ra} Paganina
	II, 5	Re	[Ah che nel dirle addio]	(absent)				
p. 87	II, 7	Regina	[Confusi i miei pensieri]	Torbida notte intorno	{reduced}	hand C		
p. 91	II, 8	Lisaura	Son ancora picinina			hand A	(di V.C.)	per la Puttella
p. 97	II, 9	Cacasenno	Oh quanto contento			hand A	(di V.C.)	Cosime
p. 102	II, 10	Erminio	[Non ho in petto un core ingrato]	D'un core amato		hand B		Ninetta
p. 108	II, 13	Bertoldino	Zitto e bel bello			hand C		
p. 115	II, 14	Bertoldo	[Nessun faci il sostenuto]	Io non so dove mi sto	{reduced}	hand C		
	II, 15	Aurelia	[Superbo l'uomo irato]	(absent)				
p. 119	II, 16	[Regina]	→	Parto ma tu ben mio	{reduced}	hand C		
p. 121	II, 16	Re, Regina	Cara sei tu il mio bene			?aut.		
p. 132	II, 18	(Finale)	Vuo' conoscere quella marfisa			hand A	(di V.C.)	
ATTO III								
p. 141	III, 1	Erminio	[So che chi fido ha il core]	Quel labbro adorato	{reduced}	hand C		
	III, 2	Aurelia	[Se non dorme il vostro core]	(absent)				
	III, 3	Regina	[Non si dà maggior diletto]	(absent)				
p. 145	III, 5	Bertoldo	Voglio darvi un aricordo			hand A	(di V.C.)	
p. 150	III, 6	Menghina	Se la moglie vi tormenta			hand B		Castelli
	III, 8	Bertoldino	[A riveder io torno]	(absent)				
p. 156		[Cacasenno]	→	E viva che chiasso		hand B		Tedeschini
	III, 9	Re	[Finché bambino è amore]	(absent)				
p. 161	III, 10	[Coro]	→	E viva la campagna		hand B		
p. 167	III, 10	Coro	Che bel contento		{shortened}	?aut.		
p. 171		Coro	Che bel contento		{full var.}	?aut.		



Along with distributing all the score material in accordance with the styles of handwriting, the most important aspect here concerns the coordination between the textual content of the Modena score and a printed libretto from the Venice performance (1748–1749). In addition, the information about all the performers mentioned and Ciampi's authorship is included in Table 1, as is the information concerning the numbers of pages in the manuscript, the scene numbers in the original libretto, the characters, whom the numbers were (or were not) consigned to, and finally, all the resumable reductions, or curtailments – all that for more detailed representation.¹⁴

It is evident from Table 1 that a considerable part of the preserved score is founded on completely different texts, compared to Goldoni's first publication. Apparently, the Modena score does not represent the Venice premiere performance in its entirety, and as a result very complicated relationships reveal themselves between the supposed and unknown opera's original and the extant material.

First of all, as is shown in Table 1, all the numbers written by the 'h. A' coincide textually with the original libretto by Goldoni himself. It must be considered as an additional argument in favor of their affiliation with the Venice performance in 1748–1749. On the contrary, all the numbers written by the 'h. B' are virtually based on new texts. Therefore, it may be safe to assume that they were created later, most probably during the preparation of the Covent Garden performance in 1754–1755. This assumption is supported by oblique evidence on the first page of the London printed libretto: “NB. Musica intiera e nuova di sig. Vincenzo Ciampi” [complete and new music by Vincenzo Ciampi]. As it will be shown later, this statement is imperfectly truthful, but it can be interpreted as “for this performance

