

JAKUB CHACHULSKI
INSTITUTE OF ART, POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
ORCID 0000-0002-8972-1490

JOHANN GOTTLIEB NAUMANN'S 'PRIA CHE ALL'AMATO BENE',
OR THE DRESDEN TRAIL AT THE ORIGINS OF THE POLISH
POLONAISE ARIA

ABSTRACT This article is devoted to the polonaise aria 'Pria che all'amato bene', crucial to the history of opera in Warsaw under the reign of King Stanislaus Augustus, but which has been known hitherto solely from the text preserved in Warsaw prints and from evidence of its popularity at that time. Brought to Warsaw by an Italian company active here between 1774 and 1776 as part of Antonio Sacchini's opera *Il finto pazzo per amore*, it was written for the Dresden production of that opera (1769) by Johann Gottlieb Naumann, and then added to his Venetian opera *Ipermestra* (1774). It presents some of the features typical of the Dresden polonaise style, but they are less prominent than in Saxon instrumental polonaises.

KEYWORDS polonaise aria, polonaise, Johann Gottlieb Naumann, Wojciech Bogusławski, Antonio Sacchini, opera buffa, Polish opera

ABSTRAKT „Pria che all'amato bene” Johanna Gottlieba Naumanna, czyli drezdeński trop u źródeł polskiej arii polonezowej. Artykuł poświęcony jest polonezowej arii „Pria che all'amato bene”, istotnej w historii warszawskiej opery czasów stanisławowskich, dotychczas jednak znanej jedynie z tekstu zachowanego w drukach warszawskich oraz świadectw mówiących o jej ówczesnej popularności. Przywieziona do Warszawy przez włoski zespół działający tu w latach 1774–76 jako część opery A. Sacchiniego *Il finto pazzo per amore*, napisana była dla drezdeńskiego wystawienia tejże opery (1769) przez Johanna Gottlieba Naumanna, a potem włączona do jego weneckiej opery *Ipermestra* (1774). Przedstawia ona niektóre cechy typowe dla drezdeńskiego stylu polonezowego, choć zarazem są one eksponowane ostrożniej niż w instrumentalnych polonezach saskich.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE aria polonezowa, polonez, Johann Gottlieb Naumann, Wojciech Bogusławski, Antonio Sacchini, opera buffa, opera polska

The history of the Polish polonaise aria, understood as a distinct aria type or aria genre in Polish opera, began with *Nędza uszczęśliwiona* [Misery made happy]¹ by Maciej Kamieński (music) and Wojciech Bogusławski (libretto). Its score includes the oldest extant vocal polonaise written for an original Polish-language opera: the *alla polacca* aria 'Jakąż w tym krzywdę serce twoje czuje' [What wound in this doth feel your heart?], belonging to the part of Kasia and performed in the work's premiere (11 July 1778) by Salomea Deszner. As the librettist recalled three decades later, 'the singer sang this first opera to the audience's great satisfaction, always obliged to reprise the Polish dance, which was the best loved out of all her airs'.² We find further vocal polonaises in later operas by Kamieński, Jan Stefani and Jan Dawid Holland,³ and that line will be continued in his output by Józef Elsner.⁴

However, the Polish polonaise aria also has its prehistory. We find it in Warsaw activity of Italian opera companies, which sang polonaise arias to curry favour with the Polish audiences. Though no music materials of those operatic enterprises have

This article was written as part of research project no. 2020/39/D/HS2/00594, funded by the National Science Centre.

- 1 Zbigniew Raszewski, *Bogusławski*, Warsaw 1982, pp. 77–78; Alina Nowak-Romanowicz, *The Classical Era: 1750–1830*, transl. John Comber, Warsaw 2004 (= History of Music in Poland 4), pp. 211–212; Anna Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw, 1765–1830: Operatic Migration, Adaptation, and Reception in the Enlightenment*, Stony Brook University, New York 2020 (PhD dissertation), pp. 235–248. *Misery Made Happy* was the first original Polish opera written in Warsaw and is the oldest extant Polish opera; for more on the beginnings of Polish opera in magnatial centres and also on the problems with indicating the first original Polish opera in general, see Irena Bieńkowska, 'Opera *Filozof zmieniony* Michała Kazimierza Ogińskiego' [Michał Kazimierz Ogiński's opera *The Changed Philosopher*], *Muzyka* 68 (2023) no. 2, pp. 72–73; A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *The Classical Era*, pp. 192–207.
- 2 'śpiewaczka odśpiewała tę pierwszą operę z wielkiem publiczności zadowoleniem, przymuszona powtarzać zawsze taniec polski, który się najbardziej z pomiędzy innych jej śpiewów podobał', see: Wojciech Bogusławski, *Dzieje Teatru Narodowego, na trzy części podzielone, oraz Wiadomość o życiu sławnych artystów* [The history of the National Theatre, divided into three parts, and Information about the life of famous artists], Warsaw: Glücksberg 1820, p. 306.
- 3 Major extant polonaise arias from the Stanisławian era include 'Rzadko to bywa na świecie' [It rarely happens in the world], from Jan Stefani's *Cud, czyli Krakowiaków i Górali* [The miracle, or Cracovians and highlanders], and the coloratura aria 'Gdy serce kocha szczerze' [When the heart truly loves], from Jan Dawid Holland's opera *Cudzy majątek nikomu nie służy* [Someone else's fortune is no good to anyone]. Polonaise arias can also be found in Kamieński's opera *Balik gospodarski* [A little ball at home] (lost) and *Słowik, czyli Kasia z Hanką na wydaniu* [The nightingale, or a husband for Kate and Hanna], cf. A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *The Classical Era*, p. 214; Tomasz Nowak, *Taniec narodowy w polskim kanonie kultury. Źródła, geneza, przemiany* [National dance in the Polish cultural canon: sources, origins and change], Warsaw 2016, pp. 151–153.
- 4 We find striking and expansive polonaise arias in Elsner's operas *Chimère et réalité* (1805, first staged in Polish in 1808), *Leszek Biały, czyli czarownica z Łysej Góry* [Leszek the White, or the witch of Łysa Góra] (1809), *Kabalista* [The Cabalist] (1813) and *Jagiello w Tenczynie* [Jagiello at Tenczyn] (1820); a highly distinctive vocal polonaise also appears in the comedy opera *Siedem razy jeden* [Seven times one], see A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *The Classical Era*, p. 237. On account of its showstopping character, one should also mention in this context the polonaise duet 'Wesołość córka wolności' [Gaiety the daughter of freedom], from the opera *Król Łokietek, czyli Wiśliczanki* [King Ladislaus the Elbow-high, or the Peasant Girls of Wiślica].

survived, extant playbills and press sources inform us about 'Polish arias' included in Italian opera performances in 1774 and 1775 (respectively *La sposa Fedele* and *Il finto pazzo per amore*), and at least five more later stage performances (1785, 1790, 1793).⁵ The aria from *Il finto pazzo per amore* was certainly the most popular one; extant accounts testify to its polonaise identity (which otherwise would have been less obvious, due to the potential ambiguity of the term 'Polish aria' in the context) and enable us to identify the aria as 'Pria che all'amato bene' in surviving libretto prints. More importantly, this aria appeared also on the Polish-language stage in Warsaw in 1779, thus constituting a crucial link between the Polish polonaise aria proper and its proposed 'prehistory'. Although, according to our contemporary notions, it is rather a predecessor of this aria genre, understood as a part of Polish original operatic output, the eighteenth-century Warsaw audience, defining a 'Polish opera' solely by the language in which it was sung,⁶ may have seen 'Pria che all'amato bene' as one of the very first Polish polonaise arias.

This important operatic number, thus far known only from librettos and secondary sources, constitutes the principal object of research presented in this article. After recalling its well-known Warsaw history, I will proceed to a presentation of the hitherto unknown origins of the piece and its extant sources, describing its original context and the possible ways it could have appeared in Warsaw. The further parts of the article will be devoted to the verification of some of the theses hitherto advanced about this aria in the subject literature, with the main emphasis placed on the question of its polonaise style.

THE ARIA 'PRIA CHE ALL'AMATO BENE' / 'WPRZÓD NIŻELI WIARĘ DANA' – THE STATE OF KNOWLEDGE TO DATE AND THE WORK'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF THE POLISH POLONAISE ARIA

A year after *Misery Made Happy* (on 25 September 1779, to be precise), when Bogusławski launched a series of adaptations of Italian comic operas, he first turned to Antonio Sacchini's *Il finto pazzo per amore* (libr. Tommaso Mariani, Polish title *Dla miłości zmyślone szaleństwo*).⁷ That choice, as noted by Zbigniew Raszewski, must have been motivated largely by the presence in its Italian-language performances in Warsaw

5 We have playbill information for performances on 27 February and 31 March 1785, 15 February and 21 March 1790, and 17 and 31 May 1793. See Ludwik Bernacki, *Teatr, dramat i muzyka za Stanisława Augusta* [Theatre, drama and music during the reign of Stanislaus Augustus], vol. 1, Lwów 1925, pp. 273, 325, 328, 376–377; also A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 131.

6 A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 226.

7 Z. Raszewski, *Bogusławski*, pp. 86–90; Piotr Józef Maksymowicz, *Warszawski teatr operowy Wojciecha Bogusławskiego w latach 1778–1783* [Wojciech Bogusławski's Warsaw opera theatre 1778–1783], Uniwersytet Gdański 2020 (PhD dissertation), pp. 92–134; A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 208.

between 1774 and 1776⁸ of the much-loved polonaise aria 'Pria che all'amato bene'.⁹ The spectacles were accompanied by a bilingual print of the libretto (1774),¹⁰ in which the polonaise aria – unlike the rest of the text – was translated into Polish in a singable form, with the versification and rhymes retained. Bogusławski recalled: 'The Polish dance with music by Sacchini was so widely loved that it continued to be hummed across the country long after';¹¹ Raszewski takes those words as evidence that this aria was sung in Polish already in 1774 – outside the original stage context, of course.¹² When adapting the opera for a Polish production, in 1779, Bogusławski made only minor modifications to the earlier translation of the aria from 1774, taking the opportunity to alter the incipit of the poem from 'Pasterkowi wiarę daną' to 'Wprzód niżeli wiarę daną'¹³ (both translations are given on Fig. 1a–c). This matter was recently researched by Piotr Maksymowicz and Anna Parkitna, who independently arrived at the conclusion that this polonaise was not a composition by Sacchini and that it was only added to the opera in Warsaw.¹⁴ Further research confirmed those assertions: the aria is absent from earlier prints of the libretto,¹⁵ and also from the Viennese scores not studied by Maksymowicz, which could have been the source for the Warsaw version.¹⁶ Thus in respect to the music of the most popular polonaise aria sung in Warsaw by Italians during the

8 This was one of the most popular arias in Warsaw at that time, staged 19 times between January 1775 and March 1776 (there is no information about the number of shows in 1774 or the exact date of the premiere), see A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, pp. 80, 83, 162; see also Z. Raszewski, *Bogusławski*, pp. 84, 88. For more information on the Italian company active in Warsaw from 1774, see A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, pp. 79–85; also Karyna Wierzbicka-Michalska, *Aktorzy cudzoziemscy w Warszawie w XVIII wieku* [Foreign actors in Warsaw during the eighteenth century], Wrocław 1975, pp. 137–154.

9 Z. Raszewski, *Bogusławski*, p. 84.

10 [Wojciech Bogusławski], *Z miłości zmyślane szaleństwo*, [after Tommaso Mariani], Warsaw: W drukarni nadwornej J.K.Mci, 1774. Aria 'Pasterkowi wiarę daną' on pp. 78–81.

11 'Taniec Polski z muzyką Sacchiniego tak był powszechnie upodobanym, że go bardzo długo i potem po całym kraju nucono', W. Bogusławski, *Dzieje*, p. 8.

