

6

The *Comici Italiani* Ensemble at the Warsaw Court of Augustus III

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The *comici italiani* troupes, which were active both in their native land and in many countries of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, specialized in performing *commedia dell'arte* and, at a later stage, Italian literary comedies, but only rarely included strictly musical works in their repertory. However, since in their comedies, both the improvised and the authored ones, music, singing and dance played a significant part, and since the intermezzi and the operas presented by these companies constitute very interesting and characteristic variants of the genre, the growing interest in their activities and their repertory by musicologists seems fully justified¹.

This paper aims to deal with the subject from this specific, musicological point of view, but we also hope to provide a handful of minor details to add to the excellent research achieved in this area by Polish teatrologists — Bohdan Korzeniewski, Karyna Wierzbicka-Michalska, Julian Lewański, Mieczysław Klimowicz and Wanda Roszkowska².

Tommaso Ristori's ensemble of *comici italiani*, engaged by the court of Augustus II in 1716, appeared in Warsaw for the last time on 10 December 1730. The artists spent 1731 in Moscow, at the court of Tsarina Anna Ivanovna, "on loan" from the King, who did not need the Italian theatre at that time and who, moreover, came to regard it as quite superfluous. Thus, after their return from Russia to Warsaw, in April 1732, six actors (half the ensemble), among them Tommaso Ristori, the leader or the principale, were dismissed

from their service to the King-Elector. Thus the many years of extremely fruitful activity during the ensemble's employment in the royal service of Poland-Saxony came to an end. Some artists returned to Italy; others, however, remained either in Warsaw or in Dresden, hoping for a change of fortune and in the meantime managing to support themselves in a variety of ways³.

Augustus III, as the new King of Poland, in the years 1734–36 was engaged in consolidating his hard-won power in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, and was spending this period with his wife, Maria Josepha, in his adopted homeland. The band of little princelings, by then quite numerous, remained without its parents in Dresden. (In the carnival of 1734 the oldest of the six children, Frederick Christian, was not quite 12, Maria Amalia was almost 10, Maria Anna — 5.5, Franz Xaver — 3.5, Maria Josepha — 2.5 and the youngest, Carl — only 6 months.) In order to ease the long period of separation for the children, the parents agreed that during the carnival the youngsters should have some worthy entertainment, in the form of theatre performances. Thus on 27 February the children were able to see an Italian puppet performance, the only one that season⁴. Towards the end of the year Tommaso Ristori and those of his colleagues from the former troupe of Augustus II who remained in Dresden declared their willingness to prepare for the forthcoming carnival a series of suitable, i.e. edifying, comedies⁵. The organisation of the performances was undertaken by the Ristoris, who by that time were of quite advanced age: Tommaso was about 75 in 1735, his wife Caterina about 10 years younger. They even covered the expenses of these spectacles out of their own, quite modest, means, counting on being reimbursed by the royal treasury⁶. Apart from Tommaso Ristori, who specialised in the part of Coviello, undoubtedly the former members of the royal troupe who remained in Dresden also took part: Andrea Bertoldi – Pantalone and his wife Marianna Bertoldi – Rosetta, Natale Bellotti – Arlecchino, Carlo Malucelli – Dottore. They must have done so, since during the carnival of 1735, at 10 theatrical evenings, a total of 10 Italian comedies (with the title roles of Coviello and Arlecchino undoubtedly played by Tommaso Ristori and Natale Bellotti) and 9 French comedies were performed, as well as 5 ballets which were added onto the French spectacles⁷. August ô Byrn,

the author of the first monograph devoted to the Dresden-Warsaw troupe of *comici italiani*, claimed, not very precisely, that the carnival repertory for 1735 contained not only a string of various comedies, but also “small divertissements and intermezzi”⁸. Although there is no doubt that dancers from the then 25-strong ballet ensemble of Augustus III took part in the ballets, we have no clear idea as to the cast of the French comedies. By that time the ruler was no longer maintaining a Comédie Française ensemble, although he paid pensions to a dozen or so former members of such an ensemble from the days of Augustus II. According to Moritz Fürstenau it may have been those “pensionnaires” who performed in the plays in question⁹. Whether that was the case or not, the oldest Prince, Frederick Christian, thanked his parents warmly for these spectacles¹⁰. The Prince thanked his father on another occasion for a performance on 8 December 1735 (the birthday and nameday of Maria Josepha), at the same time expressing his gratitude for the promise of Italian and French spectacles in the carnival of 1736¹¹. Indeed, during that season there were 12 theatrical evenings, when the children saw at least 12 Italian and as many French comedies, and the latter were, as before, combined with ballet performances¹². Moreover, in 1736 the royal children themselves took part in a one-act French pastoral comedy *Ridendo docemur*, designed for all, even the youngest princelings, “pour exercer la mémoire de L[eurs] A[ltesse]s R[oyals], pour apprendre à lire, prononcer et à parler parfaitement le françois”¹³.

The Dresden spectacles from the years 1735–36, designed, as has been mentioned, mainly for the royal-electoral children, were received extremely favourably at court, and increased the appetite of the rulers, Augustus III and Maria Josepha, for regular Italian theatre, especially as the political situation in the Commonwealth had by that time clarified and stabilised. Thus, in the autumn of 1737, Andrea Bertoldi (who was a lot younger than Tommaso Ristori) was sent to Italy in order to recruit new actors. Together with the remains of what was previously the troupe of Augustus II they were to form a *comici italiani* ensemble to cater for the needs of Augustus III in Dresden and Warsaw. In July 1737 the Polish treasury paid Bertoldi 1375 thalers for the journey to Italy¹⁴. He was helped in this task by Count Emilio de Villio,

the Venetian delegate at the Polish-Saxon Court. And so, by the beginning of 1738 Dresden had a new, 10-strong Italian comedy ensemble, which included: 1) four actors referred to earlier from the troupe of Tommaso Ristori: Andrea Bertoldi – Pantalone and also the manager (*principale*) of the new ensemble; Marianna Bertoldi – Rosetta; Natale Bellotti – Arlecchino; Carlo Malucelli – Dottore; 2) six newly engaged actors, among them three from the recently dissolved Tsar’s ensemble of Pietro Mira: Giovanna Casanova – Rosaura, seconda donna; Bernardo Vulcani – primo amoroso, Celio; his wife Isabella Vulcani – prima donna (prima amorosa), servant; three actors recruited in Venice: Antonio Franceschini - secondo amoroso, previously the *principale* of the troupe of the Venetian Teatro S. Luca, his wife Girolama Franceschini – terza amorosa, soubrette; Paolo Emilio Caresana – Brighella. As can be seen, Tommaso Ristori himself and his character Coviello no longer figured in the cast and the repertory of the ensemble, which was being looked after by two permanently employed servants¹⁵. The terms of the contract between the royal-electoral court and Bertoldi obliged the entrepreneur to support a 10-person strong troupe with the following characters¹⁶:

1. Pantalone	[Andrea Bertoldi]
2. Arlecchino	[Natale Bellotti]
3. Dottore	[Carlo Malucelli]
4. primo Amoroso	[Bernardo Vulcani]
5. primo e secondo Amoroso	[Antonio Franceschini]
6. Brighella	[Paolo Emilio Caresana]
7. prima donna, Rosaura	[Isabella Vulcani]
8. seconda donna	[Giovanna Casanova]
9. tertio [terzia!] amoroso [amorosa!], qui servira en même temps de soubrette	[Girolama Franceschini]
10. Rosetta	[Marianna Bertoldi].

The complement of actors was thus 2-3 characters fewer than in Tomaso Ristori’s ensemble in the days of Augustus II. It is therefore hardly surprising that in a very short while (and certainly before June 1738) Bertoldi’s

troupe expanded by employing Rosa Grassi, who specialised in the roles of Colombine¹⁷.

The first performance of Bertoldi's ensemble took place on 12 May 1738 in Pillnitz and was part of a cycle of celebrations accompanying the marriage (per procura) of Princess Maria Amalia and Charles III, the King of Two Sicilies. The comedy performed in Pillnitz was entitled *La maggior gloria d'un grande è il vencer se stesso, ossia L'invidia alla corte* and was accompanied by a ballet¹⁸.

The ensemble *comici italiani* of Augustus III was maintained out of the modest — in comparison with the potential of the Saxon accounts — means of the Polish treasury ("Polnische Reise-Cammer-Cassa"). However, the troupe resided in Dresden and accompanied Augustus III during his sojourns in Warsaw only from time to time. Beginning from 1 January 1738, 5500 thalers (=2000 ducats) a year were spent on the upkeep of the Italian actors. In the first two years of the existence of the company this sum was collected on its behalf by Andrea Bertoldi in monthly instalments of 458 thal. 8 gr.¹⁹. In 1740–1748 this sum was increased to 6000 thalers a year (because the complement was increased with the addition of Rosa Grassi?) and after the death of Andrea Bertoldi (who probably died in 1739) the appropriate instalments were collected by the new *principali* — Marianna Bertoldi and Bernardo Vulcani²⁰. The company's salary rose only once more, in 1748, when the sum paid reached 7975 thalers per year (= monthly 664 thal. 14 gr)²¹. This time the rise was probably caused by engaging as members of the troupe two stars of Venetian theatre — Marta Focari and Francesco Golinetti, about whom more will be said later. However, the number employed by the company did not change at that time.

