

Indicative for the musical thought of the young German generation is its creative leaning towards metric-rhythmic innovations and methods. The influence of Bartók and Stravinsky, and more recently of Olivier Messiaen, but also that of American jazz, has brought the latent rhythmic sensitivity of the German composers into unprecedented vitality. One has only to compare, say, the idiom of the Reger generation with that of Blacher or Klebe and Henze, and the progress will become clear. Yes, it seems that the most talented young German composers are exploring the merging of all those elements that hitherto had been played off antithetically against each other.

Perhaps this is a positive form of the reaction against the monstrous destruction of material and intellectual values, of which this youthful generation was the witness during the twelve years from 1933 to 1945. To confront the world of desolation with a world of creative syntheses and to test these syntheses in hundreds of laboratory experiments until a valid result be found—is that not an undertaking worthy of consideration?

(Translated by Abram Loft)

ORAZIO: THE HISTORY OF A PASTICCIO

By FRANK WALKER

AFTER Pergolesi's death from consumption at the age of twenty-six, his fame spread rapidly all over Europe. Foreign visitors to Italy, such as De Brosses and the poet Gray, acquired manuscript copies of his works and played their part in creating an extraordinary vogue, a sort of Pergolesi-fever, which seized on the Continent and reached its climax in the "Guerre des Bouffons" in Paris in 1752. One result of this seems to have been that the Italian music-copyists, making hay while the sun shone, and following the ironical advice of Marcello in *Il Teatro alla moda*: "They will sell to foreigners, who want good operatic arias, any old papers, under the names of the best masters," passed off all sorts of miscellaneous manuscripts as compositions of "the divine Pergolesi." Many of these spurious works survive in the great music libraries and were included in the entirely uncritical edition of Pergolesi's "Opera Omnia" published in Rome in 1940-42 by Gli Amici della Musica da Camera. In the two volumes of *Arie da Camera* and *Frammenti di Opere Teatrali* alone, works by Aresti, Bononcini, Chinzer, Lampugnani, Leo, Orlandini, Rinaldo di Capua, Alessandro Scarlatti, Giuseppe Scarlatti, Sellitti, and Terradellas have been identified.¹ No less confusion exists among the works for the stage. The intermezzo published in the "Opera Omnia" as *La contadina astuta* is actually a version of Hasse's *La contadina* with the addition of a duet from Pergolesi's *Flaminio*. *Il geloso schernito* is by Pietro Chiarini. And the supposed intermezzo *Il maestro di musica*, published in Paris in 1753 under Pergolesi's name, was in reality not by him and consisted only of a condensed and adulterated version of Pietro Auletta's *opera buffa*, *Orazio*, first produced at Naples in 1737.

The history of this *Orazio* can be reconstructed from the surviving scores and librettos, which reveal the metamorphosis of the opera in the course of a quarter of a century, modified constantly from performance to performance, attributed to different composers in different

¹ For details see *Two Centuries of Pergolesi Forgeries and Misattributions*, in *Music and Letters*, October 1949.

places, and retaining in the end less than one fifth of its original music. It is known that this sort of thing happened to 18th-century operas; it may be useful to have a detailed account of one particular case. The only serious study of *pasticcio* opera so far undertaken seems to be Sonneck's valuable essay on Ciampi's *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* and its relationship to Favart's parody, *Ninette à la Cour*.² Sonneck collated the original *Bertoldo* libretto with three others and with the score of *Ninette à la Cour*. The present article is based on the examination of fifteen different librettos and two scores of *Orazio*, the Paris *Maestro di musica* libretto and score, and the libretto of *La scolara alla moda*, another reduction of *Orazio*, performed at Florence in 1760.³

Comparison of these scores and librettos forced me to the conclusion that they were one and all versions, more or less adulterated, of Auletta's *Orazio* of 1737, although several librettos, beginning with that of Venice, 1743, attribute the music to Latilla and Pergolesi. The orthodox view is that Pergolesi wrote an intermezzo, *Il maestro di musica*, in 1731 (or, as others hold, in 1734-35), and Latilla an *opera buffa*, *Orazio*, in 1738, on an expanded version of the text of Pergolesi's intermezzo, and that then elements of the two were combined for the Venetian *Orazio* of 1743. For the general arguments against Pergolesi's authorship of *Il maestro di musica* I must refer the reader to my earlier article; some aspects of my case, however, will be even more

² *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XII (1911), 525. Reprinted in *Miscellaneous Studies in the History of Music*, New York, 1921.

