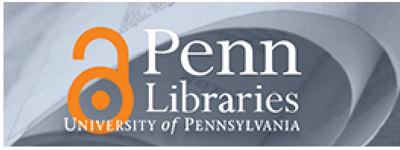

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Carlo Giorgio Lanfossi
University of Pennsylvania, lanfossi@sas.upenn.edu

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Handel As Arranger And Producer: Listening To Pasticci In Eighteenth-Century London

Abstract

My dissertation investigates the experience of listening to previously-heard music assembled by composers through the exploration of a paradigmatic baroque genre, the operatic pasticcio. Focusing on productions by Georg Frideric Handel mounted between 1725 and 1739, my dissertation articulates three main issues: the role of material circulation of music in early eighteenth-century London; the notion of authorship in the context of the literary marketplace, copyright laws, and music appropriation in early eighteenth-century London; and the experience of listening to what a composer already listened to by borrowing music from other authors. Thus, I position the pasticcio in the context of non-music publishing, reading, and copying practices, and I argue that the genre was produced as a form of inscription of these listening and reading habits. By redefining the pasticcio as a form of listening inscription, my project reconsiders baroque opera's aurality as paradigmatic of pre-Enlightenment reading and listening practices. Drawing on methodologies and concepts from the fields of material texts and performance studies, my research expands previous musicological literature—which focused mostly on textual genealogy—by considering the pasticcio as emblematic of the 'ghosting' nature of opera altogether which relies on the memory of previous performances and the issue of musical recurrence.

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First Advisor

Mauro Calcagno

Keywords

listening, material texts, opera, pasticcio, performance studies

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HANDEL AS ARRANGER AND PRODUCER:

LISTENING TO PASTICCI IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

Carlo Giorgio Lanfossi

A DISSERTATION

in

Music

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2018

Supervisor of Dissertation

____

Mauro Calcagno

Associate Professor of Music

Graduate Group Chairperson

____

Guthrie Ramsey

Edmund J. and Louise W. Kahn Term Professor of Music

Dissertation Committee

Jeffrey Kallberg, William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Music, University of Pennsylvania

Ellen T. Harris, Class of 1949 Professor of Music Emeritus, MIT

a papà

ABSTRACT

HANDEL AS ARRANGER AND PRODUCER:

LISTENING TO PASTICCI IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

Carlo Giorgio Lanfossi

Mauro Calcagno

My dissertation investigates the experience of listening to previously-heard music assembled by composers through the exploration of a paradigmatic baroque genre, the operatic pasticcio. Focusing on productions by Georg Frideric Handel mounted between 1725 and 1739, my dissertation articulates three main issues: the role of material circulation of music in early eighteenth-century London; the notion of authorship in the context of the literary marketplace, copyright laws, and music appropriation in early eighteenth-century London; and the experience of listening to what a composer already listened to by borrowing music from other authors. Thus, I position the pasticcio in the context of non-music publishing, reading, and copying practices, and I argue that the genre was produced as a form of inscription of these listening and reading habits. By redefining the pasticcio as a form of listening inscription, my project reconsiders baroque opera's aurality as paradigmatic of pre-Enlightenment reading and listening practices. Drawing on methodologies and concepts from the fields of material texts and performance studies, my research expands previous musicological literature—which focused mostly on textual genealogy—by considering the pasticcio as emblematic of the 'ghosting' nature of opera altogether which relies on the memory of previous performances and the issue of musical recurrence.

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INTRODUCTION

Newspapers shape our understanding of the surrounding world. Someone visiting London who wished to know what was happening in town in the 1720s simply had to open the pages of any given broadsheet to gather a sense of the city's overwhelming offerings. Crammed over a large single page, advertisements for all sorts of leisure activities and publications would attract the reader's eye creating a mixture of excitement and confusion. Unlike the social structure of England's elites of the time, the pages of local magazines were anything but hierarchical. The layout (mostly employing small fonts with slightly larger titles) was such that it purposely forced the reader to read and scroll every bit of the page to be able to discern important information. In a sense, the material aspects of newspapers' production were shaping the physical and intellectual response to the very act of going to town.

If we pick a day right in the middle of the 1720s, say 12 May 1725, our imaginary visitor would have turned to a page in which he would have found a hodgepodge of news, events, and trades: the price of certain stocks, the sale of lottery tickets, the announcement of new operas and comedies, a wax exhibition, a reward set for the capture of a young burglar, a real estate listing, and the publication of John Gay's poem *To a Lady on Her Passion for Old China* (see Fig. 0.1).[1] Among this vertiginous list of advertisements, one stands out as particularly relevant for the various discussions that will arise in the following pages of this dissertation. Not the advertisement for a new opera, though. It is the detailed description of the display of fake anatomical bodies near the banks of the river Thames. In this case, the exhibition featured "the Human Bodies artificially made at Paris" at a popular location in London, the York House in the Strand.

[1] *Daily Courant*, 12 May 1725.

Figure 0.1 – Daily Courant, 12 May 1725

The Daily Courant.

Numb. 7354.

Wedneſday, May 12. 1725.

London, May 12.

YEſterday South-Sea Stock was 122, to 122 1 8th. South-Sea Annuity 106 3 qrs. India 160 3 qrs. 161 1 half, to 162. Bank 132 7 8ths. 133. African 10 1 half, to 10 5 8ths. York-Buildings 39, 39 1 half, 38 1 qr. 39. Royal Exchange Aſſurance 69. London Aſſurance 10 3 qrs. to 10 7 8ths.

Victualling Office, May 10, 1725.

Notice is hereby given, That the Short Allowance Liſts of His Majeſty's Ships under-mentioned, on which Payments were made in the Year 1712, will begin to be recalled on the 24th Inſtant, at the Pay-Office in Broad-ſtreet, viz.

Greenwich,	May-Flower Tender,
Hunter Fireſhip,	Newark,
Kingſtone,	Portſmouth,
Kingſale,	Reſolution,
Looe,	Sunderland,
Monk,	Tyger,
Maidſtone,	Ditto,
Milford,	Wincheſter.

And for preventing as much as poſſible any Abuſes in the ſaid Payments, it will be expected, that where the Seamen cannot attend themſelves, their Letters of Attorney ſhall be witneſſed by two or more Commiſſion or Warrant Officers of His Majeſty's Ships in which they ſerve, or by two or more of the Officers of His Majeſty's Navy or Victualling, or by the Mayor, or two or more of the Magiſtrates of ſome Corporation, or by a Publick Notary, or by the Miniſter and Church-Wardens of the Pariſh (where the other cannot be had,) and where old Letters of Attorney are produced, they are to be accompanied with the like Atteſtation that the Perſons who made the ſame are living.

Lottery-Office, April 28, 1725.

The Managers at the Lottery-Office in Whitehall give Notice, That Certificates for all Tickets in the Lottery 1724, entered or to be entered at their ſaid Office to or at any Time before the 30th of April, 1725, incluſive, will be ready to be delivered out at their ſaid Office, in Exchange for the ſaid Tickets, on Wedneſday the 5th, Friday the 7th, and Saturday the 8th of May, from Nine till One in the Forenoon of each Day ; during which Days of Delivery, all other other Buſineſs whatſoever with which the ſaid Office is charged will be ſuſpended.

They alſo give further Notice, That they mean to cloſe their Accompt of this whole Work on Monday the 31ſt of May, 1725. Therefore all Perſons poſſeſſed of Tickets in the ſaid Lottery, which have not been yet entered for Certificates, are deſired to bring the ſame to be entered, by or before that Day, becauſe the Accompt being once cloſed, and the Commiſſion diſcharged, the obtaining Certificates for unentered Tickets muſt be then after attended with Difficulty and Charge.

Mine-Office in Curſitor's-Alley, April 20, 1725.

Whereas ſeveral Members and Proprietors of this Company have made Application to the Court of Directo s for prolonging the time for making the Call of 20 s. per Share on the Capital Stock of this Company, and the ſame being taken into Conſideration, the Court of Directors have thought proper to grant their Requeſt accordingly ; and do hereby give Notice, That their Treaſurer will receive Money on the ſaid Call until Friday the 14th Day of May next, and that Attendance for that purpoſe will be given at the Company's-Office on Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Fridays, from Nine to Two of the Clock each Day ; and this further Notice is given to ſuch Members as ſhall not comply with the ſaid Call, that they will be entirely excluded from any further Advantages, and that a Moiety of their Shares will be then forfeited, and that they will be hindered and reſtrained from Transferring their other Moiety as the Act of Parliament directs. N. B. The Transfer Books of this Company are now cloſed, and will be opened on the 14th Day of May next.

By Order of the Court of Directors,

Martin ô Connor, Secr.

Hand in-Hand Fire-Office.

The Directors give Notice, That a General Meeting of the Contributors of the ſaid Society will be held at their Office in Angel Court on Snow-Hill, To-morrow, the 13th Inſtant, by Three in the Afternoon ; where all who have Inſured are deſired to be preſent.

AT the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, on Saturday next, being the 15th of May, will be perform'd a new Opera call'd, E L P I D I A ; or, The Generous Rivals. Tickets will be delivered out at the Office in the Hay-Market, on Friday, at Half a Guinea each. And in Regard to the Length of the Days, and the Shortneſs of the Opera, it will not begin till Seven a-Clock for the Remainder of the Seaſon Gallery 5 s No Perſons to be admitted behind the Scenes. To begin exactly at Seven a-Clock.

For the Beneſit of Wilks the Office-Keeper, and Mr. Jones.

By His Majeſty's Company of Comedians,

AT the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane, this preſent Wedneſday, being the 12th of May, will be preſented a Comedy call'd, Love makes a Man ; or, The Fop's Fortune. The Part of Carlos by Mr. Wilks, Clodio Mr. Cibber, Don Antonio Mr. Shepard, Don Charino Mr. Griffin, Sancho Mr. Norris, Angelina Mrs. Booth, Elvira Mrs. Porter, Louiſa Mrs. Horton, Don Cholerick Snap Shorto de Teſty by Mr Miller. With Select Pieces of Muſick, and Entertainments of Singing and Dancing, particularly, A new Paſſacaile by Miſs Robinſon ; Singing in Italian by Miſs Lindar ; and a new Comic-Dance by Miſs Robinſon and Young Rainton : With the Prologue and Epilogue that was ſpoken laſt Monday by Miſs Robinſon, Jun. And To-morrow will be preſented, The Way of the World. For the Beneſit of Mr. Penkethman.

For the Beneſit of Mr. Ward, and Mr. Gwinn, Pit Door-Keeper.

AT the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, this preſent Wedneſday, being the 12th of May, will be preſented a Comedy call'd, The Royal Merchant ; or, The Beggar's-Buſh The Part of Clauſe by Mr. Quin, Goſwin Mr. Ryan, Hubert Mr. Boheme, Hemskirk Mr. Diggs, Woolfort Mr. Walker, Gertrude Mrs. Bullock, Vandunck Mr. Bullock, Sen. Higgen Mr. Hippiſley, Prince Prig Mr. Egleton, Snap Mr. H. Bullock. Ferrit Mr. Morgan. And the Boors by Mr. Spiller and Mr. Hall. With ſeveral Entertainments of Dancing, particularly, A Chacone by Mrs. Bullock, at the End of the firſt Act ; the Iriſh Dance by Mr. Newhouſe and Mrs. Ogden, at the End of the 2d Act ; the Flag Dance by Mr. Nivelon, at the End of the 3d Act ; the Scotch Dance by Mrs. Bullock, at the End of the 4th Act ; the Poloneſe by Mr. Lally and Mrs. Wall, at the End of the 5th Act. Boxes 5 s. Pit 3 s Gallery 2 s.

THE Human Bodies artificially made at Paris, are expoſed to the Sight of the Curious, at the laſt Houſe on the Right Hand by the Water-ſide, in Somerſet Water-Gate-Stairs in the Strand. The main Compoſition of the Work is of the beſt Wax, impregnated with various Colours, exactly anſwering to the Life. It contains ſeveral compleat Figures, and other Preparations aſunder, every one taken from natural open'd Bodies of Men, Women, and Children ; Nothing wanting to be expreſſed, from the moſt apparent, to the remoteſt Parts of the Human Frame. The whole fit to be ſeen by the niceſt and moſt ſcrupulous of both Sexes, as Hundreds of the higheſt in Birth and Learning have more than once, with Wonder and Approbation of ſuch ſingular Performances, free from all the Inconveniencies that attend real Diſſections. A new Figure has been added to thoſe that were brought over Eight Years agone. Attendance is given from Ten a-Clock in the Morning till Seven in the Evening ; a Lamp, and a Board writ in Gold Letters, are fixed over the Door.

Whereas John Wood, that lately lived at Mrs. Clerk's, at the Swan in Newgate-ſtreet, and whoſe Mother lives now over-againſt the Tobacco Engine in White-croſs-ſtreet, Servant to Mr. John Stevens, Attorney at Law, in Queen-Square, near Ormond-ſtreet, went away from his ſaid Maſter on Saturday Night, the 10th Inſtant, about 8 a-Clock, and feloniouſly took away with him the following Pieces of Plate, viz. a large Silver Tankard, with Arms engraved thereon, viz Party per Pale, Azure and Argent, 2 Faulcons volant, a Salter between 4 Bezants, a Chief Ermine ; the Creſt an Eagle's Head ; a Pint Mug, the Arms and Creſt ditto ; a half Pint Mug ditto ; a large Hand Salver, the Creſt an Unicorn's Head ; 2 ſmall ditto ; a two Quart Silver Saucepan ; 11 Silver Handle Knives, with Coronet and Creſt ; 12 Silver Forks, engraved with ditto ; a large Silver Candleſtick engraved with ditto ; a Silver Porringer engrav'd with ditto ; a Silver Bell engraved with ditto ; 6 Silver Spoons, the Creſt a Fox's Head ; with ſeveral other Pieces of Plate.

The ſaid John Wood is a middle-ſized young Fellow, about 19 Years of Age, of a fair Complexion, full Eyes, out Mouth, of a longiſh Viſage, and ſpeaks thick ; he left behind him his Livery, and had on when he went away, a dark Fuſtian Frock, with a brown natural Wig, pretty much in Curl. Whoever ſhall give Notice of the ſaid John Wood, ſo that he be apprehended and brought to Juſtice, ſhall have as a Reward the Sum of Ten Guineas, to be paid by Mr. Mead, Banker, at Temple-Bar : Or if the ſaid Plate be offered to be ſold, pawn'd or valued, pray ſtop the ſame, and the Party, and you ſhall have the like Reward : Or whoever ſhall bring the ſaid Plate to the ſaid Mr. Stevens, at his Houſe in Queen-Square aforeſaid, ſhall have 20 Guineas Reward, or proportionable for any Part, and no Queſtions asked. And if already pawned or ſold your Money again with five Guineas Reward.

Whereas a brown Punch Mare, between 13 and 14 Hands high, low Foreheaded, full Ey'd, having a little Star in her Forehead, a white Snip below her Noſtrils, ſeveral Saddle Spots, a ſhort thick Mane and whisk Tail ; ſtrayed or was ſtolen laſt Thurſday Night, in or near White Coln in Eſſex. Whoever ſhall bring it to Edward Bates, at Mr. Saunders's, a Baker, in Greek-ſtreet, near Soho-Square, Weſtminſter, ſhall have Charges allow'd, and a Guinea Reward.

The Perſon who ſent a Parcel of Papers from St Saviour's-Dock, Southwark, on Monday Evening the 10th Inſtant, is moſt earneſtly deſired to let their Friends know where they may be ſpoke with, Affairs ſtanding better then they can apprehend.

Loſt on Friday Night laſt, from a Gentleman's Houſe in Queen-Square, a ſmall black and white Bitch Puppey, with black Ears and black and white cut Tail, and black upon the Roof of her Mouth. Whoever brings her to Browne's Coffee-houſe in Ormond-ſtreet, ſhall have half a Guinea Reward.

Mr. Peter Bourdieu, at the White-Eagle in Great Suffolk-Street, leaving off his Buſineſs, the Houſe is to be Lett. Inquire further at the ſaid Houſe.

To be Sold,

Four Mills, at Bromley, in the County of Middleſex, late the Eſtate of John Cox and Edward Cleeve, late of London, Bankers and Partners, Bankrupts, Let by Leaſe at 490 l. per Annum, for Seven Years, which will expire the 9th Day of February 1727, are to be put up and peremptorily ſold, by Cant or Auction, to the higheſt Bidder, before the Commiſſioners in the Commiſſion of Bankrupt awarded againſt the ſaid Cox and Cleeve, this Day, the 12th of this Inſtant May, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, at Guildhall, London. Particulars thereof may be had at Mr. Dowſe's, an Attorney in Newman's Court, Cornhill. To be ſold by Samuel Procter, Auctioneer.

This Day is Publiſhed,

A Poem to a Lady on her Paſſion for Old China. By Mr. Gay. Printed for J. Tonſon ; and Sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. Price Four Pence,

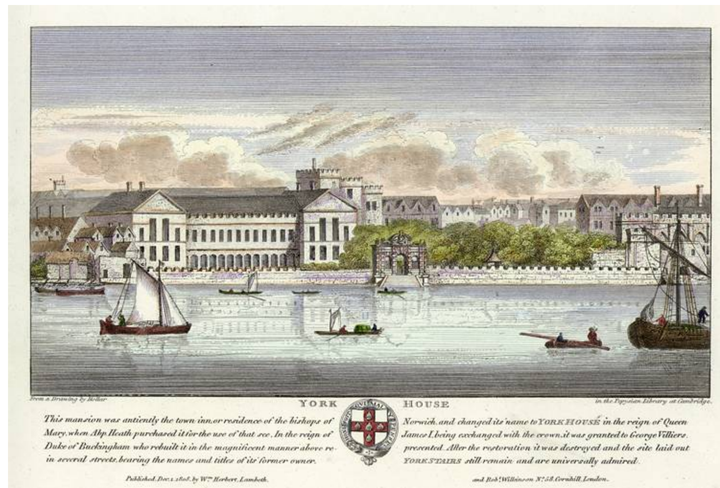

Figure 0.2 – York House in the Strand, engraving after an original drawing by Wenceslaus Hollar (17th century), published by W. Herbert and Robert Wilkinson (London, 1808).

This was a series of mansions once belonged to the Archbishop of York and at the time of the exhibition to the Dukes of Buckingham. These houses were popular because they had access from their gardens to the river. One of these, the so-called York Watergate (an example of the Italianate court style of Charles I in the Embankment Gardens area, see Fig. 0.2) was the precise location of the wax exhibition.

Wax touring shows and exhibitions were forms of popular entertainment in London throughout the eighteenth century, their somewhat grotesque and uncanny bodies on display being of interest to a wide array of English society.[2] The origins and development of these exhibits stem from anatomical studies, thus making them a hybrid genre of entertainment between an oddity museum and a scientific educational model.[3] Fostered in the rich medical cultures of

[2] For a history of wax exhibitions and their marketing strategies, see Pamela Pilbeam, "Madame Tussaud and the Business of Wax: Marketing to the Middle Classes," *Business History* 45, no. 1 (2003): 6–22.

[3] See Anita Guerrini, "Anatomists and Entrepreneurs in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 59, no. 2 (2004): 219–39.

France and Italy, the art of wax sculpturing had gained a sophisticated level of accuracy.[4] In the case of the London exhibition, the advertisement makes clear that the bodies on display were "exactly answering to the Life" because they featured "several compleat [*sic*] Figures, and other Prepa[ra]tions asunder, every one taken from natural open'd Bodies of Men, Women, and Children." All the most respectable and learned persons in town were invited to attend "such singular Performances, free from all the Inconveniences that attend real Dissections." The ad emphasizes the quasi-medical aspect of the exhibition, while at the same time it reminds the reader that such a spectacle of bodies is nevertheless a "performance." These artificial bodies are similar to characters of a play. Like theater, they make the audience believe that there is a life apart from the everyday one, albeit an uncanny one where "wax looks and even feels like flesh; but more creepily still, not exactly like flesh."[5]

This performance of artifice fits in the heterogeneous realm of the theatrical stages of Georgian London as a place of liminality. The early decades of the eighteenth century saw the triumph of hybrid forms of theatrical genres (satirical comedies, tragicomedies, pantomimes, ballad operas, etc.) which were part of a larger trend towards a problematic articulation of the "past," as the ever-forging memory of performances and the performance of memory.[6] In attending and critiquing the supposed 'deviance' of theater and wax exhibitions as cloudy genres, London élites and high-class audiences would define their own identity by means of negation.[7]

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[4] See Margaret Carlyle, "Artisans, Patrons, and Enlightenment: The Circulation of Anatomical Knowledge I Paris, St. Petersburg, and London," in *Bodies Beyond Borders: Moving Anatomies, 1750–1950*, ed. by Kaat Wils, Raf de Bont, and Sokhieng Au (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2017), 23–49.

[5] Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 174.

[6] This is one of the arguments elaborated by Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), a volume that has been highly influential in the writing of the present dissertation, reminding us as historians to look at the "genealogies of performance" as a historiographical quest into the "dissemination of cultural practices through collective representations" (25).

[7] See Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), esp. ch. 2 "The Grotesque Body and the Smithfield Muse: Authorship in the Eighteenth Century," 80–124.

The bourgeois subject was such because s/he could attend borderline performances like these and proclaim "I am what they are not," or more precisely "I am *because* they are not." In a sense, this is precisely what wax exhibitions meant to those who visited them, that "[t]he very conceptual uncertainty of the wax medium has contributed to its liminal status in art historical discourse, but its material flexibility has secured its place in artistic production over four millennia of Western history, particularly as a simulacrum—whole or partial—of the human body. Wax is indeed the ultimate simulacrum of flesh, indexical to skin, *negative of its negative*."[8] In a way, hybridity, meta-theatricality, and liminality produce us as sentient subjects. The newspaper, as carrier of hybrid news and events, acts in forging such process of subjectification through its material layout, letting the eye to get lost in the crowding of information and forcing the reader to make a choice.[9]

The history of the subject of this dissertation, that of the operatic genre called "pasticcio," presents a similar story, one that has been put aside from mainstream historical discourse until very recent years because of its presumed disreputable and unauthorized status. The pasticcio is also a genre lingering at the borders of the very notion of an "original" work. Its essence, that of introducing music which was previously composed for another drama, is made of repetition and recycling. Similar to wax, the pasticcio's core feature is the performance of "reappearance," of blurring the boundaries between present and past.[10] A wax statue is the reconstruction of a body that is no more. Wax sculptures' imitative function shares with the genre of pasticci the emphasis put on the trace of their creator, the one in charge of the choice of what and how to mold. It is in this sense that I study the pasticcio from a material perspective, i.e. that its authorship is coded in

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[8] Roberta Panzanelli, "Introduction. The Body in Wax, the Body of Wax," in *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, ed. by Roberta Panzanelli (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008), 1–11: 1.

[9] The image of the newspaper as a prompt for the identification of hybrids and their related networks is indebted to the first pages of Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[10] Panzanelli, "Introduction," 9.

the material aspects of its transmission, leaving a trace of the listening preferences of its arranger. The pasticcio is molded by its producers as an imitation of a drama that is no longer there, but also of a "full authorial" play such as an opera written by a single composer who takes full responsibility for its creation. In the case of the pasticci put on by the Royal Academy of Music, the artists' workshop comprised not only its most famous composer (Handel), but also its director (Heidegger), its main copyist (Smith sr.), its official printer (Walsh) and a multitude of other figures which will be called upon in several instances of the following chapters. The materiality of their own existence and cultural preferences was inscribed in the way the pasticci were arranged for the enjoyment of the London élites.

As I read about the history of wax sculpturing and its place in art history, as I reflected upon the connections of these "quirk," entangled histories, and as I visited the York Watergate in London, walking around the Embankment Gardens and the leftover ruins of the past building (see Fig. 0.3), thinking about where those sculptures of wax would have been placed and what this void can tell us about the relationship between past and present, I realized that I had forgot the advertisement for the new opera at the King's Theatre on that same page of the May 1725 *Daily Courant* (and with me my invented eighteenth-century reader has probably overlooked it, too). The ad, of course, was for a pasticcio.

Figure 0.3 – The York Watergate as it stands today in the Victoria Embankment Gardens, London (picture by Mike Peel).

The Place of Pasticci in (Music) History

I have delayed the proper introduction to the phenomenon of pasticci operas in London with precise intent, i.e. to show the heterogeneous and non-hierarchical way in which cultural life in London was narrated. Of course, this does not mean there was not a hierarchy of performances in town: an opera at the King's Theatre did not have the same political and social relevance as a Grub-Street play. They differed in the way these enterprises were financed, supported, and attended. Yet, the way everyday news presented such performances—materially laying them over a large page, as a patchwork and combination of items—called for a less hierarchical approach. In a city where everything was "performance," every single event is part of a larger play happening on the world's stage. To put it in other words, London itself was a "pasticcio," a vortex of performances in which patch-working and pastiche were inherent qualities of enactment.

So, amidst a sea of packed input, the reader of the *Daily Courant* on 12 May 1725 would have been able to discern (not without some difficulty due to the small size of the font) that "a New Opera call' *Elpidia*" was about to go on stage a few days later, on May 15. That would not have been the first day of performance, though, as we know that *Elpidia* was just premiered a day before. Tickets would have been available at the office in the Haymarket for half a guinea, with the opera starting at seven o' clock. For the rest of the advertisement, there is no further relevant information other than people being prevented to seat "behind the scenes." Which means there was no mentioning of the "new opera" being referred to as a "pasticcio." Although the term had not come into regular use until at least the 1730s, the ad does not present the drama as being any different from a newly thoroughly-composed one.[11] As we will see throughout the rest of the

[11] See Curtis Price, "Pasticcio," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press, accessed February 20, 2018, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:3962/subscriber/article/grove/music/21051, for a discussion on the historical use of the term.

dissertation, the pasticcio presents a sort of double face: it never presents itself as a "pasticcio," but it is constructed (most of the time, successfully) to make the audience aware of its recycled material. What was perceived, then, must have been something or someone else: its creator, the arranger. In the case of *Elpidia*, the responsibility behind the assemblage of its music fell on various personalities circling around the Royal Academy of Music, including its main composer, George Frideric Handel (see ch. 1). His name, too, was not featured in the ad, as it was customary at the time, the composer being considered an employee of an institution, in this case the Royal Academy at its residence in the King's Theatre. The authorship behind the creation of the pasticci, then, was at the same time concealed and sought after, given that there is no pasticcio without someone in charge of deciding what music to use. The author is always there and not there, making himself heard as he presents to the audience music he used to hear.

At the very least, we can say that there was a "culture of pasticcio" in London throughout the first decades of the eighteenth century. By this I mean that the ripe conditions for the creation of pastiche in the city were inherently tied to a material culture of individual events ready to be assembled, both by the audience and the producers. As I argue in chapter 1, the specifics of such a system had to do with the peculiar "serial" culture of knowledge production in London at the time, such as the newspapers organization, the rise of novels printed in separate issues, up to the publication of selected *Favourite Songs* from plays currently on stage. Songs circulated in a variety of forms (manuscript, printed, re-printed, manually copied from prints) to be re-inscribed in performance through their insertion in different plays and operas. From this point of view, the pasticci put together by the Royal Academy of Music were only displaying, re-materializing a culture of patchwork which was already in place in various fields of entertainment throughout the city.

Handel himself might have had in his hands the same newspaper read by our imaginary visitor to London in May of 1725. Not only did the composer want to know the current value of

South Sea stock and annuities (in 1725 he owned annuities and may still have held stock).[12] He was also interested in knowing what was going around town in terms of theatrical activities, and was certainly interested in being updated on the latest publications, both musical and non. Handel's involvement in the publishing market (both as a collector/subscriber, a provider of music to be printed, and a simple reader) is well known, and throughout this dissertation I claim that the composer's interest in the publishing arena was one of the key factors not only in the making of the pasticci, but more generally as part of his compositional process, including the very notion of musical borrowing.[13] Borrowing, too, in fact, could be seen as the material assemblage of music already heard, an inscription of listening preferences.[14] The threefold theoretical trajectory of this dissertation outlined in these first few pages (the materiality of the pasticcio's assemblage; its reliance on performative notions of authorship; and the importance placed on its aural reception) seeks to fill a gap in scholarly literature on Handel's pasticci, on the musical

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[12] That in 1725 Handel was still the owner of annuities and possibly of stocks of the South Sea company is the result of new research presently conducted by Ellen Harris, who clarified this in private correspondence with me. See also Ellen T. Harris, "Courting Gentility: Handel at the Bank of England," *Music & Letters* 91, no. 3 (2010): 357–75.

[13] For a general overview of the problems concerned with the reconstruction of Handel's (musical and non-musical) library, see Richard G. King, "New Light on Handel's Musical Library," *The Musical Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1997): 109–38; David Charlton and Sarah Hibberd, "'My Father Was a Poor Parisian Musician': A Memoir (1756) Concerning Rameau, Handel's Library and Sallé," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 128, no. 2 (2003): 161–99. See also "Handel's Library: the Evidence of Book Subscription Lists" in *Handel, a Celebration of His Life and Times, 1685-1759*, ed. by Jacob Simon (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1985), 286–8.

[14] For a first overview on the question of borrowing and self-borrowing in Handel's music see George Buelow, "Handel's Borrowing Techniques: Some Fundamental Questions Derived from a Study of *Agrippina*," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 2 (1986): 105–28. See also Ellen T. Harris, "Integrity and Improvisation in the Music of Handel," *The Journal of Musicology* 8, no. 3 (July 1990): 301–15; John H. Roberts, "Handel and Vinci's' Didone Abbandonata': Revisions and Borrowings," *Music & Letters* 68, no. 2 (1987): 141–50; John E. Sawyer, "Irony and Borrowing in Handel's' Agrippina'," *Music & Letters* 80, no. 4 (1999): 531–59.; John T. Winemiller, "Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowing," *The Journal of Musicology* 15, no. 4 (1997): 444–70; Franklin B. Zimmerman, "Musical Borrowings in the English Baroque," *The Musical Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (1966): 483–95.

pastiche, and on the early eighteenth-century Italian opera. But first, a short history of the genre itself.

It is well-known that the origins of the term *pasticcio* are to be found in Italian culinary treatises at least since the late fifteenth century.[15] It describes a hodgepodge of meat and pasta/pastries that—with small modifications—it is still cooked today, providing everyone's 'fridge-emptying' blessing. What characterizes the culinary pasticcio, though, is that it does not really matter what kind of ingredients are used. The final result and—most important—the performance of its preparation are the qualifying aspects. A pasticcio is judged by its form and intentionality, not by its structure. As a matter of fact, its structure needs to be concealed: when one eats the first bite of a pasticcio made by someone else, there immediately starts a competition with the other guests as to know what ingredients are used. The musical pasticcio shares some of this peculiar experience. Defined as "an opera made up of various pieces from different composers or sources and adapted to a new or existing libretto," it differs from regular musical dramas not only because it reuses music already composed for other operas, but also in that it engages the audience in recognizing the music used.[16] As the English historian, intellectual, politician, and music lover Horace Walpole wrote in a letter in 1742, "our operas begin tomorrow with a pasticcio, full of most of my favourite songs."[17] Walpole is referring to an adaptation by Middlesex company of Handel's *Alessandro* as *Rossane*. Mary Delany née Mary Granville (1700-1788), commented on the same performances by noticing that "I was at the opera of Alexander,

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[15] See Ingeborg Hoesterey, *Pastiche: Cultural Memory in Art, Film, Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 1–10.

[16] Price, "Pasticcio."

[17] *Ibid.*, section 1.

which under the disguise it suffered, was infinitely better than any Italian opera; but it vexed me to hear some favourite songs mangled."[18]

It is thus clear how the question of recognizing previous music (and texts, and singers, and composers, etc.) was essential to the experience of attending a variety of shows in London at the time, being pasticci or different versions of the 'same' opera. The dissertation will attempt to demonstrate how it is through the lens of contemporary modes of listening and modern performance studies theory that we can better understand what constitutes the pasticcio as a genre and as an experience of recurrence, and more generally what is the status of the baroque operatic performance in a culture of borrowing and self-borrowing.

The London stage, over the course of the first two decades of the eighteenth century, is an outgrowth of the Italian practice of pasticcio. The arrival of Italian opera between 1705 and 1710 (the year of Handel's landing on the English shores) was marked by the practice of 'patchworking' Italian music which was re-elaborated (or simply quoted) in English librettos. Plays such as *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus* (music by Thomas Clayton on a libretto by Peter Motteux, based on the Italian *Regina Floridea*; 1705), *Thomyris, Queen of Scythia* (Italian music arranged by J.C. Pepusch, libretto by Peter Motteux; 1707), and *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (music by Alessandro Scarlatti, arranged by Nicola Haym, libretto partly in English and partly in Italian; 1708) are all currently defined as pasticci or arrangements, but they display a variety of practices that highlight how vague the term *pasticcio* is in practice.[19]

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[18] Quoted in Ellen T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 214.

[19] More information about these first Italian operas in London can be found in Henrik Knif, *Gentlemen and Spectators: Studies in Journals, Opera and the Social Scene in Late Stuart London* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995). See also Robert D. Hume, "The Sponsorship of Opera in London, 1704-1720," *Modern Philology* 85, no. 4 (1988): 420–32; Curtis A. Price, "The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700–1710," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26 (1978): 38–76; Kathryn Lowerre, ed., *The Lively Arts of the London Stage*, 1675-1725 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014). For a discussion of the term *pasticcio* in the context of Italian *opera seria*, see

When Handel arrived in London in 1710, it seemed natural for him to propose new operas (*Rinaldo* being the first and probably most famous one) that were mainly re-arrangements of music that he had previously written for the Italian stages. Thus, it would only be a slight exaggeration to say that all of the operas presented in London even after the arrival of Handel were somehow pasticci, made either of Italian music by several different composers, or self-borrowings of music that were (supposedly) not known to the English audience. If we stick to Reinhard Strohm's definition of a pasticcio ("the pasticcio includes music by a number of different composers"), Handel did not really work on this genre until later in his career, basically during his second Royal Academy of Music and after.[20] Over the course of that decade, Handel and his collaborators assembled nine operas based on music mainly by Italian composers such as Orlandini, Vinci, Lotti, Leo, and Sarri. These were *Elpidia* (1725), *Ormisda* (1730), *Venceslao* (1731), *Lucio Papirio Dittatore* (1732), *Catone* (1732), *Semiramide* (1733), *Caio Fabricio* (1733), *Arbace* (1734), and *Didone abbandonata* (1737), and they constitute the *corpus* examined in this dissertation.

In his important contribution on "Handel's Pasticci," Strohm does not consider self-borrowing technique as a mechanism for composing *pasticci.* This is not only why operas such as *Agrippina* and *Rinaldo* are not included, but also why the three works that are commonly referred to as pasticcio-operas based on his own earlier works (*Oreste,* 1734; *Alessandro Severo*, 1738; *Giove in Argo*, 1739) are deliberately left out of Strohm's article (and, thus, from the present volume, too). How were these operas different, then, from *Agrippina* and *Rinaldo*? Curtis Price takes the examples of *Rinaldo* and *Oreste* to claim that

> there is only a fine line of distinction between this self-pastiche [*Oreste*] and, say, *Rinaldo* (1711), his first London opera and the supposed vanquisher of the

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Gordana Lazarevich, "Eighteenth-Century Pasticcio: The Historian's Gordian Knot," in *Studien Zur Italienisch-Deutschen Musikgeschichte. XI*, Analecta Musicologica 17 (Köln: Arno Volk, 1976), 121–45.

[20] Reinhard Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," in *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 164–212: 164.

> despised polyglot pasticcios. Ironically, *Rinaldo* was constructed much like a pasticcio: several arias were taken with little change from earlier works; some were given parodied texts; a few were borrowed from other composers. As with *Oreste*, the only part of *Rinaldo* that is entirely new is the secco recitative.[21]

According to John Roberts, the main reason for not considering the three later operas as actual pasticci lies "in that most of the numbers were already known to the audience and were reused without significant change."[22] The notion of the recognizability (or non-recognizability) of the music in the definition of pasticcio returns.

Following Robert's definition, *Oreste* "poses an aesthetic dilemma."[23] In being entirely made of music composed by Handel, it is a Handel opera. And yet, something about its status undermines its authority as a throughly-composed opera. Reinhard Strohm, just a few years later after the publication of "Handel's Pasticci," explains this in the review of the *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe* volume dedicated to *Oreste*:

> As regards *Oreste*, let us admit that unity and originality may have been at odds here: Handel could have created a dramatic masterwork from second-hand music, as he often did while borrowing other composers' tunes. Nevertheless, he rewrote those tunes, whereas he spent very little effort on the actual notes of *Oreste*, producing no complete autograph and leaving the writing of all but three arias largely to his assistant.[24]

Curtis Price, who wrote extensively on the question of "originality" of the pasticcio, notices that "the notion of large-scale unity in opera was unknown for much of the eighteenth century."[25] The example he brings is an interesting one. In 1787, the producer and director Samuel Arnold staged

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[21] Price, "Pasticcio," section 4.

[22] John H. Roberts, "Pasticcio 1. Operas," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia,* ed. Annette Landgraf and David Vickers, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 493.

[23] Price, "Pasticcio," section 4.

[24] Reinhard Strohm, review of "Oreste: Opera in Tre Atti, HWV A 11," *Notes* 49, no. 2 (1992), 788–90: 790.

[25] Curtis A. Price, "Unity, Originality, and the London Pasticcio," *Harvard Library Bulletin* (new Series) 2, no. 4 (1991), 25.

at King's Theater a production of *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* in which the music was advertised as being from Handel, but that actually the opera needed "material alterations… to give the piece a dramatic consistency."[26] The revisions were heavy, and yet this production of a pasticcio of Handel's opera was received as great and worthy of financial support. If this sounds disturbing to us, it is because "we automatically incline to measure Arnold's pasticcio against the nineteenth-century operatic ideal: a 'great' opera is one whose music is original and coherent."[27] Both Strohm and Price, from different perspectives, are still thinking about the pasticcio in terms of authoriality. Yet, both the *Oreste* and *Giulio Cesare* examples show how the role of the composer in these productions is sufficient but not necessary, the success of such products lying in the versatility with which the composer would transform himself into an arranger, a producer, and a director. The composer as such is split into a variety of authorial personae, all of them grounded on active interaction with the audience. An example of such interaction, given in detail in chapter 1, can be found in the publication of favorite songs from *Muzio Scevola* (1722), a quasi-pasticcio for which Handel provided music only for act 3 (the remaining two being written by Amadei and Bononcini). On 9 June 1722, the London newspaper *The Post Boy* published an announcement by the local printer Richard Meares, inviting the readers "to send a Note of any particular Song they shall have it added to the Book."[28] The "Book," in this case, was the typical collection *Favourite Songs from the Opera…* which publishers would sell after the first run of the show as the memory of it and the prompt for new (either private or public) performances. Most of the pasticci of the Royal Academy will have a *Favourite Songs* book printed. Audiences, in this case, were thus called upon both before and after performances to participate in the act of creating and re-creating the

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[26] Quoted in *ibid.*, 22.