THE FIRST VISIT OF THE ENSEMBLE TO WARSAW: SEPTEMBER 1738 — MID-FEBRUARY 1739

During that time the whole 11-strong complement of the ensemble stayed in Warsaw²². Passports for the actors' journey, with their families and servants, from Saxony to Poland, were issued in Dresden on 29 August²³. In September

1738 Andrea Bertoldi collected 700 thalers from the Polish treasury to cover the actors' travelling expenses from Saxony to Poland, and for the transport of their costumes²⁴. Together with the actors there also arrived in Warsaw Tommaso Ristori, perhaps accompanied by his wife, and the husband of the Colombine, Florio Grassi, who seems to have been a dancer. The very high sum of money paid to Ristori out of the Polish treasury for his journey, 550 thalers²⁵, is somewhat puzzling. Perhaps this 78-year-old and still, clearly, indefatigable artist transported to Warsaw elements of a portable theatre, similar to that which he had to construct in 1731 in Moscow, to cater for the needs of the Tsar's court²⁶? At that time the capital of Poland lacked a permanent stage and until 1748 theatrical performances took place in various rooms of the Royal Castle and Saxon Palace, which were adapted to the immediate needs.

The first Warsaw appearance of the ensemble took place on 7 October 1738 to add splendour to the celebrations of the King's birthday. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, on a stage built in one of the apartments of the Royal Castle (in the room which usually contained the Marshal's table during feasts), and in the presence of the royal couple and Princess Maria Anna, two comedies were performed: *Pantolon impresario d'opera in musica* and *Arlecchino cavaliere francese*²⁷. This is the only mention of the Warsaw theatre relating to the autumn 1738 which is known to us; what we do not know is whether this is the result of the authors of the court diaries²⁸ being insufficiently diligent with their note-keeping, or whether, for some reason (perhaps it turned out to be impossible to adapt the chosen room to function as a comfortable theatre?), performances were halted until the carnival of 1739. In any case it was not until 16 January 1739 that a rehearsal of an Italian comedy took place in the Queen's audience room. Its premiere "in the theatre now built in the Senate Room" added lustre to the celebrations of the anniversary of the coronation²⁹. During the carnival of 1739 (from 17 January to 10 February) performances took place regularly, twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, unless of course this regularity was interrupted for higher reasons (days of Court Galas, the anniversary of the death of Augustus II)³⁰. Judging by the presence in Warsaw of a large group of royal dancers, the comedies must have been accompanied

by ballets. Each spectacle was attended by the royal couple, sometimes with the princesses staying in Poland — Maria Josepha and Maria Anna.

At one time Mieczysław Klimowicz, while mentioning some dates of the spectacles from that season, wrote: “unfortunately we are unable to reconstruct the repertory of those days”³¹. Today we are in a position to achieve a slightly better approximation and indicate 6 titles performed during six out of the ten theatrical evenings³²:

- *Pantalon impresario d’opera in musica* and *Arlechino cavaliere francese*, 7 October 1738;
- *Le Petit-maître* (original title *Il Paronzino veneziano fatto comico per amore*), 20 and 23 January 1739 (later performed in Warsaw on 28 October 1748 and in Dresden during the carnival of 1751); this comedy must have been particularly popular at the court of Augustus III³³;
- *Arlequin le prince* (original title probably *Arlechino finto principe*), 27 January 1739 (repeated in Dresden on 3 February 1742, 6 February 1744 and 3 January 1747);
- *La Pauvreté di Rinaldo* (original title probably *La povertà di Rinaldo*), 30 January 1739 (an Italian comedy with this title was performed in London in 1727, when Giovanna Casanova was working there, so it is probable that she was responsible for ensuring that the work was presented in Warsaw);
- *Il Costantino*, *dramma ridicolo per musica*, 10 February 1739, author of the libretto unknown, music composed by Giovanni Verocai³⁴.

The event of greatest interest to us is undoubtedly the performance on the last day of that Shrovetide of the satirical opera *Il Costantino*, which had 6 vocal parts, out of which 5 were male (Costantino, Ottone, Massimo, Fabio, Trottolò) and 1 female (Irene). The extant libretto does not mention the names of performers, and so we have to find them by looking more closely at the artistic profiles of the members of the troupe.

It seems that all of them (the only one whose artistic past is unknown is Rosa Grassi) were earlier linked with the Venetian, and therefore most avant-garde variety of Italian comedy. The most interesting of them appears to be the then 30-years-old Giovanna Casanova (Rosaura), the mother of the

famous seducer and adventurer, cavalier Giovanni Jacob Casanova de Seingalt. Before entering the service of Augustus III Zanetta, as she was known (Venetian diminutive of the name Giovanna) was an actress and singer in London, Venice and St Petersburg. In Venice during 1733–35 she belonged to the famous troupe of Giuseppe Imer, with whom Carlo Goldoni collaborated with great success. The famous comedy writer remembered the artist in the following terms: “In that troupe [i.e. Immer’s ensemble] there were two actresses playing intermedia [musical intermezzi]. One of them was a very pretty and able little widow, Zanetta Casanova, who played the characters of young lovers in comedies. These two women [the other one was Agnese Amurat] did not know one single note, neither did Imer. However, they all had taste, good pitch and great performing ability, and so the audience liked them”. Goldoni, who created the main part in his intermezzi a tre voci *La Pupilla* for Zanetta, wrote also regarding it: “I took the subject of this short playlet from the private life of the director [Imer], as I noticed that he was definitely attracted to his widowed colleague. I could see that he was jealous of her, and I made him play himself”³⁵. The sympathetic view of Goldoni contrasts with the clearly malicious description of the actress written in 1750 by an anonymous critic and published in a Stuttgart periodical managed by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Chrystian Mylius. The critic wrote about the actress, who was then 40 years old, in a highly inelegant manner and, it seems, not quite objectively: “Her body is fat and gross, and her face old, in spite of theatrical magic! She would be better as a wicked woman, a true female incarnation of the devil, than a young lover. Her part is Rosaura. For the part of a young lover her voice is too hoarse”³⁶. At any rate it was undoubtedly Casanova who played the part of Irene in *Il Costantino*, and Warsaw was probably indebted to her for the presence in the repertoire of a genre as rare as the satirical opera (another example from this area is *Le Contese di Mestre e Malghera per il trono*, performed in Warsaw in 1748). She was probably also the one who introduced the comical genius of Goldoni to the Polish-Saxon court of Augustus III.

Among the men, the 53-year-old Carlo Malucelli (Dottore) must have been one of those who performed vocal parts. At the beginning of his career he

became known in Italy as a singer of bass comical parts in a number of operas (1710 Bologna and Forlì, 1713 Padua). Malucelli himself, when requesting to remain in the service of the Polish-Saxon court ca. 1733, this time as an opera prompter, emphasised that he was a musician by education³⁷. He obtained the post of prompter, and remained in it until about 1742³⁸.

Another possible singer was the then 28-year-old Bernardo Vulcani, as from 1744 he worked as the opera prompter in addition to his other duties³⁹, which, clearly, must have required, some musical qualifications. In 1750 he was described as follows: “he has a good appearance, handsome, of medium height, swarthy complexion and fiery manner; his enunciation is most excellent. [...] Eyes, facial expression, hands and legs, all speak to his appearance”⁴⁰.

The other two performers of Verocai’s opera should be sought among the remainder of the male complement of the troupe. Perhaps Paolo Emilio Carezana, who specialised in the part of the servant Brighella, might also have played the part of the facetious servant (“servo faceto”) named Trottolò in *Il Costantino*.

THE SECOND VISIT OF THE ENSEMBLE TO WARSAW: SEPTEMBER — NOVEMBER 1740

Although this time the Royal Court stayed in Warsaw for only a very short time (just over a month and a half), the *comici italiani* were taken to Poland. After all, 7 October was the birthday of Augustus III, and Maria Josepha expected to give birth in Warsaw (on 10 November 1740 she gave birth in Warsaw to her last child, Maria Kunigunde). As we know, the Queen, when with child, attached particular importance to musical entertainments⁴¹.

And thus 11 *comici italiani* (and 2 servants) travelled to Warsaw, but this time the complement was somewhat different. These were⁴²:

Antonio Piva	[Pantalone]
Antonio Bertoldi	[Arlecchino]
Nicoletto Articchio	[Dottore]
Bernardo Vulcani	[primo amoroso]

Antonio Franceschini	[secondo amoroso]
Paolo Emilio Caresana	[Brighella]
Isabella Vulcani	[prima donna]
Giovanna Casanova	[seconda donna]
Girolama Franceschini	[terza donna]
Rosa Grassi	[Colombina]
Marianna Bertoldi	[Rosetta]

The list of *comici italiani* travelling to Poland in the autumn of 1740 includes also Alessandro Vulcani⁴³, the son of Isabella and Bernardo Vulcani. We know that he was a dancer and that this was probably to be his role in the Warsaw comedies, similar, it seems, to that of Florio Grassi during an earlier period.

The changes in the ensemble concerned the casting of the main parts: Antonio Piva replaced Andrea Bertoldi as Pantalone after the latter's death, Antonio Bertoldi (the son of Andrea and Marianna Bertoldi) became Arlecchino after Bellotti was pensioned off, while Nicoletto Articchio was engaged as Dottore in place of Malucelli (whose only remaining function was that of the opera prompter). Little is known about Articchio apart from the fact that he disappeared from the scene before 1748. On the other hand, Antonio Piva joined the ensemble as an already famous Pantalone, and brought with him experience gained on the stages of northern Italy and at the St Petersburg ensemble of Pietro Mira. Piva's stay (until 1746) with the troupe of Augustus III was only a short episode in his career. However, Antonio Bertoldi linked his whole acting career with the royal troupe. He is supposed to have been the Queen's favourite Arlecchino, and his skill in that part has been emphasised by the fastidious author quoted earlier (1750): "[that] short, slim and agile man [...] speaks many languages and is witty. He is destined for and born to the part of Arlecchino"⁴⁴. This was just one of Antonio's talents⁴⁴, as in 1748 he was singing in another satirical opera performed in Warsaw (more about this later), and during the war he acted as Court secretary.

