

# Italian Opera Performances in Bach's Leipzig – New Sources and Perspectives on Research

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If it is to be comprehensive, Bach research must include constant reflection upon the people who surrounded Johann Sebastian Bach and his immediate family, and the circles in which he moved. However little is known about some of Bach's closest Leipzig colleagues, such as Johann Gottlieb Görner, Johann Schneider and Carl Gotthelf Gerlach, and even less is known about the musicians who visited Leipzig (and possibly Bach himself). We know about the lutenists Silvius Leopold Weiss and Johann Kropfgans, who were Bach's guests in 1739.<sup>2</sup> We are also aware of Bach's efforts to invite George Frederic Handel to Leipzig in 1729.<sup>3</sup> But research is now needed into the musicians who may possibly have been in contact with Bach when they visited Leipzig, and this has led to a study of the Italian *operisti*. Johann Salomon Riemer's town chronicle shows that, between 1744 and 1756, troupes of Italian *operisti* regularly visited Leipzig during the fairs, when they presented music from brand-new Italian operas.<sup>4</sup> Although the reception of Italian opera north of the Alps in the eighteenth century has been well researched, relatively little is known about the performances in Leipzig in Bach's lifetime.<sup>5</sup> Italian musicians, the Italian style of music, and especially Italian opera became an important part of court culture in the second part of the seventeenth century, originally at the courts in Dresden and Vienna. From the 1720s, troupes of Italian *operisti* began to present these works much more widely, not only at the courts but in several Austrian and Bohemian cities such as Prague,

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on research I conducted in conjunction with my doctoral dissertation about Leipzig's opera and concert performances in the middle of the eighteenth century, to be submitted to Leipzig University.

<sup>2</sup> *BDok* ii, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> *BDok* iii, pp. 422, 442–44.

<sup>4</sup> Gustav Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv und der Bibliothek der Stadt Leipzig* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1889), pp. 422–25.

<sup>5</sup> Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs. Dritter Band. Das Zeitalter Johann Sebastian Bachs und Johann Adam Hillers (von 1723 bis 1800)* (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner & C. F. W. Siegel, 1941), pp. 277–81.

Brno and Graz.<sup>6</sup> From the 1730s to the 1750s, the most distinguished troupe of *operisti* was directed by the brothers Pietro and Angelo Mingotti. First they had contracts in Brno and Graz, and in the 1740s they regularly played in Hamburg, Prague, Leipzig, Frankfurt and Dresden. The troupe was based at the court in Copenhagen from 1747 and accordingly gave fewer performances elsewhere from that date.<sup>7</sup>

The Mingotti troupe arrived in Leipzig from Prague in the spring of 1744.<sup>8</sup> At the same time the castrato and secretary of the troupe, Filippo Finazzi, received a letter from the Saxon prime minister Heinrich von Brühl which allowed him and the troupe to play Italian operas during the next Leipzig fair.<sup>9</sup> The Leipzig town council was accordingly forced to allocate a performing space to Finazzi and the troupe. The stage they were allocated was situated in a comedy house where a troupe of actors directed by Caroline Friederike Neuber and her husband Johann regularly performed plays. Johann Neuber immediately protested – successfully – against this directive. Finazzi then found the *Reithaus*, an indoor riding hall north-west of the town centre. In 1784 Johann Gottlob Schultz gave a description of this building:

The *Reithaus*. This beautiful and solid building was constructed in 1717 and was opened the following year. Both porches, at the front and back, have a Doric style; the name of the King of Poland, Friedrich August the second, is written above the front porch, and the city arms are set in stone above the back porch. It has nine arched windows along its side. The interior room is a high chamber. In it and in front of the building the electoral equerry gives exercise courses in riding. The attic floor is equipped with rooms where the equerry is housed. During the fairs, if two troupes are in residence, the house is occasionally used as a theatre.<sup>10</sup>

One of the first operas performed in the *Reithaus* was a *pasticcio* called *Siroe*, based on the libretto by Pietro Metastasio. A poster advertising a performance on 17

<sup>6</sup> Reinhard Strohm, 'Metastasio at Hamburg: Newly-Identified Opera Scores of the Mingotti Company. With a Postscript on Ercole nell'Indie', *Il canto di Metastasio*, vol. 2 (Bologna: A. Forni, 2004), 541–71, esp. pp. 542–45.