[27] *Ibid.*, 24.

[28] *The Post-Boy*, 9 June 1722.

pasticcio opera texts. Recognizability of the internal mechanism of theater is, after all, a quintessential aspect of performance as such. As the theater semiotician Keir Elam put almost forty years ago, the audience is an entity whose competence depends upon "the ability to recognize the performance *as such*."[29]

Already during the time of Handel, the London audiences were invested by critics, philosophers, theorists, and musicians with a particular listening attitude. This particular approach seems to me related to the peculiar modes of music circulation during the first decades of the eighteenth century in London. If authorship was fragmented, split into different personae, this was reflected in the way the culture of knowledge circulation (which means, in the case of London, the printing system production) was at the same time affected and affecting the way citizens read and listen.[30] London, unlike any other major printing center in early modern Europe, was a place where almost everything was printed in single items. From journals to songs, the vast majority of sold publications were collections made of individual pieces, whether it was a magazine, a collection of essays, or a collection of songs. The city craved this marketplace of singles.

As Ellen Harris has recently written, "throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, the distribution of printed music and manuscript music existed side by side, as witnessed in catalogues, inventories, and correspondence."[31] And indeed, manuscript copies of entire operas were produced to fulfill the desires of collectors and aristocrats, and in the case of Handel this

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[29] Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London: Methuen, 1980), 87.

[30] This is one of the main arguments in Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[31] Ellen Harris, "Music Distribution in London during Handel's Lifetime: Manuscript Copies versus Prints," in *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to The Beatles*, ed. by Craig Monson and Roberta Montemorra Marvin (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 95–117: 95.

phenomenon reached a high point after his celebrity peak around 1738.[32] But these manuscript collections were exceptional cases in a far vaster marketplace where the printing and consumption of songs constituted the primary activity. London, unlike other European printing centers, is the one place where printing and manuscript cultures lived together for similar repertoires. This was quite different from France or Italy, for example, where operas were either printed in full or not printed at all. It was in England where Peter Stallybrass's idea of "the revolutionary implications of printing as an incitement to writing by hand" was demonstrated within the musical repertoire, too.[33] Manuscripts, that is, always come after.[34] Handel becomes 'Handel' the moment its music is collected into manuscript copies *after* printed editions of individual songs.

This brief introduction to the history of pasticci highlights the need for an interdisciplinary approach to the subject at hand. Most of the musicological literature about pasticci, as a matter of fact, is more concerned with reconstructing textual genealogy and historical context, and less with the understanding of its place as part of history of drama and as a performative art. Handel's pasticci have never really reached the public discourse on opera, most likely due to the unconventional status of their being operas assembled by a composer without using any of his music (apart from the connecting recitatives). The pasticci are barely mentioned in some of the most important books on Handel's operas.[35] A major exception previously

[32] For the implications of manuscript collections in England in the early eighteenth century towards a new definition of 'authorship' see Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind: Transformations of the Written Word in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013), 73–86.

[33] Peter Stallybrass, "Printing and the Manuscript Revolution," in *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New York: Routledge, 2008), 111–18: 111.

[34] As Stallybrass reminds in *ibid.*, 114, the very concept of "manuscript" is a product of the printing revolution.

[35] For example, Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1987) and Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726-1741* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006).

mentioned is Reinhard Strohm's 1985 article on "Handel's Pasticci."[36] Building on previous codicological and bibliographical work by Hans Dietrich Clausen on the *direktionspartituren* (see the section "A Note on Primary Sources" here in in the *Introduction*),[37] Strohm gives a detailed account of all the nine pasticci (excluding the three in which Handel reuses his own music: *Oreste, Alessandro Severo,* and *Giove in Argo*) and provides extensive information on which music is borrowed, which singers involved, and the various attempts at describing the network of music circulation between Italy and England. This dissertation relies on this contribution as a starting point for further investigation on other aspects of the 'pasticcio experience' that Strohm left out (for example, the issues of authorship and listening practice).[38] Other musicologists have dealt with individual pasticci,[39] and it is worth noting the recent efforts by John Roberts in analyzing and reconstruct the textual intricacies of the early pasticci such as *Elpidia* and *Ormisda*.[40]

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[36] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci."

[37] Hans Dieter Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren (Handexemplare),* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, 1972).

[38] "We cannot discuss here the aesthetic problems connected with the whole concept of the pasticcio. It should simply be pointed out that there was no reason why a cleverly assembled pasticcio should be more lacking in musical or dramatic unity than a clumsily 'composed' opera." (Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 165).

[39] For *Giove in Argo*, see Bernd Baselt, "Georg Friedrich Händels Pasticcio Jupiter in Argos Und Seine Quellenmässige Uberlieferung," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 33 (1987): 57–71; John H. Roberts, "Reconstructing Handel's 'Giove in Argo,'" *Händel-Jahrbuch* 54 (2008): 183–204; Winton Dean, "Jupiter in Argos," in Handel Studies: A Gedenkschrift for Howard Serwer, ed. Richard G. King and Philip Vandermeer (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2009), 47–57. For *Oreste* see Bernd Baselt, "Dramaturgische Uns Szenische Aspekte Der Coventgarden-Oper Händels, Dargestellt an Der Oper 'Oreste' (1734)," in *Symposien-Bericht Karlsruhe 1986–1987*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), 133–42; *eid.*, "Zum Libretto von Händels Oper 'Oreste,'" *Händel-Jahrbuch*, no. 34 (1988): 7–55; Bernd Baselt, "Barocke Musiktheaterformen in Der Heutigen Opernpraxis: Zur Aufführung Des Opernpasticcio 'Oreste' von G.F. Händel," in *J.J. Fux-Symposium Graz '91: Bericht*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger, Grazer Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Bd. 9 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 17–25.

[40] See John H. Roberts, "The London Pasticci of 1730-31: Singers, Composers, and Impresarios," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 62 (2016): 173–92; John H. Roberts, "Vinci, Porpora and the Royal Academy of Music," *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 23, no. 2 (2016): 243–76. Roberts has also written about other pasticci, such as *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*, *Arbace*, and *Didone abbandonata* in two other important contributions: John H. Roberts, "Handel and Charles Jennens's Italian Opera Manuscripts," in *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 159–202; John H. Roberts, "Handel and Vinci's' *Didone Abbandonata*: Revisions and Borrowings," *Music & Letters* 68, no. 2 (1987): 141–

Recent scholarship on Handel has tackled many aspects of the composer's life and works. The *opera omnia* published by Bärenreiter (*Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*) features all of the operatic works, but not the pasticci, except for those based on the composer's own music: a critical edition of *Giove in Argo* edited by John Roberts is in press, and *Oreste* has been edited by Bernd Baselt in 1991.[41] In terms of documentation, after Otto Erich Deutsch's seminal volume on Handel's life through letters and other important secondary sources,[42] today a team of Handel scholars are working on a multi-volume project on the *Collected Documents* of Handel. Meant as continuation, integration, and improvement of Deutch's work, the first and second volumes (dealing with the years 1609 to 1734) have been published respectively in 2014 and 2015, while the third volume (covering the decade 1734-42) is scheduled for release in May 2018.[43] This detailed editorial and archival work helps to provide a foundation for my research.

Outside the realm of strictly musicological literature, my research has found fruitful points of intersection with the fields of Material Texts and Performance Studies. The History of the Book is an evolving field whose roots are found in bibliography and the history of communication.[44] Given the primary importance occupied by print culture in the making of the pasticci (through the role of *The Favourite Songs*, but also in the various musical and non-musical serial publications that contributed to the formation of a "singles" musical culture in London), this

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150. He has also contributed to the *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, ed. by Annette Landgraf and David Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) with entries on all of the pasticci.

[41] Georg Friedrich Händel, *Oreste: opera in tre atti HWV A11*, ed. Bernd Baselt, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Serie 2, Opern, Suppl. Bd. 1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991).

[42] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955).

[43] Donald Burrows et al., eds., *George Frideric Handel: Collected Documents. Volume 1: 1609-1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014); Donald Burrows et al., eds., *George Frideric Handel: Collected Documents. Volume 2: 1725-1734* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015). Throughout the dissertation, I refer to these volumes with the abbreviation «HCD».

[44] See Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 111, no. 3 (1982): 65–83.

project has benefited from the discussions on the role of printers and their workshops in Early Modern England,[45] and on the relationship between print and manuscript cultures and written and oral transmission.[46] Moreover, the various studies on reading practices and technologies in the eighteenth century have influenced my study of score and libretti reading in the first chapter of the dissertation.[47] In general, the very notion of a "material" approach to historical inquiry (which is only tangential to the so-called "material turn" in the humanities in the last decades) informs much of my writing, following the Material Texts' dictum that "material forms regulate and structure culture and those who are the agents or subjects of culture."[48] The field of Book History has also dealt extensively with the notion of "authorship," both through the history of copyright laws and in response to post-structural discussions on the formation of the concept of the "author" in the eighteenth century.[49] The second chapter of the dissertation, which deals with the middle pasticci in connection to the rise of the concept of Handel as an "author," borrows ideas and theories from this scholarly genealogy. It also aims at providing a more nuanced and

[45] See, in particular, the reception of the highly influential volume by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), and the critique to it moved by Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, and Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

[46] See Peter Stallybrass, "Printing and the Manuscript Revolution," in *Explorations in Communication and History*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New York: Routledge, 2008), 111–8. See also Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind: Transformations of the Written Word in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013).

[47] Mainly, the seminal book by Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[48] Jeffrey Masten, Peter Stallybrass, and Nancy J. Vickers, "Introduction," in *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production*, ed. by Jeffrey Masten, Peter Stallybrass, and Nancy J. Vickers (New York: Routledge, 1997), 1.

[49] For a comprehensive overview of the various issues connected to the notion of copyright, see Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). The most famous post-structural essays regarding discourses on authorial formation are Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in Roland Barthes, *Image - Music - Text: Essays*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 142–8, and Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," in Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113–38.

'performative-friendly' notion of the eighteenth-century author by providing a different angle on the almost-exclusively written-based definition of authoriality provided by historians of the book.

My interest in the field of Performance Studies stems precisely from what I perceive as a lack in some of the scholarship on material texts, i.e. the avoidance of issues of performativity in the formation, dissemination, and appropriation of texts and their agents; and the related understanding of theater and theatrical practices as predominantly text-based. Thus, for example, in the discussion of Handel's contribution to the middle pasticci in chapter 2, I formulate the notion of musical ghostwriting as the performance of authorial disappearance through the arrangement of previous composer's music (see chapter 2.4). The idea of ghostwriting is indebted both to the literature of the history of such practice in English literature, and to the notion of "ghosting" as elaborated by Performance Studies scholar Marvin Carlson.[50] For Carlson, ghosting is the quintessential aspect of theatrical performances, "this sense of something coming back in the theatre, and so the relationships between theatre and cultural memory… [Theatre] is the repository of cultural memory, but, like the memory of each individual, it is also subject to continual adjustment and modification as the memory is recalled in new circumstances and contexts."[51] The operatic stage, but especially the pasticcio stage, is filled with ghosts, the nature of the event being "particularly self-conscious of this process, particularly haunted by its predecessors;" as audiences and the producers are caught in this constant re-production of sense, we may conceive the very nature of theater (and, thus, of the pasticci) as being based on "operations of repetition, memory, and ghosting."[52] The pasticcio features both processes of

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[50] Some of the most insightful pages on the notion of ghostwriting, in connection to the multifarious practices connected to authorship (such as attribution, collaboration, etc.) see Harold Love, *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[51] Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 2.

[52] *Ibid.*, 8, 11.

replacement and re-enactment. As such, repetition is essential to all forms of theater as "restored behavior" or "twice-behaved behavior," to use a famous definition by Richard Schechner.[53] In the words of Rebecca Schneider, performance is "both the *act* of remaining and a means of re-appearance and 'reparticipation'."[54]

With this kind of historical and theoretical background, it becomes possible to attempt a provisional theory of musical pasticci, one which is based on these various branches of scholarly literature and which will be tested over the course of the three main chapters of the dissertation.

Pasticcio Theory

My interest in studying the pasticci in the context of both the theatrical life in eighteenth-century London and of modern theories of performance originated from a sort of materialist impulse, that of conceiving the "lost objects" of history as shaped by prominent discourses of the time and by modern theories of historiography.[55] The pasticcio was an object in the sense that it was materially modelled in discourse: its configuration and performative premises were inherently discursive, in that the genre relied on sources outside itself.

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[53] Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 36.

[54] Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 101.

[55] This is one of the premises of both materialist approaches to Early Modern History and of New Historicism. Apart from the obvious reference to Michel Foucault in the realm of discursive formation—particularly in his *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994)—, for a discussion more relevant to the subject at hand (more closely related to period discussed here and to the field of History of the Senses), see Elizabeth D. Harvey, "Introduction," in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Elizabeth D. Harvey (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 1–21, and its main reference *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. by Margreta De Grazia, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

We can thus conceive the pasticcio as opera outside of itself, as opera which looks at itself from the outside. This meta-theatrical aspect of the pasticcio as a genre is not confined to the realm of the musical pasticcio alone. It has been thoroughly scrutinized (both in its historical configuration and in theory) by two major scholars of visual arts, Ingeborg Hoesterey and Richard Dyer, who argue that the very notion of "pastiche" in the history of art relies on the necessary condition that it is recognized as such.

For Hoesterey, pastiche is a feature of postmodernism, in that it "is about cultural memory and the merging of horizons past and present," but it is also a way of marking high art by means of imitating it in the act of taking distance from it (just as it was with wax exhibitions mentioned at the beginning of this *Introduction*).[56] Along similar lines, Dyer's formulation that pastiche is "a kind of imitation that you are meant to know is an imitation" points even more in the direction of an active interaction between the producers of a pastiche and its users, its audiences.[57] In a way, the pastiche reveals its author(s) even more than an 'original' work in that it requires someone to choose what to imitate. "There is no such thing as unintentional pastiche," reminds us Simon Kemp.[58] The performance of authorship is thus inherent to the process of pastiche-making itself. Furthermore, for the pastiche to be recognized as such, a competent audience is needed. Dyer ironically describes the situation as such:

> Pastiche intends that it is understood as pastiche by those who read, see or hear it. For it to work, it needs to be 'got' as a pastiche. In this sense, it is an aspect of irony. This implies particular competencies on the part of audiences and, to this extent, pastiche may be seen as élitist, including those who get it, excluding those who don't. Pastiche no doubt does often incite snobbery ('don't you get it?!'), but this does not necessarily overlap with elites as

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[56] Hoesterey, *Pastiche*, xi, 1.

[57] Richard Dyer, *Pastiche* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 1.

[58] Simon Kemp, "Pastiche, Structuralism and Authorial Intention," *Journal of Romance Studies* 12, no. 2 (2012), 93–105: 93.

> normally socially defined. Pastiche is used and recognized just as much in popular and mass culture as in middle and high brow.[59]

At first, this definition of pastiche seems hardly adaptable for the eighteenth-century musical pasticcio, as there is still no general consensus whether the operatic pasticcio was meant to be recognized as such by the audience. It certainly was not advertised or presented as such. Yet, as I show in the following chapters, already during the time of Handel the pasticcio was certainly perceived as "other," either as a material assemblage of favorite songs (ch. 1), as an opera *not* by Handel (ch. 2), or as an aural competition by patrons in support of their preferences in Italian music (ch. 3). Although we cannot generalize the experience of attending a pasticcio on behalf of early modern audiences, their discourses on it point in the direction of its peculiarity.

The relevance of these discourses is really what makes the difference. As is well known among Handel scholars (and as already reported *supra*), much of Handel's operatic output can be seen as a pasticcio, if we stick to the definition of the pasticcio as any form of quotation of previously used music. Yet, not all of Handel's works have been referred to as pasticci or arrangements either during his lifetime or after. So, I would first propose that a pasticcio is such if it is—in any way—already considered as "other than" a regular operatic show by those directly attending it or discursively describing it as such. Throughout the dissertation I show that there was absolutely no homogeneous way of referring to the practice of arranging operas, and neither is there today. Yet, there was certainly no lack of (even contradictory) ways of referring to it as something 'different.'

Another relevant point regarding pasticci concerns the interaction between the producers, the materials used (from printed libretti, to scores, to printed collections of songs), and the audience, an interaction which takes place *in* performance. As we have seen, scholars of

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[59] Dyer, *Pastiche*, 3.

performance studies have already emphasized how every performance is a reminder of something that previously happened to be re-enacted *hic et nunc*. In the case of a theatrical genre which literally re-uses materials previously performed, such as the pasticcio, the performance itself becomes the performance of a performance, "an imitation of an imitation."[60] This ultra-presentness of the performance rewrites the past twice. It is in this process of re-writing that the pasticcio reveals itself for what it is, a meta-theatrical "memory machine."[61] In order to do that, the performance shows the process of writing in the making as a form of re-materialization of previous performances.[62] Theater scholar William Worthen has recently summarized a similar shift in thinking about performance, as a "rethinking of the functioning of writing in performance, not as a cultural constraint, an object to be preserved, a message to be communicated, or a mimetic vision to be achieved—all visions of dramatic performance associated with a print-inflected understanding of theatre as 'text-based'—but as one instrument among many in making performance."[63]

This notion of writing *in* performance calls for a rethinking of the way the materials for producing pasticci were assembled in the first place. If the pasticcio is the re-writing of previous materials, and some of this music had already been heard by either the composer and/or the audience, I suggest that we should think of the scores of the pasticci as products of listening inscription. On one hand—following the suggestions elaborated by Peter Szendy on the question of musical arrangements—the composer/arranger is assembling music that he has already

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[60] *Ibid.*, 2.

[61] The term is taken from the title of Carlson, *The Haunted Stage*.

[62] See *Rematerializing Shakespeare: Authority and Representation on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. by Bryan Reynolds and William N. West (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[63] William B. Worthen, *Shakespeare Performance Studies* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 23.

listened to (or had in his head), making available and audible to the audience his own aural memories.[64] On the other hand, audiences, too, were inscribing their own musical preferences by means of being an active component in the performance itself. Worthen calls this "the inscription of the spectator as one of the agents of theatre, not the receiver of interpretations but a performer sustaining the signifying structure of the performance event."[65] Instead of searching for the textual archetypes of music already used by the composer, this dissertation looks at the material traces of listening practices, on behalf of both the composer and the audience. For example, it analyzes the way the composer would annotate modifications to the re-use of arias played on London stages only a few months before (ch. 3); it studies the role of copyist workshops and printers in the creation of a *faux* Italian language that became the standard for Italian opera in London (ch. 1); and it looks at annotated libretti used by spectators to gloss their own listening expectations (ch. 1). Through this peculiar archaeology of borrowing, I investigate the registration of musical preferences through the inscription of the composer's and the audience's aural expectations, whether in the form of musical reading of past masters, the re-materialization of songs in the peculiar print/manuscript culture of Georgian London, or the playing of a recently heard song after attending an opera. Such understanding of inscription as "the legible representations of aural experience" is indebted to a more nuanced notion of the relationship between writing and orality in Western societies which has recently been developed in media studies and format theory.[66] In this sense, it could be argued (although this aspect needs further investigation) that,

[64] "It seems to me that what arrangers are signing is above all a listening. *Their* hearing of a work. They may even be the only listeners in the history of music to *write down* their listenings, rather than *describe* them (as critics do)." Peter Szendy, *Listen: A History of Our Ears* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 36.

[65] Worthen, *Shakespeare Performance Studies*, 23.

[66] Lisa Gitelman, *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Edison Era* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 15. See also Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006); Friedrich A. Kittler, *Discourse networks 1800/1900* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*

rather than referring to it as a "genre," the pasticcio is better understood as *format* in the sense recently formulated by Jonathan Sterne, as the "whole range of decisions that affect the look, feel, experience, and workings of a medium."[67]

In sum, I propose the following definition for the operatic pasticcio, as the aural materialization of a meta-theatrical contract between authors and their audiences that happens as a form of listening inscription.

A Note on Primary Sources

Primary sources are what we make of them. There are, of course, no primary sources "as such," but only what the historian decides to use as primary evidence for her investigation. What is labelled a secondary source by a historian of the Middle Ages may be used as a primary source by someone working on the modern historiography of the Middle Ages. In the case of the pasticci, the scores are commonly identified as 'conducting scores' (*direcktionspartituren* or *handexemplare*) and 'harpsichord scores' (or *cembalopartituren*). The terminology dates back to the fundamental work by Hans Dietrich Clausen on what used to be the so-called Chrysander Collection, today hosted at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky in Hamburg.[68] Roughly, it can be said that the scores identified as conducting scores are those that Handel used open on his harpsichord stand to conduct, while the harpsichord scores were the ones sitting on the stand of the second

(Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999); Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[67] Jonathan Sterne, *MP3: The Meaning of a Format* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 2013), 7.

[68] D-Hs. See *Clausen, Händels Direktionspartituren* cit. See also Hans Dieter Clausen, "The Hamburg Collection," in Terence Best, ed., *Handel Collections and Their History* (Oxford [England] : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1993), 10–28.

harpsichordist. In some cases, we have the rare opportunity to compare both the conducting and the harpsichord score, while in most cases we only have the conducting one (see the table at the end of the section). According to Clausen (and confirmed by Strohm's thorough investigation), the process by which Handel received these materials was not always the same. In the case of an early pasticcio such as *L'Elpidia* (1725), it looks as if one of Handel's delegates in Italy, Owen Swiney, was mainly responsible for the selection of the Venetian operas from which the score was built (Leonardo Vinci's *Ifigenia in Tauride* and *La Rosmira fedele*, and Giuseppe Maria Orlandini's *Berenice*) and already in Venice started preparing the music. Also, the conducting score does not contain the entirety of the music indicated in the libretto (an adaptation by Nicola Haym of Apostle Zeno's *I rivali generosi*), which means that—as Reinhard Strohm puts it— "a number of printed aria collections of the time have to be used to fill in the gaps."[69]

The idea of needing different media, such as printed and manuscript formats, to recreate the pasticcio score led me to investigate thoroughly the printed realm of music circulation in eighteenth-century London, mostly in the form of the *Favourite Songs* printed by publishers such as John Walsh, Richard Meares, John Cluer, etc.[70] Also, it required a close look at the various manuscripts assembled *from* the printed collections, volumes prepared by amateurs in the guise of

[69] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 168.

[70] The literature on such printed items is vast. For the case at hand, the most relevant essays are by Donald Burrows, "John Walsh and his Handel Editions," in *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, Delaware, and [The British Library], London: 2008), 69-104; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "'Reviv'd by the Publisher of the Former Masks': The Firm of John Walsh and the 'Monthly Mask,' 1717–27 and 1737–8," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, no. 42 (2009): 1–44; Michael Burden, "From London's Opera House to the Salon? The *Favourite* (and Not So "Favourite") *Songs* from the King's Theatre," in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, ed. by Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 223–37. See also David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703-1726 : A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1997). A catalogue of Walsh's printed music is given in William Charles Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721-1766* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968).

musical commonplace books (see ch. 1).[71] In some instances scores not directly related to the performances of the pasticci have turned out to be more relevant for the discussion at hand than the conducting scores, indicating—once again—a flexible use of the term "primary sources."

In the case of the libretti, I have found the consultation in person of most of them to be particularly productive, as the digitized versions available online (through the platform Eighteenth Century Collections Online – ECCO) sometimes masks the handwritten traces left by historical users of such printed items. Most of the copies of such libretti are at the British Library, but some interesting annotated libretti (for *Elpidia*, *Ormisda*, and other London pasticci of the time) are held at the Library of Birmingham.[72]

Throughout the dissertation, transcriptions of early sources (both manuscript and printed) are normalized to make them comprehensible for present-day readers. Capital letters are generally retained, while abbreviations are usually spelled out. As the English spelling of the time was far from being standardized, here it has been modified (with editorial comment, if needed) for the sake of readability. Non-English documents are given in translation in the main text, with the original in footnote (the translator is named in the footnote).

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[71] See, for example, the collections gathered by William Savage in GB-Lam, the numerous collections in GB-Lbl, GB-Ob, or the large number of aria collections in I-Rama, I-Rc, and I-Vnm. Some of these collections have already been scrutinized in an important collection of essay such as *Handel Collections and Their History*, ed. by Terence Best (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1993). See also John H. Roberts, "Handel and Charles Jennens's Italian Opera Manuscripts," in *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 159–202.

[72] See Colin Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos in Birmingham Central Library," *Music & Letters* 65/2 (1984), 141–67.

Score Location and First Performances of the Pasticci

Pasticcio	Conducting Score	Harpsichord Score	First Performance
L'Elpidia	GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606		11 May 1725
Ormisda	GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31551	D-Hs, MA/1036	4 April 1730
Venceslao	D-Hs, MA/1061	D-Hs, MA/189	12 January 1731
Lucio Papirio Dittatore	D-Hs, MA/1029		23 May 1732
Catone	D-Hs, MA/1012		4 November 1732
Semiramide riconosciuta	D-Hs, MA/1051		30 October 1733
Caio Fabricio	D-Hs, MA/1011		4 December 1733
Arbace	D-Hs, MA/1004		5 January 1734
Didone abbandonata	GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31607		13 April 1737

Chapters Outline

The dissertation is structured around three main chapters. The first, entitled "The Materiality of the Pasticci," focuses on the early pasticci in which Handel variously collaborated (*Muzio Scevola*, 1722; *Elpidia*, 1725; *Ormisda*, 1730) in order to show how the development of the pasticcio format in eighteenth-century London was grounded in the material culture of literary and artistic production, consumption, and circulation of knowledge. The pasticcio here is considered as a "book" in the sense that it physically gathered bits of print and manuscript cultures, but also because its peculiar quality—relying on items already used, possibly already heard, certainly already read—gave it a 'bookish' quality that allowed for the indexing of its contents in the act of performance. By looking at the visual appearance of the printed libretti with contemporary annotations, and by exploring the means of song production and circulation in eighteenth-century London, the chapter explores the pasticci's essential meta-theatricality as an instance of material textuality. In doing so, it looks closely at a large number of printed items, private manuscript collections of arias, and conducting scores as having a peculiar agency in the hands of their owners. The pasticcio emerges as a collaborative process not only between the producers of the Royal Academy and the performers, but also between the editors, publishers, printers, readers, collectors, up to modern Handel historiographers as agents in the definition of the social life of these texts. The chapter argues that one of the conditions making such a network of agency possible was the serial culture (newspapers, subscriptions practices, printed songbooks) that informed much of the cultural life of pre-Enlightenment London. It concludes by tracing the material ramifications of an apparently irrelevant detail such as the mis-transcription of the words "Tacerò se tu lo brami" (an aria to be found in the pasticcio *Ormisda*) in many printed and manuscript volumes, to show how copying habits of Italian music were the result of listening

practices that allowed the pasticcio to be firstly envisioned as a form of listening inscription through the reading of newly arrived music from Italy.

Chapter 2, entitled "Pasticci and the Performance of Authorship," positions the pasticci of the 'middle period' (*Venceslao,* 1731; *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*, 1732; *Catone*, 1732) in the context of pre-Enlightenment discourses on authorship, copyright, and piracy. Moreover, it explores how the construction of Handel's authoriality was fostered by the pasticci reception and shaped by the collecting practices of the nobility supporting him. The chapter also examines how the pasticci of the 'middle period' were produced alongside the foundation of the Royal Academy of Vocal and Ancient Musick, amidst a new interest in the musical past and the performance of old masters (which includes the fascinating plagiarism accusations against Bononcini). The pasticci are thus considered as part of an experimental trend in presenting new arrangements of previous productions and revivals, and the chapter attempts to re-define the notions of musical quotation, appropriation, and ghostwriting. At its core, the chapter focuses on the opera *Catone*, one of the pasticci assembled and produced by Handel and Heidegger, based on Leonardo Leo's 1729 setting of the Metastasio libretto, which seems to exemplify the self-reflexive, ghosting nature of the genre in three related ways. First, it was staged in London at a time when the figure of the Roman orator Cato the Younger was pervasively haunting popular imagination. Second, it prompted narratives of skepticism about Handel's paternity in both public and private correspondence. Third, its libretto was constructed so that the suppression of a character (Flavio) forced other characters to read what were originally his lines through the new setting of typical 'letter scenes,' enabling the ghosting of previous voices in metatheatrical manner. By examining primary sources (both the conducting score, held in Hamburg, and the Leo score used by Handel and preserved in the Royal Academy of Music, London) through the lens of current scholarship on material texts and authorship (Roger Chartier, Dustin Griffin) and performance studies (the notions of ghosting, reappearance, and replacement previously mentioned), the chapter attempts

to reposition the production of Handel's pasticci in the context of pre-Enlightenment discourses on authorship.

Chapter 3, entitled "Listening to the Pasticci," investigates the 1733-34 "pasticci season" of the Royal Academy (*Semiramide riconosciuta*, *Caio Fabricio*, *Arbace*) in the context of the competition with the new Opera of the Nobility. In doing so, this section shifts the usual narrative of such rivalry from matters of texts and titles to the aural aspects of such competition, putting emphasis on listening. The chapter first introduces the general issue of how English society discussed, theorized, and performed listening to Italian opera during the 1730s. It then focuses on a few examples from the early pasticci (*Elpidia*, *Ormisda*, *Venceslao*) from the perspective of listening to music already known and circulating, both in its material and immaterial aspects. Finally, the chapter analyzes the 1733-34 competition season as a form of listening 'war' brought up by the patrons supporting the rival companies. With a specific focus on the role played by Charles Jennens in providing scores of operas that he aurally associated with Italy (Vinci's *Artaserse*, Hasse's *Caio Fabricio*), the chapter argues for a rethinking of the entire competition with the Opera of the Nobility in light of the companies' strategies to be identified with a specific sound to please the ears of the most influential patrons of both parties. Moreover, it explores the role played by the ghosting of characters already interpreted by the singers (either in Italy or in London) in these new pasticcio settings.

The Conclusion sums up the three major issues described in the three main chapters (materiality, authorship, listening) through the study of the last pasticcio assembled by Handel, *Didone abbandonata* (1737) in the context of the final monumentalization of Handel, which included the placement of the famous 1738 statue of the composer by Roubiliac in Vauxhall Gardens, and the later engraving of the musical pleasures at Vauxhall Gardens symbolically represented by people listening to the statue in 1740. A full Appendix with details on textual configurations and annotations for each pasticcio completes the dissertation.

CHAPTER 1. THE MATERIALITY OF THE PASTICCI

In 1729, the Anglo-Irish writer Jonathan Swift made fun of the poet laureate Laurence Eisden with a satire entitled "Directions for a Birth-day Song".[73] The poem was supposedly a birthday celebratory song in honor of king George II. Swift ironically mocks the poet laureate through a series of stale conventions of courtly panegyrics, culminating in a final reference to the most famous musician operating in London at the time:

> Supposing now your song is done,
> To Mynheer *Handel* next you run,
> Who artfully will pare and prune
> Your words to some *Italian* tune.[74]

Handel is evoked at the end of the poem as one of the last agents in the production of a celebratory song, his role being setting to music the panegyric. With the skills of "paring" and "pruning," Handel transforms the poem into a singable song on an Italian tune. Yet, the last four verses of the poem focus on the final stop in this song production system: the printing of the song.

> Then print it in the largest letter,
> With capitals, the more the better.
> Present it boldly on your knee,
> And take a Guinea for your fee.[75]

This insistence on the visuality of the printed words is not confined to underlining the artistic efforts of the celebratory poem: Swift is describing and critiquing the modes of circulation of printed songs in early eighteenth-century London. Handel, as part of this process, constitutes a

[73] The poem was first published in Jonathan Swift, *Works*, vol. 16, ed. Deane Swift (London: Johnston, 1765), 257–67. See the critical edition in *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, vol. 2, ed. Harold Williams, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 459–69.

[74] "Directions for a Birth-Day Song", v. 275–8.

[75] Ibid., vv. 279–82.

mere vehicle for the circulation of knowledge. He takes the words produced by some poet laureate, applies them to a tune imported from Italy, and finally allows the song to be ready for print and public circulation. Handel "pares" and "prunes" words to fit them for the music, an act which gives the song the possibility of it being printed. Like every other author of the early modern era, Handel does not write music. The printer does, supported by the publisher and with the authority of censorship. As the historian of early modern books Roger Chartier has noted, "Authors do not write books, not even their own books. Books, be they manuscript or printed, are always the result of multiple operations that suppose a broad variety of decision, techniques, and skills."[76]

The way Swift unveils the process of song production in this elaborate satire makes it clear that he is not only attacking the Hanoverians, but he is setting up a critique of the economic structures supporting the circulation and production of literary (and musical) artifacts. Already in previous stanzas of the same poem, Swift had depicted a familiar scene. The king, checking whether the content of the song is suitable for publication, proudly recognizes the innuendos alluded to by the poet laureate and gratifies the author with a monetary reward:

> For, when you bring your song in print,
> He'll get it read, and take the hint;
> (It must be read before 'tis warbled,
> The paper gilt and cover marbled.)
> And will be so much more your debtor,
> Because he never knew a letter.[77]

In rendering the act of the king's reading, Swift lingers on the details regarding the poem's future physical appearance. Before the song can be played in public ("warbled"), it needs to be read out loud. After this first passage, the king may allow the poem to be printed with elaborated

[76] Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind: Transformations of the Written Word in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013), 17.

[77] "Directions for a Birth-Day Song", vv. 85–90.

decorations and made public by means of publication. The words used by Swift record the materiality of the final product: the book which contains the celebratory poem will have the paper "gilt" and a cover inlaid with marble veining. As hyperbolic as it sounds, the description is an accurate one. The English monarchy had all the interest in having collections of songs printed and luxuriously bound, as a mean of both public display of wealth and private conservation effort. Yet, what Swift is implying is that the printed book is the vehicle for something else other than wealth and conservation: the king's reading of the book is in itself an act of censorial approval, and the printing of this oral approval will foster the public circulation of the song through the possibility of it being copied (either in print or by hand).

Around the time when Swift was composing this satire on song circulation, Handel was actively involved in the production of a genre of musical theater that was relying on this circulation: the pasticci. As I will argue further in this chapter, the conditions for the development of the pasticcio 'format' in eighteenth-century London were grounded in the peculiar material culture of literary and artistic production, consumption, and circulation of knowledge. The pasticcio was a 'book' in the sense that it physically gathered bits of this print and manuscript cultures.

1.1 Pasticci and the Reading of Libretti

Opera studies of the last two decades have been focusing—especially after Carolyn Abbate's famous call for a "drastic" approach to music criticism in a post-hermeneutical world—[78] on the performative aspects of historical material. This 'performative turn,' by no means confined to music studies, has shifted our attention towards a less work-oriented interest in the study of operas, to highlight the aspects of reception inquiry such as staging (both historical and contemporary), the concept of liveness in a mediated world, and opera materialism in its technological, social, economic and political functions.[79] Nonetheless, the materialist approach to opera analysis has left out some of the important achievements of the field commonly known as 'history of the book' which, in its various ramifications (from bibliography to cultural studies, up to network theory), has attempted to reconsider the role of books as emblems and agents in the configuration of human knowledge.[80] In order to do so, it has not only reconsidered the bibliographical *minutiae* of early modern books' binding, paging, foliation, and printing, but has

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[78] Carolyn Abbate, "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?," *Critical Inquiry* 30, no. 3 (2004): 505–36.

[79] For the specific issue of opera materialism, a few recent publications are opening new directions, although usually confined to the nineteenth-century 'canon:' see, for example David Trippett, *Wagner's Melodies: Aesthetics and Materialism in German Musical Identity* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) and Gundula Kreuzer, *Curtain, Gong, Steam: Wagnerian Technologies: On 19th-Century Opera as Production* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); see also Emily I. Dolan and John Tresch, "A Sublime Invasion: Meyerbeer, Balzac, and the Opera Machine," *The Opera Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2011): 4–31 and Peter Mondelli, "The Sociability of History in French Grand Opera: A Historical Materialist Perspective," *19th-Century Music* 37, no. 1 (2013): 37–55. Liveness is, of course, a term borrowed from Philip Auslander's influential *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999), while for the new criticism surrounding modern stagings, a journal such as *Opera Quarterly* has persistently been on the front line of scholarly writing.

[80] For a general overview of the field, see Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1990), especially the chapter "What is the History of Books?," 107–36. See also Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1–57.

also considered how these objects have been shaped and have affected the very performance of reading and writing as form of knowledge inscription.[81]

Baroque opera was a theatrical genre inherently ephemeral and incoherent, devised to be interchangeable performance after performance; its difficulty to be grasped was paired with being grounded in very earthly needs such as large monetary budgets and the circulation of material commodities from all over Europe. This tension is one of the reasons why modern scholarship of baroque opera has tended to focus on the purely physical appearance of musical objects (from philology to organology), the economy behind the production system, and the ineffability of its convoluted dramaturgy. The challenge, I think, is to understand how these three fields influenced each other.

The scholarship on Handel's pasticci offers no exception. From Reinhard Strohm's fundamental 1974 article, to John Roberts's explorations into the realm of textual genealogies behind Handel's choices of music, musicology has concentrated its efforts toward an understanding of how the genre came into being, rather than unveiling its social roots and its participation into cultural discourses of music-making and listening.[82] An object that was constantly in the hands of early opera-goers such as the printed libretto (issued in numerous copies, sold at the entrance of the opera house, kept for future record, held in libraries all over the world) has largely been ignored in the way its material appearance has shaped the operatic genre

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[81] See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 165–176. See also Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[82] Reinhard Strohm, "Händels Pasticci," *Analecta Musicologica* 14 (1974): 208–276; English transl. "Handel's Pasticci," in *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 164–212, here used. See also, John H. Roberts, "Handel and Charles Jennens's Italian Opera Manuscripts," in *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 159–202; "Handel and Vinci's' Didone Abbandonata': Revisions and Borrowings," *Music & Letters* 68, no. 2 (1987): 141–50; "Reconstructing Handel's 'Giove in Argo,'" *Händel-Jahrbuch* 54 (2008): 183–204.

itself, all the more for a type of opera such as the pasticcio, which was built on the physical assemblage of material already circulating and on an exchange with the audience (see *introduction*). This section of the chapter will uncover some of these practices in two of the early pasticci in which Handel was known to have collaborated, *Muzio Scevola* and *L'Elpidia*.

