# From Vivaldi to Gluck: On the Road with Anna Girò

The singer Anna Girò (1710-after 1749) is normally associated with Antonio Vivaldi, who cherished her performances for their dramatic qualities. Girò made her stage debut (1723) at 13 in Treviso. By the age of 20 (1730) she had also sung in Venice, Bologna, and Florence. From time to time she appeared with Faustina Bordoni and several other luminaries of the opera world. Over the next decade she added Ancona, Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Pavia, Turin, and Verona to her resume. What interests us here is the final decade of her career, because it offers a gloss on the turbulent world of itinerant theatrical life, the one in which Christoph Wilibald Gluck found many of his early opportunities as a composer. In the 1740s this sphere of activity shaped the spread of Italian opera beyond the Alps, in small cities found today in Slovenia, Moravia, the Czech Republic, and eastern Austria as well as in other regions (such as Lombardy) under Austrian rule. The hope of troupes in Graz, Ljubljana, and Bratislava was always for a foothold in Vienna. Local counts typically had townhouses in the celebrated city on the Danube, but times were turbulent there too during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-47). In some respects the modest operas of the provinces were covert reminders of the displacements and artistic inconveniences caused by the conflict. One side-effect of the war is that afterwards performers moved past Vienna and Dresden to Hamburg and Copenhagen, at least in the 1750s. By then Girò had retired.

The troupe model of opera production was thus a by-product of disturbing times. For a singer trained, like Girò, in the 1720s, the adaptation must have been difficult. Yet an interesting aspect of Girò’s transition is that she continued to sing in what were the popularized remnants of the dignified *dramma per musica* of her youth. It was more at a personal level than an artistic one that the transition to the troupe environment could have been uncomfortable. In a traveling troupe everyone worked on a common contract. The impresario made all the arrangements. Individual singers were rarely praised for their particular contribution. In fact those such as Bonlini and Groppo, who had studiously chronicled each and every production of serious opera{fn: books}, desisted after 1745. The mongrel works being given in Venice (initially by the Mingotti troupe) did not merit the notice.{fn: avvisi}

Pastiches were the order of the day for troupes, and since only fragments of most of their adaptations survive it is impossible to verifiably evaluate musical content, much less style or quality of performance. The evidence consists largely of titles, with an occasional group of arias or an overture that has been rescued incidentally from oblivion. In contrast to the standard seasonal contract in Venice, where a set cast who appear (usually) in three works staged between November and the start of Lent, troupes could move from venue to venue within the year, adding and shedding performers as circumstances warranted. Every venue was therefore ephemeral. Nothing was written for a specific stage or setting, much less a specific audience. The goal was to attract a reasonable audience for a short while with music and acting that could communicate efficiently.

Girò’s late years corresponded to Gluck’s early ones, and so for him a more ordinary progression ensued, from the informality and uncertainty of troupe life to comfortable situations that provided in most cases considerable praise and moral support. Although it might seem on a quick glance that the contrasting paths they followed owed somewhat to gender, the effect was an indirect one. Girò’s career began at an unusually early point for a singer, while Gluck’s as a composer started in a leisurely fashion (at least when compared to the ample ranks of priest and male choristers who started composing in the late teens). The career of a *virtuosa* often declined at around 35, but composers’ lasting works were sometimes written in staunch middle age. The irony of the brief encounter(s) between Girò and Gluck (1745) puts their contrasting trajectories in high relief: she was 35, he 31.

## Girò to 1738

Between 1723 and 1749 Girò appeared in 28 operas outside Venice. Twenty-one were given prior to Vivaldi’s death (1741). Of these ten were entirely or mainly by Vivaldi). Nonetheless Girò is barely discernible in the annals of music history apart from her connection to Vivaldi. Within the Vivaldi literature she is best known for her passionate performances in the 1720s and 30s of “rage” arias in the1720s and 30s. In several of her early roles she portrayed male characters. This was not unusual in Venice and environs, for although *castrati* were often in the limelight at San Giovanni Grisostomo, few of its practices predominated in Venice’s other five theaters. What Vivaldi cherished in her voice and stage abilities was not always shared, particularly with the noble societies that operated theaters outside Venice, especially the Pergola (Florence), the Bonacossi (Ferrara), and the Filarmonico (Verona). The Accademia dei Cimenti (Florence) once complained complained of Girò’s “small voice” and lack of ability to project to audiences. Taking these profiles together, we might instead think of great vocal agility and a strong sense of character than a gentle presence and lyrical charm.

