

**WHEN MR PARADIES PROVIDED THE SONGS;
THE LONDON OPERA ARIAS OF FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, MU.MS.108**

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Collections of opera arias come in all shapes and sizes, and with many purposes and intentions. Some appear to be collections put together by opera singers for their own purposes, while others might be assembled by the theatre as a resource, and still others, the result of a copyist's activities, with each collection having its own story to tell. The present collection, Fitzwilliam Museum MU.MS.108, is a gathering together of a group of autograph arias which the Italian composer, Domenico Paradies (1707–1791), provided in the late 1740s and early 1750s to London's King's Theatre, the elite venue for imported opera and dance. Paradies exact role at the theatre is unclear, but he worked on the fringes of the London opera house before being advertised as the music director for 1746–47 season. The source is all the more interesting for being part of a group of manuscripts sold by Paradies to the museum's founder, Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745–1816) in 1770. The attribution of the hand and the music of the arias are not, then, in doubt, the collection passing from the composer to the collector to the collector's museum. While known – a description and a listing of the contents can be found in the *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*¹ – the source has not been examined closely, nor has it been explored in relation to the opera seasons for which its contents were composed.

The structure and contents of MU.MS.108 is laid out in the appendix to this article. The manuscript is a compilation of one or two draft arias with corrections and awaiting expansion [**Illustration 1**], one with a pasted slip with corrections [**Illustration 2**], and some orchestral parts prepared for performance of two of the arias. Some of the arias are headed with intended character and position in the opera [**Illustration 3**], while other have the name of the singer [**Illustration 4**]. There is also an overture to an opera which is not—and may

never have been in its entirety—extant. The collection as well contains the composer's autographs of a number of four Italian cantatas; none of these has an established connection with the opera house and they are without the parameters of this article. The table in the text **[insert near here]** shows the previous use of the aria texts at the Italian opera in London, followed by the place of Paradies' settings of MU.MS.108 in the repertory. It should be emphasised that there is no evidence in any one case that Paradies treated an earlier London libretto as a source. Indeed, there is no evidence to show how he accessed the texts; he may have brought them with him from the Continent, they may have been provided with them by one of the singers, or they could have been forced on him by the impresario Francesco Vanneschi (*d.* after April 1760?), the opinionated manager of the King's Theatre.

As **Illustration 1** shows, a number of the pieces await the expansion of the doubled parts, a not uncommon 18th-century shorthand. Conversely, two of the arias survive complete with parts, an added bonus emphasising that at least these two had been prepared for performance, rather than just as settings that possibly remained among the composer's papers. However, it is also significant that none of the arias set by Paradies appears in Walsh's collections of *Favourite Songs* that were published during these years, suggesting that, perhaps, as extra arias, they were considered not to be part of the opera. Alternatively, it may be that Paradies withheld them from the copyists, who appear to have been the conduit to John Walsh, disposing of them to the publisher on 'easy terms'.² In fact, that few of the scores of the London versions of the operas discussed here exists in anything other than a fragmentary form makes the manuscript even more precious.

MU.MS.108 is an assemblage, then, a collecting together of working papers that illustrates the random outputs required of an 18th-century London opera house composer. It also belongs to the years when there is a paucity of information on the running of the King's

Theatre and a period in which the audience had only a limited critical engagement with the works that were performed.

MU.MS.108 and the London pasticcio

The material contained in MU.MS.108 shows the practice of ‘pasticcio’ at work in a London theatrical season, with the substitution of newly composed individual arias to the text of an opera which may—or may not—already have been a pasticcio of one kind or another.³ The term, which is 17th century in origin, was certainly in use in the 18th century to describe operatic practice, although it was a practise well understood in London before the term came into use: Colley Cibber, for example, commented in 1713 that an audience having paid their money for a libretto must have been irritated to find that, having paid their money,

*the Songs are so often turn'd out of their Places, to introduce some Absurd favourite Air of the Singer, that in a few Days the first Book you have Bought is reduc'd to little more than the Title Page of what it pretends*⁴

One of the earliest London mentions of these processes being described as ‘pasticcio’ was by Horace Walpole in 1742: ‘Our operas begin tomorrow night with a pasticcio, full of most of my favourite songs’.⁵ It was Edward Moore, the author of *The World by Adam Fitz-Adam*, who in 1756 linked what he described as the ‘modish title’ of pasticcio to audience satisfaction as exemplified by Walpole, a satisfaction ‘so entirely fixed upon air’ while damning the singers at the same time.⁶ It was the knowledgeable Charles Burney, writing in the 1770s and 1780s, who noted that the opera ‘*Il Trionfo della Continenza*, [was] a pasticcio, but chiefly by Buranello’, and that another work was ‘a pasticcio, called *Lucio Vero*, chiefly from Handel’, thus showing that it took little for a work that was primarily by one composer to become a ‘pasticcio’ when it had arias by others added.⁷

The practice of ‘pasticcio’ had—and has—its scholarly claims and counterclaims for the artistic value of the result, but the extent of their variation only tends to support the notion that ‘pasticcio’ is not a genre but is a technique, one that expanded, contracted, bent, and exploited whatever operatic winds were blowing. After all, those winds blew primarily for economic reasons, as Berthold Over acknowledges when writing of the Mingotti Troupe; he puts his finger on the underlying reason for the constant adjustment of operas when she comments that ‘the only idea which can be detected seemed to be a commercial one’, that is ‘money’.⁸ Perhaps less vulgarly—but similarly—Betz Wieser has suggested that the reason was ‘success’.⁹ It does not matter whether the ‘ingredients were thrown together at random’ or whether a considered structure produced a ‘noble dish’: the motivation for doing any of the above was always commercial advantage.¹⁰ In fact, Berthold Over and Gesa zur Nieden’s approach to think of pasticcio as ‘part of the practice of musical borrowings and complex intertextual relations’ seems by far the best way of situating the process.¹¹