<sup>7</sup> Erich H. Müller, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Oper im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Dresden: Richard Bertling, 1917), pp. 77–139.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> D-LEsa, *Tit. XXIV. A, 10*, fol. 1. Cf. Fritz Reuter, 'Die Entwicklung der Leipziger, insbesondere italienischen Oper bis zum siebenjährigen Kriege', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 5/1 (1922), 1–16, esp. p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Johann Gottlob Schulz, *Beschreibung der Stadt Leipzig* (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhmen, 1784), pp. 97–98. Original German text:

'Das Reithaus. Dieses schöne und feste Gebäude wurde im Jahre 1717 erbauet, und das Jahr darauf eröffnet. Beyde Portale, das vordere und hintere, sind nach dorischer Ordnung; über dem vordern steht der Name des Königs von Pohlen, Friedrich Augusts des zweyten, und über dem hintern das Stadt-Wappen aus Stein gehauen. In seiner Länge hat es neun hohe Bogenfenster. Der innere Raum macht ein hohes Gewölbe. In und vor demselben werden von dem Churfürstlichen Stallmeister Uebungen im Reiten gehalten. Das Dachgeschoß ist zu Zimmern eingerichtet, in welchen der Stallmeister seine Wohnung hat. Messenszeit wird dieses Haus zuweilen, wenn zween Truppen da sind, auch zum Schauspielhause gebraucht.'

April 1744 is preserved in the Leipzig Stadtarchiv. This also gives some information about the interior of the building, revealing that the audience was seated in a gallery, possibly in two rows, but definitely in two price brackets. Obviously there was not sufficient time to rebuild the hall as an opera stage, which is shown in a *Nota bene*:

Due to shortness of time the theatre could not be prepared. Efforts will be made to bring the same into proper order.<sup>11</sup>

Over the following years the Mingottis appeared regularly at the Leipzig fairs and the *Reithaus* became the usual place for their performances. Arnold Schering mentioned some opera titles he knew from the town chronicle by Johann Salomon Riemer and by libretti listed in Erich Müller's dissertation about the Mingotti troupe.<sup>12</sup> In total, Schering names seventeen libretti of operas and intermezzi performed between 1744 and 1751, not including the *Siroe* from 1744. When I began my research into these performances, nearly all the libretti seemed to have been lost. Most of the libretti Müller mentioned were kept in the Dresden Landesbibliothek, where extensive parts of the *Literatura italica* have been missing since World War II, and at first it seemed that only two of these seventeen libretti (*Amor fa l'uomo cieco* and *Tigrane*) were extant today. However, a systematic search of Sartori's libretto catalogue,<sup>13</sup> and of several union catalogues, together with the help of Tatiana Shabalina (St Petersburg), made it possible to trace numerous preserved Leipzig libretti.

	<i>Müller-Catalogue</i> <sup>14</sup>	<i>Olim</i> <sup>15</sup>	<i>Today</i>
Easter 1744			
<i>Adelaide</i>	no. 3	D-DI	RUS-Mrg, RUS-SPsc
<i>Amor fa l'uomo cieco</i>	no. 13	D-B	D-B, RUS-SPsc
<i>Siroe</i> <sup>16</sup>			RUS-SPsc
Easter 1745			
<i>Orazio</i>	no. 96	D-DI	RUS-Mrg
<i>La finta cameriera</i>	no. 61	D-DI	RUS-Mrg
<i>Fiametta</i>		[lost]	
Easter 1746			
<i>Argenide</i>		[lost]	RUS-SPsc
<i>La Semiramide</i>	no. 118	D-DI	RUS-Mrg, RUS-SPsc

<sup>11</sup> D-LEsa, *Tit. XXIV. A, 10*, fol. 7. Cf. Reuter (n. 9 above), p. 5–6. Original German text: 'Das THEATRUM hat wegen Kürtze der Zeit nicht können zu Stande kommen. Man wird sich aber befeleißigen daß selbiges in gehörige Ordnung gebracht wird.'