Ciampi composed a larger amount of music than earlier, and a part of it is quite new.” In any case, the statement compels us to assume that for the London performance Ciampi wrote a few new numbers, and consequently, his music in the Modena score may not be limited to the numbers inherited from the Venice performance. To a certain extent this can be confirmed by the compilation *The Favorite Songs in the Opera call'd Bertoldo by Sign. Ciampi*, printed by London publisher John Walsh in 1755, during the composer's presence in the British capital. This collection includes five arias and one duet, and as one may note, Ciampi is named here directly as the composer of the opera. Out of these six numbers only two coincide with those present in the Modena score. One of them is the aria *Un volto amabile* (Act I, sc. 3) written by the 'h. B' for “Ninetta” [de Rosennaw] on a new text. Another one is the duet *Cara sei tu il mio bene* (Act II, sc. 16) fixed by the hand that we mark as '?aut,' and its text originates in the Venice libretto. In the Modena score this number has on its pages no indications about Ciampi's authorship, but it is justified from the number's presence in Walsh's collection that this duet as well as the others numbers written by the '?aut' (two variants of Final choruses – Act III, sc. 10) belong to Ciampi's hand. We have also every reason to believe that all the other numbers written by the 'h. B' (even if having no mark “di Vincenzo Ciampi” and not coinciding with the original text by Goldoni) were written by him just for the singers in the London performance. However, it must be admitted that the Modena score remains incomplete not only in comparison with the supposed Venice original, but also with the London performance of 1755.¹⁵ Four arias printed by Walsh testify in favor of this: they were evidently used in the opera but nevertheless they are absent in the manuscript.



Searching for the proof to resolve the case, we must bring in more detailed examination of the vocal parts of the opera. As mentioned in the Walsh edition, two unrecognized arias are those of the protagonist of King Alboin, whose role was performed in London by the famous castrato singer Gaetano Guadagni. Another two involve the role of Queen Ipsicratea, which was performed by Eugenia Mellini. As can be induced from Table 1, not only these four arias, but the total amount of the King's numbers (with the exception of one duet mentioned above – Act II, sc. 16) as well as the major part of the Queen's role were dropped in the Modena manuscript. It is easy to notice that the parts of the opera's protagonists are presented in the score quite unevenly.

This feature can be clarified by the details of the opera plot discussed above. As may be concluded from the plot disposition, the opera following the characters' division comprises two stylistic spheres: the first one bears distinct marks of a comic opera, and the second one is inclined more towards gallant and heroic serious opera. What is really intriguing is that the London audience evidently still preferred (judging by the printed Walsh collection) serious style and elegant virtuoso singers like Guadagni to the more artless actors of the comic operatic genre.

As is easily seen in the Modena manuscript from the aspect of this group division, the most original and authentic part of the score is intended for the members of the family of peasants (with the exception of the aria of Aurelia from Act I, scene 2¹⁶). It consists of an absolute majority of the numbers written by the 'h. A,' and all of them at the same time are based on the original text by Goldoni, can definitely be traced back to the Venice premiere and are undoubtedly marked as composed by Ciampi. This implies the most

important stylistic sphere for the Venetian performance that defined the nature of the new comic genre, to be the one associated with the family of Bertoldino. And due to the importance and novelty of the genre, there was a strong necessity for new and strikingly unusual music. Concerning the group of the King and his surroundings, the situation is just the opposite: this sphere is based on the perfectly familiar and habitual world of opera seria, thus, at any time and anywhere it could be easily reconstructed from anything available of the sort. We can see that only Erminio's part is fixed in the manuscript in a relatively complete fashion. But all three of his arias (two in a full score and one in a reduced one) seem to have appeared only in London, so far as none of them had any relation to the original text and two of them were strongly associated with Ninetta de Rosennaw as their performer. The same association with the London production and the same fragmentary character are also typical for the roles of the other courtiers, whether they have survived in the score, or are absent there, but have been preserved only due to Walsh's collection, such as the arias of Alboin and his wife.

So, what happened to the parts of the group of courtiers? There could be a wide range of motives why Ciampi substituted the courtiers' numbers for the London performance. The most expected reason could be the desire of the brilliant "serious" Covent Garden cast to receive some very exclusive music from the composer. This supposition brings in a question, why Ciampi did not leave Goldoni's text here that could be perfectly compatible with completely new music? What we may infer most likely is that in London Ciampi just did not have all the courtiers' arias ready to include, since these solo numbers were written for the Venice production not by



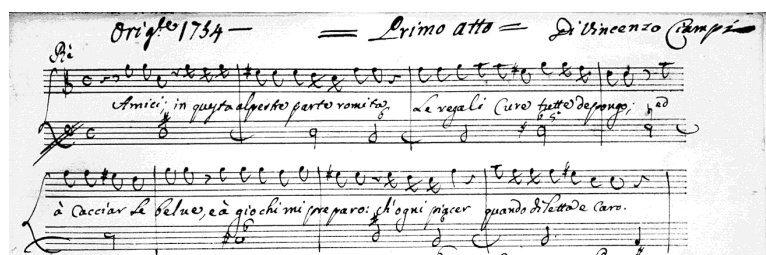
him, but by another composer, or may even have been borrowed from somewhere. That is why he had to compose them anew, and why in the Modena score there are no traces of the previous versions.