12 Z. Raszewski, *Bogusławski*, p. 84. It cannot be ruled out that this may have occurred sporadically also in the original production, since we know of other cases where individual arias were sung in Polish by Italian singers. This information was discovered by Parkitna, see A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 131.

13 [Wojciech Bogusławski], *Dla miłości zmyślane szaleństwo*, [after Tommaso Mariani], Warsaw: Gröll, 1779, Aria 'Wprzód niżeli wiarę daną' on p. 67.

14 Parkitna describes this number as 'an extra aria *alla polacca*', adding that '[its] origin [...] has not been identified', see A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 162, and also an 'additional 'Polish' aria of unknown provenance', *ibid.*, p. 83. She does not state, however, what sources she analysed. Maksymowicz analysed the score A-Wn Mus.Hs.17869/1–2, concluding: 'One searches in vain for this fragment in the scores of Viennese music theatres held in the National Library of Austria, from where copies of music were brought to Warsaw during the period in question, which may suggest that it was specially composed for the Warsaw production', see P. J. Maksymowicz, *Warszawski teatr operowy*, p. 103. The aria's absence from the 'Dresden score of the opera' (D-Dl Mus.3372-F-3), meanwhile, was noted earlier by Nowak-Romanowicz, who also advanced the assumption that this aria was a special addition, see A. Nowak-Romanowicz, *The Classical Era*, pp. 261–262, n. 65.

15 Dresden: [s.n.], 1769; Pressburg: Landerer, 1769; Pressburg: Landerer, 1770; Vienna: Ghelen, 1770; Florence: Stecchi e Pagani, 1771; Milan: Bianchi, 1773.

16 A-Wn Mus.Hs.1057/1–2, A-Wn Mus.Hs.10070/1–2. Entries in the RISM catalogue date these sources to 1771 (the year the opera was staged in Vienna), like the score A-Wn Mus.Hs.17869/1–2 researched

- a)
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Pria che all'amato bene
Manchi di fede il cor,
Il Mar fara d'arene
Privo d'affanni amor
Col Lupo in Bosco errante
Pascere vedrai l'agnelle,</p> | <p>Pasterkowi wiarę daną
Serce moje nim wyroni,
Znikną piaski z morskich łoni,
Miłość troskowi znać przestanie,
Wraz na iedney z wilkiem błoni
Nad strumykiem owca stanie</p> |
| <p>E perderan le stelle
L'ufato tor splendor,
Pria, che quest alma amante
Possa cangiar d'amor.
Abborriran le piante,
E la ruggiada e il sole,
Le Rose le Uiole
Priue saran d'amor.</p> | <p>A w swym biegu brzydkich cieni
Gwiazdy gruby Kir zaśloni
Pierwiey niżli dotrzymań
Miłość kiedy serce zmieni,
Będą miały wstręt od rosy,
Y wzdrygać się słońcem kłofy
Roża wdziękow nie ochroni
Ni fiolek miley woni.</p> |
- b)
- Arya.*
- Wprzod niżeli Wiarę daną
Serce me kiedy wyroni,
Znikną piaski z morskich łoni,
Troski w miłości ustaną,
Wraz na iedney zgodnie błoni
Owce z wilkiem paść się staną,
Słońce gruby kir zaśloni,
Kwiaty wiecznie rość przestaną.
Wprzod niż szczerłość mych płomieni
Kochankowi serce zmieni,
Będą miały wstręt od rosy
Y obrzydzą słońce kłofy.
Roża wdziękow nie ochroni,
Ni fiolek miley Woni.

Fig. 1. Text of the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene' in Warsaw editions: a) 'Z miłości zmyślane szaleństwo' [False madness from love], Warsaw: W drukarni nadwornej J.K.Mci, 1774, pp. 78–81, Lublin, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego, shelf mark P-18-o-190, <https://polona.pl/>; b) 'Dla miłości zmyślane szaleństwo' [False madness for love], Warsaw: Nakładem Michała Grölla, 1779, p. 67, Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, shelf mark SD XVIII.1.1085 adl., <https://polona.pl/>

reign of the last king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus, we would know only that it was probably added to or specially composed for *Il finto pazzo per amore* for performances in the capital of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

A secondary paradox in the history of research into this episode from the history of opera in Poland is the fact that the identification of this popular polonaise aria from Warsaw performances of Sacchini's opera with a specific text from the libretto, the above-mentioned 'Pria che all'amato', has hitherto been accepted under Raszewski's authority without sufficient justification.¹⁷ The eminent Polish theatre historian cites solely the above-mentioned account from *Dzieje Teatru Narodowego*, in which Bogusławski, writing about 'a Polish dance with music by Sacchini', does not even give the aria's incipit. This may give rise to the suspicion that Raszewski made a hypothetical identification of the opera based purely on the fact that this sole aria was translated in rhymed form in the print from 1774. Yet actual proof does exist, and it must have been known to Raszewski, although it is mentioned in this context neither by him nor by any of the scholars reiterating his findings. It appears in a different place in Bogusławski's writings, in a biographical note concerning the first Polish performer of the polonaise, Agnieszka Truskolaska:

Invited to take the role of Eurilla in the first opera (*Dla miłości zmyślane szaleństwo* [Madness made for love]) translated from Italian at that time, the famous Italian singer Bernardi, though adored for her erudite singing, so greatly surpassed it with the charms of her acting that this favourite dance 'Pierwej niż wiarę daną', sung by her, seemed to be more properly arranged for a Polish singer.¹⁸

Bogusławski wrote 'Pierwej niż wiarę daną' from memory as the incipit of an aria that was no longer performed in 1820, but there is no doubt that he had in mind 'Wprzód niżeli wiarę daną', that is, 'Pria che all'amato bene'.

Before proceeding to a survey of the aria's origins, let us evoke and underscore the circumstances that allow us to assume that this work could have played in the beginnings of the Polish polonaise aria tradition a role at least as crucial to, if not more crucial than, that of the vocal polonaise from *Misery Made Happy*. The latter, although among the most popular numbers in that opera (cf. the passage from Bogusławski

by Maksymowicz, who, however, adopts as binding the date 1779 inscribed on the score, see P.J. Maksymowicz, *Warszawski teatr operowy*, p. 103, n. 14.

17 This concerns all of the works cited in n. 14. Parkitna does not cite Raszewski, but confines herself to indicating the sources cited by him.

18 'Uproszona do przyjęcia w pierwszej naówczas z włoskiego przełożonej operze *Dla miłości zmyślane szaleństwo* roli Eurylli, sławną śpiewaczkę włoską Bernardi chociaż z uczonego śpiewu wielbioną, tak dalece wdziękami gry swojej przewyższała, że ulubiony ów taniec "Pierwej niż wiarę daną", przez nią śpiewany, zdawał się być właściwiej dla polskiej ułożonym śpiewaczki', [Wojciech Bogusławski], *Dzieła dramatyczne Wojciecha Bogusławskiego* [The dramatic works of Wojciech Bogusławski], vol. 2, Warsaw 1820, pp. 496–497.

quoted above), was only heard a few times at the theatre in Warsaw,¹⁹ and never became a fixture in the capital's operatic landscape; 'Pria che all'amato bene', meanwhile, as an Italian aria already (in 1774–76), earned such great popularity that it was 'hummed across the whole country', before its Polish version became such a fixture on the Polish stage that – to quote Boguslawski again – 'it seemed to be more properly arranged for a Polish singer'. In that form, it held its place, with short breaks, from 1779 to 1792, over which period the opera's Polish adaptation was played at least 17 times.²⁰ The history of the Polish polonaise aria understood as a line of original works (the aria genre in original Polish opera repertoire) unquestionably opens with Kasia's polonaise from *Misery Made Happy*. However, it is impossible to consider this group of compositions in isolation from the Stanisławian polonaise aria as a phenomenon from the history of musical life or the history of reception, and in this context there is no doubting the primary significance of 'Pria che all'amato bene'.

THE FIRST LINE OF ENQUIRY: JOHANN GOTTLIEB NAUMANN'S *IPERMESTRA*
(VENICE 1774)

The results of searches in the RISM catalogue and in printed opera librettos seem unequivocal. The text of 'Pria che all'amato bene', practically identical to that familiar from the Warsaw print of *Il finto pazzo del amore*, can be found in the libretto of the opera *Ipermestra* with music by the Dresden-based composer Johann Gottlieb Naumann (Act III, sc. IV),²¹ staged at the San Benedetto Theatre in Venice in January of the same year (1774) in which – slightly later – the Italian troupe brought to Warsaw by Johann Kurz first performed *Il finto pazzo per amore* (see the page from the libretto with the beginning of the aria and the title page on Fig. 2a–b).

The score of *Ipermestra* has not come down to us. Only fragments of Naumann's opera have survived. The quantity of copies attests primarily to the success of the aria with *recitativo obbligato* 'Vada sì del mio bene' / 'Sì t'intendo ombra diletta' (more than half of the 37 sources containing fragments from the opera noted in the RISM catalogue). The polonaise aria is given by four sources with identical music, which also enables us to number it among the opera's most frequently copied arias.²²

19 Ludwik Bernacki notes the premiere and a single performance the following month, then one in 1781, and information from Boguslawski, not confirmed by other sources, about a production in 1785. L. Bernacki, *Teatr, dramat i muzyka*, vol. 2, p. 277. Parkitna adds information about shows given outside the theatre, though not venturing beyond the year 1781, see A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, pp. 247–248.

20 L. Bernacki, *Teatr, dramat i muzyka*, vol. 2, p. 239.

21 A print of the libretto including information about the place and time of the production, and also the cast: *Ipermestra: dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel nobilissimo Teatro di S. Benedetto il carnevale dell'anno MDCCLXXIV i.e.* Venice: Appresso Modesto Fenzio, 1774, available online, <http://www.urfm.braidense.it/rd/04048.pdf>, accessed 10 June 2024; cf. information on the Corago Project website, <http://corago.unibo.it/opera/7A00324430>, accessed 10 June 2024.

22 Besides the number under discussion, six others have come down to us (arias, including two with recitative, and a trio), as well as a sinfonia, printed in Venice in the year of the premiere by the firm

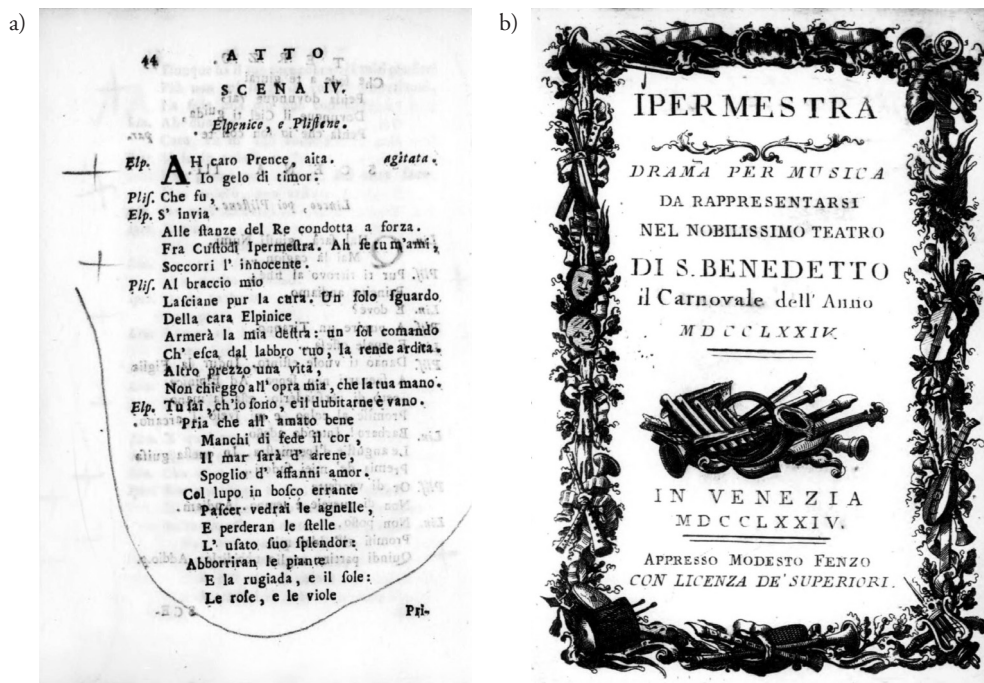


Fig. 2. *Ipermestra*: *dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel nobilissimo Teatro di S. Benedetto il carnovale dell'anno MDCCLXXIV* i.e., Venice: Appresso Modesto Fenzo, 1774, Washington, The Library of Congress, Music Division, shelf mark ML48 [S7o49], <https://www.loc.gov/>; a) text of the aria, pp. 44–45; b) title page

Three sources in score form (S-Skma T-SE/Sv.-R, CZ-Pk 3C 415, B-Bc 4437) note Naumann's authorship unequivocally, and the first two the fact that it belongs to *Ipermestra* (though only indirectly, with the vocal part marked 'Elpinice'). Partbooks from the collection belonging to the Cistercian abbey in Ebrach (now in D-BAd, shelf mark EB 345) give the aria with contrafactum and the Catholic sacred text 'Quando cor nostrum visitas'.²³ (See the first pages of the copy from the archive of Prague Conservatoire on Fig. 3a–b.)

of Luigi Mareschalchi and Carlo Canobbio, a copy of which is kept at Łańcut Castle (RISM ID: 990046746).