<sup>12</sup> Erich H. Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher Angelo und Pietro Mingottis 1734–1756', *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti* (n. 7 above), XLI–CLXVII.

<sup>13</sup> Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, 7 vol. (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–1994).

<sup>14</sup> Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher'.

<sup>15</sup> Sources mentioned in Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher'.

<sup>16</sup> Not mentioned in Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher', or Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*

<i>Finta schiava</i>		[lost]	RUS-SPsc
Easter 1747			
<i>Demetrius</i>		[lost]	RUS-SPsc
<i>Merope</i>		[lost]	
Michaelmas 1747			
<i>Catone in Utica</i>		[lost]	
<i>Venceslao</i>		[lost]	
<i>Farnace</i>		[lost]	
<i>Didone</i>		[lost]	
Michaelmas 1751			
<i>Tigrane</i>	no. 132	D-DI, D-LEm	RUS-Mrg, D-LEm
<i>Ezio</i>		[D-DI <sup>17</sup> ]	D-BFb, D-LEm
<i>La favola de' tre gobbi</i>		[D-DI <sup>18</sup> ]	RUS-Mrg, F-Pn
<i>L'uccellatrice</i> <sup>19</sup>			D-LEm
<i>Il Cacciatore e la Cacciatrice</i> <sup>20</sup>			

This bibliographic search yields the titles of twenty libretti, thirteen of which are still extant. It is possible that a separate Leipzig libretto was never printed for some, or maybe all, of the operas performed in 1747. A number of them are preserved only in Hamburg editions, where the Mingotti troupe often played between Leipzig visits. I think it is quite feasible that they also used these for their Leipzig performances, especially as the title pages of these Hamburg editions are not as specific as the former versions from Leipzig.<sup>21</sup> Apart from the title, Mingotti's Leipzig editions include the city, place of performance and season. The title pages of the Hamburg libretti, however, are completely different, giving only the title combined with the place and date of publication. This information does not necessarily have to match the actual performing place and season. From Johann Mattheson's opera inventory we know that *Venceslao*, for example, was first performed in Hamburg in 1743 using a libretto printed in Graz; this is shown by a handwritten date for the Hamburg performance on one of the copies.<sup>22</sup> The Hamburg version,<sup>23</sup> dated 1744, was certainly prepared for a re-performance and subsequently probably used for another performance in spring 1744 in Prague. So I think it is most likely that, for example, a libretto for the opera *Farnace*<sup>24</sup> was also used in Leipzig.

<sup>17</sup> Proved by the old card catalogue in D-DI.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Not mentioned in Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher', or Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*.

<sup>20</sup> Not mentioned in Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher', or Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*. Proved by a *Leipziger Zeitungen* advertisement (30. September 1751, p. 624).

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. the libretto *La finta cameriera*: Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher', p. XCV (no. 61 = Leipzig) and p. XCVI (no. 62 = Hamburg).

<sup>22</sup> Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher', p. CLXI.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.; no. 140 = *Venceslao, Drama per musica* (Hamburg: Spiering, 1744).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. LXXXVIII; no. 54 = *Farnace, Re di Ponto. Dramma per musica* (s.l. s.a.).

Importantly, these unspecific libretti are quite numerous and fairly widespread, compared with surviving libretti made for a particular city and season.<sup>25</sup> These libretti also frequently contain paste-over aria texts, which seem to have been changed for several performances. If we presume that the Mingottis used the unspecific libretto versions in 1747 in Leipzig, then we have the situation that 18 of 20 libretti (i.e. 90 per cent) from the period 1744 to 1751 are extant today.