³ In the British Museum, *Orazio* librettos of Naples 1737, London 1748, Brussels 1749, and *Il maestro di musica* libretto of Paris 1752; in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, *Orazio* librettos of Venice 1743 and 1748; in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence, libretto of Florence 1740; in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, libretto of Milan 1746; in Dr. Rolandi's collection, Rome, librettos of Bologna 1747 and Reggio 1748; in the library of the Conservatorio G. B. Martini (Liceo Musicale), Bologna, *Orazio* librettos of Florence 1742, Parma 1749, Ravenna 1754, a MS score (first and last acts only), and *La scolara alla moda* libretto of Florence 1760; in the Biblioteca Governativa, Lucca, libretto of Lucca 1752; in the library of the Conservatorio L. Cherubini, Florence, *Orazio* MS score.

Various duplicate librettos exist — I list only those I have used.

The librettos and score at Bologna have been examined for me by Dr. Giorgio Winternitz, to whom my best thanks are due, and information about the Lucca libretto was kindly supplied by the Director of the Biblioteca Governativa; all the others I have seen myself. I am indebted also to Dr. Rolandi and to most of the librarians of the abovementioned institutions for preliminary information about their holdings.

For details of the *Orazio* librettos of Leipzig 1745 and Hamburg 1745 I have relied on Erich H. Müller, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*, Dresden, 1917.

clearly demonstrated in the course of the present comparison of scores and librettos.

First of all, something must be said concerning the supposed *Orazio* of Latilla, which I am convinced never existed. Loewenberg, in his *Annals of Opera*, lists three *opere buffe* by Latilla, *Orazio*, *Madama Ciana*, and *La finta cameriera*, as having been first performed at the Teatro Valle, Rome, in the spring of 1738. This entry in the *Annals* summarizes information given by the encyclopedias, libretto catalogues, and operatic chronicles. Loewenberg himself was obviously not entirely happy about it, for he suggests that the complicated histories of these operas would be worth special study, points out that there exists another setting of the *Orazio* text, by Auletta, produced at Naples in 1737, and gives lists of all recorded performances "to facilitate further research." This further research I have undertaken, and some of my findings had been accepted and utilized by Loewenberg in articles for the new *Grove* and in his own annotated copy of the *Annals* before his lamented death. A number of unrecorded performances of *Orazio* came to light in the course of a search of all the most extensive collections of librettos, and some of the attributions listed by Loewenberg were seen to be based only on guesswork by compilers of catalogues, the librettos themselves not naming the composers. The one thing that *did not* come to light was a libretto of the supposed production of an *Orazio* by Latilla at the Teatro Valle, Rome, in the spring of 1738. At one time I thought I was hot on its trail. Bellucci La Salandra, in his *Saggio cronologico delle opere teatrali di Gaetano Latilla (Japigia, Bari, 1934, Anno V, Fasc. III)*, lists *Orazio* as having been performed at this Roman theater in 1738 and adds a note that the libretto is in the Biblioteca Santa Cecilia, Rome. Bellucci La Salandra's article shows signs of hasty work, one of his avowed intentions in preparing it having been to forestall the foreign scholars who keep butting in on Italy's musical affairs, and something certainly went wrong with this entry. I flew to the Biblioteca Santa Cecilia, but found nothing. In the Carvalhães collection is a copy of the *Orazio* of Auletta (Naples 1737) and a copy of the *Orazio* attributed to Latilla and Pergolesi (Venice 1743), but it is not true that this library possesses the Roman libretto of 1738.