The numbers from MU.MS.108 discussed below all form part of this pattern of number adjustment and replacement. Their music is usually elaborate with detailed performance markings – dashes, staccato, and the like – added in, probably to exploit particular skills of the singers of whom Paradies would have had a working knowledge. The orchestration of the arias offers evidence that some were novelty pieces, with the tromba da caccia being used in ‘Da quei begli occhi vaghi’ (**In.5**) and ‘Siete rozzo’ (**In.13**), and corni da caccia in ‘Alma granda e nata al regno’ (**In.17**). Some pieces seem to show an effort to add new types of numbers to older libretti. One – the already mentioned ‘Siete rozzo’ – is a duet, while ‘Già ti cede il mondo intero’ (**In.19**) and ‘Brilla e gode in seno’ (**In.9**) are choruses, both types of pieces rare in opera serie. However novel, though, such compositions were all in a day’s work for an 18th-century house composer.

Domenico Paradies comes to London

Paradies started his life in obscurity in Naples, sometime around 1707. His original surname was probably Paradisi, but for reasons that are unclear, he dropped it in favour of the anglicised version.¹² He is thought to have studied with Nicola Porpora either in Naples (from 1715 to 1722) or Venice (from 1726 to 1733), with early studies in composition and singing.¹³ He appears to have been an accomplished castrato,¹⁴ with indications that his early years were spent in church circles, studying and performing; he has no recorded presence in the theatre during this period and no recorded opera performances at all as a singer.¹⁵ The first opera by him of which there is a recorded performance is *Alessandro in Persia*, staged at the Teatro Pubblico in Lucca in 1738. If, as seems likely, this was the opera Francesco Vanneschi used ‘to cheat’ the Englishmen ‘Lord Middle[sex] and [Lord Robert] Raymond in their consular triumph’, then it seems that the performances were controversial.¹⁶ The earlier ‘consular triumph’ is possibly the Florence ‘masque superbe’ of Middlesex, Raymond, and William, the 2nd Viscount Barrington, described by William Bristow on 10 March 1737, for the action of the masque included the arrival of a Roman consul in triumph on a horse.¹⁷

The interest for us here is that Vanneschi, who became involved in the management of London’s King’s Theatre in about 1740, is the most likely connection that brought Paradies to London. Vanneschi—impresario, poet, administrator—was a man with some imagination, and by the time of the events in Lucca, he had already claimed to have written the librettos for *La commedia in commedia* and *La vanità delusa*, both set by Giovanni Chinzer (1698–1749) and staged in 1731. He arrived in London sometime around 1740, possibly under the patronage of Lord Middlesex, and soon achieved an administrative and creative role of some influence.¹⁸ Quite how his career progressed is not clear, but Burney described Vanneschi’s ascent ‘from being prime minister, upon his lordship’s abdication’, to ‘the sovereignty of the opera state’ as Middlesex moved into the background.¹⁹ Importantly, a

meeting Vanneschi and Horace Walpole's in 1741 suggests that he was at the very least an agent for the opera by this time, for he was on a return journey from 'Italy to pick up dancers and performers'. Walpole also found him arrogant, noting 'What a coxcomb!'; indeed, Vanneschi would prove to be undiplomatic, self-justifying, and a grudge bearer.²⁰ However, none of these character flaws prevented him from rising rapidly to the management of the seasons themselves, and by the 1746–47 season, he seems also to have been in charge of the programme. This early part of Vanneschi's London career seems to have been reasonably successful. The repertory consisted of a regular diet of opera serie usually new—or newly adapted for London—by the musical directors and house composers. Vanneschi seems to have been responsible for Christoph Willibald Gluck's presence in London in 1745;²¹ and between them they staged *La caduta de' giganti*, a work deliberately designed to show that the opera house was loyal to the monarchy during the Jacobite Rebellion.²² Paradies' own arrival in London is not documented with any certainty. Vanessa Tonelli has suggested that he may have arrived with Vanneschi in 1741, while Burney placed his arrival in 1742.²³ There is, however, no concrete record of his presence in London until early in 1746, when he can be found on the fringes of the 1745–46 season; this was the performance date of the first arias written for insertion in London opera, suggesting his presence in the capital.

Working with Paradies in the opera house

Paradies' first known work for the London theatre was the provision of extra numbers for the 'new opera' *Il trionfo della continenza*, the second work in the season that opened on 28 January 1746.²⁴ It was billed as a 'pastoral' and was advertised '*With DANCES and other DECORATIONS Entirely New*'.²⁵ The opera's story appears in one or two places—including as a (possibly) two-part oratorio of the same name which had a text by Bernardo Sandrinelli²⁶ and a setting by Antonio Caldara that was performed in Venice in 1697²⁷—before Baldassare

Galuppi set the anonymous libretto to be used for use in London in 1745.²⁸ What little we know of the piece is summed up by Burney:

January 28th, IL TRIONFO DELLA CONTINENZA, a pasticcio, but chiefly by Buranello, came out, and ran ten nights. The airs in this opera are admirable, and still in good taste. *Tu mai sposa*, page fourteen, of the songs printed by Walsh, is a model for *aria parlante*. *La sorte mia tiranna*, is likewise excellent, though it was afterwards surpassed by Piccini.²⁹