The importance of these libretti can be demonstrated with the help of the recently discovered Leipzig text booklet to *Siroe*, which was performed in the spring of 1744. In 1997 Reinhard Strohm was able to present several aria collections connected with performances by the Mingotti troupe.<sup>26</sup> Strohm describes a manuscript he located in the Music Library at the University of California in Berkeley. This manuscript contains a sinfonia by Johann Adolph Hasse as well as sixteen arias by several authors, most of them anonymous.<sup>27</sup> Strohm discovered that all these arias were used for a *Siroe-Pasticcio* presented by Pietro Mingotti in December 1743 in Hamburg. For this performance Mingotti sold text booklets that he had brought with him from his previous *stagione* in Linz; this is shown by a Hamburg performance date in a handwritten note on one copy of this edition.<sup>28</sup> Some of the arias contain the names of Mingotti's singers. Consequently, Strohm was able to reconstruct the Hamburg cast, which is quite different to the one given in the textbook printed in Linz. However, it is the same as the cast mentioned in the newly discovered Leipzig libretto:

	Linz 1743 <sup>29</sup>	Hamburg 1743 <sup>30</sup> = Leipzig 1744
Cosroe	Francesco Arrigoni	Francesco Arrigoni
Siroe	Giovanna della Stella	Filippo Finazzi
Emira	Rosa Costa	Rosa Costa
Medarse	Angiola Romani	Giovanni Antonio Cesari
Laodice	Rosalia Holtzbauer	Regina Valentini
Arasse	Giuseppe Mazzioli	Angiola Romani.

Furthermore, the sequence of arias in the Berkeley collection and the Leipzig libretto are almost the same. There are only eight arias in the *pasticcio* that were not copied into the volume, and three arias in the collection stem from other

<sup>25</sup> E.g. the libretto to *Venceslao* (Hamburg: Spiering, 1744) is preserved in five copies, while all of the Leipzig libretti mentioned above are only preserved in one or two copies. For *Venceslao* cf. Hans Joachim Marx und Dorothea Schröder, *Die Hamburger Gänsemarkt-Oper. Katalog der Textbücher (1678–1748)* (Laaber: Laaber, 1995), no. 279b.

<sup>26</sup> Reinhard Strohm, 'North Italian Operisti in Light of New Musical Sources', *Il teatro musicale italiano nel Sacro Romano Impero nei secoli XVII e XVIII. Atti del VII convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII-XVIII*, ed. by Alberto Colzani and others (Como: AMIS 1999; Contributi musicologici del Centro Ricerche dell'AMIS, vol. 12), 423–38.

<sup>27</sup> US-BEm, MS 834.

<sup>28</sup> Müller, 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher', no. 125.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Reconstructed by Strohm, 'Metastasio at Hamburg', p. 556.

Mingotti productions. The Leipzig libretto shows that the music, apart from some arias, is by Paolo Scalabrini, the music director of the troupe. There are only two pieces in the Berkeley collection containing the composer's name above, and these are attributed to Giovanni Battista Lampugnani. The others are anonymous and some of them must have been composed by Scalabrini. The Mingottis used arias by other composers too: the incipits of some arias from the Berkeley collection can be found in the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogues published in the 1760s in Leipzig,<sup>31</sup> where they are attributed to Giovanni Battista Pergolesi and Andrea Bernasconi, while others remain anonymous. Filippo Finazzi, the troupe's secretary and *primo uomo*, is probably also the author of at least one aria, which is sung in the second act, scene twelve; the Breitkopf catalogue names the text incipit of this aria and attributes it to Finazzi.

<i>Siroe</i> , Leipzig 1744	US-BEm, Ms 834	music
	'Sinfonia di [...] Hass:'	J.A. Hasse <sup>32</sup>
I/1 'Vanne pure vanne altero'		'Sig <sup>te</sup> [G.B.] Lampugnani' <sup>33</sup>
I/5 'Sò bene anch'io'	-	J.A. Hasse (?) <sup>34</sup>
I/6 'Se il labbro amor ti giura'	-	
I/8 'Sprezza il furor del vento' <sup>35</sup>		'di [G.B.] Lampugnani' <sup>36</sup>
I/9 'L'onda che mormora'		'ANONYMO' <sup>37</sup>
I/13 'La sorte mia tiranne'	-	
I/14 'Fa che si spieghi almeno' <sup>38</sup>	-	
I/17 'Fra l'orror della tempesta'	-	
II/1 'Deh fossi morta all'ora'		anonymous
II/5 'Sento brillarmi in petto'		anonymous <sup>39</sup>
II/6 'Deggio a te del giorno i rai'		anonymous <sup>40</sup>
II/8 'Non [o]di consiglio' <sup>41</sup>		anonymous
II/11 'Perfido traditore'		G.B. Lampugnani <sup>42</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Barry S. Brook, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue. The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762–1787* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966).