Muzio Scevola does not officially belong to the *corpus* of Handel's pasticci, for it does not comply with one of the two distinguishing features listed by Reinhard Strohm in his contribution, the reallocation of previously written content in a new drama.[83] This opera, as is well known, was performed on 15 April 1721 at the King's Theatre with three different composers providing music for each of the three acts: Filippo Amadei (act I), Giovanni Bononcini (act II), and Handel (act III). Shortly after Handel's lifetime, in a typical attempt at monumentalizing Handel's works, his contribution to this drama was fictionalized by transforming the common practice of assigning the various acts of an opera to different composers (mostly for practical reasons) into a sort of judgement of Paris, with members of the Royal Academy being asked to decide who was the best composer.[84] More recently, the political allegory behind the choice of the subject has been scrutinized in the context of patriotic ideology and the relationship between aristocracy and the monarchy.[85] Given the close analysis of the history and musical dramaturgy of *Muzio Scevola*, the absence of any word on its material 'conformations' apart from the various manuscript scores of Handel's third act is all the more astounding. Focusing almost exclusively on Handel's effort, modern scholarship seems to know everything about act III of *Muzio Scevola*, but very little about

[83] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 164.

[84] The historical context and the historiography on *Muzio Scevola* is carefully summarized in Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1987), 374–9. See also David Vickers, "Muzio Scevola," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, ed. Annette Landgraf and David Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 432–4.

[85] See Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 79–81; see also see also Reinhard Strohm, "Handel and His Italian Opera Texts," in *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 34–79: 45.

the project as such and the peculiar visual aspects of one of the most over-looked items: the libretto.[86]

The early modern user of the *Muzio Scevola* libretto would have been confronted with a rather unusual object.[87] Starting from the frontispiece, the layout was designed such that a quotation from Joseph Addison's *Cato* (scene III.5, a play very well-known in London, see ch. 2) would appear above the actual attribution of the librettist (see Fig. 1.1). The naming of the author of the text was not a common feature of early eighteenth-century libretti, even less the use of quotations and epigraphs on title pages. This will to highlight and visually emphasize textual authorship would become one of the recurring discourses in Handel's time, as will be seen in chapter 2 through the lenses of the pasticcio *Catone* and the notion of authoriality. For the present discussion, the most important aspect of the peculiar layout of *Muzio Scevola*'s libretto is its consistence with the typical early modern practice of common-place books.[88] Common-place books were volumes in which the publisher would have highlighted for the reader (with the use of special marks) passages to be remembered or quotations from ancient masters. One can easily see how this practice attunes with the more general issue of the pasticci, the use of previously known material to be presented to a reading/listening audience. Commonplacing was also known in England to be used in printed dramas, Shakespeare's Q1 edition of *Hamlet* being one of the most popular.[89] From a visual perspective, referencing authors from the past would appear through the

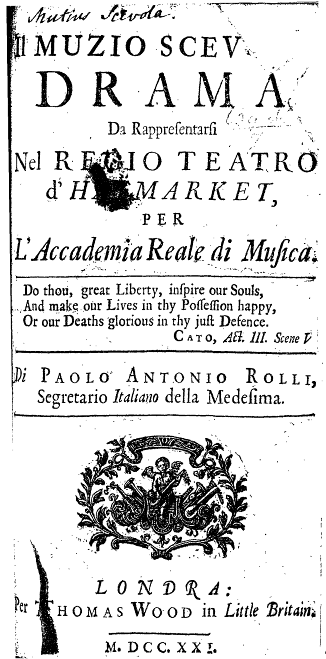
[86] Dean, *Handel's Operas 1704–1726*, 376–384 presents an extremely detailed list of all the surviving musical copies of *Muzio Scevola*, but excludes everything that does not refer directly to Handel (such as acts I and II)

[87] *Il Muzio Scevola. Drama da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market per l'Accademia Reale di Musica* (London: Thomas Wood, 1721). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, 639.d.17/7.

[88] For a general overview of the culture of commonplace-books in early modern England, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[89] See Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, "The First Literary Hamlet and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2008): 371–420.

use of marginal commas at the left of the lines in the case of printing, but also with the typical 'manicule' (☞) in the case of manuscript annotations from readers.[90]



Mutius Scevola.

IL MUZIO SCEV[OLA]

DRAMA

Da Rappreſentarſi

Nel REGIO TEATRO d'H[AY]MARKET,

PER

L'Accademia Reale di Muſica.

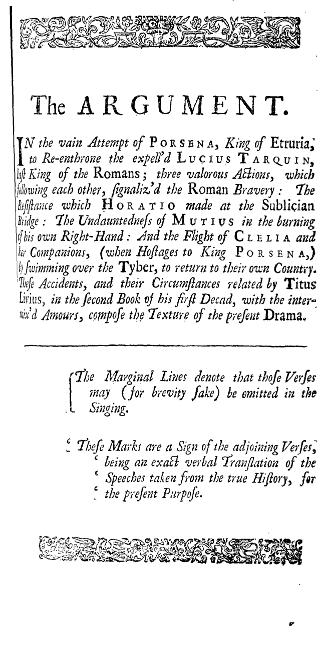
Do thou, great Liberty, inſpire our Souls,
And make our Lives in thy Poſſeſſion happy,
Or our Deaths glorious in thy juſt Defence.
CATO, *Act. III. Scene V*

Di PAOLO ANTONIO ROLLI,
Segretario *Italiano* della Medeſima.

LONDRA:
Per THOMAS WOOD in *Little Britain.*

M. DCC. XXI.

Figure 1.1 - Front page of the *Muzio Scevola* libretto (GB-Lbl, 639.d.17/7)



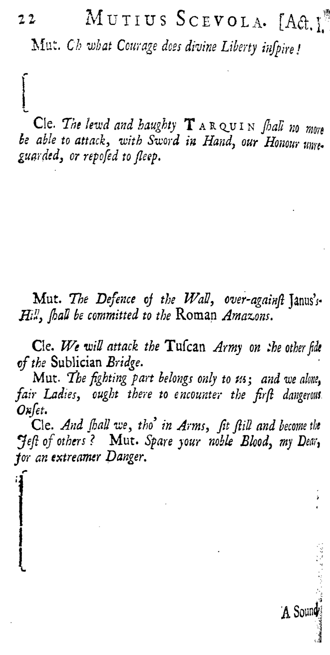
The ARGUMENT.

IN the vain Attempt of PORSENA, *King of* Etruria, *to Re-enthrone the expell'd* LUCIUS TARQUIN, *last King of the* Romans; *three valorous Actions, which following each other, ſignaliz'd the* Roman *Bravery: The Reſiſtance which* HORATIO *made at the* Sublician *Bridge: The Undauntedneſs of* MUTIUS *in the burning of his own Right-Hand: And the Flight of* CLELIA *and her Companions, (when Hoſtages to King* PORSENA,) *by ſwimming over the* Tyber, *to return to their own Country. Theſe Accidents, and their Circumſtances related by* Titus Livius, *in the ſecond Book of his firſt Decad, with the intermix'd Amours, compoſe the Texture of the preſent* Drama.

The Marginal Lines denote that thoſe Verſes may (for brevity ſake) be omitted in the Singing.

' *Theſe Marks are a Sign of the adjoining Verſes,*
' *being an exact verbal Tranſlation of the*
' *Speeches taken from the true Hiſtory, for*
' *the preſent Purpoſe.*

Figure 1.2 - p. [6] of *Muzio Scevola*



22 MUTIUS SCEVOLA. [Act. I.

Mut. *Oh what Courage does divine Liberty inſpire!*

Cle. *The lewd and haughty* TARQUIN *ſhall no more be able to attack, with Sword in Hand, our Honour unregarded, or repoſed to ſleep.*

Mut. *The Defence of the Wall, over-againſt* Janus's-*Hill, ſhall be committed to the* Roman *Amazons.*

Cle. *We will attack the* Tuſcan *Army on the other ſide of the* Sublician *Bridge.*

Mut. *The fighting part belongs only to us; and we alone, fair Ladies, ought there to encounter the firſt dangerous Onſet.*

Cle. *And ſhall we, tho' in Arms, ſit ſtill and become the Jeſt of others?* Mut. *Spare your noble Blood, my Dear, for an extreamer Danger.*

A Sound

Figure 1.3 – p. 22 of *Muzio Scevola*

The libretto of *Muzio Scevola* features a similar printing technique which, as far as my research has been able to uncover, was unique. In the "Argomento/Argument" section (the libretto being, as usual, presented in both Italian and English language) there are two different indications of extra-literary markings (see Fig. 1.2): "The Marginal Lines denote that those Verses may (for brevity sake) be omitted in the Singing. These [other, i.e. marginal commas] Marks are a Sign of the adjoining Verses, being an exact verbal Translation of the Speeches taken form the true History,

[90] See William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), especially ch. 2 "Toward a History of the Manicule," 25–52.

for the present Purpose."[91] The marginal, straight lines on the left of portions of texts to be cut in performance were already used in other 1721 libretti printed by Thomas Wood and written by Paolo Rolli, such as *Arsace* and *L'odio e l'amore*.[92] This practice was regularly used in opera libretti printed in Italy since the 1640s, where the symbol used, though, was the marginal comma.[93] The interesting aspect of the English practice is the decision to not have the English translation in the libretto for all the parts that were supposed to be cut in the Italian: what the reader was left with, were pages and pages of blank spaces with marginal straight lines (see Fig. 1.3). Other than obvious practical reasons (the printer having to use less ink, and the translator not having to worry about large portions of clunky Italian), the effect on the reader must have been puzzling. If a pasticcio such as *Muzio Scevola* was already playing with the audience in respect to authorial identification, the constant skipping and going back and forth over the pages in search for the next available line forced the libretto *qua* physical object to be observed, looked *at*, in all its stratification of authorial responsibilities. This invitation to skip back and forth, this indexical quality inherent to the pasticcio, was first and foremost one of the most important qualities of the early modern book as such,[94] and will be even more evident through the observation of song production and circulation in relation to the pasticci.

What was completely new in *Muzio Scevola*'s libretto, and never used again, was the presence of marginal commas for "exact verbal Translation of the Speeches taken form the true

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[91] *Il Muzio Scevola*, p. [6].

[92] *Arsace: Tragedia da Rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market, per l'Accademia Reale di Musica* (London: Thomas Wood, 1721). *L'Odio e l'Amore. Drama. Da Rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market per l'Accademia Reale di Musica* (London: Thomas Wood, 1721).

[93] See Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 207–8.

[94] See Peter Stallybrass, "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible," in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 42–79.

History." The reference, here, is to the use of supposedly literal sections of Livy's *Ad urbe condita* book 2 in the drama, as explained in the "Argument."[95] There is no other case in baroque opera, as far as I can tell, that makes use of visual markers as commonplacing in libretti. Referencing Roman historiographers in the preface of libretti was a standard practice in Italian opera, but never had a writer felt the need to use what today would be called 'quotation marks' directly in the text. To be fair, the commonplace sections are limited to one per act,[96] but they signal very important speeches: in I.12, at the Sublican bridge in Rome, Orazio heroically fights against the Etruscans and sets the bridge on fire to avoid their invasion, while leaping into the Tiber river and swimming ashore; in II.7, Muzio demonstrates his will to die after having killed the wrong person, by putting his right hand directly over the fire; in III.7, Porsena blames Muzio for Clelia's spectacular escape (she has just flung herself into the Tiber). The kind of quotations differ in types: from a long, paraphrased speech in act II for Muzio, possibly the peak of the drama's *climax*, to merely four lines in the style of a *sententia* for Porsena in act III.

The three characters ventriloquize Livy in performance, a form of theatrical ghosting that is already signaled in the libretto.[97] If the reader of the libretto is reminded during the performance, as she follows the pages, that what she is listening to are not Rolli's lines, it follows that a meta-theatrical quality of performance is at play. The audience is asked to follow the libretto to distinguish the different plans of authorship. This self-referential quality of the drama, I argue, is inherent to the pastiche both as a musical drama and as a literary genre. The printing of the libretto, far from being just a vehicle for the audience to follow the plot, is a fundamental act

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[95] "These Accidents, and their Circumstances related by Titus Livius, in the second Book of his first Decad, with the intermix'd Amours, compose the Texture of the present Drama." (*Muzio Scevola*, [6]).

[96] Carlo Caruso, in his critical edition of the libretto, has identified the three Livy passages quoted in the libretto. See Paolo Rolli, *Libretti per Musica*, ed. Carlo Caruso (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 1993), 46–104.

[97] On the relationship between theories of 'ghosting' and the pasticcio, see *Introduction*.

in the creation of the pasticcio as an overall experience. Its creators (librettist, composers, printer) take into account the materiality in which the pasticcio unfolds itself in the hands of the audience, thus casting a 'bookish' quality to the performance.[98] In other words, the more the pasticcio reminds us of the heterogeneous quality of its content, the more its material aspects visualize a form of literariness. In this sense, we can paraphrase Lukas Erne's words by claiming that the pasticcio makes a case for "Handel as Literary Dramatist."[99]

Muzio Scevola was not the only libretto to have called the audience's attention towards its own materiality. A few years later, in 1725, the first actual venture into the pasticcio as a genre (at least, according to Strohm's taxonomy) was proposed by the Royal Academy of Music with a new drama based on a 1697 Italian opera by Apostolo Zeno. *L'Elpidia ossia I rivali generosi* premiered on 11 May 1725 at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket and ran for ten other performances until June 19.[100] It was then revived as the opening act of the 1726/26 season on November 30 for five more performances with a slightly different cast. Its libretto was based on a 1697 Venetian opera by Apostolo Zeno (*I rivali generosi*, with music by Marc'Antonio Ziani), "in a much-adapted version" possibly by one of the main collaborators of the Royal Academy, the Italian Nicola Haym.[101] The newspapers started advertising the new show on the day before the premiere, with

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[98] A copy of *Muzio Scevola*'s printed libretto, held in US-PRu (ML49 .H12 v.1), has been identified as being Handel's own copy. At the end of it, on the last blank page, there is still a laundry list made by one of his servants: "12 shirts, 3 aprons, 1 hood, 7 combing clothes, 5 pairs coats 2 have buttons and 2 strings. Mr Handl," as reported in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), 125. Materiality reveals itself in all possible forms.

[99] Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). The construction of Handel's authorship through its pasticcio is explored in ch. 2 of the present dissertation.

[100] See Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 167–9, and Dean, *Handel's Operas. 1704–1726*, 321–3. All the specifics about the performances of all the pasticci (songs, cast list, sources, etc.) are given in the *Appendix*.

[101] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 167.

a standardized announcement that had been used for most of the theatrical productions in London at the time:

> At the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, To-morrow, being Tuesday, the 11th of May, will be perform'd a new opera call'd, ELPIDIA; or, The Generous Rivals. Tickets will be delivered out at the Office in the Hay-Market, this Day and To-morrow, at Half a Guinea each. And in regard to the Length of the Days, and the shortness of the Opera, it will not begin till Seven a-Clock for the Remainder of the Season. Gallery 5s. No Persons to be admitted behind the Scenes. To begin exactly at Seven a-clock.[102]

One thing stands out of the usual pattern of this model (name of the show + ticket delivery and price + prohibition for people to go behind the stage + time): the advertisement makes reference to the length of the late spring days (with more sunlight) as an excuse to begin late. 7pm, in fact, was an hour later than usual, as 6pm was the customary starting time for the 1724/25 season.[103] The opera was short.

The claim about the opera's length was an unusual one, but fairly accurate. The first performances of *Elpidia* (see *Appendix* for the different version performed throughout the 1724/25 and 1725/26 seasons) featured 25 musical pieces including the overture, around five less than the average operas of the time (such as *Rodelinda* and *Tamerlano*). It was a short opera, but not enough to justify its mention in the advertisement for the premiere. Rather, I believe that the "shortness of the opera" had to do with another material issue, the printing of the libretto. *Elpidia* was likely printed by Thomas Wood, the usual collaborator of the King's Theatre for the printing of the libretti of the Royal Academy's operas, and the same that issued the *Muzio Scevola* peculiar libretto. Even though not officially listed on the front page, the layout of the publication is mostly identical to those where Wood is credited. What certainly stands out on the front page of the

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[102] *Daly Courant*, 10 May 1725, p. 2.

[103] See the various advertisements for the 1724/25 season in George Frideric Handel, *Collected Documents. Volume 1: 1609*–1725, ed. Donald Burrows et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013–), 703–786 [from now on HCD].

Elpidia libretto is the phrasing of authorship (see Fig. 1.4). As in *Muzio Scevola*, the name of the librettist was visibly mentioned: "The Words composed by Signor *Apostlolo Zeno,*" followed by the attribution of most of the music to Leonardo Vinci and "*Gioseppe Orlandini*" for "some few songs." The lettering is revealing: "composed" sounds more like the work of a print shop's apprentice in the process of combining letter punches, rather than the act of writing a drama to be suitable for musical setting.[104] By crediting so much authority to Zeno, the libretto of *Elpidia* obscures the actual "composer" of the libretto (Haym), who rewrote entire scenes of the 1697 libretto. Given that Zeno himself had little to nothing to do with this pasticcio performance, the printing of his name on the title page of *Elpidia* marks an even more looming absence.

L' ELPIDIA,
OVERO
Li Rivali Generosi.
Drama per Musica.
Da Rappresentarsi
Nel REGIO TEATRO
di *HAY-MARKET,*
PER
La Reale Accademia di Musica.

The Words compos'd by Signor *Apostolo Zeno.*
The Musick by Signor *Leonardo Vinci*, except some few Songs by Signor *Gioseppe Orlandini.*

LONDON:
Printed, and Sold at the *Opera-Office* in the *Hay-Market.* M.DCC.XXV.

Figure 1.4 - Front page of the *Elpidia* libretto (GB-Lbl, 163.g.29)

[104] I do not know of any other printed libretto in eighteenth-century London that makes use of the term "The Words Composed by" to name the librettist. For the relationship between "composer" and "compositor," see "composer, n." *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press). http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/37785?redirectedFrom=composer (accessed December 15, 2016), where it is defined as "one who sets up type, a compositor," referencing a the entry "Compositor" in John Kersey, *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum: or, a general English dictionary* (London: printed by J. Wilde, 1708), *ad vocem*.

Further in the prefatory pages of the libretto there is another revealing annotation. After the list of characters (both in Italian and English), at the end of "The Argument" in English (the synopsis), the anonymous compiler has added a note for the readers:

> N.B. As there was very little Time allow'd to prepare the following Opera for the Press; so it is hop'd it will not be taken amiss, that it is not translated *verbatim* as usual.[105]

First, the audience is warned that the opera was prepared in a rush. Which is likely not entirely true, as we know that: 1) the Royal Academy had musical materials sent in advance by their agent in Venice, Owen Swiney;[106] 2) the production of *Elpidia* may had been carefully planned to "heighten the appetite for rivalry" between primadonnas Faustina Bordoni and Francesca Cuzzoni by choosing a drama in which two men compete for the love of the main character (Bordoni) who sings five arias, no less.[107]

Second, the annotation reveals that the libretto was not translated in English, but only summarized at the beginning of each scene, while leaving the Italian words on the remaining pages. The words used to describe this unusual shape of the libretto persist, as they did with *Muzio Scevola*, to highlight the visual and material dynamics behind the assemblage of the show. The opera had to be prepared "for the Press," and the text could not be translated "*verbatim* as usual." *Verbatim*, in this context, means 'literally translated,' bringing more meaning to the notion of 'words composition' attributed to Zeno on the frontispiece of the libretto.[108] The preparation of a

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[105] *L'Elpidia, over Li Rivali Generosi Drama per Musica. Da Rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Hay-Market, per La Reale Accademia di Musica* (London: Print and Sold at the Opera Office in the Haymarket, 1725), 6.

[106] See Elizabeth Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728. The Institution and Its Directors* (New York: Garland, 1989), 362–4.

[107] Suzanne Aspden, *The Rival Sirens: Performance and Identity on Handel's Operatic Stage* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 44–5.

[108] For a similar form of authorial appropriation in the context of Shakespeare studies, see Margreta De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

libretto in London during the 1720s was first and foremost an act of physical assemblage and of visual transposition, "*verbatim*." Yet, the printing of the *Elpidia* libretto did not allow enough time to prepare an English translation, resulting in a 45-pages publication. Such a short libretto was an exception at the time, and it is likely that the "shortness" referred to in the aforementioned advertisement had little to do with the actual length of the drama; rather, it was reinforcing a narrative on shortness (short time for preparation, short libretto) that had to do with the material conditions of possibility for the pasticci to happen.

The libretto of *Elpidia*, then, was not printed with its usual affordance. Lacking the English translation, it was not issued as a commodity to be sold and read during the performances to follow the unveiling of the drama onstage. Rather, it was left in Italian as the marker of foreign estrangement in the common language of opera theater, leaving the owner forced to read literary synopsis of every scene. *Elpidia* was printed to be felt as a book, to be kept as a literary object "insisting upon being looked *at*, not seen *through*," reclaiming its own materiality.[109] This call for the pages to be watched has left its traces in two surviving copies of the printed libretto that nowadays are held at the British Library[110] and the Library of Birmingham.[111] The London copy features various handwritten markings in ink by an anonymous hand, attributing composers' names to most of the arias; the same ink has also been used to erase the sentence "La Musica è del Signor *Lionardo Vicini*, fuori che alcune Arie" along with its English translation "The music composed by Signor Leonardo Vicini, excepting some Songs" in the prefatory pages.[112] The

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[109] Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1993), 255–83: 257.

[110] GB-Lbl, 163.g.29.

[111] GB-Bp, A782.12, Plays B/44.

[112] *L'Elpidia*, 3–4. Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 168–9, acknowledges the presence of the handwritten annotations, but does not mention the erasing in the prefatory pages.

Birmingham copy, on the other hand, features a different hand who has marked in pencil over four arias the name of the singers *not* of the *Elpidia* performances, but rather of the corresponding Venetian productions from which the songs themselves were taken.[113]

The latter seems to be of particular interest. As Colin Timms has suggested, the annotations in pencil over the Birmingham libretto of *Elpidia* are in eighteenth-century handwriting. Three arias for the character of Elpidia ("Dea triforme," I.5; "Dolce orror che vezzeggiando," II.4; "Pupillette vezzosette," II.8) and one for Rosmilda ("Si può ma sol per poco," I.8) have respectively "Faustina" and "Merighi" sketched next to them (see Fig. 1.5). The reference to singers Faustina Bordoni and Antonia Merighi does not point to the cast of *Elpidia*, but rather to the performers of the operas from which the music was taken: Faustina's arias came from Leonardo Vinci's *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice, Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo, season 1724/25), while Merighi's ones were from Vinci's *La Rosmira fedele* (same Venetian season and company as *Ifigenia*). Given that only the printed libretto for *Ifigenia* gives the full list of singers (and a copy is preserved as part of the Birmingham collection), Timms suggests that the annotations must have come from someone "close to Handel or his circle" because of the absence of a copy of *Rosmira* from the Birmingham collection.[114] This seems only partially correct, though. The absence of *Rosmira* from the Birmingham *corpus* does not mean that the anonymous annotator could not have a copy of the printed libretto in front of him. Plus, anyone would have known that two operas coming from the same operatic seasons in the same opera house would have featured the same cast, divided by roles (two primadonnas, a leading male, etc.). Thus, if Antonia Merighi

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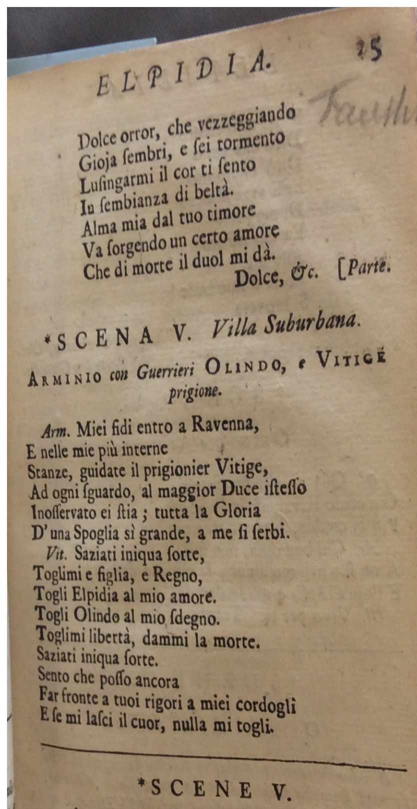
[113] See Colin Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos in Birmingham Central Library," *Music & Letters* 65/2 (1984), 141–67: 143–44.

[114] *Ibid.*, 144.

was listed as part of the cast of *Ifigenia* (as she was),[115] she was certainly playing the same deuteragonist role in *Rosmira*, as the cast list from any other extant copy of *Rosmira fedele* proves.[116] Our eighteenth-century annotator of the *Elpidia* libretto was likely just guessing, and this could explain why there is no mention of any other singer for the other *Elpidia* arias, even those which came from the same Venetian productions just mentioned (see the *Appendix A* for the list of arias in *Elpidia* and their Italian opera sources).



ELPIDIA. 25

Dolce orror, che vezzeggiando
Gioja ſembri, e ſei tormento
Luſingarmi il cor ti ſento
In ſembianza di beltà.
Alma mia dal tuo timore
Va ſorgendo un certo amore
Che di morte il duol mi dà.
Dolce, &c. [*Parte.*

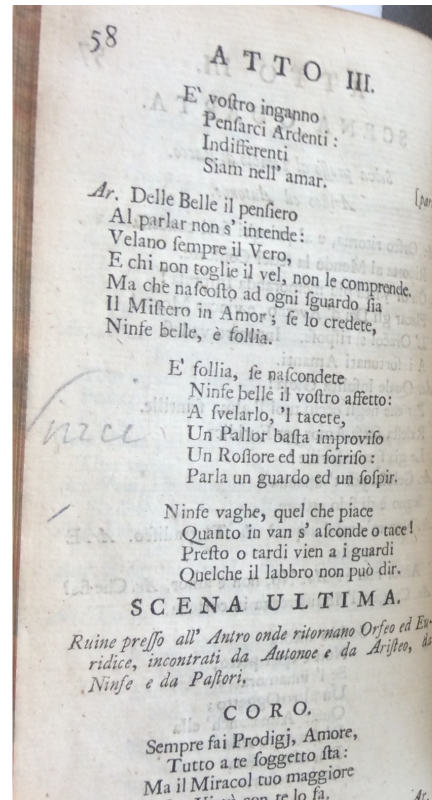
*SCENA V. *Villa Suburbana.*

ARMINIO *con Guerrieri* OLINDO, *e* VITIGÈ *prigione.*

Arm. Miei fidi entro a Ravenna,
E nelle mie più interne
Stanze, guidate il prigionier Vitige,
Ad ogni ſguardo, al maggior Duce iſteſſo
Inoſſervato ei ſtia; tutta la Gloria
D'una Spoglia sì grande, a me ſi ſerbi.
Vit. Saziati iniqua ſorte,
Toglimi e figlia, e Regno,
Togli Elpidia al mio amore.
Togli Olindo al mio ſdegno.
Toglimi libertà, dammi la morte.
Saziati iniqua ſorte.
Sento che poſſo ancora
Far fronte a tuoi rigori a miei cordogli
E ſe mi laſci il cuor, nulla mi togli.

*SCENE V.

Figure 1.5 – p. 25 of *Elpidia* (GB-Bp, A782.12, Plays B/44)



58 ATTO III.

E' voſtro inganno
Penſarci Ardenti:
Indifferenti
Siam nell' amar.
Ar. Delle Belle il penſiero
Al parlar non s' intende:
Velano ſempre il Vero,
E chi non toglie il vel, non le comprende.
Ma che naſcoſto ad ogni ſguardo ſia
Il Miſtero in Amor; ſe lo credete,
Ninfe belle, è follia.

E' follia, ſe naſcondete
Ninfe belle il voſtro affetto:
A ſvelarlo, 'l tacete,
Un Pallor baſta improviſo
Un Roſſore ed un ſorriſo:
Parla un guardo ed un ſoſpir.

Ninfe vaghe, quel che piace
Quanto in van s' aſconde o tace!
Preſto o tardi vien a i guardi
Quelche il labbro non può dir.

SCENA ULTIMA.

Ruine preſſo all' Antro onde ritornano Orfeo ed Euridice, incontrati da Autonoe e da Ariſteo, da Ninfe e da Paſtori.

CORO.

Sempre fai Prodigj, Amore,
Tutto a te ſoggetto ſta:
Ma il Miracol tuo maggiore

Figure 1.6 – p. 58 of *Orfeo* (GB-Bp, A782.12, Plays B/43)

[115] *Ifigenia in Tauride. Tragedia di Merindo Fesanio* […] (Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1725), 7. Copy consulted in GB-Bp, A782.12, Plays B/42.

[116] *La Rosmira fedele. Dramma per musica di Silvio Stampiglia* […] (Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1725), 8. Copy consulted in I-Bc, Lo. 5508.

Moreover, Timms is faulty in believing that annotations found on other pasticci collected in the Library Birmingham (*Ormisda* and *Orfeo;* for the *Ormisda* libretto, see 1.3 *Printing the Pasticci Manuscripts*) are "by a number of hands."[117] A look at the libretto of *Orfeo* reveals that the pencil markings are all by the same hand (see Fig. 1.6). Unlike *Elpidia*, though, these other libretti have indications of composers from which some arias were taken, rather than the 'original' performers. In any case, as Timms admits, there seems to be no rationale or systematic plan behind the markings in the libretti. In at least one case (the aria "Timido pellegrin" in *Ormisda*, marked on the Birmingham libretto as being by "Orlandini") the annotation has been proven wrong. It seems even more likely that the eighteenth-century anonymous marker was not part of the Handel circle, nor involved in the performances of the pasticci. As a matter of fact, *Orfeo* was only performed in 1735/36 at the King's Theatre, five years later than *Ormisda* and ten years later than *Elpidia*. If the annotations come from the same hand at the same time, this means that they were not pencilled during the Royal Academy seasons. All of this is to say that our anonymous writer constitutes the ideal candidate for the libretto reader previously theorized. If the pasticci presented themselves 'as books,' they called upon them the possibility of using them as reference books to be marked and commonplaced. It seems that the Birmingham copies reflect the kind of intertextual play that the pasticci entail not only with their audience during performance, but especially as objects of reading practices. The annotator was likely a collector stimulated by reading the libretti to argue the 'origins' (whether singers or composers) of the music.

It does not seem by chance that one of the copies of the *Elpidia* libretto preserved in the British Library is also marked with annotations next to the arias.[118] Here, the anonymous reader

[117] Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos," 143. *Orpheus: an opera by Paul Rolli, F.R.S: Perform'd at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: Charles Bennet, 1735). Copy consulted in GB-Bp, A782.12, Plays B/43.

[118] Unfortunately, I was not permitted to take photographs of the GB-Lbl copy of *Elpidia*'s libretto. Its digitized version, available on the portal *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (http://www.gale.com/primary-

has carefully written the names of the composers of each of the songs of the pasticcio (with the only exception the aria "D'alme luci sfavillate" and the two duets) next to the text. The attribution of such a large number of arias is an impressive achievement, and must have been done out of extensive knowledge of Italian opera of the 1720s. Even though—as Reinhard Strohm has demonstrated—[119] in four cases the attributions are wrong, the impulse to identify the composers behind the pasticcio's music was dictated by the very own nature of the pasticcio, its engaging with the audience/readers in a play of identification.[120] There is room for speculation as to how the anonymous annotator got most of the attributions right: one possibility is that, unlike the Birmingham annotator, this eighteenth-century reader was actually close to the Royal Academy circle, without being directly involved in the production; another possibility, is that s/he had access to the various manuscript copies of Italian music circulating in England at the time (on which see the next section of the present chapter). The copy has not been bound with any other libretto, nor there is any clear indication of the libretto provenance. At some point in the history of this small book, one of its owners decided to write on it attributing the music. This gesture, this close look at the pages, reenacted the gesture of assembling various music that the producers of *Elpidia* made in preparing the drama. The movement of going back and forth between the most disparate sources was the foundational act of putting together a pasticcio, and it was a material act. It was made possible through one of the main feature of the modern book, as opposed to the old *codex*: the index.[121]

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sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online/), is too contrasted to have the inked markings next to the arias be visible.

[119] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 168–9.

[120] On this topic, see the *Introduction* to the present dissertation.

[121] Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind: Transformations of the Written Word in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013), 5–6.

The indexical quality of the pasticci was exploited through their libretti's material appearance (as will be elaborated in sections 1.3 and 1.4), but also through the very act of song-picking by their producers. In the next section, I explore how the context of song printing and, on a larger scale, the culture of periodical publications in eighteenth-century London affected the development of the pasticcio as a genre.

1.2 Pasticci and the Culture of Song Printing

Muzio Scevola's performances had created a certain sensation around the Royal Academy of Music. Even though the story of the competition between the three composers was almost certainly false, operagoers were keen to express their opinion about it. They did it, not surprisingly, directly on the physical copies of the drama they had. One of them, Elizabeth Legh, an avid collector of Handel's music and one of the people composing his friendship network, recorded on her own manuscript copy of act III of *Muzio Scevola* that the music of the first two acts was "very bad" and that Handel's portion was "so very fine that the Musick [spoke] its own Praise."[122] The interest in the music heard in *Muzio Scevola* was such that Richard Meares, one of the most important music printers in London during the 1720s (together with John Walsh, and the firm of John Cluer & Bezaleel Creake), advertised on 9 June 1722 the coming publications of the songs. Yet, the announcement featured an unusual request:

> [T]here is now [eng]raving, and will be speedily publish'd, a Collection of the best Songs in the Opera of Mutius Scaevola, with the Overture; and to oblige the Publick, if any Gentleman and Lady will be pleas'd to send a Note of any

[122] GB-WCr, ms 9M73/717. On Elizabeth Legh, see Ellen T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 129–32, 143–4, 260–1. The description of her manuscripts collection is given in Winton Dean, "The Malmesbury Collection," in *Handel Collections and Their History*, ed. Terence Best (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1993), 29–38.

> particular Song, they shall have it added to the Book: And also a Collection of the celebrated Songs out of all the Operas, will be printed as soon as possible.[123]

The actual collection was then advertised as published on 14 July.[124] *The Most Favourite Songs in the Opera of Muzio Scaevola Compo's by Three Famous Masters* featured a selection of eight un-attributed songs, of which we know four were by Bononcini, three by Handel, and only one by Amadei.[125] The call for musical requests was unseen before: for the first time, a printer/publisher was giving readers the chance to have their own musical book composed as they wanted. In a way, Meares was acting on their behalf by granting the possibility of inscribing the audience's memory of the performances through the re-materialization of the music they have chosen to remember. This process of re-materialization —as a discursive supplement of "the imagination, the intended, and the desired" to the material aspects of knowledge production—[126] was a crucial aspect of the experience of pastiched music, of which *Muzio Scevola* was an example in its being made of different author's music without ever explicitly mentioning their names.

The direct involvement of printers and listeners into the choices of which music to circulate calls for a reconsideration of the traditional image of the printer as the last, unreliable agent in the process of music production. Rather, I argue that London publishers and printers were as responsible as composers in the very creation of a musical genre such as the pasticcio, not only by concentration the attention to the individual songs at the expense of the drama, but also

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[123] *The Post-Boy*, 9 June 1722 (HCD, I, 578).

[124] *The Flying-Post*, 14 July 1722 (HCD, I, 583).

[125] *The Most Favourite Songs in the Opera of Muzio Scaevola Compo's by Three Famous Masters* (London: Richard Meares, [1722]). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, G.192.(2).

[126] Bryan Reynolds and William N. West, "Introduction. Shakespearean Emergences: Back from Materialism to Transversalism and Beyond," in Bryan Reynolds and William N. West, eds., *Rematerializing Shakespeare: Authority and Representation on the Early Modern English Stage* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1–16: 9.

by providing a material culture in which the audience could re-live the experience of it. None of this could have happened, though, if London was not the capital of serial publications and newspapers of the eighteenth century.

During the early eighteenth century, London was at the center of a printing exaltation. Both for economic and more practical reasons (the large width of the city, the insularity of the country, urban population growth), the printing and publishing markets were by far some of the largest enterprises to be found in early modern England.[127] After the lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, and the subsequent freedom from prepublication censorship, the efflorescence of printing was tangible throughout England, with an obvious emphasis in London.[128] The necessity for faster communications in and out of the country, together with the rising of a "public sphere,"[129] led to the development of journalism and the shaping of the typical eighteenth-century London newspaper as we know it.[130] If newspapers undoubtedly covered the majority of periodical publications in Georgian Britain, it should be reminded that this "spectacular rise" was not exclusively made of news.[131] Instead, a panoply of literary journals, scientific publications, and entertainment sheets increased their flowing over the streets of London during the first decades of

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[127] See Michael F. Suarez, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume V: 1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1–35.

[128] See Raymond Astbury, "The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and its Lapse in 1695," *Library* 33 (1978), 296–322.

[129] The concept of the "public sphere" is famously taken from Jürgen Habermas influential volume *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989). See also Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[130] See Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1987), 19–32.

[131] See Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 269.

the eighteenth century.[132] These publications entered the modern capitalist market by relying on advertisement to be published next to actual local news and announcements, thus giving the London newspaper its peculiar layout in which, for instance, next to the reminder of the evening shows throughout the city one could find advertisements for publications related to the same show. Newspapers, to sum up, were a periodical publication made of discrete content conceived to produce other periodical press. London was feeding itself on this culture of periodic knowledge, and it was a city that craved this economy of 'singles.' There were possibly other reasons for this particular obsession with short, repeatable publications, but these will be explored in chapter 3 as part of the discussion on listening habits and the Empiricist thought. Certainly, the field of news distribution was not confined to the written realm. For a long time, the transmission of events and occurrences travelled from mouth to mouth along the streets of London. The oral allocation of news spreading ran alongside the developing printed model up to the eighteenth century, influencing the way knowledge was publicized citywide in a mixed environment of written/oral/aural consumption of real life. The newspapers and journals were formed on the basis of oral passing of information and, in turn, they influenced the way people read the news. The singing of news, for instance, was common practice in England throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It allowed for a less controlled, less censored way of spreading information, and it enabled traveling singers to make a living in an ever-changing theatrical world.[133] Soon, those same singers and actors would be part of the inter-theatrical network of news spreading through in-jokes and contemporary meta-references in plays and musical drama.[134] In this context, the tradition of broadside ballads in England flourished during the

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[132] See Michael Twyman, "Printed Ephemera," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 66–82: 68.

[133] See Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, 10.