Girò’s early life was a difficult one, for she was abandoned by her mother, ignored by her Mantuan father and brothers, and raised (as well as accompanied throughout her opera career) by her step-sister, Paolina Trevisan, who was about 20 years her senior. Girò was supported in her early years by Alderano I Cybo Malaspina, the duke of Massa e Carrara, and perhaps by the nobleman Gio. Pietro Pasqualigo. She may have studied singing with Tomaso Albinoni, who trained many aspiring opera singers of the time. Vivaldi, in league with the dance master Giovanni Gallo, encouraged her to learn to play the harpsichord. She worked with several impresarios in Venice, where she sang principally at Sant’Angelo and San Moisè. The many composers with whom she worked are indicated in Table 1. Her most famous portrayals occurred early on, as Eudamia in Vivaldi’s *Dorilla in Tempe* (Sant’Angelo, 9 November 1726; revived in 1734) and as Tamiri in his *Farnace* (10 February 1727). *Farnace* enjoyed at least six revivals over the next dozen or so years.

Girò’s path in the 1730s was launched in various new directions. At the start of the decade Vivaldi was somewhere in the imperial reaches of Vienna and possibly also Prague. Records are scanty and are still being sought. Girò’s following was then stronger to the west, for she received invitations to Milan, Turin (not realized), and other venues outside the Venetian Republic. Her one-off performances in Mantua and Pavia were occasioned by Vivaldi’s return to Italy, but the two coincided only rarely at the Teatro Filarmonico, Verona. The theater was inaugurated at the start of 1732 with Vivaldi’s first known attempt at a pastoral subject in *La fida ninfa*, a subject preferred by the Arcadian academicians who operated the theater and in fact had commissioned its construction in 1716! Vivaldi almost certainly composed the music prior to his trip to “Germania” because the opening was to have taken place in 1729. Girò was not present in 1732, but she appeared at the Teatro Filarmonico in 1734—as Statira in Orlandini’s *Arsace* and then as Papiria in Giacomelli’s Lucio *Papirio dittatore*. The work that brought disapproval of her voice by Florentine academicians was Vivaldi’s own *Griselda*, which opened at the Grimanis’ Teatro San Samuele in Venice on 18 May 1735. (Her Florentine critics were predominantly merchants, for Venice’s “spring” season coincided with the city’s mercantile fair.) Carlo Goldoni, who found little to praise either in Vivaldi’s music or in his person, seized the opportunity to “improve” the work for an autumn production in prose by “assassinating” the text Vivaldi used and discarding the music.{Goldoni memoirs}

Vivaldi’s career careened between the peak production of his *Catone in Utica* (Verona, 1737), which brought him riches beyond any of his wildest expectations, and the chasm into which he soon descended when he was forbidden in mid-November of that year from entering Ferrara for the Bonacossi’s forthcoming Carnival season. Vivaldi forbade him, late in November, from producing further works (to which substantial assets had now been committed) at the Teatro Bonacossi there in the forthcoming Carnival season of 1738. The new debts imposed by this turn of events precipitated his ultimate exile from Venice. Vivaldi went into hiding in the spring of 1740 and was largely invisible until his death on July 28, 1741, in Vienna. No evidence of contact with Girò in the last two years of his life are known, speculation about a joint escape notwithstanding. She did not appear in what proved to be Vivaldi’s final work for Venice, the *Feraspe* of November 1739. She was not name in his will, nor under the circumstances would a bequest of benefitted her.

## Girò in Ferrara (1737-39)

Despite Vivaldi’s travel ban in 1738, he still prepared two works for presentation there. Girò not only appeared in both, but she and Trevisan brought the meager proceeds back to Venice. She also appeared in two further works there during Carnival 1739. All the works given at the Teatro Bonaccosi were to have been directed and managed by Vivaldi, but only those of Carnival 1737 actually were. Constantly bickering between Vivaldi and the academicians who had to approve the work choices. Vivaldi usually wanted to promote his own operas, but the academicians (like those in Florence) ranked works according to the prestige of their librettists and the interval since an opera on the same subject had been locally produced. In an age that was enraptured with Metastasio, Vivaldi had been late in joining the party. Having set several of the imperial poet’s dramas to music in the past five years, Vivaldi was taken aback when for the 1737 season the academicians in Ferrara requested that it be Hasse’s *Demetrio* and Hasse’s *Alessandro nell’Indie* that be performed in their theater.