- 23 Three of the four sources were consulted (S-Skma, CZ-Pk, D-BAd). The first two, conjointly regarded as a reliable basis for the conducted research, probably share an affiliation; although written in different hands, they closely replicate the arrangement of the musical material on the page and nearly all of the details of the musical and literary text. The source B-Bc was not consulted, due to the temporary unavailability of the collections there in 2024. According to the entry in the RISM catalogue, the copy gives Naumann as the composer, *alla polacca* tempo and the same musical incipit to the aria; the description of the source from D-BAd in the RISM also attests to the conformity of the musical material with B-Bc. The RISM catalogue does not contain any other entries with the same musical incipit. The source from S-Skma, besides the score, also includes performance material (voices).

a)

Allegretto, alla Polacca. *del Sig. Amadeo Naumann.*

Violini.

Viole.

Oboè. *col 1mo Violino.*

Corni.

Basso.

Allegretto, alla Polacca.

a.e.

b)

for. po. po. po.

Violini.

Pria che all'amato be... ne manchi di fede il cor, il

for. po. po. po.

Fig. 3. Copy of the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene', Prague, Knihovna Pražské konzervatoře, Knihovna a archiv, shelf mark 3 C 415: a) fol. 1r; b) fol. 2r

Ipermestra was the last work by the Dresden kapellmeister to be staged during his second Italian journey (1772–74).²⁴ The aria ‘Pria che all’amato bene’ belongs to the role of Elpinice, sung in Venice by Anna Schindler,²⁵ sister of Catharina, who sang the titular part of *Hypermnestra*. That was the penultimate performance in Venice by both of these Viennese singers (1773–74), following earlier successes in Prague (1771–73), and probably a debut in the Vienna production of Gluck’s *Alceste* (1770).²⁶ Although neither of the Schindler sisters performed in Warsaw, a glut of possible answers to the question as to the path and the circumstances which could have brought this polonaise aria to Warsaw from Venice present themselves. The group of Italian singers who in April 1774 came to Warsaw²⁷ included Brigida Anelli, who had also been performing in Venice up to January 1774; although she did not sing in *Ipermestra*, she could certainly have heard it; she also performed in Naumann’s previous Venice opera, *La villanella inconstante*. It could also have occurred that ‘Pria che all’amato bene’ found its way to Poland not with Kurz’s first cast, but only in the autumn, together with the above-mentioned Rosa Bernardi, who performed the aria in Warsaw.²⁸ The last of Bernardi’s known previous engagements was a Dresden stag-

24 Cf. Orrtrun Landmann, ‘Naumanns Lebensstationen im Überblick’, in: *Johann Gottlieb Naumann: Komponist in Vorromantischer Zeit*, ed. Hans-Peter Lühn, *Dresdener Hefte* 66 (2001), p. 20, and information on Naumann’s operas on the Corago website, <https://site.unibo.it/corago-dbc/en/project/corago>, accessed 10 October 2024.

25 Cast information is given after the Venice print of the libretto cited above.

26 The available information about the first names and surnames of these two sisters, as well as their relationship to one another and their careers, is partly contradictory and often confusing. Maria Antonia (Anna, Anna Maria, Marianne) Schindler (1757–79) was the daughter of Philip Ernst Schindler, a miniature artist and head of a Vienna-based porcelain factory, while Katharina Leitner (1753–88) was adopted by the family and performed under name Schindler. Maria Antonia also performed later under the name of her husband, the actor Joseph Lange, who remarried after her death, to Aloysia Weber, Mozart’s sister-in-law. Katharina married the Bohemian-born Austrian actor Johann Baptist Bergopzoomer. See Karl-Josef Kutsch, Leo Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, 4th ed., Munich 2003, vol. 1, p. 368 and vol. 7, p. 4206; on P.E. Schindler, see Klára Tasnádi-Marik, *Viennese Porcelain*, Budapest 1971, p. 15. The sisters enjoyed great success in Vienna and then in Italy between 1770 and 1774; Katharina then left with Venanzio Rauzzini’s company for London (her performances were criticised by Charles Burney in *General History of Music*. The information that they were accompanied by Maria Anna (according to the *Großes Sängerlexikon*) is false (no performances by her in London are noted on the Corago website, unlike in the case of Rauzzini and Katharina). She sang in Vienna again in 1777, and her death, in 1779, was noted as a crucial loss when a new company was being formed for a singspiel project under the patronage of Emperor Joseph II, see John Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera*, Chicago 1998, p. 285. Despite their brief careers, particularly in the case of Anna, they were both highly regarded within the Viennese circle as broadly understood; they are mentioned as belonging to the ‘old’ Italian school of singing by Johann Adam Hiller, in his treatise *Weisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange*, from 1780, see *Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann A. Hiller*, transl. Suzanne J. Beicken, Cambridge 2001, p. 46; see also Corago website, http://www.ilcorago.org/WPcorago/cantanti_scheda.asp?ID=IDCAN0356700; http://www.ilcorago.org/WPcorago/cantanti_scheda.asp?ID=IDCAN0129000, accessed 30 April 2025.

27 A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 81; also K. Wierzbicka-Michalska, *Aktorzy cudzoziemscy*, pp. 137–154.

28 A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 81. We know relatively little about Bernardi. Corago (see below) records the path of her stage career between 1768 and 1781, when she sang in many Italian cities, and

ing of Pasquale Anfossi's opera *La Gianetta perseguitata*, in January 1774; it seems highly likely that she made contact with Naumann, who was returning from Venice to Dresden via Vienna in April that year.²⁹ The route Venice – Vienna – Warsaw was probably also taken in 1774 by the performer of the principal female role in *Ipermestra*, the outstanding castrato Pietro Benedetto Sartorini, on his way to St Petersburg, where he appeared in November.³⁰

DOUBTS: THE ARIA 'PRIA CHE ALL'AMATO BENE' IN TWO DRAMATIC CONTEXTS

However, analysis of the dramatic context of this aria in the two librettos leads to crucial doubts, precluding an overly hasty identification of Naumann's Venetian opera with the original source of this aria.

First let us dwell on *Ipermestra*. Its libretto is essentially a text by Pietro Metastasio, written for Johann Adolf Hasse in 1744 and set to music a host of times thereafter, including by Josef Mysliveček and Christoph Willibald Gluck.³¹ From the mythological tale of Danaos and his daughters, the imperial poet removed the most drastic, but also most spectacular, motifs, which formed the basis for the most suggestive parts of the later Parisian score of Antonio Salieri's *Les Danaïdes*. Thus expunged from the story were Hypermnestra's forty-nine sisters and the mass murder committed by them on their wedding night; with Metastasio, only the main heroine is urged by her father to kill Lynceus in this way. Danaos' daughter, shying away from participation in this plan, refuses to give her beloved her hand, and finally forces him to swear that he will depart. Before he is about to leave, Lynceus, on learning that Hypermnestra is in danger (her father has learned that she warned her beloved), decides to stay and stir up a revolt. Ultimately, Hypermnestra saves her father from Lynceus' anger, while Danaos agrees to spare his beloved daughter. The librettist is assisted in devising the plot by the secondary characters Elpinice, Hypermnestra's confidante, and Pleisthenes, Lynceus' friend, as well as Danaos' henchman, Adrasto.

However, the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene' does not appear in Metastasio's original libretto.³² Scenes IV–VI of the third act, representing the outrage of Elpinice, Lynceus

also in London (1770–72). We do not know the date of the Warsaw premiere of *Il finto pazzo di amore*; the assumption that it did not take place until the autumn of 1774, after the arrival of the performer of the principal role, Rosa Bernardi, seems somewhat more likely.

29 O. Landmann, 'Naumanns Lebensstationen', p. 20.

30 Unless otherwise indicated, all information about singers is given after the Corago database: Pietro Benedetti: http://www.ilcorago.org/WPcorago/cantanti_scheda.asp?ID=7AE000923300; Brigida Anelli: http://www.ilcorago.org/WPcorago/cantanti_scheda.asp?ID=IDCAN0278000; Rosa Bernardi: http://www.ilcorago.org/WPcorago/cantanti_scheda.asp?ID=IDCAN1427800, accessed 24 October 2024.

31 Don Neville, 'Ipermestra', *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O007516>, accessed 30 April 2025.

32 The original libretto is discussed on the basis of *L'Ipermestra. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel real Teatro...* Vienna: van Ghelen, [1744].

and Pleisthenes at the news that Hypermnestra has been captured by Danaos' guards and their decision to rise up in arms to defend her, were replaced for the Venetian opera by a completely new text, not known from other sources.³³ The arias 'Tremo per l'idol mio' (Lynceus), 'Vuoi ch'io lasci, o mio tesoro' (Pleisthenes) and 'Perdono al crudo acciaro' (Elpinice) vanished from the libretto, replaced by 'Pria che all'amato bene' and Lynceus' aria, preceded by an elaborate *obbligato* recitative, 'Vada sì del mio bene' / 'Sì t'intendo ombra diletta'. Given the specificities of opera production at that time, we may assume that the changes were motivated by a wish to introduce at this point musical numbers that were more attractive and better suited to the singers. Such is suggested in particular by the text of the second of the new numbers. In the added scene, the vision of the supposedly murdered Hypermnestra appears to Lynceus, demanding that he avenge her death; this device gave the composer the possibility of referring to the poetics of scenes of despair, bordering on madness, adhering to *recitativo obbligato*, which were increasingly popular in the second half of the eighteenth century. That number could have been written at the special request of the performer, the above-mentioned Pietro Benedetto Sartorini, but also at the initiative of the composer, known to have appreciated that aesthetic.³⁴ As already mentioned, the number of extant copies indicates that this number was far more popular than the other extant fragments of the opera.