[134] For recent literature on the relationship between news and early modern theater, see András Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment. Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016);

seventeenth century, but was faced with competition from the single-sheet songs that soon were to dominate the marketplace of musical singles in London.[135] Even though in most cases music was not printed, the tunes would be familiar enough to be implied whenever someone would run into these large folio sheets containing 'news poems.' In theater, this would mean including ballad songs in plays, up to the developing of the so-called 'ballad operas.' Song-sheets, in a way, were born under the impulse of news delivery.

The period from 1680 to 1720 is today considered a "revolutionary" one for music printing and publishing in London.[136] Due to copyright laws (for which see chapter 2), rise of printers, and growth of potential buyers of publications, the market was a flourishing and quite an exceptional one.[137] Engraving and the use of pewter plates and punches soon replaced the letterpress technique, thus leading to the possibility for publishers to retain the ownership of copper and pewter plates. This meant a faster and more affordable way to reprint editions, fashioning a labor model that involved freelance engravers or apprentices to have the job outsourced.[138] This potential for music books to be easily reprinted, I argue, had a deep impact on the way music was not only circulating, but also produced and even composed. The high degree of repeatability of these musical collections affected the musical community on different levels: for

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see also *Drama, Performance and Debate: Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan Bloemenda, Peter G.F. Evermann, and Else Strietman (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[135] See James Porter, et al. "Ballad," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed September 8, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01879. For a recent collection of essays on the topic, see *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[136] David Hunter, "The Printing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726," *Notes*, Second Series, 46, no. 2 (1989), 328–51: 328.

[137] David Hunter, "The Publishing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726," *Notes*, Second Series, 47, no. 3 (1991), 647–85: 647.

[138] Hunter, "The Printing of Opera and Song," 333.

publishers, it meant not only a more efficient economic model, but also an increased interest in obtaining music to copy that would be suitable for a few-pages item, possibly to be included in collections; for consumers, it directed the attention towards musical 'singles,' in turn creating a demand for musical collections; for composers and producers of music (such as opera house impresari, singers, or musical agents) it meant creating or obtaining music that fit the peculiar printing model. It should be remembered that this was a peculiar model of music printing, as—unlike continental Europe—the practice of printing opera songs was almost exclusively an English accomplishment. In Italy, there was no model for opera printing until the late eighteenth century, while in France opera was printed in full and mostly for the purpose of courtly display of magnificence.[139] There was no equivalent to the flow of song collections in England during the early decades of the eighteenth century. I argue that the history of song collections in England is relevant to the development of the pasticcio as a format not only because of its pervasiveness, but also because of the material aspects of music transmission (copying practices, reading conventions, and collecting habits) that allowed for the pasticcio to be considered as a viable model of listening experience *through* its materiality.

Since the late seventeenth century, London publishers started producing collections of songs that were mostly a few, selected airs from plays that were running in theaters at the time. Thus, until the 1720s, the marketplace of music printing for opera was dominated by items variously titled *Songs in the new opera… The Favourite Songs in…* etc. But there was room for other similar collections, and this involved the publication of compilations of songs from disparate sources.[140] One of them is particularly relevant for our discussion, as it was prepared around the

139 "Apart from the minor exception of operas by Jean Baptiste Lully published by the Ballards in Paris and Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, opera circulated in manuscript form. London became the site of the first significant, extended effort at printing operatic works." (Hunter, "The Publishing of Opera," 649).

140 David Hunter has identified five types of song-books that were pushed forward by London publishers: 1) books consisting of songs by a single composer; 2) collections of opera excerpts, by one or more composers, from a single opera; 3) volumes comprising a single musical genre, such as catches, drinking songs, Scotch

same time as Handel started producing pasticcio at the Royal Academy of Music in 1724–5: *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies: Being a collection Of the finest Opera Songs & Airs, In English and Italian*. Printed by Cluer & Creake and made available on 2 May, 1724,[141] it contained 80 arias from some of the most successful (and already published) operas staged in London during the early eighteenth century, and it was an enormous success.[142] In 1725, Cluer & Creake even engaged in a public dispute with Fraser over the paternity of the "pocket collection" concept. Through advertisements on local newspapers, Cluer & Creake acknowledged one of the main criticisms of the first volume of the *Pocket Companion,* and promoted a second volume:

> Notice is hereby given, That on Friday the 17th of this Instant December, Cluer and Creake's Second Pocket Volume of Opera Songs, will be published and delivered to Subscribers. It is in a larger Size than the first, the Musick is legible as any Half-sheet Song, and the Collection is the best that ever was made, for the [sic] there is not one Song in the Book but what is approved of by Mr. Handel.
> N.B. Cluer and Creake also give notice, That if Mr. Frazer should ever publish his Book that he has so long boasted of, and rattled about in the News-Papers, they will within one Month after the Publication thereof, Engrave, Print, and Sell it for 5s. altho' he has often publish'd that none should have it under 15s.[143]

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songs, or opera songs from more than one opera; 4) periodicals; 5) general collections (anthologies or miscellanies containing a variety of songs by different composers and/or from different musical works or genres). Ibid., 648. For a general overview and a detailed list of opera collections in London, see David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703-1726 : A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1997).

141 *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies: Being a collection Of the finest Opera Songs & Airs, In English and Italian* (London: John Cluer and Bezaleel Creake, 1724). See Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, 382–387 (item 144).

142 This first edition of the *Pocket Companion* had 465 subscribers for 992 copies, with a "second edition" released only a month later for 391 subscribers and 945 copies. According to David Hunter, this was "the largest music subscription publication before 1760." David Hunter, *The Lives of George Frideric Handel* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), 130. See also Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, 388–389 (item 145).

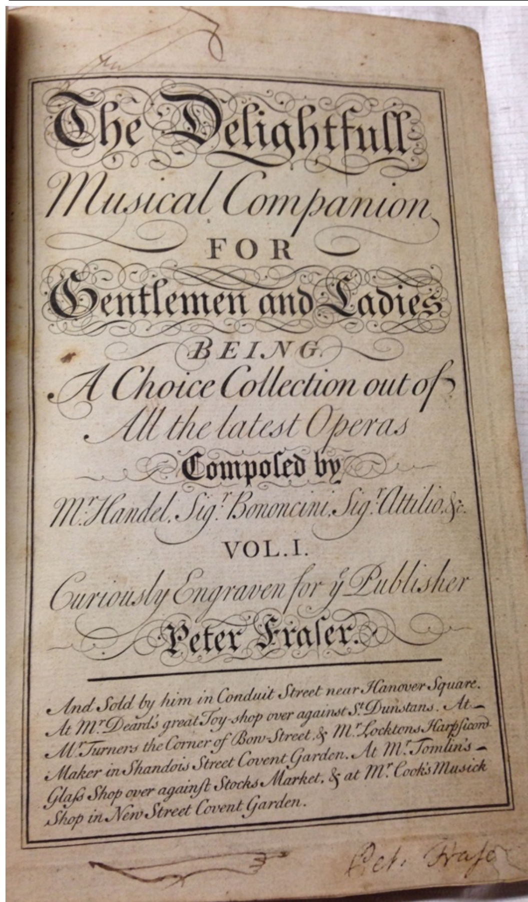
143 *The Suffolk Mercury,* 13 December 1725 (HCD, II, 17–18).

The readability of the first volume was under attack, thus the second volume would be featured in a slightly larger size (still smaller than normal song collections). Fraser replied that if his *Delightfull Musical Companion*

> is not, by all Judges of Musick and Engraving, looked upon to be better worth a Guinea, than Cluer's and Creak's […] shall be (what their's is only fit for) generously converted to the Use of the Pastry Cooks.[144]

Fraser asks for his publications to be "looked upon," calling for the readability and the layout of the page. The very material aspects of these collections were literally put upfront in the newspaper's pages. The dispute also emphasized that Handel was somehow involved in the preparation of the second volume of the *Pocket Collection* ("there is not one Song in the Book but what is approved of by Mr. Handel"). According to this statement, the 36 songs of this anthology had the permission of the composer. Given that some of these were never before published, it seems likely that Handel had a more active role in the preparation of this anthology. These collaborative efforts of publishers and composers were recognized by readers, as a copy of the first volume of the *Pocket Collection* (held at the Gerald Coke Collection) shows by having Peter Fraser's signature next a *maniculum* at the bottom of the title page (Fig. 1.7).[145] Song

Figure 1.7 - Front page of *The Delightful Musical Companion* (GB-Lfom, n. 3527)



[144] *Daily Journal*, 27 December 1725 (HCD, II, 24).

[145] GB-Lfom, n. 3527.

collections were thus perceived as commonplace books themselves, somehow participating in the indexing of the world that the print culture of early eighteenth-century London was fostering.[146] When the second volume of the collection was actually published in December 1725,[147] it featured songs from the pasticcio *Elpidia* that Handel and the Royal Academy had staged on the King's Theatre a few months before, and the opera had already been through its second batch of performances as opening of the new 1725/6 season. The *Elpidia* songs were released in print in several different versions, revealing a complicated editorial situation that is related to the success of the pasticcio and the reworking of it for its November-December 1725 revival. Part of the work of disentangling the various printed editions of the *Elpidia* music has been conducted by David Hunter in his publications on song books and opera publishing in London.[148] Yet, the situation is so complicated that even Hunter has made some mistakes, which can be amended through close bibliographical scrutiny (see Table 1.1 at the end of the chapter).

First, there is the question of the chronological order in which the publications related to *Elpidia* were being released. The first advertisement appeared on *The Post-Boy* on 8 July 1725, almost a month after the end of the season.[149] It was featured as part of the regular appearance of Walsh's serial publication *Monthly Mask of Vocal Musick*, which featured some of the songs being played in London theaters over the months preceding the publication (in this case, June).[150] The

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[146] "Print culture" is a notion coined by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[147] Advertisement on *The Suffolk Mercury*, 13 December 1725 (see HCD, II, 17–8).

[148] See Hunter, "The Printing of Opera," and *Opera and Song Books*, entries 160, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 172.

[149] *The Post-Boy*, 8 July 1725, pp. 6–8 (HCD, I, 781–2). This advertisement was not known to Hunter when he published his *Opera and Song Books*.

[150] On the *Monthly Mask* see Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "'Reviv'd by the Publisher of the Former Masks': The Firm of John Walsh and the 'Monthly Mask,' 1717–27 and 1737–8," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, no. 42 (2009): 1–44. The article makes no reference to any June 1725 issue, though.

advertisement calls the new music "The favourite Songs in the last Opera call'd *Elpidia,"* together with the flute solo version of *Rodelinda*.

No copy of *Elpidia*'s printed music survives with a title page from the *Monthly Mask*, but two different versions of *The Favorite Songs* appeared at some point before the end of 1725. These two versions (listed in Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, as items 163 and 164)[151] share some of the songs taken out of the pasticcio, but differ in terms of engraving style and passe-partout title page (see Figg. 1.8 and 1.9).[152] As seen from Table 1.1, the songs included are those that we know were part of the first set of performances, while the ones included in the later publication *The Quarterly collection of Vocal Musick* were explicitly songs added for the new season's revival.[153] Yet, the involvement of John Walsh in the printing of these editions is explicit only for the 1726 *Additional Songs*, while the previous ones are always under the rubric "Printed and Sold at the Musick Shops." This vague indication of publishing leaves us with no real clue as to which printer was actually behind their publications.[154] Given Walsh's involvement with the publication of the *Monthly Mask*, and his issue of the *Additional Songs* soon after, it seems reasonable to think that at least one of the early publications of *Elpidia* is the product of his printer workshop. The fact that during this period Handel was temporarily disengaged with Walsh (see *supra*) might actually testify to the fact that Walsh was not officially able to disclose his publisher's authority over the title

[151] Both the different publications are preserved in more than one copies. For the purpose of the present discussion, I focus on the copies held at GB-Lbl ([163]: G.206.c.2) and US-LAuc [164]: *fM1505.V77e).

[152] Passe-partouts were "title-page plates with a blank area within which title information could be printed from a second plate or supplied in manuscript" (Hunter, "The Printing of Opera," 336-340: 336).

[153] See *Appendix*. Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 167–9, clarifies the different versions of *Elpidia* and discusses the cast changes.

[154] Hunter, "The Publishing of Opera," 679, dismisses Deutsch's opinion that this was "a formula used by Walsh for pirated editions" (Deutsch, *Handel*, 209); yet, he admits that "it could provide a disguise for Walsh and the Hares."

pages of such editions. This, of course, assumes that Handel actually cared about the release of music from one of the pasticci of the Royal Academy.

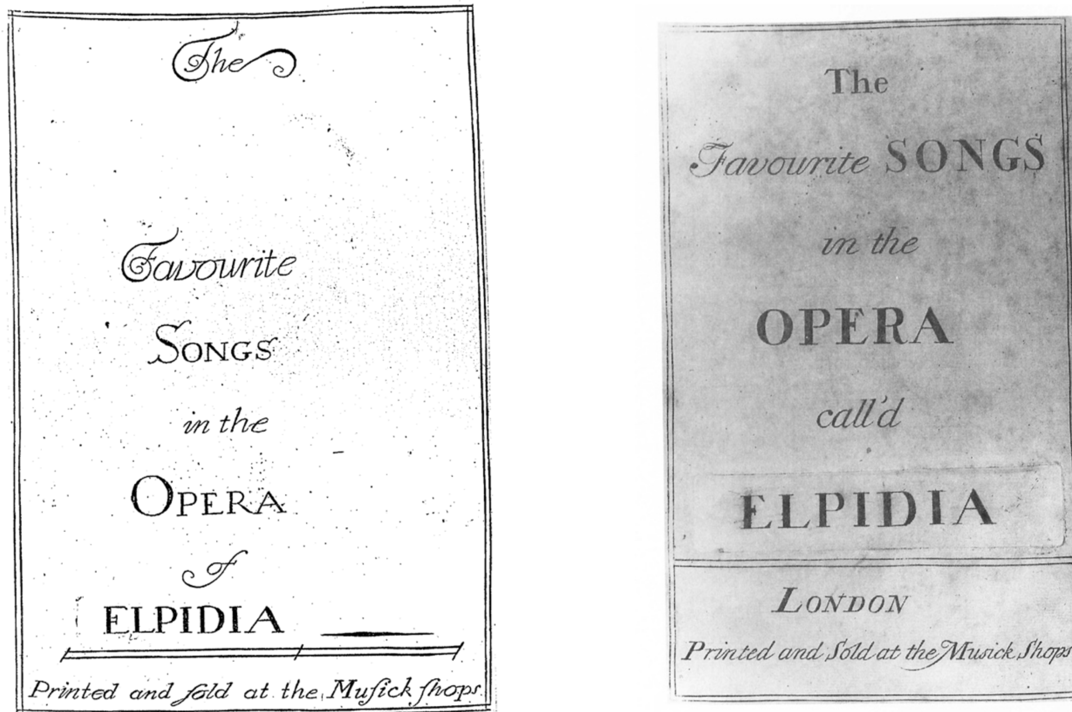

Figure 1.8 and 1.9 - Front pages of *The Favourite Songs* for *Elpidia*. See Hunter, *Opera and Songs Books*, items 163 and 164.

A close examination of these copies might give some new insights into the process of preparing the pasticci, a process in which the involvement of printers is, I believe, the necessary underlying condition that made it possible for the pasticcio to exist as a genre. The passe-partout used for the *Favorite Songs in the Opera call'd Elpidia* [Hunter 164] had already been used for two publications, one of them being the songs from Ariosti's *Dario* released almost at the same time as *Elpidia*. The passe-partout for the *Favorite Songs in the Opera of Elpidia* [Hunter 163] is an *unicum* in its layout. The two collections differ not only in the design of their title-page, but also in the engraving style of the songs included (in both cases, a mixed array of styles). Ultimately, the number of songs in the [164] item is almost double than the [163] item. One thing that can certainly be said about item

[163] is the overall impression of poor accuracy. The songs present many misspellings of the Italian language which are not to be found in item [164]. Among them, the most visible is the misspelling of the *incipit* of the aria "Dea triforme astro fecondo" as "Dea triforme astra seconda," while the word "duol" is always copied in the print as "duoe" in the aria "Dolce error che vezzeggiando." Moreover, in the aria "Dea triforme astro fecondo" the correspondence of words and notes in the print is mostly misplaced and wrong. The item [164] has a generally more accurate layout of its contents, the Italian being mostly correct and no other evident rhythmic misplacing.

From a philological perspective, the [163] publication looks as if it was prepared by copying from a manuscript, without access to any printed version (such as the Italian libretto). In this sense, it is likely that the plates were prepared by a printer workshop in which manuscript copies of the songs used for *Elpidia* were available at an early stage. The more complete and correct version may, instead, have been generated after the pasticcio had already been assembled and performed. Thus, it seems reasonable to think that the [164] issue was prepared by Walsh, not only because of the re-use of some of the plates on later official publications such as *The Quarterly Collection* [167] and *Apollo's Feast* [172], but also because at that stage Walsh probably did not have early access to the materials used for the preparation of the pasticcio. The [164] item also includes "A Table of the Favourit [sic] Song contain'd in this Book" together with a list of other publications "Where may be likewise had the Favorite Song Books in all the late Operas" which are for the most part either renowned Walsh publications, or "Musick Shops" ones.[155] On the other hand, given Handel's involvement in the preparation of the second volume of Cluer's *Pocket Companion* (see *supra*), the [163] issue seems more likely to have come from the circle of

[155] These are (as listed in the [164] item, p. [ii]): "Darius, Rodelinda, Artaxerses, Tamerlane, Aquilio, Calphurnia, Julius Caesar, Vespasian, Pharnaces, Erminia, Flavius, Cyrus, Otho, Floridant, Griselda, Crispus, Muzio Scaevola, Acis & Galatea, Additional Songs in Otho, Ditto in Floridant"

people working on *Elpidia*, precisely *because* of its faultiness, possibly Cluer & Creake themselves. This could explain the presence of music from *Elpidia* in the second volume of the *Pocket Companion*, the only pasticcio to be featured in such a collection. There, the heading of all the three *Elpidia* songs included in the collection is "In the opera of Elpidia," [rather than "in the opera call'd Elpidia"] which is the same wording as the title page of item [163]. The role of Cluer in the dissemination—but also, possibly, in the preparation—of *Elpidia* seem even more relevant.

Against common musicological assumptions regarding printed music being inherently secondary to our own understanding of the compositional process of eighteenth-century opera,[156] the preparation of the pasticci shows how music printing constituted the base for the 'composing-as-assembling' process. The practice was possible because of the close interaction between producers (in this case, the Royal Academy with Handel as its main representative) and publishers, thus making the pasticcio a genuine product of the print culture in Early Modern London. In a way, the first pasticcio of the company was conceived amidst the printer's workshop. The possibility of indexing music by means of anthologies was then re-created at home when music collectors (listeners themselves, in a society with no other means of musical reproduction other than writing as inscription) put together songs taken from the anthologies and either bound them with various other music, or transcribed them in manuscript leaves.

An example of this practice can be seen through the life of a single musical object, the aria "Pupillette vezzosette" from *Elpidia*. The song was included in the pasticcio at an early stage, given that it was printed in the libretto as part of scene II.7 and that the manuscript score held at the British Library shows the hand of John Christopher Smith (Handel's main copyist and

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[156] See, for example, how a scholar who has extensively worked on the printed works of John Walsh, such as Donald Burrows, omits any reference to printed material in his "Sources, Resources and Handel Studies," in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), 19–42.

collaborator during these years) in a gathering that was part of the first batch of paper used in the copyist's workshop.[157] The producers of the Royal Academy of Music had likely obtained a manuscript copy of this song through their agent Swiney (see *supra*), given that this song was originally performed in Venice in 1724/5 (as noted by our anonymous annotator of the Birmingham copy of the libretto, see *supra*). The song was also included in the two *Favourite Songs* anthologies that were soon issued after the London premiere of *Elpidia*.[158] One of the possibilities given by the commerce of song collections was the disbanding of the single songs in order to be sold by themselves or, more likely, to allow users to recreate their own collections in a commonplace manner. "Pupillette vezzosette" can been found in such volumes, rebound with other loosely-inserted printed items and manuscript leaves.[159] Another copy of the song as a loose, disbanded, single-sheet print (with no page number) is found in the Bodleian Library, previously unknown to present-day scholars (see Fig. 1.10).[160] The peculiarity of this printed item is that it could not have been taken out from any of the known collections of *Elpidia* songs, as it was printed from an engraving that is in a different layout from anything else. The lack of page number and the fitting of everything onto one page (a semi-large format of 31x36 cm.) establish it as an *unicum*. Even more unusual, for the case at hand, is the presence of the engraver's signature: "Ingrav'd by T. Cross" at the top of the sheet, next to the title "Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia."

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[157] GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606. See Hans Dieter Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren (Handexemplare)*. (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, 1972), 136.

[158] *The favourite songs in the opera of Elpidia.* ([London]: Printed and sold at the musick shops, 1725); *The favourite songs in the opera call'd Elpidia.* (London: Printed and sold at the musick shops, 1725). Both the different publications are preserved in more than one copies. For the purpose of the present discussion, I focus on the copies held at GB-Lbl ([163]: G.206.c.2) and US-LAuc [164]: *fM1505.V77e), which correspond to Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, items 163 and 164.

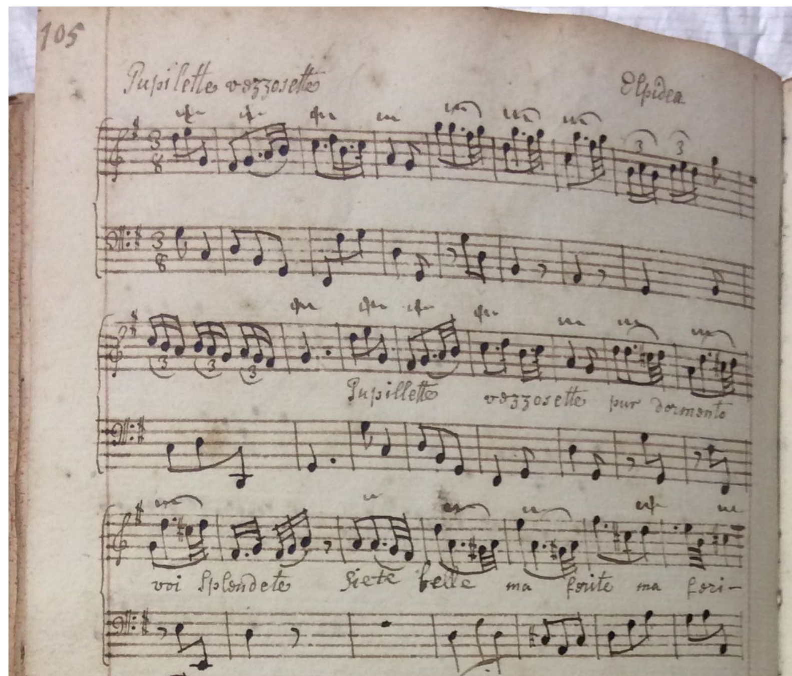
[159] See, for example, the volume held at GB-Ob, Harding Mus. G.O. 56, n. 71. The song here is clearly taken out from the [164] collection (see note 76), as it has the page number (1) on it and features the same layout.

[160] GB-Ob, Harding Mus. G.O. 51, n. 10

Figure 1.10 – Printed song "Pupillette vezzosette" (GB-Ob, Harding Mus. G. O. 51, n. 10)

Thomas Cross was a well-known engraver, printer, publisher, and music seller throughout much of his life in London between the second half of the seventeenth century and the 1730s.[161] He was one of the few known to issue songs in the single sheet format, the same with which the new “Pupillette vezzosette” is to be found in Oxford. Around 1725-6, Cross was working as an engraver with various printers, his signature featured in other collections.[162] The desire to issue a polished, refined engraved printing of “Pupillette” seems to stem from the popularity of the song, and possibly for being one of the very first chosen to be included in *Elpidia*. That is, the printed circulation of the song was both affected by and influential in the making of the pasticcio.

Figure 1.11 – Manuscript song “Pupillette vezzosette” (GB-Lfom, n. 1297, f. 56*v*)



Handwritten transcriptions of this aria can be found in several manuscripts, the majority of them being in the United Kingdom.[163] The practice of transcribing songs into private manuscripts, for the sake of performing music at home or for collection purposes, was a typical form of music circulation in

[161] See Frank Kidson, et al. “Cross, Thomas,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, accessed October 6, 2016), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06874.

[162] See Hunter, “The Publishing of Opera,” 668–9 and Hunter, “The Printing of Opera,” 340–2.

[163] For a detailed list of all the manuscript versions of this aria, see *Appendix*.

Europe. Yet, the peculiarity of the England reception was the copying of music from prints rather than from other manuscripts (as was customary in Italy, for example). This can be seen by the song being copied with the header "Sung by…" which was a typical feature of the printed songs (see 1.3, *Printing the Pasticci Manuscripts*), or by the transcription of peculiar printing marks and even mistakes. A revealing copy of "Pupillette vezzosette," found in the Gerald Coke collection, shows how this process of "print to manuscript" worked (Fig. 1.11).[164] The manuscript is a collection of songs, mostly dating from the 1724-6 seasons of the Royal Academy, transcribed by various hands in either purely instrumental transcription (to be played on the harpsichord) or with the complete lyrics. The handwritten title on the cover "Tunes & Songs for the Harpsichord" seems to be added later, as it does not reflect the heterogeneity of its contents, which resembles more a musical commonplace book later transformed into a more formal anthology. The *Elpidia* song is transcribed in its entirety, but a small, single musical incongruence shows that this transcriber had in front of him/her the printed copy of "Pupillette" that was issued as a single. On measure 22, both the print and the manuscript include a version of the bass line (an arpeggio instead of a scale) that is not shared by any of other known printed or manuscript version of the song.

The single copy of the aria, then, rather than being an unusual and print-per-demand copy by a famous engraver such as Thomas Cross, was likely in greater circulation than we can expect by having only one surviving copy. It was sold and used for transcription and re-materialized as part of a collection of songs, later to be labeled as harpsichord music. The "social life" of this musical object, to quote a famous locution by Arjun Appadurai,[165] was inscribed in its forms of material appropriations and gained popularity by being always-already conceived to be

[164] GB-Lfom, n. 1297, ff. 56*v*-57*r*.

[165] Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

circulated as a 'single.' If the printer's workshop is an "inscription engine,"[166] then the practice of pastiche making is imbedded in a dynamic culture in which the actants at play are not only the composer and the librettist, but also the printer, the publisher, the assembler of the printed page, the readers of newspapers' advertisements, the listeners, and the copyists. This peculiar print culture was not confined to the sphere of the pasticcio, but rather to all the production and consumption of opera in eighteenth-century London. Yet, I argue that the pasticcio was the product of this culture and, in turn, it affected this culture by making *all* the operas circulating in England at that time a sort of pastiche, even those that were officially labeled as being composed by a single author.

1.3 Printing the Pasticci Manuscripts

The two afore-mentioned editions of *A pocket companion* were "the first trade publication of Italian music to reach across Britain and its distribution."[167] Not that Italian opera was not circulating in England before 1724. Mostly through the arrival in London of instrumentalists and composers, Italian music was not only performed in the opera houses, but also sold at the bookshops as part of the post-performances market of songs.[168] Yet, for songs to be prepared for the print,

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[166] Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 13, referring to the typical scientific laboratory of the early modern culture as envisioned by Bruno Latour in his *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987).

[167] Hunter, "Music," 757.

[168] On the early decades of the inception of Italian opera in London, see Curtis A. Price, "The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700–1710," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26 (1978): 38–76; Margaret R. Butler, "Italian Opera in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 203–71: 251–8; Reinhard Strohm, "Italian Operisti North of the Alps, c. 1700-c. 1750," in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 1–59.

manuscript copies of music from Italy had to be shipped, or at least arrive through the hands of the same Italian musicians who travelled from their home country with bags presumably full of music.[169] Italian music, that is, arrived in manuscript form (the only possible format through which Italian opera was circulating at the time), was copied to be printed, and then spun out either through the selling of printed items, or re-copied again from print to private manuscripts. This wide distribution and complex material transformation through which Italian music was subjected, I argue, influenced the way the pasticci were assembled in the first place, allowing producers (such as Handel) to pick from a variety of sources and reassemble them in the way that they were 'meant to' be copied. The unusual production and dissemination of printed songs from *Elpidia* makes a case for the peculiar system of consumption of Italian music embodied by the pasticcio as a genre.

We have seen how the role of print in the circulation of *Elpidia*'s music is fundamental to the understanding of the very notion of "pasticcio." We have so far assumed that what was printed and collected in the *Favourite songs* was automatically the result of the inscription of performances. But what happens when the printed songs appearing in these collections are not to be found anywhere in either the printed libretto or the manuscript used for the preparation of the performance? This is the case for two songs in *Elpidia* listed in the *The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick*, the publication with the "Additional Songs" included during the second batch of performances in November 1725 (see *supra* and Table 1.1). The first two songs of the collections ("Più non so dirti spera" and "Vaga risplende d'amor la stella"), for Cuzzoni and Senesino respectively, have no counterpart in the printed libretto nor in the manuscript held at the British

[169] See Rosamond McGuinness, "External and Internal Factors in the Circulation of Music in London around 1700," in *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600-1900: A Collection of Essays and Case Studies*, ed. Rudolf Rasch (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), 33–46.

Library used for the preparation of the various performances of *Elpidia*.[170] Strohm claims that these two arias were not replacements, but rather additions to please the two superstars. Yet, while Cuzzoni's aria has been identified as part of her rival's latest repertoire (Faustina Bordoni in Vinci's *Il trionfo di Camilla*, 1725), Senesino's one is yet to be attributed.[171] Strohm also suggests that the British Library score carries traces of where Cuzzoni's new aria was to be inserted, unlike Senesino's for which we have no clue of the position of the song. This is not entirely correct, as there is no clear evidence of where either of the arias was supposed to be added.[172] While every other additional aria has can be found on an inserted gathering in the British Library manuscript, these two songs appear out of the blue. Given that both are all related to new singers' substitutions, one possible explanation for the absence of additional songs in the manuscript is that new songs had been physically carried by the singers, while the replacements had to be managed by the producers of the show. This explanation, though, does not take into consideration that an adjustment was needed in the recitatives where a new song was added. This practice of fitting recitatives to new material was common and would be seen in all the pasticci where Handel was involved. Maybe the songs were meant to be inserted at the beginning of scenes, which could explain why both these songs have quite elaborated instrumental openings. Yet the problem remains as to how to connect any recitative that would follow.

Rather than making further hypotheses as to where these songs originated or were meant to be, their presence in the printed collection highlights the peculiar status of the pasticcio as a

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[170] GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606. See Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 136–9, and Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 167–9.

[171] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 169.

[172] Clausen, in his investigation of the conducting scores, carefully avoids any discussion of these two songs. There is a sign "#" on f. 85*v* that corresponds to the cut in the first scenes of act III, but it is not possible to say whether it was a sign to mark the cut or to indicate the place where Elpidia's new aria was to be inserted.

genre *in between* manuscript and printed forms. If songs had to be printed even without their inclusion in the production book (the conducting score used for the preparation of the performances), it follows that their material inclusion and preparation did not adhere to the standard conventions of "from manuscript to print" or "from page to stage."

On the opposite side, sometimes the printing of songs was only hinted at, as if traces of the printing process were stuck in the hands of the copyists as part of the process of fostering the distribution of songs. Once again, *Elpidia* provides a good case for the understanding of the peculiar "song culture" in which the pasticcio participated. One of the arias sung during the first performances, "Se non trovo il caro bene," was not printed in any of the collections, and was replaced by the aria "Amor deh lasciami" (the music being taken from Orlandini's 1718 *Lucio Papirio* "Sì sì lasciatemi"). According to Strohm, this change was part of the adjustment made to suit the new cast assembled for the reprise of *Elpidia* at the beginning of the 1725/6 season.[173] We do not really know the reasons behind changes in song selections: the most plausible explanation is that new singers preferred tunes that would fit their voices better. In the case of "Se non trovo il caro bene," the aria was selected for the tenor Francesco Borosini, a singer of exceptional quality (if we are to believe Quantz's words) for whom Handel conceived the very challenging roles of Grimoaldo in *Rodelinda* and Bajazet in *Tamerlano*.[174] His unusually extended vocal range allowed him to sing arias with acrobatic leaps and wide scales, a quality expected from an aria such as "Se non trovo il caro bene." The tenor who replaced him for the second batch of performances, Luigi Antinori, was evidently less than thrilled at the idea of singing such an aria, and possibly demanded a change with "Amor deh lasciami." Even though Strohm has identified almost all the

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[173] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 200; Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 138.

[174] Carlo Vitali and Winton Dean, "Borosini," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45135pg2> (accessed 21 Nov. 2016).

arias included in the pasticcio *Elpidia*, as far as their musical genealogy, "Se non trovo il caro bene" remains without author. The annotator of the *Elpidia* libretto preserved in the British Library (see *supra*) has matched the composer Francesco Peli to this specific song, but as of today this cannot be confirmed.

The reason this aria is particularly relevant for the study of song culture in England is that—even though it was not printed in any form—it found its way in a manuscript that is now preserved in the Bibliomediateca dell'Accademia nazionale di S. Cecilia in Rome.[175] The manuscript is part of a group of eight volumes in the so-called "Fondo Mario," a large collection that belonged to the 19th-century tenor Giovanni Matteo de Candia, also known as "Mario." These eight volumes gather Italian arias from the 1710s-1720s, and seem to be of English origins either because of markings in English, or because of associations with English performances of Italian operas.[176] Even though the musical material gathered in these manuscripts is quite homogeneous (Italian composers from the early eighteenth century), the physical appearance of the arias varies in handwriting style and provenance. Having observed these manuscripts *in situ*, I could discern not only the different gatherings and the several different hands, but also the various paper provenance through the inspection of watermarks.[177] The peculiar fleur-de-lys over a double-crossed shield unambiguously marks the English origins of some of the folios gatherings: according to the standardized codification of the Handel papers, this watermark combination belongs to the "B" family of English papers (possibly imported from France or Amsterdam), a

[175] I-Rama, A. Ms. 3704.

[176] I-Rama, A. Mss. 3702, 3704, 3705, 3708, 3709, 3721). See Bianca Maria Antolini and Annalisa Bini, "Johann Adolf Hasse nei manoscritti della biblioteca di S. Cecilia a Roma," *Analecta musicologica* 25 (1987): 495–511. See also, Annalisa Bini, *Il Fondo Mario nella Biblioteca musicale di Santa Cecilia di Roma: catalogo dei manoscritti* (Roma: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1995), 393–413.

[177] The catalogue Bini, *Il fondo Mario*, makes no mention of watermarks.

type of paper that was used in London mostly during the 1720s and 1730s.[178] Other paper used in these manuscripts seems of Italian origin instead, making the volumes a nice attempt at "booking" (in the sense of rendering *as* a book) the heterogeneous material circulating in London during the first decades of the eighteenth century, i.e. Italian songs in manuscripts produced either in Italy or England.

In four of these "English" manuscripts preserved in Rome (A. Mss. 3702, 3704, 3705, 3709) there is at least one song that was used in one of the nine pasticci produced by Handel and the Royal Academy. The paper used for most part in these manuscripts is of Venetian origins (three crescent moons),[179] but starting with the aria "Amar non mi sa l'empia," the paper used is clearly the English one belonging to the "B" family. As a matter of fact, the song has an annotation at the top: "Sung by Sig.re Angelo Zanoni | in Hydaspes | 171[5]." This indication resembles very closely the kind of titles to be found over printed songs in the typical London *Favourite Songs* collections. Yet, the problem is that this song was never printed as part of the many collections of *Songs in the Opera calld Hydaspes* that were printed after the success of Mancini's *L'Idaspe Fedele* performances in London in 1710.[180] The annotation does not make any specific reference to Mancini's name, but only to the title of the drama. We know that the singer Angelo Zanoni arrived in London in late 1714, and participated in many of the operas staged during the 1714/15 season, including the revivals of Handel's *Rinaldo* and Mancini's *L'Idaspe fedele*.[181] The

[178] See Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 249–68. Clausen's classification, together with the one used by Jens Peter Larsen, *Handel's Messiah; Origins, Composition, Sources.*, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), has been more recently investigated by Donald Burrows in his monumental study of Handel's autographs; see Donald Burrows, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), x–xxxviii, 329–32, and the section reproducing the watermarks B10–B160.

[179] See Burrows, *A Catalogue*, section "Moon".

[180] See Hunter, *Opera and Song Books*, 188–9.

[181] See HCD, I, 305, 313.

annotation, thus, registers the inclusion of this song during the 1715 performances of *Idaspe*,[182] as something added by Zanoni but of spurious musical attribution. As a matter of fact, the manuscript of this song highlights the double nature of these kinds of items: their individual presence was essential for "pasticcioing" the drama (including music not initially intended for it) at the same time that they "fix" it by inscribing the "sung" performance on it. In the case of "Amar non mi sa l'empia," the annotator is a different person from the one who copied the aria. It is thus likely that the copy was used for the 1715 performances of *Idaspe* and then gathered with other coeval material to form a musical book that recorded the circulation of songs in 1715 Italy and London.[183] Moreover, the gathering that includes this aria has the typical sign of being carried in the pocket of the singer during rehearsals, a perpendicular trace of folding in half which allowed the paper to fit in large holes in the costumes (see Fig. 1.12).

The ms. 3704 is important for the present discussion of Handel's pasticci because it also contains the *Elpidia* aria "Se non trovo il caro bene" (ff. 104*r*-107*r*). After *Idaspe*'s aria, the rest of the musical book contains several arias taken from operas given in Rome in 1732, plus an aria from Handel's *Tolomeo* ("Sig. Senesino M.r Hendell") and finally the *Elpidia* aria "Se non trovo il caro bene." The annotation at

Figure 1.12 - First page of the aria "Amar non mi sa l'empia" with traces of folding (I-Rama, A. Ms. 3704, f. 68*r*)

[182] Bini, *Il Fondo Mario*, 402, erroneously attributes the song to the 1710 performances.

[183] The first half of the ms. 3704 is entirely devoted to arias from Gasparini's *Il Tartaro nella Cina*, an opera performed in 1715 in Reggio Emilia, Italy, as noted on f. 1*r*: "Arie | Dell'Opera intitolata Il Tartaro nella Cina. | Musica del Sig.r Franc.o Gasparini | L'anno 1715 in Reggio."

the top of the first page (104*r*), in the same ink and hand as the text below the notes, makes clear its reference to the London pasticcio: "Aria in Elpidia Sgr Borosini" (see Fig. 1.13). Unlike the *Idaspe* aria, the reference makes no mention to the aria being "sung," but it only points in the direction of the performer's attribution. With the *Idaspe* aria, this song shares the absence of any previous (or subsequent) printed version. "Se non trovo il caro bene" was not part of any *Elpidia* publication (see Table 1.1 at the end of the chapter), thus whoever copied this music must have known that the tenor Borosini sang this aria for the first performances of *Elpidia*, and had access to a manuscript version of the aria. Even though "Se non trovo il caro bene" was never published, its music was included in the manuscript related to the performances of *Elpidia*.[184] When looking at the present state of the British Library manuscript, though, the aria appears crossed in pencil and folded in half. A new gathering containing the song "Amor deh lasciami" (ff. 22*r*-24*v*) was inserted in the middle of the original gathering, possibly in preparation for the revival of *Elpidia* and subsequent substitution of the song.