The *Siroe* that Vivaldi had preferred to provide for Ferrara in the winter of 1738 xx was instead performed in the following summer in Ancona. Vivaldi was not present, but Girò and Trevisan were. The work was given in Ferrara, finally, in the winter of 1739. While featuring Girò, it was so radically altered that little semblance of the original remained. The surviving libretto, preserved in Bologna, confirms Vivaldi’s claim that the materials he prepared were butchered beyond recognition. In his absence, direction fell to everyone and no one. The scenery painter Antonio Mauro was Vivaldi’s choice for an on-site manager, but Mauro later pointed out later that the music had to be directed from the keyboard, in the person of xx. Most of the changes appear to have been his. Hasse’s *Atalo, re di Bitinnia* completed the season there. Apart from a brief stop in Venice to bring Vivaldi the receipts, Girò was soon on the road to Klagenfurt and Graz.

## Siroe

<comments on *Siroe* score>

--Credit Alfredo Vitolo

Hill’s study of Girò’s roles is concerned mainly with the singers roles in Italy in the 1730s and particularly with changing lyrics from plot to plot for a few favored aria melodies. The most prevalent of these is a simple one in 3 8 that was included in Vivaldi’s *Farnace* (1732),

*Motezuma* (1733), *Catone in Utica* (1737), *Siroe* (1739), and *Ciro* (1739).[[1]](#footnote-1) He notes that Goldoni, who was not enthusiastic about Vivaldi’s music, regarded Girò as an unusually good actress.[[2]](#footnote-2) His valuable appendix[[3]](#footnote-3) itemizes her arias in each of her roles, following libretti mainly in the Braidense National Library, Milan.

## Girò on the Transalpine Road

Girò arrived in Graz by the spring of 1739. The Mingotti troupe[[4]](#footnote-4) had recently moved there after four years in Brno. Girò had been in Klagenfurt in the summer or autumn of 1738 for a revival of Vivaldi’s recent *Rosmira* at the new Stadt Theater, a “ball house” renovated for opera. The Tummelplatz was a modest market square in Graz. The theater on the square was nested (no doubt by coincidence) into an arm of the bishop’s palace. Cultural enterprises in Graz enjoyed the patronage of a few prominent imperial families including one branch of the Eggenbergs (whose noted theatrical enterprise, dating from 1673, was situated in the castle of Czesky-Krumlov). The Trautmanndorfs were another prominent family with involvements in Northern Italy but no demonstrated interest in music or theater. By the standards of most places where Girò had performed, the audience available in Graz was modest in both size and taste.

The Mingotti repertory may have suited the situation as well as any other. Girò took the role of Mandane in a pastiche of *Ciro riconosciuta* at the Tummelplatz Theater in the spring of 1739.[[5]](#footnote-5) In the autumn she was cast in the title role of *Rosmira*, a loose remake of the Vivaldi setting. Another appearance was in a pastiche version of *Catone in Utica*; her likely role would have been that of Marzia, from Vivaldi’s celebrated production (1737) at the Teatro Filarmonico, Verona. At some time in 1740 Girò also appeared in *Amor, Odio, e Pentimento*, which may have been based on the like-named work set by Giovanni Porta. It had been performed in Mestre in 1729.