<sup>32</sup> *L'asilo d'amore*, Hubertusburg 1743 (Sinfonia = I-Nc, *Cantate* 155, fol. 1v–14r).

<sup>33</sup> Pursuant to US-BEm, Ms 834.

<sup>34</sup> The only known setting of this aria text is by J.A. Hasse: *Demetrio*, Venedig 1732 (III/3); cf. Roland Dieter Schmidt-Hensel, 'La musica è del Signor Hasse detto il Sassone ...'. *Johann Adolf Hasses 'Opere serie' der Jahre 1730 bis 1745*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: V&R unipress 2009; *Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte*, vol. 19/1), p. 208 and vol. 2 (Göttingen: V&R unipress 2009; *Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte*, vol. 19/2), p. 261.

<sup>35</sup> Text derives from Metastasio's *Adriano in Siria*, Vienna 1732 (I/3).

<sup>36</sup> Pursuant to US-BEm, Ms 834.

<sup>37</sup> Brook (n. 31 above), p. 176: 'Op. Siroë. L'onda che marmora'. Identical melody incipits in US-BEm, MS 834 and Breitkopf's catalogue.

<sup>38</sup> Text derives from Metastasio's *Achille in Sciro*, Vienna 1736 (II/4).

<sup>39</sup> Erroneously attributed to C.H. Graun by RISM online; cf. Christoph Henzel, *Verzeichnis der Werke der Brüder Johann Gottlieb und Carl Heinrich Graun*, vol. 1 (Beeskow: Ortus-Musikverlag 2006; *Ortus-Studien*, vol. 1/1), p. 909.

<sup>40</sup> Also in: DK-Kk, *mu* 7502.0231.

<sup>41</sup> Text derives from Metastasio's *Demofonte*, Vienna 1733 (III/1).

<sup>42</sup> Anonymous in US-BEm, MS 834. Attribution to Lampugnani pursuant to Strohm, 'Metastasio at Hamburg' (n. 6 above), p. 557.

II/12 'Frà dubbi affetti miei'	-	'FINAZZI' <sup>43</sup>
II/14 'Agitato questo petto'		'BERNASCONI' <sup>44</sup>
III/1 'Se il caro figlio'	-	
III/3 'Perfido ingannatore'		'PERGOLESI' <sup>45</sup>
III/4 'Un certo freddo orrore'		anonymous
III/7 'Benche tinta del sangue fraterno'	-	
III/11 'Se l'amor tuo mi rendi'		anonymous
III/12 'Torrente cresciuto'		anonymous
III/14 'In suoi nemici affetti'	-	
	'Arriderà pietoso all'armi nostri il cielo'	'di Sig <sup>re</sup> Galuppi' <sup>46</sup>
	'Quel vasto vapore' <sup>47</sup>	anonymous
	'Senza l'amabile dio di Citera'	J.A. Hasse <sup>48</sup>

The Leipzig cast, as we know from the libretti to *Siroe* and *Adelaide* and the musical sources in the Berkeley collection, included three female singers,<sup>49</sup> two castrati<sup>50</sup> and one baritone/tenor.<sup>51</sup> This fits with Riemer's reports that the Mingotti troupe arrived in Leipzig in 1744 with two castrati and other virtuosi. He later specified that the troupe was also accompanied by two women with extraordinarily beautiful voices, called 'Rosa Costa und die Stella'.<sup>52</sup>