Figure 1.13 - First page of the *Elpidia* aria "Se non trovo il caro bene" (I-Rama, A. Ms. 3704, f. 104*r*)

How did this aria end up copied in a collection of Italian songs? Given that the person who wrote the annotation on the top of the page and the person who transcribed the text were the same, and that the paper used is of English origins, there are two possible scenarios for how this manuscript came into being: 1) the song was copied directly from the manuscript held at the British Library; 2)

[184] GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606, ff. 21*v*, 26*r*-28*v*. See Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 136–9.

this was the manuscript from which the circle of John Cristopher Smith prepared the *Elpidia* manuscript in the British Library. In any case, there is no other trace of this song anywhere else (see *Appendix*). A look at some of the details of the copying process in both the British Library manuscript and the collection reveals a close connection between the two of them. The British Library manuscript presents the typical handwriting of John Cristopher Smith, generally precise in both the music and the Italian text, with an unusual presence of clefs in both the continuo and the vocal line to facilitate the reading of an aria that presents a very large melodic range.[185] This happens, for example, at the end of the first enunciation of the aria motto, on the words "e vengo al piano." Both the British Library ms. (f. 26*r*, see Fig. 1.14) and the Rome ms. (f. 104*v*, see Fig. 1.15) use the identical layout, but the Rome ms. has the bass clef at the end pasted over the notes, so that it seems as if it was copied after the notes were already there, as part of a second step in the copying process. Moreover, other details reveal a striking similarity of writing style in places where usually a trained copyist would follow his/her own. Identical are the positioning of syllable-division marking, and the indication of unison for the second violins. On the next leaf, the copyist of the Rome ms. had to add two bars at the end of the first system, because of skipping two bars when the text repeated the same words and the notes were similar ("cercando io vado"), a trace of understandable misreading that reveals a physical proximity of the two mss. Interestingly, the next leaf on the Rome ms. presents a quite different handwriting for both the text and the music of the first system only (see Fig. 1.17). It shows a more skilled copyist, who does not have to follow the exact same layout as the British Library ms., with initiative taken when the use of clefs to mark transposition is rejected (see the same few bars in the BL ms., Fig. 1.16). This new handwriting in the Roman manuscript makes evident the collaborative process beyond the preparation of this

[185] Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 137 identifies the handwriting style with that of Smith senior.

copy, assessing the germination of it together with the British Library ms. while also complicating the simple notion of derivation of one from the other.

Figure 1.14 and 1.15 – Detail of the use of inserted bass clefs in the conducting score of *Elpidia* (GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606, f. 26*r*) and the manuscript collection in the "Fondo Mario" in Rome (I-Rama, A. Ms. 3704, f. 104*v*).

Figure 1.16 and 1.17 – Detail of the different use of transposing clefs in the conducting score of *Elpidia* (GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606, f. 27*r*) and the manuscript collection in the "Fondo Mario" in Rome (I-Rama, A. Ms. 3704, f. 105*v*).

It is well known to philologists and historians of music transmission that the method of transcribing is never a linear one, and that (especially with such complex repertoire to copy, i.e early opera) collaboration is expected for the sake of time and economy.[186] This, though, is usually

[186] See Jennifer Williams Brown, "Out of the Dark Ages: Editing Cavalli's Operas in the Post-Modern World," in *Francesco Cavalli: La Circolazione Dell'opera Veneziana Nel Seicento*, ed. by Dinko Fabris (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2006), 19–37.

seen in the production of codices, such as manuscripts that carry an entire opera (in this case, the *Elpida* manuscript in the British Library), while single copies of individual songs in miscellanies usually display a single handwriting (at least for each aria). Thus, I argue that the Roman ms. was prepared and produced at the same time and place as the British Library ms., in the context of the copyists' workshop of John Cristopher Smith for the sake of having the song circulated. Maybe, "Aria in Elpidia Sigr Borosini" was to be understood as the indication for a printer to create the usual labeling "Sung by Sig.r Borosini in Elpidia." As seen from another *Elpidia* song that was printed as a stand-alone item ("Pupillette vezzosette," see par. 1.2), the possibility of songs to be printed on-demand was unusual but not impossible.

This new example brings more substance to the notion that the pasticci were always built to be read, copied and listened more than once. In the case of "Se non trovo il caro bene," its exclusion from the revival of the opera (due to cast change) and re-inclusion in manuscript form attests to the peculiar practice of music circulation in times when textual reproduction and sonic reproduction were still tied to the physical realm of material displacement.[187] Only the advent of gramophones a century and a half later would alter this notion of acoustic reproduction.[188] In the early eighteenth century, songs were making their way from pockets to books, and viceversa, marking their presence with a form of shared agency between human mediators and the objects that allowed for such mediation to be constituted as such. Pasticci, that is, were "composed" in the copyist workshop more than in the minds of the producers of the Royal Academy. In other words, it seems that the split between the "social life of things" (the practices and values attached

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[187] It is possible to draw a parallel between the reappearance of unperformed arias in printed collections and the similar phenomenon of including the words of erased arias in later publications (such as the case with anthologies of prominent librettists such as Rolli, Zeno, Metastasio, etc.). This practice certainly requires further investigation which goes beyond the scope of the present discussion.

[188] See Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

to objects as they circulate, as described by Appadurai and Brown)[189] and the "socialization of texts" (the thickness gained by literary works as part of their authorship formation, as described by literary theorist Jerome McGann)[190] is a purely modern mindframe that the pre-Enlightenment era would not have understood. In the case of baroque opera, as in theater, the role of writing crosses the boundaries of the printing *vs.* manuscript dichotomy:

> Taking 'print' as synonymous with 'writing' or even 'language' is to ignore the densely mediated ways in which written language gains public status, the specificity of writing as a mode of production across history, and the different ways in which institutionalized form of language (print, among others) bear on other institutions, such as theatre.[191]

William Worthen is a modern scholar of Shakespeare who was worked on rethinking the relationship between writing, reading, and performing in the context of Elizabethan theatrical culture. Inspired by Joseph Grigely's study on the "textual event," Worthen argued that "a reading of the text is not the text itself, but a new production of the work."[192] Reading music allows for textual reproduction and stands not *in lieu of*, but rather *among* the "panoply of performances, of textualizations" that the score affords.[193] Reading, thus, is a form of agency on its own.[194]

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[189] See Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63. See also Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (Autumn 2001): 1–22.

[190] See Jerome J McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 69–87.

[191] William B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 19–20.

[192] William B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 21. The reference is to Joseph Grigely, *Textualterity: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

[193] William B. Worthen, "Disciplines of the Text/Sites of Performance," *TDR (1988-)* 39, no. 1 (1995), 13–28: 18.

[194] See William B. Worthen, *Drama: Between Poetry and Performance* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), xviii.

1.4 A Case Study: *Ormisda*'s Material Texts

Most of the observations on the materiality of the pasticci elaborated so far can also be made for the second pasticcio produced by Handel, the first of the new Royal Academy of Music. Handel founded the second Academy together with Johann Jacob Heidegger in 1729 after the failure of the first one and after a travel to Italy to recruit new singers.[195] According to Strohm, the pasticcio *Orsmida* was partially assembled as a collection of Italian music that Handel and Heidegger either listened to or physically gathered during their travels, and much of the music collected during these trips was later to be used in several of the other pasticci.[196]

First performed at the King's Theatre on 4 April 1730, *Ormisda* was an adaptation of a libretto by Apostolo Zeno that was first set to music in Vienna, in 1721, by Antonio Caldara, and a year later by Giuseppe Maria Orlandini for a reprise in Bologna. This version was later reprised in Turin as *Artenice* (1723, with the addition of music by Giovanni Antonio Giai), while a supposedly "pasticcio" edition with music by Capelli, Gasparini, etc. was performed in Genoa in 1723.[197] Certainly, Handel and Heidegger were provided with the subject and some arias already in late 1725 by their agent Owen Swiney, who in March 1726 complained to the Duke of Richmond:

> Im'e very Sorry to find that the Academy is likely to receive any dammage from the opera Ormisda's not arriving in London in due Time: The badnesse of the roads having occasioned its delay, above 35 days, more than the usual time, between Venice and Amsterdam […]

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[195] See Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726-1741* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006), 125–36. See also Robert D. Hume, "Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s," *Music & Letters* 67, no. 4 (1986): 347–62. On Handel's and Heidegger's travels to Italy, see Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 170–2.

[196] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 172–3.

[197] I have not been able to identify any reliable source that claims this to be a pasticcio version. Reinhard Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento : (1720-1730)*, 2 vols., Analecta Musicologica 16 (Köln: Volk, 1976), 156 names it under the rubric "Mitwirkung fraglich" [doubtful collaboration] and as a "pasticcio," but without mentioning the reason for such labeling.

> The music is excellent: the Book [the libretto] a very good one: and Senesino's and the Cuzzoni's parts are very considerable ones.[198]

This Academy initially decided not to use the music sent by Swiney at the time of its arrival in 1725. Instead, it was put on hold until 1730 (with the second Royal Academy of Music) when the pressure of putting on two new operas every year demanded a faster achievement, a pasticcio. *Ormisda* was paired with the new *Partenope.* John Roberts believes that Swiney's score was already a sort of pasticcio, "perhaps based on Orlandini's setting," but that most of this music must have been changed given that much of *Ormisda* can be dated from 1726 and later.[199] Roberts also questions the possibility of Handel being involved in the production, given that there is no trace of Handel's intervention in the conducting and harpsichord scores (held respectively at the British Library and at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky), nor that the style of the newly composed recitatives matches Handel's.[200] Whether Handel was directly involved or not, *Ormisda* was a prominent show for the new Royal Academy, being even more successful than *Elpidia* with a total of 18 performances between the first run (4 April-14 May 1730) and the reprise at the beginning of the next season (24 November-8 December 1730).[201]

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[198] Owen Swiney to the Duke of Richmond, Venice, 11 (22) March 1726 (HCD, II, 36–7).

[199] John Roberts, "Ormisda," in Annette Landgraf and David Vickers, eds., *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 469–71: 470.

[200] *Id.* Roberts is critiquing Strohm for believing that Handel composed the recitatives for *Ormisda*, but in "Handel's Pasticci," 172, there is no such thing mentioned; rather, Strohm claims that "Handel probably used the recitatives from Orlandini's setting." The problem arises with Clausen's study of the conducting and harpsichord scores. Here, the German scholar mentions the possibility that some (without specifying which) of the recitatives mark Handel's handwriting, reporting a few pencil sketches lately inked over by a copyist (Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 184). My own investigation into these primary sources have left me with the sense that there is no apparent trace of Handel's handwriting in neither the conducting score (GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31551) nor the harpsichord score (D-Hs, MA/1036).

[201] HCD, II, 353.

The new pasticcio was widely publicized in local journals, and the presence of the royal family at most of the performances was constantly noticed.[202] On April 20, *The Daily Journal*'s usual advertisement for the performance of *Ormisda* on the next day featured an additional line: "Ormisda | *Having Twelve Songs chang'd*".[203] This was the sixth performance since the initial run of the show. Changing songs in the middle of a set of performances was not unusual, and was part of the typical operatic instability that informed much of baroque spectacles. What was unusual was the publicity of the change in the newspapers, as if the actual replacement of songs was of public interest. This speaks even more to the impact that *Ormisda* must have had on the London public sphere, and the role it had in the development of the "song culture" of the 1720s-30s. It seems as if *Ormisda* was presented as being a recipient for songs that were meant to be replaced.

Only two years before, in January 1728, John Gay's *Beggars' Opera* inaugurated a tradition of ballad operas that was—among other things—one of the outgrowths of the peculiar song and print culture of early eighteenth-century London.[204] In a way, it can be said that the new insistence on pasticci on behalf of the new Royal Academy of Music was a response to the massive popularity of the ballad opera, and to the consequent spinning of song circulation through songbooks and playtexts with music. As noted by Mary Pendarves (later Mary Delany, one of Handel's friends and a strong supporter of Italian opera),[205] after she attended a rehearsal of *Ormisda*:

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[202] See the various reports on HCD, II, 354–8.

[203] *The Daily Journal*, 20 April 1730, p. 2 (HCD, II, 355).

[204] The bibliography on ballad opera is vast and heterogeneous. For the specific relationship between ballad operas and Handel's music, see Berta Joncus, "Handel at Drury Lane: Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 179–226.

[205] See Ellen T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 181–2.

> Operas are dying, to my great mortification. Yesterday I was at the Rehearsal of a new one, it is compos'd of Several Songs out of Italien [sic] Operas, but it is very heavy to Mr. Hendells.[206]

By comparing *Ormisda* to a usual "Mr. Hendell[']s" opera, Pendarves is opposing *Ormisda* to the popular success of the ballads operas. A few months before, she confessed to Anne Granville her distaste for the phenomenon of ballad operas:

> The Opera is too good for the Vile tast[e] of The Town […] the present Opera is dislik'd because it is too much Studied and they love nothing but Minuetts and Ballads, in short the *Beggars Opera* and *Hurlothrumbo* are only worthy of applause.[207]

Mary Pendarves's acknowledgement that *Ormisda* was "compos'd of Several Songs *out of* Italien [sic] Operas" reflects the wider concern over the status of opera in relation to its materiality, that of the composition as assemblage of songs taken "out of" something else. *Ormisda* was a "new one," but it was already assembled to be dismantled.[208] Hence, the advertisement on the *Daily Journal* highlighting the change of songs.

The April 21st performance of *Ormisda*, the one featuring "twelve songs chang'd," has been traditionally identified as a "benefit" performance for the primadonna Anna Maria Strada del Po.[209] Recently, this identification has been put into question, given that the only source claiming this performance as a benefit was a handwritten note found in the copy of the *Ormisda* libretto at the British Library (on which see *infra*).[210] The manuscript annotation reports: "This

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[206] Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, 4 April 1730 (HCD, II, 352–3).

[207] Mary Pendarves, London, to Anne Granville, 20 December 1729 (HCD, II, 333).

[208] As a curiosity, a manuscript volume of Handel's arias held at the Gerald Coke Collection (GB-Lfom, n. 317) reports the following title: "Songs out Several Operas." The manuscript includes a song from *Ormisda*, "Se mi toglie il tuo furore" (ff. 20*v*-21*r*).

[209] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 173; Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos," 147; Roberts, "Ormisda," 470.

[210] GB-Lbl, 11714.aa.20/1. See HCD, II, 391.

was first performed for the Benefit of the Prima Donna Sig.a Anna Strada del Pò." Yet, there is no actual mention of the April 21st performance.

It seems important to notice how, once again, a surviving copy of a pasticcio libretto carries traces of active readers, just as was the case with *Muzio Scevola* and *Elpidia* (see *supra*). The song changes and their redistribution after the revival for the 1730/31 season have been disentangled by Colin Timms, not without some misattributions (described in the *Ormisda* table in the *Appendix A*).[211] What matters to the purpose of the present discussion is the role of the material inscription of song transformation between the printed realm of libretti and song collections, and the manuscript realm of the conducting/harpsichord scores and private collections.

First, *Ormisda*'s libretto. More precisely, the libretti, since the presence of at least three different versions has created issues in terms of *Ormisda*'s textual status. Colin Timms's article on the two copies of the *Ormisda* libretti at the Library of Birmingham,[212] while carefully attempting reconstruction of the three different textual versions of the play based on two different sets of additional pages to be found in each copy, sometimes stumbles over the difference between "copy" and "version," obscuring the very possibility of bibliographical stratification over time. Given that all the *Ormisda* copies of the libretto have an identical layout and content, it cannot be ruled out that only the "Additional pages" might have been printed after the first batch of performances, and later bound with the libretti by their collectors. To be more precise:

1) the Birmingham copy B/44 that Timms identifies with the "original" version is simply a copy with no additional pages whatsoever, which does not mean it could not have included additional pages at some point in its textual life;[213]

[211] Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos," 147–9.

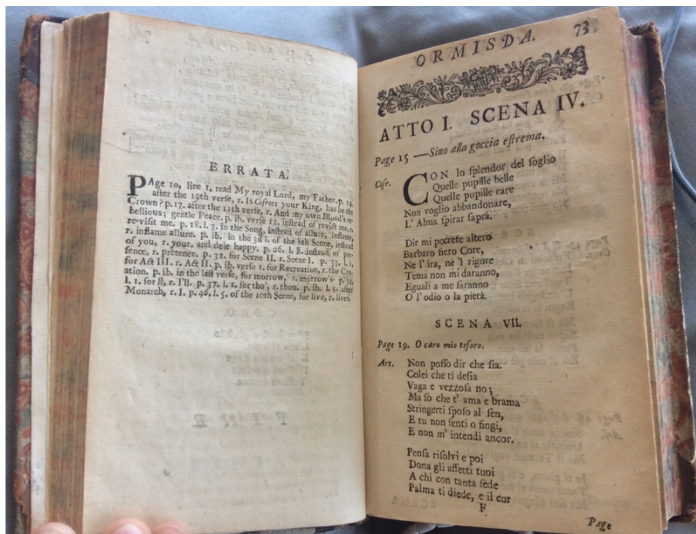
[212] GB-Bp, A782.12, Plays B/44 and Plays B/40.

[213] Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos," 148.

2) the British Library copy that has six unnumbered pages of “Additional Songs to the Opera of *Ormisda*, both in Italian and English” is an identical copy to the Birmingham B/44, with 12 additional songs over eight pages bound with it;

3) the Birmingham copy B/40 has the same identical layout of other two, but it has 4 pages at the end, numbered 73–76, containing different replacement songs (see Fig. 1.18).
In sum, all three copies seem to be the same version of the libretto, with additional pages that may refer to different versions of the play, but of which the actual textual reconstruction seems a misinterpretation of the relationship between the bibliographical status of the sources, their “social life” as objects, and their performance textualization.

If these copies acted and participated in the material life of the pasticci (and more generally in London’s reading culture), the most important feature to focus on is the recurrence of handwriting annotations over them. The British Library copy, as a matter of fact, is extensively annotated by an anonymous “English eighteenth-century hand” who carefully marked not only the name of each singer next to the arias, but also referenced the presence of songs “in the score.”[214] The score referred to is the conducting score in the British Library, a manuscript copy originating in the copyist workshop of John Christopher Smith which bears traces of several adjustments, refoliation, addition of



ERRATA.

PAge 10, line 1. read My royal Lord, my Father. p. 14. after the 19th verſe, r. Is *Coſrees* your King, has be the Crown? p. 17. after the 11th verſe, r. And my own Blood's re-bellious; gentle Peace. p. ib. verſe 12. inſtead of reviſt me, r. re-viſit me. p. 18. l. 3. in the Song, inſtead of allure, inflame, r. inflame allure. p. ib. in the 3d l. of the 8th Scene, inſtead of you, r. your, and dele happy. p. 26. l. 8. inſtead of pre-fence, r. pretence. p. 32. for Scene II. r. Scene I. p. 33. l. 1. for Act III. r. Act II. p. ib. verſe 1. for Recreation, r. the Cre-ation. p. ib. in the laſt verſe, for morrow, r. morrow's. p. 34. l. 1. for Ill, r. I'll. p. 37. l. 1. for tho', r. thou. p. ib. l. 5. after Monarch, r. I. p. 46. l. 5. of the 10th Scene, for live, r. lives.

ORMISDA. 73

ATTO I. SCENA IV.

Page 15 —*Sino alla goccia eſtrema.*

Coſr. CON lo ſplendor del ſoglio
Quelle pupille belle
Quelle pupille care
Non voglio abbandonare,
L' Alma ſpirar ſaprà.

Dir mi potrete altero
Barbaro fiero Core,
Ne l' ira, nè 'l rigore
Tema non mi daranno,
Eguali a me ſaranno
O l' odio o la pietà.

SCENA VII.

Page 19. *O caro mio teſoro.*

Art. Non poſſo dir che ſia.
Colei che ti deſia
Vaga e vezzoſa no;
Ma ſo che t' ama e brama
Stringerti ſpoſo al ſen,
E tu non ſenti o fingi,
E non m' intendi ancor.

Penſa riſolvi e poi
Dona gli affetti tuoi
A chi con tanta fede
Palma ti diede, e il cor
F
Page

Figure 1.18 - First page of the replacement songs in the Birmingham copy of the *Ormisda* libretto (GB-Bp, B/40, p. 73)

[214] Strohm, “Handel’s Pasticci,” 284 n29.

gatherings, and *lacunae*.[215] The reader of the British Library libretto of *Ormisda* was checking directly with the conducting score the presence of songs. As seen in the first section of the present chapter, readers of the pasticcio libretti have always seemed to be particularly attracted by the identification of songs, their material inscription in printed or manuscript form, and by the very act of re-reading the text by going back and forth between the available scores and the libretto. This form of visual indexing is even more explicit in this copy of the libretto, since the annotator has sequentially numbered each song, including the additional ones.

But who, in the eighteenth century, could have had access to the conducting score of *Ormisda*? The performing scores were in Handel's possession throughout his lifetime, only to be passed over to Smith junior after his death. This collection was then kept between the Smith family up until the 1850s, when it was sold by auction and ended up in building two important collections at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky and at the British Library, the latter being the so-called "Marshall collection" offered to the Royal Music Library and hosted in the British Museum and the British Library (and which includes the score of *Ormisda*).[216] This means that our eighteenth-century reader must have consulted the conducting score directly from the Smith circle. On p. 4 of the annotated copy, a long comment makes explicit reference to the various versions of the opera (see Fig. 1.19):

> This was first performed for the Benefit of the Prima Donna, Sig.a Anna Strada del Pò. There is neither the writer's, nor the Composer's name mentioned. It was frequently played. It came out April 4th, and on April 21at there was a change of 12 songs. The performance was under the direction of

[215] GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31551. The manuscript has been codicologically described by Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 184–7.

[216] Hans Dieter Clausen, "The Hamburg Collection," in Terence Best, ed., *Handel Collections and Their History* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1993), 10–23: 22. See also Arthur Searle, "Julian Marshall and the British Museum: Music Collecting in the Later Nineteenth Century," *The British Library Journal* 11, no. 1 (1985): 67–87. See also Richard G. King, "New Light on Handel's Musical Library," *The Musical Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1997): 109–38.

> Handel. The Drama of Ormisda, says Burney, was written by Apostolo Zeno, and originally composed for Vienna by Caldara in 1722.[217]

The mention of Charles Burney's *General History of Music*—where *Ormisda* is cited by the English music historiographer in connection to the rest of the season—dates this annotation no earlier than 1789, the year of the first edition of Burney's four volumes.[218] It is actually even more likely that, given the physical proximity of the annotated printed libretto and the conducting score in the British Library for comparison purposes, this annotation could only have been written while the items were already physically in the same place. Thus, it seems very unlikely that this hand could be of actual eighteenth-century origins. Rather, it seems as if our pasticcio reader was a nineteenth-century collector who was prompted to make sense of such an opera due to its intrinsic indexical nature. The same exact handwriting can be found on a Handel autograph (RM. 20.g.4), in which—on a page that clearly was written by Smith—there is a remark: "*This is all Mr Smith's writing, except | the name of Bayly." (see Fig. 1.20). This handwriting has been attributed to Michael Rophino Lacy (1795–1867), an English violinist and composer who helped the Handel historian Victor Schoelcher researching and identifying Handel's manuscripts during the 1850s.[219] More confirmation of Lacy's handwriting comes from confronting some of the manuscripts of Handel's music that Lacy has transcribed, such as the Add. Ms. 31555 held at the British Library (see Fig. 1.21).

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[217] *Ormisda, an Opera. As it is performed at the King's Theatre, in the Hay-Market* (London: A. Campbell, 1730), [4]. GB-Lbl, 11714.aa.20/1.

[218] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 volls. (London: printed for the author, 1782–9), IV, 348–9.

[219] See Burrows, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs*, 177. For a biography of Lacy, see Richard G. King "Lacy, Michael Rophino." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed December 2, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15794.

This was first performed for the
Benefit of the Prima Donna,
Sig.a Anna Strada del Po.
There is neither the writer's, nor
the Composer's name mentioned.
It was frequently played.
It came out April 4th, and on
April 21st there was a change of
12 Songs.
The performance was under the
direction of Handel.
The Drama of Ormisda, says Burney,
was written by Apostolo Zeno, and
originally composed for Vienna by
Caldara in 1722.

Figure 1.19 – Handwritten annotation on the BL copy of the *Ormisda* libretto (GB-Lbl, 11714.aa.20/1, p. 4).

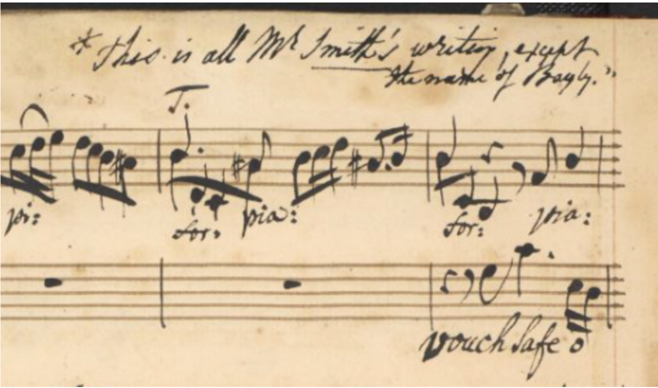

Figure 1.20 – Handwritten annotation on the partially autograph copy of Handel's *Te Deum* (GB-Lbl, RM 20.g.4, f. 56*v*).

Figure 1.21 – Aria transcribed by Rophino Lacy in a manuscript of Italian songs (GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31555, f. 2*r*).

Finally, we can identify our pasticcio reader. A mid-19th-century musician with a passion for cataloguing, Lacy was also actively involved in the performance of Handel's music, whether organizing a series of "Handelian Operatic Concerts" in London in 1847, or by re-using Handel music in his own operas (such as *The Israelites in Egypt*, 1833, with music by both Handel and Rossini).[220] On top of that, he helped the Handel scholar Victor Schoelcher in his research for his book *The Life of Handel* (1857), an enterprise during which Lacy had to read and confront hundreds of libretti and scores, including those of the pasticci.[221]

Lacy was reading, confronting, attributing, indexing, and finally re-appropriating music more than a century after the performances of the pasticci. We do not know if any of the music from the pasticci was performed during the nineteenth century, but it was certainly read and—in a way—listened to, at least in Lacy's head. The social life of an object such as the British Library copy of the *Ormisda* libretto reveals the peculiar affordance of the pasticcio as a genre, its indexicality and its reading demands.

In sum, Lacy is not to be considered a reliable first-hand source for attribution. Yet, Clausen, Strohm, Timms, have all used his annotations to reconstruct the hypothetical three versions of the *Ormisda* text that should correspond to the premiere, the April 21 new version, and the next season reprise. It is time to propose a new model. The "Additional Songs" printed at the end of the copy in the British Library, without any page number, seem more likely to have been printed in a rush during the April 1730 performances, and they actually contain twelve songs as the advertisement make clear. The four, numbered pages of substituted arias found in the Birmingham libretto (B/40) might have been printed for a new issue of the libretto for the

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[220] King "Lacy," *ibid.*

[221] Victor Schoelcher, *The Life of Handel* (London: Trübner, 1857), xxii, acknowledged that "he [Lacy] was who made those musical examinations of the manuscripts at Buckingham Palace, and of the scores which Handel himself used when he conducted his own works." See also Richard G. King, "The Fonds Schoelcher: History and Contents," *Notes* 53, no. 3 (March 1997), 697-721.

following season. Timms's main point about identifying the "Additional Songs" with the November 1730 performances is that three arias were from Orlandini's *Adelaide*, an opera in which Senesino was originally cast.[222] But the score of *Adelaide* could have been available to Handel, Heidegger, and Smith even without the help of Senesino. Instead, one of the arias included in the Birmingham substitution pages, "Parto, non ho costanza," was an aria from Capelli's *Venceslao* (Parma, 1724). This aria was mentioned by Owen Swiney in the same 11 March 1726 letter to the Duke of Richmond quoted before:

> Nothing is lost by bringing on *Venceslao* first: the Faustina has her part and will be ready to go on the stage, as soon as her cloaths can be made: Senesino has two of the finest Songs I ever heard: viz. Parto non ho costanza &c of Capelli — & Date parto &c. of Orlandini.[223]

This letter makes clear how Swiney was already assembling music while in Venice, putting together the best songs he could find in Italy, and then sending them as a musical proposal to the academy. Roberts believes that this is how the first three pasticci (*Elpidia*, *Ormisda*, *Venceslao*) were devised, possibly with little to no intervention by Handel.[224] In any case, it seems clear that *Ormisda* featured a song that was initially conceived for *Venceslao*, "Parto non ho costanza," to be sung by Senesino (as prescribed by Swiney) but not originally sung by him. Capelli's *Venceslao*, in fact, was never performed by Senesino. When Swiney referred to the song as being "heard," he was probably referring to the act of hearing while copying the song for the Academy with the voice of Senesino in his mind. The pasticcio was first and foremost an aural imagination created through copying and transcribing.

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[222] Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos," 147.

[223] Owen Swiney to the Duke of Richmond, Venice, 11 (22) March 1726 (HCD, II, 37). This letter implies that Orlandini was responsible for composing a *Venceslao*, too, but there is no trace of any *Venceslao* with his name in repertoires or contemporary commentaries.

[224] John Roberts, "Venceslao," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, ed. Annette Landgraf and David Vickers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 656.

One of the questions that has arisen from the present discussion is the relationship between the musical performance and its material reconfigurations. Musicologists have too often applied the same language, philological methods, and degree of reliability to both printed items and manuscript sources. The role of these sources in the production and reception of the baroque repertoire stems from different apparatuses of technological knowledge; they involved different people, skills, and labor practices; and their agency in building the text's affordance was different. In sum, a printed libretto and a manuscript score contribute to our understanding of the "opera text" and the "performance text" in different ways, and they should be treated as such,[225] keeping in mind that "dramatic writing and stage performance are modeled by the relationship between tools and technologies […] suggesting a mobile, reciprocal relationship between the work writing might perform as *symbolic action* and the scene of its affordance, as *equipment for living* in the changing technology of the stage."[226]

Ormisda reveals the problematic relationship between opera text and performance text when one attempts to reconstruct its different versions with the aid of different sources. To complicate the picture, *Ormisda* (just like *Elpidia*, see *supra*) had a single aria that was printed separately from the usual *Favourite collection of songs*. Many copies of a selection of eleven songs included in the printed libretto and the conducting score (*The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Ormisda,* printed by Walsh and Hare) have survived.[227] What has gone unnoticed by Handel

[225] The terms refer to David Levin's differentiation between "opera's agitated and and multiple signifying systems—for instance, the score, the libretto, stage directions—prior to performance" (the "opera text") and "opera in performance [… as it] takes up a position relative to the opera text." See David Levin, *Unsettling Opera: Staging Mozart, Verdi, Wagner, and Zemlinsky* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 11.

[226] Worthen, *Drama: Between Poetry and Performance*, 21, 23.

[227] *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Ormisda* (London: Printed for and Sold by I. Walsh servant to his Majesty an ye Harp and Hoboy in Catharine Street in the Strand. and Ioseph Hare at the Viol & Flute in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange, [1730]). Copies consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections I.49.(2); GB-Lfom, nn. 1085, 1087, 1088.

scholars (but reported by Smith in his catalogue of Walsh's editions)[228] is the presence of "An Additional Song. Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Ormisda" bound with the rest of the song collection in a single copy preserved at the National Library of Scotland (see Fig. 1.22).[229] The aria is "È quella la bella" from act II, a song that was inserted at a later time in the score and that is part of the "Additional songs" listed in the copy of the libretto at the British Library. If my previous hypothesis of the three different versions is correct, it means that this aria should be one of those included during the April 21st 1730 version with twelve songs changed. The title of this print, though, makes clear that the song was interpreted by Senesino, and not Bernacchi (the singer of the April 21st performance). Yet, given that this aria is the only one among the four for the character of Cosroe that does not feature a substitution in the Birmingham libretto (referring to the November 1730 performances with Senesino), it could still be that although the aria was first introduced and sung by Bernacchi, and only later interpreted by Senesino, the song print of "È quella la bella" refers to Senesino's performance.

In other words, we can consider this single print as a sort of "song request" to inscribe the memory of Senesino's performances of such aria, even though it was initially inserted in the production prior to his arrival. Walsh must have worked *in tandem* with John Christopher Smith to obtain the permission and the manuscript from which to copy and prepare the print of the aria "È quella la bella." "Sung by," in this case, is not only a way to refer to a recent performance of a singer—somehow inscribing his voice over the printed page—but also a way to point in the direction of previous performances (that of *Adelaide*, in which this song was sung by Senesino). Once again, the pasticcio calls for self-referentiality over the practice of musical borrowing in its

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[228] William Charles Smith, *Handel: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions*, 2d ed. with suppl. (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1970), 42.

[229] GB-En, BH.72.

material transformations. The pasticcio, as a matter of fact, "is always inescapably historical in two senses: it always references something before it and it always signals the fact."[230]

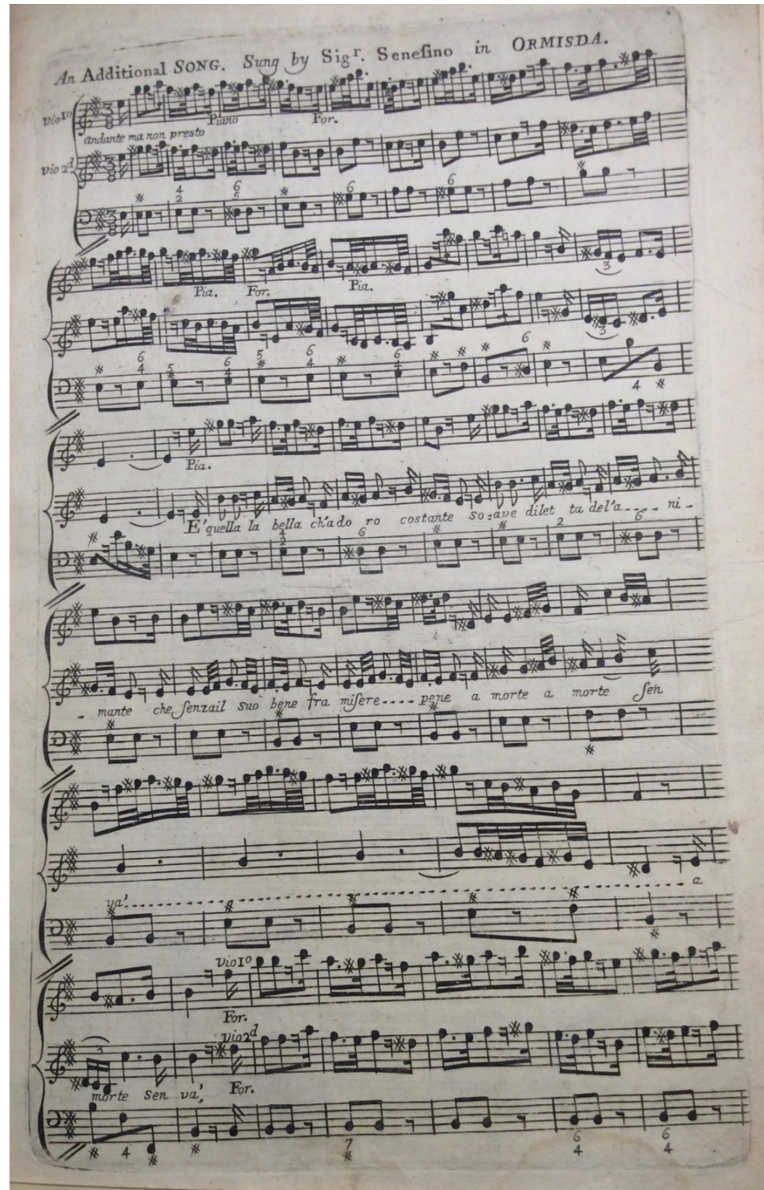

Figure 1.22 – Printed song "È questa la bella" (GB-En, BH.72)

230 Richard Dyer, *Pastiche* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

In this sense, *Ormisda* faces "interhteatricality" as its own mode of being.[231] Not only does it reference previous Italian performances of Orlandini's *Adelaide*, but also recent performances of Handel's own *Lotario* (premiere 2 December 1729). The libretto of this play, in fact, was based Antonio Salvi's *Adelaide* (1722), which was also the one set to music by Orlandini.[232] The arias taken from *Adelaide*, though, had their text changed, possibly to avoid a direct connection between the two operas. But the assemblage of such similar productions constitutes a true case of intertheatricality that was exploited through its material interlacing. Even more explicitly—and something that has not been noticed by Handel scholars—the *Ormisda* aria "Sì sì lasciatemi" contains the same music as the aria "Amor deh lasciami" in *Elpidia* (see *supra* and *Appendix A*). In this case, the memory of the not-so-distant performances of *Elpidia* (five years before) was revived using the same music that people could still have in their houses in printed form, as "Amor deh lasciami" was printed in *The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick* that included additional songs for *Elpidia*. Reading scores entailed a play of listening reminders (see more on the aspect of listening to the pasticci on ch. 3).

The interdependence between recent and contemporary productions was reflected in the way *Ormisda*'s music circulated either in printed or manuscript form. Often, songs from *Ormisda* would be physically bound or at least associated with other Handel's operas. *Partenope*, the opera

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[231] "Interhteatrical" is a term coined by William West to refer to the "shared memories of actions that can be called up to thicken present performances." Moreover, "[t]he intertheatrical is thus simultaneously familiar—we see in it this is what we do, of this is what was done—and estranging—by pointedly replaying the familiar it calls attention to its preterativity. By evoking another performance, intertheatrical moments in early modern plays call on their audiences to witness for them, making the audiences, as it were, responsible for elaborations or explanations that the plays omit. […] Recreating these intertheatrical networks requires following performances step by step rather than mapping them from an abstracting distance, and thus something more like a physics of memory than a metaphysics—an attention to what gets passed on, how it is remembered, what work it does, and what work is done on it." (William N. West, "Intertheatricality," in Henry S. Turner, ed., *Early Modern Theatricality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 151–72: 155–161.