There is an obvious gap in Girò’s appearances throughout the year 1741, and it is this gap that allows for the possibility that she joined Vivaldi (or vice versa) in Vienna. Vivaldi’s final address was so close to the Kärtnertor Theater that is has long been supposed he was attempting to find work there. Yet firm evidence is lacking. Six months after the composer’s death (Carnival 1742) Girò was featured in a pastiche of Vivaldi’s *L’oracolo in Messenia*[[6]](#footnote-6) at the Teatro Privilegiato.[[7]](#footnote-7) It could have been a memorial nod to Vivaldi, or a work intended for performance sooner. Although Girò went silent again after her 1742 appearance, it is noteworthy that another work performed at theater in 1742 is attributed to Giuseppe Orlandini. Its title (*La fedeltà sin alla morte*) implies a devotional purpose, but its cast features Statira, Arsace, and other characters familiar from the opera repertory. The production featured *balli* (music by Franz Holzbauer; choreography of Franz Hilferding) set in a harem. The singers are not identified. Luca Antonio Predieri had had his *Zenobia* produced there in 1740, and it would have fallen on or about 28 August because it commemorated the birthday of the empress, Elisabeth Christine (1691-1750), just over a month before the emperor, Charles VI, died (1 October). No cast is named. Girò did not perform in the works of Paolo Scalabrini in Vienna in Graz during the absences of the Mingotti troupe.[[8]](#footnote-8)

Girò was back in Venice on 22 May 1743, when she appeared as Fulvia in G. B. Lampugnani’s *Ezio*.[[9]](#footnote-9) Inexplicably, a wintery storm buried Venice in snow the following day, but not before enthusiastic reviews of the production were circulated.[[10]](#footnote-10) *Ezio* was such a well-worn text that the relationship of this version to earlier ones would be difficult to ascertain. She next surface in Milan late in 1744 to prepare for the winter season at the Regio Ducale. There she took the role of Edvige in Galuppi’s *Berenice*, which had its premiere on 23 December. Galuppi’s work was dedicated to Georg Christoph Lobkowicz (1686-1755), commander of the Hapsburg armies in Italy, which were based in and near Milan.

In the imperial halo of Metastsio’s dramas the selection of *Ippolito* for the next text comes as no surprise, but it was in this work, which had its premiere on 31 January 1745, that Gluck made his Milanese debut. Girò appearing as Fedra. In contrast to the largely lost repertory in which she appeared over the final decade of her career, some music from *Ippolito* survives in Switzerland.[[11]](#footnote-11) What is remarkable about her arias is their placidity. The princess of rage scenes now drew arias that reflected her inner turmoil gently. The turmoil is mooted, but not made manifest, as it would have been in a Vivaldi setting.

We see in the libretto that while the music is by “Sig. Cristoforo Kluck”, the *balli* are by “Sig. Borromeo”. The Roman Galliari brothers have supplied the scenery. As Fedra, Girò sings opposite Angelo Amorevoli (Teseo). Fedra’s soliloquy occurs shortly after the work opens. Acres of recitative for Teseo and Arsace throughout the work have been eliminated. The axe falls on some recitatives of Ippolito and a few by Fedra in later portions of the work. The profusion of *vergolette* indicates that Milanese audiences wanted less narrative and more melody. Gluck was well suited to task.

It is clear that in the 1740s Girò’s career was on the wane, but the years of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-47) coincided with a massive shift in public taste for music drama. In the northwest of Italy the Neapolitan *opera buffa* (in contrast to the Venetian and Bolognese musical satires that had existed for more than two decades) had displace the *dramma per musica* in many theaters and cast aside many of those skilled in its performance. Girò survived this changed better than many singers.

## From Vivaldi to Gluck

Vivaldi produced his last opera, *Feraspe*, in Venice in November 1739. He went into hiding in May 1740 and died in July 1741. Despite Girò’s lack of visibility in 1741 and 1743, she appears to have been more independent of Vivaldi with each passing year. In the 1740s she obviously coped well with the gradual departure from the *dramma per musica*, with audiences who understood German rather than Italian, with directors who had no fixed address, with venues that were less opulent than those of Venice, and with works that lacked the dramatic integrity of recent decades.[[12]](#footnote-12) *Ippolito* is an exception within these eroding values of the past. It was well produced, well regarded, was given in a handsome theater for a noble audience (some of whom were German-speaking), and its text adhered to high standards of dramatic achievement. Yet the arias that survive from *L’Ippolito* contrast sharply in character with the arias Girò had sung in operas before 1740. It is likely that the diversification of her career in its final decade offers evidence of her mastery of other styles as well.