Giovanna della Stella joined the Mingotti troupe in the 1730s and was one of its most famous singers. She had already sung in both operas performed during the Easter fair of 1744, in Graz (*Adelaide*: 1739, *Siroe*: 1743) and Hamburg (*Adelaide*: 1744, *Siroe*: 1743). In the Hamburg *Adelaide* she sang the role of the German emperor Ottone, and it is most likely that she also did so in Leipzig, as recorded in an article in Johann Christoph Gottsched's *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*. This journal, published monthly from 1751 to 1762, contains abstracts and summaries of books, reviews, and historical and philosophical essays, as well as poetical texts, especially fables and odes. In 1753 the journal published a translation of a letter by Friedrich Melchior Grimm about the Italian

<sup>43</sup> Brook (n. 31 above), p. 168.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 166. Identical melody incipits in US-BEm, MS 834 and Breitkopf's catalogue.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 172. Identical melody incipits in US-BEm, MS 834 and Breitkopf's catalogue.

<sup>46</sup> Pursuant to US-BEm, Ms 834. Performed by the Mingotti's in *Demetrio*, Graz 1742 (I/11) and *Hypermetra*, Linz 1743 (II/1). Cf. 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher' (n. 12 above), no. 43 and no. 81.

<sup>47</sup> Apart from the incipit the text derives from Metastasio's *Siface*, Venice 1726 (III/9), where it appears as 'Quel basso vapore'. Performed by the Mingotti's in *La Finta schiava*, Graz 1746 (I/4) as 'Quel basso vapore'. Cf. 'Verzeichnis der Textbücher' (n. 12 above), no. 63. The aria texts in the versions US-BEm, MS 834 and A-Wn, 4110-B Mus (= libretto: *La Finta Schiava*, Graz 1746) are various in the B section.

<sup>48</sup> *L'asilo d'amore*, Hubertusburg 1743 ('Senza l'amabile dio di Citera' = I-Nc, *Cantate* 155, fol. 124v-129v).

<sup>49</sup> Rosa Costa, Regina Valentini and Angiola Romani.

<sup>50</sup> Filippo Finazzi and Giovanni Cesari.

<sup>51</sup> Francesco Arrigoni.

<sup>52</sup> Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs*, p. 423.

and French musical style, with critical notes by Gottsched. When Grimm discusses the use of castratos in Italian music, Gottsched notes:

Who can say that a eunuch can express a man's voice? Or who can claim that female singers are lacking on the Italian stage, in spite of pregnancies and other disorders of their life? We have seen here in Leipzig, a pregnant singer, performing as the Emperor Otto.<sup>53</sup>

It was clearly not the castrato Filippo Finazzi who sang Ottone in the Leipzig *Adelaide*, but it could again have been Giovanna della Stella, who was married to the impresario and librettist Giovanni Battista Locatelli.

Gottsched's note from 1753 about a pregnant woman on the Leipzig stage shows that the Leipzig audience remembered Mingotti's performances even after nearly ten years. But was this an experience for Leipzig musicians too? Mingotti's orchestra must first be considered. The troupe travelled with only a small number of instrumental players, such as the violinist Franz Pircker,<sup>54</sup> and it is not clear whether Leipzig musicians were engaged to accompany Mingotti's performances. Schering<sup>55</sup> assumes that the town pipers with the aid of some students played the instrumental parts, but another possibility seems more likely. In May 1747 two singers of the Mingotti group, which stayed in Leipzig during the Easter fair, gave a concert with Italian arias to the Leipzig musical society, the *Großes Concert* – an orchestra founded by wealthy Leipzig merchants in 1743 and which is the predecessor of today's *Gewandhausorchester*.<sup>56</sup> It transpires that by 1747, these musicians, who included former students of Bach such as Carl Gotthelf Gerlach, Johann Trier and Johann Schneider, may have had a close relationship with the Mingottis, and some of them were also involved in other Leipzig concert performances. In 1746, for example, Johann Trier directed the Collegia musica concerts in Enoch Richter's coffeehouse – the same collegium that Bach directed until 1744.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, I would like to look at the question of whether the repertory of the *operisti* influenced Leipzig musicians and Leipzig concerts, for example in the coffee houses. After the Mingottis, in 1748 the troupe of Filippo Nicolini performed pantomime operas on the stage of the *Reithaus*.<sup>58</sup> Between the acts of

