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## OPERA AT HOME: MUSIC IN NOBLE HOUSEHOLDS IN MID-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GORIZIA

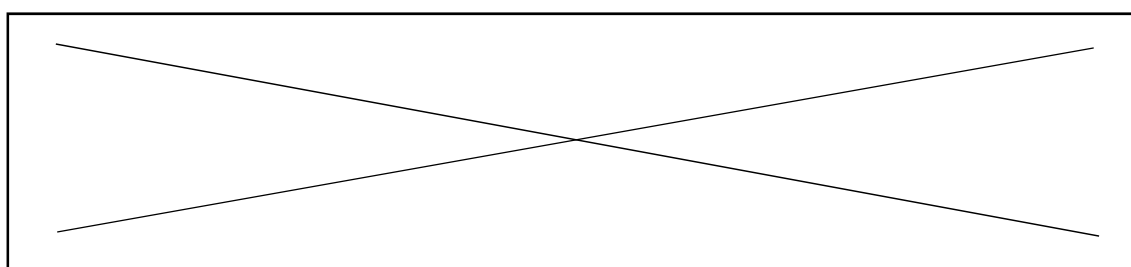
**IZVLEČEK:** Leta 1744 je bila v Gorici ustanovljena Akademia Filomeletov, v kateri se je združevala mestna elita. Opere so od leta 1740 poslušali v Bandljevem gledališču, najbolj priljubljene arije pa so prepevali tudi doma. Razprava obravnava rokopisno zbirko (I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3–5), v kateri skoraj četrtnina vseh skladb prihaja iz opusa Giovannija Battiste Pergolesija, v zbirki pa najdemo tudi arije manj znanih avtorjev, kot sta Andrea Bernasconi in Paolo Scalabrini.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** Gorica, plemstvo, umetnosti, operne arije, prva polovica 18. stoletja

**ABSTRACT:** In 1744 Gorizia saw the foundation of the learned Accademia dei Filomeleti, frequented by the town's elite. From 1740 the operas were regularly produced in the Bandeu theatre. The most popular arias were also performed privately. A case in point is a manuscript collection (I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3–5). Nearly a quarter of the pieces are compositions by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, but it also contains arias by lesser-known masters such as Andrea Bernasconi and Paolo Scalabrini.

**KEYWORDS:** Gorizia, nobility, the arts, operatic arias, first half of the eighteenth century

In 1750 a local man of letters and cultured disposition, Count Sigismondo Attems-Petzenstein, commissioned for his newly built country villa in Piedimonte del Calvario (today, Podgora in Slovenia), near Gorizia, an unusual oil painting depicting a group of chamber musicians (a singer, a harpsichordist and a violinist), with a group of instruments in the background (a cello or double bass, a lute, a drum and a trumpet) and a dancing couple placed to the left of the musicians. The musicians and dancers are all fashionably dressed but have dogs' heads. On a side table behind the dancers we see a figurine of the goddess Diana plus a dog. The scene, with all its details, undoubtedly reflects the commissioner's taste and personal attitude regarding the arts of music, dance and possibly also hunting. Perhaps it also alludes to Carnival time and that season's various secular entertainments. The painter of this curious item was Antonio Paroli from Gorizia, who had learned his craft from Venetian masters.<sup>1</sup>



**Figure 1** | Antonio Paroli (Gorizia?, 1688–Gorizia, 1768), *Minuetto*, c. 1750, oil on canvas, 47 × 160 cm (Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Gorizia; used by permission)

Around six years earlier the Count had engaged the same painter to provide an oil painting to be placed in the centre of the ceiling of the festive hall of his just finished town *palazzo*: a representation of the gods of Olympus, who included Diana.<sup>2</sup> This residence was opened up to a select public on 24 February 1744, when the owner hosted there the foundational meeting of the Accademia dei Filomeleti, one of the earliest literary and learned academies founded in Gorizia during the eighteenth century.

## GORIZIA

In 1737, in the course of a rather formal report from his Grand Tour to his benefactor, the English traveller Jeremiah Milles<sup>3</sup> described Gorizia,<sup>4</sup> today a town on Italy's north-eastern border, as follows:

The research for this article was performed within the research programme Researches in the History of Music in Slovenia (P6-0004), funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

<sup>1</sup> The painting is described and reproduced in Šerbelj, *Antonio Paroli*, 106–107. On Antonio Paroli, see pp. 32–51 in the cited catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Šerbelj, *Antonio Paroli*, 101–102 (reproduction on p. 100); reproduced also in Quinzi, “Rodbinske ambicije”, 69.

<sup>3</sup> On Jeremiah Milles (1714–1784), see Finnegan, *Letters from Abroad*, 1:56–66. On Richard Pococke and Jeremiah Milles, their background and reports from their travels as presented in the cited edition, see *ibid.*, 5–36.

<sup>4</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century Gorizia could boast as many as 200 noble families and had around 6000 inhabitants. The patronage of music by the highest-ranking local nobility is attested by dedications in the

Goritia called in the German language Görtz and capital of a small county, which bears the same name, is situated at the foot of some high mountains which are a part of the Alpes Julian. The town is but small, and the buildings of it not extraordinary, except some few Palaces of the nobility. There is nothing remarkable to be seen in the town, except the monument of Leonard the last Count of Goritia, in the parish church; and a handsome Jesuits college. The castle is situated on a steep hill North of the town: at the summit of it is a small Palace, where the Counts of Goritia resided, but entirely unfurnished. This place is by no means strong; but they have a small garrison of regular militia in it. The Venetian once had possession of it and there still remains the statue of the winged Lyon which is the arms of the Republick. The prospect from this Castle is very agreeable, the country being covered with vines. Though the County of Goritia be in the circle of Austria, and consequently in Germany; yet the people affect to call themselves Italians, and say they are of Friuli. They all likewise talk that corrupt Italian of Friuli called Forlano, and hardly any but the nobility can speak German. / The nobility of this county are very numerous but exceedingly poor which obliges them to live at home upon their estates. We were recommended to one of the best familys and introduced to the Governor of the County, who entertained us at dinner, and shewed us great civilitys. The nobility live very sociably together.

Later, Milles observes: “Goritia or Goriza is a Sclavonic word signifying a hill.”<sup>5</sup>

Also Richard Pococke,<sup>6</sup> Milles’s travelling companion on his visit to Europe, reported on their visit to Gorizia. Pococke wrote letters of a less formal kind to his mother, telling her about people they met, food they enjoyed or whatever caught his eye. We learn from his letter sent from Ljubljana and written between 30 June and 11 July 1737, that they “waited on the Count & Countess Atemis with a letter; the Count had us to the house of the Governor of the county of Goritia Ct Rabata, who had a brother sovereign Bishop of Passaw. We were introduced to him, he invited us to dine, an old Gentleman of great condescension & politeness [...]”.<sup>7</sup>

## THE LOCAL CULTURAL ELITE AND MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT

The Gorizian nobleman Count Antonio Rabatta was the provincial governor from 1733 up to his death in 1741.<sup>8</sup> He held numerous titles and worked in circles close to the Viennese Court. He was not only an experienced politician and diplomat but also a learned person and a lover of the

surviving printed libretti for local operatic productions and to some extent by their documented active participation in plays featuring music and other academic entertainments.

<sup>5</sup> The quotation comes from an unpublished letter dated 14 July 1737 sent from “Cilley” (Celje in Slovenia): GB-Lbl, Add MS 15774 (Milles-Letters, vol. II, fol. 91r). On Gorizia in the discussed period, see, for example, Cavazza, “Una città italiana nell’impero degli Asburgo”; and on the local nobility, see Cavazza, “Una società nobilare”. For later literature, see also later, n. 15.

<sup>6</sup> On Richard Pococke (1704–1765), see Finnegan, *Letters from Abroad*, 1:37–55.

<sup>7</sup> Finnegan, *Letters from Abroad*, 2:221. The originals are in GB-Lbl, Add MS 19940 (Richard Pococke, *Voyages in Stiria, Carinthia & Italy*, 1737).