As regards the character of Elpinice and the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene', the dramaturgical justification for changes to the libretto is incomparably more dubious. In Metastasio's original text, Elpinice is above all affectionate and faint-hearted: she unsuccessfully urges Lynceus not to take any violent steps without prudence and reflection (sc. IV), and then begs Pleisthenes not to take part in the fighting (sc. V). When the latter follows Lynceus (having sung a declaration of unwavering faithful-

33 The Corago database gives 18 operas based on Metastasio's libretto written between 1744 and 1773; I checked editions accompanying the premieres of settings by Gluck, [Venice, 1744]; Pasquale Cafaro, Naples: Lanciano, 1751; Andrea Adolfati, Modena: Torri, [1752]; Giuseppe Re, Alessandria: Vimercati [1755]; Baldassare Galuppi, Milan: Malatesta, 1758; Ignazio Fiorillo, Braunschweig, 1759; Giuseppe Sarti, Rome: Puccinelli, 1766; Josef Mysliveček, Florence: de' Greci & Fabbrini, 1769. Although we find in some of them new arias not included in Metastasio's text (e.g. Sarti's version has an aria with incipit 'Ah risplenda in cielo almeno' in place of 'Perdono al crudo acciaro' in scene VI), the structure of the three indicated scenes of the third act is identical to that of the original, with the exception of Mysliveček's version, which is heavily cut at this point. A survey of these operas gives us no certainty that the Venetian version of the libretto from 1774 was not written earlier; however, together with the lack of any record in the RISM catalogue of the two 'new' arias from the Venetian version of 1774 different to those from Naumann's opera, allows us to take such an assumption as sufficiently likely.

34 Sieghart Döhring, speaking about this predilection of Naumann's, lists *Ipermestra* alongside *Armida*; given the fragmentary state of preservation of *Ipermestra*, he no doubt has in mind 'Vada sì del mio bene' / 'Sì t'intendo ombra diletta', see Sieghart Döhring, 'Im Banne Italiens: Johann Gottlieb Naumann als Opernkomponist', in: *Johann Gottlieb Naumann: Komponist in vorromantischer Zeit*, ed. Hans-Peter Lühn, *Dresdener Hefte* 66 (2001), p. 30. The source of that 'predilection' of Naumann's supposed by Döhring could have been actually the preferences of the singers.

ness to the bonds of friendship), Elpinice remains alone on the stage to sing a lyrical aria expressing her concern for her beloved and the desire to partake of Pleisthenes' suffering if he is wounded or killed (sc. VI). In the Venetian text, everything is the other way round: it is Elpinice who urges Pleisthenes to set off to help Hypermnestra. When he assures her that he is ready to do anything for her love, the heroine replies: 'you know who I am; you doubt in vain' ('Tu sai, ch'io sono, e il dubitarne a vano'); these words come immediately before the aria, the literary text of which is quoted here in its entirety:

Pria che all'amato bene
Manchi di fede il cor
Il mar sara d'arene
Spoglio d'affanni amor.

Col lupo in bosco errante
Pascere vedrai le agnelle
E perderan le stelle
L'usato lor splendor.

Abborriran le piante
E la rugiada, e il sole;
le rose, e le viole
Prive saran d'odor

Pria, che quest'alma amante,
Possa cangiar di amor.

The sea will sooner turn to sand
And love will lose all cares
Than my heart will be unfaithful
To the one I love.

Lambs will sooner graze
With wolves in the forest
And the stars lose
Their usual splendour.

Plants will abhor
Both the dew and the sun;
Roses and violets
Will lose all their scent

Sooner than this loving soul,
Will change its love.

The verse groups together incongruous images meant to illustrate the impossibility of a change of feelings in Elpinice. The whole of this 14-line text is essentially an extension of a single rhetorical figure, known as *adynaton*,³⁵ used here in the classical form 'sooner than'. The inner logic of this scene seems no less questionable than the justification for the inversion of Elpinice's actions and psychological profile in the whole of the altered passage. The heroine seems affected by Pleisthenes' doubts, which he makes no mention of whatsoever. In an excess of wounded love, he responds to Elpinice with a strongly rhetorical, depictive aria which would be an appropriate reply to an accusation of betrayal or inconstancy, or at least a real prospect of some change in her feelings for Pleisthenes, of which no mention has been made and which would have no grounds in the rest of the libretto.

Now let us look at the dramaturgical setting of the aria in *Il finto pazzo del amore*. This opera treats of the fortunes of two lovers – the shepherd Silvio and the shepherdess Eurilla – captured by troops commanded by Captain Don Ercole. The latter,

35 Stephen Cushman, Clare Cavanagh, et al., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 4th ed., Princeton 2012, p. 9.

captivated by the shepherdess's beauty, wants to force her into marriage. When the despairing Eurilla demands at least one day to think it over (Act II, sc. IV), the captain gives her just 'a few moments' (the comically military aria 'Per pochi momenti vi lascio pensar'). Left alone (sc. V), Eurilla asks in a recitative:

Io lasciar Silvio mio? Ah prima i monti
si vedran caminar: prima l'agnelle
insiem cò i Lupi à pascolare andranno.

Abandon my Silvio? Oh, the mountains
will sooner start to walk; lambs will sooner
graze with wolves.

These words are nothing other than the *adynaton* figure identified in the aria above. In all of the known copies of the opera apart from the Warsaw copy, at this point Silvio approaches and begins a conversation with Eurilla. In the Warsaw version, these words are immediately followed by 'Pria che all'amato bene', organically flowing from the words that precede it and developing the poetical trope already introduced. As the number proceeds, the second of the images evoked in the recitative is repeated directly (wolves feeding with lambs).

Let us sum up the rather problematic conclusions to which the above observations lead. It is the libretto of *Ipermestra* that appears to indicate the jumbling of an existing aria, and without any particular care taken over its dramaturgical sense in the new context. The libretto of *Il finto pazzo del amore*, meanwhile, tends to suggest that the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene' was added specially to this opera, with the created text closely adapted to the existing dramatic context – to the point of adopting the poetical device already present in the libretto. In the context of Mariani's text, the added aria seems to arise naturally out of the poetical germ present from the first version of the libretto, which cannot by any means be said about *Ipermestra*.

SO *IL FINTO PAZZO PER AMORE* AFTER ALL? A SECOND TRAIL (DRESDEN 1769)
AND ONE MORE SOURCE

It would seem that the source evidence leaves little room for the doubts outlined above. We have no grounds to doubt that 'Pria che all'amato bene' formed part of Naumann's Venetian score and as such was transmitted in successive copies. Yet it is possible to imagine a situation in which the composer added to the opera an aria written earlier – particularly if it originally came into being as an addition to an opera by another composer. The hypothesis that begins to take shape would assume the composing of an aria for the Dresden performances of *Il finto pazzo per amore* which took place between 4 and 12 October 1769,³⁶ so still before the Dresden kapellmeister

³⁶ Dates given after the database 'Die Oper in Italien und Deutschland zwischen 1770 und 1830', <https://www.opernprojekt.uni-mainz.de/details/auffuehrungsreihe?id=2437>, accessed 10 October 2024.

embarked on his Italian journey.³⁷ The absence of this aria from the main Dresden sources³⁸ would indicate at the very least that the aria, if composed in Dresden, certainly postdated the preparations for the work's Dresden premiere.

We find a musical source that unequivocally confirms this hypothesis in the collection from the castle in Klášterec nad Ohří, the seat of the Thun-Hohenstein family, now in in the collection of the Czech Museum of Music in Prague (CZ-Pnm), under the shelf mark XL F 283. The title of the copy of the aria, dated 1790, although containing numerous errors, is absolutely unambiguous: *Polonoise / per l'opera del finito passo* [ss corrected to zz] *per amtre / Composte da Naiman a Dresda*.³⁹ The score transmits the aria familiar from the above-mentioned sources, in a slightly more modest form – without the part of the oboes and somewhat simplified in places (more on this below).

The trail of the Dresden *Il finto pazzo per amore* can certainly be regarded also as indicating the most likely route of the aria's importing to Warsaw. In 1768 Domenico Guardasoni moved from Prague, where he had been working till then, to Dresden (both companies belonged to Giuseppe Bustelli's operatic enterprise), where he would perform regularly in Italian buffa operas played at the Kleines Kurfürstliches Theater until at least 1772;⁴⁰ in 1774 the same Guardasoni would take over the management of the Italian troupe active in Warsaw as part of Kurz's enterprise.⁴¹ It is worth adding that Bustelli's Dresden–Prague enterprise, with which Guardasoni continued to work, also prepared a production of *Il finto pazzo* in 1774 – this time for the theatre in Prague.⁴²

37 At that time, Naumann was the most popular opera composer in Dresden, and Giuseppe Bustelli's Italian company, active at the Kleines Kurfürstliches Theater, staged his buffa operas (occasionally also seria works), see Marc Niubó, 'The Italian Opera between Prague and Dresden in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', in: *Musiker-Migration und Musik-Transfer zwischen Böhmen und Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 7. bis 9. November 2008*, eds. Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Reiner Zimmermann, Dresden 2012, pp. 65–66. On the dissipation of Bustelli's archive and problems with identification, see Marc Niubo, 'In Search of the Operatic Archives of Giuseppe Bustelli', *De musica disserenda* 11 (2015) nos. 1–2, pp. 163–174, doi.org/10.3986/dmd11.1-2.10.

38 As already mentioned (nn. 15 and 16), this aria is absent from the score D-Dl Mus.3372-F-3 and the Dresden print of the libretto from 1769. Incidentally, Marc Niubó's findings relating to the dissipation of Bustelli's archive and the circulation of materials between Dresden and Prague bid one entertain the possibility that there did actually exist a score of the opera containing Naumann's addition, see M. Niubo, 'In Search of the Operatic Archives', esp. pp. 169–170.

39 This aria is not noted in the RISM catalogue, but it is mentioned by Marc Niubó in the appendix to his article 'Johann Gottlieb Naumann und Bohemia', in: *Johann Gottlieb Naumann und die europäische Musikkultur des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts: Bericht über das internationale Symposium vom 8. bis 10. Juni 2001*, eds. Ortrun Landmann and Hans-Günter Ottenberg, Hildesheim 2006, p. 347.

40 See information on the Corago website, http://www.ilcorago.org/WPcorago/cantanti_schedaasp?ID=IDCAN0462500, accessed 10 October 2024. We do not know the cast of the Dresden production of *Il finto pazzo per amore*, but it seems a fairly safe bet to assume that Guardasoni took part in that show.

41 A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, pp. 9, 76, 81.

42 In Prague, this opera was staged under the title *Il disertore per amore*. See Ingrid Schraffl and Marc Niubo, 'Paisiello's *La Frascatana*: Dramaturgical Transformations on its Journey Through Central Europe', *Musilogica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies* (29 January 2017), p. 16 (pdf version), <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/30>, accessed 30 April 2025. Preliminary research in holdings accessible online failed to indicate the existence of materials that could provide an answer

Interestingly, another polonaise aria remembered from that Italian company's Warsaw performances – not known by incipit, but noted solely as a 'Polish aria' by Lorenz Christoph Mitzler⁴³ – was sung by Guardasoni in *La sposa Fedele*, in which he performed in Dresden in the autumn of 1768, a year before *Il finto pazzo per amore*⁴⁴ (It is worth noting that it was precisely these two operas that were the favourite shows of the Warsaw opera-going public in 1774–75.⁴⁵) It cannot be ruled out that this aria also travelled to Warsaw from the Saxon capital.

A POLONAISE ARIA? A MUSICAL PROFILE OF THE WORK

All five sources of the aria transmit the tempo marking *alla polacca* (in S-Skma and D-BAd as *allegretto, alla polacca*). The fact that a polonaise aria turns out to have Dresden origins is not surprising. The popularity of this Polish dance in Saxony has been described widely.⁴⁶ The Dresden career of the polonaise as an operatic topos seems to be linked to the name of Hasse, as court composer to Polish kings, with the standard example of the aria 'Oh, che felici pianti' from *Zenobia* (1761)⁴⁷ and the less often cited 'Se l'amor tuo mi rendi' from *Siroe* (1763 version),⁴⁸ and also with a polonaise component in a three-movement sinfonia, used in a couple of instances.⁴⁹ However, virtually no research has been made into the scope of this phenomenon and the paths through which polonaise arias became more widespread in Italian opera (and

to the question as to whether the music lovers of Prague also heard Sacchini's opera enhanced with Naumann's aria, but it does seem quite likely.