The Polish treasury paid out 750 thalers for the travelling expenses of the ensemble from Dresden to Warsaw⁴⁵. Moreover, 150 thalers for the expenses of this journey, and a further 294 thalers for their stay in Warsaw from 3 October 1740 to 26 February 1741, were paid out of the Polish treasury to Cosimo and Margherita Ermini⁴⁶, excellent singers, bass and alto, who specialised in the intermezzi genre and were already well known to audiences who used to attend the Warsaw theatre of Augustus II (1730). The presence of the Erminis seems to indicate that on this occasion the Italian comedies performed in Warsaw would be accompanied not by ballets (as happened previously and was to happen in future) but by intermezzi. In spite of this it also turned out to be necessary to bring the ballet master Antoine André, whose role was probably to arrange the dance sets to be performed in the comedies by Alessandro Vulcani and the actors. The accommodation rented for a year from taylor Gottfried Switzki (137 thal. and 15 gr) was shared by André with the violinist Augustin Uhlich⁴⁷. The majority of the actors and one of the servants of the troupe were housed close to the Market Square on two floors in a house belonging to the merchant Duchain (annual rent of 164 thal.)⁴⁸. The three Vulcanis were given three rooms there, the largest of which also served as the place for rehearsals of the troupe. The Francheschini couple were given two rooms, while the remaining actors were assigned one room each. Moreover, one of the rooms in the building was designated as the theatre wardrobe⁴⁹. Marianna and Antonio Bertoldi together with one of the servants were given accommodation in two rooms at the house of someone called Romaironi in Piwna Street, while Giovanna Casanova and Rosa Grassi were housed in Krakowskie Przedmieście at Antoni Chevalier's⁵⁰. Mr and Mrs Ermini at first lived in the house of Maciej Siarowski in the Old Market Square (16.5 ducats per quarter), and then at the house of a wine merchant called Kurowski (45 thal. for the next quarter)⁵¹.

The return journey of the troupe from Warsaw to Dresden was cheaper by 100 thalers than the journey out, as it only cost 600 thal.⁵². It may be the case that a saving was made on the transport of the theatrical wardrobe by leaving it in Warsaw to await the next season.

This time the venue adapted for theatrical performances was most probably the former Ballroom of the Saxon Palace⁵³. The first and, significantly, the only performance of that season which we know about took place on 7 October and lasted two hours. It was one of the elements of the celebrations for the King's birthday⁵⁴. The play was a comedy previously unknown to researchers, *Arlichino muto per spavento*, with the following cast⁵⁵:

Pantalone, Celio's father	[Antonio Piva]
Celio	[Bernardo Vulcani]
Colombina, a servant	[Rosa Grassi]
Dottore, Eleonora's father	[Nicoletto Artichio]
Eleonora	[Isabella Vulcani]
Leandro, a bachelor of Bologna	[Antonio Franceschini]
Arlecchino, a servant	[Antonio Bertoldi]
Rosaura, in love (reciprocated) with Celio	[Zannina Casanova]
Eularia, her mother	[Marianna Bertoldi]
Brighella, an ordinary servant and supernumeraries – innkeeper, porter, <i>sbirri</i> etc.	[Paolo Emilio Caresana]

It does not seem possible that the whole operation of moving the theatre from Dresden to Warsaw, which was logistically quite complicated, expensive to the court and burdensome to the artists, would have been carried out only for the sake of this gala performance. However, it is evident from the lack of relevant notes in all the four (!) court diaries which were kept in parallel that no further performances took place that season⁵⁶. The reason for halting the theatre's activities could not have been mourning for Emperor Charles VI, as he died on 20 October and a ban on public performances of music was not issued by the Crown Marshal Józef Wandalin Mniszczek until 29 October⁵⁷. We cannot tell today what could have been the reason for the professional inactivity of what after all was a sizeable group of first-class artists who were then staying in Warsaw. Perhaps it was they who "rebelled", being unable to fully demonstrate their talents in halls which were always being adapted *ad hoc* for the needs of the theatre?

**THE THIRD VISIT OF THE ENSEMBLE TO WARSAW:
MAY 1748 — FEBRUARY 1749**

This was undoubtedly the most interesting period for Warsaw performances of the *comici italiani* of Augustus III. Of undoubted relevance here was the fact that the King at last decided to build a proper theatre in Warsaw. It was thus both possible and necessary to prepare a rich repertoire, aimed at a much wider audience than hitherto. The theatre, designed for an audience of about 540, had to accommodate one more than twice this size in the first month after it opened⁵⁸.

The ensemble which arrived in Warsaw at the end of May had a complement of 12⁵⁹:

Antonio Bertoldi	Arlecchino
Giovanni Camillo Canzachi	Dottore [also Tabarino]
Francesco Golinetti	Pantalone
Paolo Emilio Caresana	Brighella
Bernardo Vulcani	Amoroso
Gioacchino Limpergher	Amoroso
Antonio Focari vel Foher	Amoroso
Pietro Moretti	Amoroso
Marta Focari	[prima donna, Aurelia]
Giovanna Casanova	[Rosaura]
Isabella Vulcani	[Eleonora, and thus also probably prima donna]
Rosa Grassi	Colombina

As usual, the actors were accompanied by two servants.

Clearly, the personnel of the troupe had undergone significant changes when compared to the complement of 1749. Those who left included Mr and Mrs Franceschini⁶⁰, Antonio Piva, Nicoletto Artichio and Marianna Bertoldi. Their places were taken by six new and highly acclaimed artists: Giovanni Camillo Canzachi – Dottore, Francesco Golinetti – Pantalone, three amorosi – Pietro Moretti, Gioacchino Lindberg and Antonio Focari vel Foher, while the ladies were joined by the brilliant star Marta Focari vel Foher, called La

Bastona, who displaced the then current primadonna Isabella Vulcani and overshadowed Giovanna Casanova.

Marta Focari joined the ensemble of Augustus III just before her arrival in Warsaw. Earlier (in 1736) she played *seconda donna* in the ensemble of Antonio Franceschini in the Venetian Teatro San Luca, and then for quite a long period (1736–48?) she was the primadonna of the ensemble of Giuseppe Imer in the Venetian Teatro San Samuele. Goldoni wrote of her that she was an actress “of great excellence, full of intelligence [...], noble in serious plays, delightful in comedies”⁶¹. The anonymous critic from 1750 did not have any doubts about her talent either, writing: “She is undoubtedly the best actress. Her figure, her voice, all combines to serve her. She pleases also when playing the most repulsive characters. She has royal demeanour. She is not of the youngest. [...] Her look, her expression, the way she moves her head, hands, legs, in short her whole body helps her to act with perfect beauty”⁶². Francesco Bartoli described her as follows: “She was the absolute ruler in the theatre, and when she spoke she knew exactly how to start and how to finish a speech to the full satisfaction of her listeners. Her eloquence, her veiled wit, and at times sharp and clever mockery caused her to be in great demand on theatre stages. Her fame spread beyond Italy and [Focari] was summoned by the Elector of Saxony [i.e. Augustus III]”⁶³. Perhaps Prince Frederick Christian was directly involved in arranging this engagement, since during his stay in Venice in the carnival of 1740 he had the opportunity to get to know the actress well⁶⁴. However, the one attribute Focari lacked was musicality. Whatever the reason, she was not included in the cast of the satirical opera performed at that time in Warsaw.

La Bastona was not the only valuable acquisition in the regenerated ensemble of the royal-electoral *comici italiani*. In a letter to her daughter-in-law Maria Antonia (the wife of Frederick Christian), the Queen declared that another one to distinguish himself among the newly arrived actors was Pantalone, or Francesco Golinetti⁶⁵. He also was previously (from 1738) associated with the Venetian Teatro San Samuele and with Carlo Goldoni, and undoubtedly Frederick Christian must have also met him during his stay in Venice. Goldoni, enthusiastic about the actor’s talent, wrote the following

about him: “Golinetti was not bad in Pantalone’s mask, but he was excellent without the mask as a youthful, illustrious and merry Venetian gentleman, particularly in the commedia dell’arte which was entitled *Il Paroncin*. [...] I observed him closely on the stage, I examined him yet more carefully at the table, during conversation, while walking, and I came to regard him as one of those actors I was looking for [for a novel genre of comedy of characters]”⁶⁶. Goldoni expressed similar sentiments elsewhere: “I remarked Golinetti’s Pantalone, not, however, in order to use him in a masked part, which hides the physiognomy and does not allow a sensitive actor to express his feelings in his face. I did, though, attach a lot of importance to his manner in company, where I watched him closely. It occurred to me that I might make him into a magnificent creation — and I was not mistaken”⁶⁷. In Golinetti, Goldoni thus found the ideal actor to play the main character in his first comedy of characters, *Momolo cortesan* (performed in Warsaw on 11 September 1748 as *Momolo disinvolto*). In its original version (1738) only the part of the hero of the title was written, while the other roles were improvised in Venetian dialect. Goldoni was very pleased with Golinetti’s creation and declared that the actor performed his part “with all the required veracity”⁶⁸. The writer’s next comedy of characters, *Il Prodigio* (performed in Warsaw on 18 October 1748 as *Momolo prodigo su’la Brenta*), from 1739, was also created with Golinetti in mind as the hero of the title, and the play was again enormously successful. Even the German critic wrote in 1750 about the actor’s potential with approval: “A tall, well-built man. His part is that of Pantalone, whom he depicts in a most natural manner. He portrays a gambler, a merry bon-vivant, with equal cleverness. He has a refined, bright face and knows the obligations of a good actor”⁶⁹.