The Roman *Diario Ordinario* for 1738 records a few works produced at the Teatro Valle in this year, but says nothing about an *Orazio*. What other sources of information are there? No comprehensive study of the repertory of the Roman theaters in general or of the

Teatro Valle in particular exists in print. Even Dr. Rolandi, whom I next consulted, was at a loss. The only person who might perhaps have been able to help me was the late Alberto Cametti, who had published two magnificent volumes on the Teatro Tordinona and written on Roman theaters, including the Teatro Valle, in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. Dr. Roberto Cametti, on application, very kindly searched among his father's notes and supplied me with particulars from the librettos of *Madama Ciana* and *La finta cameriera*, but nothing definite about *Orazio*. Cametti's conclusion had been the same as my own:

An *Orazio*, under that title, was probably never performed in 1738 at the Teatro Valle, Rome; it is almost certain that the reference is to Latilla's *Madama Ciana*, in which one of the characters is called *Orazio*.

It was Fétis who first recorded the supposed *Orazio* of Latilla, performed at Rome in 1738, and since almost everything else he tells us about the earlier part of the composer's life is wrong, I feel we are justified in rejecting this piece of information along with the rest. For me, until someone produces the original libretto, or other reliable evidence, Latilla's *Orazio* does not, and never did, exist.

And now we will see how we get along without it.

The libretto of the *opera buffa*, *Orazio*, performed at the Teatro Nuovo, Naples, during the Carnival season of 1737, names both the author of the words, Antonio Palomba, and the composer of the music, Pietro Auletta. It was Palomba's first libretto; his plot may be summarized as follows:

The action takes place in the house and garden of Lamberto, a Venetian singing teacher. His pupils include Giacomina, who will shortly be making her début at Naples, and Lauretta, with whom Lamberto is in love. Lauretta is ambitious, but Lamberto, who does not wish her to leave him, declares that she is not yet a finished singer.

A young man, known as Leandro, calls, in whom Giacomina, whose real name is Ginevra, believes she recognizes her former lover Orazio. It is indeed Orazio, but, suspicious about Giacomina's (Ginevra's) position in Leandro's household, he decides not to reveal himself for the present.

Colagianni, the Neapolitan impresario, arrives and, attracted by Lauretta, wishes to take her, as well as Giacomina, to Naples. Lamberto protests that she is only half trained, but is told that Lauretta's beauty and grace will suffice to win her success on the stage, no matter how she sings.

Giacomina sighs at the prospect of going to Naples; to her the career of a prima donna is repugnant — her dear Orazio would not have wished it. Leandro, who is really Orazio, questions her and she tells how, seven years ago, at Genoa, their parents opposed the marriage and they eloped, only to be captured by Moorish pirates. She was rescued by Venetians but Orazio taken to Africa. Leandro (Orazio) realizes that she is still faithful to him. He says Orazio is a

friend of his and that they were both delivered from slavery together by a gentleman of Ancona, where Orazio now lives.

Colagianni is still trying to induce Lauretta to accompany him to Naples, Lamberto to prevent this.

Leandro, by excessively long-winded methods, sets about putting things right. He tells Colagianni that a certain noble admirer of Giacomina is determined that she shall sing in Lisbon this year. He threatens to kill Colagianni unless he releases Giacomina from her Neapolitan engagement. He then tells Lamberto that Colagianni intends to break the contract with Giacomina, but that she has been offered a high salary to appear at Lisbon. Lamberto fears that Colagianni has refused Giacomina out of love for Lauretta.

Further complications arise. Minor characters include other pupils of Lamberto—Bettina, a *virtuosa* who thinks Colagianni's favors may be profitable to herself; Elisa, who turns out to be Leandro's (Orazio's) long-lost sister; and Mariuccio, in love with Elisa. Leandro (Orazio) recognizes his sister and makes himself known to her. Ginevra (Giacomina) surprises them together and accuses Orazio of concealing his identity owing to a love-affair with Elisa, and scheming to have his old fiancée sent away to Lisbon.

After further manoeuvres and counter-manoevres on the parts of Lamberto and Colagianni for the possession of Lauretta, Elisa belatedly tells Ginevra (Giacomina) that she is Orazio's (Leandro's) sister. The Lisbon contract is revealed as a fiction and everything ends happily. Orazio marries Ginevra, Lamberto marries Lauretta.