43 'Herr Guardasoni, der erste Opersänger singt in diesen Stücke eine polnische Arie', see Wawrzyniec Mizler de Koloff [Lorenz Mitzler], *Briefe eines Gelehrten aus Wilna an einen bekannten Schriftsteller in Warschau die polnischen Schaubühnen betreffend*, Warsaw 1775, p. 13. The authors of *Großes Sängerlexikon* interpret this entry as indicating the singing of an aria in Polish, see K.-J. Kutsch, L. Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon*, p. 1870; but Anna Parkitna's assumption that it refers to a polonaise aria seems more likely, see A. Parkitna, *Opera in Warsaw*, p. 83.

44 See n. 39.

45 See a letter from Franciszek Ryx to Antoni Tyzenhauz, 4 January 1775, in: *Teatr Narodowy 1765–1794* [The National Theatre 1765 1794], ed. Jan Kott, Warsaw 1967, pp. 784–785.

46 Szymon Paczkowski, *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, transl. Piotr Szymczak, Lanham 2016, pp. 66–69, also 182–185, 199–215; Nigel Springthorpe, 'The Polonaise and Mazurka in Mid-Eighteenth Century Dresden: Style and Structure in the Music of Johann Christian Roellig', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 13 (2016) no. 2, pp. 183–209, doi.org/10.1017/S147857061600004X; T. Nowak, *Taniec narodowy*, pp. 92–100.

47 Reinhard Strohm, 'Zenobia: Voices and Authorship in Opera Seria', in: *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart: Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik*, eds. Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, Warsaw 2002, pp. 77–78.

48 Raffaele Mellace, 'Hasse's *Siroe*, Thirty Years Later: A Veritable Work in Progress', *Musicology Today* 18 (2021) no. 1, p. 72. See also the digital edition of the opera produced as part of the project Pasticcio: Ways of Arranging Attractive Operas, <https://edition.pasticcio-project.eu/?work=work-02>, accessed 20 November 2024.

49 Cf. Ortrun Landmann, 'Bemerkungen zu den Hasse-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek', in: *Colloquium 'Johann Adolf Hasse und die Musik seiner Zeit'*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann, Laaber 1987, pp. 493–494.

consequently in vernacular opera as well) in German-speaking lands,⁵⁰ similarly to the problem of the semantic intention behind opera composers' use of this dance topos. The connotations of this dance that were strongly established in Dresden royal circles⁵¹ allow one to assume that Naumann referred to it as to a sort of variant of the high style, thereby musically manifesting the dignity with which Eurilla – though of low birth – responds to Captain Don Ercole's importunate urgings. The same intention can be discerned in the highly organised structure of the text of the aria and its declarative, rhetorical character, more typical of *serie* parts than *parti di mezzo carattere* (the category to which a simple shepherdess like Eurilla should be assigned).⁵² However, this interpretation does not explain why Naumann turned rather to *alla polacca* than to *seria* style or how he ordered those two musical idioms in the hierarchy of styles.

The form of the Prague source noting the aria's connection with *Il finto pazzo per amore* (CZ-Pnm), almost identical in terms of the vocal line and the verbal text to the sources linked to *Ipermestra*, is lacking some elements in relation to the latter, including the whole part of the oboes.⁵³ The assumption that we are dealing here with a simplified copy, intended for an ensemble smaller than the one for which the aria was originally scored, is suggested in particular by the fact that the violas are placed below the basso line. This could indicate that the creation of the copy coincided with the reduction in the instrumental forces of the original form of the work, while the copyist noticed too late that the part of the violas could not be omitted, as it was of too independent a character. However, accepting this hypothesis does not explain all of the differences between the two versions, especially the arrangement – consider-

50 It seems certain that there existed a tradition of the use of the polonaise topos in opera within the Dresden environment; besides Naumann, the line of Hasse's successors would have included Joseph Schuster, among others, cf. Karl Böhmer, 'Joseph Schuster's *Creso in Media* and the *Arciduchi di Milano* in Naples and Livorno', p. 28, <https://www.academia.edu/43784977/>, accessed 30 April 2025. It is not known, meanwhile, whether we should link to Dresden, for example, noted cases of sporadic references to the polonaise in Viennese opera of the end of the century, as in the singspiels *Der Dorfbarbier*, by Johann Schenk, cf. J. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and the Viennese Opera*, p. 563), and *Das Neusonntagskind*, by Wenzel Müller (last aria). Jonathan D. Bellman's hypothesis concerning polonaise references in the operas of Mozart, based solely on a cursory analysis of style and relating to numbers not marked *alla polacca* by the composer, seems for the moment rather debatable; see Jonathan D. Bellman, 'Ongherese, Fandango, and Polonaise: National Dance as Classical-Era Topic', *Journal of Musicological Research* 31 (2012) nos. 2–3, pp. 88–94, doi.org/10.1080/01411896.2012.680879.

51 S. Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, pp. 67–68, 182–186. The spread of the royal connotations of the polonaise beyond the Dresden environment, particularly in opera, has not been studied to date; it is worth mentioning that Johann Adam Hiller gives a polonaise rhythm and the epithet *alla polacca* to a royal aria in the singspiel *Die Jagd*, from 1770 – a work crucial to the development of the genre, see Thomas Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe*, Cambridge 1985, p. 50.

52 Cf. e.g. Ronald Rabin, 'Figaro as Misogynist: On Aria Types and Aria Rhetoric', in: *Opera buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, eds. Mary Hunter and James Webster, Cambridge–New York 1997, p. 246.

53 Among the crucial features of this source, we should also mention the lack of dynamic markings and of any description of the vocal part.

ably more refined in its details – of the refrain-like repeated section in the version from *Ipermestra*.

We have no grounds to state which version of the aria was played in Warsaw: the version prepared by Naumann for *Ipermestra*, the one identical to the original version of 1769, or a separate redaction prepared for the Warsaw shows by someone else. For this reason, given the lowly status of the source CZ-Pnm (as a copy probably with reduced forces), when considering the musical text of the aria, I will base my observations on the sources linked to *Ipermestra*, which are identical with regard to the music and probably represent the composer's final version. Nonetheless I also give *in extenso* the alternative version of the section containing crucial differences in the musical text (see Ex. 6a and 6b).


The question as to whether the stylistic traits of Naumann's aria allow us to define it as a 'truly' polonaise aria should be posed with an awareness of the unavoidable problems linked to such a wording of the question. The number of eighteenth-century operatic polonaises known to us today, even counting those known solely from indirect information, bids one maintain a great deal of caution in formulating hypotheses about the existence of the 'polonaise aria' as a type with a similar degree of conventionalisation as the basic categories of Italian aria such as the *rondo* in two tempi, the grand seria aria, the buffa aria, and so on. It seems safer to assume that each of these works was a separate compositional undertaking that involved the adapting, in accordance with the requirements of the moment, of the dance idiom (the musical topos as understood by topic theory⁵⁴) to the specificities of the genre, and also to the needs and various aspects of the particular aria.

It is natural to refer Naumann's polonaise aria to the style of the Dresden polonaise of the third quarter of the eighteenth century; at the same time, it seems more convenient and more secure to refer to sources and research attesting to the existence of the widespread, popular and functional form of the Saxon polonaise.⁵⁵ Nigel Springthorpe's analysis of the rich polonaise output (mainly *Redoutentänzen*) from the years 1740–60 by Johann Christian Roellig,⁵⁶ one of the composers linked to the ensemble of Count Brühl, which performed frequently in Warsaw, revealed a rhythmic-phasal profile quite far removed (as the author observes) from the more ornate style of keyboard polonaises from German lands: all the phrases beginning with the first beat in the bar, polonaise cadences, the use of one-bar motivic cells, syncopations, rhythm based on an iambic division of the bar ('underlying iambic rhythm') and an increasing proportion of semiquaver passages directly before the

54 Cf. J.D. Bellman, 'Ongherese, Fandango, and Polonaise'.

55 In choosing the popular and dance polonaise style as the main context for my further survey, I forgo reference to the studies of Szymon Paczkowski, who seeks polonaise influences in works of lofty artistic or generic stature which are often devoid of terms referring directly to the Polish dance.

56 N. Springthorpe, 'The Polonaise and Mazurka', pp. 183–209.

cadence.⁵⁷ Springthorpe believes the characteristics of these dance pieces to be much closer to the 'true', i.e. Polish, polonaise style of the time (which, due to a dearth of sources, for the moment remains beyond any reliable insight) than the aforementioned stylised repertoire.⁵⁸ Another, large polonaise repertoire corpus of Dresden provenance is the collection of Anna Maria of Saxony, probably dating from 1770–80, containing more than 300 simple polonaises originating presumably from popular and dancing music. Their style was considered by their researcher and publisher Karol Hławiczka as attesting unequivocally to their mostly Polish provenance. That claim, based on a notion of 'Polish polonaise' style derived mostly from later sources, is seriously undermined by the repertoire's stylistic similarity to the work of Roelig.⁵⁹ The only feature which is apparently different is Roelig's widespread use of structures based on the multiplied group , traditionally linked to the 'German polonaise' as opposed to the 'Polish' one⁶⁰ and virtually absent from Maria Anna's collection.⁶¹ Even if this fact might make us ultimately accept Hławiczka's assertion, the stylistic affinity between the two repertoires (besides the above-mentioned features, they also include a lack of the modulations characteristic of German and French stylised and functional dances from that time⁶²) should be perhaps taken as testifying to the fact that the Saxon polonaise of the second half of the century eludes the established division between 'Polish' and 'German' polonaise style, coming much closer to the Polish polonaise than the polonaise works by composers from central and northern Germany, though retaining some features of the latter. Similar insight was recently given by Paul Newton-Jackson, who proposes the 'Polish-Saxon polonaise' as one of the main polonaise traditions in eighteenth-century repertoire.⁶³ This question certainly needs further research; for the time being, as my aim is to describe 'Pria che all'amato bene'

57 Ibid., pp. 192–196.

58 N. Springthorpe, 'The Polonaise and Mazurka', p. 193.

59 Karol Hławiczka, 'Wstęp' [Preface], in: *Polonezy ze zbiorów Anny Marii Saskiej* [Polonaises from the collection of Anna Maria of Saxony], ed. Karol Hławiczka, Kraków 1971, pp. i–xvi.

60 For more on this distinction, see S. Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, pp. 50–60; N. Springthorpe, 'The Polonaise and Mazurka', pp. 192–193.

61 This is also noted by Ewa Dahlig-Turek, *'Rytmy polskie' w muzyce XVI–XIX wieku. Studium morfologiczne* ['Polish rhythms' in music from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century: a morphological study], Warsaw 2006, pp. 256–257.

62 K. Hławiczka, 'Wstęp', p. VIII; N. Springthorpe, 'The Polonaise and Mazurka', p. 194.

63 Paul Newton-Jackson criticises nineteenth- and twentieth-century narratives describing the polonaise style as a cohesive and uniform phenomenon unequivocally defined by specific rhythmic characteristics (including among them some of the works quoted above), still he asserts the existence of a crystallised Dresden style close to the Polish polonaise, defining it as a 'Polish-Saxon polonaise', see Paul Newton-Jackson, *Georg Philipp Telemann and the Invention of the Polish Style: Musical Polishness in the Early Modern German Imagination*, University of Cambridge 2022 (PhD dissertation), esp. pp. 12, 115–185; cf. also Paul Newton-Jackson, 'Early Modern Polonaises and the Myth of Polish Rhythms', *Journal of Musicology* 41 (2024) no. 2: pp. 179–220, doi.org/10.1525/jm.2024.41.2.179. The similarity between the Dresden polonaise style and the Polish polonaise is also pointed out by Beata Stróżyńska, analysing the small number of polonaise passages contained in the instrumental sonatas she studied, see Beata Stróżyńska, *Dresdeńska sonata na instrumenty klawiszowe w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku* [The Dresden

in its native context, and given the dearth of early and mid-century Polish polonaise sources, I will refer to Reolig's polonaise style described by Springthorpe (and virtually epitomized also by Anna Maria's collection) as just the 'Dresden polonaise', meant as equating to a 'Saxon polonaise'.