Thomas Harris, on seeing the work, noted that it was ‘bad as the Italian music generally is’ but reported that it ‘was a very full house both in pitt & gallery’.³⁰ The text of Paradies’ addition ‘*La sorte mia tiranna*’ (**In.22**) which Burney found excellent was taken from Pietro Metastasio’s *Siroe, re di Persia*. London had heard this number in 1728 in a setting by Handel. Paradies’ setting was among those arias for the opera that had an afterlife as a concert piece, for Marianna Imer (*fl.* 1745–1746) included it in the concert for the ‘Benefit and Increase of a Fund establish’d for the Support of Decay’d Musicians, or their Families’ at the King’s Theatre on 25 March 1746.³¹ A setting attributed to Galuppi was included in the *Favourite Songs* of the opera which were published in two sets, the first appearing on Thursday 13 February (seemingly late, if Harris is to be believed)³² and the second on 1 May.³³ A second Paradies’ contribution to *Il trionfo*—one not included in the *Favourite Songs*—was the chorus ‘*Già ti cede il mondo intero*’ (**In.19**), a Metastasio text from *Catone in Utica*, but one not included in the version of that opera when it was performed in London in 1732.³⁴

The next aria is a setting by Paradies of ‘*Son confusa pastorella*’ (**In.6**), a text that had first appeared in London in 1731 in Handel’s setting of *Poro, re dell’ Indie*. This was a version of Metastasio’s *Alessandro nell’Indie* and the work for which the aria text was

originally intended.³⁵ It was retained in Giovanni Lampugnani's version of the opera under its original title *Alessandro nell'Indie* in 1746:³⁶

Then, April 5th, Alessandro nell' Indie, by Lampugnani, was revived, and had eight representations. There is much fire and imagination in the cantilena of these airs, which are natural and of easy execution for the voice. The composer, however, though *toujours gai* and agreeable, was likely, after two or three operas, to be pronounced a riotous trifler.³⁷

Paradies' setting was written for Teresa Pompeati (1723–1797) in the role of Erissena. The soprano had previously appeared at the King's Theatre in Gluck's 1745 *La Caduta de' giganti* and in *Il trionfo della continenza*. Quite when the aria was introduced into *Alessandro nell' Indie* is unclear. Newspaper advertisements during the run suggest that it may have been a late addition, for an announcement for the 7th performance on 6 May noted that it was staged 'with the Alterations of several Airs by the most celebrated Masters'.³⁸ If Paradies' aria was indeed written for this slot, it was perhaps something written at the behest of Pompeati herself to replace a possibly inadequate setting originally provided for her. After the staging of *Alessandro*, she departed London for Vienna, to return in 1759 as Teresa Cornelys, the wife of Dutch burgher, Cornelis de Rigerbos, and later a notorious London hostess.³⁹

Also possibly set for a particular singer, this time Domenica Casarini (*fl.* 1737–1758), was Paradies' setting of 'Quando sarà quel dì' (**In.8**), with a text taken from Metastasio's *La Clemenza di Tito*. This text had been in that opera when it was performed in London in 1737.⁴⁰ The new setting was written for the next season, that of 1746–47, when Paradies had moved up in the world, being advertised as the music director of the King's Theatre. The singer Casarini arrived in England for this season and stayed for the next, singing mostly at the opera, but spending the 1748 oratorio season at Covent Garden, before leaving the

country; *Annibale in Capua* was her first London opera. Paradies noted on the top of the page in MU.MS.108 that it was intended for the character of Emilia, a role sung in performance by Casarini. The opera opened the season on 4 November, and by the third performance on the 18th the audience was being forewarned that ‘Some new airs will be inserted’, of which this setting may have been one.⁴¹ This was Paradies’ only contribution of an aria this season, his time and energy probably being consumed by his new opera, *Fetonte*, which would premiere on 17 January 1747.

For the 1747–48 season, it seems that the ever-present Vanneschi was abroad, for nothing is heard of him during the season. He left the opera house in charge of the set designer and painter Antonio Jolli (c. 1700–1777), information which can only be gleaned from his dedication to one of the season’s later librettos:

’TWOU’D be impossible for Words to express the deep Sense I retain, of my very great Obligations to You (Ladies) for the Countenance you have so graciously bestowed, on my Endeavours to entertain you this Winter, at the King’s Theatre in the *Haymarket*. With infinite Pleasure wou’d I have made it more worthy of your exquisite Taste; but this not being in my Power, I humbly beg you to accept of my Thanks, in this public Manner, for the many Favours with which you have already honour’d me; and to permit me to adorn SEMIRAMIS with your illustrious Names; this being the last Opera I shall bring on this Season; and with no other Motive, than the ardent Desire I have, to give some final Testimony of my Gratitude; and to assure you, that no One can be with more profound Respect.⁴²

Underneath the flummery, Jolli’s disappointment at not being able to present a more successful season is palpable and he is not again recorded working at the opera house. Indeed, he must soon have departed London for he is found working in Madrid in 1749. At the start of the season, however, things must have had seemed promising. Paradies

contributed a setting for the first work, a pasticcio *Lucio Vero* which used a majority of arias from Handel.⁴³ Burney remembered this pasticcio well:

In November, the Opera-house was opened with a pasticcio, called LUCIO VERO, chiefly from Handel; and I well remember [that] the richness of the harmony and ingenuity of the contrivance of several songs, were very striking, compared with the light melodies and their accompaniments of what I had heard at the Opera-house before. *Ombra cara; Affanni del pensier;* and the duet, *Io t'abbraccio*, had a very fine effect, and were extremely grateful to the remaining friends of Handel's talents and opera administration.⁴⁴

Burney's recognition of the weightier character of the arias by Handel shows that already the historian was favouring these rather than the lighter melodies of composers like Paradies. Paradies' contribution to *Lucio Vero* was 'Luci Belle, più serene, più tranquille' (**In.20**), a text that had not yet been heard at the King's Theatre but was an aria by the poet Apostolo Zeno taken from the work's original libretto. It appears to have had some afterlife in London, for in 1759, it was included by musical director Gioacchino Cocchi in another version of the opera under the work's alternative title of *Vologeso*. The 1747-48 season closed with the staging of Metastasio's *Semiramide*, in a setting attributed to Johann Adolf Hasse, but which in truth had extra music added.⁴⁵ The libretto included the aria 'Che quel cor, quel ciglio altero' (**In.18**), with Paradies' setting being substituted for Hasse's version, probably with input of Giulia Frasi (*fl.* 1740–c. 1772) who was singing the role of Tamiri. Frasi had joined the opera company in 1742 and sang regularly at the opera until the 1760s; she performed with equal regularity outside the theatre, including in oratorio performances by Handel and others. Paradies' aria—and probably also Frasi's performance—was described by Burney as 'innocent and beautifully accompanied'.⁴⁶

Vanneschi seems then to have returned from abroad, and for the 1748–49 season, the organisation of the opera house season changed radically. Burney gives us the best overview of what took place with the arrival of the company of John Francis Crosa:

In the autumn of [1748], serious operas being discontinued, a new company of comic fingers was brought hither from Italy, for the first time, by Signor Croza. These performers, consisting of *Pertici*, *Laschi*, and *Guadagni*, then very young, for first man; Frasi, and afterwards Mellini, for serious woman; and the comic female parts by the wives of *Pertici* and *Laschi*, the two best buffo actors I ever saw, formed a very good troop; and in the comic operas of *La Comedia in Comedia*, *Orazio*, *Don Calascione*, *Gli tre Cicilbi ridicoli*, &c. composed by Latilla, Natale Resta, and Ciampi, who came over as maestro to the company, pleased the public, and filled the theatre, very successfully, during the whole season.⁴⁷

As this suggests, Vanneschi had outsourced the whole operation to a visiting company with whom he had contracted the season, and arriving at the end of September 1748, they brought with them an assembled cast plus their music director, Vincenzo Ciampi (?1719–1762), and a new repertory.⁴⁸

Yet despite Ciampi's presence, Paradies, as the resident house composer, was again set to work. The first opera in the season, which opened on 8 November 1748 was *La comedia in comedia* which was billed as:

a Burletta, or Comic Opera ... Being the first of this Species of Musical Drama ever exhibited in England.⁴⁹

The opera was one of those that Vanneschi and Chinzer had staged at the Cocomero Theatre in Florence in 1731, but the work that arrived in London with the Crosa company had music by Rinaldo da Capua (c. 1705–c. 1780). This was the setting that the company had been singing on tour in Italy, starting with performances in Parma in 1747. The duet 'Siete rozzo'

(In.13) set by Paradies was for Fiorlindo and Pandolfo to close the second act, a lively comic piece in which the first line of text is rendered in English as ‘Why, you’re a rude unmanner’d clown’.⁵⁰ Another Paradies piece, the aria ‘Se proverà d’amore’ **(In.21)**, was first set by Chinzer, presumably for the 1731 performances; the text seems to be absent from the da Capua setting and was presumably reintroduced for the London version. The status of Paradies’ setting is complicated by the fact that the manuscript copy carries the artist’s name ‘Sig. Paganini’, a name unknown to the King’s Theatre at this time; by 1760 when the only recorded Paganini singers, Angiola and Carlo, arrived in London, Paradies was no longer connected with the opera house.

The second Crosa opera to which Paradies contributed was Gennaro Antonio Federico’s *Don Calascione*, a work titled *Il Gismondo* (Naples 1737) and then—in a setting by Gaetano Latilla (1711–1788)—*La finta cameriera* (Rome 1738). When it reached London—and then Brussels—the title took the name of the comic lead character, *Don Calascione*, and it was described as ‘Full of drollery’ with ‘the Music here & there well adapted to the words’.⁵¹ Paradies provided three settings for this opera: ‘Speme gradita all’alma’ **(In.4)**, ‘Da quei begli occhi vaghi’ **(In.5)**, and ‘Se pur di un’infelice’ **(In.10)**, all three of which appear in the 1749 libretto.⁵² Two of the settings—‘Speme gradita all’alma’ and ‘Da quei begli occhi vaghi’—were written for the first London appearances of the castrato Gaetano Guadagni (1728–1792), who had only just made his debut in Venice in the 1746–47 season.⁵³ An excellent actor, he not only sang in the Company’s comedies as the *primo uomo serio*,⁵⁴ but also performed in the serious occasional serenata *La pace in Europa* in the 1748–49 season, and then in the opere serie *Adriano in Siria* and *Il trionfo di Camilla* in 1749–50. When Crosa’s company failed, Guadagni stayed on in London, eventually making a career in oratorio and opera seria. The setting of ‘Se pur di un’infelice’ was for the soprano Angelica Sayz (*fl.* 1743–1769), who sang in London for 1748–49. Sayz, who through her career sang

consistently in houses in Italy, Belgium, and Spain, disappeared from the opera house between 1749 and her reappearance in Genoa in 1752. *The Favourite Songs in Don Calascione* appeared from Walsh around 2 February and were marketed with those from *Orazio* and *La comedia in comedia*.⁵⁵