<sup>8</sup> Antonio de Rabatta (1656–1741). On the Rabatta family, see Geromet and Alberti, *1001 Gorizia 2001*, 2:195–203 (on Antonio on p. 197). On Antonio Rabatta in his role as *Capitano di Gorizia*, see also Morelli, *Istoria della Contea di Gorizia*, 60. His brother, mentioned in the cited letter from Pococke, was Raymund Ferdinand Graf von Rabatta (1669–1722), Bishop of Passau from 1713 to 1722.

arts, especially poetry and music. Count Rabatta reportedly hosted an active circle of nobles at his *palazzo* in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Its meetings were probably of an academic nature, leading the earliest historians of Gorizia to call them “the school of good manners and polite conversation”.<sup>9</sup> It is not surprising that in February 1696 a performance of a mythological play, *L’odio placato*, which was acted by local aristocratic amateurs, took place in his palace.<sup>10</sup> This play, by an unidentified author, was dedicated to, and possibly written at the behest of, some of the local ladies: “Le Dame”.<sup>11</sup> It was accompanied by an introductory “Prologo” set to music by a certain Giambattista Botteoni, Canon of Segna (today, Senj in Croatia). The three goddesses, Venus, Juno and Athene (in the original: “Venere, Giunone, Pallade”), each have a recitative and a single *da capo* aria. The play was in three acts, two unidentified intermezzi being inserted between them. Its performance was also mentioned by an eyewitness, a local historian, poet and priest named Giovanni Maria Marussig (Slov. Marušič), in his manuscript chronicles of Gorizia.<sup>12</sup>

Dedication of the play to the Ladies of the town

ALLE DAME  
DI GORIZIA.  
Gentilissime Dame.  
Eccovi servite col  
Drama, che  
mi comandaste.  
Quando abbia l’onore  
di incontrare il vostro  
genio, hò avuto tutto il  
fine, che io I aveva  
prefisso ancorchè man-  
casce in tutte le parti, che  
prescrivono le Leggi  
Poetiche. Ogni errore  
mi servirà di gloria, per  
esser parto di quella ub-  
bidienza, che si professa.  
*L’Autore.*<sup>13</sup>

- <sup>9</sup> In the original: “la casa di lui [Count Antonio Rabatta] aperta alla forestiera, non meno che alla nobiltà paesana divenne la scuola della politezza, e del maniero conversare”. See Formentini, *La Contea di Gorizia*, 47.
- <sup>10</sup> On his involvement with music and opera, see Arbo, *Musicisti di frontiera*, 24–25 (notes on p. 33); and Kokole, “Operne predstave v Gorici”, 141–142. On early operatic productions in Gorizia, see also Arbo, “Il melodramma al teatro Bandeu”, 7–19.
- <sup>11</sup> Three copies of the libretto are extant: one is in Milan, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (I-Mb, Coll. Racc.Dramm. 2060), and two are in Rome: one in the Biblioteca musicale governativa del Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia (Carv.1127), and the other in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (I-Rn, 35. 4.K.8.1). The second Roman copy is available online: <https://books.google.it/books?vid=IBNR:CR000330105>.
- <sup>12</sup> “L’Ecc.mo Cardinal Tannara fù accolto in Casa ecc.ma de Rabatta, ove gli fù esibita un opera in musica da Cavalieri e Damme”. Quoted in Cossar, *Storia dell’arte e dell’artigianato*, 90.
- <sup>13</sup> For data on this libretto, see <https://corago.unibo.it/libretto/DRT0030789> (*L’odio placato*, pp. 3–4). The passage is transcribed also in Arbo, *Musicisti di frontiera*, 33n63.

The first proper *opera seria* reached Gorizia — according to present-day knowledge — only decades later, in Spring 1740, with the arrival from Klagenfurt of the first, unnamed impresario, invited by the local nobility.<sup>14</sup> The first production of the season was a *pasticcio* of Metastasio's *Siface* attributed in the printed libretto to Johann Adolf Hasse.<sup>15</sup> It was appropriately dedicated to our “old Gentleman of great condescension & politeness”, Count Rabatta, then still governor of the County. The Gorizian nobility heard the second Spring opera of 1740 already in the newly built theatre house. Up to the mid-eighteenth century it hosted eleven serious operas and probably just as many comic intermezzi played between the acts. The *drammi per musica* known from extant libretti were all *pasticcio* productions typical for the smaller centres in the southern parts of the Habsburg domains such as Gorizia, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana and Graz.<sup>16</sup> The dedicatees named in the earlier libretti were local noblemen and senior government officials.<sup>17</sup> For example, Count Purgstall, the “Luogotenente” serving at the time, is named in three libretti between 1740 and 1745.<sup>18</sup>

Count Wenzel Karl von Purgstall (1681–1749) was born in Prague and raised at the Viennese court.<sup>19</sup> He held various military and political posts. By 1741 he had been a resident of Gorizia for fourteen years. He was a lover of the arts, especially music and theatre, and a member of the local elite. In February 1744 Purgstall — the serving governor of the County of Gorizia —

<sup>14</sup> I have discussed this season in one of my earlier writings. Kokole, “Operne predstave v Gorici”, 142–144 (referencing data new at that time and earlier literature on the subject).

<sup>15</sup> The music heard in Gorizia was in fact by various composers, principally the authors of replacement arias. Such substitutions were common in contemporary *pasticcio* practice and were especially popular among itinerant impresarios working north of the Alps. The literature on this subject is vast, stretching from pioneering writings by Reinhard Strohm (for example, his “Italian Operisti North of the Alps”) to the more recent results yielded by the project *Pasticcio: Ways of Arranging Attractive Operas* directed by Gesa Zur Nieden and Aneta Markuszewska between 2018 and 2021 (<https://pasticcio-project.eu/>); the latter's database unfortunately holds close to no information regarding Gorizia. See also Over and zur Nieden, *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th-Century Europe*; and an article on the Viennese *pasticci* of 1750 (Calella and Stummvoll, “Borrowing, Reworking, and Composing”); not forgetting a comprehensive overview in Over, “On the Move”.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Kokole, “Italijanska opera v notranjeavstrijskih središčih”.

<sup>17</sup> They included Antonio de Rabatta, Wenceslao Carlo di Purgstall (to use the Italian form of his name), “Dame e Cavalieri” (a general term embracing all male members of the local nobility, many of them holding positions in the Provincial Estates, and their female family members, most notably spouses), “Incliti stati della Città” (the local government) and Giovanni Giuseppe della Torre. For the full list of opera productions and dedicatees of the eighteenth-century productions in Gorizia, see the comprehensive table in Kokole, “Operne predstave v Gorici”, 151–156.

<sup>18</sup> *Arsace* in 1740 (the libretto is preserved in I-GOs, St.Pt. 86 u. II), *L'odio vinto dall'amore* in 1742 (I-GOs, St.Pt. 86 u. III) and *Demetrio* (I-GOs, St.Pt. 86 u. VIII). All these operatic productions were *pasticci* with music by a number of different composers. The structure of the earliest productions was comparatively analysed in Kokole, “Italijanska opera v notranjeavstrijskih središčih”. Also extant is the libretto of a cantata composed for Purgstall by Francesco Maggiore that was printed in Udine in 1742 (its title page reads: “Cantata a quattro voci per festeggiare il felice possesso del Capitaniato dell'illustriss. Contado di Gorizia di sua eccellenza signore Wenceslao Carlo del s.r.i. co. di Purgstall lib. bar. [ ... ]. Posta in musica da Francesco Maggiore mastro di capella napolitano, e consegnata dal medemo al merito sublime, e sovragrande dello stesso ill.mo sig. conte e capitano.”).

<sup>19</sup> On Purgstall's period as “Capitano di Gorizia”, see Morelli, *Istoria della Contea di Gorizia*, 61. A portrait of Purgstall is preserved in the Austrian National Library: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Porträtsammlung, Inventar-Nr. PORT\_00065039\_01.

would not have missed the inaugural meeting of the Accademia dei Filomeleti (which lasted only until 1747) in the festive hall of Attems's palazzo.

The host, Count Sigismondo Attems (1708–1758), was the first-born son of Count Giovanni Francesco Attems (1665–1721) and Countess Elisabetta, née Coronini-Cronberg (Elisabetta Lodovica, 1682–1749).<sup>20</sup> These were almost certainly the “Count and Countess Atemis” to whom the two English Gentlemen were introduced with a letter of recommendation in 1737. Sigismondo was at that time in his late twenties and back home from his schooling in Modena and Salzburg and his subsequent Grand Tour of Italy, where he had acquired a great love for the literary arts, historiography and antiquities, the last-mentioned interest being shared by the two earlier-mentioned English visitors in 1737. In 1740 Sigismondo married Countess Maria Giuseppina Lantieri (1721–1790), the daughter of Count Giovanni Federico Lantieri, and niece of his brother Francesco Antonio, who in 1726–1727 hosted at his residence in Vipava, Carniola, the young Carlo Goldoni and his father.<sup>21</sup> This wedding was sumptuously celebrated in the Lantieri palace — named “Schönhaus” — in Gorizia, an additional cultural hub of the town.<sup>22</sup>

When Sigismondo Attems was elected, four years later, as the first “Prencipe” of the new academy, both of “his” Countesses were undoubtedly present in the audience, together with other local ladies.<sup>23</sup> His wife's brother, Count Gasparo Lantieri, became the society's secretary. Maria Giuseppina's other brother, Ferdinando, had since 1737 been married to Purgstall's daughter, so the academy was at its core an extended family enterprise.<sup>24</sup> The Accademia dei

<sup>20</sup> The most comprehensive information on Sigismondo Attems was written down by his distant relative Maria Victoria Pallavicino-Attems and is based on family archives and Sigismondo's own manuscript family history (A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, K, 19, H. 96: *Memorie della Casa d'Attems. Raccolte dal Co. Sigismondo d'Attems sino l'anno 1755*); A-Gla, Familienarchiv Attems, Familiengeschichte, Podgora, Kapitel 1. For a short overview, see Martina, “Attems (d') Sigismondo”. Sigismondo Attems has lately become a subject of interest to cultural and art historians. See, for example, the recent contributions by Quinzi (“Rodbinske ambicije”) and Gomiršek (“Grof Sigismund Attems”). On the period more generally and on Sigismondo's illustrious brother (from 1756 first Archbishop of Gorizia, Carlo Michele), see Tavano and Dolinar, *Carlo Michele d'Attems*; and especially Tavano, “Arte e cultura nella Gorizia”, 375–401 (with references to earlier literature).