Against this well-defined background, the overall prosodic-phrasal profile of Naumann's aria seems to have been formed largely by the features of the Italian vocal style rather than the polonaise idiom. The aria's rhythmic profile remains essentially close to the vocal *stile mezzo*,⁶⁴ fluctuating between a crotchet and quaver rhythm to the syllables, which are either couched syllabically or broken up into semiquaver melismata, which in *settenario* verse effectively gives phrases of a bar and a half (two bars with a rest at the end) corresponding to the verse of the text (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1. J.G. Naumann, *Ipermestra*, aria 'Pria che all' amato bene', the beginning of the vocal line, bars 12–19, source: CZ-Pk 3 C 415

Allegretto alla polacca

12 Pria che all' a - ma - to be - ne, man - chi di fe - di il cor, il

16 mar sa - ra d'a - re - ne, spo - glio d'af - fa - ni a - mor.

The phrases begin with a quaver anacrusis whenever such is required by the stress pattern of the line (seven of the 16 phrases). The polonaise cadence does not appear; there are only the male and female cadences typical of Italian prosody (that is, with the last note of the phrase respectively on the first and second beat) for lines that are respectively *piano* and *tronco*, always with a rest on the last measure of the second bar of the phrase.

The dominant rhythmic model of the phrase leads from a larger value to increasingly small values, without a trace of the iambic underscoring of the second beat in the bar. The first bars of phrases are dominated by the rhythm ♩ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪, which should be regarded as non-specific to the polonaise,⁶⁵ although the lengthening of the initial crotchet by a semiquaver or quaver that appears in several places gives

sonata for keyboard instruments during the second half of the eighteenth century], Łódź 2002, p. 182; cf. also pp. 189, 235, 247.

64 On the characteristics of the vocal *stile mezzo*, see Marita P. McClymonds, 'Opera Buffa? Opera Seria? Genre and Style as Sign', in: *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, eds. Mary Hunter and James Webster, Cambridge 1997; esp. p. 205.

65 The richest survey can be found in E. Dahlig-Turek, 'Rytmy polskie', pp. 194–231, 239–281. Let us mention separately that this rhythmic formula is also not to be found in any bar of the polonaise section of

a variant of a rhythm familiar to Polish polonaise scholars as the 'rhythm with initial prolongation',⁶⁶ opening, for example, successive sections of the polonaise from Roellig's Symphony in C major cited by Springthorpe.⁶⁷

A crucial context for these observations is given by the fact that composed in Dresden already a decade earlier was an operatic polonaise incomparably more unequivocally replicating polonaise phrasing as described by Springthorpe in the vocal line, particularly with the use of polonaise cadences and all the phrases beginning with the first beat in the bar. This was the above-mentioned aria from Hasse's *Siroe* (Ex. 2).

Ex. 2. J.A. Hasse, *Siroe, re di Persia* (vers. 1763), aria 'Se l'amor tuo mi rendi', the beginning of the vocal line, bars 11–24, source: B-Bc 15000

11 Allegro vivo e nel gusto polacca

Se l'a - mor tuo mi ren - di, se più fe - del sa -

- ra - i, son ven - di - ca - to as - sa - i, son ven - di - ca - to as -

- sa - i,

più non de - sio da - te, più non de - sio da - te.

In Naumann's aria, however, we also find the occasional use of elements belonging to the set of the most characteristic marks of the Saxon polonaise identified by Springthorpe:

a. the so-called 'German polonaise' rhythm

As already mentioned, eighteenth-century theorists identify the rhythm $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$, especially when multiplied, in the form $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ (or $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$), as a hallmark of the 'German' polonaise, distinguishing it from the 'Polish' or 'true' polonaise. As also noted above, Springthorpe numbers it among the fundamental features of the

Der allezeit fertige Polonoisen- und Menuettencomponist by Johann Philipp Kirnberger, who after living in Poland for many years, was regarded in the German environment as an authority on the Polish style.

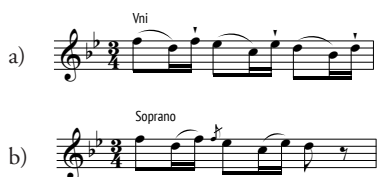
66 See E. Dahlig Turek, 'Rytmy polskie'; T. Nowak, *Taniec narodowy*, p. 107.

67 N. Springthorpe, 'The Polonaise and Mazurka', p. 200 (Ex. 7). The melodic line of the Polonaise, cited in full, contains exactly the same rhythmic-prosodic pattern ($\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$) repeated in the first and second bar of each successive section marked as A, A1, A2.

Dresden polonaise.⁶⁸ Typical, according to this author, was the thirds-based melodic contour of the motif. In Naumann's aria, identical pairs of bars, 23 and 25, 42 and 44 and 61 and 63, carry this kind of motivic grouping, presented successively in the violins and in the vocal part (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3. J.G. Naumann, *Ipermestra*, aria 'Pria che all'amato bene', the 'German-polonaise' motif in bars:

a) 23 (= 42 and 61); b) 25 (= 44 and 63), source: CZ-Pk 3 C 415



We see the same motif in an excerpt, cited by Springthorpe, from a Dresden polonaise by Johann Georg Knechtel (and also a similar motif in a polonaise by Röllig cited subsequently)⁶⁹ and in the Dresden 'Polonaise 2', cited by Hławiczka, from a collection of polonaises kept in the Tschammer Library in Cieszyn.⁷⁰

It seems worth noting also that precisely the same motivic formula – a 'German rhythm' describing a succession of thirds proceeding in stepwise motion – was given by Marpurg and Kirnberg when presenting examples of the characteristic rhythm of the 'German polonaise' (Ex. 4).⁷¹

Ex. 4. The motifs given by Kirnberger (a) and Marpurg (b) as examples of the rhythms that 'belong to the German polonaise'




68 N. Springthorpe, 'The Polonaise and Mazurka', p. 196.

69 The Polonaise in D major cited in: *ibid.*, p. 194 (Ex. 3); identical in terms of rhythm and intervallic structure to Naumann's formula are bars 6 and 8.

70 Karol Hławiczka, 'Zbiór nieznanych polonezów polskich' [A collection of unknown Polish polonaises], *Muzyka* 6 (1961) no. 1, p. 48 (Ex. 13). The author discusses polonaises kept in the Tschammer Library (Cieszyn, Biblioteka Kościoła Ewangelickiego, shelf mark 3086-87). The use of the titles 'Polonaise' and 'Taniec' ('Dance') is interpreted by Hławiczka as indicating respectively the German or Polish provenance of a given work, arguing in favour of the Dresden provenance of the *Polonoises*. Example 13 gives two bars from the 'Polonaise 2' which are identical in terms of rhythm and intervallic structure to Naumann's formula.

71 Johann Philipp Kirnberger, 'Polonaise', in: Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1773, p. 716; Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst, mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden begleitet von einer musikalischen Gesellschaft in Berlin*, vol. 2, Berlin 1763, p. 43.

b. Syncopation

When speaking of polonaise syncopation, I refer not to the iambic underscoring of the second measure of a bar, but to a grouping of the type , most often placed on the first, and less frequently on the second, beat in the bar and, as Hławiczka rightly observes, rather strengthens that beat than actually shifting the accent.⁷²

In Naumann's operatic polonaise, syncopation of this kind does not appear in the vocal part at all. However, in the cadential bars 26, 45 and 64, the violins enrich the 'rhythm with initial prolongation' that is already well established in the style of this aria with a quaver syncopation, further strengthened by the entrance of the oboes on the second quaver, which gives in effect an absolutely idiomatically clear polonaise rhythmic structure to the bar (Ex. 5).

Ex. 5. J.G. Naumann, *Ipermestra*, aria 'Pria che all' amato bene', polonaise syncope in bar 34 (= 25 and 63; source: CZ-Pk 3 C 415)



It is worth looking at both of the phenomena indicated above conjointly and in the context of the aria's formal structure (which I discuss in detail in the next section of this article). They appear accumulated over the space of the five bars that constitute the ending of the seven-bar (eight-bar, if we ignore the elision with the ensuing ritornello) segment that ends the three main units of the aria's form (by way of comparison, I also give the second extant version of his fragment, devoid of most of the subtleties discussed here, see Ex. 6a and 6b).

72 K. Hławiczka, 'Wstęp', p. VIII. On the characteristic nature of this rhythmic figure for the Polish polonaise, see E. Dahlig-Turek, 'Rytmy polskie', p. 49.

Ex. 6a. J.G. Naumann, *Ipermestra*, aria 'Pria che all'amato bene', bars 39-46 (= 58-65 = 20-27), source: CZ-Pk 3 C 415

39

Vni

Vla

Ob I-II

E.

Basso

Pria di quest' al-ma a-man-te pos-sa can-giar d'a-mor,

43

Vni

Vla

Ob I-II

E.

Basso

pos-sa can-giar d'a-mor, spo-glio d'af-fa-ni a-mor.

RITORNEL

poco f

f

[poco f]

[f]

poco f

f

This section possesses the design *abb'b* (the lower case letters indicate two-bar phrases corresponding to lines in the text). This is an expansion of the antecedent-consequent model, achieved through the threefold repetition of the consequent (on each occasion slightly modified with regard to the shape of the semiquaver run), forced by its 'unsuccessful' realisation the first two times. This conception is realised through a creative modification of a procedure typical of the Italian vocal operatic style, namely, the replacement of the anticipated last note of the cadence (the root of the key) with a sudden leap upwards, as a result of which the whole cadential phrase – being ultimately inconclusive – needs to be repeated. It is precisely this 'wrong' note that was expanded by Naumann into the 'German polonaise' formula, instead of the

Ex. 6b. J.G. Naumann, aria 'Pria che all'amato bene', bars 39-46 (= 58-65 = 20-27), source: CZ-Phm XL F 283

39

Vni

Vla

E.

Basso

Pria di quest' al - ma a - man - te pos - sa can - giar d'a - mor,

43

RITORNEL

Vni

Vla


E.

Basso

pos - sa can - giar d'a - mor, spo - glio d'af - fa - ni a - mor.

striking interruption, thus ensuring a smooth transition into a renewed 'attempt' at a cadential closure of the period. Naumann conceived successive approaches to the conclusive *b* as intensifying the energy, in which the dynamic layer (respectively *poco forte* and *forte* for *b'* and *b''*) and the texture (thickened by the differentiation and subdivision of the instrumental parts) work together; see especially the gradually more independent parts of the oboes and the second violins and the gradually introduced quaver pulsation in the bass. Thus the introduction of polonaise elements is intertwined with the process of the thickening and diversifying of the texture. The use of the 'German polonaise' motif is gradated; the first time around, it is added as an instrumental 'adornment' to the simple vocal line, then it is assumed into that line against the background of an even more rhythmically subdivided accompaniment. The syncopation added in the instrumental parts functions as the final step in this multi-layered *crescendo*. Given that a well-formed and widespread polonaise style functioned in Dresden in Naumann's time and also that the elements introduced in the section discussed above were fully idiomatic for that same style, the composer's

intention here seems perfectly clear: a) the sparing use of polonaise characteristics; b) introducing them rather as means with a special function than as elements defining the general style of the aria. If this diagnosis were to arouse some surprise within the context of the aria's subsequent popularity in Warsaw, it is worth making here two further observations.