One of the very useful acquisitions of the royal ensemble was also Giovanni Camillo Canzachi, not only as an actor but also as a dramatist. Previously he worked mainly at the Vienna court of Emperor Charles VI, where he appeared in the mask of Dottore and played a part which he himself created, that of an Italianized Frenchman called Monsieur de l’Appetit. Apparently he was thought highly of by Apostolo Zeno himself. After the death of the Emperor, Canzachi probably left for Venice, where in 1740 he appeared —

seemingly without success — in the Teatro San Luca. One of the documents of the Polish-Saxon court describes the actor as Dottore⁷⁰, but in Warsaw and Dresden he portrayed mainly Taberino (= father of either the leading male lover Celio or one of the female lovers – Aurelia, Eleonora, Rosaura; or husband of Colombine) or the already referred to Monsieur de l'Appetit. Our oft-quoted critic from 1750 depicted him as follows: “a short, thickset man. In spite of the fact that he limps he is an excellent actor. He can adapt to every part; he can also portray a marquis; however, he appears most often as Taberino”⁷¹. No less importantly, Canzachi turned out to be extremely important as a dramatist, since about 15 of his comedies were performed in Warsaw and Dresden, 10 of them during the years 1748–49, i.e. in the first year of his employment at the court of Augustus III.

Out of the three newly engaged amorosi (Pietro Moretti, Gioacchino Limpergher and Antonio Focari vel Focher) one of them, according to the Queen, was unsuited for that part⁷². It seems that the one she had in mind was Focari, who later on only played third-rank roles.

In any case, the royal ensemble of *comici italiani* in that complement undoubtedly belonged to the best of that kind of troupe in Europe. The German critic wrote that these actors “would be equally famous in a French theatre”⁷³, which was extraordinary praise. Moreover, on or about 10 June, Warsaw saw the arrival of Pietro Mira, called Pedrillo, who received the title of commissar (Hoff-Commisarius) at the royal court, but in fact fulfilled the function of jester and a universal comic artist, useful as an actor or singer or violinist. Earlier, as has been mentioned, Mira worked at the Russian court, mainly as a virtuoso violinist, but he also won recognition there as an organiser of ensembles of Italian opera and *comici italiani*. He was the one who found in Venice and brought to St Petersburg such actors as Giovanna Casanova, Bernardo and Isabella Vulcani, Antonio Piva, Antonio Costantini and Francesco Ermanno, who were later engaged by the Polish-Saxon court. In Warsaw Pietro Mira made a guest appearance not only in the comedy inaugurating the new theatre, but also sang in a satirical opera *Le Contese di Mestre e Malghera per il trono*, performed on 4 November 1748, and moreover appeared as a jester during the King's nameday (see below).

Pietro Mira stayed in Warsaw in Trębacka Street, at the house of someone called Nick⁷⁴, but we have no data regarding the accommodation of the actors; perhaps they had the same quarters as during their previous visit to Warsaw. We only know that, as a rule, persons accompanied by spouses or children, and those were the majority of the ensemble, occupied 2 rooms, while single persons had to be satisfied with one room each. An exception was Pietro Moretti, who with his wife occupied one room, and Giovanna Casanova who, although single, was distinguished by being assigned 2 rooms. The large room next to the quarters of the Vulcanis still served as the place for rehearsals, and one room was occupied by the two servants of the ensemble⁷⁵.

It was the *comici italiani* who inaugurated the activities of the new Warsaw theatre, perhaps the first freestanding theatre in Poland. The opening took place on 3 August 1748, on the King's nameday combined with celebrations of the day of the Order of the White Eagle. The performance started at about 8 o'clock, and the comedy enacted then was entitled *Gli torti immaginari*. It featured a guest appearance by Pietro Mira, which was remarked on by the King in his letter to his daughter-in-law Maria Antonia: "one of the actors was M.[onsieur] Petrillo, and the resolution of each act ended as usual with a *bastonda*, which all falls on him"⁷⁶. The summer-autumn theatre season lasted until Advent (it ended on 28 November) and comprised 22 comedy performances and one opera, in spite of the fact that after the inaugural performance there was a 26-day break in the work of the theatre, caused, according to a letter from Heinrich von Brühl, by an extraordinary heatwave. The Minister was informing Maria Antonia that the new Pantalone (Golinetti) had the ambition of showing his skills on the stage, but since the comedy hall was excessively hot, it was decided to postpone performances until the first rain⁷⁷. In his next letter to the Prince's wife Brühl complained about this state of affairs, but with some hope of an improvement in the situation: "We live here as purely as in a monastery, [in terms of entertainment] there is only *tirage au blanc* twice a week, but it is probable that comedies will restart and I think that the first of them will be presented on Thursday [29 August] by the new Pantalone [Golinetti] and that it will be entitled *Mercante fallito*"⁷⁸.

In fact, the extraordinary heatwave abated giving way to a slight frost, and 29 August, the birthday of Princess and wife of Bavarian Elector, Maria Anna, saw the performance of *Pantalone mercante fallito*. The third consecutive performance took place to celebrate the birthday of Prince Friedrich Chrystian on 5 September, and the play was Canzachi's *Li due gemelli veneziani*, acclaimed as an excellent performance⁷⁹. The next three performances still took place at more or less weekly intervals; however, from 1 October the frequency was doubled, and the days designated for performances were Mondays and Fridays⁸⁰. This rule was not adhered to in cases when court galas fell on other days of the week, since theatre performances had to be part of the celebrations as a matter of course. The issue of free tickets for performances began on 29 August, as the great popularity of Italian comedies meant that the numbers of those wanting to see them exceeded the space available in the auditorium. Evidence of this is provided by the constantly growing number of distributed tickets. Thus, 1144 tickets were issued on 25 October, which is more than double that which was expected by the theatre designers⁸¹. The next day Brühl wrote to the Prince's wife in his usual style, maliciously sarcastic about Poles: "I am desolate that Your Royal Highness cannot have the pleasure of seeing [the inhabitants of] the Commonwealth at an Italian comedy which, according to their response and conviction, is superior to all the spectacles in the world. The whole [theatre] is always so overfilled that there are often more than 20 people in one box [boxes were designed for 6 or 8 people]. They don't laugh like other people at the smallest gesture, but scream with joy, like people who are being vigorously tickled. Usually they do not speak about the favours received [from the King], but about the fact that the King ordered the comedies to be played for them. It is highly probable that the whole of our carnival will rely on this one kind of entertainment"⁸². Of particular interest here seems to be the remark about the different understanding of the role of the performances. The court treated them as a kind of favour shown by the monarch to his subjects, while the haughty Poles perceived it as entertainment due to them from the King.

The closer to Advent, the greater the number of society persons who left Warsaw, and at the end of November the town emptied. The next influx

of guests to Warsaw came only at the end of the year, with the approach of the carnival season. The theatrical season in the carnival began on 8 January and ended on 31 January 1749. There were 11 performances, this time as many as three each week — on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. If we include the performances from 1748, this visit of the troupe to Warsaw resulted in 33 comedies and 1 opera. This achievement becomes all the more impressive when we take into account the fact that — judging by the presence of the dozen or so ensemble of royal dancers — each comedy must have been accompanied by ballets (at least that is what happened in 1754), which makes the total number of individual productions significantly larger.

Two-language arguments of the comedies were printed in Warsaw for the successive performances: Italian and French, Italian and German, Italian and Polish, French and German. Thus all members of the multinational audience had an opportunity to acquaint themselves with an outline of the plot of those still, at least in part, improvised plays⁸³. However, the correspondence of Maria Josepha, who enclosed arguments of the Warsaw comedies with letters sent to Dresden, shows that the ballets, whose existence we are guessing at, also had their arguments printed in Warsaw⁸⁴! Today we know of only two such prints, and those from not earlier than 1761, when ballets accompanied opera performances⁸⁵.