[232] See Dean, *Handel's Operas 1726-1741*, 140.

with which *Ormisda* shared the cast for the 1730 season, was an obvious candidate. If the printing of songs was a matter of inscribing the singer's voices, then putting together *Partenope* and *Ormisda* was a way of remembering the sound of an entire cast. It is to be noticed that songs taken from the pasticcio would always come after, as if the pasticcio was a sort of operatic aftermath of a proper opera: the pasticcio was illuminated by and illuminated previous performances.

A few examples will clarify. The desire for collecting and indexing Handel's music led an anonymous copyist to assemble two manuscript volumes of the almost-complete arias taken from six operas by Handel (*Radamisto, Flavio, Sosarme, Teseo, Poro,* and *Partenope*).[233] These two volumes, today held at the Gerald Coke collection in London, are extraordinary in both visual and formal matters. The transcriber has managed to fit six operas into 286 pages, sometimes adding in red ink English lyrics (the kind one could find in ballad operas).[234]

Each volume has a careful and vertiginous index on the front end-paper, with the name of the singers listed for each song. The volume referring to *Partenope* has a small section dedicated to the "Additional Songs" (see Fig. 1.23). These additional songs, though, are not all from *Partenope*, but rather they are taken from *Ormisda*. It's a small selection of four arias ("Pupillette vezzosette," "Infelice abbandonata," "Timido pellegrin," and "Se mi toglie il tuo furore") that were already circulating in printed form as part of the *Favourite songs* collection. *Ormisda* is here

[233] GB-Lfom, n. 338.

[234] This copyist "is something of a rogue elephant. He wrote at least four volumes [two are at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek], each containing three operas, in a hand so minute as almost to defy reading with the naked eye. Although his copies omit recitatives and are not always complete in other respects, the amount of music he compressed into a slender volume is astonishing. He was English, unconnected with the Smith circle, and cannot have worked before the 1730s (his latest known copy is of *Ariodante*), but evidently had access to good early texts and on occasion appended additional arias not in HG. He was scrupulous in supplying bass figures but not tempo marks, and had some strange habits. He gave all common-time pieces an alla breve signature, sometimes filled out Handel's scoring, and intermittently added in red ink an English version—not a translation—of a pastoral imbecility grotesquely at variance with the music" (Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726*, 257). See also Donald Burrows, Milton Keynes, "A German in London: the trail of a 'European' music copyist," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 58 (2012), 130–49.

clearly appended as subsidiary, as an appendix to *Partenope*. The songs, copied with a minuscular handwriting, are amassed over each other, carefully including every single detail of the print from which they were copied. Their purpose was not to be copied for future performances, but exclusively for collecting what was perceived as Handel's output (*Ormisda* included; on the question of Handel's authorship in relation to the pasticcio, see ch. 2). Once again, the pasticcio participated in the indexing the sounds of the New Royal Academy of Music.

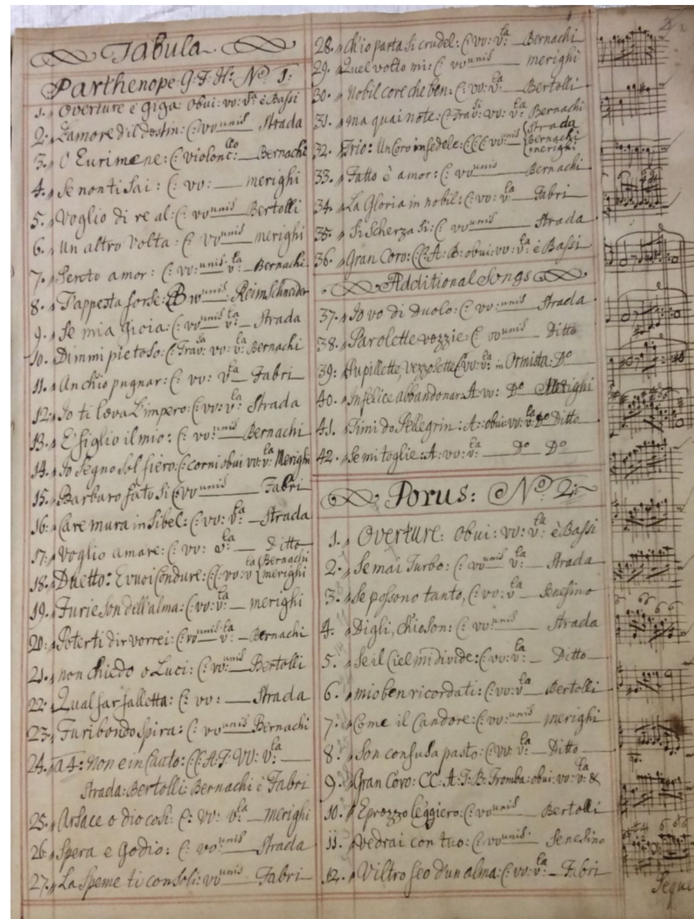
Tabula
Parthenope G. F. H. No. 1.
1. Overture e giga: obui: vv: v.ta e Bassi
2. L'amore di Rossin: vv unis — Strada
3. O Eurimene: violonc.llo — Bernachi
4. Se non ti sai: vv: — merighi
5. Voglio di re al: vv unis — Bertolli
6. Un altro volta: vv unis — merighi
7. Sento amor: vv: unis v.la — Bernachi
8. Tappesta forde: B vv unis — Reimschneider
9. Se mia gioia: vv unis v.la — Strada
10. Dimmi pietoso: Grav: vv: v.la Bernachi
11. Anch'io pugnar: vv: v.ta — Fabri
12. Io ti lovo l'impero: vv: v.la Strada
13. E' figlio il mio: vv unis — Bernachi
14. Io segno sol fiero: corni obui vv: v.la Merighi
15. Barbaro fato si: vv unis — Fabri
16. Care mura in sibel: vv: v.la — Strada
17. Voglio amare: vv: v.la — Ditto
18. Duetto: E vuoi fondure: vv: v.la Bernachi merighi
19. Furie son dell'alma: vv: v.la — merighi
20. Poterti dir vorrei: vv unis v.la — Bernachi
21. non chiedo o Luci: vv unis — Bertolli
22. Qual farfalletta: vv: — Strada
23. Furibondo spira: vv unis Bernachi
24. a 4: Non e in caato: C. A. T. VV: v.la — Strada: Bertolli: Bernachi e Fabri
25. Arsace o dio cosi: vv: v.la — merighi
26. Spera e godio: vv unis — Strada
27. La speme ti consoli: vv unis — Fabri
28. Ch'io parta si crudel: vv: v.la — Bernachi
29. Quel volto mi: vv unis — merighi
30. Nobil core che ben: vv: v.la — Bertolli
31. ma quai note: Grav: vv: v.la Bernachi
32. Trio: Un coro infedele: vv unis — Strada Bernachi merighi
33. Fatto è amor: vv unis — Bernachi
34. La gloria in nobil: vv: v.la — Fabri
35. Si scherza si: vv unis — Strada
36. Gran Coro: C. A. B: obui: vv: v.la e Bassi
Additional Songs
37. Io vo di duolo: vv unis — Strada
38. Parolette vezzie: vv unis — Ditto
39. Pupillette, vezzosette: vv: v.la in Ormista: D.o
40. Infelice abbandonar: A: vv: D.o Arrighi
41. Timido pellegrin: A: obui: vv: v.la D.o Ditto
42. Se mi toglie: A: vv: v.la — D.o D.o
Porus: No. 2.
1. Overture: obui: vv: v.ta e Bassi
2. Se mai turbo: vv unis v.la — Strada
3. Se possono tanto: vv: v.la — Senesino
4. Digli, ch'io son: vv unis — Strada
5. Se il ciel mi divide: vv: v.la — Ditto
6. mio ben ricordati: vv: v.la — Bertolli
7. Come il candore: vv unis — merighi
8. Son confusa pasto: vv: v.la — Ditto
9. Gran Coro: C. C. A. T. B. Tromba: obui: vv: v.la &
10. E prezzo leggiero: vv unis — Bertolli
11. Vedrai con tuo: vv unis — Senesino
12. Vil trofeo d'un alma: vv: v.la — Fabri
Segue

Figure 1.23 – Index at the beginning of a manuscript miscellany containing songs from *Partenope, Poro*, and *Ormisda* (GB-Lfom, n. 338, II, f. 2*r*).

Walsh and Hare did not limit themselves to the printing of song collections. After the first release of the *Favourite songs*, on 11 July 1730 *The Country Journal* announced the printing of

Partenope's songs in a reduction for flute "[t]o which is added, the most favourite Songs in the Opera of Ormisda; the whole fairly engraven and carefully corrected."[235] The publication clearly states Handel's paternity over *Partenope*'s music, but leaves *Ormisda* as a sort of separate musical surplus. The volume has a clear index, "A Table of the Song Tunes contain'd in this Book," at the bottom of which is included "A List of all Mr. Handel's Operas Transpos'd for a Flute which may be had where these are sold." The list is completed with most of Handel's operas performed up until 1730, even though *Elpidia* is unsurprisingly left out.

A Table of the Song Tunes *contain'd in this Book*

PARTHENOPE.			
Overture	3	La ſpeme ti conſoli	17
L'amor ed il deſtin	5	Quel volto mi piace	18
Se non ti ſai ſpiegar	6	Si ſcherza ſi	19
O Eurimene hà l'idea	6	ORMISDA.	
Voglio dire al mio teſoro	7	Pupillette vezzoſette	20
Un altra volta ancor	8	Se quel cor	21
Sei mia gioia	9	La ſperanza luſinghiera	22
Io ti levo l'impero	10	Amico il fato	22
E figlio il mio timore	11	Se mi toglie il	23
E vuoi con dure *Duetto*	12	Infelice abbandonata	24
Poterti dir vorrei	14	Tacero ſetulo	25
Non chiedo o luci	15	Timido Pellegrin	26
Qual farfalletta	15	Laſciami a mico	27
		Paſſaggier ch'in ſelva	28

A Liſt of all Mr. HANDEL'S OPERAS *Tranſpoſ'd for a* FLUTE *which may be had where theſe are Sold.*

Parthenope	Alexander	Otho
Lotharius	Scipio	Floridant
Ptolomy	Rodelinda	Radamiſtus
Siroe	Tamerlane	Rinaldo
Richard the 1ſt.	Julius Cæſar	Acis & Galatea
Admetus	Flavius	

N.B. *All the Works of* Mr. HANDEL *may be had where theſe are ſold.*

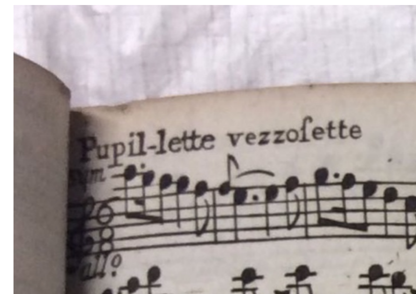

Figure 1.24 and 1.25 – Parthenope for a Flute. Index (p. 2) and detail of the title of "Pupillette vezzosette" (p. 20)

[235] *The Country Journal*, 11 July 1730, p. 2 [HCD, II, 370]. The complete title of the publication is *Parthenope for a Flute. The Ariets with their Symphonys for a single Flute and the Duet for two Flutes of that Celebrated Opera Compos'd by M.r Handel. To which is added the most Favourite Songs in the Opera of Ormisda. The Whole Fairly Engraven and carefully Corrected. Price 2s* (London: Printed for and Sold by Iohn Walsh Musick Printer and Instrument maker to his Majesty at the Harp and Hoboy in Catharine Street in the Strand. and may be had at Ioseph Hare's at the Viol and Hoboy in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange, [1730]). Copy consulted in GB-Lfom, n. 2521.

Flute transpositions of opera songs were a popular item for music publishers in the 1720s and the 1730s: usually, song collections of a specific drama would have flute transcriptions at the end of each aria. But with the 1730s there seemed to be a new desire for publications exclusively devoted to flute transcriptions, the song culture being so pervasive that users wanted to play tunes without the burden of Italian words. And the struggle with transcribing a foreign language was evident in the way the titles of songs were printed in these kinds of publications, where words were used only for the sake of indexing rather than performing. A look at the index of *Parthenope for a Flute* highlights two different approaches to the transcription of songs from *Partenope* and from *Ormisda*: the latter, in fact, are mostly misspelled, while the "real" opera has carefully transcribed titles (see, for example, "Lasciami a mico" for "Lasciami amico," Fig. 1.24). Even more problematically, the titles at the top of the musical renditions (mostly transposed in keys that would suit the flute) are misspelled in a way that reveals a sort of copying habit. The first song, "Pupillette vezzosette" transcribes the title as "Pupil-lette vezzosette," adding a hyphen exactly where it would be found as a syllable divider in the printed version of the aria in the *Favourite songs* (see Fig. 1.25). "La speranza lusinghiera" becomes "Lasperanza lusinghiera," "Infelice abbandonata" becomes simply "Infe lice", while "Tacerò se tu lo brami" becomes "Tacero setulo".

These mis-transcriptions were the result of copying practices that attempted at recreating a too-much-faithful copy of the "original" inscription, the one to be found in the in printed *Favourite collection*. Even though assembled in the same workshop—Walsh's printing shop—the pasticcio songs (unlike the ones that were officially branded as being Handel's) were treated in their copying process as being copies that attempted not only at reproducing the content, but also

the sound of their performance. The flute transcriptions carried the Italian language as a form of listening inscription, because they did not have to be sung again.[236]

This is even clearer by looking at how a song such as "Tacerò se tu lo brami" is reproduced in various printed and manuscript collections. Already misspelled as "Tacero setulo" in both the index and the content of the *Parthenope for a Flute* collection, the song is also to be found in another publication which included flute transcription, *The Modern Musick-Master or the Universal Musician* by Peter Prelleur.[237] This collection of treatises on various musical subjects, printed in 1731, includes a few tunes to be used for practicing on instruments such as the flute, the German flute, and the harpsichord. The section on the German flute contains several songs transcribed from Handel hits, including three from *Ormisda*. In the index of the music contained in all the volumes, "Tacerò se tu lo brami" is listed as "Tacero tacero setulo" (see Fig. 1.26). The page with the musical transcription will have the song transposed a tone higher than the version in *Parthenope for a flute*, given the different instrument, but without the textual incipit at the top (only "A Favourite Air in Ormisda"). The double repetition of the first word ("Tacero tacero") creates a linguistic conundrum that makes no sense in Italian. Yet, these are the words as they are sung in the aria and printed in the *Favourite songs*, as a sort of photocopy *ante litteram* (see Fig. 1.27). The circulation of Italian music in London reflected the printing practices of people who were not trained in the Italian language and whose primary purpose was to "carefully engrave" every detail

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[236] Years after, around 1735, when Walsh decided to collect all his flute transcriptions into a single publication, the index would have misspelling of the Italian titles for all the operas, all branded as being Handel's (including one song from *Ormisda*). See *Solos for a German Flute a Hoboy or Violin witha thorough bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Villin. Being all Choice pieces Compos'd by Mr. Handel Curiosuly fitted for the German flute. Vol. II, Part I.* (London: Printed for and sold by Iohn Walsh Musick-Printer and Instrument-maker to his Majesty at the Harp and Hoboy in Catharine Street in the Strand, [1735]). Copy consulted in GB-Lfom, n. 3713. The year of publication is argued from the dates of first performances of the operas included.

[237] Peter Prelleur, *The Modern Musick-Master: Or, The Universal Musician, 1731*, facsimile ed. by Alexander Hyatt King (New York: Bärenreiter, 1965). The edition was advertised as early as 14 November 1730 on the *Fog's Weekly Journal* [HCD, II, 388], only ten days before the reprise of *Ormisda*. Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections d.40.

of the songs, including the sonic transcription of Italian words as a form of re-materialization.[238] As part of this process, private collectors would then replicate in their own manuscripts the same printing features. A miscellany titled "German Flute | June 27th, 1734," part of the Gerald Coke collection in London, contains some of the same songs to be found in the flute treatises previously described.[239] The volume had a clear domestic purpose, as evidenced by the use of the blank front cover as a space for a list of housewares such as "4 glasses, 6 saucers, 4 plat[e]s […]." Among the various songs, "Tacero tacero setulo" makes its appearance as an exact reproduction of the one to be found in *The Musick-Master* (see Fig. 1.28).

The copyist, here, has basically attempted to create a facsimile prior to the actual development of facsimiles. In the context of baroque opera, this makes even more sense by identifying the very act of copying as a condition of possibility for opera to happen, with the pasticcio as a form of externalization, of self-referential unveiling of listening inscription practices. But if baroque opera, especially Handel's, was already a form of repetition (by borrowing and self-borrowing previous music), it follows that all baroque opera was a sort of pasticcio, and its production was the result of a multitude of tendencies, the material aspects of which were among the predominant ones. In eighteenth-century England, copying was not only a form of reading, but also a form of knowledge production. Moreover, by carefully positioning the pasticcio music as being outside the realm of normative operatic production, the circulation of Italian arias affected the way Handel himself, not only as a composer, but also as an arranger and producer of other people's music, would have been perceived.[240] Handel's authorship status, far from being

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[238] On the concept of "re-materialization" see note 54.

[239] GB-Lfom, n. 1598.

[240] Ellen Harris has noticed how "the active circulation of Handel's music in print and in manuscript, among both performers and collectors, was not just an effect of his fame, but also to some extent its cause." Ellen Harris, "Music Distribution in London during Handel's Lifetime: Manuscript Copies versus Prints,"

confined to the realm of composing notes, was constituted by writing and reading practices, copying techniques, and listening habits. This complex web of affordances will be the subject of the next chapter.

An Index of the Songs, Tunes and Opera Airs contained in this Volume.

Singing Book

Clorinda hear my Moan. Page 12
When Cloe we ply. 13
Poor Aminta sigh no more. . . 14
Oh hear my last Complaint. . . 16
As I lay in a cooling Shade. . . 18
I smile at Love 20
Lamenting complaining in Julius Cæsar 22
Tis thee I love. 24
Strephon be gone. 25
Oh Cupid gentle Cupid in Theseus 26
Cupid may lay aside his Dart. . 28
My Diamond my Queen. . . 29
My Life my only Treasure, in Julius Cæsar 30
Kind Fate now guard me. . 33
Love and Wine are Pleasures. . 34
Thou little blind Deceiver go. . 36
Love Love gives War or Peace at Pleasure. in Tamerlane 38
Dear charming Beauty. . . . 41
And in each track of Glory. . 42
Come to my Arms my Treasure in the Opera of Otho. . 46

FLUTE.

A Collection of Marches, and Minuets &c from Page 9 to Page. 13
Chi può mirare in Flavius. 14
No oh Dio in Calphurnia. 16
Air in Pyrrhus & Demetrius 17
A Favourite Minuet in Florid 18
Morrai si, in Rodelinda. . . 20
Temo che lusinghiero, Scipio. 22
Lusinghie piu care, in Alexander. 24
No che sei, in Tamerlane. . 26
Minuet by Mr Woodcock. . 27
Pregrison d'un alma, Alexan 28
La cervetta nei lacci, in D°. . 30
La sorte mia, in Admetus 32
Vadoro o luci, in King Richard the First 34
Se il caro figlio, in Siroe. . 36
Mi volgo ad ogni, Ptolomi 38
Chorus in Lotharius. . . 40
Care mura, in Parthenope 41
Dimmi pietoso in D°. . . . 42
Voglio dire in D°. 44
La spemeti consoli in D°. . 46
La speranza lusinghiera in Ormisda 48

German Flute.

Minuets and Rigadoons &c from Page 13 to Page. . . . 20
Dove sei in Rodelinda. . . 21
Non mi seguir, in Astarte. . . 22
La sorte il ciel, Radamistus. . 24
Alla fama dimmi, in Otho. . . 26
Spero placare Radamistus. . . 28
Caro vieni. Richard y First. . 30
Non sara quest. Radamistus 32
Non vi piacque, in Siroe. . . 34
Orgogliosetto. in Lotharius 36
Se il cor, in Ptolomi. . . . 38
Se non te sai Parthenope. . 40
Sei mia gioia in D°. 42
Gigue in D°. 44
Amico il fato, in Ormisda. . 45
Se quel cor connobil in D°. . 46
Tacero tacero setulo in D°. . 48

Figure 1.26 – Index of the song tunes in *The Musick-Master* (p. [4]). The misspelling “Tacero tacero setulo” is at the bottom of the page.

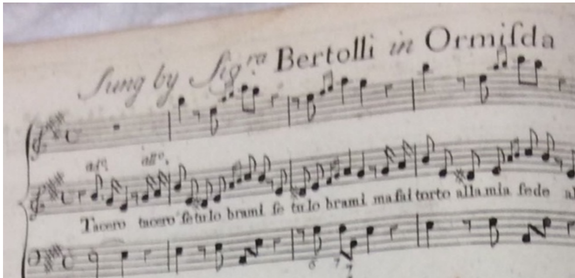

Figure 1.27 – “Tacero tacero setulo” as printed in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call’d Ormisda* (p. 8)

Figure 1.28 – “Tacero tacero setulo” in a manuscript miscellany for German flute (GB-Lfom, n. 1598).

in *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to The Beatles*, ed. Craig Monson and Roberta Montemorra Marvin (Boydell & Brewer, University of Rochester Press, 2013), 95–117: 112.

Table 1.1 – Elpidia's printed editions

The Favourite Songs in the Opera of Elpidia ([London]: Musick Shops, [1725]) [Hunter 163]	**The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Elpidia, by L. Vinci ([London: Musick Shops, [1725]) [Hunter 164]**	**A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies…. Vol. II (London: Cluer & Creake, [1725]) [Hunter 160]**	**The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick… Additional Songs in Elpidia (London: Walsh, 1726) [Hunter 167]**	**The Delightfull Musical Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies… (London: Peter Fraser, 1726) [Hunter 169]**	**Apollo's Feast… Book the Second (London: Walsh, 1726) [previous pagination in top right corner] [Hunter 172]**	**Solos for a German Flute a Hoboy or Violin… Part the 3d. (London: Walsh, [ca. 1730])**
2-3 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Dì pur ch'io son ingrato" (II.7)	1-2 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Pupillette vezzosette" (II.7)	37-40 *A Favoritee Song In the Opera of Elpidia &c.* "Pupillette vezzosette" (II.7)	1-2 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Più non so dirti spera" [not in libretto, nor BL score, position unclear]	57-60 *Elpidia* "Dì pur ch'io son ingrato" (II.7)	13-14 *Sung by Sig.r Tenori in Elpedia* [sic] "Amor deh lasciami"	10-11 *Aire in Elpidia Pupillette* "Pupillette vezzosette" (II.7)
4-5 *Sung by Sign.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Dolce orrore che vezzeggiando" (II.4)	3-4 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Barbara mi schernisci" (III.6)	82-84 *A Favourite Song in ye Opera of Elpidia In English & Italian* "Parto bell'idol mio" (II.2)	3-4 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Vaga risplende d'amor la stella" [not in libretto, nor BL score, position unclear]		15-16 / 11-12 *Sung by Sig.r Balti in Elpedia* [sic] "Ahi nemico è al nostro affetto" (I.12)	12-13 *Aire in Elpidia Di pur che sono* "Dì pur ch'io son ingrato" (II.7)
6-7 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Pupillette vezzosette" (II.7)	5-6 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Tortora che il suo bene" (III.7)	88-93 *A Favourite Song In the Opera of Elpidia In English & Italian The English Words by M. H. Carey* "Tortura [sic] che il suo bene" (III.7)	5-6 *Sung by Sig.ra Dotti in Elpidia* "Sorge qual luccioletta" (I.8)		17-18 /13-14 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Addio dille e da quel labro" (II.6)	14-15 *Aire in Elpidia Dea triforme astro* "Dea triforme astro fecondo" (I.5)
8-10 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Un vento lusinghier" (I.14)	7-8 *Sung by Sigr Senesino in Elpidia* "Parto bel idol mio" (II.2)		7-8 *Sung by Sig.ra Dotti in Elpidia* "Con nodi più tenaci" (III.5)		21-22 / 3-4 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Barbara mi schernisci" (III.6)	
11-12 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Dea triforme astra feconda" [sic] (I.5)	9-11 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Un vento lusinghier" (I.14)		9-10 *Sung by Sig.r Balti in Elpedia* [sic] "Parte il pié ma teco resta" (II.3)		41-42 / 7-8 *Sung by Sig.ra Dotti in Elpidia* "Con nodi più tenaci" (III.5)	

The Favourite Songs in the Opera of Elpidia ([London]: Musick Shops, [1725]) [Hunter 163]	**The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Elpidia, by L. Vinci ([London: Musick Shops, [1725]) [Hunter 164]**	**A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies…. Vol. II (London: Cluer & Creake, [1725]) [Hunter 160]**	**The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick… Additional Songs in Elpidia (London: Walsh, 1726) [Hunter 167]**	**The Delightfull Musical Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies… (London: Peter Fraser, 1726) [Hunter 169]**	**Apollo's Feast… Book the Second (London: Walsh, 1726) [previous pagination in top right corner] [Hunter 172]**	**Solos for a German Flute a Hoboy or Violin… Part the 3d. (London: Walsh, [ca. 1730])**
13-14 *Sung by Sig.r Pacini in Elpidia* "Men superba andria la sorte" (I.12)	12 *Sung by Sigma Cuzzoni and Sigr Seniseno* [sic] *in Elpidia* "Deh caro Olindo" (duet, II.2)		11-12 *Sung by Sig.r Balti in Elpedia* [sic] "Ahi nemico è al nostro affetto" (I.12)		49-50 / 20-21 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Dea triforme astro fecondo" [correct spelling] (I.5)	
	13-14 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Addio dille e da quel labro" (II.6)		13-14 *Sung by Sig.r Tenori in Elpedia* [sic] "Amor deh lasciami"		57-59 / 17-19 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Dì pur ch'io son ingrato" (II.7)	
	15-16 *Sung by Sig.r Borosini in Elpidia* "Vanne e spera" (III.9)				129-130 / 1-2 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Pupillette vezzosette" (II.7)	
	17-19 *Sung by Sig.r Senesino in Elpidia* "Dì pur ch'io son ingrato" (II.7)				131-132 / 1-2 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Più non so dirti spera" [not in libretto, nor BL score, position unclear]	
	20-21 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Dea triforme astro fecondo" [correct spelling] (I.5)				198-199 / 5-6 *Sung by Sig.ra Cuzzoni in Elpidia* "Tortora che il suo bene" (III.7)	
					220-221 / 15-16 *Sung by Sig.r Borosini in Elpidia* "Vanne e spera" (III.9)	

CHAPTER 2. PASTICCI AND THE PERFORMANCE OF AUTHORSHIP

April was the busiest month of the year 1730, at least for the royal entourage. Caught in the peak of the theatrical season, right after the end of Passion week on March 28th, the king's family had to attend to several performances of various plays around town. On the night of April 25th, the choice was between two apparently very different shows: at the King's Theatre, the pasticcio *Ormisda*; at the Little Theatre in Haymarket, Henry Fielding's new play called *The Author's Farce*. According to *The Daily Post-Boy*,

> His Royal Highness the Prince [of Wales] … went to the Theatre in the Hay-Market, and saw the *Author's Farce*, with several Entertainments; and the same Evening also, the Princess Amelia and Carolina went to the Opera House, and saw the Opera of *Ormisda*.[241]

A constant presence at the performances of *Ormisda*, the monarchy showed appreciation for a theatrical product that apparently convinced much of the London audience of its quality, with a long series of performances and re-runs (see ch. 1.4). *Ormisda* was the right opera at the right time. Fielding's *The Author's Farce*, too, was a show that was starting to get more and more attention as it ran at the nearby Little Theatre. Premiered on March 30th, the play was written by a twenty-year old Fielding as a response to a series of rejections by the Theatre Royal, prompting the playwright to conceive a rather experimental comedy mocking London's theatrical environment, including authors, booksellers, actors, philosophers, and singers. Lord John Perceval, 1st Earl of Egmont—a politician frequently involved in musical matters with his brother-in-law Philip Parker—attended both productions around the same time. In his diaries, he claimed

> Friday, 24 [April 1730] I went to the Haymarket playhouse, and saw a play called "The Author's Farce and the Pleasures of the Town," with an additional

[241] *The Daily Post-Boy*, 27 April 1730 (HCD, II, 355–6).

> piece called "The Tragedy of Tom Thumb." Both these plays are a ridicule on poets, and several of their works, as also of operas, etc., and the last of our modern tragedians and are exceedingly full of humour, with some wit. The author is one of the sixteen children of Mr. Fielding, and in a very low condition of purse.
>
> Saturday, 25 April. […] Dined at home, and then went to the Opera [of *Ormisda*].[242]

Both *The Author's Farce* and *Ormisda* were undergoing modifications just a few days before the royal family and lord Perceval would be counted among the audience. *Ormisda* had twelve songs changed for the performance on April 21st (see ch. 1.4), the same day *The Author's Farce* was announced as being staged "with Alterations and Additions to which will then be added, A new Tragedy (of two Acts) call'd, *The Tragedy of Tom Thumb*. Both written by Scriblerus Secundus."[243] Scriblerus Secundus was Henry Fielding's pen name, a reference to the association of authors known as the Scriblerus Club. The club included Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, and John Gay among others, with the aim of creating satirical writings under the literary persona of Martinus Scriblerus.[244] That both *Ormisda* and *The Author's Farce* saw modifications at the peak of their popularity provides evidence of the vitality of theatrical practice in London, a reminder of the ever-changing quality of drama despite differences of genre.

But there was more beyond a shared timeline that connected the pasticcio at the King's Theatre with the nearby farce by Henry Fielding. As seen in the previous section on *Ormisda*, the pasticcio was already a genre that played with the issue of staging its own materiality, the possibility of repeating and altering its materials being inherent to its "bookish" quality. In doing this, the producers involved in the creation of such a genre also mobilized the agency we

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[242] John Perceval Egmont, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival Afterwards First Earl of Egmont.*, vol. 1: 1730-1733, 3 vols. (London: H.M. Stationery Off., 1920-1923), 96–8.

[243] *The London Journal*, 18 April 1730.

[244] See Ashley Marshall, *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

traditionally associate with the composer as author. The redefinition of what constituted authorship on the stages of London formed the crux of the plays by Henry Fielding, with a special emphasis on *The Author's Farce* on the self-referential issues connected to the very performativity of authoriality. This chapter deals extensively with issues connected to literary and musical authorship. It explores the role of the Royal Academy in the renewed interest with the musical past and its masters, and the way the pasticci of the 'middle period' (*Venceslao*, *Lucio Papirio dittatore*, and *Catone*) displayed a peculiar performance of authorship. Before entering the specific realm of the pasticcio, though, it will be necessary to linger on Henry Fielding for a little longer.

The Author's Farce, together with its dramatic twin *Hurlothrumbo* (a nonsensical play by Samuel Johnson of Cheshire, in which the author himself is required to act in various physical situations including singing, dancing, and walking on stilts),[245] played with the genre expectations of the audience by mixing together and assembling various traditions: tragedy, comedy, farce, opera.[246] By deconstructing on stage (and on page) the implicit pact between author and audience—that of agreeing on a certain set of conventions, to be reproduced and variated each time—Fielding and Johnson facilitated the emergence of the author from a hybrid environment. And this happened quite literally. A recurrent sentence in the newspapers advertisements for their plays insisted that "no persons [were] to be admitted behind the scenes:" at this time, this meant that the audience could not sit on the side of the stage, which sometimes could occur in shows that did not require

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[245] This Samuel Johnson of Cheshire (1691-1773) was different from the most famous essayist and literary critic Samuel Johnson (1709-1784).

[246] See the *Introduction* to Henry Fielding, *Plays*, ed. Thomas Lockwood, vol. 1: 1728–31, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 185–220. For a discussion of *Hurlothrumbo* in the context of debates on opera in eighteenth-century London, see Suzanne Aspden, "'An Infinity of Factions': Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (1997): 1–19. Fielding was not the first to play with the genre's definitions: John Gay, in 1715, termed his play *The What D'Ye Call It* a "tragic-comic-pastoral farce."

the full range of the space.[247] Advertisements for operas (including pasticci) always specified that no audience members could sit on the stage. In the case of *The Author's Farce*, the *Daily Post* added an even more explicit instruction for the premiere: "There being a great Variety of Characters, to prevent any Confusion in the Action, no Person whatsoever can possibly be admitted behind the scenes."[248] Because of its meta-theatrical nature, the crowded stage of *The Author's Farce* did not allow the mixing of audience and characters.

But what is meta-theatrical about *The Author's Farce*? The play features Harry Luckless as a sort of autobiographical character, a writer in search of a stage to perform his *The Pleasures of the Town*, which is comprised as act III of the play in the form of a puppet show. This final act represents the core of the play in representing and mocking the London theatrical scene: the play's required characters make explicit references to either professions or genres, such as the Goddess of Nonsense, Signior Opera, Mrs. Novel, the Bookseller, a Poet, Monsieur Pantomime, Don Tragedio, among others. In a way, reality is taken to task on stage as a marker of nonsensical unreality. The plot deploys various scenes with little to no action, as an excuse to make fun of typical theatrical situations, such as the relationship between a playwright and a bookseller, and the genres of opera and novel. The entire puppet show is first introduced in a style that resembled the classical move of any ballad opera since *The Beggar's Opera* (premiered only two years before): a dialogue between Luckless as the Master of the show, and a vague "Player". It is immediately clear that both the setting (the river Styx) and the content of this introductory scene for act III have to do specifically with opera:

> MASTER Ay Sir—You must know that the Scene is laid on the other side of the River Styx, so all the People of the Play are Ghosts. PLAYER This Marrying of Ghosts is a new Doctrine, Friend. MAST. So much the likelier to please—Tho' I can't say but I took the hint of this Thing from the old House,

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[247] Fielding, *Plays*, 193.

[248] *The Daily Post*, 30 March 1730.

> who observing that every one could not see the real Coronation brought a Representation of it upon their Stage—So Sir, since every one has not Time or Opportunity to visit all the Diversions of the Town, I have brought most of them together in one—But come, it is time to begin. I think we will have an Overture, tho' ours be not a regular Opera.[249]

References to the myth of Orpheus and to the conventions of musical theater suggest that this entire play within a play is really a reflection on the relationship between opera and other genres through the lens of someone who seems to be incapable of keeping everything in order, the Master/Author. In the style of ballad operas, the play unfolds as a sequence of scenes with various songs interpreted by some of the characters, but most frequently by Signior Opera: while the lyrics of all the songs are changed to fit the nonsensical narrative of the play, the reference to the provenance of those songs are listed as titles. This practice allowed the audience of ballad operas to find their favorite tunes in printed collections of songs,[250] but also highlighted the two fold status of songs in plays of the early eighteenth-century: while their flexibility facilitated their inclusion in various contexts without necessitating excessive modification, that very flexibility required a form of indexing (as aid) to allow the music to be identified and played again. This phenomenon was connected to the bookselling market, which included music and especially opera as its own constitutive object of exchange. The dialogue between the Bookseller and the Poet in the puppet-show of *The Author's Farce* emphasizes (and ridicules) the role of the bookshops and the literary marketplace:

> MASTER Now, Gentlemen and Ladies, I shall produce a Bookseller who is the prime Minister of *Nonsense*, and the Poet. [*Enter* Bookseller, *and* Poet.] POET. 'Tis Strange, 'tis wondrous strange! BOOKSELLER. And yet 'tis true—Did you observe her Eyes? POET. Her Ears rather, for there she took the Infection. She saw the *Signior [Opera]*'s Visage in his Voice. BOOK. Did

[249] Henry Fielding, *The Author's Farce*, III.1 (Fielding, *Plays*, 258).

[250] The bibliography on ballad opera and songs is too vast to be condensed in one footnote. For a specific reference to Fielding, see L. J. Morrissey, "Henry Fielding and the Ballad Opera," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 4, no. 4 (1971): 386–402. For an investigation into the connection between ballad operas and Handel, see Berta Joncus, "Handel at Drury Lane: Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 179–226.

> you not mark, how she melted when he Sung? POET. I saw her like another *Dido*—I saw her Heart rise up to her Eyes, and drop down again to her Ears. BOOK. That a Woman of so much Sense as the Goddess of *Nonsense*, should be taken thus at first Sight! I have serv'd her faithfully these thirty Years as a Bookseller in the upper World, and never knew her guilty of one Folly before. […]
>
> POET. But is she, this Night, to be married to *Signior Opera*? BOOK. This is to be the Bridal Night—Well, this will be the strangest Thing that has hapned in the Shades, since *the Rape of Proserpine*—But now I think on't, what News bring you from the other World? POET. Why Affairs go much in the same Road there as when you were alive, Authors starve and Booksellers grow fat, *Grub-Street* harbours as many Pirats as ever Algiers did—They have more Theatres than are at *Paris*, and just as much Wit as there is at *Amsterdam*; they have ransack'd all *Italy* for Singers, and all *France* for Dancers.[251]

The Bookseller and Poet comment bitterly on the Goddess of Nonsense's rapture while listening to Signior Opera singing. The realm of nonsense is thus intrinsically linked to the world of opera, at least in the context of Italian opera being sung in a language mostly incomprehensible to English audiences.[252] The dialogue, though, soon turns to more pressing matters: piracy and its relation to the world of publishing and performance.

As it will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter, the unauthorized appropriation of other people's knowledge into someone else's work was at the center of debate in London at the time. The practice of reprinting other people's work while concealing the author's name was extensive, but the problem was not merely economical. It implied redefining what it meant to be an author. Fielding began exposing these pressing problems in the early 1730s in the form of farcical plays because the literary market was saturated by anonymous writings and novels. The novel was starting to emerge as a dominant genre, although its premises paralleled the development of opera (particularly in its pasticcio form) in London around the same time, i.e.

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[251] Henry Fielding, *The Author's Farce*, III.1 (Fielding, *Plays*, 264–5).