Evidence in favor of this assumption may be seen in the fact that already in Venice some courtiers' arias were not composed to the original verses by Goldoni. For example, the text of the King's aria *Ah che nel dirle addio* (Act II, sc. 5) is a paraphrase of the verse from Metastasio's *Issipile*, while Erminio's aria *Non ho in petto un core ingrato* (Act II, sc. 10) was taken from *Alessandro Severo* by Apostolo Zeno.¹⁷ Most probably, these numbers were included in the Venetian performance with ready-made music (not identified at present). In the first case the source could possibly be *Issipile* by Baldassare Galuppi, which was very successful in Turin during the carnival season of 1738; in the second – *Alessandro Severo* by Antonio Bernasconi, performed in Palermo in 1746, where Livia Segantini (who sang the Queen's part in Ciampi's opera in Venice) participated. In any case, there could be some other borrowings and insertions that could explain the absence of some of the arias at the moment of the London performance.

Up to the present moment, our examination has been limited to the material fixed in the Modena score by the copyists 'h. A' and 'h. B.' Summing it up in a rough outline: the first of them left us all the surviving material from the Venetian premiere performance, the second one – the additions to the London staging in 1755. However, there is a certain place in the score where the relationships between these two protagonists appear more distinctly. On page 16 the beginning of recitative

from Scene 3, that precedes Erminio's aria (for Ninetta de Rosennaw), is written by the 'h. B.' Without any doubt, this part of the score was written in London. However, over this scoring on the upper margin a line has been added by the 'h. A': *Orig^{le} 1734 – Primo atto – Di Vincenzo Ciampi* (see fragment of the score on Il. 2), which allows us to draw the following conclusions:

- Copyist A, mainly dealing with the Venetian material, had hardly anything to do with the performance of 1748–1749; otherwise, he scarcely could have confused the date of the real performance as having been 1734, which was wrong.
- Copyist A, undoubtedly, was involved in the London performance of 1755, and played a key role in the preparation of the score, as soon as he had at hand somebody else's copies, that he could mark and distribute.
- Since both principal copyists acted together in the preparation of the materials for the London performance in 1755, the Modena manuscript as a whole can be considered as a working score right up to this performance.
- Copyist A who wrote on the margins *Orig^{le}*, must have seen the original Venetian performing material, and must have been guided by it. Copyist B dealt only with the new substitutions and insertions created for the London cast.



Il. 2. The text insertion by Copyist A over the scoring of Copyist B

In addition to this case on page 16, another one should be considered for clarifying the role of Copyist *A* in preparing the London performance. Act II, scene 8 includes an episode with Cacasenno and young Princess Lisaura that ends with her aria *Son ancora piccinina*. According to Sonneck, this scene with an 8-year-old acting and singing girl is present only in the Venetian libretto, and it was eliminated in all the subsequent *rifacimenti* including the London one. This scene and aria appear in the Modena score, though, on pages 89b and 91 respectively. If this scene had been planned for London, its appearance could have had an explanation. But most probably it indicates the main goal of the copyist *A*, which was to prepare the manuscript score only, that is why he had little to do with the stage production of the real opera.

Apart from the authentic (or possibly authentic) numbers created by Ciampi, there are many numbers in the opera that need identification. As has already been pointed out, five of them (written by the 'h. C') are scored only with the vocal and bass parts. Discovering the source is relatively simple in some cases. For example, close to the end of Act II, instead of Bertoldo's aria *Nessun faci il sostenuto* (sc. 14) planned in Goldoni's libretto, we find another number – *Io non sò, dove mi stò*. This is the aria of Fazio Tonti from the *commedia per musica* by Leonardo Leo *Amor vuol sofferenza* (1739, Naples) very popular at that time. The reason for the substitution is not quite clear; perhaps, the singer thought Leo's work more advantageous. But one cannot also exclude the possibility that *Nessun faci* was a substitute aria already in Venice. According to Sonneck, the aria with the original Venetian text was absent in all the subsequent opera performances in Brunswick (c.a. 1759), Strasbourg (1751), and Ferrara (1755).¹⁸

Another example is the inserted Queen's aria *Parto ma tu, ben mio* (Act II, sc. 16 – h. C). On this occasion the text is taken from *La clemenza di Tito* by Metastasio (Act II, Aria of Sesto). Identifying the composer of the music is much more difficult. Ciampi composed the opera on the same libretto two years later, in 1757. However, it is known that in the 1750s he wrote a whole series of arias on various texts by Metastasio¹⁹, so it is possible that one of them came into being in the London *Bertoldo*.