<sup>21</sup> This event is cited in numerous articles and books. One of the latest is Makuc, “Grad Rihemberk in Lanthieriji”, 109–113. See also the exhaustive earlier article by Škerlj, “Goldoni presso gli Sloveni”.

<sup>22</sup> The Lantieri palace in Gorizia was another place where sessions of the Accademia dei Filomeleti took place. On the Lantieri a Paratico family and their artistic and literary interests and patronage, see Geromet and Alberti, *1001 Gorizia 2001*, 2:333–381; and also a very recent book edited by Miha Preinfalk and Helena Seražin, *Grad Rihemberk* (especially for the contributions by Neva Makuc, Ferdinand Šerbelj and Tanja Gomiršek).

<sup>23</sup> In his imagination, based possibly also on the depiction of music and dance on the earlier-described oil painting by Paroli then in the possession of his family, Cossàr went so far as to suggest in his book on past life in Gorizia (in a chapter entitled “Gran festa a Gorizia per l'apertura di un'accademia”) that “La sala era andata adagio vuotandosi... Nell'etere, intiepidito dalla cera accesa e dal calore dei convenuti, alitava ancora il profumo di roda e di muschio, mentre in una stanza attigua la contessa Giuseppina aveva lasciato scorrere le dita affusolate sulla tastiera di bosso della spinetta, per un voluttuoso minueto... Gorizia del 1744!” (Cossàr, *Cara vecchia Gorizia*, 62). There is, however, no other documentary evidence for this musical event.

<sup>24</sup> The surviving documents (registers, minutes of the meetings and recited or read literary or learned works by members) were all transcribed, commented on and published by Ranieri Mario Cossàr in 1945. See Cossàr, “La cultura goriziana”. The information in this paragraph is taken from that article. For family connections, see also Kos, “Iz arhiva grofa Sig. Attemsa”, 134 (he provides a description of Sigismund Attems's wedding contract, drawn up on 28 November 1739 in Gorizia at the Lantieri palazzo, and mentions all the names of the

Filomeleti was inspired by the Roman Arcadia and by various Bolognese academies. Sigismondo was indeed a member of one of the latter, possibly the Accademia dei Gelati.<sup>25</sup> Its purpose was to promote an erudite *conversazione* among the members that involved the reading of their poetry or other learned works, with provision for accompanying entertainment.

In addition to men of letters belonging to local ecclesiastical and aristocratic circles (nobles, priests, monks and teachers), its members included — by special invitation — a few illustrious personalities such as Scipione Maffei (1675–1755), Daniele Florio (1710–1789; a well-known poet from Udine) and, last but not least, the Imperial Court poet and librettist Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782). Florio was a personal friend of Metastasio; so, too, was Sigismondo Attems, who corresponded with the famous court poet between 1741 and 1756, sending him his own sonnets and some other writings. In one of his letters written in 1737 Attems — for instance — called the poet “Caro amico Metastasio”.<sup>26</sup> During his long life Metastasio maintained friendly contact with two other Gorizian families: the Cobenzls and the Coroninis, especially Francesco Coronini.<sup>27</sup>

One of the pieces recited in the August session of 1745, was an Anacreontic poem by Count Fabio Antonini, *Contro la moda*, which satirizes current fashion and provides first-hand information on contemporary feminine pastimes, identified as dancing, singing and speaking foreign languages.<sup>28</sup>

*Contro la Moda*, anacreontica by Fabio Antonini (1745), 20th stanza

Quindi avvien, ch’il Ballo, e ’l canto  
e i linguaggi forestieri  
presso lei an’ il bel vanto  
d’occupar tutti i pensieri,  
e l’amabile Bellezza.  
Per qual il fin da lei s’apprezza?

Music-making and listening to music, going to the opera — but then also repeating the most fashionable operatic pieces at private domestic gatherings — were all widely practised pastimes among the female nobility, and comparable with the hunting so eagerly engaged in by their menfolk. Hence, maybe, the connection of dogs and the Goddess Diana on the one hand

persons involved, who turn out to be the same as we find among the membership of the same academy: various Lantieri, Attems, Rabatta, Terzi et al.).

<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, the Bolognese Accademia dei Gelati served as a model also for the earliest academies and similar societies in Ljubljana, the capital of Carniola: namely, the Academia Unitorum, also called St Dismas’s Brotherhood (from 1688), the learned Academia Operosorum Labacensium (from 1693) and the musical Academia Philharmonicorum (from 1701). See, for example, Kokole, “Academia Philharmonicorum Labacensium”, 38–39.

<sup>26</sup> Cossà, “La cultura goriziana”, 67. On the correspondence between Metastasio and Attems, see Antona-Traversi, *Lettere disperse e inedite*, 371–381. See also Brunelli, *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, 5:240–421, 696–697, 1138–1139.

<sup>27</sup> Antona-Traversi, *Lettere disperse e inedite*, 370–371. See also below, n. 80.

<sup>28</sup> See Cossà, “La cultura goriziana”, 104–107.

and dancing allied to music-making on the other hand shown in Paroli's painting for Sigismondo Attems.

Academic and other noble gatherings in Gorizia undoubtedly lent cohesion to its cultural elite consisting of members of local families known for their artistic patronage and interests and numbering, besides the Attems, also the Coroninis, Lantieris, Cobenzls, Thurns and many others.<sup>29</sup> These events, possibly after the official sessions had closed, also became occasions for musical entertainments, where the more musical members of the assembled public, especially ladies, could show off their talents on various instruments or by singing with instrumental accompaniment, be this only a keyboard instrument for the basso continuo line, sometimes supplemented by two violins and a viola (these, rather than wind instruments, were the most commonly added parts for such purposes). This practice is evident also from contemporary depictions of music-making within the family and other domestic musical events.<sup>30</sup>

## OPERATIC ARIAS IN- AND OUTSIDE THE THEATRE

Singing with instrumental accompaniment was indeed very popular. For that purpose, musical scores were acquired either by direct purchase from scribal workshops, especially immediately after premieres, or via commissions based on personal preferences or choices. Soprano arias were particularly fashionable at that time, since they were suitable for the private displays of noble female amateurs — but these could also be transposed an octave lower for the use of tenor voices. We can easily imagine that in Gorizia this type of repertoire for private gatherings included the most popular arias heard at productions at the local Bandeu theatre from 1740 onwards as well as the most fashionable arias and duets sung at various Italian opera houses, most notably in Venice but also in Rome, Naples and other locations frequented by the Gorizian nobility.

Evidence for this practice emerges from locally preserved eighteenth-century aria collections listed in catalogues and from articles written by Alessandro Arbo during the 1990s.<sup>31</sup> The collections dating from the second half of the eighteenth century that once belonged to two major cultural figures of the town, Count Francesco Coronini and Count Carlo della Torre, as well as to members of the Attems and Cobenzl families, are relatively numerous, but are not the subject of this article.<sup>32</sup> There are, however, only four such collections so far known to me that date from the first half or middle of the eighteenth century. Three of them are held today by the

<sup>29</sup> For more, see Grasso, *Nobiltà goriziana & musica*.

<sup>30</sup> There are numerous cases where female musicians are either playing a keyboard instrument or are shown in the role of a singer. Some of them are accessible online via Wikimedia: for example, a *Family Concert* by an unknown painter ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:18\\_century\\_house\\_concert.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:18_century_house_concert.jpg)). See also, for instance, Nicolaes Aartman's *Musical Gathering* (<https://id.rijksmuseum.nl/200189633>) and many similar examples.

<sup>31</sup> Arbo, "I fondi musicali a Gorizia", 17–18 and 22; and Arbo, *I fondi musicali dell'Archivio storico provinciale*, 15–16 and 21–28.

<sup>32</sup> The later, and better-known, phenomenon of (especially Viennese) *Hausmusik* is therefore not addressed here and lies beyond the scope of this paper dedicated to the situation in the first half of the eighteenth century.