The opera included the following musical numbers (arias except where otherwise indicated):

(Act 1)

1. Oh che sproposito (Lamberto)
- 1a. Tra li scogli e la procella (Lauretta, interrupted by Lamberto, in a singing-lesson scene)
2. No gusto ha da stordire (Lauretta)
3. Come scoglio in mezzo all'onde (Lamberto)
4. Cara, da te mi viene (Leandro)
5. Specchi dell'alma (Giacomina, in her audition before Colagianni)
6. Na cantarina (Colagianni)
7. Spero con recitare (Mariuccio)
8. Qual foco mi scotta? (Lamberto)
9. Come si lagna (Giacomina)
10. Contro i venti mai non cede (Leandro)
11. Raminga in folta selva (Elisa)
12. Se non canto a meraviglia (Bettina)
13. Comm'acchi joca a le ppalle (trio — Colagianni, Lamberto, Lauretta)

(Act 2)

14. La mia contadinetta (Colagianni)
15. Quando sciolto avrò il contratto (Lamberto)
16. Care e belle pupille (Mariuccio)
17. Non ha una donna maggior diletto (Bettina)
18. Cardolillo mio carillo (duet — Lauretta, Colagianni)
19. Deh' non guardare in me (Elisa)

20. Taci non vò ascoltarti (Giacomina)
21. Simile a quel che geme (Leandro)
22. Deliro notte e zorno (first verse Lamberto, second verse Lauretta)
23. Nuje femmene simmo (Lauretta)
24. Genj potenti (Giacomina, in the course of a rehearsal of a Serenata)
25. Son nell'onde da venti agitato (Leandro)
- (Act 3)
26. Son delle donne i vanti (Mariuccio)
27. Quanno vengo a rrecetare (Lauretta)
28. Hanno le nostre scene (Colagianni)
29. Io voglio vagheggiare (Bettina)
30. Snella tra frasche e fronde (Elisa)
31. Dolce Amor deh scendi (duet — Giacomina, Leandro)
32. Non v'è più piacere che sempre cantar (ensemble)
33. Placido omai rimbomba (Leandro)
34. Goda ciascuno (ensemble)

Tra li scogli e la procella (1a), in the singing-lesson scene, is sometimes a complete section, at least, of an aria, sometimes a mere fragment. I have generally excluded it from consideration here.

Table 1 shows the recurrence of these thirty-four numbers in the versions of *Orazio* given at Florence in 1740 and 1742, Venice in 1743, Leipzig in 1745, Hamburg in 1745, Milan in 1746, Bologna in 1747, Venice in 1748, Reggio in 1748, London in 1748, Brussels in 1749, Parma in 1749, Lucca in 1752, and Ravenna in 1754, and their recurrence also in *Il maestro di musica* at Paris in 1752, in *La scolara alla moda* at Florence in 1760, and in the MS score of *Orazio*, attributed to Auletta, in the library of the Conservatorio at Florence. The arias originally in dialect were given in Tuscan versions after the opera left Naples.

The performances of *Orazio* at Florence in 1740, at Parma in 1749, and at Lucca in 1752, as well as *La scolara alla moda* at Florence in 1760, are listed in Loewenberg's *Annals* as revivals of Latilla's supposed opera of 1738. The librettos of 1740 and 1752, however, do not name the composer, while those of 1749 and 1760 ascribe the music to "diversi." The performances at Florence in 1742, at Milan in 1746, at Reggio in 1748 and Ravenna in 1754 were not known to Loewenberg when he compiled the *Annals*. The libretto of 1748 ascribes the music to Auletta; the other three do not name the composer.

Study of Table 1 shows that most of the thirty-four numbers, for which Palomba's libretto originally provided, were rapidly eliminated, but that six numbers (1, 2, 13, 15, 22, and 34) reappeared with remarkable consistency, whether the music was attributed to no-one in particular (Latilla?), to Latilla and Pergolesi, to Auletta, or to "diversi." Precisely these six, with one other, of the original numbers

survive in the *Orazio* score at Florence, under Auletta's name. Four of the same six numbers are found again in *Il maestro di musica*, attributed to Pergolesi.