[252] The question of listening to Italian language in the context of the reception of Italian opera in London will be further explored in ch. 3.

the culture of serial publication.[253] To go back one last time to the puppet show in Fielding's *The Author's Farce*, it is worth noticing that the entire pantomime is about finding a suitable candidate for the marriage of the Goddess of Nonsense. The love of Nonsense for opera is soon overtaken by Mrs. Novel, who claims that she died while giving birth to the child of Signior Opera:

> CURRY [the BOOKSELLER]. Again! What, did you die for Love of your Husband? MRS. NOVEL. He knows he ought to have been so.—He swore he would be so.— Yes, he knows I dy'd for Love, for I dy'd in Child-bed. ORATOR Why, Madam, did you not tell me all the Road hither, that you was a Virgin?
>
> AIR X. [to the tune of:] "Highland Laddy" [SIGNIOR] OPERA [sings:] I was told, in my Life, | Death, for ever, | Did dissever | Men from ev'ry mortal Strife, | And that greatest Plague, a Wife. | For had the Priests possest Men, | That to Tartarus |Wives came after us, | Their evil wou'd be a Jest then, | And our Devil a Wife. [GODDES OF] NONSENSE Avaunt, polluted Wretch! begone; Think not I'll take Pollution to my Arms, No, no,—no, no,—no, no, no. OPER. Well, since I can't have a Goddess, I'll e'en prove a Man of Honour.— I was always in love with thee, my Angel. NOVEL. Now I am happy, verily. OPER. My long-lost Dear! NOVEL. My new-found Bud![254]

Novel is dead and went, like everyone else, to the underworld, not before giving Opera a child died in childbirth. There is never an explicit mention of who might be the child of Novel and Opera, but it is worth noting Fielding's irony in depicting the troubled relationship between the two genres.[255] If both genres are dead, the only surviving one is their child. What is left on earth for the entertainment of London's living audiences is thus the product of the two genres together. Ballad operas, pasticci, plays with music, operas with heavy use of borrowing practices: all of these

[253] On the relationship between the emerging genre of eighteenth-century novel and serial publications, see Michael F. Suarez, "Publishing Contemporary English Literature, 1695-1774," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume V: 1695–1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 649–66, esp. 660–5. See also Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); J. Paul Hunter, *Before Novels: The Cultural Contexts of Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: Norton, 1990); Janine Barchas, *Graphic Design, Print Culture, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[254] Henry Fielding, *The Author's Farce*, III.1 (Fielding, *Plays*, 273).

[255] For a reading of this scene in the context of gender and identity politics, see Jill Campbell, *Natural Masques: Gender and Identity in Fielding's Plays and Novels* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), 33–6.

somewhat hybrid genres are dominating the English scene, their popularity being the result of a larger trend in the cultural politics of early eighteenth-century British society, i.e. the commodification of literary products and the resulting debated status of the author as proprietor and creator of texts as such.

Fielding was certainly not the first writer to fictionalize the role of the author during the first decades of the eighteenth century, and to juxtapose the question of authorship and operatic culture. Only two years before, an anonymous series of essays published under the title *The Touch-Stone* began with a thorough discussion of what opera should be in the context of English theater, with respect to form, language, character depiction, and listening habits.[256] Long attributed to the American-born political writer James Ralph (who moved to London in 1724), the elaborated pamphlet has been deemed spurious on stylistic and historical grounds by Lowell Lindgren, who has proposed the attribution to the local critic Robert Samber.[257] *The Touch-Stone* featured a virulent and satirical tone which makes harder for the modern reader to discern the author's ideological stance. Certainly, the many pages of the first essay (dedicated specifically to opera) shared with Fielding's plays the same concerns about ballad operas; the relationship between writers, composers, and booksellers; and the character's stock figure on stage as puppets.[258] But more importantly, *The Touch-Stone* advocates for a diverse array of composers as opera-makers:

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[256] *The Touch-Stone, or Historical, Critical, Political, Philosophical, and Theological Essays on the Reigning Diversions of the Town. Design'd for the Improvement of all Authors, Spectators, and Actors of Operas, Plays, and Masquerade… By a Person of some Taste and some Quality* (London: by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1728).

[257] Lowell Lindgren, "Another Critic Named Samber Whose 'Particular Historical Significance Has Gone Almost Entirely Unnoticed'," in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow*, ed. Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), 407–34. More recently, though, Darryl Domingo has insisted on the re-attribution to James Ralph, in light of the non-music essays that compose *The Touch-Stone*; see Darryl P. Domingo, *The Rhetoric of Diversion in English Literature and Culture, 1690-1760* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 230-1 1n. See also Ellen Harris, "An American offers Advice to Handel," *American Choral Review* 27 (1985), 55-62.

[258] See Helen Sard Hughes, "Fielding's Indebtedness to James Ralph," *Modern Philology* 20, no. 1 (1922): 19–34.

> This amusing variety in the choice of subjects for our operas, will allow a greater latitude in composition than we have yet known: it will employ all our Masters in their different talents, and in course destroy that schism which at present divides our lovers of musick, and turns even harmony into discord: the dispute will not then be, who is the justest, or brightest composer, or which the finest operas; those of our own growth, or those imported from Italy? Every man would be set to work, and strive to excel in his own way.[259]

The essay then lists Handel, Bononcini, and Ariosti (all camouflaged with the usual practice of identifying their surnames with a straight line, except for the first and last letters) as candidates in this model for properly adjusting opera to the taste of the English audiences, not-so-subtly referring to the phenomenon of ballad operas as an eminently suitable model.[260] Not only ballad operas, though. A few paragraphs before the quoted passage, *The Touch-Stone* refers to a similar production that animated the English stage in 1725:

> N.B. The composers of *Elpidia*, and some other late operas, will be the proper Masters to set this *Dramma* to musick.[261]

The author is referring to an invented operatic subject to be set to music, in which singers and artists such as Senesino, Faustina, and Bordoni would interpret various characters including children, birds, hobgoblins, and even a cruel uncle for Heidegger, for whom the author claims that "some of our present composers have a few savage songs ready compos'd, adapted to his face and character" (with an obvious reference to Handel).[262] Yet, it is interesting to note that—of all the possible titles to be chosen as an example of heterogeneous musical compilation—it is the pasticcio *Elpidia* that makes it as a reference for this ideal opera. The "proper Masters" will be those in charge of providing music to real-life actors and singers in the guise of stock characters.

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[259] *The Touch-Stone*, 30.

[260] See Suzanne Aspden, "Ballads and Britons: Imagined Community and the Continuity of 'English' Opera," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122, no. 1 (1997), 24–51: 40.

[261] *The Touch-Stone*, 29.

[262] *Ibid.* 28.

The author becomes a sort of puppet master that controls not only singers, but composers too. In Fielding's view, as it is staged in his *Author's Farce*, this happens quite literally: the puppet show—far from merely ridiculing theatrical practices of the time, the show stands as an emblem of a more general attitude towards theater and opera making in London, that of a monstrous and heterogeneous hybridity in need of a controller. In the words of Anthony Hassall, "Fielding explored puppetry as an image of the relationship between an author and his work."[263]

I would add that puppetry shows and their literary counterpart performed a stronger intervention in authorial/narrative practices than merely a visualization of authorship: they allowed authors to simultaneously remain detached from their own creations and part of them, distanced from the audience but also part of everyday society, unique and common. That Fielding (but also Johnson, Ralph, etc.) would be willing to make a point about authorship at this time is indicative of a larger trend in authorial recognition that needs to be disentangled. References to pasticci and ballad operas in these kinds of writing were not made for the sake of indicating plays with low status. On the contrary, hybrid genres were special because they were allowed to narrate and problematize—on stage—issues that were investing a large part of society of the early decades of the eighteenth century. Among these, a major role was played by the laws concerning author's responsibility and textual propriety, copyright, and piracy. Although the realm of opera was only slightly touched by these kind of literary problems, this chapter positions the operatic pasticcio in the context of authorship debates and theatrical practices of the time, including piracy regulations. Following chronologically from the previous chapter, it will focus on the three next pasticci after *Elpidia* and *Ormisda*, i.e. *Venceslao* (1731), *Lucio Papirio dittatore* (1732), and *Catone* (1732). It will argue that—even more than 'regular' dramas—Handel's pasticci of the 'middle period' staged a performative aspect of authorship that, in turn, reinforced the very

[263] Anthony J. Hassall, "Fielding's Puppet Image," *Philological Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (1974), 71–83: 71.

notion of the 'composer as author,' a process which will culminate in the definitive monumentalizing of Handel through the exclusion of the pasticci from any official manuscript collection of the time.

2.1 Pasticci, Copyright, and the Performance of Authorship

It is no coincidence that Fielding's 'authorial' plays were staged next door from the Haymarket theaters where operas (including pasticci) were regularly featured. Proximity fostered competition and reciprocal influence. If Fielding was commenting on the activities of the Royal Academy in his plays, it should follow that the people working at the King's Theater and affiliated with the Academy would be equally vocal about theatrical practices of the time. They were, as a matter of fact. One of the aims of this chapter is to demonstrate how Handel and Heidegger's interest in the production of pasticci was a response to a larger concern in English society over the legitimation of artistic work and its authorial responsibility, whether it was literary production or musical composition. This concern stemmed from both epistemological and legal reasons, as the control and regulation of printing and performance was also a way to define what it meant to be an "author" and what rules of creation and appropriation were deemed legal in the context of theatrical stages, where literary propriety and authorship were still nebulous concepts even after the proclamation of the first copyright laws. Thus, the next few pages first summarize the history of copyright laws and their connection to the rules of theater making, and then proceed to document how contemporary debates on authorship affected literary and musical realms. As a short survey of early eighteenth-century history of the book, it serves as a companion to the application of material texts methodologies into the realm of opera studies and historiography, as part of the overall project of this dissertation at the intersection of the two disciplines.

The Author's Farce was revived in 1734 as a response to the so-called Actor Rebellion of 1733, an attempt at taking control of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, by the actors who disapproved changes in the management.[264] The Theatre Royal had been one of the two theaters which were granted the official patent by the monarchy; three actors were the shareholders of the institution. When Colley Cibber decided to sell his share to John Highmore in March 1733, his son Theophilus led the rebellion which ultimately resulted in the temporary closure of the Theatre Royal between May and September 1733. The rebels moved to the Little Haymarket, while the patent company put on a new season at Drury Lane later in January 1734, including Fielding's *The Author's Farce*. It is somewhat puzzling that Fielding—the same outsider who successfully mocked the establishment a few years before with *The Author's Farce* at the Little Haymarket—was now using the same play as a counter-initiative of an official institution against the rebellion of actors. Fielding was now part of the establishment himself. He had physically left the "road house" of the Little Haymarket (a venue with no manager and no resident company, temporarily rented by whomever wanted to hire it for a production) to jump on a more secure institutionalized venture at the Drury Lane.[265] Symbolically, his authorial persona was no longer confined to the realm of puppet-shows: it gained increasing recognition in the official debates over the control of theatrical productions by siding with the patent holders.

Owning a letter patent (and standing by it, as Fielding did) was not only an act of recognition on behalf of the monarchy. In the years of tumultuous changes in theater policies after the enormous success of *The Beggars' Opera* (1728), keeping a legal status over performance matters ensured economic stability. In other words, competition required regulation which, in

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[264] On the Actor Rebellion of 1733 and the role of Henry Fielding in the dispute, see Robert D. Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre, 1728-1737* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 155–69.

[265] On the Little Haymarket in the years of the present discussion, see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "J. F. Lampe and English Opera at the Little Haymarket in 1732-3," *Music & Letters* 78, no. 4 (1997): 502–31.

turn, entailed interrogating the very essence of what constituted a play as such, including who "owned" it.[266] Three institutions formed a monopoly over the London stages: the Drury Lane, the Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the Royal Academy of Music based at the King's Theater in Haymarket. The Little Haymarket was the only non-patent theater actively running, but this meant that the three major theaters began forming a sort of "cartel agreement" with which they prevented actors from moving from one theater to another, hiring only previously-agreed contractors, and keeping salaries to a minimum.[267]

Within this context, actors felt the need to rebel against what they perceived as pre-constituted abuse of power. Ultimately, Parliament itself took the initiative to promulgate the Licensing Act of 1737, as a first attempt at regaining control over a complex situation, including the closure of the Little Theater.[268] The Licensing Act was enacted in order to suppress Fielding's political satires, at the same time as it officially stated the new duopoly of the Drury Lane and Covent Garden and the rules for censorship over new plays to be performed.[269] With the new legislation, every new or modified play ("interlude, tragedy, comedy, opera, play, farce, or other entertainment of the stage") had to be submitted to the Lord Chamberlain's office for control and approval.[270] Not that plays were free from government authorization before: the institution of the

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[266] For a general discussion on the relationship between theater regulations and authorship debates, see the chapter "The London Theatre World of the 1720s" in Hume, *Henry Fielding*, 1–34.

[267] See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "The London Theatre Cartel of the 1720s: British Library Additional Charters 9306 and 9308," *Theatre Survey* 26, no. 1 (1985): 21–37.

[268] Hume, *Henry Fielding*, 13.

[269] See Leonard W. Conolly, *The Censorship of English Drama, 1737-1824* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1976), 13–45.

[270] For a detailed overview of the Licensing Act, see Vincent J. Liesenfeld, *The Licensing Act of 1737* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

Master of the Revels was a longstanding one, at least since the time of Queen Elizabeth I.[271] By 1737, Robert Walpole was the Master of the Revel, and his figure would be one of the most discussed and satirized by playwrights of the time.[272] It was not a mystery to anyone that the bill was Walpole's personal response to Fielding's caricature in his plays.[273]

Yet, a renewed interest in censorship on behalf of the sovereign emerged as the result of a more complex system of cultural politics informing the social life of the London stages in the 1720s and 1730s. Censorship and the control over the performance of plays (not its printing, as printing regulations were already in place at this time) was partially the result and the prompt for a larger question, one that was no longer obvious following the success of hybrid genres and titles such as *The Beggar's Opera* and various nonsensical farces: what was "theater"? Moreover, what constituted playwriting when collaboration was more the norm than an exception? The solution was quite simple, and a scapegoat was found: the "author" was invented.

The notion of the "emergence" of the modern idea of authorship in the eighteenth century has a long history of scholarly genealogies and debates.[274] "The Age of Authors," as it was already called in 1753 by Samuel Johnson, encompasses a period usually defined between 1660 and the early 1720s, during which the professionalization of writing became not only a way to generate a profitable living, but also a subject of discourse.[275] The so-called "public sphere" was

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[271] See Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991).

[272] See Bertrand A. Goldgar, *Walpole and the Wits: The Relation of Politics to Literature, 1722-1742* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976).

[273] See Thomas Lockwood, "Fielding and the Licensing Act," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (1987): 379–93.

[274] For a general overview of the historiography of "authorship," see Dustin Griffin, *Authorship in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 1–13.

[275] *The Adventurer* 115 (11 December 1753), 266. See also the classic Arthur Simons Collins, *Authorship in the Days of Johnson: Being a Study of the Relation between Author, Patron, Publisher, and Public, 1726-1780* (London: Routledge, 1927).

becoming a space not for the production of writing, but rather an arena in which to discuss and recognize varying degrees of labor and social hierarchies involved in the profession.[276]

For scholarship of the 20th century, the question of "authorship" has been addressed from a variety of perspectives: literary criticism, history of ideas, and history of the book had something to say about the role of discourses in the creation of the notion of "author" *a posteriori*. The impulse was the publication of two influential essays that still today inform much of the literature on the modern notion of authorship: both Roland Barthes's "The Death of the Author" and Michel Foucault's "What is an Author?", albeit from different angles (semiotics on one side, philosophy on the other), pointed in the direction of the social construction and the ramifications of the very act of writing, reading, and the production of a text.[277] For Barthes, the main goal was to shift the attention from author-centered understanding towards an emphasis on the reader as the creator of a text (and, consequently, the murder/-er of the "author" as such). For Foucault, the notion of the "author function" better suited the discussion: the "author" is a function of discourse that is instantiated by the legal system that makes a writer punishable and responsible for the publication of knowledge. He locates that historical moment at the end of the eighteenth century, with the establishment of rigorous systems of punishment and law enforcement.[278]

Foucault's suggestion that the discursive formation of the notion of author was related to the legal aspect of text circulation was subsequently picked up and critiqued by historians of the

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[276] See note 129, ch. 1. The Habermasian notion of the public sphere has been criticized in the last few decades for its misunderstanding of the role of "publicness" in the realm of café, newspapers, and theater, and for not considering the long history of exclusion of minorities from that very "public" sphere (see Griffin, *Authorship*, 72–4).

[277] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in Roland Barthes, *Image - Music - Text: Essays*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 142–8; Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?," in Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113–38.

[278] This aspect is further developed in Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

book and scholars of material texts. On one side, Foucault was accused of not paying enough attention to the material conditions of authorship, in particular the relationship with printing and manuscript cultures. In this sense, the revolution was more likely an early modern one, sprung from the regimes of printing regulations developed between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than just a product of the age of the Enlightenment.[279] Less concerned with printing and more interested in the dynamic relationship between writing practices (manuscript and printed) and reading habits, Roger Chartier has insisted on the understanding of the larger cultural framework and the way the author-function gets inscribed in the book as an object of possession, circulation, classification, and readability.[280] This fragmentation of the author function meant that, whatever the means of publication, literary property needed to be defined in recognizable works approved from an authority.[281] This is where copyright laws in England played a major role in establishing and further reinforcing debates on authorship.

As to why England, in particular, was the location in which society felt the need to implement regulation over the concept of literary property and the objects of authorship, has prompted responses from historians of copyright who have usually pointed towards two interconnected aspects of the book trade and literary marketplace: the definition of the notion of individual possession and property as formulated by the Empiricist thought, particularly through

[279] This is one of the major arguments developed by Elizabeth L. Eisenstein in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[280] See Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), especially ch. 2 "Figures of the Author," pp. 25–59. More recently, Chartier has further developed his ideas about authorship in *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind: Transformations of the Written Word in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2013).

[281] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 189.

the writings of John Locke;[282] and the capitalist trend towards the commodification of intellectual labor, which led to the intensification of the figure of the professional writer.[283] In this regard, the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 (which regulated the terms of printing ownership and regulations) prompted the end of Stationer's Company monopoly on the book trade and forced the government to work on a new systematic definition of what was a text, who "owned" it, and for how long.[284]

The Statute of Anne of 1710, written under the pressure of both booksellers to regain their power after the loss of their status as guild, and the empiricist attitude that informed the early years of the eighteenth century, provided authors of new texts the right to print, reprint, and copy their own materials against piracy for the duration of 14 years. If, after this period, the author was still alive, the term could be renewed once. Historians of copyright have been careful in emphasizing how, in practice, very little changed in terms of vitality of the book trade after the promulgation of the act.[285] Ultimately, it re-established the same structures of knowledge control, in which printers and booksellers retained not only the economic advantage of book production, but also invented the idea of authorial property (with the complicity of the Parliament) to detach

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[282] See *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, ed. Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (Durham ; London: Duke University Press, 1994), 5–6. See also Crawford Brough Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[283] See Dustin Griffin, "The Rise of the Professional Author?" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 5 (1695-1830), 6 vols. ed. by Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 132–45.

[284] For a concise history of copyright laws and its relation to the English book trade, see Mark Rose, "Copyright, Authors and Censorship" in *The Cambridge History of the Book*, 118–31. See also Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), and Ronald V. Bettig, *Copyrighting Culture: The Political Economy of Intellectual Property* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996).

[285] For a detailed explanation and critique of the novelty of the Statute of Anne 1710, see Ronan Deazley, "What's New About the Statute of Anne? *or* Six Observations in Search of an Act," in *Global Copyright: Three Hundred Years since the Statute of Anne, from 1709 to Cyberspace*, ed. Lionel Bently, Uma Suthersanen, and Paul Torremans (Cheltenham, UK ; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2010), 26–53.

"works" from the hands of their "authors."[286] Authors did not write books, printers did; authors wrote texts which needed to be commodified to become valuable objects of exchange.[287] Moreover, the Statute of Anne 1710 was built upon the epistemological premise that there was a right to 'copy,' more than a right to create new knowledge. London's artistic culture was a culture of the copy.[288]

With literary property and cultures of copy came the notion that unauthorized reprinting of texts was prosecutable by the law, an act of piracy.[289] Of course, the idea of unauthorized appropriation of other people's ideas was not new. What changed was the focus on the dynamic relationship between writers and printers, the material conditions of copying, the economic aspects of authorship, and the cultural framework that enabled individual writing to be conceived as a profession. In the realm of theater, questions of authorship and appropriation proved even more flexible, but the upsurge of printing of plays throughout the seventeenth century was a decisive factor in the establishment of theatrical authors.[290] Playwrights were recognized because their name was literally curved out on a printed frontispiece, rather than just enacted in performance.

But what about music? The Statute of Anne did not specifically mention music as part of intellectual property to be protected under copyright laws. The Statute, as a matter of fact,

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[286] See Peter Jaszi, "On The Author Effect: Contemporary Copyright and Collective Creativity," in *The Construction of Authorship*, 29–56: 32.

[287] Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 10.

[288] *The Culture of the Copy* (New York: Zone Books, 1996) is the title of an influential volume by Hillel Schwartz which, although not directly concerned with pre-Enlightenment issues of authorship, raises many of the arguments here made about the relationship between copies and originals, text and objects, authors and piracy.

[289] For a recent and comprehensive cultural study of piracy, see Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[290] See Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660-1710* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

granted copyright for 14 years only to "books and other writings," since the idea behind the bill was the "Encouragement of Learning" and music was not deemed as a pedagogical value.[291] It would have to wait until 1777, with a dispute between Johann Christian Bach against the firm of Longman, Lukey & Co. for unauthorized editions of his compositions, for music to be officially considered part of the copyright laws in England.[292] Others before Bach had tried to file lawsuit to preserve unauthorized printing (such as Francesco Geminiani in 1731, Thomas Arne in 1741, and John Pyle in 1771), each with no success.[293] The main problem was the different status accorded to the figure of the composer as such. The musical marketplace not only emphasized the collaborative aspects of music production, but also provided printers and publishers the actual status of "composers" (in the literal sense of putting together and composing pieces), with the music provider a mere creator of manuscripts. Far from being considered a degrading role, composers had no interest in being perceived as the sole responsible figures in the musical environment, as the rules prior to the Statute of Anne were such that composers had agreed to let printers and publishers distribute music in exchange for a fixed sum, regardless of the success of the selling.[294] Thus, with the promulgation of the Statute of Anne, booksellers felt threatened, but for composers this meant little to no difference. Moreover, there was always the royal privilege, the right to print given directly from the hands of the sovereign. In 1720, Handel was the first to obtain such a privilege, which, however, could also be given to music publishers as assignees (this

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[291] Ronald J. Rabin and Steven Zohn, "Arne, Handel, Walsh, and Music as Intellectual Property: Two Eighteenth-Century Lawsuits," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120, no. 1 (1995), 112–45: 115.

[292] See John Small, "J. C. Bach Goes to Law," *The Musical Times* 126, no. 1711 (1985): 526–29.

[293] See Rabin and Zohn, "Arne, Handel, Walsh." For a general discussion on the development of musical copyright, see David Hunter, "Music Copyright in Britain to 1800," *Music & Letters* 67, no. 3 (1986): 269–82.

[294] Rabin, and Zohn, "Arne, Handel, Walsh," 114.

happened in 1739 for John Walsh and Handel).[295] Yet, even privileges were somehow considered useless on legal matters, at least until the 1777 dispute *Bach vs. Longman*.

Handel's unprecedented royal privilege did not indicate a trend towards musical copyright recognition. Rather, it affirmed Handel's direct involvement in the musical book trade (as seen in ch. 1) as a key component towards the success of the first Royal Academy of Music. Thus, what prompted the request for more regulations in the musical marketplace was less a sense of the emancipation of the role of the composer, and more a battle between publishers to maintain rights over music that was successful. In the case of opera during these years, the most successful music was ballad operas, more specifically *The Beggar's Opera* which in 1728 changed the operatic life of London.

The Beggar's Opera was both a box office success (62 nights) and a landmark in the history of music publishing, not only due to Gay's substantial earnings following the sale of the libretto and songs, but also because of the attention it gathered around those publications and the debates provoked by its sequel, *Polly*, in 1729.[296] Suppressed by Robert Walpole's government because of its scandalous and blatant political satire, *Polly* never made it to the stage but it became one of the most important phenomena in music publishing of the time.[297] With 10,500 copies of a refined quarto edition by William Bowyer and a subscription model that earned him more than £1,200, John Gay steamrolled the music book trade in the absence of any performance of the ballad opera.[298] It can even be argued that it was precisely the prohibition against the staging of *Polly*

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[295] *Ibid.*, 130.

[296] On Gay's profit for the *Beggar's Opera*, see Calhoun Winton, *John Gay and the London Theatre* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 174.

[297] Michael F. Suarez, "Publishing Contemporary English Literature, 1695-1774," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 649–666: 652.

[298] Winton, *John Gay*, 133–5.

which caused such a selling enterprise. Soon, Gay had to come to terms with the reality of music publishing. A week after the song book went on sale on 3 April 1729, the *Daily Journal* was advertising that

> Several Spurious and Incorrect Editions of POLLY an OPERA, having been published and dispersed, for which the Booksellers and Venders are now under Prosecution, and an under-hand Sale of the same still continuing, the PROPRIETOR of the True, Genuine, and Correct Copy, finds himself necessarily obliged to dispose of his Impression at a great Loss, so that the only True, Genuine, and Correct Edition of POLLY an OPERA, being a SECOND PART of the BEGGAR'S OPERA, with the Airs and Basses, curiously engraven on Copper, and printed in Quarto, written by Mr. GAY, is now to be sold at 2s. 6d…[299]

Gay was implying that lawsuits were already in process at the time of the advertisement but, as many modern commentators have showed, this was probably not true.[300] Gay, in fact, was bargaining under the table with those "pyrating-booksellers" as he called them.[301] The truth was that the Statute of Anne provided very little assistance to literary authors, and certainly was of no use to theater producers.[302] Yet, it is undeniable that the bill fostered more awareness about intellectual property, albeit confined to the realm of printing rights. The advertisement makes use of crucial keywords: "the *proprietor* of the *true, genuine*, and *correct copy*."

The issue takes an interesting turn when considering the implication of what it meant to be the owner of a "correct copy," especially in the context of performative arts (which are inherently built upon the re-enactment of previous material, being text or gestures) and even

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[299] *The Daily Journal*, 11 April 1729.

[300] See James R. Sutherland, "'Polly' among the Pirates," *The Modern Language Review* 37, no. 3 (1942): 291–303.

[301] John Gay writing to Jonathan Swift in December 1731, quoted in *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. by George Sherburn, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), vol. 3: 249.

[302] This is Michael Suarez's main thesis of his "To What Degree Did the Statute of Anne (8 Anne, c.19, [1709]) Affect Commercial Practices of the Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century England? Some Provisional Answers About Copyright, Chiefly from Bibliography and Book History," in *Global Copyright*, 54–69, which takes Gay's *Polly* as its main example.

more so in the context of ballad operas, which built their entire fortune on "pirating" Italian opera. No wonder *Polly*'s plot—as a sequel to *The Beggar's Opera*—features Macheath as he initiates a career as a pirate (only to end with him being executed). The circulation and success of ballad operas, then, was predicated upon the idea of copying a copy of a copy, a phenomenon that peaked between 1728 and 1737 amidst the so-called "Battle of the Booksellers," as these merchants fought to retain common law instead of the weak regulations of the Statute of Anne.[303]

Moreover, London was a city founded upon a culture of serial publications, and this was the place where copyright laws could barely have any effect. Yet, newspapers and magazines were responsible for the development of genres such as the novel: precisely on account of the legal grey area in which newspapers could publish novels in bits and pieces, a culture of reappearance and appropriation was inherently formed as the core of the rising genre of the novel.[304] Quotation was thus an essential aspect of writing production.

As reminded by the satirical tone of *The Author's Farce*, opera and novels were considered part of the same family. That family, I argue, comprised the realm of magazines and newspapers on which song circulation and production was built, and which enabled the pasticci to be institutionalized by the Royal Academy. That Handel's and Heidegger's involvement with the production of the pasticci occurred mostly during the early 1730s is indicative not only of a response to the phenomenon of ballad operas, but also to the general debate surrounding the role of intellectual creation and property amidst a set of legal battles and public denouncements. This is not to say that pasticci were merely a response to ballad operas and booksellers' competition. Just as Fielding staged the very debates on authorship that arose in London during those years, I

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[303] See John Feather, "The Publishers and the Pirates: British Copyright Law in Theory and Practice, 1710-1775," *Publishing History* 22 (1987), 5-32.

[304] See Robert D. Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines, 1740-1815: With a Catalogue of 1375 Magazine Novels and Novelettes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962). See also Suarez, "To What Degree," 64–5.

argue that Handel similarly discoursified authorship in his pasticci as a form of his "performance of authorship."

The term "performance of authorship" refers to the peculiar status of writers in periodicals in England in the early eighteenth century, as elaborated by Manushag Powell.[305] Newspapers and magazines, like theater, were dependent upon an audience response to their own structure and form, thus writers needed to be particularly self-aware of the genre dynamics and their status. The rise of the periodical boom in the early decades of the eighteenth century brought with it a proliferation of fictional authorial *personae* on the pages of publications such as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. Powell (following an established tradition of periodical scholarship) calls these fictional figure *eidolon*, "the artificial projection of authorship that is generated by the author" as a possibility for writers "to think out loud about what it meant to be a professional writer," in the context of an important redefinition of the boundaries between public and private spheres.[306] The use of pseudonyms and anonymity in magazines of the time allowed professional writers to engage more closely both with their communities of readers and the political body, given the intensification of the laws on copyright, censorship, and author's rights. In this sense, the performativity of authorship was both a condition of possibility and a necessity for authors to be perceived as such. Periodicals ceaselessly needed to point the readers in the direction of their conventions and forms because of their serial nature, which required a sort of leap of faith on behalf of the buyers. The performance of authorship thus imparted a way to self-establish authorial legitimacy in the act of masquerading it, of making it disappear. Moreover, this serial

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[305] Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2012).

[306] *Ibid.*, 24 and 3.

culture educated audiences towards a sensitivity for narrative voices, which was formed through the building of expectations, conventions, and their repeatability.[307]

Emphasizing the performative aspects of authorship allows us to connect the serial culture around newspapers and magazines with that of the theatrical and operatic life of London, particularly its relation to the staging of pasticci. In order to expand on the Foucauldian notion of the author as a function of discourse (see *supra*, the "performance of authorship" highlights the self-reflexivity and theatricality of most eighteenth-century genres. Owing their hybrid nature to the amalgamation of preexisting works, pasticci seem naturally to fit the category of self-reflexive and meta-theatrical genres, in the sense that they stage genre itself (opera) at the same time as they deconstruct it. In doing this, the pasticci also stage a peculiar form of authorship, pointing in the direction of a multiplicity of "authors" at the same time as their main one disappears. Claiming that Handel is the "author" of the nine pasticci produced during the second Royal Academy of Music years seems a bit of a stretch. So, what was Handel's responsibility and agency in the making of such spectacles?

Through the observation of the developing forms of textual and musical interventions in three pasticci (*Venceslao*, *Lucio Papirio dittatore*, and *Catone*), their relation to previous texts, and the contemporary debates on authorship related to the pasticci, this chapter argues that Handel engaged with the pasticcio as a genre in the early years of the 1730s by performing his own disappearance as author, thus setting up the conditions for him to later be recognized and even monumentalized as a composer. Moreover, I explore a few key concepts for the understanding of such a performance of authorship and musical assemblage, including the notions of musical quotation, appropriation, and ghostwriting.

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[307] Powell, *Performance of Authorship*, 8.

2.2 Handel Appropriating, Appropriating Handel: *Venceslao* and *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*

We left the royal family in April 1730, split into two parties for some of the evening performances of the pasticcio *Ormisda* and Fielding's *The Author's Farce*. It must be assumed that—unlike the government—the monarchy was, if not intrigued, at least neutral with respect to the ongoing debate on the status of authors. The symbolic (and ubiquitous) presence of the royal family in the Haymarket area was a mark of surveillance, but also of authority/authorization. In a way, the monarchy permitted a satirical play such as *The Author's Farce* to be staged and enjoyed, including the multiple complaints about the role of authors and the mocking of the monarchy's official theatrical genre, opera.

The family continued to participate at each of the performances of the new Royal Academy of Music at the King's Theatre. After the success of *Ormisda* and *The Author's Farce*, members of the royal entourage could be seen attending revivals of *Tolomeo* during the summer of 1730, and then revivals of *Scipione* and *Partenope* in the fall of 1730. Yet, Handel and Heidegger decided to mount a pasticcio, *Venceslao*, as the first new production of the 1730/31 season, starting on 12 January 1731. The choice was not an obvious one, given the lack of trust among the subscribers of the new Royal Academy: "operas are dying," as Mary Pendarves noted after a rehearsal of *Ormisda* (see ch. 1.4), and the "coppia Eidegrendeliana" (as Handel and Heidegger were ironically dubbed by Paolo Rolli)[308] continued to produce revivals. The temporary lack of "new" operas was troubling, and a reason for this was to be found in the complications among

[308] "I shall barely answer you about the Heidegger-Handel couple, and the wretched operas, because the truth is that they deserve what they get. The musicians will be paid, and that will be all that can be done. Then it seems to me that either there will be no operas in the new seasons, or there will be the same company; and so things will go from bad to worse" (Paolo Rolli to Giuseppe Riva, Vienna, 12 June 1730; HCD, II, 365).

cast recruiting.[309] *Venceslao* was a pasticcio that Handel and Heidegger had assembled for the previous, inaugural season, but it is likely that the success of *Ormisda* and its revivals forced the Royal Academy to move it to the next year (1730/31). The new Academy was in search of new singers as much as it was in search of an ideological reason to exist: revivals and modifications of operas were more interesting than new productions. The question became increasingly pressing amidst the new regimes of authorship so far described.

The truth is: music was becoming old. At the same time when Handel and Heidegger finally managed to stage *Venceslao* on 12 January 1731, another academy was preparing a different sort of concert. On January 14, the Academy of Vocal and Instrumental Musick presented a selection of four pieces which included the late Agostino Steffani's madrigal *Qui diligit Mariam*, a piece by the Austrian *Kapellmeister* Johann Joseph Fux's, Antonio Lotti's madrigal *In una siepe ombrosa*, and Handel's "Utrecht" settings of the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* (HWV 278-9).[310] The Academy had been founded in 1726 as a collective of professional musicians, a sort of scientific association for the purpose of performing old and new music, and for the consolidation of a network of musicians at a time when the longstanding music guilds were vanishing.[311] By this time, though, the Academy was most famous for an episode regarding musical authorship: Giovanni Bononcini, one of the most famous Italian composers active in London at the same time as Handel, was accused of appropriating Antonio Lotti's madrigal *In una siepe ombrosa* and presenting it at the Academy as his own. In 1728, Maurice Green (a friend of Bononcini and an

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[309] For a recent overview of *Ormisda* and *Venceslao*, see John H. Roberts, "The London Pasticci of 1730-31: Singers, Composers, and Impresarios," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 62 (2016): 173–92. See also Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 170–7.

[310] The concert was reported on *The Daily Journal*, 16 January 1733 (HCD, II, 410).

[311] On the history of the Royal Academy of Vocal and Ancient Musick, see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 56–73.

active member of the Academy) presented the piece as being by Bononcini, but the January 1731 concert (directed by Bernard Gates, a political rival of Greene) explicitly referred to the piece as being by Lotti, as demonstrated by the printed score received by the Academy.[312] After the concert, the secretary of the Academy, Hawley Bishop, felt the need to publish a letter to Lotti, claiming that Bononcini, after being informed that the composition was to be performed as Lotti's,

> immediately sent a Letter to the Academy, in which having greatly complain'd of the Person who introduced it among us under your Name, he accuses you [Lotti] as the Plagiary of his Works, and affirms that he composed this Madrigal thirty Years ago, exactly as it is printed in your Book, at the Command of the Emperor *Leopold*; and for the Proof of this, appeals to the Archives of that Emperor.[313]

Lotti's reply pointed out the inherent contradictions of the Academy's letter, and went on regarding the question of plagiarism and appropriation:

> I hope there will appear some Misunderstanding or Mistake, and waiting the Event I am easy, having learned of my Master M. *Legrenzi*, that those who are learned in Musick, like the illustrious Academy, know, as in Painting, the Hand of the Artist, by the Design, the Drawing, the Colouring, &c. and judge of Authors by their Works, and not of Works by their Authors.[314]

Bononcini was apparently avid to be nominated president of the academy, a seat that was left empty after the death of Agostino Steffani in 1728. The board of directors, though, decided that the post should be left vacant, as Steffani was already an honorary president *in absentia* (the composer never set foot in England).[315] Bononcini stormed out of the academy after the

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[312] The entire controversy is explained in detail in Lowell Lindgren, "The Three Great Noises 'Fatal to the Interests of Bononcini'," *The Musical Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1975): 560–83.

[313] *Letters from the Academy of ancient musick at London, to Sign.r Antonio Lotti of Venice: with his answers and testimonies* (London: G. James, 1732), 5.

[314] *Ibid.*, 11.

[315] Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, 60.

incriminating concert, and the minutes of a May 1731 meeting reported an important change in the definition of the institution. The academy was renamed with a new, fittingly title: "Academy of Ancient Musick." The name change was motivated precisely by the desire to avoid new altercations over contemporary music.[316] Yet, this fight over musical authorship indicated a larger issue concerning the redefinition of what constituted old and new music, and consequently what was the role of a composer in a society that was slowly forming a sense of musical past with an embryonic canon of musical works to be listened to and even looked at. Quite literally, as the letters concerning the plagiarism meticulously mentioned the material aspects of musical production: printed books, archives, manuscripts, the "hand of the artist," and even the dichotomy works/authors. Thus, the 1731 concert held between the performances of the pasticcio *Venceslao* was more than just an innocent selection of recent pieces. It marked a shift in the perceived role of musical composition as part of the profession of musical authors.

In the end, it was a matter of naming. The debate revolved around not who composed what, but rather, who was responsible for naming the piece as written by Bononcini or Lotti. As much as the academy insisted on naming authors, it also hid itself from taking responsibility: Steffani was made honorary president while never being physically present, and he was not replaced after his death; Handel was part of the academy, according to Giuseppe Riva in a letter to Steffani, but his name never appeared in the records.[317] It was as if heightened interest towards the musical past was accompanied by an uneasiness towards the musical present. It could be argued that the rediscovery of old music was the result of the tortured politics of present authorship, and vice versa. Naming the past was accompanied by the de-attribution of the present.

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[316] Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 284 n79.

[317] Giuseppe Riva to Agostino Steffani, [Hanover?] 20 (31) December 1726 (HCD, II, 91–2).