Archivio Storico Provinciale (I-GOp) under the shelfmarks Misc. Mus. 1, 2 and 3–5.<sup>33</sup> One, in score format, contains thirty arias by Gaetano Latilla and a cantata by Domenico Gallo; some of these items identify the year and a specific theatre as well as the singer.<sup>34</sup> The second aria collection is dated 1750 at Venice, and the name of Francesco Coronini is added inside the front cover.<sup>35</sup> The third one, Misc. Mus. 3–5, to be discussed below, contains no clear indications of provenance, but possesses a possibly somewhat later binding — the same as for the already mentioned collections I-GOp Misc. Mus. 1 and 2 — that possibly links it to the same Coronini family. The contained repertoire is from an earlier period, and so, too, is the selection of arias in the fourth comparable collection, today held by the Biblioteca Pubblica del Seminario Teologico Centrale (I-GO).<sup>36</sup>

These last two collections were in the past recognized but never catalogued or studied more deeply. This lack of investigation was most probably due to the incomplete state of their preservation and the absence of named composers. The collection of twenty-four arias and two duets in the I-GO volume lacks vocal parts. Preserved, but likewise incompletely, are its parts for “Violino primo” (completely missing are the arias numbered 11 and 12, and the paper of some of the extant parts is damaged), “Violino Secondo Principale” (missing is the aria numbered 11) and “Basso” (a simple instrumental part; missing is the aria numbered 8). On a flyleaf there has survived also an index: i.e., a list with all the arias and the two duets numbered from 1 to 26. The textual incipits of the arias are present only on the Violino Secondo parts, where the name of a single composer, Bernasconi, also appears on the cover of the aria numbered 19 (“Squalida à te d’intorno”) and the final duet (“Cara l’avverso fato”). The parts were copied out by at least two scribes, one of whom was the person most responsible for the two violin parts and also the Basso part (the initials in titles in the parts for the second violin are rather distinctively ornate), while the second scribe copied out parts for the first violin and added some of the titles in the partbook of the second violin. The latter also added titles of the arias to the “Violino Secondo Principale” parts.

The indication “Sig. Bernasconi” or “Bernasconi” for two items led earlier researchers to infer that there were even more arias by this composer in the collection, which unfortunately cannot be proved by any more modern means. To place individual arias in this collection is further impeded by the loss of the vocal parts, but I have by good fortune managed to identify, for example, no. 4, “Leon piagato a morte”, which was composed by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. It is perhaps indicative that another copy of this aria has survived in Gorizia in the collection today held by I-GOp and discussed below. The provenance of the seminary library collection is impossible to establish beyond the fact that its holdings were copied in the Italian-speaking area.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Arbo, *I fondi musicali dell’Archivio storico provinciale*, 115–118.

<sup>34</sup> I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 1. The music was heard in Venice in 1751 and in Padua at the Teatro Nuovo in 1753. Arbo, *I fondi musicali dell’Archivio storico provinciale*, 115.

<sup>35</sup> I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 2. Arbo, *I fondi musicali dell’Archivio storico provinciale*, 115–116.

<sup>36</sup> I-GO, with no shelfmark. In Arbo, “I fondi musicali a Gorizia”, 22, the collection is merely mentioned without being described in any detail.

<sup>37</sup> There are annotations in Italian on the verso of the endpapers and the “Violino Primo” part that could also link the collection to circles associated with the Jesuit College in Gorizia or elsewhere.



**Figure 2** | Title page of the “Violino Secondo Principale” part for no. 26, the duet by Andrea Bernasconi (I-GO; used by permission)

The formal layout of the collection, which consists mostly of solo arias (with a bass line and sometimes added violin and viola parts) plus, optionally, an added duet or two, is standard for the period in question, and there are innumerable similar collections preserved today all over the world. Many of them were commissioned or even personally compiled by wealthy and/or musical travellers in Italy. Some of the compositions then apparently in vogue occurred frequently in this repertory — in many cases, the arias have their composers indicated, and sometimes even the titles of the operas and information on theatres and dates of performance, all of which aids the identification of arias from known operas, including ones otherwise lost.<sup>38</sup>

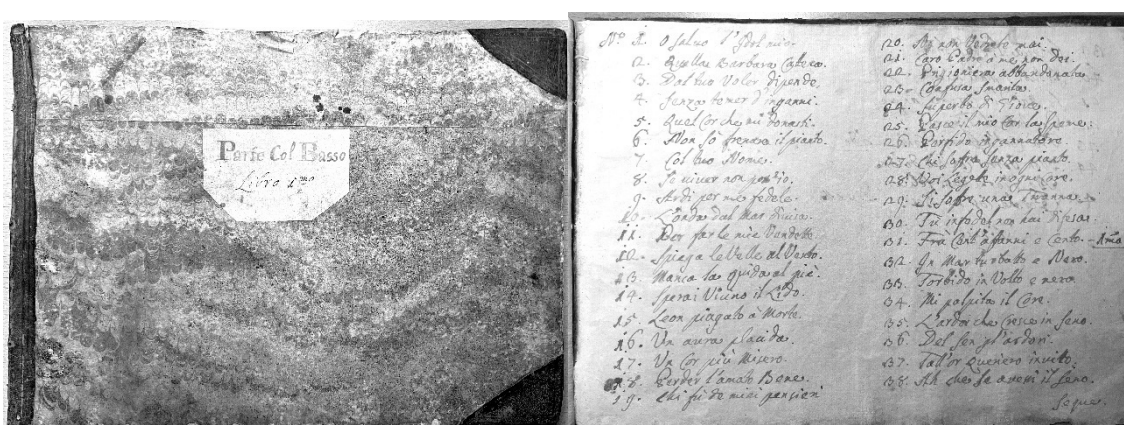
#### THE I-GOp COLLECTION OF ARIAS MISC. MUS. 3–5

At this point I wish to devote attention to the collection preserved within the *Miscellanea* in I-GOp. On the whole, this collection is similarly incomplete, since the partbook for the first violin is missing. Three partbooks are extant: “Violino secondo”, “Viola” and “Parte col Basso”. The identification of composers is in this instance easier, for we do have a “Parte col Basso”: a short score for voice and basso continuo. In the collection there are altogether forty-four arias and one

<sup>38</sup> I have earlier discussed similar collections drawing on various types of data that have proved helpful to my research into the two Gorizian sources. Especially valuable for identifications is Thomas Gray’s collection, today housed at Yale University Library. See Kokole, “Lasting Musical Effects”.

duet. It is clear that separate arias were once loose copies and were bound together at some later stage. The edges were trimmed to form partbooks for separate instruments and voice with continuo. All the surviving parts are written on paper of Venetian origin (with three crescents in the watermark) and were copied by a single, probably professional scribe, who also numbered them and compiled a list of all the compositions. The most informative part is the “Parte col Basso”, which contains on its final two pages the above-mentioned list of all the items — that is, the textual incipits of the arias and the duet, albeit without any indications of authorship. The pages are not numbered.

There are no recitatives in this collection — only stand-alone arias. A viola part is provided for fewer than half of the arias. The extant copies are well preserved and show few signs of use. There are, however, a few places where corrections have already been inserted by the original scribe — for example, crossed-out bars or an inserted staff line pasted over on a special strip of paper (in the second violin part of the aria no. 16, “Un’aura placida”, and other places). All but three arias use the C1 clef (for soprano); nos. 2 and 29 employ the C3 clef (alto) and no. 30 the C4 clef (tenor). Some arias have been transposed to the soprano register from their original tenor pitch. I therefore infer that the copies were commissioned for a female end-user.



Figures 3a and 3b | Cover of the “Parte col Basso” (left) and first page of the table of contents (right) in the same volume (I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3; used by permission)

The original scribe indicated the authorship of music only for four out of the forty-five compositions: nos. 1 and 4 by Gioacchino Cocchi, no. 3 by Leonardo Leo and no. 30 by Georg Christoph Wagenseil, all shown in bold in the table in the Appendix. This manuscript clearly evidences how little authorship mattered in the contemporary “opera industry”, as we would call it today, being stated on less than ten per cent of the compositions. However, a second hand later added names to another twenty-one arias; these are distinguished by the use of bold italic lettering in the table in the Appendix. Eight composers proved identifiable through the finding of matches in the RISM and CORAGO databases and other online music resources (these composers’ names are given in italic font), while the authors of eleven further arias for now remain anonymous are identified only hypothetically by their texts and context (in square brackets and smaller font).

More than half of the arias are settings of Pietro Metastasio’s texts taken from fourteen *drammi per musica* written by the later Imperial Court Poet between the late 1720s and the mid-

1740s: *Didone abbandonata* (1724), *Siroe, re di Persia* (1726), *Ezio* (1728), *Catone in Utica* (1728), *Alessandro nell'Indie* (1729), *Artaserse* (1730), *Demetrio* (1731), *Adriano in Siria* (1732), *Demofonte* (1733), *L'Olimpiade* (1733), *La clemenza di Tito* (1734), *Achille in Sciro* (1736), *Ciro riconosciuto* (1736) and *Zenobia* (1740); beginning with *Demetrio* the librettos were written for Vienna, the previous ones originated in Italy.<sup>39</sup> Into the last two columns of the table in the Appendix (“Production” and “Year and town”) I have entered the details for operatic productions or performances that were the putative sources for the copyist of the Gorizian collection. These two columns show only my hypotheses, since this type of information is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain.