In 1748, a year after the death of her step-sister’s husband (Francesco Trevisan), Girò married a nobleman from Piacenza. Antonio Zanardi Landi came from a family that had lost its principle land holdings (south of Piacenza) in 1746, so it is far from certain that the newliweds settled in Piacenza. Girò took a curtain call with the Mingotti troupe by appearing more time, in the pastiche *Lucio Papirio dittatore* at the Tummelplatz Theater in 1749.

The Mingotti troupe had gone to Copenhagen (and elsewhere).[[13]](#footnote-13) Gluck had been based in Milan since 1737. *Ippolito* was the fourth (and last) of his operas to be produced there, for he moved shortly after its production to the King’s Theater, London. His London sojourn was undermined by a political crisis, and by 1747 he had joined the troupe of Pietro Mingotti to present his wedding opera *Le nozze di d’Ercole e d’Ebe* at Pillnitz Castle (near Dresden). A comparison of the itineraries of Girò and Gluck in the 1740s points up the remarkable fact that their paths only crossed once on the same stage, because they appeared in many of the same venues but in an entirely different order. The two operas Gluck had produced in Venice in the 1740s, a setting of Metastasio’s *Demetrio* (San Samuele, 2 May 1742[[14]](#footnote-14)) and *Ipermestra* (San Giovanni Grisostomo, 21 November 1744), are not known to have attracted large audiences. The Venetian opera audience was so captivated by Neapolitan *opera buffa* that had recently displaced serious works at San Cassiano and San Moisè that the Grimani theaters San Samuele and San Giovanni Grisostomo, which had always stood for imperial sympathies and dramatic rectitude, were both on the brink of collapse. It would be unwarranted to consider either that Girò’s appearances in Graz represented a come-down or that Gluck’s in Venice marked early success. The truth is more subtle, the tastes of the time too volatile.

But Fedra’s arias, according to libretto in I-Bc Lo02229, were only these two:

“Quando saprei le tue sorte” {II, i}:

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/libretti/02/Lo02229/

“Digli, che al fin del corso” {III, iv}

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/libretti/02/Lo02229/

also lots of narrative eliminated and some text was changed.

1729 blurb? Girò work table.

Joseph Maria Carl von Lobkowitz, son of the Austrian governor in Milan, is known to have been in Frankfurt at the conclusion of the festivities on 15 October. Another Lobkowitz, Prince Ferdinand Philipp (son of Philipp Hyazinth, whom Gluck's father had served), was in England during the same period as Gluck, as Burney notes (BurneyH, ii, 844), but this may have been coincidental.

| **Girò** | **Year** | **Gluck** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Ferrara: T. Bonacossi: *Demetrio*, *Alessandro nell’Indie* (both Carn.); Verona: T. Filarmonico: *Catone in Utica* (May); Treviso: T. Dolfin: *Farnace* (Oct.); Venice: T. Sant’Angelo: *L’oracolo in Messenia* (Dec.) | 1737 | Milan: study with Sammartini (?) |
| Venice: T. Sant’Angelo: Rosmira (Jan.), *Armida al campo d’Egitto* (Feb.); Ancona: T. La Fenice: *Siroe, re di Persia* (summer); Klagenfurt: Stadt Th.: *Rosmira* (aut.) | 1738 |
| Ferrara: T. Bonacossi: *Siroe, re di Persia*, *Attalo, re di Bitinnia*), both Carn.; Graz: Tummelplatz Th: *Ciro riconosciuto* (spring), *Rosmira* (autumn), both with Mingotti troupe | 1739 |
| Graz: *Catone in Utica* (Carn.), *Amor, Odio, e Pentimento* (season unknown), both with Mingotti troupe | 1740 |
|  | 1741 | Milan: T. Regio Ducale: *Artaserse* (Dec.) |
| Vienna : Kärtnertor Th.: *L’Oracolo in Messenia* (Carn.) | 1742 | Venice: T. San Samuele: *Demetrio* [*Cleonice*] (May): |
| Venice : T. San Samuele : *Ezio* (May) | 1743 | Milan : T. Regio Ducale: *Demofoonte* (Jan.); Crema: *La virtù trionfante dell’ amore e dell’ odio* (Sept.) |
| Milan: T. Regio Ducale : *Berenice* (Dec.), *L’Ippolito* (Jan.), *Ricimero* (Feb.) | 1744 | Milan : T. Regio Ducale: *La* *Sofonisba* (Jan.);  Venice: S. Gio. Grisostomo: *Ipermestra* (Nov.); Turin: T. Regio: *Poro* (Dec.) |
| 1745 | Milan : T. Regio Ducale: *L’Ippolito* (Jan.) |
|  | 1746 | London: King’s Th.: *La caduta de’ giganti* (Jan.), *Artamene* (March) |
| Venice: T. S. Samuele: *Achille in Sciro* (May) | 1747 | Pillnitz (Dresden): *Le nozze d’Ercole e d’Ebe* (June, with Mingotti troupe) |
| Piacenza: T. Regio: *Artaserse* (Carn.) | 1748 | Vienna: Burgtheater: *La Semiramide riconosciuta* (May) |
| Graz: Tummelplatz Th: *Lucio Papirio dittatore* (aut., with Mingotti troupe) | 1749 | Copenhagen: Charlottenborg: *La contesa de’ numi* (April, with Mingotti troupe) |
|  | 1750 | Prague, Kotzen: *Ezio* (Carn.) |