Orazio gives us some window onto the sort of comedy the London audience experienced. George Harris, attending a performance in June 1749, reported that there was ‘a diverting trio’ in which ‘one [singer] imitates bowling, one a bird in a snare, the 3rd, a bucket carrying to the well’ and he remarked it was ‘Excellent of it’s [sic] kind’.⁵⁶ But an unrelenting diet of this type of comic opera did not please the audience, who clearly enjoyed some comedy, but not nearly as much as was being served up by Crosa. When this became obvious, Crosa did make attempts to retrieve the situation:

To endeavour to please the Quality, that the Encouragers to the Performances at this Theatre, on the 20th of February next, will be performed a New Serious Opera, called L’ADRIANO in SIRIA, the Musick entirely New, composed by Sig. CIAMPI, with a Dance at the End of the Opera, there being two New Dancers just arrived from Abroad.⁵⁷

This gave Crosa 20 days in which to get the opera ready, and in the end, and with the attraction of new dancers, the piece managed eight performances and although a number of those were Benefits, this was a reasonable showing for an opera seria. However, it was too little, too late. and the last performance of the season, a staging of *Madama Ciana* on 28 April 1750, saw the collapse and bankruptcy of Corsa and the temporary closure of the King’s as an opera venue.⁵⁸

It was during this hiatus that Paradies composed an entirely new opera, *La forza d’amore*, which, with a libretto attributed to Metastasio and Vanneschi, was first staged in 1751 at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, opposite the King’s.⁵⁹ Among the Fitzwilliam

arias for the work is ‘Rendi la calma al ciglio’ (**In.14**), employed in Act III, scene 3, and the collector of the pages of MU.MS.108 included the parts copied for the performance. The aria carries the name of Giuseppe Manfredini (*fl.* 1750–1770), a castrato whose only recorded opera performance in London is this staging of *La forza d’amore*; his last recorded appearance was at his own Benefit concert in Hickford’s Room in Brewer Street on 5 March 1754.⁶⁰ This aria is probably the last in the collection to have been written, and in fact, *La forza d’amore*, is the last stage work with which Paradies can be associated; although the composer was still involved with the lease of the King’s Theatre when the opera company reopened there in November 1753, there is no evidence that he ever again acted as musical director or house composer, or indeed, completed any more music for the stage.

Loose arias, other ideas

For the rest of the numbers in Fitzwilliam MU.MS.108, we have what might be described as ‘loose arias’, settings included in the manuscript which are not recorded as making it into the librettos of London stage shows, and their context is—at this moment at least—undetermined. One of these is ‘Dice che t’è fedele’ (**In.3**), a text from Metastasio’s *Demetrio* but one not included in the London performances of that opera in 1737. This was a setting intended to be sung by Sibilla Gronaman (*fl.* 1742–48, *d.* before 1766), a soprano who sang at the King’s Theatre for the 1747–48 season. Gronaman, who performed as ‘Mrs Sibilla’, had made her first appearance in London in January 1745; her career through the 1740s was at the playhouses, where she sang a variety of roles, including Ceres in the masque added to Shakespeare’s *Tempest*. Her appearance at the opera house for this single season suggests that the theatre was short of Italian performers. She is also listed in the librettos of *Lucio Vero* (1747), *La ingratitudine punita* (1748), *Enrico* (1748), *Didone* (1748), and *Semiramide riconosciuta* (1748), but the aria itself does not appear in any of the published texts.⁶¹

While there seems to be nothing to indicate that *Didone* or *Semiramide* were in contention, there is some evidence that points to two of the season's other works as possible recipients of the Paradies' setting. The first of these is the 'New Pastoral Opera' *La ingratitude punita*, which opened on 12 January 1748,⁶² but which by the fourth (and last) performance on 1 March was being advertised as 'With Alterations'.⁶³ These alterations may have included the addition of Gronaman's aria, although the fact that the performance was for the Benefit of Marianne Pirker (*fl.* 1736–1756) suggests that such interventions would have been on Pirker's behalf. Indeed, an unspecified Paradies contribution may well have been the advertised 'New Song [that] will be sung by Signora Pirker'.⁶⁴ Pirker herself spent the seasons 1746–47 and 1747–48 in London, where she performed in the operas and sung in a number of Benefit concerts before returning to the Continent.

The second possibility is a work of which it was reported that 'a practice of the Opera *Enrico*' had taken place, a piece 'compos'd by the celebrated Galuppi, when in England, and exhibited among us a few years since', that is in 1742. The version for 1748, which premiered on 16 January, was noted as having 'Great improvements, from the Works of that Composer', but while some of Galuppi's music may have been used, it cannot have been tailor-made for this staging.⁶⁵ Another opera for which Paradies' setting may have been intended is *Lucio Vero*. This opera, which opened the season on 14 November 1747, was advertised for the fourth performance on 5 December as having 'several airs ... that will be changed for others, all compos'd by Mr. HANDEL'.⁶⁶ 'Dice che t'è fedele' is obviously not a setting by Handel, but there are other signs of tinkering with the libretto, for there is a pasteover of 'L'empio rigor de'l fato', replacing 'Quel torrente che cade dal monte'—a single alteration to be sure, but one that suggests there may have been further changes to the performed text that did not make it into the final libretto.⁶⁷

There are no similar clues for the remaining seven arias in Fitzwilliam MU.MS.108. The sources of the texts for some are clear—those of ‘Alma grande e nata al regno’ (**In.17**), ‘Amo te solo’ (**In.16**), ‘Non sò frenare il pianto’ (**In.11**), and ‘Ch’io mai vi possa’ (**In.12**)—for they are all from librettos by Metastasio, but it has so far not been possible to identify the recipient musical work for Paradies’ settings. If these were indeed used in the London opera house at all, they must have been unannounced late substitutions during the run.