According to the data collected so far,<sup>40</sup> the items in the collection come from works by ten composers. The Neapolitan composer Giovanni Battista Pergolesi leads the way with ten arias and the single duet, followed by Johann Adolf Hasse with five. The remaining eight composers are Leonardo Leo (with 4 arias), Leonardo Vinci (3), Paolo Scalabrini (3), Gioacchino Cocchi (3), Andrea Bernasconi (2) and Giuseppe Arena, Georg Christoph Wagenseil and Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi with 1 aria each. The repertoire copied in the Gorizian collection dates from the early 1730s to the mid-1740s, and there are two major groups that call for further discussion. One consists of the prominent Neapolitan composers: Leo, Vinci and especially Pergolesi, and in the other group I would include Scalabrini, Bernasconi, Wagenseil and possibly Hasse — the composers we can link directly to Austrian operatic centres such as Vienna and Graz or to impresarios active there in the years relevant to the collection under discussion. Speaking generally, this is a repertoire that enjoyed popularity along the Venice-Vienna axis, extending beyond it to the Slavic-speaking lands north of Vienna<sup>41</sup> around the 1740s.

## GIOVANNI BATTISTA PERGOLESI'S MUSIC IN GORIZIA

Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736) has been always one of the most beloved Neapolitan composers.<sup>42</sup> Not only for his *Stabat Mater* and *La serva padrona*, but also for his music composed for the productions of serious operas, some only recently discovered by our present-

<sup>39</sup> This information was obtained with the aid of the CORAGO database <https://www.ilcorago.org> and cross-checked against the standard modern edition of Metastasio's works: Brunelli, *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*.

<sup>40</sup> The data and information on operatic repertoire and early music sources available in RISM and similar online databases are increasing daily. That is why it is necessary to stress that the article is based on what was available to me by mid-October 2025.

<sup>41</sup> On this region's interest in Neapolitan music and its remaining musical testimonies, see, for example, Jonášová, “Italienische Opernarien”; Jež, “Reception of Neapolitan Music”; and especially Perutková, *Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami*.

<sup>42</sup> For more information on the composer, his works and literature on the subject, see Toscani, “Pergolesi”; and Huckle and Monson, “Pergolesi”. Very informative is also an earlier book by Paymer and Williams, *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*, which also provides an annotated list of literature on the composer and his contemporaries. See also the latest list of modern editions in <https://www.fondazionepergolesispontini.com/edizioni-musicali/catalogo-g-b-pergolesi/>. In his 1977 catalogue Paymer provides a list of all Pergolesi's operas together with their arias. See Paymer, *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*, 43–58.

day performers and the public.<sup>43</sup> Even though he died very young and worked only in the triangle formed by Jesi, Naples and Rome, his music travelled widely. His operas, and especially their arias, give striking evidence of this popularity. After the composer's death they were used, reused, or adapted in other contexts for decades.<sup>44</sup>

Pergolesi's arias and the duet represent one quarter of all music preserved in I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3–5 and deserve a few more words. Out of the eleven items, only three are newly identified. On eight of them we find the name of Pergolesi added by “the second hand” — possibly the volume's owner or someone else in Gorizia. The Pergolesi arias copied out for whoever commissioned them originated from three of his operas dating from the years 1732–1735 plus an earlier, para-theatrical work or oratorio named *La morte di S. Giuseppe* (1731). Two arias bearing Pergolesi's name have an unknown provenance.

All the arias by Pergolesi in the Gorizian collection are written for a soprano singer, even though some of them were originally composed for tenor voice. Such is, for example, the aria “Leon piagato a morte” from Pergolesi's *Adriano in Siria* on a libretto by Pietro Metastasio, which was premiered in October 1734 in Naples.<sup>45</sup> The opera itself did not experience any immediate success, but some of its arias survived as separate items and were reused by the composer himself and by other composers, impresarios and musicians for various *pasticci* as well as circulating in separate copies for music-making in private settings, such as were the already mentioned events in Gorizian *palazzi*.<sup>46</sup> The “wounded lion”, originally set for Osroa in Act II, scene 10 of the opera *Adriano in Siria*, reappeared in radically retexted form as Aminta's “Son qual per mare ignoto” in the reworked version of Pergolesi's next opera, *L'Olimpiade* (Rome, 1735). This aria was often copied out in the eighteenth century either for tenor or for soprano voice. On the copy of this particular piece, preserved as aria no. 15 in Gorizia, the composer is not named and has been identified through other preserved copies with the aid of RISM online.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The latest manifestation of the interest in Pergolesi is a book (2025) by Patrick Barbier that contains a reflection on recent modern interpretations of Pergolesi's music by the countertenor Philippe Jaroussky. Barbier, *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*, 159–163. This book includes a selective up-to-date bibliography and discography.

<sup>44</sup> A list of these productions is given in Paymer and Williams, *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*, 7–8. Interestingly, Pergolesi's arias were reused in some of the same operas as arias by V. Ciampi and by G. Cocchi contained in the Gorizian collection.

<sup>45</sup> Metastasio had originally written this libretto two years earlier for Caldara's setting in Vienna. It is noteworthy that Pergolesi was the composer most beloved by Thomas Gray. In Gray's collection of scores brought home from his Grand Tour in Italy there are numerous arias by this composer; especially in volumes 7 (copies of the aria “Torbido in volto e nero” and the duet “Nei giorni tuoi felici” that he had most probably heard performed in Florence in 1740), 8 and 10, preserved in the Lewis Walpole Collection at Yale University (US-Fay, Quarto 532 MS 7, 8 and 10). On Gray's collection, see Kokole, “Lasting Musical Effects”, 92–93 (with mention of earlier literature).

<sup>46</sup> It should be noted here that the Neapolitan operatic repertoire and also Pergolesi's music reached the theatre in Gorizia at latest during the Carnival season of 1742, when a group of singers from Bologna arrived together with the impresario Filippo Dessales. He staged the librettist Francesco Silvani's opera seria *Il Nerone*, a *pasticcio* containing music by “diversi autori Napoletani”, except for the arias: these were composed by Francesco Maggiore, who travelled for the occasion from Bologna to Gorizia. Both operas programmed in the 1742 Carnival season were performed together with comic intermezzi: *Il Nerone* was partnered by *La finta tedeschina*, and Orlandini's *L'odio vinto dall'amore* by Pergolesi's famous *La serva padrona*.

<sup>47</sup> RISM no. 400170837 (CH-Gc, Rmo 123/1, Ms.10608).



**Figure 4** | Short score of the aria “Leon piagato a morte” by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. (I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3; used by permission)

Another aria from the Gorizian collection, “Torbido in volto e nero”, was likewise originally set for tenor voice — for Farnace in *Adriano in Siria* — but was later assigned to soprano voice. Pergolesi himself arranged it for two orchestras as one of the grand soprano arias for Megacle in his setting of *L’Olimpiade*. In Gorizia this aria is accompanied only by two violins and basso continuo. Like “Leon piagato a morte”, this aria had many variants and circulated widely. Two further arias in the Gorizian collection came from Pergolesi’s *Adriano*: “Prigioniera abbandonata” and “Chi soffre senza pianto”.

Pergolesi’s opera *L’Olimpiade* was in his day more successful than any of his previous theatrical works. There are two further items from this opera preserved in Gorizia.<sup>48</sup> The aria “Tall’or guerriero invitto” was based on an earlier aria from *Adriano*, “Sprezza il furor del vento”, and was reassigned for the Roman theatre from baritone to soprano. The only duet in the Gorizian collection, “Ne’ giorni tuoi felici”, comes from the same opera.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> On this aspect, see especially Degrada, “L’Olimpiade di Metastasio e Pergolesi”.

<sup>49</sup> It was identified through RISM no. 900008672 (US-NH, Misc. Ms. 65).