Table 2 shows the recurrence, in the same librettos and scores, of the numbers interpolated in various places, in substitution for the numbers eliminated. There were, of course, many more interpolations than appear on this table — I list only those that survived more than one revival of the opera or operas. Some of the interpolated numbers reappear fairly consistently, whatever the attribution of the music in the libretto or score. Thus *Alla selva, al prato, al rio*, an aria by Michele Fini, was used at Florence in 1740 in the scene of Giacomina's audition before Colagianni, in place of *Specchi dell'alma*. According to Loewenberg's *Annals* this Florentine *Orazio* of 1740 was a revival of Latilla's supposed opera; but *Alla selva, al prato, al rio* recurs, not only in versions of the opera attributed to Latilla and Pergolesi at Venice (1743), Leipzig (1745), and Hamburg (1745), but also in versions attributed to Auletta at Bologna (1747), Venice (1748), London (1748), and Brussels (1749), to say nothing of an anonymous version at Milan (1746) and one attributed to "diversi" at Parma (1749). *Alla selva, al prato, al rio* is found also in the *Orazio* score at Florence. Again, when the work was revived at Florence in 1742 it picked up two numbers, *Mentre l'erbetta*, from Pergolesi's *Flaminio*, and *Splenda fra noi*, which reappear in practically all later versions, whatever the attributions; they both appear in the score at Florence; *Splenda fra noi* is found also in *Il maestro di musica*. Then in 1743 at Venice, where the work was attributed to Latilla and Pergolesi, arias were added that reappear in numerous later versions under Auletta's name.

Study of Tables 1 and 2 makes it almost impossible not to believe that we are here concerned with a single work, frequently misattributed. The alternative is to believe that the two composers (or three, if we include Pergolesi) achieved popular success in precisely the same numbers in their supposed settings of the same text, and that the very same additional numbers that were picked up, at various times and places, by the supposed setting by Latilla, were also picked up by Auletta's setting.

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This, then, is what seems to have happened to Auletta's *Orazio*: First produced at Naples in 1737, when it included thirty-four numbers — arias, duets, a trio; and ensembles.

Revived anonymously at Florence in 1740, when nineteen of the original numbers were retained and ten new ones inserted, one of which, *Alla selva, al prato, al rio*, by Fini, had a great success and was in effect incorporated in the score.

Revived again anonymously at Florence in 1742, with sixteen of the original numbers, two of those added in 1740 and eleven new ones, of which *Mentre l'erbetta*, from Pergolesi's *Flaminio*, and *Splenda fra noi* were successful and incorporated in the score. *Splenda fra noi*, a little cantata for the rehearsal scene in the second act, was perhaps written especially for this revival.

Revived at Venice in 1743 and misattributed to Latilla and Pergolesi. Ten of the original numbers still survived, with five from the Florentine versions of the work and ten new ones. The inclusion of *Mentre l'erbetta*, from Pergolesi's *Flaminio*, and *Splenda per me sereno*, an adaptation of an aria from the same composer's *Adriano in Siria*, may have been responsible for his name being associated with the work. Similarly, some of the other interpolated arias may have been taken from operas by Latilla. But new numbers were specially written by another composer, Alessandro Maccari, for this revival, although his name does not appear in the libretto. MS R.M. 24.g.12, in the King's Music Library, contains twelve arias performed at the Teatro San Moisè, Venice, in 1743 and 1744. Eight of them are from *Orazio* (the other four from *Fiammetta*, another *pasticcio*):

<i>Signor Lamberto caro</i>	"Del Sig. D. Aless. Maccari"
<i>Deliro notte e zorno</i>	[= Auletta's No. 22]
<i>Alla selva, al prato, al rio</i>	[by Fini, added at Florence in 1740]
<i>Na cantarina</i>	[= Auletta's No. 6]
<i>Quando vengo a recitare</i>	[= Auletta's No. 27]
<i>Mentre l'erbetta</i>	[by Pergolesi, added at Florence in 1742]
<i>Procuri la prego</i>	"Del Sig. Aless. Maccari"
<i>Bel volto credimi</i>	[added at Venice, 1743, but not attributed to Maccari]

Procuri la prego is also attributed to Maccari in Walsh's selection of *Favourite Songs* from *Orazio*. Together with *Bel volto credimi* it was included in a number of later revivals of the opera. Two minor characters, Mariuccio and Bettina, were eliminated in this Venetian version of *Orazio*.

Revived at Genoa in 1744. I have not been able to trace a copy of the libretto.