The first of these, ‘Amo te solo’, appeared in *La Clemenza di Tito* in 1737, but also in 1760 and again in 1765.⁶⁸ The fact that Paradies set one of the arias from *Tito* for Domenica Casarini for use in *Annibale in Capua* raises the possibility that this aria was also intended specifically for her. The arias ‘Alma grande e nata al regno’ and ‘Non sò frenare il pianto’ both first appeared in Giovanni Pescetti’s London setting of Metastasio’s *Demetrio* of 1737. ‘Alma grande e nata al regno’ then appeared in two later settings of the opera, *Demetrio* (1772) and *Demetrio* (1785).⁶⁹ It was also used in *Gianguir* (1742), and in *Il re pastore* (1765).⁷⁰ The text ‘Non sò frenare il pianto’ appeared in *Attilio Regolo* (1762), *Sifare* (1768) and *Demetrio* (as *Farnace* 1757 and 1772).⁷¹ The last of the arias in the manuscript, ‘Ch’io mai vi possa’, first appeared in Handel’s *Siroe, re di Persia* (1728), and then in his *Alessandro Severo* (1738).⁷² The repeated uses of these aria texts—many after the period in which Paradies was working—emphasises that the composer was following what had already become a widespread habit of reusing Metastasio’s poetry—from drammi per musica, oratorios, feste teatrali, serenate, and the like—heedless of context, even if the sentiments were unsuitable for the new contexts in which they were employed.

Finally, there is the opera that never was. MU.MS.108 contains two numbers which appear to be for an opera titled *Antioco*. There are a number of ‘Antioco’ operas, including a lost Cavalli setting of a text by Nicolò Minato, and a libretto by poets Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati of 1705, which was set by Francesco Gasparini and performed in London in

1712.⁷³ The first of the numbers in MU.MS.108 is an overture. This is followed by the aria ‘Dirti vorrei qual sia’ **(In.2)**, the text of which had first appeared in London in 1734 in *Oreste*, where it had been sung by Cecilia Young in the role of Iphigenia.⁷⁴ The aria previously had been included in Angelo Carasale’s 1727 pasticcio of Antoni Salvi’s *Stratonica* for Naples.⁷⁵

Afterword

Cambridge Fitzwilliam MU.MS.108, then, is a microcosm illustrating the type of work required of an 18th-century composer working in an opera house. Paradies’ role included the provision of new arias and the alteration of old ones, new overtures, and other music required for new adaptations. We know through surviving libretti and scores that this kind of work took place, but much of it was informal and it is not often documented as clearly as can be seen in MU.MS.108. The pieces found there are the result of unrecorded discussions between all the parties involved in the production of opera: managers, singers, composers, librettists, and musical directors, and represent part of the ‘conglomeration of voices’ encompassing authors, performers, audiences, and transmitters that Reinhard Strohm identifies.⁷⁶ This is a description of opera transmission has not been bettered, and in the case of MU.MS.108, the participant ‘voices’ can be (metaphorically) heard clearly across the centuries, providing evidence of arias written for a resident cast and substitutions undertaken by a house composer.⁷⁷

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It was described by J.A. Fuller-Maitland and A.H. Mann in their *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1893), 46-47.

² Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols (1776–1789), vol. 4 (1789), 466.

³ For a comprehensive consideration of the ever-widening range of views and ideas of pasticcio techniques, see Berthold Over and Gesa zur Nieden, eds., *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th-Century Europe: Contexts, Materials and Aesthetics* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2021). See also Alison C. Desimone, *The Power of Pastiche: Musical Miscellany and Cultural Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Clemson University Press, 2020), Chapter 2: “‘An Assemblage of Every Kind’ The Pasticcio Opera Tradition as Miscellany”, 55–98.

⁴ Colley Cibber, *Venus and Adonis* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1715), Preface.

⁵ Walpole to Horace Mann, 1 November 1742, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 18 (1955), 96.