*La fenice sul rogo, ovvero La morte di S. Giuseppe* (oratorio, 1731)<sup>50</sup>

35. “L’ardor che cresce in seno” (S)

*Salustia* (Naples, 1732)<sup>51</sup>

32. “In mar turbato e nero” (S; originally T)

39. “Soleva il traditor” (S)

*Adriano in Siria* (Naples, 1734)<sup>52</sup>

15. “Leon piagato a morte” (S; originally Bar or T)

→ the music served also for the aria “Son qual per mare ignoto” in *L’Olimpiade*

22. “Prigioniera abbandonata” (S)

27. “Chi soffre senza pianto” (S)

33. “Torbido in volto e nero” (S; originally T)

→ the aria was used in its present state also as a replacement aria for Megacle in *L’Olimpiade* (III/3; libretto p. 84)

*L’Olimpiade* (Rome, 1735)<sup>53</sup>

37. “Tall’or guerriero invitto” (S; originally Bar)

← based on the earlier aria in *Adriano* “Sprezza il furor del vento”

45. “Ne[i] giorni tuoi felici” (SS; originally ST)

Unidentified context

13. “Manca la guida al piè” (S)

25. “Pace il mio cor” (S)

Also of special interest are two arias composed by Pergolesi for his first *dramma per musica*, entitled *La Salustia* and produced for the Teatro San Bartolomeo in Naples. With some alterations made from the music originally written for it, the opera was staged in January 1732, but without much success.<sup>54</sup> Its libretto was dedicated to “Signora Donna Ernestina Margarita Contessa di Harrach, Nata Contessa di Dietrichstein, Vice-Regina di questa Città e Regno”. This Countess was the spouse of the then Neapolitan viceroy, Count Aloys Thomas Raimund Harrach, a high-ranking Austrian nobleman, who was later to become Chancellor of Bohemia. Harrach was a great patron of the arts and a music-lover. In this light, it perhaps comes as no surprise that a few years later, in 1736, the great Moravian music lover and patron Count Johann Adam Questenberg<sup>55</sup> tried to acquire the score of Pergolesi’s *La Salustia* through his Viennese

<sup>50</sup> See the list of arias in Paymer, *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*, 22–23.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 55–56. A first-ever critical edition by Dale E. Monson is planned for 2025. See [www.fondazionepergolesispontini.com/edizione-nazionale-opere-g-b-pergolesi/volumi-in-corso-di-pubblicazione/](http://www.fondazionepergolesispontini.com/edizione-nazionale-opere-g-b-pergolesi/volumi-in-corso-di-pubblicazione/).

<sup>52</sup> Paymer, *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*, 43–44.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 51–53.

<sup>54</sup> See Hücke and Monson, “Pergolesi”; and Toscani, “Pergolesi”.

<sup>55</sup> Perutková, *Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami*.

acquaintances: first, an unspecified member of the Auersperg family; and later, Count Harrach.<sup>56</sup> But Harrach had by then left Naples and had apparently not been of assistance to Questenberg.<sup>57</sup> In July 1737 the last made a third attempt, asking a certain Countess Coronini, who had apparently been, like Auersperg, an invited guest at the operatic productions in Questenberg's palace at Jaroměřice, to obtain the score for him.<sup>58</sup> The Countess was not able to get it, either, so Questenberg's efforts continued until 1739.<sup>59</sup> It is very tempting to hypothesize from this sequence of events that this Countess Coronini had something to do with the aria collection today in I-GOp, which could well have passed down the Coronini family line. She was at all events a member of this same Gorizian family and in close contact with Viennese musical life as well as being *au courant* with the operatic life and productions in Italian towns.

## THE REPERTOIRE CONNECTED TO AUSTRIAN OPERATIC CIRCLES?

This leads us to the second group of compositions in the Gorizian collection under discussion, which on account of at least three factors hints at an Austrian cultural milieu. First, the arias of this group are by composers especially popular in Venice and Vienna; second, there are a number of textual concordances with arias used in the *pasticcio* productions by the Mingotti brothers, who from 1736 to 1746 were based in Graz, but also organized performances at other German-speaking operatic centres;<sup>60</sup> third, and perhaps most importantly, it appears that the main copyist's hand is in appearance closer to Austrian scribal examples than to Venetian<sup>61</sup> — an aspect that would need further investigation beyond the scope of this paper.

As in all of Pergolesi's arias in this source, the vocal parts of most of the neighbouring arias are notated in the soprano clef, once again making them suitable for female performers. There are three exceptions. The tenor aria no. 30, "Tu, infedel, non hai difese", is one of those rare instances where the original scribe troubled to name the composer: in this case, the Viennese composer Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–1777),<sup>62</sup> from 1749 a court composer and, so far, one of the very few non-Italian and German-speaking composers detected in this collection. The original scribe added to the score the direction "con Oboe"; however, no part for the oboe has survived in Gorizia, which of course does not mean that it never existed. The aria comes from this composer's setting of Metastasio's *La clemenza di Tito* (act II, scene 11), staged in Vienna in

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 163 and 211.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 211.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 161–162 and 211–213.

<sup>59</sup> The story is recounted *ibid.*, 211–213. The final known potential provider of the score to Questenberg was the Styrian nobleman and music-lover Count Ignaz Maria Attems, who himself was noted for his interest in Italian opera. Kokole, "Migrations of Music Repertoire".

<sup>60</sup> On their repertoire during the discussed period I have used especially the "Angang II" in Müller von Asow, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*, XLIII–CLXVII; in conjunction with revised and new data published in Theobald, *Die Opern-Stationen*.

<sup>61</sup> In particular, the shape of the C<sub>1</sub> clef is close to that seen in manuscripts copied by Scribe 4 illustrated in Perutková, *Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami*, 70–71.

<sup>62</sup> Wagenseil is a rather well studied composer. The relevant bibliography is given, for example, in Calella and Stummvoll, "Borrowing, Reworking, and Composing", 25 (notes 4 and 5).



1746,<sup>63</sup> which is the latest year so far made apparent in this collection, which otherwise mostly contains arias from the 1730s.



**Figure 5** | Short score of the aria “Tu, infedel, non hai difese” by Georg Cristoph Wagenseil. (I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3; used by permission)

Two further, generally much less familiar, names of composers are found in the collection under discussion. Both men are closely connected with Austrian operatic centres. They are Paolo Scalabrini (1713–1806),<sup>64</sup> who was probably active already in 1737<sup>65</sup> in the Mingotti *impresa* in Graz and subsequently travelled with Pietro Mingotti’s itinerant company, and Andrea Bernasconi (1706–1784),<sup>66</sup> who during the late 1730s was active in Milan, with close links to Vienna and possibly also Graz.

<sup>63</sup> The opera is preserved in Vienna: A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17170. This score is also accessible online at <https://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14298499>.

<sup>64</sup> On Paolo Scalabrini, see Müller von Asow, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*, CCXXI–CCXXII.

<sup>65</sup> Kokole, “Mingotti Opera Company in Ljubljana”, 152–155.

<sup>66</sup> On Andrea Bernasconi, see Sadgorski, *Andrea Bernasconi*; Aretin, “Andrea Bernasconi’s Münchner Opern”, especially the pages dedicated to earlier arias today scattered all over the world on pp. 159–168; Kokole, “Andrea Bernasconi’s Earliest Music”.

Among the three arias in the Gorizian collection bearing the name of Scalabrini, added by the second hand, the origin of one remains unidentified or only possibly identified.<sup>67</sup> The remaining two probably originate from a pair of Pietro Mingotti's *pasticci* first produced in Graz in 1742. The aria no. 16, "Un'aura placida", appears in act III, scene 10 of the carnival production of *Sirbace*,<sup>68</sup> and no. 6, "Non so frenare il pianto", in act II, scene 12 of the autumn production of *Il Demetrio*.<sup>69</sup> The latter was revived in 1744 in Graz and Hamburg, as well as in 1747 in Leipzig. Since Scalabrini acted as a 'resident' composer of the Mingotti *impresa* in Graz, these identifications seem plausible.

In the Gorizian collection there is only one aria attributed to Bernasconi: the aria no. 38, "Ah che s'avessi il seno", for which I found a musical match in the score of the composer's setting of *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* (Vienna, 1737).<sup>70</sup> A textual match for this aria appears also in Angelo Mingotti's libretto *L'innocenza riconosciuta*, in act III, scene 6.<sup>71</sup> Bernasconi's second identified aria is a setting of "Ardi per me, fedele", Metastasio's text for *Didone abbandonata*.<sup>72</sup> This is Selene's passionate love aria placed at the beginning of act II, scene 1, and copied in the Gorizian collection as no. 9. It would appear that it was originally composed for Bernasconi's setting of *Didone abbandonata* in Cesena in 1743, or possibly even for an earlier *pasticcio* or unknown setting of this libretto by Metastasio. In Gorizia the aria bears no indication of the composer, but has been positively identified through comparative research and matching.<sup>73</sup> Bernasconi's music is today very rarely performed at concerts, but in the mid-eighteenth century it apparently circulated widely and was especially prized in the Habsburg lands, Gorizia and other operatic centres. His arias have survived in two unconnected collections in Gorizia, and a number of them in a collection probably originating from Graz but today preserved in Maribor.<sup>74</sup> Bernasconi was also a much sought-after composer in Vienna and was popular with the Bohemian and Moravian nobility.<sup>75</sup>

The connection of the repertoire in the I-GOp collection with that of the Mingotti company in Graz between 1738 and 1744 is possibly ever closer than hinted above. Unfortunately, in most cases we have only texts to compare, and only rarely musical sources in addition, so the following assumptions must remain hypothetical. There are as many as fifteen textual concordances indicated with asterisks after the titles/textual incipits of the arias listed in

<sup>67</sup> No. 7 "Col tuo nome, anima bella", unless it was already used in Graz in 1738 under the guise of "Col tuo nome, Arsinoe, bella" in Angelo Mingotti's *pasticcio* *La verità nell'inganno*. But without the music for this last-named aria, the hypothesis cannot be verified.