First, we may assume that the general rhythmic flow to Naumann's aria, although to a limited degree replicating recognisable elements of the polonaise style, at the same time, to some extent, allowed the 'polonaise idiom' to come through in the nuances of the metric-rhythmic profile realised on the level of performance; that is, such features as dignity, grandeur, solemnity, refinement and an easy gait, as mentioned by later and earlier sources.⁷³ That should also be our key to interpreting, for example, the 'endings' of two-phrase sentences with the rhythm  used in the *basso* voice; the prolongation of the motion until the third beat in the bar could perhaps lend the female cadence articulated in the vocal line something of the polonaise character. Also perhaps helping to maintain a constant dance pulse was the regular practice of an elided cadence in the closure of the three main sections of the form, introducing an instrumental version of the first musical idea simultaneously with the last note of the vocal phrase.

The second reservation concerns possible changes during the Polish adaptation of the aria. Although its shape remains almost entirely beyond the reach of all possible research, we can still note at least one significant fact. Bogusławski's translation practice, familiar to us from published librettos, included the exact replication of the metre of the texts being translated for singing (not counting the lengthening of *tronco* lines to *piano*, enabling all of the cadences to be rendered as female, which corresponded to the accepted norms of Polish verse at that time).⁷⁴ Meanwhile, 'Pria che all'amato bene' is written in both Polish versions in eight-syllable verse, despite the fact that the Italian original is entirely in *settenario* (*piano/tronco*). This would suggest that already in the first, non-stage adaptation of the aria for singing in Polish, slightly more far-reaching changes were made to the text, linked to the presence of an extra syllable in each line, and that this version was maintained in the adaptation of the whole opera by Bogusławski. The assumption that these changes could have proceeded in the direction of underscoring the hallmarks of polonaise arias (it is difficult to say whether it would have gone as far as shaping polonaise cadences) suggests itself.

73 Cf. T. Nowak, *Tańce polskie*, pp. 109–116, 130, 164–170; S. Paczkowski, *Polish Style*, pp. 41–46; similar sources from the Saxon environment are discussed by P. Newton-Jackson, *Georg Philipp Telemann*, pp. 105–106.

74 Z. Raszewski, *Bogusławski*, pp. 118–120; Andrzej Kapłon, 'Warszawskie libretta opery "La contadina in corte"', *Pamiętnik Literacki* 82 (1991) no. 2, p. 212.

'RONDO ALLA POLACCA'?

Recurring in the Polish theatrological literature is the definition of the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene' as a 'rondo alla polacca', introduced by Raszewski in a seemingly arbitrary manner.⁷⁵ Interestingly, this term appears in one of the sources (D-BAd EB 345). The form of this number confirms this wording only in part. The rondo principle of the repetition of a refrain is present here, of course, yet the aria has nothing in common with the instrumental rondo of the Classical era, with the Italian operatic *rondò* that was popular in the 1770s (before it was transformed into the famous two-tempo *rondò* that triumphed during the last two decades of the eighteenth century)⁷⁶ or with the rondo aria as most generally understood that was still being used in Italian opera up to the end of the eighteenth century.⁷⁷ All of the forms mentioned here were linked by the practice of highlighting the refrain as the first section of a work; with Naumann, meanwhile, the second section returns – as bars 20–26, 39–45 and 58–64 respectively. This section serves as the ending of a higher-order formal unit, always comprising two segments (see the presentation of the form below, Table 1). These units always form a pair | couplet + refrain |, and their integrity is articulated additionally by ritornellos separating the subsequent units. Hence we are indeed dealing here with the mechanism of 'rhyming' (as English-language musicology deftly puts it) endings to the main units of the form; in this sense, the polonaise 'rondo' may be defined as an expansion of a binary form, as understood in a rudimentary way, | A+B | C+B |, to a ternary form, | A+B | C+B | D+B |. The three main sections have the same tonal structure | I→V + V→I |, and the proposed division is further justified by the design of the opening ritornello presenting the whole structure | A+B | in a compressed form (that is, with a heavily shortened second section).

We may conjecture that the form of the aria was informed by the concept linked to the arrangement of the text, that is, the decision to repeat the concluding distich 'Pria, che quest'alma amante / Possa cangiar di amor' also after the second strophe, not only after the third; the resultant formal model was then expanded to the first strophe, although here were repeated simply its last two lines. In actual fact, however, here too, on the formal level, the Dresden tradition is reflected; Springthorpe notes in the instrumental polonaises of the Saxon environment the very same tenden-

⁷⁵ In any case, Raszewski does not give a source for this term or any justification for its adoption.

⁷⁶ J. Rice, *Salieri and the Viennese Opera*, pp. 248–249; Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka, 'Rondò Pasquale Anfossiego dla Adrianey Ferrarese del Bene' [Pasquale Anfossi's rondò for Adriana Ferrarese del Bene], in: *Muzyka wobec tradycji. Idee – dzieło – recepcja* [Music and tradition: ideas, work and reception], ed. Szymon Paczkowski, Warsaw 2004, esp. pp. 327–330.

⁷⁷ Mary Hunter, *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: Poetics of Entertainment*, Princeton 1999, p. 306; to learn how this author understands the aria in rondo form, see Mary Hunter, *Haydn's Aria Forms: A Study of the Arias in the Italian Operas Written at Eszterháza, 1766–1783*, Cornell University, Ithaca 1982 (PhD dissertation), pp. 56, 210, 216.

cies for ‘rhyming’ endings, assuming, in the most elaborate forms, the configuration $\left| : A+B : \left| : C+B , D+B : \right| \right|$, which the author calls a ‘rondo–binary hybrid form’.⁷⁸ The same structure without repetition, but with a clearly emphasised ternary structure, is presented by Naumann’s aria.

Table 1. Formal structure of the aria ‘Pria, che quest’alma amante’

Bars	Words	Sections	Harmonic motion
1–11	[ritornello]	AB'	I→V→I
12–19	Pria che all'amato bene Manchi di fede il cor Il mar fara d'arene Spoglio d'affanni amor.	{ A B	I→V
20–26	Il mar sara d'arene Spoglio d'affanni amor.		V→I
27–29	[ritornello]	A'	I
30–38	Col lupo in bosco errante Pascere vedrai le agnelle E perderan le stelle L'usato lor splendor.	{ C B	I→V
39–45	Pria, che quest'alma amante, Possa cangiar di amor.		V→I
46–48	[ritornello]	A'	I
49–57	Abborriran le piante E la rugiada, e il sole; le rose, e le viole Prive saran d'odor	{ D B	I→V
58–64	Pria, che quest'alma amante, Possa cangiar di amor.		V→I
65–68	[ritornello]	A'	I

78 N. Springthorpe, ‘The Polonaise and Mazurka’, p. 199.

CONCLUSION: ONCE MORE ON 'PRIA CHE ALL'AMATO BENE' IN WARSAW

Let us sum up. We may take the following as having been satisfactorily demonstrated: that the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene' / 'Wprzód niżeli wiarę daną', performed in Warsaw as part of Antonio Sacchini's *Il finto pazzo del amore* (1774–76 in Italian; from 1779 in Polish), was composed by Johann Gottlieb Naumann for the Dresden performances of that opera (1769); and it was subsequently added to the opera *Ipermestra*, played in 1774 in Venice. Thus its history presents itself as follows:

- I. Autumn 1769 – the aria is composed by Johann Gottlieb Naumann and performed in Dresden as an insertion for Antonio Sacchini's opera buffa *Il finto pazzo per amore*.
- II. January 1774 – the aria is performed in Venice as a part of Naumann's *Ipermestra*.
- III. From Autumn 1774 to 1776 – the aria is performed in Warsaw in *Il finto pazzo per amore*.
- IV. 1779–92 – the aria is performed in Warsaw (at least 17 times) as a part of the opera buffa *Dla miłości zmyślone szaleństwo* (Wojciech Bogusławski's Polish adaptation of *Il finto pazzo per amore*).

The aria was labelled *alla polacca* from the beginning, although the features that may be deemed unequivocally characteristic of the Dresden polonaise style were quite sparingly marked in it. The term 'rondo' applied to it in part of the subject literature to date can be referred to it solely in a quite general and inexact sense. The route taken by the aria's importing to Warsaw can be linked most probably with the Dresden *Il finto pazzo* and the figure of Domenico Guardasoni, although there were also possibilities for the aria to have been imported from Venice in 1774.

The history of this aria, played out between three cities – in Germany, Italy and Poland – epitomises the well recognised profile of eighteenth-century Italian opera as a pan-European network of theatres with its attendant migrations of artists and works, and also compositional and adaptative practices resulting in the lability of the shape of particular operas, adapted on an ongoing basis to the capabilities and preferences of performers and audiences. The introduction of the aria 'Pria che all'amato bene' into the field of musicological discourse also expands the research entity of the polonaise aria – or more broadly the polonaise as an operatic musical topos – in the second half of the eighteenth century – an entity that still awaits a comprehensive study.

Another perspective, mentioned at the beginning of this article, consists of the links between Naumann's aria and the early stages in the development of the Polish polonaise aria. As a final digression, it is worth comparing – at least tentatively – the

acquired knowledge about Naumann's aria with an examination of the first Polish polonaise aria *sensu stricto*, performed, let us remind ourselves, two years after the period of popularity of *Il finto pazzo per amore* and a year before its Polish adaptation.

Kasia's aria from *Misery Made Happy*, adhering to the canonic form of the polonaise with trio, is distinguished by its uniform character with regard to rhythmic, melodic and phrasal features, a full picture of which is given by the first section (Ex. 7).

Ex. 7. M. Kamiński, *Nędza uszczęśliwiona*, aria 'Jakaż w tym krzywdę serce moje czuje', the beginning of the vocal line, bars 9–18, source: PL-Wtm R 1196

9 [Tempo di polacca]

Ja - kąż w tym krzyw - dę ser - ce two - je czu - je, że nie - szczę - śli - wych

12 lu - dzi pan ra - tu - je Naj - lep - sze spra - wy

16 za - zdrość o - pak są - dzi nie mo - że wszyst - kim do - go - dzić kto rzą - dzi.

The most general conclusions from a cursory comparison of that fragment with 'Pria che all'amato bene' are twofold. The first concerns the phrase structure, which with Kamiński, unlike with Naumann, assumes a form close to the instrumental polonaise known from the Dresden repertoire mentioned above or from later Polish sources – deprived of pauses to take a breath that broke up the vocal line, constructed out of one-bar segments arranged in pairs, each of which continues the motion at least up to the third crotchet, the use of the polonaise cadence being merely a detailed realisation of this last general tendency.

At the same time – and this is the second conclusion – we do not note in Kamiński the presence of the rhythmic structures of the syncopated type or the iambic stress on the second beat – the features so typical of Dresden mid-century polonaises and of the well-preserved polonaise style from Polish sources near the end of the century (they also fail to appear over the further course of the aria). The rhythms used are marked by a predominance of semiquaver motion, which brings this aria close to the type of motion of some instrumental polonaises. Yet one cannot fail to notice the rhythm that recurs as a main rhythm in subsequent sections, identical to the initial rhythmic formula of 'Pria che all'amato bene', and also the general tendency, linked to this model, for a quaver pulse to the syllables of the text to be superimposed onto a semiquaver motion in the melody. These features delimit the area of potential

influence of Naumann's aria on the beginning of the Polish polonaise aria – an influence that on the other hand, as it were, should be described as a certain economy in references to those most typical polonaise rhythmic patterns.

At present, the assertion of this minor, but distinct influence of 'Pria che all'amato bene' on the aria from *Misery Made Happy* remains an initial hypothesis, which requires further, more penetrating research and awaits further expansion of the source base for research into the Polish vocal polonaise of this period. This hypothesis would point to the possibility – perhaps not as obvious hitherto – that for the crystallisation of the Polish polonaise aria the homespun polonaise need not have been the sole stylistic source, but the former could also have taken shape within the field of influence of foreign models – especially if they represented the authority and prestige of Italian opera. The introduction of domestic idioms into opera was not necessarily perceived as an obvious option; in that case, the possibility of composing an operatic polonaise which at the same time referred to a Italian model could have been an opportunity too good to pass up.