- ⁶ Edward Moore, *The World by Adam Fitz-Adam*, No. 171, 8 April 1756 (London: J. Dodsley, 1756), 1027.
- ⁷ Burney, *General History*, vol. 4, 453, 456.
- ⁸ Berthold Over, ‘The Art of “Cooking” a Pasticcio: Musical Recipes and Ingredients for Pasticcio Operas’, *Musicology Today (Warsaw)* 18 (2021): 20–34, at 29.
- ⁹ Thomas Betzwieser, ‘The World of Pasticcio: Reflections and Pre-existing Text and Music’, in Over and Nieden, *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th-Century Europe*, 27–43, at 41.
- ¹⁰ Over, ‘The Art of “Cooking” a Pasticcio’, 29.
- ¹¹ Over and Nieden, ‘Introduction’, *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th-Century Europe*, 9–25, at 10.
- ¹² Vanessa Tonelli in her edition Domenico Paradies, *La muse in gara*, in *Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era* 225 (Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2021), x, suggests 1706.
- ¹³ Tonelli, *La muse in gara*, xi, suggests an alternative scenario in which Paradies was possibly born elsewhere. Citing Ferdinand Gajewski, *Domenico Paradies: a Festschrift for the bicentennial of his death* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1993), 234, she notes Rome and Florence, but suggests a move to Venice to study with Porpora during his years at the Ospedale degl’Incurabili between 1726 to 1733. However, citing the repetitive and undisputed use of ‘napoletano’ as a descriptor, Gajewski, 236–237, supports Naples as a birthplace, and Florence as a possibility.
- ¹⁴ See various sources including ‘Paradies (Pietro Domen.)’, in Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1790 and 92), vol. 2 (1792), 78.
- ¹⁵ Claudio Sartori, *I libretti Italiani a stampa dalle original 1800*, 6 vols (Cuneo: Bertola and Locatelli, 1994), vol. 5, 495.
- ¹⁶ Horace Mann to Walpole, 10 December 1741, in *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis, et al., 47 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1937–1983), vol. 17 (1954), 216.

- ¹⁷ William Bristow to the Countess of Denbigh, Rome, 10 March 1737, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Denbigh Preserved at Newnham Paddox, Warwickshire*, Part V (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 212.
- ¹⁸ Carole Taylor, 'From Losses to Lawsuit: Patronage of the Italian Opera in London by Lord Middlesex, 1739–45', *Music & Letters* 68 (1987): 1–25, at 11.
- ¹⁹ Burney, *General History of Music*, vol. 4, 446; see also Walpole to Horace Mann, 6 November 1741, in *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 17 (1954), 190–191; Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: A. and C. Black, 1955), 520–521; and Carole Taylor, 'Handel's Disengagement from the Italian Opera', in *Handel: Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (London: Macmillan, 1987), 165–181.
- ²⁰ HW to Horace Mann, 6 November 1741; Walpole, *ibem*, 140–141.
- ²¹ Patricia Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-century Portrait in Letters and Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 15.
- ²² Bruce Alan Brown, 'Gluck', in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols (London: MacMillan, 2/2001), vol. 20, 25; and see *General Advertiser*, 4 March 1746.
- ²³ Tonelli, *La muse in gara*, xi, and Charles Burney, 'Paradies', in Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopædia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, 39 vols (Philadelphia: Samuel Bradford, 1805–1825?), vol. 27 (1819), 346. Tonelli also suggests that Paradies may have come to London with Porpora in 1733; there is no evidence that he did and it seems unlikely that his presence would have been unremarked.
- ²⁴ *Il trionfo della continenza* (London: 1745). GB-Lbl 907.i.5.(3.).
- ²⁵ *General Advertiser*, 27 January 1746.
- ²⁶ Carmela Bongiovanni, 'Librettos: Italian Projects and Catalogues: 1985–1995', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 43 (1996): 100–122, at 119.

- ²⁷ Both Maria Girardi, 'Per una definizione delle origini dell'oratorio a Venezia e i libretti per oratorio di Bernardo Sandrinelli', *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra*, 13 (Pontificio Istituto Ambrosiano di Musica Sacra – Milano, 1992): 112–149, and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi', *Early Music* 14 (1986): 373–386, have acknowledged Caldara's role in the late 17th-century Venetian oratorio.
- ²⁸ Attributed by some to the poet Agostino Piovene (1671–1721).
- ²⁹ Burney, *General History*, vol. 4, 453.
- ³⁰ Thomas Harris to James Harris, Salisbury, 1 February 1746; quoted in Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 222.
- ³¹ *General Advertiser*, 11 March 1746.
- ³² Thomas Harris to James Harris, Salisbury, 1 February 1746; Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, 222.
- ³³ *General Advertiser*, 11 February 1746 and 1 May 1746.
- ³⁴ Pietro Metastasio, *Catone* (London: T. Wood, 1732). GB-Lbl 639.d.19.(6.).
- ³⁵ Pietro Metastasio, *Poro, re dell' Indie* (London: T. Wood, 1731). GB-Lbl 639.d.19.(2.). See also Graham Cummings, 'Handel and the Confus'd Shepherdess: A Case Study of Stylistic Eclecticism', *Early Music* 33 (2005): 575–589, for a study of Handel's use of the text.
- ³⁶ Pietro Metastasio, *Alessandro nell'Indie* (London: Np, 1746). C-Lu MZ0.056.
- ³⁷ Burney, *General History*, vol. 4, 454.
- ³⁸ *General Advertiser*, 5 May 1746, and for the performance the issue of 10 May.
- ³⁹ Judith Summers, *Empress of Pleasure: The Life and Adventures of Teresa Cornelys - Queen of Masquerades and Casanova's Lover* (London: Viking, 2003), 210–230, and Patricia Howard, 'Guadagni in the Dock: a Crisis in the Career of a Castrato', *Early Music* 27 (1999): 87–95.
- ⁴⁰ [Pasticcio], *Annibale in Capua* (London: G. Woodfall, 1746). GB-Lbl 639.d.22.(6.). Pietro Metastasio, *La Clemenza di Tito* (London: J Chrichley, 1737). US-Wc ML48 [S10618] FT

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⁴¹ *The London Stage 1660–1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press): III, ed. Arthur H. Scouten (1962); part 2, 1264.