<sup>68</sup> Müller von Asow, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*, CXLVII.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, LXXX.

<sup>70</sup> There is more on this opera and Bernasconi's scattered early arias in Kokole, "Andrea Bernasconi's Earliest Music", 210–215 and 221. On *Flavio Anicio Olibrio*, see also Perutková, *Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami*, 180–181.

<sup>71</sup> Müller von Asow, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*, CX.

<sup>72</sup> This aria is discussed, as an example of Bernasconi's "aria d'espressione", in Sadgorski, *Andrea Bernasconi*, 194–195.

<sup>73</sup> The aria and the composer were identified through RISM no. 703001885 (B-Bc, 3718) and Bernasconi's later score preserved in Munich.

<sup>74</sup> Kokole, "Migrations of Music Repertoire", especially the Appendix on pp. 367–373.

<sup>75</sup> See especially Perutková, *Der glorreiche Nahmen Adami*.

the Appendix below.<sup>76</sup> Leaving aside the items by Scalabrini and Bernasconi, the potential other composers would be — as expected — Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Leonardo Leo, Leonardo Vinci, Giuseppe Arena and, of course, Johann Adolf Hasse, whose name appears on numerous libretti for the productions of both Angelo and Pietro Mingotti. The close political and cultural connections of the Gorizian nobility with Graz offer powerful support to the hypothesis of a connection of the collection in I-GOp with operatic life in the Austrian city.

## CONCLUSIONS

The repertoire and choice of arias in the collection in question reflect well the character of eighteenth-century Gorizia, with its largely Italian speaking population and high percentage of nobles among the town's inhabitants. This small but important segment of its population was politically as well as culturally interposed between Italy and the Habsburg rulers in Vienna. Many members of the local aristocracy held administrative posts of various kinds in other Habsburg centres, especially the Styrian capital of Graz. The arias in the collection I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3–5 could have been copied by a scribe from Vienna or close to Viennese circles, which would explain the inclusion of a repertoire popular with itinerant impresarios (the Mingotti brothers at the top of the list) and local noble patrons. Neapolitan composers, especially Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, were extremely popular, but so, too, were also locally active Italian and other composers such as Wagenseil, Scalabrini and Bernasconi. Generally speaking, it remains true, however, that an identical repertoire found favour also in North Italian towns such as (leaving aside Venice) Padua and the geographically closer free Imperial city of Trieste, as well as in Vienna and further afield.

The arias are preserved in a commonly used format for private use and are mostly for soprano. They were possibly intended for female noble amateur musicians, who were all by default trained in singing and playing an instrument (most often, a keyboard instrument). A great number of the copied arias are passionate in character and bravura in style, implying considerable proficiency on the part of their users. The music by the several composers, who at the time stood high in public esteem, was presumably copied some time in the mid-1740s, probably from secondary sources, and disseminated through the agency of impresarios (staging *pasticci* in Vienna and Graz) at events held at the private dwellings of music-loving Bohemian and Moravian nobles, and, further along the line, local academies, singers and private collectors. Any of these actors could be possibly standing silently behind the collection's contents.

Further, the use of a single scribe for the music hints at a commissioned collection and a choice of individual arias tailored to the personal taste of the end-user. A noble commissioner of this particular selection of arias was most probably, as already suggested above, a member of the Coronini family, and possibly one of the parents or another relative of the "Francesco Coronini" whose name appears on some of the scores in the same archival collection in Gorizia.

To enlarge on this point a little: Count Francesco Carlo Coronini Cronberg (1736–1775) was an esteemed poet, a keen traveller, a great enthusiast for the operatic music of his time,

<sup>76</sup> To establish the concordances, I have used Müller von Asow, *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti*, the data provided in the "Angang II". See also above, n. 60.

“Prencipe” of an academy already as early as 1755, and a most welcome frequenter of private noble gatherings in Gorizia.<sup>77</sup> If he had been older he would have fitted well into the earlier-mentioned Accademia dei Filometi. He was born into a prominent and culturally oriented family. His father was Giovanni Carlo Coronini (1706–1787) of Cerou (today Gornje Cerovo in Slovenia), who was himself an amateur poet, theatre lover and translator of theatrical pieces into Italian. His mother was Cassandra (1703–1788), born in Vienna to Count Giovanni Gasparo Cobenzl (1664–1742), an important courtier in Vienna and the governor of Gorizia and Carniola. She herself was close to the Imperial Court and so *au courant* with the latest operatic hits. Her brothers were Carlo and Guidobaldo Cobenzl, and the family was known for its musical interests and patronage.<sup>78</sup>

The couple married in 1729, and Cassandra duly gave birth to many children; after three daughters, Francesco Carlo became the first son. He was sent to Bologna to the Collegio dei Nobili di San Francesco Saverio, where he immersed himself in theatre and undoubtedly music.<sup>79</sup> From there, he was sent to Vienna to continue his studies at the Theresianum, and on account of the impoverished state of his family he opted for a military career, which took him to various important European cultural centres. All historians agree that he was above all other things interested in the literary and musical arts and through his expertise in music became a well-loved guest at Gorizian private gatherings (“si rese amabile nelle conversazioni”). Francesco Carlo Coronini (“Contino Corinini”) was also acquainted at an early age, from at least 1755, with Pietro Metastasio, who acknowledged the former’s gift for poetry.<sup>80</sup>

Just before he died at the age of only thirty-eight in 1775, Coronini himself mentioned, in his satirical testament written in verse as a joke, his musical scores, some of which most probably belong to the already mentioned *musicalia* surviving in I-GOp, and which reflect a somewhat later repertoire than that of the collection of arias we have examined.

Music in the *Testamento* by Count Francesco Carlo Coronini (1775)

Item dono  
e abbandono  
alle due  
figlie sue  
Cassandrina  
e Giannina  
la racolta

<sup>77</sup> The following information comes from Vidic, “Un *testamento* nelle mani di Casanova”, 85–102.

<sup>78</sup> On the Cobenzl family, see the exhaustive recent multi-authored book in two volumes: Vidic and Stasi, *I Cobenzl*. The father, Giovanni Gasparo, was in 1740 the president of the Academia philharmonicorum in Ljubljana.

<sup>79</sup> In Carnival 1751 Francesco Carlo took the role of Egeste in his school’s performance of *Idomeneo*. A printed programme survives: *L’Idomeneo tragedia da’ signori Convittori del Collegio de’ Nobili di San Francesco Saverio di Bologna rappresentata il carnovale dell’anno 1751* (Bologna: Ferdinando Pisarri, 1751). This is preserved in I-Bca, 17 SC.LETTCOLLEGI I 02,pos.02 (<https://arbor.medialibrary.it/item/894d1dcb-2cf2-480d-a3a1-543doa22fc93>).

<sup>80</sup> Cosentino, “Gorizia, Trieste, Vienna”, 245; and Vidic, “Un *testamento* nelle mani di Casanova”, 87.

varia, e molta,  
di duetti,  
minuetti  
e divine  
cavatine  
de' migliori  
noti autori  
italiani  
e germani,  
e una serie  
d'arie serie  
del Paisiello  
Buranello  
di Piccini  
e Sacchini  
le canzoni  
del Bertoni  
i rondò  
del Ramò  
e i finali  
immortali  
dell'Anfossi  
che s'io fossi  
re del mondo  
per secondo  
vorrei fare  
coronare.<sup>81</sup>

It is indeed inviting to wonder whether the “Contessa Coronini”, who in 1737 was begged in Vienna by Count Questenberg to acquire the score of Pergolesi’s *La Salustia*, and the person standing behind the commission (or the one for whom someone compiled the arias and the duet today included in I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3–5) were one and the same person. Was she perhaps the Contessa Cassandra Coronini, née Cobenzl, mother of the more famous music-lover and collector of scores Francesco Carlo?

<sup>81</sup> See Vidic, “Un *testamento* nelle mani di Casanova”, 113.