Thus the documented repertoire shown in Warsaw during the period in question looked as follows:

1748

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 3 VIII | - <i>Gli torti immaginari</i> |
| 29 VIII | - <i>Pantalone mercante fallito</i> Tommaso Mondini? |
| 5 IX | - <i>Li due gemelli veneziani</i> G.C. Canzachi |
| 11 IX | - <i>Momolo disinvolto</i> C. Goldoni |
| 18 IX | - <i>Il francese studente in Venezia con Aurelia sua competitorice</i> G.C. Canzachi |
| 25 IX | - <i>La donna di garbo</i> C. Goldoni |
| 1 X | - <i>Taberino smemorato, o sia Il marito di tre moglie</i> |

- 4 X - *Pantolon amoureux de sa belle fille*
 7 X - *L'impostura vendicata* G.C. Canzachi
 11 X - *La donna creduta maschio*
 15 X - *Taberino mezzano per necessità della propria moglie*
 18 X - *Il prodigo* C. Goldoni
 22 X - *L'ubriaco* G.C. Canzachi
 15 X - *Le trentatre disgrazie ridicole d'Arlechino* C. Goldoni?
 28 X - *Il paronzino veneziano fatto comico per amore (= Le Petit-Maitre)* [the author might have been Antonio Piva?]
 8 XI - *Monsieur de l'Appetit, nobile per opinione, o il povero francese* G.C. Canzachi
 11 XI - *Quanto sia difficile il custodire una donna*
 15 XI - *Il diavolo maritato* G.C. Canzachi
 19 XI - *Momolo bullo*
 22 XI - *Taberino bacchettone* Flaminio Scala
 25 XI - *Prima di tutto la mia donna, o sia Gl' equivoci del nastro*
 28 XI - *Aurelia maga*
1749
- 8 I - *Colombina maga*
 10 I - *Le allegrezze in casa d'Arlechino per la nascita del suo primogenito* C. Goldoni
 13 I - *Gli eventi fortunati prodotto d'un amor infelice*
 15 I - *Pantalone speciale* Giovanni Bonicelli?
 17 I - *L'innocente rivale con Arlechino finto Bacco*
 20 I - *Arlechino sicario ed assassino per onore e creduto principe per arte magica*
 22 I - *Aurelia gelosa di se stessa*
 24 I - *Il disertore francese* G.C. Canzachi
 27 I - *Pantalone geloso*
 29 I - *Colombina ortolana creduta contessa*
 31 I - *Il ponte di Mantible*

Music and dance were present in at least the five following comedies⁸⁶:

- *Pantalone mercante fallito* (29 August), in which, according to the argument, “il soggetto è morale, ma per esser mescolato con varii divertimenti di gioco, ballo e canto, f’à che esce del tutto ridicolo e piacevole”;
- *L’impostura vendicata* (7 October), which was accompanied by “a dreadful symphony, dances of Hate and Fury, pastoral Ballet. After the comedy, ballet heroique pantomime” (in translation from Polish argument), that is “une fête theatrale, avec de machines, ballets et decorations”, libretto by G.C. Canzachi, choreography by A. Pitrot;
- *Il Paronzino veneziano fatto comico per amore* (28 October), which comedy “est ornée de Chansons venisiens & des masquerades, c’est ce que la rend fort amusante”;
- *Momolo bullo* (19 November), also this one “ornée avec des chansonnettes & bals à la venisienne”;
- *Pantalone speciale* (15 January), although in this case the argument is not extant, *Kurier Polski* from that day informed its readers: “At Court on certain days comedies and operas are performed, with which His Royal Highness *in frequentia* is in the habit of *adesse* the senators, the ministers, the magnates and other *distinctioris status* persons of both genders, and these performances *continuumi* are to be until the royal departure. Also today an opera is being performed”. We think that the term “opera” employed here by the journalist — at that time used very imprecisely but always in connection with music — also in this case underlined an unusual preponderance of songs and dances.

Of particular interest, however, is the satirical opera *Le Contese di Mestre e Malghera per il trono* (4 November 1748), which has been referred to a number of times already. Its libretto was written by Antonio Gori, the music composed by Salvatore Apollini, and the performers were: Rosa Grassi in the part of Mestre, Giovanna Casanova as Malghera, Antonio Bertoldi – Ballotta, Girolamo Focari – Strigheroch, Pietro Mira – Bottenigo, and a musician from the Polish cappella of Augustus III, Franz Seydelmann, as

Carpaneo. Although this opera has already been the subject of research by Julian Lewański⁸⁷, Piermario Vescovo and Maria Giovanna Miggiani⁸⁸, it will be worthwhile to examine it again, and we intend to do this in the near future.

THE FOURTH AND LAST VISIT OF THE ENSEMBLE TO WARSAW: JUNE — DECEMBER 1754

We do not know why, after such successful seasons — the autumn of 1748 and the carnival of 1749, — it took 5 years before the *comici italiani* paid Warsaw audiences another visit. Although in 1752 the court spent one month of their fourteen-week stay in Grodno, where there was no theatrical stage, there do not seem to be any reasons why the five-month stay of the court in Warsaw should not have brought this noble entertainment with it, for the amusement of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth.

Whatever the reason, the autumn of 1754 was the next, and the final season of the ensemble of Italian comedy in Warsaw. At the end of July there arrived from Dresden the troupe of *comici italiani*, this time 14-strong — five ladies and nine gentlemen (accompanied by two servants). They were⁸⁹:

Marta Focari	[prima donna, Aurelia]
Giovanna Casanova	[seconda donna, Rosaura]
Isabella Toscani	[amorosa, Lucinda]
Isabella Vulcani	[servant, Argentina]
Paulina Falchi	[servant, Colombina]
Cesare D'Arbes	[Pantalone]
Antonio Bertoldi	[Arlechino]
Camillo Canzachi	[Taberino]
Antonio Costantini	[Gradelino, the cook Parpagnac]
Bernardo Vulcani	[primo amoroso, Celio]
Giovanni Battista Toscani	[amoroso Ottavio, Cassandro]
Gioacchino Limpergher	[amoroso Florindo]
Pietro Moretti	[Brighello's servant, Mingone]
Girolamo Focari	[third-rank parts]

Thus, also on this occasion, the complement of the ensemble was different from the previous one. The place of Rosa Grassi (who died probably in 1749) as Colombine was taken by Paulina Falchi, and Isabella Toscani was a new addition among the ladies. Among the gentlemen, Cesare D'Arbes, the best Pantalone of that era, took the place of Francesco Golinetti, Paolo Emilio Caresana was replaced by Pietro Moretti, previously one of the amorosos, in the part of Brighella's servant, and new additions were Antonio Costantini as Gradelino, and Giovanni Battista Toscani – Ottavio, Cassandro. Various extras also appeared in the comedies and, depending on the need, they played peasant girls (the only parts played by female extras), or peasants, porters, servants, guards, soldiers, coalmen, bowmen, sailors etc. (earlier, in the years 1748–49, the supernumeraries usually represented such “professional” groups as: bandits, peasant men and women, footmen, porters, evil spirits, monsters). We do not know from what group of artists, or amateurs, these were recruited.

This time the most valuable addition to the troupe was Cesare D'Arbes, previously (1747–50) a member of the famous northern Italian troupe of Girolamo Medebac. D'Arbes became famous as the hero of three works by Goldoni in which he played without a mask — which was still a novelty in the case of an actor specializing in the part of Pantalone — parts written especially with his abilities in mind. The first of these was *Tonin Bella Grazia* (autumn 1747, another title *Il Frappatore*). It did not bring him success and Goldoni, who judged the play as an inferior product of his talent, explained D'Arbes's fiasco in the following words: “The Pantalone of the ensemble had so far been well received and greeted with warm applause in the part of his emploi. However, he did not appear with uncovered face, and this is where he could have been particularly brilliant. He did not dare to act in plays which I wrote for the Pantalone of Golinetti from the Theatre of San Samuele”⁹⁰. In order to compensate the actor for this failure, Goldoni wrote another play for him — *L'uomo prudente* (1748), which was a great success, due, according to the writer, to D'Arbes himself: “Pantalone had the best opportunity to demonstrate his excellent talent for expressing a variety of emotional shades,

and this was enough for him to be generally proclaimed as the most excellent actor to appear on stage at that time"⁹¹. Goldoni observed carefully the artists for whom he wrote his plays, and he did the same with D'Arbes, with the following results: "I had enough time and a sharp enough eye to observe the various personal characteristics of my actors. In him, I noticed two contradictory features characteristic of his movements and his face. At times he was a man of the world, extraordinarily merry, lively, witty; at other times he would adopt the tone, expression and manner of speaking of a fool, a boor, and these changes took place in him quite naturally and unintentionally. This discovery inspired in me the thought of showing him in one play with the two aspects"⁹². The play mentioned is *I due gemelli veneziani*, the hit of the Venetian carnival of 1750, and the work's success was "due above all to the incomparable performance of the Pantalone, who found himself at the height of fame and popularity"⁹³. It was then — writes Goldoni — that, "D'Arbes, that splendid Pantalone, one of the pillars of the ensemble, was called away from the Republic of Venice to the service of the Polish king. He had to leave immediately, and left the theatre at once to prepare for the journey. Medebac's loss was enormous, all the more so that we could not see anybody being able to replace him, and during Shrovetide we found that people were not buying boxes for the next year"⁹⁴. It was also a great loss for Goldoni himself, as it was D'Arbes who produced the positive change in his career⁹⁵. In Warsaw D'Arbes not only appeared many times as Pantalone, but also discounted his fame of the stage twin, presenting himself to the audience on 18 October in his own play about three brothers — *Li tre fratelli gemelli*.

Another extremely valuable acquisition was Antonio Costantini, the step-brother of the famous Angelo Costantini, at one time Mezzetino, who worked for the Paris Théâtre Italien and at the court of Augustus II⁹⁶. Before entering the service of the Polish-Saxon court, Antonio was also an actor at that same Théâtre Italien, where he delighted audiences as a singer, dancer and instrumentalist. Later he was active in Florence; he also belonged to the St Petersburg ensemble of Pietro Mira, and during the carnival of 1753 he tried his luck, without success, as a member of the ensemble of opera seria in the Roman Teatro Argentina. After the premiere there of the opera *Andromaca*

(libretto by Antonio Salvi, music by Antonio Aurisicchio), a merciless Roman reviewer informed his readers that Costantini (in the third-rank role of Clearto) and one Giovanni Marchetti (in the part of Ermione, and thus undoubtedly a castrato), “ashamed of their piercing screeching and the uproar of the public, withdrew from the stage to their eternal glory, surprised that they were engaged by the impresarios, although they had no courage to show themselves in a comedy theatre”⁹⁷. It seems that the offer from the court of Augustus III came just in time for Costantini, although this run of good fortune did not last long, as the actor died soon after the ensemble returned from Warsaw to Dresden.