Matters get more complicated with the Queen's substitute aria *Torbida notte intorno* (Act II, sc. 7 – h. C). Ciampi's opera *Arsinoe* includes an aria with the same text; but this opera was produced in Turin only in 1758. The musical incipit from the score preserved in the Archivio dell'Accademia filarmonica di Torino and indicated in RISM²⁰, considerably differs from that of the Modena score. It is hardly possible for the aria text to have been written by Giovanni Battista Galliani (the librettist of *Arsinoe*), because this text may be found much earlier both in the London (1755) and Strasbourg (1751) productions of *Bertoldo*.²¹ It is more likely that in the Turin *Arsinoe* Ciampi reused already written text that seemed to him more suitable. The aria from *Bertoldo* on the original Venetian text is absent in all the *rifacimenti* mentioned by Sonneck.

The fourth number (among the reduced scores written by the 'h. C') is *Quel labbro adorato* (Act III, sc. 1). It was the third solo number for Ninetta de Rosennaw, for whom Ciampi added two new arias in London. In this case he evidently decided to use any ready piece (we cannot name the authors of its text and music).

The Queen's aria *Basta ch'io sia fedele* was intended to replace the number with Goldoni's text *Bastan gli affanni miei* (Act I, sc. 1). The similarities of poetical meter



and certain verbal expressions provide us with the suggestion that in the new version the authors of the production aimed to imitate the Venetian original. Most likely they remembered the first number of the Venetian performance; or some new aria, reminding them of a previous one, caught their eye, so they could adapt it. Unlike the others, this aria is not only reduced in terms of number of voices, but also crudely shortened: only several of the opening bars from the middle part of the *da capo*-form are present, while the rest is broken off. In addition, its handwriting ('h. D') can be found only in this number and does not occur anywhere else in the manuscript.

The most intriguing moments of the Modena score are related to the part of Bertoldino. Belonging to the group of peasants, he is, however, a unique hero, whose arias contain no indications of Ciampi's authorship, though two of them are based on the original texts by Goldoni. Having been, for certain, composed for Venice, they most likely enjoyed wide popularity, as soon as they were repeated in other cities, including Paris (1753) at the time of the *Querelle des Bouffons*. Thus, Bertoldino's aria *Maledetti quanti siete* (Act II, Scene 3) was used in the French parody vaudeville *Bertholde à la ville*.²² One year later, this aria, along with another from Bertoldino's part *Zitto e bel bello* (Act II, Scene 13), appeared in the parody spectacle by Charles Simon Favart *Le Caprice Amoureux, ou, Ninette à la cour*. Both of these arias can be easily found in the Ariettas from this popular operetta published

at that time, as well as in incipits from the vaudeville²³ (see Examples 1–2).

These two arias are among the others in the Modena score, which coincide with the numbers from the French parodies. A few more arias are reprinted there, but all of these numbers definitely originated with the Venetian stage production, and have indication of Ciampi's authorship. Both of Bertoldino's arias mentioned above do not have these indications, but nevertheless they attracted great attention as soon as they were borrowed and integrated into the body of French parodies. One more aria of Bertoldino from the Venetian premiere must be noted, which also included in both French performances, and, apparently, was extremely popular in Paris, i.e. *A riveder io torno* (Act III, Scene 8). Unfortunately, this number was dropped in the Modena score as is shown in Table 1.²⁴ The whole list of coinciding numbers is combined in Table 2.