Revived at Graz, Leipzig, and Hamburg in 1745. Casts and lists of arias are given from the Leipzig and Hamburg librettos in E. H. Müller's *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*.¹⁰ The version given by the Mingotti company clearly derives from that given at Venice in 1743, even the misspelling "Signor Pargolesi" is copied from the Venetian libretto. Pellegrino Gaggiotti sang the part of Lamberto at Venice in 1743, and at Leipzig and Hamburg in 1745. At Leipzig seven of Auletta's original numbers were retained, and at Hamburg nine. At Leipzig five numbers interpolated at earlier performances were retained and nine new numbers added. Müller's description of the Hamburg libretto is unsatisfactory, but it seems that most of the Leipzig interpolations were retained.

Revived anonymously at Milan in 1746, with eleven of the original musical numbers and five earlier interpolations. Ten new numbers added, four of which recur in some later performances. The additions included *Talora in su l'erbetta*, from Leo's *Amor vuol sofferenza*; *A lui donai il mio core*, from Pergolesi's *Flaminio*; and *Io ti dissi, e a dirti torno*, from the same composer's *Lo frate 'nnamorato*.

Revived at Bologna in 1747, under Auletta's name. Only seven of his original numbers were retained, however, with nine earlier interpolations. Twelve new numbers added, several of which became very popular and were used in later performances. *Sempre attorno qual palomba*, from Pergolesi's *La contadina astuta*, was interpolated at Bologna but not subsequently.

Revived at Vienna in 1748. No details available.

Revived at Venice in 1748, under Auletta's name. The ironical situation had now arisen that less of his music was used in this version under his own name than had been used in the version under the names of Latilla and Pergolesi five years earlier. Seven of the original numbers retained and nineteen earlier interpolations. No new numbers added. Almost identical with the Bologna version of 1747.

Revived at Reggio in 1748, under Auletta's name, with seven of the original numbers and six earlier interpolations. Ten new numbers added, one of which, *Vò dirlo basso basso*, was very successful and was incorporated in the score.

¹⁰ Müller, probably working with Wotquenne's *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Stücke in Versen . . . von Zeno, Metastasio und Goldoni*, Leipzig, 1905, was overhasty in assigning the words of *Oh che sproposito* to Goldoni (from *L'Ipocondriaco*) and those of *Alla selva, al prato, al rio* to Metastasio (from *Il Re pastore*). Reference to the plays themselves would have shown him that the arias in Goldoni and Metastasio begin in the same way but continue quite differently from those in *Orazio*.

Revived at London in 1748, under Auletta's name, with six of his original numbers and eleven earlier interpolations. Ten additions. Walsh's selection of *Favourite Songs* from *Orazio* includes Fini's *Alla selva, al prato, al rio*, added at Florence in 1740, Maccari's *Procuri la prego*, added at Venice in 1743, and Orlandini's *Giovinotti d'oggi*, added at Bologna in 1747, but *nothing* of Auletta's. It also includes three of the arias added in London — *Pupille amabili*, by Jommelli, *Quanto è dolce*, by Resta, and *Mentre gioconde*, by Pulli, together with another, *Se non sai, che cose è amore*, by Paradies, which, although it does not occur in the London libretto, was probably added at some performances.

Revived at Copenhagen in 1749 by the Mingotti company. No details available.

Revived at Brussels in 1749, attributed on one page of the libretto to Auletta and on another page to Galuppi. Five of the original numbers retained and fourteen earlier interpolations. Three additions. Follows the London version of 1748 fairly closely.

Revived at Parma in 1749, attributed correctly to "diversi autori." Six of Auletta's original numbers retained, with eight earlier interpolations. Thirteen additions, including *Io non so dove mi sto*, from Leo's *Amor vuol sofferenza*.

Revived anonymously at Lucca in 1752, with nine of the original numbers and four earlier interpolations. Fourteen additions.

Revived at Leiden in 1752. No details available.