Translated by John Comber

APPENDIX

Aria 'Pria che all'amato bene' according to source Cz-Pk 3 C 415 (violas, if not noted, play with basso in 8va; the form of the piano score made it impossible to make all the instrumental parts visible in bars 20–26, 39–45 and 58–64; the full form of these identical places is represented in Ex. 6).

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (bars 1-5) has a treble staff labeled 'Vni I, Ob, Vla 8vb' and a bass staff labeled 'Basso'. The second system (bars 6-10) has a treble staff labeled 'Vni, Ob' and a bass staff labeled 'Vla'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

11

Pria che all' a - ma - to be - ne, man - chi di fe - di il cor, il

Vni, Ob, Vla 8vb

Vni

+ Ob

- Ob

p

f

16

mar sa - ra d'a - re - ne, spo - glio d'af - fa - ni a - mor. Il mar sa - ra d'a -

+ Ob

- Ob

Vni

Vla, Ob 8va

p

f

21

- re - ne, spo - glio d'af - fa - nie a - mor, spo - glio d'af - fa - ni a - mor,

Vni

poco f

26

spo - glio d'af - fa - ni a - mor. Col

+ Ob Vni I, Ob, Vla 8vb Vni, Ob, Vla 8vb Vni

f Vni II Vla arco Basso pizz.

31

lu - po in bos - co er - ran - te, pas - cer ve - drai le a - gnel - la e

35

per - de - ran le stel - le l'u - sa - to suo splen - dor. Pria di quest' al - ma -

Vni Vla, Ob 8va Basso arco

40

man - te pos - sa can - giar d'a - mor, pos - sa can - giar d'a - mor,

Vni

poco f

45

pos - sa can - giar d'a - mor. A -

+ Ob Vni I, Ob, Vla 8vb Vni, Ob, Vla 8vb Vni

f Vni II

50

- bor - ri - ran le pian - te, e la ru - gia - da e il - so - le, le

54

ro - se e le - vi - o - le pri - be sa - ran dō - dor. Pria che quest' al - ma a -

Vln I
Vln, Ob 8va
Basso

59

- man - te pos - sa can - giar d'a - mor, pos - sa can - giar d'a - mor,

Vln I
poco *f*

64

spo - glio d'af - fa - ni a - mor.

+ Ob
f
Vln I, Ob, Vla 8vb
Vln II
Vln, Ob, Vla 8vb
tutti

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bauman, Thomas. *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Bellman, Jonathan D. 'Ongherese, Fandango, and Polonaise: National Dance as Classical-Era Topic.' *Journal of Musicological Research* 31, nos. 2–3 (2012): 70–96. doi.org/10.1080/01411896.2012.680879.
- Böhmer, Karl. 'Joseph Schuster's *Creso in Media* and the *Arciduchi di Milano* in Naples and Livorno.' <https://www.academia.edu/43784977>, accessed 30 April 2025.
- Cushman, Stephen and Clare Cavanagh. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, 4th ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Dahlig-Turek, Ewa. *'Rytmy polskie' w muzyce XVI–XIX wieku: Studium morfologiczne*. Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2006.
- Döhring, Sieghart. 'Im Banne Italiens: Johann Gottlieb Naumann als Opernkomponist.' In: *Johann Gottlieb Naumann: Komponist in vorromantischer Zeit*, ed. Hans-Peter Lühn. *Dresdener Hefte* 66 (2001): 26–32.
- Hławiczka, Karol. 'Wstęp.' In: *Polonezy ze zbiorów Anny Marii Saskiej*, ed. Karol Hławiczka, i–xvi. Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1971.
- Hławiczka, Karol. 'Zbiór nieznanych polonezów polskich z początku XVIII wieku.' *Muzyka* 6, no. 1 (1961): 23–67.
- Hunter, Mary. 'Haydn's Aria Forms: A Study of the Arias in the Italian Operas Written at Eszterháza, 1766–1783.' PhD diss., Cornell University, Ithaca 1982.
- Hunter, Mary. *The Culture of Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna: Poetics of Entertainment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Kapłon, Andrzej. 'Warszawskie libretta opery "La contadina in corte".' *Pamiętnik Literacki* 82, no. 2 (1991): 197–212.
- Kutsch, Karl-Josef, and Leo Riemens. *Großes Sängerlexikon*, 4th ed. Munich: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2003.
- Landmann, Ortrun. 'Bemerkungen zu den Hasse-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek.' In: *Colloquium 'Johann Adolf Hasse und die Musik seiner Zeit'*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann, 459–494. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1987.
- Landmann, Ortrun. 'Naumanns Lebensstationen im Überblick.' In: *Johann Gottlieb Naumann: Komponist in vorromantischer Zeit*, ed. Hans-Peter Lühn. *Dresdener Hefte* 66 (2001): 17–25.
- Maksymowicz, Piotr Józef. 'Warszawski teatr operowy Wojciecha Bogusławskiego w latach 1778–1783.' PhD diss., Uniwersytet Gdański, 2020.
- McClymonds, Marita P. 'Opera Buffa? Opera Seria? Genre and Style as Sign.' In: *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, eds. Mary Hunter and James Webster, 197–231. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Mellace, Raffaele. 'Hasse's *Siroe*, Thirty Years Later: A Veritable Work in Progress.' *Musicology Today* 18, no. 1 (2021): 65–74.
- Neville, Don. 'Ipemestra.' Grove Music Online, 2002. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O007516>, accessed 30 April 2025.
- Newton-Jackson, Paul. 'Georg Philipp Telemann and the Invention of "the Polish Style" Musical Polishness in the Early Modern German Imagination.' PhD diss., University of Cambridge 2022.
- Newton-Jackson, Paul. 'Early Modern Polonaises and the Myth of Polish Rhythms', *Journal of Musicology* 41, no. 2 (2024): 179–220. doi.org/10.1525/jm.2024.41.2.179.

- Niubo, Marc. 'In Search of the Operatic Archives of Giuseppe Bustelli.' *De musica disserenda* 11 nos. 1–2 (2015): 163–174. doi.org/10.3986/dmd11.1-2.10.
- Niubó, Marc. 'Johann Gottlieb Naumann and Bohemia.' In: *Johann Gottlieb Naumann und die europäische Musikkultur des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts: Bericht über das internationale Symposium vom 8. bis 10. Juni 2001*, eds. Ortrun Landmann and Hans-Günther Ottenberg, 309–352. Hildesheim: Olms, 2006.
- Niubó, Marc. 'The Italian Opera between Prague and Dresden in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century.' In: *Musiker-Migration und Musik-Transfer zwischen Böhmen und Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 7. bis 9. November 2008*, eds. Hans-Günter Ottenberg und Reiner Zimmermann, 58–73. Dresden: Institut zur Erforschung und Erschließung der Alten Musik, 2012.
- Nowak, Tomasz. *Taniec narodowy w polskim kanonie kultury: Źródła, geneza, przemiany*. Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016.
- Nowak-Romanowicz, Alina. *The Classical Era: 1750–1830*, transl. by John Comber. Warsaw: Sutkowski Editions, 2004 (= History of Music in Poland 4).
- Paczkowski, Szymon. *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach*, transl. by Piotr Szymczak. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Parkitna, Anna. 'Opera in Warsaw, 1765–1830: Operatic Migration, Adaptation, and Reception in the Enlightenment.' PhD diss., Stony Brook University, New York, 2020.
- Prosnak, Jan. *Kultura muzyczna warszawy z XVIII wieku*. Kraków: PWM, 1955.
- Rabin, Ronald J., 'Figaro as Misogynist: On Aria Types and Aria Rhetoric.' In: *Opera buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, eds. Mary Hunter and James Webster, 232–260. Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Raszewski, Zbigniew. *Bogusławski*. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982.
- Rice, John. *Antonio Salieri and Vienesse Opera*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Ryszka-Komarnicka, Anna. 'Rondò Pasquale Anfossiego dla Adriany Ferrarese del Bene.' In: *Muzyka wobec tradycji. Idee – dzieło – recepcja*, ed. Szymon Paczkowski, 327–342. Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2004.
- Springthorpe, Nigel. 'The Polonaise and Mazurka in Mid-Eighteenth Century Dresden: Style and Structure in the Music of Johann Christian Roellig.' *Eighteenth-Century Music* 13, no. 2 (2016): 183–209.
- Schraffl, Ingrid, and Marc Niubo. 'Paisiello's La Frascata: Dramaturgical Transformations on its Journey Through Central Europe.' *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies*, (29 January 2017). <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/30>, accessed 30 April 2025.
- Strohm, Reinhard. 'Zenobia: Voices and Authorship in Opera Seria.' In: *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart: Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik*, eds. Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 53–81. Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002.
- Stróżyńska, Beata. *Drezdeńska sonata na instrumenty klawiszowe w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*. Łódź: Akademia Muzyczna im. Grażyny i Kiejstuta Bacewiczów, 2002.
- Tasnádi-Marik, Klára. *Viennese Porcelain*. Budapest: Corvina Press, 1971.
- Teatr Narodowy 1765–1794*. ed. Jan Kott. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1967.
- Treatise on Vocal Performance and Ornamentation by Johann A. Hiller*, transl. by Suzanne J. Beicken. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Wierzbicka-Michalska, Karyna. *Aktorzy cudzoziemscy w Warszawie w XVIII wieku*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1975.

„PRIA CHE ALL'AMATO BENE” JOHANNA GOTTLIEBA NAUMANNA,
CZYLI DREZDEŃSKI TROP U ŹRÓDEŁ POLSKIEJ ARII POLONEZOWEJ

Artykuł poświęcony jest polonezowej arii „Pria che all'amato bene”, zajmującej istotne miejsce w historii warszawskiej opery czasów stanisławowskich, dotychczas jednak znanej jedynie z tekstu zachowanego w drukach warszawskich oraz świadectw mówiących o jej ówczesnej popularności. Przywieziona była ona do Warszawy przez włoski zespół działający tu w l. 1774–76 jako część opery Antonia Sacchiniego *Il finto pazzo per amore* i cieszyła się w Warszawie olbrzymim powodzeniem, śpiewana także po polsku w ramach adaptacji opery przez Wojciecha Bogusławskiego. Odnalezione odpisy arii oraz druk libretta świadczą o przynależności arii do weneckiej opery J.G. Naumanna *Ipermestra* (1774), jednakże jeszcze jedno źródło muzyczne (CZ-Pnm XL F 283) wraz z analizą libretta wskazują, że aria powstać musiała pierwotnie jako dodatek do drezdeńskich wystawień *Il finto pazzo del amore* (1769).

Aria prezentuje niektóre cechy typowe dla drezdeńskiego stylu polonezowego, choć zarazem są one eksponowane ostrożniej niż w instrumentalnych polonezach saskich. Wprowadzone przez Zbigniewa Raszewskiego określenie formalne „rondo alla polacca” znajduje jedynie częściowe potwierdzenie w odnalezionym materiale muzycznym, z kolei odmienności od znanych polonezów polskich czynią istotniejszym drobne korespondencje z polonezową arią z *Nędzy uszczęśliwionej*, sugerując pewien wpływ na oryginalne arie polonezowe pierwszych oper polskich.

Jakub Chachulski

Dr Jakub Chachulski, assistant professor at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (Department of Musicology), member of the *Monumenta Musicae in Polonia* series editorial team. His recent research interest focuses on Polish opera of late 18th and early 19th century and the oeuvre of Józef Elsner. He published a thematic catalogue of Józef Elsner secular works (Warsaw 2019), a monograph on the same composer's comic operatic output (*Józef Elsner i świat osiemnastowiecznej opery komicznej*, Warsaw 2025), and Polish translations of Charles Burney's *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United provinces* (Warsaw 2017, 2018).
jakub.chachulski@ispan.pl