Isabella Toscani was a young, tall, shapely and talented actress, but entrusting her with the part of Colombine after the death of Rosa Grassi, who excelled in this emploi, was criticised in 1750⁹⁸. The reviewer’s criticisms were taken into account and Toscani arrived in Warsaw as an *amorosa*. However, her talent was only employed rarely, as can be seen from the lists of characters appearing in the plays being performed at that time. These lists — and we have arguments for nearly all the Warsaw comedies for 1754⁹⁹ — show that three female characters were particularly popular here: Aurelia — played by Marta Focari, Rosaura — still played by the somewhat advanced in years Giovanna Casanova, and Colombina — performed by the new member of the ensemble, Paulina Falchi. To play Colombine, according to Lessing “one needs to be born to it”, i.e. to have the right physical characteristics, like a slight build, liveliness and flexibility of movement¹⁰⁰. Paulina Falchi must thus have had these attributes, but we know nothing else about her apart from the fact that for a time she was one of the actors employed by Augustus III. On the other hand, Giovanni Battista Toscani was described by that reviewer as “a young, gracefully built man, with a swarthy face, dark hair and eyes, [who] walks and talks in a refined manner. He plays the part of *amoroso* quite naturally and gives the impression that it suits him well”¹⁰¹.

This was the complement of the royal *comici italiani* with which at that time a Pole called Muzierko appeared twice in Warsaw, a fact previously unknown to researchers. He was a dwarf from the court of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Prince Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski. According to one of the let-

ters from the Queen to Frederick Christian, Muzierko appeared as Arlecchino on 11 October and was “charmant à manger”; he had been taught this small part by Costantini¹⁰². On that day, 11 October, the play was the comedy *Taberino ortolano*, but its argument does not mention Muzierko-Arlecchino in the cast¹⁰³. One could conclude from that — and this conclusion is supported by the information from the Queen about the performance on 30 October — that the plots of the improvised comedies given in the printed arguments may have in reality varied quite a lot from the original script. In any case, emboldened by the friendly reception, Mr Muzierko appeared for a second time, and on 30 October, in the comedy *Le sfide di furberie tra Gradelino ed Arlechino* he even played two parts. He played a Polish Arlecchino, owner of an inn (“Arlechino di Nazione Polacco, locandiere”¹⁰⁴) and one of four Pantalones. Although the argument of the comedy mentions only one Pantalone in the cast, the Queen wrote to her son that, in that comedy, the multiplied, quadrupled part of Pantalone was played by three professionals — D’Arbes, Bertoldi and Costantini, and an amateur — Muzierko. Maria Josepha at the same time expressed the opinion, probably reflecting the general response of the Warsaw public, that the comedy was charming, “owing to the roles of Muzierko who played Arlecchino and Pantalone (in this role he emerged from the belly of our little Arlecchino Bertoldi, also dressed as Pantalone, as well as Costantini and together with D’Arbes there were 4 Pantalones on the stage), which the little dwarf did in an extraordinary manner”¹⁰⁵.

The season began on 18 September (on a Wednesday) with the comedy *Il goffo inganna il furbo*, with 10 out of the 14-strong complement appearing in the cast: Bastona as Aurelia, Celio’s beloved; Casanova – Rosaura, the beloved of Florindo; Falchi – Colombine (a servant); D’Arbes – Pantalone; Canzachi – Taberino; Vulcani – Celio; Limpergher – Florindo; Moretti – Brighella; Costantini – Gradelino; Focari – the notary Etcetera; also Taborino’s servant, probably a non-speaking part (so-called “muto”)¹⁰⁶. Each act had the additional entertainment of a ballet; in the first act this was the *Ballet des matelots* performed by a pair of solo dancers (Antoine Pitrot and Mimi Favier), in the second act – *Ballet des paisans galants* danced by a different pair of soloists (François Ferrere and Marie Rivière), while the third

act ended with a ballet générale *L'Amusement champêtre*, comprising a pas de trois (Pitrot, Favier and Rivière) and a pas de deux performed by six pairs of dancers. The demand for theatre tickets was apparently enormous; a 1000 tickets were issued even though the highborn nobility had not yet arrived in Warsaw¹⁰⁷. In Brühl's view, Italian comedies were an alternative at court for another form of entertainment pursued with great enthusiasm, i.e. *tirage au blanc*. On 3 October, after the first three performances he informed Maria Antonia: "the performances are going very well; our Poles are charmed by Italian comedy and the delegates [to the Sejm, the Polish parliament] have sent a delegation to the last one [of them] in order to have all the tickets". Brühl himself kept a patronizing distance from this enthusiasm, and wrote: "I could swear that all comedies here seem like tragedies to me"¹⁰⁸.

During the season, which lasted from 18 September to 26 November, there were 13 performances of Italian comedies, each accompanied by three ballets. The comedies were originally to be performed on Tuesdays and Fridays¹⁰⁹, but from 7 October, i.e. from the premiere of the first *dramma per musica* in Warsaw for over 100 years — *L'eroe cinese* (libretto by Pietro Metastasio, music by Johann Adolf Hasse), which became a sensational hit of those days, the *comici italiani* performed irregularly and on various days of the week. At that time the arguments were published in three languages: Italian, Polish and French.

The repertoire presented then was as follows:

18 IX	<i>Il goffo inganna il furbo</i>
24 IX	<i>Il marito tormentato dalla gelosia della moglie</i>
27 X	<i>Momola sposa malcontenta</i> G.Focher
1 X	<i>Gradelino furbo senza saperlo</i>
4 X	<i>Il marito di quattro mogli</i>
9 X	<i>La congiura de' carbonari</i> C. Goldoni?
11 X	<i>Taberino ortolano</i>
18 X	<i>Li tre fratelli gemelli</i> D'Arbes
25 X	title unknown ¹¹⁰

30 X	<i>Le sfide di furberie tra Gradelino ed Arlechino</i> ¹¹¹
4 XI	<i>La vedova scaltra</i> C. Goldoni
14 XI	<i>L'Equivoco di due gemelli Arlechini</i>
26 XI	<i>Le Metamorfosi di Gradelino</i>

As to what part music played in this repertory, — apart, of course, from the ballets which accompanied all the plays — we can guess at its presence in the comedy performed on 24 September, *Il marito tormentato dalla gelosia della moglie*, since on that day, according to one of the court journals, “in Warsaw their Royal Highnesses were present at an Italian opera”¹¹². The arguments (Italian and Polish), however, say nothing about music being interwoven within the plot of this play. It is thus possible that the journalistic note simply reflects incompetence and helplessness when attempting to use the highly imprecise vocabulary relating to theatrical-operatic genres.

After leaving Warsaw in December 1754, the *comici italiani* ensemble was active in Dresden until the outbreak of the seven-year war (the last performance had its place there on 26 February 1756). Obviously, military action was a deciding factor in the artists' departure from occupied Saxony, but in any case the golden age of that kind of ensemble was coming to an end, together with the decline of the genre of *commedia dell'arte*. The Warsaw repertory presented here, often similar to that which the troupe performed at the electoral court of Augustus III in Dresden, clearly shows the beginnings of a conflict between improvised comedy and literary comedy, represented, among others, by the great achievements of Goldoni. It is also worth emphasizing that the theatres of Augustus III, both in Warsaw and in Dresden, were among the first to disseminate the works of this dramatist and his imitators north of the Alps.

The problem of music in the comedy repertoire of *comici italiani* still remains an open question, and the reason for this is the absence of extant musical sources. The contribution of these artists to the flowering of the *intermezzi* genre already has already been described in the literature of the