Revived in a very much condensed version, as *Il maestro di musica*, at Paris in 1752. From 1743 onwards the number of characters had varied, according to the number of singers available, between six, seven, and eight. Sometimes both Mariuccio and Bettina were eliminated, sometimes only Bettina. An additional dumb character appeared sometimes. Now in Paris the characters were reduced to three, Giacomina, Leandro, and Elena disappearing, together with Mariuccio and Bettina, and the plot being reduced to a struggle between Lamberto and Colagianni for possession of Lauretta. Four of Auletta's original musical numbers were retained, and three of the numbers *Orazio* had picked up in its wanderings. Four new numbers were added, one of them by G. M. Capelli. The libretto does not name any composer, while it is clear from the account of the performances in the *Mercure de France* for November 1752 that the work was known to be nothing more than a *pasticcio*:

One may confidently assert that there are in this intermezzo several ariettas worthy of comparison with the best ones in *La Serva Padrona*. They are by different authors, and the performers have made a very good selection.

This did not prevent *Il maestro di musica* being published shortly afterwards under Pergolesi's name.

Orazio revived at Ravenna in 1754, with six of the original numbers and five earlier interpolations. Nine new numbers.

Revived at Trieste in 1756, the music attributed to "varii celebri Autori." My information about the libretto (Biblioteca Civica, Trieste) is incomplete, but this version included five of the original musical numbers (1, 2, 15, 22, and 34), *Mentre l'erbetta* and *Splenda fra noi*, added at Florence in 1742, *Fra plausi e giubili*, added at Milan in 1746, and *Giovinotti d'oggi*, added at Bologna in 1747.

Revived at Munich in 1758. No details available.

Revived in a very much condensed version, as *La scolara alla moda*, at Florence in 1760. The music attributed to "diversi Celebri Autori." This was a reduction to true intermezzo dimensions, with only three singing characters — Lamberto, Lauretta, and Colagianni. There were only nine musical numbers, of which three were survivals from Auletta's *Orazio* and three were earlier interpolations.

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The score in the library of the Conservatorio at Florence, attributed to Auletta, contains just seven of his original thirty-four numbers. Of twenty-one additional numbers eighteen can be traced from librettos as having been interpolated between 1740 and 1749. Seven of the additional numbers can be assigned to their true composers.

The contents of the score at Florence are as follows:

Oh che sproposito	(= Auletta's No. 1)
Fra gli scogli (fragment)	(= Auletta's No. 1a)
Ha un gusto da stordire	(= Auletta's No. 2)
Benche fremi	(first added at Bologna, 1747)
Alla selva, al prato, al rio	(by Michele Fini, according to Walsh's <i>Favourite Songs</i> . First added at Florence, 1740)
Vò dirlo basso basso	(first added at Reggio, 1748)
Se non canto con bravura	(= Auletta's No. 12)
Io non so dove mi sto	(by Leonardo Leo. First added at Parma, 1749)

Rasserena i mesti rai

(by G. B. Pescetti, according to an incomplete score of *Orazio*—first and third acts only—in the library of the Conservatorio at Bologna¹¹)

Trova pace il mio dolore

(first added at Milan, 1746)

Sento che balza in petto

(?)

Come chi gioca alle palle

(= Auletta's No. 13)

Mentre l'erbetta

(by Pergolesi. First added at Venice, 1743)

Quando sciolto avrò il contratto

(= Auletta's No. 15)

Non paventa il pastorello

(first added at Parma, 1749)

Troppo cara, oh Dio

(first added at Bologna, 1747)

L'augellin che in lacci

(by Terradellas, according to Walsh's *Delizie dell'Opere*, and also quoted as his in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie*)

Farò crudel vendetta

(first added at Bologna, 1747)

Venga per me la morte

(first added at Bologna, 1747)

Deliro notte e giorno

(= Auletta's No. 22)

Giovinotti d'oggi

(by Orlandini. First added at Bologna, 1747)

Splenda fra noi

(first added at Venice, 1743)

Facciam la prova

(first added at Milan, 1746)

Son restato come resta

(?)

Sprezza la cruda sorte

(first added at Reggio, 1748)

Se vuoi donar riposo

(first added at Bologna, 1747)

Mentre gioconde

(by Pulli, according to Walsh's *Favourite Songs*. First added in London, 1748)

Fra plausi e giubili

(first added at Milan, 1746)

Goda ciascuno

(= Auletta's No. 34)

The truth seems to be that in the earlier part of the 18th century after an *opera buffa* had been in circulation for a few years nobody was at all sure whose it was, and only a fraction of the original music was left. After ten years or so even an attribution to the original composer was misleading, since four-fifths of the music was by then by other people. It was a case of the survival of the fittest of the musical numbers.