⁴² Pietro Metastasio, *La Sermiramide Riconosciuta* (London: G. Woodfall, 1748), dedication. GB-Lbl 907.i.6.(4.).

⁴³ [Pasticcio], *Lucio Vero, imperator di Roma* (London: G. Woodfall, 1747). GB-Lbl 1342.k.31. See Michael Burden, ‘Early Keepers of the Flame; Vanneschi (& Handel) at the Opera’, in David Vickers, ed., *New Perspectives on Handel’s Music: Essays in Honour of Donald Burrows* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2022), 377–99, at 381–82.

⁴⁴ Burney, *General History*, vol. 4, 456–457.

⁴⁵ ‘A new Opera written by Metastasio and the Musick compos’d originally by Signor Hasse’, in *General Advertiser*, 7 May 1748.

⁴⁶ Burney, *General History*, vol. 4, 457.

⁴⁷ Burney, *General History*, vol. 4, 458.

⁴⁸ Daniel Brandenburg and Mirijam Beier, *Die Operisti als kulturelles Netzwerk: Der Briefwechsel von Franz und Marianne Pirker*, 2 vols (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021), 1 October 1748.

⁴⁹ *General Advertiser*, 8 November 1748.

⁵⁰ Francesco Vanneschi, *La Comedia in Comedia* (London: G. Woodfall, 1748), 69.

⁵¹ George Harris, Diary, 10–11 February 1749; in Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel’s World*, 254.

⁵² Gennaro Antonio Federico, *Don Calascione* (London: G. Woodfall, 1749), 32, 59, and 80.

⁵³ Patricia Howard, *The Modern Castrato: Gaetano Guadagni and the Coming of a New Operatic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 26.

⁵⁴ *idem*.

⁵⁵ *General Advertiser*, 2 February 1749.

⁵⁶ George Harris, Diary, 10 June 1749; Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, 261.

⁵⁷ *General Advertiser*, 31 January 1749.

⁵⁸ See Richard G. King and Saskia Willaert, 'Giovanni Francesco Crosa and the First Italian Comic Operas in London, Brussels and Amsterdam, 1748-50', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 118/ 2 (1993), 246–75, for some discussion of the Crosa Company.

⁵⁹ Pietro Metastasio and Francesco Vanneschi, *La forza d'amore* (London: G. Woodfall, 1751). GB-Lv Plays 93 (1) and Cambridge Fitzwilliam MU.MS.12.

⁶⁰ *Public Advertiser*, 4 March 1754. Manfredini's publications, were though, advertised; see, for example, *Public Advertiser*, 2 August 1764. See also Cheryll Duncan, 'Castrati and Impresarios in London: Two Mid-eighteenth-century Lawsuits', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 24 (2012): 43–65, at 52–56, for some account of Manfredini during this period.

⁶¹ For the published texts see: 1747: GB-Lbl 1342.k.31.; 1748: GB-Lbl 907.i.6.(3.); 1748: US-Hw ML50.2.E5G3 1748; 1748: GB-Lbl 907.i.6.(1.); 1748: GB-Lbl 907.i.6.(4.).

⁶² See also US-SM La 67 for the licensing copy of the opera.

⁶³ *General Advertiser*, 1 March 1748.

⁶⁴ *idem*.

⁶⁵ *General Advertiser*, 16 January 1748.

⁶⁶ *General Advertiser*, 5 December 1747.

⁶⁷ See Michael Burden, 'Printed Interventions in Eighteenth-century Librettos for the Performance of Italian Opera in London: the Roles of Commas, Inserts, and Pasteovers', *Script and Print* 37 (2013): 133–158.

⁶⁸ 1737: US-Wc ML48 [S10618] FT MEADE; 1760: GB-Lbl 907.i.8.(1.); 1765: GB-Lbl 11714.b.39.(2.).

⁶⁹ 1737: GB-Lbl 907.i.3.(4.); 1772: GB-Lbl 907.i.14.(2.) by Pietro Guglielmi; 1785: US-SM La 399 with contributions by Luigi Cherubini.

⁷⁰ 1742: GB-Ob G.Pamph. 932 (2); 1765: GB-Lbl 907.i.10.(6.).

⁷¹ 1737: GB-Lbl 907.i.3.(4.); 1762: US-CAh TS 8054.512 1760; 1768: GB-Ob Harding D 2445 (2); 1757: GB-Lbl 1342.k.41; 1772: GB-Lbl 907.i.14.(2.), the last by Pietro Guglielmi, the rest probably pasticci.

⁷² 1728: GB-Lbl 639.d.19; 1738: GB-Lbl RB.a.32983.

⁷³ Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati, *Antioco* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1712).

⁷⁴ After Giangualberto Barlocchi, *Oreste* (1734): F-Pn Res.V.S.408.

⁷⁵ Antoni Salvi, *Stratonica* (Naples: Vocola, 1727), but not used in the opera of 1732.

⁷⁶ Reinhard Strohm, 'Zenobia: Voices and Authorship in Opera Seria', in *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart: Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik*, ed. Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Zôrawska Witkowska (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002), 53–81, at 56-58.

⁷⁷ This article draws on material prepared for *The Italian Opera Aria on the London Stage 1705-1801. A Database of Italian Arias in London*, <http://italianaria.bodleian.ox.ac.uk> (2013), and Michael Burden, *The Italian Opera Aria on the London Stage 1705–1801*, 3 vols (forthcoming), vol 1, 'The Catalogue of Libretti'. It has further been supported by Eugene Ludwig, through the Ludwig Family Charitable Trust.