subject, and a closer examination of the two satirical operas performed in Warsaw will be, as mentioned earlier, our project for the near future.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, Ortrun Landmann, *Quellenstudien zum Intermezzo comico per musica und zu seiner Geschichte*, vol. I-II, Rostock 1972, manuscript of doctoral thesis held at the Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats – und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden; Nino Pirotta, *Commedia dell'arte and Opera*, in: Nino Pirotta, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque. A Collection of Essays*, Cambridge 1984; Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* [*Music at the Court of Augustus II in Warsaw*], Warszawa 1997.
- 2 Bohdan Korzeniewski, 'Komedia dell'arte w Warszawie' ['Commedia dell'Arte in Warsaw'], *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 1954 No. 3–4; Karyna Wierzbicka-Michalska, *Teatr warszawski za Sasów* [*The Warsaw Theatre at the Saxon Times*], Wrocław 1964; Julian Lewański, ['Komedia dell'arte w Warszawie'] ['Commedia dell'Arte in Warsaw'], also 'Miscellanea czasów saskich' ['Miscellanea of the Saxon Times'], in: *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 1965 No. 1; Mieczysław Klimowicz, 'Teatr Augusta III w Warszawie' ['The Theatre of Augustus III in Warsaw'], *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, as above; Mieczysław Klimowicz – Wanda Roszkowska, *La commedia dell'arte alla corte di Augusto III di Sassonia (1748–1756)*, Venezia 1988.
- 3 Żórawska-Witkowska, op. cit., pp. 198–9.
- 4 Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (later referred to by the abbreviation SHSA), OHMA O IV Nr 116, record from 27 II 1734: "Abends gegen 5. Uhr spielte ein Marionetten-Spieler auf hiesigen Schloße [...] eine Italiänische Comedie, welche biß 7. Uhr dauerte [...]". The performance in question was probably prepared by Tommaso Ristori, as already at the time of the famous wedding celebrations of Augustus III (1719) he entertained guests who came to Dresden with a puppet theatre.
- 5 SHSA, Loc. 676 *Lettres et relation au Roi, à la Reine, à Mr le Comte de Sulkowski, de Bruhl, depuis Leur départ de Dresde, ou depuis le 6 Novembre, à la fin 1734*, letter from August Christoph von Wackerbartha to Józef Sułkowski, Dresden 25 December 1734.
- 6 SHSA, Loc. 3524 vol. VI, fol. 167, petition by Tommaso Ristori dated 27 April 1737 (written by his son, the composer Giovanni Alberto Ristori) and addressed to Augustus III, in which the aged maestro wrote: "il y en a quatre [ans] que ma femme ne reçoit point des Gages ayant pourtant travaillé au Théâtre trois ans de suite pour divertir la Famille Royale pendant l'absence de Leurs Majestez. [...] Pendant les trois Carnevals que l'on a divertis la Famille Royale avec des Marionettes et des Comédies italiennes j'ai fait pluesieurs dépenses dont j'en conserve une exacte memoire". Friedrich August ô Byrn 'Giovanna Casanova und die Comici italiani am polnisch-sächsischen Hofe', *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* Bd.I, Dresden 1880, pp. 295–6.) gives information about such performances only in the carnival of 1735, and maintains that they were organised by Andrea Bertoldi.
- 7 SHSA, OHMA O IV No. 117: 18 January – *Le roi imaginaire*; 21 January – *L'infinite furberie di Coviello, Arlichino finto Cupido* and *Dama francese per amore*; 27 January

– *Il dottore ingannato dalle astuzie di Coviello* and *Arlechino finto barone tedesco*; 3 February — *La maestra di scuola pazza, ubriaca e spiritata per forza della magia* and *La casa del dottore abitata da un spirito maestro di musica e di ballo*; 10 February — *Coviello finto capitano dei granadiere*, *L'esercizio dei granadiere* and *Arlechino finto moretto e sergente per amore*; 14 February — Jean-François Regnard *Les folies amoureux* and by the same author *La sérénade*, ballet as the finale; 17 February — *Coviello soldato, arme e bagaglio con l'apparecchio della tavola* and *Arlechino finto stropico e finta statua per amore*; 20 February — Florent Carton Dancourt *Colin maillard*, by the same author *L'été des coquettes* and *Le charivari*, for the finale *Ballet sérieux*; 26 February — F.C. Dancourt *Le tuteur* and *Ballet sérieux*, Marc-Antoine Le Grand *Le nouveaux desbargues* and *Ballet comique*, F.C. Dancourt *Les vendanges du Surenne* and *Ballet de Tambourin*. Mieczysław Klimowicz ('Teatr Augusta III w Warszawie' [The Theatre of Augustus III in Warsaw], op. cit., p. 25) on the basis of the same source mentions only the performances presented on 21 January and 10 February.

- 8 August ò Byrn, op. cit., pp. 295–6. The author also informs us that the performances were then directed by Giovanni Alberto Ristori (the composer); however, the person in question was undoubtedly his father, that is, Tommaso Ristori.
- 9 Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Dresden*, vol. II, Dresden 1862, reprint 1971, p. 198. The claim by M. Klimowicz (op.cit., p. 25) that it was a special French troupe with a ballet, engaged by the Prince Francis Xavier, does not seem probable (the Prince was then 4 years old!).
- 10 SHSA, Hausarchiv Frederick Christian, No. 2a, letter from the Prince to his father, Dresden 12 January 1735, and Hausarchiv Friederick Christian; No. 4a, letter from the Prince to his mother, Dresden 22 January 1735.
- 11 SHSA, Hausarchiv Frederick Christian, No. 2a, letter from the Prince to his father dated 14 December 1735; No. 4a, letter from the Prince to his mother dated 14 December 1735.
- 12 See OHMA O IV No. 118. The source mentions both the titles and — in the case of the French comedies — the names of the authors. We will omit this data here.
- 13 The Sächsische Landesbibliothek — Staats — und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Msc R. 16 and Msc R. 17.
- 14 SHSA Loc. 3524 vol. VI, fol. 108 and 116.
- 15 Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hoff- und Staats Kalender auf das Jar 1739 (later abbreviated to: "Kalender" for the relevant year).
- 16 HSA, Loc. 383 *Acta. Die Engagements einiger zum Theater gehöriger Personen u.s.w. betr. Ao 1699 [-1766]*, fol. 252. Also quoted by Kazimierz Konarski, 'Teatr warszawski w dobie saskiej' [The Warsaw Theatre in the Saxon Era], *Pamiętnik Teatralny* 1952 No. 2/3, p. 24.
- 17 See ò Byrn, op.cit., p. 302. The "Kalender" for 1739, printed somewhat ahead of time, still gives the 10-strong complement of this ensemble, ie. without Rosa Grassi. The actress's name is mentioned for the first time only in the 1743 "Kalender", although as early as September 1738 her name can be found on the list of 11 *comici italiani* travelling from Dresden to Warsaw; see SHSA, OHMA I No. 59, fol. 30.
- 18 See ò Byrn, op. cit., pp. 301-2.
- 19 SHSA, Loc. 3524 vol. VII, fol. 29, royal rescript from 4 June 1738.

- 20 SHSA, for example Loc. 3524 vol. IX, fol. 62.
- 21 Among the extant documents of the Polish treasury we encounter this sum only in SHSA, Loc. 25190 [unnumbered fol.]. and it concerns December 1749.
- 22 SHSA, OHMA I 59 fol. 30.
- 23 SHSA, OHMA I No. 74., fol. 255.
- 24 SHSA, Loc. 3524 vol. VII, fol. 75.
- 25 SHSA, Loc. 3524 vol. VII, rescript from 19 September 1738.
- 26 The circumstances of this particularly interesting visit were presented by Robert-Aloys Mooser, *Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au XVIII^e siècle*, vol. I, Genève 1948, pp. 65–84 and by Jarosław Buźga, ‘Moskauer Gastspiel Dresdner Musiker und Schauspieler im Jahre 1731’, *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 1984 H. 2.
- 27 “Kalender” for 1740, record for 7 October 1738. The titles of these comedies were not previously known to researchers. Also SHSA, Loc. 3499, vol. V.
- 28 At times a number of various diaries were being kept in parallel, manuscript records in French and German, and also German reports published in the volumes of “Kalender”.
- 29 SHSA, OHMA O II No. 2, record from 16 January 1739: “ist diejenige italiänische Comodie, welche Morgen auf dem Senatoren Saal nunerbauten Theatro soll gespielet worden, in Ihro Majt. der Königin Audienz-Zimmer probiret worden.”
- 30 SHSA, Loc. 3499 vol. VI, record from 28 January 1739: “Les comédies Italiennes, que la Cour fait représenter, continuent a eter jouées les Mardi et les Vendredi”. M. Klimowicz (op. cit., p. 26) is thus mistaken in claiming that Wednesdays and Thursdays were the designated performance days; the dates of performances also contradict this claim.
- 31 Klimowicz, op. cit., p. 26.
- 32 SHSA, OHMA O II Nr 2; OHMA O III Nr 2.
- 33 However, one should bear in mind that both the Warsaw and Dresden repertories are not known in full, and therefore there may have been significantly more both repetitions and new titles.
- 34 The libretto printed in Warsaw (no place or date of publication, nor name of printer) is preserved in SHSA, OHMA G No. 35, fol. 296 and the following.
- 35 Carlo Goldoni. *Pamiętniki [Memoires]*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 142–3 (quoted in transl. by Z. Weaver).
- 36 ‘Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in Dresden’, *Beiträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters* 1750, Bd. I sub IV, p. 278 and following, quoted (in transl.) after: ô Byrn, op.cit., p. 308.
- 37 SHSA, Loc. 383 *Varia, das Theater, die Italienische Oper, die musikalische Capella und die Musik betreffend 1680–1784*, letter without a date (ca 1733–34), fol. 242.
- 38 “Kalender” for the relevant years.
- 39 As above.
- 40 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after ô Byrn, op. cit., p. 307.
- 41 See Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Podróże królewiczów polskich. Cztery studia z dziejów kultury muzycznej XVII i XVIII wieku [Trips of Polish Princes. Four Studies from the History of Musical Culture of the 17th and 18th century]*, Warszawa 1992, p. 89.
- 42 SHSA, OHMA I No. 76, fol. 27.
- 43 As above.
- 44 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after ô Byrn, p. 307.