<sup>53</sup> [Friedrich Melchior Grimm], 'Fortsetzung und Beschluß des neulichen Schreibens von der französischen und wälschen Musik, und den Schalksnarren auf der Schaubühne', *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit. Weinmonath 1753*, ed. by Johann Christoph Gottsched (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1753), 738–56, p. 753. Original German text:

'Wer kann wohl sagen, daß ein Verschnittener eine Männerstimme ausdrücken könne? Oder wer kann behaupten, daß es auf ihren Bühnen an Sängerinnen fehle, ungeachtet der Schwangerschaften und anderer Unordnungen ihrer Lebensart? Wir haben ja hier in Leipzig eine schwangere Sängerin den Kaiser Otto vorstellen gesehen!'

<sup>54</sup> I would like to thank Reinhard Strohm (Oxford) and Rainer Theobald (Berlin) for their friendly and helpful advices about Mingotti's orchestra.

<sup>55</sup> Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, p. 278.

<sup>56</sup> Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs* p. 429.

<sup>57</sup> Werner Neumann, 'Das 'Bachische Collegium Musicum'', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 47 (1960), 5–27, esp. p. 26–27.

<sup>58</sup> Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs*, p. 424.



these operas, his troupe played several intermezzi, most of them composed by his music director Ignazio Fiorillo. Riemer transmits the names of these pieces: *L'amante ingannatore*, *Li birbi*, *Del finto pazzo* and *La vedova ingegnosa*. A Leipzig libretto for the latter can be documented on the basis of the card catalogue of the Dresden Landesbibliothek, although the copy itself has been lost since World War II. The title:

La vedova ingegnosa o il medico ingnorante [!], intermezzo per musica da rapresentarsi sopra il theatro del opera pantomima de piccoli Hollandesi del Nicolini. Lipsiae [s.a.].<sup>59</sup>

For the rest, no Leipzig libretti can be proved to have existed. However, we have libretti from Brunswick, where Nicolini and Fiorillo settled in the following years and where they also performed *L'amante ingannatore*. The front page design of the Brunswick libretto<sup>60</sup> of this intermezzo looks quite similar to a Leipzig libretto with the same title, which does not belong to a Nicolini production but demonstrates how popular works were adapted by private entrepreneurs such as the busy coffeehouse proprietor Enoch Richter:

L'AMANTE | INGANNATORE | INTERMEZZO | PER MUSICA | DA |  
RAPPRESENTARSI | NEL | CONCERTO | DI | ENOCHIO RICHTER. | IN  
LIPSIA.<sup>61</sup>

Manuscript scores of some of the Nicolini-Fiorillo intermezzi in the Weimar Anna Amalia Bibliothek were unfortunately destroyed in the fire in 2004.<sup>62</sup> Only in the Leipzig Musikbibliothek is a copy of *L'amante ingannatore* preserved in the collection of Carl Ferdinand Becker.<sup>63</sup> The score is mentioned in the 1761 Breitkopf catalogue<sup>64</sup> and may be linked to the performance in Enoch Richter's concert. However, the manuscript is not available at present since the library is closed for building work. More research will be possible when its doors open again in 2012.

<sup>59</sup> D-DI, olim *Lit. Ital. D.* 471.

<sup>60</sup> *L'amante ingannatore, intermezzo per musica*, Brunswick: Keitel [ca. 1750]; copie in D-W, *Textb.* 688.

<sup>61</sup> Only known copie in RUS-SPsc, 6.17.1.38.

<sup>62</sup> E-mail message by Angelika von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Weimar) at 19th January 2011.

<sup>63</sup> D-LEm, *Becker III.15.6*.

<sup>64</sup> *Verzeichniß Musicalischer Werke allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für alle Instrumente, welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden* (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1761), p. 29.