Müller, Erich H., *Angelo und Pietro Mingotti. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Oper im 18. Jahrhundert von Erich H. Müller. Mit einem Bildnis, einem Theaterplan und 19 Faksimile-Tafeln,*Dresden, R. Bertling, 1917

1. John Walter Hill, “Vivaldi's *Griselda*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, *31*(1), 53–82 (<http://doi.org/10.2307/831385>), pp. 76f. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. *Loc. cit.* [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. *Op. cit*., pp. 79ff. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The brothers Angelo and Pietro Mingotti started out together but often pursued separate itineraries with smaller troupes. Pietro (1702-1759) was the brother more active in Graz. Angelo (1700-after 1767) took a troupe to Brno in 1732. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. We presume that she did not appear in the Mingotti troupe’s production of [Vivaldi’s] *Adelaide* during Carnival 1739 in Graz, because she was engaged for the season in Ferrara. It was generally the case (as here) in Graz that a role suited or previously performed by Girò was taken up by Teresa Peruzzi (“La Denzia”, i.e.the younger). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The premier of *L’oracolo in Messenia* had taken place at Sant’Angelo on 28 December 1737, a few weeks after Vivaldi received word that his upcoming Carnival season in Ferrara could not include him (ESF, NC, pp. 457f). The text was a resetting of Zeno’s *Merope* (1712), and in Vivaldi’s version Girò took the part of Merope. A setting by Giacomelli that remained close to Gasparini’s 1712 version had been given at San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1734. Vivaldi’s *Rosmira* had opened at Sant’Angelo a month after *L’oracolo in Messenia*, i.e. on 27 January 1738 (loc. cit.). Girò did not appear in what appears to have been a revival of the work (as Merope) in Ferrara in 1746. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. I.e. The theater enjoyed royal protection. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. *Sirbace* (1742), *Caio Fabrizio* (1743), and *La Semiramide riconosciuta* (1743). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. She was not involved in the 1738 production of Lampugnani’s work in Piacenza. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Full archival citation in Selfridge-Field, *New Chronology*, p 482. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Schweizerische Nationalbibliothek, Bern MLHs 32, Nos. 4-7, 11, 12 (all for Fedra), pp. 480-501. No role is assigned to six additional arias from the same opera. The collection of the volume is entitled *Gluck | Airs, Scènes et Duos Italiens | No. 25 | Parto ma, un giorno amore |* [added by pencil:] *Ippolito (Fedra).* I am cordially grateful to Laurent Pugin, head of the Swiss RISM office, for providing copies of Girò’s arias. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. In her final decade Girò appeared in five works produced by one or both Mingotti (in Graz), one in Vienna, three in Milan (one of which was Gluck’s *L’Ippolito*), two in Ferrara, and one each in Piacenza, and Venice. Since libretti for pastiches given by traveling troupes often failed to name singers, it is possible that she appeared in other works in Austrian and Bohemia during this same decade. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Details of the Mingottis’ troupe sojourn in Copenhagen are currently (2015) under investigation by Christine Jeanneret. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Arias (*inter alia*) in the Swiss National Library, Bern. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)