## APPENDIX

**Table 1** | Arias in the collection at the Archivio Storico Provinciale in Gorizia, Misc. Mus. 3–5 (the quoted incipits have been normalized)

TEXTUAL INCIPIT	COMPOSER	TEXT	PRODUCTION	YEAR AND TOWN
1 O salvo l'idol mio	<b>Cocchi</b>	Salvi	<i>Adelaide</i>	1743 (Rome)
2 Quella barbara catena	<i>Ciampi</i>	Federico	<i>Lionora</i>	1742 (Naples)
3 Dal tuo voler dipende	<b>Leo</b>	Metastasio		
4 Senza temer d'inganni	<b>Hasse</b>	Metastasio	<i>Siroe, re di Persia</i>	1742 (Parma)
5 Quel cor che mi donasti	<b>Cocchi</b>	Salvi	<i>Adelaide</i>	1743 (Rome)
6 Non so frenare il pianto*	<b>Scalabrini</b>	Metastasio	<i>Demetrio</i>	1742 & 1744 (Graz)
7 Col tuo nome, anima bella*	<b>Scalabrini</b>			
8 Se viver non poss'io	<i>Hasse</i>	Metastasio	<i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i>	1736 (Venice)
9 Ardi per me, fedele	<i>Bernasconi</i>	Metastasio	<i>Didone abbandonata</i>	1743 (Cesena)
10 L'onda del mar divisa	<b>Vinci</b>	Metastasio	<i>Artaserse</i>	1730 (Rome)
11 Per far le mie vendette	<i>Cocchi</i>	Silvani	<i>Bajazet</i>	1746 (Rome)
12 Spiega le velle al vento		[Lalli]	[ <i>Ipermestra</i> by Mingotti]	[1743 (Linz)]
13 Manca la guida al piè	<b>Pergolesi</b>			
14 Sperai vicino al lido	<b>Leo</b>	Metastasio	<i>Demofonte</i>	1735 (Naples)
15 Leon piagato a morte*	<i>Pergolesi</i>	Metastasio	<i>Adriano in Siria</i>	1734 (Naples)
16 Un'aura placida*	<b>Scalabrini</b>	Salvi	[ <i>Sirbace</i> by Mingotti]	[1742 (Graz)]
17 Un cor più misero*	<b>Leo</b>	[Stampa, C.N.]	[ <i>Sirbace</i> by Mingotti]	[1742 (Graz)]
18 Perder l'amato bene*	<b>Hasse</b>	Boccardi	<i>Cleofide</i>	1731 (Dresden)
19 Chi fù de miei pensieri				
20 No, non vedrete mai*	[Bernasconi?]	Metastasio	[ <i>Amor, Odio e Pentimento</i> by Mingotti]	[1740 (Graz)]

TEXTUAL INCIPIT	COMPOSER	TEXT	PRODUCTION	YEAR AND TOWN
21 Caro padre, a me non dei	<b>Hasse</b>	Metastasio	<i>Ezio</i>	1730 (Naples)
22 Prigioniera abbandonata	<b>Pergolesi</b>	Metastasio	<i>Adriano in Siria</i>	1734 (Naples)
23 Confusa, smarrita*	<b>Vinci</b>	Metastasio	<i>Catone in Utica</i>	1728 (Rome)
24 Superbo di Giove				
25 Pace il mio cor	<b>Pergolesi</b>			
26 Perfido ingannatore*	<b>Hasse</b>			
27 Chi soffre senza pianto	<i>Pergolesi</i>	Metastasio	<i>Adriano in Siria</i>	1734 (Naples)
28 Voi leggete in ogni core*		Metastasio		
29 Si soffre una tiranna		Metastasio		
30 Tu, infedel, non hai difese	<b>Wagenseil</b>	Metastasio	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i>	1746 (Vienna)
31 Fra cento affanni e cento		Metastasio		
32 In mar turbato e nero	<b>Pergolesi</b>	Morelli	<i>Salustia</i>	1732 (Naples)
33 Torbido in volto e nero	<b>Pergolesi</b>	Metastasio	<i>L'olimpiade</i>	1735 (Rome)
34 Mi palpita il coro	<b>Vinci</b>			
35 L'ardor che cresce in seno	<b>Pergolesi</b>			
36 Del sen gl'ardori*	<i>Arena</i>	Metastasio	<i>Achille in Sciro</i>	1738 (Rome)
37 Tall'or guerriero invitto	<i>Pergolesi</i>	Metastasio	<i>L'Olimpiade</i>	1735 (Rome)
38 Ah, che s'avessi il seno*	<b>Bernasconi</b>		<i>Flavio Anicio Olibrio</i>	1737 (Vienna)
39 Soleva il traditore	<b>Pergolesi</b>	Morelli	<i>Salustia</i>	1732 (Naples)
40 Se tutti i mali miei*		Metastasio	[ <i>Demofonte</i> by Mingotti]	[1739 (Graz)]
41 Se mai d'un cor che langue*	<i>Leo</i>			
42 Per tutto il timore*		Metastasio		
43 Fra cento affanni e cento		Metastasio		

TEXTUAL INCIPIT	COMPOSER	TEXT	PRODUCTION	YEAR AND TOWN
44 Non vorrei con tuo dolore*				
45 Ne' giorni tuoi felici (a 2)	<b>Pergolesi</b>	Metastasio	<i>L'Olimpiade</i>	1735 (Rome)

**Bold** = composers named in the score by the original scribe

**Bold italics** = composers' names added by the second hand

*Italics* = newly identified authors

\* Found in Mingotti's libretti for Graz and other towns up to 1744.

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OPERA NA DOMU: GLASBA V GORIŠKIH PLEMIŠKIH PALAČAH  
SREDI 18. STOLETJA

Kulturno življenje višjih družbenih slojev se je v Gorici 18. stoletja odvijalo na redkih javnih mestih (na primer v leta 1740 zgrajenem Bandljevem gledališču), predvsem pa v zasebnih prostorih, domačih salonih. Domačin grof Sigismund Attems je na primer leta 1744 v slavnostni dvorani svoje novo opremljene palače gostil prvo srečanje Akademije Filomeletov. Na njenih srečanjih se je zbirala mestna elita, predvsem člani plemiških družin Attems, Lantieri, Coronini, Della Torre idr. Mnogi od njih so bili tudi ljubitelji glasbe in gledališča. Sopranske arije, ki so jih Goričani poslušali v svojem gledališču ali pa se nad njimi navduševali v drugih opernih središčih po Italiji in drugod, so bile še posebno priljubljene. Primerne so bile za domače muziciranje in pogosto so v vlogi glasbenic nastopale plemenite gospe. V Gorici se je ohranila peščica nekdanj zasebnih zbirk tovrstnega repertoarja. Danes jih najdemo v Zgodovinskem pokrajinskem arhivu (I-GOp) in v Semeniški knjižnici (I-GO). Razprava se osredotoča predvsem na rokopisno zbirko danes manj znanih arij iz sredine 18. stoletja (I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3–5).

Izbor arij v obravnavani zbirki dobro odraža položaj Gorice in njenih prebivalcev v 18. stoletju. V mestu je bil velik del prebivalstva plemiškega rodu in pogovorni jezik je bil italijanščina. Mestna aristokracija je politično in kulturno dejansko živela med Italijo in habsburškimi vladarji na Dunaju. Mnogi so imeli različne upravne funkcije tudi v drugih habsburških središčih, zlasti v Gradcu. Arije v zbirki I-GOp, Misc. Mus. 3–5 bi lahko na papirju beneškega izvora prepisal tudi pisar iz dunajskih ali bližnjih krogov, kar bi pojasnilo prisotnost repertoarja, znanega iz predstav potujočih impresarijev (predvsem bratov Mingotti) in nekaterih drugih lokalnih mecenov. Neapeljski skladatelji, zlasti Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, so bili izjemno priljubljeni, a prav tako tudi v avstrijskih deželah delujoči drugi skladatelji, kot so Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Paolo Scalabrini in Andrea Bernasconi.

Obravnavane arije so ohranjene v obliki, primerni za zasebno rabo in so večinoma napisane ali prirejene za sopranski glas. Verjetno so bile namenjene plemiškim amaterskim glasbenicam, ki so bile vse že zaradi svojega statusa deležne dobre glasbene izobrazbe, predvsem v igranju na razna glasbila s tipkami in petju. Številne arije so zelo virtuozne, kar prav tako kaže na pričakovane glasbene veščine morebitnih uporabnic. Avtorji glasbe so skladatelji, ki so bili takrat na vrhu lestvic priljubljenosti. Note so bile prepisane sredi 40. let 18. stoletja, najverjetneje iz sekundarnih virov, ki so krožili v krogih impresarijev (ki so takrat uprizarjali t. i. operne lepljenke na Dunaju in v Gradcu ter tudi v zasebnih rezidencah nekaterih mogočnih glasbenih mecenov na Češkem in Moravskem), pevcev ali tudi zasebnih zbiralcev. Vsak od njih bi lahko bil tihi avtor vsebine obravnavane zbirke.

Zbirka je povečini delo enega samega kopista, kar lahko pomeni, da je šlo za posebno naročilo in so bile posamezne arije izbrane glede na želje in okus naročnika oziroma uporabnika. Sklepamo lahko, da je najverjetneje šlo za člana družine Coronini. Morebiti je bil to eden od staršev ali kak

drug sorodnik Francesca Coroninija, čigar ime se pojavlja na nekaterih sorodnih partiturah v istem arhivskem fondu v Gorici.