¹¹ This score has the same arias, etc., as the first and third acts of the score at Florence, except for an aria *Caro bell'idol mio*, in place of *Trova pace il mio dolore*. The only composer named is Pescetti, as author of *Rasserena i mesti rai*.

	Florence 1740 Anon.	Florence 1742 Anon.	Venice 1743 Latilla & Pergolesi	Leipzig 1745 & Latilla & Pergolesi	Hamburg 1745 & Latilla & Pergolesi	Milan 1746 Anon.	Bologna 1747 Auletta	Venice 1748 Auletta	Reggio 1748 Auletta	London 1748 Auletta	Brussels 1749 Auletta & Galuppi	Parma 1749 "Di- versi"	Lucca 1752 Anon.	Ravenna 1754 Anon.	<i>Il Maestro di Musica</i> Paris 1752 Anon. (Libretto) & Pergolesi (Score)	<i>La Scolaria alla moda</i> Florence 1760 "Di- versi"	MS Score (Florence Con- serva- torio) Auletta
1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a	1 & 1a
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
4	4																
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6		6							
8	8	8	8	8	8								8				
11	11	11				11							11				
12	12					12											12
13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
14																	
15	15					15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
17	17																
19	19					19							19				
22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
23	23					23											
27	27	27	27	27	27												
28																	
29																	
32	32	32			32												
34	34	34			34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34
																	34
																	(34—one performance?) ⁶

TABLE 1

⁴ Owing to Lamberto's interruptions it is not obvious from the librettos that this is an aria, or fragment of an aria, for Lauretta. I suspect that this escaped Erich Müller, from whose *Angelo und Pietro Mingotis* particulars of these Leipzig and Hamburg performances are taken.

⁵ Only a defective copy of the libretto, with the first page missing, has come to light. ⁶ The *Mercure de France* records that the final number was changed after the first performance at Paris.

Florence 1740 Anon.	Florence 1742 Anon.	Venice 1743 Latilla & Pergolesi	Leipzig 1745 Latilla & Pergolesi	Hamburg 1745 Latilla & Pergolesi	Milan 1746 Anon.	Bologna 1747 Auletta	Venice 1748 Auletta	Reggio 1748 Auletta	London 1748 Auletta	Brussels 1749 Auletta & Galuppi	Parma 1749 "Diversi"	Lucca 1752 Anon.	Ravenna 1754 Anon.	<i>Il Maestro di Musica</i> Paris 1752 Anon. (Libretto) & Pergolesi (Score)	<i>La Scolara alla moda</i> Florence 1760 "Diversi"	Ms Score (Florence Conservatorio) Auletta
Alla selva		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					*
Son sventurato ⁵	*															
Dunque o dei	*															
Mentre l'erbetta		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*
Splenda fra noi		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
In conclusione		*		*												
Son sventurato amante		*			*											
Bel volto			*	*		*	*									
Procuri la prego			*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
Chi vidda mai					*											
Facciam la prova						*	*	*	*	*	*					*
Fra plausi						*	*	*	*	*	*		*			*
Talora insu						*	*									
Trova pace						*	*									*
Di piacer						*	*	*	*	*	*					
Bella mia						*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*		

						Giovinnotti	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
						Se vuoi donar	*		*	*						*
						Benche fremma	*		*							*
						Rasserena	*									*
						Sembra ch'al cor	*									*
						Troppo caro	*									*
						Del mio cor	*									*
						Farò crudel	*									*
						Venga per me	*									*
						Vo dirlo basso			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
						Sprezza la cruda sorte										*
						Se vi dicessi			*							
						L'alma gelar			*							
						Lasciar l'amato			*							
						Mentre gioconde										*
						Io non so										*
						Non paventa			*							*

TABLE 2

¹ Denotes recurrence of the number in question.

² Distinct from *Son sventurato amante*, added at Florence in 1742. The libretto of 1742

includes both these arias.

³ A slip inserted in the libretto examined gives an alternative aria.