Example No. 1

Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno
Maledetti quanti siete (II, 3)

Ma - le - det - ti quan - ti sie - te, quan - ti sie - te

Bertholde à la ville
Dieux! quel paix (Ariette 5me)

Dieux! quel paix de ma - ten - dres - se

Ninette à la Cour
Auroit-on cru cela d'elle (I, 12)

Au - roit - on cru ce - la d'el - le

Example No. 2

Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno
Zitto e bel bello (II, 13)

Zit - to e bel bel - lo com' un a - gnel - lo il sior Ber - tol - do

Ninette à la Cour
Maudite race (II, 20)

Mau - di - te ra - ce, lais - sés de gra - ce

Table 2. Musical borrowings from the opera *Bertoldo* in Parisian parody performances of 1754–1755

<i>Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno</i> (Modena Score)	<i>Bertholde à la ville</i> (St. Germain, 1754)	<i>Ch.-S. Favart. Ninette à la Cour</i> (Paris, 1755)
I, 4 – Quando s’incontrano	Ariette 1re – Quand le hasard ensemble – p. 31	I, 8 – Tu nous perdras Colas ne souffle pas
I, 7 – Ahi ahi, non farò più		I, 10 – Ahi, ahi il m’a fait grand mal
II, 3 – Maledetti quanti siete	Ariette 5me – Dieux! Quel paix de ma tendresse – p. 44	I, 12 – Auroit-on cru cela d’elle
II, 13 – Zitto e bel bello		II, 20 – Maudite race, laissés de grace
II, 18 – Vuo’ conoscere quella marfisa (finale)		III, 27 – Suis je encore une traitresse (quart.)
III, 8 – A riveder io torno (absent)	Ariette 6me – Le ciel va rendre à mes vœux – p. 49	III, 28 – Je sens par la morguene
II, 4 – Se di me gelose siete	Ariette 3me – Votre cœur en vain murmure – p. 36	III, 29 – La cour n’est qu’un esclavage

The question is: if all these numbers had already been composed in Venice while some of them are marked as Ciampi’s, and others have no indications of attribution, who could possibly have been the composer of this second group? If it was Ciampi himself, why then were these numbers not copied together with the others by Copyist *A* with the ordinary indication “di Vincenzo Ciampi,” and why was one of the most popular of them excluded?

As seen in Table 1, the first Venetian aria of Bertoldino *Sento ohimè che il mio cervello* (Act I, sc. 10) was substituted in London for *Aver moglie è un brutto imbroglio*, and it was the least popular number in his part. The handwriting in the substituted aria is the ‘*h. C*’ (with its habitual reduction to vocal and bass lines); so, one could suppose that somebody else’s work was used here as a suitable replacement. The handwriting in the aria *Zitto e bel bello* (Act II, sc. 13) turns out to be very similar to the ‘*h. C*,’ but it is the only case when this copyist copied the number based on the original text by Goldoni and (sic!) wrote it in full score, unlike all the other copies made by him.

We know for sure that this is the only time Copyist *C* (not ‘*h. A*’) copied the material from the “original score,” and besides, did not mark it as created by Ciampi.

Finally, there is another very popular aria *Maledetti quanti siete* (Act II, sc. 3), which is written on a type of paper that differs from all the rest in the score. It is done without any indications helpful for the attribution, in an accurate and clear handwriting, which is never repeated in the Modena manuscript (‘*h. E*’). Thus, all the textual circumstances force us to assume that the part of Bertoldino, being intended in the Venetian performance for a very prominent comic bass singer Francesco Caratolli, was not created entirely by Ciampi, but rather partially by some other composer, who, therefore, took part in the production of 1748–1749. Claudio Sartori in his *Catalogo analitico* mentioned (unfortunately, without any reference) an additional author for the Venetian premiere of *Bertoldo*, i.e. Baldassare Galuppi.²⁵ If any good reason really does underlie this opinion, then the temptation to suggest that these are the arias from Bertoldino’s part that were composed by Galuppi becomes



very strong. Considering the high level of compositional mastery in the aria *Maledetti quanti siete*, which, noticeably, surpasses all the rest, this suggestion deserves attention.

Summarizing the aforesaid, the Modena score includes material from two performances: those which took place in Venice (1748–1749) and in London (1754–1755). As a whole, it appears to be a working score from the times of the preparation of the second of them. A considerable part of the recitative scenes and musical numbers was created by Vincenzo Ciampi, but both performances, in general, were pasticci. The history of *Bertoldo*, *Bertoldino* and *Cacasenno* fixes a common practice in early Italian opera buffa, when a particular “opera production” was not based on a score as an inviolable authentic cultural artifact. In this respect, Ciampi’s opera fully corresponds to the phenomenon of pasticcio, which has recently attracted more and more attention of musicologists both in terms of theatrical practice and repertoire formation, [4, p. 45–68] and in terms of correlation, the primacy of the libretto text or even rather of a dramatic plan over music [5]. For various reasons (haste, arbitrariness of singers, etc.) the entire work could be constructed from music by different composers. During subsequent productions any section of the opera could undergo substantial changes