- 45 SHSA Loc. 3524 vol. IX, fol. 124.
- 46 As above, and Loc. 3524 vol. XI, fol. 4.
- 47 SHSA Loc. 3524 vol. IX, fol. 121.
- 48 SHSA Loc. 3524 vol. IX, fol. 120 and OHMA I No. 76, fol. 263.
- 49 SHSA OHMA I No. 76, fol. 32, 40.
- 50 SHSA OHMA T III No. 7, decision from 24 September 1740.
- 51 SHSA OHMA I No. 76, fol. 263 and Loc. 3524 vol. IX, fol. 121.
- 52 SHSA Loc. 3524 vol. XI, [unnumbered fol.], rescript from 27 I 1742 and Loc. 3526 *Jahres Rechnung [...] vom 1. January bis mit ult. o December: 1741*, fol. 99.
- 53 SHSA OHMA O II No. 2, record from 7 October 1740: “in demjenigen Saal, des Königl. Palais, wo ehemed bey Festins und solennen Tagen getanzet worden”. Same in OHMA T III No. 6, fol. 25. On the other hand, another source indicates a certain pavilion belonging to the Saxon residence, see OHMA T III No. 61a, fol. 277.
- 54 SHSA, records from 7 October 1740 in: OHMA O II No. 2; OHMA T III No. 6; OHMA O III No. 3.
- 55 A programme of this comedy, undoubtedly printed in Warsaw in 1740, has been preserved, see SHSA, OHMA T III No. 6, fol. 49.
- 56 SHSA, OHMA O II No. 2, OHMA O III No. 2, OHMA O III No. 3 and “Kalender” for 1742. M. Klimowicz (op. cit., p. 27), who did not know these sources, maintained that “the Italians played in Warsaw until November 1740, as that month the Court left for Dresden.” He regards it as possible that the comedies performed in Dresden during the carnival in 1740 were repeated in Warsaw and mentions 7 such supposed titles.
- 57 SHSA, OHMA O II No. 2, record from that day.
- 58 See Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, ‘Opera w Warszawie w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku. Od dworskiego teatru Augusta III do publicznego teatru Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego (organizacja i repertuar)’ [‘The Opera in Warsaw in the Second Half of the 18th Century. From the Court Theatre of Augustus III to the Public Theatre of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (organization and repertoire)’], in: *Opera polska w XVIII i XIX wieku [The Polish Opera in the 18th and 19th Century]*, eds. Maciej Jabłoński, Jan Stęszewski, Janina Tatarska, Poznań 2000.
- 59 SHSA, OHMA I No. 120, fol. 18; OHMA T III No. 31, [unnumbered fol.]; OHMA T III No. 33, [unnumbered fol.]
- 60 By royal rescript dated 2 May 1748 they received from the Polish treasury 100 thal. severance pay — Loc. 3525 vol. XIII, fol. 127.
- 61 Goldoni, *Pamiętniki*, op. cit., p. 164 (quoted in transl.).
- 62 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after ô Byrn, op. cit., p. 308.
- 63 Quoted (in trans.) after Luigi Rasi, *I comici Italiani. Biografia, bibliografia, iconografia*, vol. I, Firenze 1897, p. 301.
- 64 SHSA, Nachlass Friedrich Christian No. 4c, letter from Maria Josepha to Frederick Christian, Warsaw 23 October 1748, in which the Queen wrote: “la Bastoni [sic] comedienne que vous avez bien connue aussi a Venise”. It thus appears that the actress brought up her Venetian acquaintance with the Prince in conversation with Maria Josepha. See also A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Podróże królewiczów...*, op. cit., p. 52 and the following.
- 65 SHSA, Nachlass Maria Antonia No. 17, letter from Maria Josepha to Maria Antonia, Warsaw 4 September 1748.

- 66 C. Goldoni, *Opere Complete*, Introduction to vol. XV in edition by Pasquali, quoted (in transl.) after L. Rasi, op. cit., p. 679.
- 67 Goldoni, *Pamiętniki*, op. cit., p.165.
- 68 See endnote 67.
- 69 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after ô Byrn, op. cit., p. 307.
- 70 SHSA, OHMA T III No. 31, [unnumbered fol.], document relating to the Royal Gala 3 August 1748.
- 71 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after ô Byrn, op. cit., p. 307.
- 72 SHSA, Nachlass Maria Antonia No. 17, Letter from Maria Josepha to Maria Antonia, Warsaw 4 September 1748.
- 73 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after ô Byrn, op. cit., p. 307.
- 74 SHSA, OHMA I No. 120, fol. 91.
- 75 SHSA, OHMA I No. 120, fol. 18.
- 76 SHSA, Nachlass Maria Antonia No. 16, Letter (in transl.) from Augustus III to Maria Antonia, Warsaw 7 August 1748.
- 77 SHSA, Nachlass Maria Antonia No. 70a, letter from Heinrich von Brühl to Maria Antonia, Warsaw 14 August 1748.
- 78 As above (in transl.), Warsaw 24 August 1748.
- 79 SHSA, OHMA O II Nr 5, record from 5 September 1748.
- 80 SHSA, OHMA O II Nr 5, record from 11 October 1748.
- 81 Lists of persons collecting tickets, tickets for particular performances and arguments of the plays being performed at that time are preserved in OHMA G 57 b.
- 82 SHSA, Nachlass Maria Antonia No. 70a, letter (in transl.) from Heinrich von Brühl to Maria Antonia, Warsaw 26 October 1748.
- 83 An impressive collection of arguments (part of them quoted after Bohdan Korzeniewski, op. cit.) has been published by Mieczysław Klimowicz and Wanda Roszkowska (op. cit.). This edition could be supplemented today in relation to the Warsaw theatre from the years 1748–49 by five new arguments preserved in SHSA, OHMA G No. 57b. These are plays performed on 29 August, 5 September, 5 October (until now only the Polish argument was known), 28 October and 19 November. See the repertory index given in the main text.
- 84 SHSA, Nachlass Maria Antonia No. 17, letter from Maria Josepha to Maria Antonia, Warsaw 23 October 1748: “L’après midy nous L’avons celebrée [la gala] avec la comedie dont voycy joint le billet de l’argument et des ballets de même que de celle de vendredy.”
- 85 See Zbigniew Jędrychowski, ‘Imieniny króla. Libretta baletowe z 1761 roku’ [‘Name-day of the King. Ballets librettos from the year 1761’], *Notatnik Teatralny* summer 1994 (8).
- 86 Quotations below come from the printed arguments preserved in SHSA, OHMA G No. 57 b, and OHMA G No. 61 b.
- 87 Julian Lewański, ‘Buranella e l’opera “Le contese di Mestre e di Malghera per il trono” (1748)’, in: *Vita teatrale in Italia e Polonia fra Seicento e Settecento*, ed. Michał Bristiger, Jerzy Kowalczyk, Jacek Lipiński, Warszawa 1984.
- 88 We received the as yet unpublished version of their paper, for which we are very grateful to the authors: Piermario Vescovo, *Mestre e Malghera, da Venezia a*

Varsavia, Maria Giovanna Miggiani, “Zà canta el quagiotto”. *Sei attori in cerca di un poeta e di un musicista*.

- 89 SHSA, OHMA G No. 61b (Polish arguments with the cast given), OHMA T III No. 46, fol. 18, Loc. 3525 vol. XIV. M. Klimowicz (op. cit., p. 32) does not mention the ladies Toscani and Vulcani as members of this ensemble.
- 90 Goldoni, *Pamiętniki*, op. cit., p. 216 (in transl.).
- 91 As above, p. 217.
- 92 As above, p. 218.
- 93 As above, p. 219.
- 94 As above, p. 234–235.
- 95 Krzysztof Żaboklicki, *Carlo Goldoni*, Warszawa 1984, p. 115.
- 96 See Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze...* op. cit., passim.
- 97 See Fabrizio Della Seta, ‘Il Relator sincero (Cronache teatrali romane, 1739–1756’, *Studi Musicali*, 1980 No. 1, p. 101 (in transl.).
- 98 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after: ô Byrn, op. cit., p. 308
- 99 The arguments of these comedies are to be found in, among others, SHSA, OHMA G No. 61b. M. Klimowicz – W. Roszkowska, op.cit., fig.71–83/1 included photographic reproductions of the arguments from the collections held at the Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden, now the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats – und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.
- 100 See endnote 36, quoted (in transl.) after: ô Byrn, op. cit., p. 308.
- 101 As above, p.307.
- 102 SHSA, Nachlass Friedrich Christian No. 4c, letter from Maria Josepha to Frederick Christian, Warsaw 14 October 1754.
- 103 See M. Klimowicz – W. Roszkowska, op. cit., fig. 78–78/1.
- 104 As above, fig 81.
- 105 SHSA, Nachlass Friedrich Christian No. 4c, letter (in transl.) from Maria Josepha to Frederick Christian, Warsaw 4 November 1754.
- 106 The cast is given in the Polish summary of the comedy, reprinted in: B. Korzeniewski, op. cit., p. 45.
- 107 SHSA, OHMA G No. 61b, fol. 60 and OHMA T III No. 46, fol. 231, letter from A. Svabe to the secretary, Warsaw 18 September 1754.
- 108 Nachlass Maria Antonia No. 70d, Letters of H. von Brühl to Maria Antonia, Warsaw 3 and 7 [October 1754].
- 109 OHMA T III Nr 46, fol.233, letter from A. Svabe, Warsaw 21 September 1754. The dates of the performances confirm this.
- 110 SHSA, OMHA T III No. 46, fol. 272: letter from A. Svabe, Warszawa 24 October 1754: “Morgen ist Comedie”.
- 111 According to M. Klimowicz–W. Roszkowska (op. cit., p. 89) 30 X was *L’Equivoco di due gemelli Arlechini* and 14 XI was *Le sfide di furberie tra Gradelino ed Arlechino*.
- 112 “Kalender” for 1756.