that finally influenced the Modena score of *Bertoldo*. Above all, one should remember the experimental character of this project: one of the first Venetian attempts in the genre of comic opera, where music still had no firm position as the core of a production. The opera’s focal point was accumulated in the artistic integrity and consistency of the plot with a sculptured circle of characters, initiated and realized by Carlo Goldoni – a fact that demonstrates the leading role of the famous playwright in the establishment of the Venetian form of opera buffa.

For the first performance of *Bertoldo* (1749) Ciampi wrote in general about one third of the original music. In spite of the fact that it was the most important contribution by the composer (considering his new approach to the group of fresh and uncommon characters presenting a new genre of comic opera), Ciampi was not the sole composer of *Bertoldo*: the opera definitely has a joint authorship. That leads us to the conclusion that the authorship of the music of the Venetian performance of *Bertoldo* should be described as *various composers including Vincenzo Ciampi*. In the London version (1755) the portion of the music by Ciampi is noticeably increased (two thirds, or even more), therefore, it would be reasonable and correct to describe the author as *Vincenzo Ciampi and others*.

Notes

¹ The exact date of the performance is unknown. The preserved information is controversial. Scholars hesitate between two possible dates – 26 December 1748 and 4 January 1749. See about it: Eleanor Selfridge-Field. *A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660–1760*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2007, pp. 516–517.

² *Opere drammatiche giocose di Polisseno Fegeio, pastor arcade*. Venezia: Giovanni Tevernin, 1753. Vol. 1, pp. 153–206. Polisseno Fegeio is the Arcadian name of Carlo Goldoni.

³ Goldoni C. Preface. *Carlo Goldoni, Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno*.

URL: <http://www.carlogoldoni.it/carlogoldoni/libretti/bertoldo-0.jsp> (10.05.2022).

⁴ Sartori C. *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini fino al 1800: catalogo analitico con 16 indici, 7 volume*. Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli Editori, 1990–1994. Vol. I, pp. 425–456.

⁵ The aria *Tre giorni son che Nina* was presumably first sung in London as a part of the comic opera *Gli tre cicisbei ridicoli* by Natale Resta, in which preparation Ciampi participated himself. It was probably an inserted number written by him for this performance. On the authorship of the aria *Tre giorni son che Nina*, see: Walker F. ‘Tre giorni son che Nina’: An Old Controversy Reopened. *The Musical Times*. 1949. Vol. 90, No. 1282, pp. 432–435.

⁶ Charles Burney, describing the performances of 1748–1749s season, mentioned Ciampi, “who came over as a maestro to the company”. See: Burney Ch. *General History of Music*. Vol. II, p. 848. See also: Howard P. *The Modern Castrato: Gaetano Guadagni and the Coming of New Operatic Age*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014, pp. 28–29.

⁷ For the libretto Goldoni used the collection of humorous stories about *Bertoldo, Bertoldino and Cacasenno* written by Giulio Cesare Croce (1550–1609) and supplemented by Andrea Banchieri (1568–1634). Published in 1620 the cycle was and still remains very popular in Italy (see, for example, Italian comedy film by Mario Monicelli, 1984). Goldoni based also on the collective poem by twelve literary men who put the stories into verse and published by Lelio della Volpe in Bologna, 1736, see: Ortolani, Giuseppe. Note. *Goldoni, Carlo. Tutte le opere* in 14 Vol. Vol. X. Milano: A. Mondadori, 1952, pp. 1271–1272.

⁸ The article of Oscar G. Sonneck ‘Ciampi’s Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno and Favart’s Ninette à la Cour. A Contribution to the History of Pasticcio’ was published in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 12. Jahrg., H. 4, Jul. – Sept., 1911, pp. 525–564.

⁹ Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena (I-Moe), Mus: F. 256. The following analysis is based just on this particular manuscript copy.

¹⁰ In the list of Ciampi’s works in the NGDO article this score is mentioned as presumably a partly autograph, see: Libby D. Willaert S. Ciampi Vincenzo (Legrenzio). *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols. Ed. by S. Sadie. London, New York: Macmillan, 1992. Vol. I, p. 859. If this assumption is right, most probably it is due to this reason.

¹¹ Considering the performance in Venice there were also (besides Paganini and Giuseppe Cosmi mentioned above) Livia Segantini, Anna Bastiglia, Redegonda Travaglia, Cattarina Baratti, Francesco Caratolli, and ‘sig. Bassani d’anni 8’ (who is strongly associated with a nickname ‘la Puttella’ [the Girlie] in the Modena score).

¹² Besides Ninetta de Rosennaw, Anna Castelli and Christian Tedeschini previously mentioned, the cast also included the famous Gaetano Guadagni, Eugenia Mellini, Francesco Baratti and Gaetano Quilici. Five performances were actually given between 9 December 1754 and 3 January 1755.

¹³ *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, I, 859.

¹⁴ The beginning verses of the original Goldoni texts are quoted consistently. In cases of substitutions, or removal of the numbers, they are placed in square brackets, and the verse of a new text is located in the next column. If a number was canceled, the Goldoni text is indicated in any case, but in the next column the mark ‘absent’ is placed. In cases when a new number was inserted in the scene where it lacked, or a number for a particular character was added instead of another one, the original text field remains blank, or filled with the mark ‘→’, and the new text is indicated in the next column.



¹⁵ Another Walsh publication of the *Favorite Songs in the Opera call'd Bertoldo in corte* was printed in 1762. This time Ciampi did not participate in the preparations for a new London production, and it was given with Gioacchino Cocchi as director. Carlo and Angiola Paganini (two principal performers in the Venice premiere) took part in the performance, but other roles were sung by a practically new team of vocalists that differed from both Venice and London (1755) performances. The numbers published in 1762 have no traces in the Modena score, and therefore, this manuscript could not be considered as relating to this later performance.

¹⁶ Considering that Goldoni originally wrote another text for this aria (as is indicated in the main libretto), and then substituted it by the currently known version, placing it in an additional part of the libretto ending, one can suppose that this aria was written by Ciampi, and inserted into the opera in a hurry at the very last moment.

¹⁷ The similarity with the aria from *Issipile* was pointed out by Sonneck, see: Sonneck O. G. Op. cit., p. 538; the borrowing from *Alessandro Severo* was mentioned by Giuseppe Ortolani in the Notes to *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* libretto in: *Tutte le opere di Carlo Goldoni* in 14 Vol. (Milano: A. Mondadori, 1935–56), Vol. 10, 1272.

¹⁸ Sonneck O. G. Op. cit., pp. 534–537.

¹⁹ See the list of works by Ciampi in the appendix to the article in the *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, I, 859.

²⁰ https://opac.rism.info/metaopac/singleHit.do?methodToCall=showHit&curPos=52&identifier=251_SOLR_SERVER_1399173046

²¹ Sonneck O. G. Op. cit., p. 534.

²² The entire published libretto of the vaudeville is preserved: *Bertholde à la ville*, Opéra-comique en un acte. Représenté pour la première fois sur le Théâtre de la Foire S. Germain le 9 Mars 1754. [Paris]: [veuve Duchesne], [1766].

²³ All the information about the arias from the vaudeville *Bertholde à la ville* as well as the musical examples from it are quoted from the libretto already mentioned – *Bertholde à la ville*, pp. 31–55. The information about the arias from *Ninette à la cour* is quoted from Sonneck's article, based on the edition *Ariettes de Ninette à la cour* issued by the publisher Desœur in Liège in the early 1760s, see: Sonneck O. G. Op. cit., pp. 558–561.

²⁴ According to RISM two copies of this aria are preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (D-B; Mus.ms. 3616), and in the Washington Library of Congress (US-Wc; M 1505 C545 P Case). The incipits coincide with those of French publications. Both copies have a line mentioning the authorship of Ciampi, but the provenance and purpose of these manuscripts are unknown.

²⁵ Sartori C. Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 424.

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Information about the author:

Pavel V. Lutsker – Dr.Sci. (Arts), Professor of the Analytical Musicology Department.

Информация об авторе:

П. В. Луцкер – доктор искусствоведения, профессор кафедры аналитического музыкознания.

Received / Поступила в редакцию: 21.05.22

Revised / Одобрена после рецензирования: 31.05.22

Accepted / Принята к публикации: 01.06.22