The issue of musical responsibility and attribution in the early 1730s was not confined to contemporary discussions. Writing half a century later, Charles Burney recorded in his fourth volume of the *General History of Music* that

> 1731… on the 12th [January] was represented and opera called WENCESLAUS, by an anonymous composer. A musical drama of the same name was performed in England two or three times in 1717, to Music of different composers. Of the airs now used, under Handel's direction, we are at present utterly ignorant. It sustained at this time only four representations.[318]

Venceslao was far from a long-run success like *Elpidia* and *Ormisda*. The *Opera Register* succinctly reported that: "*Venceslaus* New Opera – did not take,"[319] as the pasticcio only ran for four performances (all attended by members of the royal family).[320] Another *Venceslao* was performed in 1717, as a pasticcio of several authors.[321] Reinhard Strohm believes that Handel might have used some of the music already employed in this first London version of the libretto by Apostolo Zeno as he was preparing the pasticcio.[322] John Roberts claims that Owen Swiney initially assembled *Venceslao* (just like *Ormisda*) as early as 1725-6, even though later Handel changed several arias from those submitted by his agent in Venice.[323] Handel also used the text of two arias from Zeno's *Venceslao* in his celebratory opera *Atalanta*, written in 1736 for the marriage of the Prince Frederick

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[318] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. 4, 4 vols. (London: printed for the author, 1789), 349.

[319] Gb-Lbl, Add. Ms. 11258, f. 30*r* (HCD, II, 386).

[320] See John H. Roberts, "Venceslao," in *The Cambridge Handel Enyclopedia*, 656–7.

[321] *Vincislao, Re di Polonia. Dramma per Musica… As it is Perform'd at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: J. Tonson, 1717). Copy consulted in GB-Ob, Vet. A4 e.831 (1).

[322] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 174–5.

[323] See Roberts, "The London Pasticci of 1730-31," 176–7.

of Wales with Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha,[324] pointing to the fact that Handel was actively looking into (and using) the libretto of Zeno's *Venceslao* throughout the 1730s.

Figure 2.1 – Venceslao, II.15, conducting score (D-Hs, MA/1061), f. 89*v*.

A few traces of Handel's interventions can be seen on the conducting score for *Venceslao*, which shows that—to a degree that is up for debate—he supervised the preparation of the pasticcio.[325] Although John Roberts has claimed that most of the recitatives for the 1731 *Venceslao* were probably by the musician Pietro Castrucci, and that Handel was "surely" not in charge of assembling the pasticcio, it is nonetheless important to note the presence of a small adjustment to a recitative at the bottom of the conducting score, bearing important significance.[326] A close look at the score reveals Handel's handwriting in pencil behind a short line of recitative added at the bottom of the page (see Fig. 2.1). This corresponds to a line in the libretto which has been modified from the version used to prepare the pasticcio (this libretto was the one used by Giovanni Maria Capelli for a revised version performed in Parma in 1724).[327] Roberts correctly suggests that the change occurred due to otherwise irregular prosody

[324] These are "Tu solcasti il mare infido" and "Lassa ch'io t'ho perduta," the latter also to be found in another manuscript belonging to the Savage collection, ms 139, f. 127*r*-129*v*.

[325] Both the conducting score and the harpsichord score survive in D-Hs, mss. MA/1061 and MA/189. Clausen and Strohm are willing to credit Handel with either the writing of the recitatives or at least various interventions on the conducting score (Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren,* 246–8; Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 173–7).

[326] Roberts, "The London Pasticci of 1730-31," 187–92.

[327] *Il Venceslao. Dramma eroico per musica da rappresentarsi in Parma nel Teatro di Corte nella primavera dell'anno MDCCXXIV* (Parma: Giuseppe Rosati, 1724). Copy consulted in I-Bc, 00772. A complete score of Capelli's

of the Italian verse, something that either the libretto reviser or a composer such as Handel would have noted. This apparently minor (and "dramatically unnecessary")[328] change was nevertheless deemed so important that it required some sort of last-minute intervention not only in the conducting score, but even more extensively in the harpsichord score (something that no modern commentator has noticed, despite the eagrness to identify Handel's hand in otherwise unrecognizable pencil markings). In this score, the added line of recitative has the text added in pencil above, with the notes and lyrics copied below in ink. Since, at that point, there was no staff left for the continuo part, the copyist has just written "a. — a." below, to spell out the presence of an A minor chord, which is what is written in the conducting score (see Fig. 2.2). This addition in the harpsichord score features the same hand that made the modification in the conducting score, meaning that it was probably done at the last minute in pencil by the same person and then copied over in ink by the same copyist. It is puzzling that such an unnecessary modification required so much effort on behalf of those who were preparing the scores.

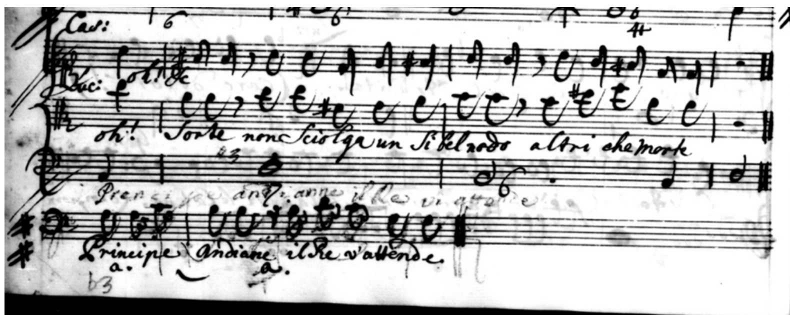

Figure 2.2 – Venceslao, II.15, harpsichord score (D-Hs, MA/189), f. 66*v*.

opera—from which Handel only took one aria and reworked it in parody form, is held at GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 15993. See *Appendix*.

[328] *Ibid.*, 190.

The harpsichord score is also interesting for another case of pencil annotations. In scene II.7, the meeting between Venceslao and his son Casimiro features a rather fast exchange between the two characters. Here is the comparison between the libretto for Parma 1724 and the London revision:

Parma 1724 (scene II.8)	London 1731 (scene II.7)
VENCESLAO Sparite, o della mente Torbide larve… Figlio… CASIMIRO Padre… (O stelle!) VENCESLAO Che acciaro è quel? Che sangue ne stilla ancor? Qual colpo mediti? E qual facesti? Ch'orror, che turbamento ti sparge il volto? CASIMIRO Ahi! (Che dirò?) VENCESLAO Rispondi. CASIMIRO Signor….	VENCESLAO Figlio? CASIMIRO Padre, signor. VENCESLAO Che acciaro è quel? Che sangue ne stilla ancor? E qual orror nel volto? CASIMIRO Ah! (Che dirò?) VENCESLAO Rispondi. CASIMIRO Signor…

This is a minor modification: instead of singing "O stelle" (Heavens!), the London reviser simply changed it to "Signor" (My Lord). "Signor", though, appears again only a few lines after. This is probably why in the harpsichord score (but *not* in the conducting score) someone has penciled "O stelle" below the word "Signore" to avoid the repetition of the same words at a close distance (see Fig. 2.3). It seems as if during the rehearsals someone noticed the repetition and asked to get back to the previous version.

Figure 2.3 – Venceslao, II.7, harpsichord score (D-Hs, MA/189), f. 49*v*.

Yet, the very opposite of this happens a few scenes later. In another dramatic and agitated scene, Venceslao and Casimiro are together again. Casimiro is brought at Venceslao's feet in scene III.4:

Parma 1724 (scene V.3)	London 1731 (scene III.4)
CASIMIRO <u>Prostrato al regio piede</u> incerto fra la vita e fra la morte eccomi. VENCESLAO Sorgi (anima mia, sta forte).	CASIMIRO <u>Umile al regio piede</u> incerto tra la vita e tra la morte eccomi. VENCESLAO Sorgi (anima mia sta forte).

Figure 2.4 – Venceslao, III.4, harpsichord score (D-Hs, MA/189), f. 86*r*.

In this case, the harpsichord score presents the same pencil annotations as seen before, but this time the case is opposite to the previous one (see Fig. 2.4). Here, the text inked below the notes follows the 1724 libretto, while the annotation in pencil ("Umile" instead of "Prostrato") reports what is printed in the London libretto. A few bars later, over the word "Sorgi", the indication marks "Vieni," which is not to be found in any of the

various versions of *Venceslao* that survive.[329] The changes must have been done by someone with a good knowledge of the Italian language and prosody, most likely the same person responsible for the adjustments made to the libretto prior to its English translation.[330] It seems reasonable, then, to hypothesize that these changes happened in rehearsals at the request of singers, given that both times these marks in the score occurred in scenes where the characters of Venceslao and Casimiro appear. For the London performances, this meant two Italian singers such as Annibale Pio Fabri and Senesino (for the complete cast of *Venceslao*, see *Appendix*). None of them had previously sung these roles, so it might be that they simply wanted words that were easier to pronounce ("umile" instead of the clunky "prostrato") or more fit to the rest of the libretto. In any case, these small modifications seem to point in the direction of a collaborative, last-minute way of preparing the pasticci.

Given that these annotations were found exclusively on the harpsichord score and not in the conducting score, speculations regarding Handel's actual involvement with the production of *Venceslao* arise. If he had sat at the harpsichord with the conducting score in front of him, then he could have just shouted the words that the continuo player at the second harpsichord would then have annotated. Or maybe he was not involved at all, and the rehearsals were supervised by Heidegger and Rossi with a certain degree of authority over modifications to the score. In any case, although Handel's presence looms over the production, it is hard to find any evidence of it. So much so, that it would not be unreasonable to claim that there is no trace of Handel's handwriting in pencil in *any* part of the scores. Certainly, not the writing in the harpsichord scores. And frankly, what lies beneath the inked recitative added at the bottom of the page

[329] I have been able to compare 13 printed versions of *Venceslao*, including those for: Venice 1703, Florence 1704, Milan 1705, Verona 1708, Palermo 1708, London 1717, Turin 1720, Venice 1722, Pesaro 1723, Parma 1724, Vienna 1725, Munich 1725, Mantua 1728.

[330] According to Reinhard Strohm, the person responsible for most of the reworking of libretti for the Royal Academy was Giacomo Rossi (Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 173).

previously mentioned, cannot be for certain ascribed to Handel, as it is quite hard to discern any handwriting hints. Yet, Handel scholars such as Clausen and Strohm had no problem in identifying him behind those interventions.[331] Handel seems to be a ghost that haunts modern scholarship, revealing himself even when he's not there.

The question of Handel's (im)material presence in the score will come back later in the chapter. As Roberts has recently noted, one of the reasons Handel and Heidegger decided to assemble *Venceslao* with so many changes in respect to what Swiney had sent them a few years before, was a legal one.[332] On the one hand, Heidegger feared that Swiney might have requested money for pasticci that he himself had compiled. After a 1715 lawsuit in which Heidegger managed to free himself from an economically disadvantaged partnership with Swiney, the manager was careful in using his former partner's musical materials.[333] Handel, on the other hand, was simply interested in having the company obtain the regular £1000 as payment for the supply of the entire operatic season. He, too, was not fully invested in the preparation of *Venceslao*, but he certainly had an economic investment in it. The new season of the second Royal Academy was thus built upon a sort of authorial disappearance due to legal and economic matters.

Legal and economic troubles regarding authorship meant that the public visibility of a named author had to be the result of a careful choice. In eighteenth-century England, after the copyright laws previously described, the advertisement of an enterprise (an artistic, cultural, or even a political one) as being *by* a specific person could have led to potential lawsuits. At the same time, advertisement was the marketplace for competition among printers and publishers.

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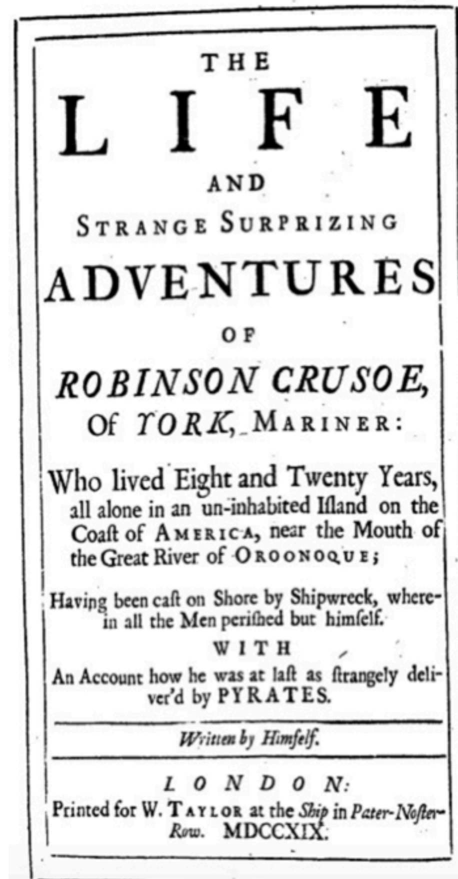
[331] Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 246; Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 175–6.

[332] Roberts, "The London Pasticci of 1730-31," 191.

[333] See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera, 1713-17," *Early Music* 27, no. 1 (1999): 65–84.

Attributing a play or a novel was an act both legally binding and a capital investment.[334] Frontispieces of eighteenth-century novels and plays show a variety of approaches to the naming and attributing of works, but it is important to remember that the choice was almost always made by the publisher as a legal and economic decision, as a way to sell more within the (blurred) boundaries of copyright matters.[335] Sometimes, this involved the decision of attributing a novel to a fictionalized authorial persona, or even to one of the characters of the novel itself, such as the case with Daniel Defoe's first edition of *Robinson Crusoe*.[336] The English novelist famously released *Robinson Crusoe* in 1719 as being "written by Himself," i.e. the character of Crusoe narrating its own



THE

LIFE

AND

STRANGE SURPRIZING

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE,

Of *YORK*, MARINER:

Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Iſland on the Coaſt of AMERICA, near the Mouth of the Great River of OROONOQUE;

Having been caſt on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men periſhed but himſelf.

WITH

An Account how he was at laſt as ſtrangely deliver'd by PYRATES.

Written by Himſelf.

LONDON:

Printed for W. TAYLOR at the *Ship* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*. MDCCXIX.

Figure 2.5 – Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, front page (London, 1719)

autobiography (see Fig. 2.5).[337] Lingering between fiction and truth, *Robinson Crusoe* provoked its readership to believe in its authorship already from the title page, thus inaugurating and bringing

[334] On attribution theory, with specific regard to the English early modern period, see Harold Love, *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[335] See "On Authorship, Appropriation, and Eighteenth-Century Fiction," in *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, ed. by Daniel Cook and Nicholas Seager, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 20–42.

[336] Rodney M. Baine, "The Evidence from Defoe's Title Pages," *Studies in Bibliography* 25 (1972): 185–91. See also Love, *Attributing Authorship*, 181.

[337] *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* […] *Written by Himself* (London: W. Taylor, 1719).

forth debates on the "history-fiction problematic" throughout the early eighteenth century.[338] The author was a figure of discourse that one needed to believe in.

The disappearance and/or modification of the author's name in paratextual apparatuses was becoming reality in the musical world, too. When one confronts the libretti for the first and second Royal Academies of Music, it appears that the printed presence of Handel's name was discontinued after the end of the first Academy. Up until *Tolomeo* (1728, Fig. 2.6) the name of the composer was usually specified below with the list of singers, even though the practice of indicating the name of the person responsible for the music was not standardized.[339] In the list of the "Dramatis Personae"—the juxtaposition of characters' names and their interpreters—the usual reference was "The Musick by Mr. Handel" (or any other composer of the opera). With the advent of the new company and the staging of *Lotario* in 1729, the composer's name was no longer between the printed pages to be sold before the performance (see Fig. 2.7).[340]

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[338] Robert Mayer, *History and the Early English Novel: Matters of Fact from Bacon to Defoe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

[339] *Tolomeo, Re di Egitto. Drama per Musica. Da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market* (London: sold at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, 1728). I have consulted all the libretti printed for the operas specifically attributed to Handel of the first and second Royal Academy.

[340] *Lotario, Drama. Da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market* (London: Thomas Wood, 1729).

Dramatis Perſonæ.

PTOLOMY, *King of* Egypt, *under the Name of* Oſmin, *a Shepherd.* *Signor* Seneſino.	ARASPES, *King of* Cyprus. *Signor* Boſchi.
SELEUCA, *Spouſe of* Ptolomy, *under the Name of* Delia, *a Shepherdeſs.* *Signora* Cuzzoni.	ELIZA, *his Siſter.* *Sig.* Fauſtina, Bordoni.

ALEXANDER, *Brother to* Ptolomy. *Signor* Baldi.

The SCENE *is ſuppoſed to be laid in a Maritime Country of* Cyprus, *near a delightful Village belonging to* Araſpes.

The Muſick by Mr. Handel.

Figure 2.6 – Tolomeo, characters' list (London, 1728), p. [9].

Interlocutori.

ADELAIDE, *Regina d'* Italia.	*La Signora* Anna Strada del Pò.
BERENGARIO, *già Duca di Spoleti Rè d'* Italia.	*Il Signor* Annibale Pio Fabri.
IDELBERTO, *Figlio di* Berengario *Amante d'* Adelaide.	*La Signora* Franceſca Bertolli.
CLODOMIRO, *Capitano di* Berengario.	*Il Signor* Giovanni Goffreddo Riemſchneider.
MATILDE, *Spoſa di* Berengario.	*La Signora* Antonia Merighi.
LOTARIO, *Rè di* Germania, *ed Amante di* Adelaide.	*Il Signor* Antonio Bernacchi.

Figure 2.7 – Lotario, characters' list (London, 1729), p. [7].

The reasons for the removal of Handel's name in the printed libretti are not known. Given that Thomas Wood remained the main printer for the libretti of both Royal Academies, it seems unlikely that the decision could merely have been made for renewed layout purposes. Handel's degree of responsibility in the new productions of the Academy was certainly more than before, not less. It seems as if a renewed culture of musical (and non-musical) authorship affected the way the Royal Academy decided to display the names of the composers involved. This contrasted with the choices made by the Opera of the Nobility, for instance, which from its very beginning in 1734 made the naming of the composer a prominent feature of the libretti's title pages. In their case, after the name of the opera, the usual formulation was "by [name of the librettist] composed

by [name of the composer]".[341] Even when the second Royal Academy was dismantled, and Handel moved to Covent Garden with Christopher Rich, his name never again appeared on the front page of an opera libretto.[342] Handel was literally disappearing at the same time his operatic productions entered a more competitive musical market. As a producer, arranger, composer, and manager, Handel was more than just a name, and he probably did not need to have his name boasted on the printed libretti. But there was more to it. As we will see with the pasticci *Lucio Papirio* and *Catone*, it can be argued that Handel stayed in the shadows in a peculiar "performance of authorship," his active positioning behind the curtain yielding a way for him to foster public discussion regarding his own authorial figure.

Discussions arose in conjunction with both pasticci and revivals of previous productions, and the increase in these modes of staging walked hand-in-hand with the performance of authorship. The trend for operatic revivals became ordinary in the early 1730s. The 1731-32 season was filled with the reprise of old titles: *Tamerlano*, *Admeto*, and *Giulio Cesare* were all inserted in the Royal Academy season. For Strohm, this was a sign of the "deterioration" of Handel's management skills.[343] Just as with the pasticci, I am reluctant to conceive the re-use of previous productions/music as a sign of managerial failure, or as a need for faster ready-made assemblages (see *Introduction*). Rather, it was an attempt for Handel to experiment with different authorial personae, i.e. with different degrees of responsibilities with the organization of his own company,

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[341] This was the case for all the libretti for the Opera Nobility, starting with the 1734 performances of *Arianna a Nasso* [*Ariadne in Naxus. An Opera. By Paul Rolli, F.R.S. Composed by Nicholas Porpora, for the English Nobility* (London: Sam. Aris, 1734)].

[342] On the years after the second Royal Academy of Music, and the consequent move from King's Theatre to Covent Garden, see Robert D. Hume, "Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s," *Music & Letters* 67, no. 4 (1986): 347–62.

[343] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 177.

which included not only the act of "writing" new music, but also arranging, producing, and managing.

On June 1732, close to the same dates as the mounting of the new pasticcio *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*, Handel and the Royal Academy decided to put on a new production of the old *Acis and Galatea* (1718) as a response to an earlier revival by Thomas Arne at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket where they explicitly credited the opera to be by Handel.[344] *Acis* was not properly an opera, rather an example of pastoral setting (a "serenata"). Handel and the Royal Academy responded with a substantial revision which included several new arias, resulting in a three-act bilingual version performed as a concert with background sets. The announcement on the *Daily Journal* for the incoming performances (June 10, 1732) was crafted in a rather peculiar way:

> And on Saturday next [June 10] will be perform'd, a Serenata, call'd ACIS and GALATEA. *Formerly composed by Mr. Handel, and now revised by him*, with several Additions, and to be perform'd by a great Number of the best Voices and Instruments. There will be no Action of the Stage, but the Scene will represent, in a Picturesque Manner, a Rural Prospect, with Rocks, Groves, Fountains, and Grotto's, amongst which will be disposed a Chorus of Nymphs and Shepherds, the Habit, and every other Decoration suited to the Subject.[345]

As operas were more and more announced as being "reviv'd," this advertisement tellingly stated that it was "formerly composed" by Handel and that he was in charge of preparing its revision. Clearly, the statement was meant as a response to the other revival by Arne. Handel's name, here, was used purposely as a term of comparison with the non-authorized version at the Little Theatre, albeit formally "copyrighted" on the newspapers. Yet, the author's name—inserted in relation to a revival—signaled a form of representation by negation: the other revival, although credited to

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[344] For a summary of the several different versions of *Acis and Galatea*, see Brian Trowell, "Acis, Galatea and Polyphemus: A 'Serenata a Tre Voci'?," in *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 31–93; see also Dianne Dugaw, "Parody, Gender, and Transformation in Gay and Handel's 'Acis and Galatea,'" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 4 (1996): 345–67. The first official advertisement for Arne's production credited the pastoral opera as being "Composed by Mr. Handel" (*Daily Post*, 6 May 1732).

[345] *Daily Journal*, 5 June 1732. Italics mine.

Handel, *was not* by Handel; this one was. “Handel” was becoming more and more a function of discourse.

The issue of the reviving of *Acis and Galatea* was affecting the political realm, too. The day before the first performance of *Acis and Galatea* at King’s Theatre, a public letter from Aurelio del Po (husband of the famous soprano Anna Maria Strada) reinforced the attribution of *Acis* to Handel in the context of a vague allusion to other disputes:

> Whereas Signor Bononcini intends after the Serenata composed by Mr. Handel has been performed, to have one of his own at the Opera-house, and has desired Signora Strada to sing in that Entertainment: Aurelio del Po, Husband of the said Signora Strada, thinks it incumbent on him to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that he shall ever think himself happy in every Opportunity wherein he can have the Honour to contribute to their Satisfaction ; but with respect to this particular Request of Signor Bononcini, he hopes he shall be permitted to decline complying with it, for Reasons best known to the said Aurelio del Po and his Wife; and therefore the said Aurelio del Po flatters himself that the Nobility and Gentry will esteem this a sufficient Cause for his Non-compliance with Signor Bononcini’s Desire; and likewise judge it to be a proper Answer to whatever the Enemies of the said Aurelio del Po may object against him or his Wife upon this Occasion.[346]

Bononcini was scheduled to have another pastoral entertainment to be performed after the end of the performances of *Acis and Galatea*, but apparently Aurelio del Po was not willing to allow his wife to participate in it.[347] Although for reasons never explicitly mentioned (“best known to the said Aurelio del Po and his wife”), it would seem that the public disgrace from which Bononcini was falling after the madrigal appropriation incident (see *supra*) was still haunting him. Strada would sing for Handel and not for Bononcini. In both cases, the mentioning of their responsibility as musical creators of their own works (“Serenata *composed by* Mr. Handel… [Bononcini’s] own at the Opera-house”) stood for something else, i.e. the public debate on musical authorship. The evocation of Bononcini in 1732 meant that the question of music as being considered an historical

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[346] *Daily Post*, 9 June 1732.

[347] The episode is explained at length (including its political reading) in Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel’s Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 129–35.

artifact was affecting several aspects of London's theatrical life. If music itself could be historicized, then even contemporary productions could be seen as in need of being "reviv'd," of being brought to life again.

In addition to the new operas and revivals put on by the Royal Academy in 1732, there was yet another "new" revival that proved to be highly successful: the oratorio *Esther,* a 1718 masque for the Cannons that was chosen in May as a sort of experiment. *Esther* was the first oratorio to be performed at the King's Theatre, and the inaugural work of a long sequence of non-operatic repertoire that will inspire Handel for the remainder of his life. What is interesting about *Esther* is that it was introduced to the public in exactly the same way as *Acis and Galatea*: not only were they both first conceived in chamber form for the Duke of Chandos in 1718, but they were also advertised in 1732 with exactly the same words. *Esther*, too, was

> *Formerly composed by Mr. HANDEL, and now revised by him*, with several Additions, and to be performed by a great Number of the best Voices and Instruments.
>
> N.B. There will be no Action on the Stage, but the House will be fitted up in a decent Manner, for the Audience. The Musick to be disposed after the Manner of the Coronation Service.[348]

Matching almost exactly the same words for *Acis and Galatea*, *Esther* too is presented as a revival that is new. Moreover, just like *Acis*, *Esther* too was produced as a response to a public performance at the Crown and Anchor Tavern not under Handel's direction.[349] The new genre of the oratorio was invented as an act of revival by competition.

In the context of this crowded season, it seems less of a surprise that a new pasticcio such as *Lucio Papirio dittatore* would be put on. Scholars such as Strohm have been caught off guard

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[348] *Daily Journal*, 2 May 1732. Italics mine.

[349] Three performances starting on 23 February 1732. See Anthony Hicks, "Handel and the Idea of an Oratorio," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145–63: 152–3.

regarding the decision of staging such a new title, considering that *Esther*'s success "would have made further opera performances unnecessary."[350] For Strohm, a possible explanation was that *Lucio Papirio* had already been planned. There is no way of knowing exactly why the second Royal Academy decided to put on the pasticcio, but it seems to me that the choice was made as part of larger project of introducing "new" revivals: a new pastoral opera (*Acis and Galatea*), a new oratorio (*Esther*), and a new arrangement of an Italian opera (*Lucio Papirio*).

Figure 2.8 – Lucio Papirio's advertisement. *Daily Journal*, 5 June 1732.

AT the KING's THEATRE in the HAY-MARKET, To-morrow, being Tuesday the 6th Day of June, will be perform'd, A New OPERA, call'd,
LUCIUS PAPIRIUS,
The DICTATOR.
PIT and BOXES to be put together, and no Persons to be admitted without TICKETS, which will be deliver'd To-morrow, at the Office in the Hay-Market, at HALF a GUINEA each.
GALLERY FIVE SHILLINGS.
By HIS MAJESTY's COMMAND,
No Person whatever to be admitted behind the SCENES.
To begin at 7 o'Clock

And on Saturday next will be perform'd, a Serenata, call'd,
ACIS and GALATEA.
Formerly composed by Mr. Handel, and now revised by him, with several Additions, and to be perform'd by a great Number of the best Voices and Instruments.
There will be no Action on the Stage, but the Scene will represent, in a Picturesque Manner, a Rural Prospect, with Rocks, Groves, Fountains, and Grotto's, amongst which will be disposed a Chorus of Nymphs and Shepherds, the Habits and every other Decoration suited to the Subject.

As a matter of fact, the ad for the last performances of the "new opera," *Lucio Papirio*, was printed in the *Daily Journal* next to the announcement of the "authorized" revival of *Acis and Galatea* in the *Daily Journal* (see Fig. 2.8). *Lucio Papirio* was physically close to the previous revivals, in terms of marketing and in terms of the ideological project behind its assemblage. Although presented as a "new" title (a term used for every new staging of a drama, including the pasticci), *Lucio Papirio dittatore* was not a newly written opera. Rather, it was a fairly experimental way for the Royal Academy to introduce the audience to an Italian opera, in a version that was almost an intact version of its overseas archetype. As opposed to what the Academy had done with *Elpidia*, *Ormisda*, and even *Venceslao*, this new pasticcio was not really a pasticcio, if we think of it as the assemblage of various arias to suit the need of singers. John Roberts prefers to call *Lucio Papirio* an "arrangement," a term that is just as vague as pasticcio, given that the degree of re-elaboration involved varies to a degree that is not standardized (see *Introduction*).[351]

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[350] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 177.

[351] On *Lucio Papirio*, see *ibid.*, 177–9; see also John H. Roberts, "Lucio Papirio dittatore," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, 402–3. See Malcolm Boyd, "Arrangement," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*

Lucio Papirio dittatore was a very small revision of a production set to music by Geminiano Giacomelli in Parma in the spring of 1729, a spectacle that Handel had probably seen during his Italian trip to recruit new singers.[352] The libretto was first devised by Apostolo Zeno in 1719, while in 1729 the poet Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni edited it for the court where he was working, Parma. The printed libretto for these Parma performances contains an interesting "Avviso a' Leggitori" ("To the Readers") which was written by Frugoni himself:

> This drama was first crafted by the famous pen of the author who, among the Republic of Letters, can claim to have brought to perfection our Italian musical theater. […] It has sustained the inevitable misfortune of every *dramma per musica*, which—once they reach the public sphere, where they keep changing, disfigured and tore apart—they need to serve the various needs of people and places in charge of staging them. I, too, had to modify it from its first state, almost to the point of making it new to adapt for the celebrated company of singers in Parma; for this, the erudite author [Zeno] will condone me, for having kept part of his text and for having modelled my revisions on such a perfect model…[353]

The question of authoriality with respect to the libretto of *Lucio Papirio* is emphasized in this long notice to the readers. Apostolo Zeno, here, is depicted as the famous "author… among the Republic of the Letters," thus already projecting internationally the circulation of Italian opera and particularly of *Lucio Papirio*. Frugoni spends a few lines to justify his modifications, a courtesy

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(Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed June 13, 2017, http://proxy.library.upenn.edu:2920/subscriber/article/grove/music/01332.

[352] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 177. For the 1729 Parma performances of *Lucio Papirio*, see Davide Verga, "Besozzi e Farinelli: origini di un sodalizio artistico nella Parma del tramonto farnesiano," *Recercare* 8 (2006): 33–67, especially pp. 51–6.

[353] "Questo dramma da prima uscì dalla sempre fertile, e maestra penna di celebre autore, che nella Repubblica delle lettere fra molti suoi rari pregi annovera pur quello di avere alla possibile perfezione condotto il Nostro Musicale Teatro d'Italia. […] ha egli sostenuto l'inevitabile disavventura di tutti gli drammi per musica, che una volta al pubblico, dove in una foggia, dove nell'altra mutati, e per lo più difformati e lcaeri, servir debbono alle diverse contingenze delle persone e de' luoghi, che a rappresentarlo concorrono. Pure a me questa fiata è stato d'uopo smuoverlo dal suo primo stato, e quasi quasi riprodurlo di nuovo per adattarlo all'insigne compagnie degli attori a cantarlo in Parma prescelti; lo che di leggieri mi condonerà l'autore eruditissimo, sì per avere io ritenuto del suo, quanto mi è stato possibile, e sì ancora per aver regolato le mie mutazioni, ed aggiunte su quell'ottimo modello […]" *Lucio Papirio dittatore. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel nuovo Ducal Teatro di Parma la primavera dell'anno MDCCXXIX* (Parma: eredi di Paolo Monti, 1729), [13].

towards Zeno that will not be shared by the reviser of the libretto for the London performances in 1732. The London libretto, in fact, makes absolutely no reference to any sort of author, with regard to lyrics or music, following the recent trend of the Royal Academy printed items.[354] It could be that Handel, as he was following the opera in Parma, was struck by Frugoni's efforts to explain his revisions (and possibly by the way Giacomelli put it to music) and opted for selecting such a drama for the new Royal Academy of Music, at a time when the company was experimenting in various ways with revivals of already-staged titles.

The title was not well received in London, as it had to be taken off after only four performances (23, 30 May; 3, 6 June 1732). Francis Coleman noted in *The Opera Register*: "May the 23. Lucius Papirius a New Opera Handell [sic]. it did not take."[355] Given the large availability of productions between May and June, *Lucio Papirio* could afford to be taken off the stage after only four times. The point of its production was probably not to obtain any financial gain, but rather to test the waters of the subscribers of the academy in the direction of introducing Italian operas "as is."

Lucio Papirio was brought to London with almost all the arias taken from the 1729 Parma version. The most visible modifications were the cutting of a few recitative sections, and the replacement of only two of the 21 total arias by Giacomelli, possibly a request by the bass Montagnana who played the character of Marco Fabio (for a detailed list of the arias and the cast, see *Appendix*). The adjustments for the cast are still visible today in the conducting score that is preserved at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky in Hamburg.[356]

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[354] *Lucio Papirio Dittatore. Drama. Da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Hay-Market* (London: T. Wood, 1732). Copies consulted in GB-Lbl, General Collection 639.d.21.(1.), and GB-Ob, Harding D 2447.

[355] GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 11258, f. 31*r* (HCD II, 531).

[356] D-Hs, MA/1029. Although Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 170, assigns this item to the group of harpsichord scores (albeit with a question mark; the same attribution is to be found in Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 178), there is no doubt that this volume is to be considered a normal conducting score, with only

The cuts in the recitatives sections were articulated slightly differently than in previous pasticci. In this case, the reviser (whose identity is unknown) has worked little towards rewriting or adjusting the lines of the 1729 libretto; rather, it seems as if the cuts were done in bulk, with either entire scenes removed (such as scenes II.9 and III.5 in the Parma 1729 libretto) or simply blocks of lines removed for brevity's sake. This contrasts with what was done with *Ormisda* and *Venceslao*, for instance, where clearly someone with a good knowledge of the Italian language was in charge of adjusting and recomposing the lines of the Italian libretti in order to suit the new setting. With *Lucio Papirio*, it seems as if Handel himself could have done the work of cutting the libretto, simply by reading it and selecting the sections that he wanted to be removed. This is what John Roberts believes, too, when he argues about this unusual arrangement process:

> He [Handel] apparently gave Smith senior a copy of the libretto showing the intended cuts, and had him [Smith] copy the original recitatives along with the arias, leaving blank those passages that he thought Handel might want to alter, including most of the vocal lines of Quinto Fabio and Rutilia. Handel then penciled in the missing notes, later inked over by Smith, and made various additional changes. The result was a mixture of Handel and Giacomelli (whose bass notes were often retained even when the voice part was rewritten) with occasional touches of Smith.[357]

Roberts' speculation is arguably the result of a comparison between the conducting scores of *Venceslao* and *Lucio Papirio*, the latter being visibly filled with Handel's own handwriting in pencil over several parts that were later copied over by his favorite copyist (Smith senior's handwriting is recognizable in almost the entire conducting score).[358] As opposed to *Venceslao*, the main traits of the composer's handwriting are clearly visible on the leaves of the conducting score: among the many examples available, the gathering containing scenes I.10-11 presents extensive traces of

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a few gatherings left incomplete. Roberts, "Lucio Papirio dittatore," 403, correctly calls this a "conducting score".

[357] *Id.*

[358] This matches Clausen's investigation (*Händels Direktionspartituren*, 171), even though the scholar mentions the presence of the Hb1 copyist, too, in a few gatherings.

Handel's markings below the ink. A comparison with a contemporary autograph such as the one for *Ezio* (completed only a few months before the premiere of *Lucio Papirio*) reveals the same peculiar traits employed by Handel to draw eight and sixteenth notes (see Fig. 2.9 and 2.10).[359] Handel's presence in and behind the score is definitely more evident here than in previous pasticcio productions.

Figure 2.9 – Lucio Papirio, I.11, conducting score (D-Hs, MA/1029), f. 38*v*.

Figure 2.10 – Ezio, I.2, autograph score (GB-Lbl, R.M.20.a.12), f. 12*r*.

[359] The autograph of *Ezio* is at GB-Lbl, R.M.20.a.12 (f. 6*v*).

The score of the 1729 setting by Giacomelli that was used by Handel is very likely the one belonging to the Savage collection (see *supra*).[360] Given that many other scores in this collection are related to productions of the new Royal Academy of Music, it is plausible to think that they constituted a bulk of Handel's manuscripts of Italian operas used to gain musical "intelligence." The score originally belonged to sir John Buckworth, one of the patrons of the Academy and possibly the person responsible for financially helping Handel in obtaining such scores.[361] Unlike the similar case with *Catone* that will be discussed in the next section, this score used by Handel bears no markings whatsoever, other than a few annotations at the beginning (such as the price paid for the copy, "£3 10s" registered on the flyleaf) . It was copied by one "Francesco Faelli" in 1729 in Parma (as marked at the end of the score), but other than that there is no other information regarding this score.

Strohm interestingly notes that the score still bears the mark of eighteenth-century usage, given that a fragment of an advertisement for some performances of *The Beggar's Opera* is to be found at the beginning of one of the two arias ("Alma tra miei timori") that Handel chose to replace Giacomelli's.[362] This half-torn bookmark is missing some key clues, such as the date for the performances of that specific production of *The Beggar's Opera*, but it includes the names of a few singers involved: "Player: Mr. Anderson – Beggar: Mr. Bennet – Mat o' th' Mint by Mr. Baker – Ben Budge: Mr. Wignel." In the understandable impulse to make everything revolve around Handel, Strohm attempts to establish May 1732 as a possible date for this leaflet, justifying the decision by claiming that "only Handel or his copyist would have had any reason for

[360] GB-Lam, ms. 71.

[361] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 177.

[362] *Ibid.*, 178.

inserting it" in that precise location.[363] The musicologist even goes as far as claiming that "[n]o corresponding performance is mentioned in *The London Stage*," the most comprehensive modern listing of London spectacles during the eighteenth century.[364] Yet, it is precisely with the aid of *The London Stage* that one can easily locate the performances of *The Beggar's Opera* to which the torn leaflet refers to: in the fourth volume of the catalogue (the one comprising the years 1747-1776), the entry for Monday, 15 December 1760 matches perfectly the cast names appearing on the leaflet for a performance at Covent Garden (in competition at the same time with other *Beggar's Opera* shows at the Drury Lane).[365] Thus, the explanation for the insertion of such a piece of paper between the pages of the conducting score of *Lucio Papirio* has to be different from the one given by Strohm, given that the insertion must have happened sometimes after December 1760. Handel could have had nothing to do with such an insertion.

It seems likely that the *Beggar's Opera* advertisement found its way in the *Lucio Papirio* score for reasons other than signaling replacement arias. Or better, it could still have been inserted there for that purpose, but then *ex post* by one of the owners of the score, rather than by the producers of the pasticcio/arrangement. In 1760 and after, the conducting score of *Lucio Papirio* was likely in the hands of the singer William Savage, whose collection of scores would later constitute the bulk of the Royal Academy of Music's music manuscript section. Savage, a composer and singer with a keen interest in Italian opera as inspiration for his own music, had been acquainted with Handel since 1735 (at the age of 15), when he sang in *Athalia* and *Alcina* as a boy soprano. As his voice lowered, he sang bass roles in Handel's last London opera season (1740-

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[363] *Id.*

[364] *Ibid.*, 284 n36.

[365] The entry refers to the production starting on 24 September 1760, but this one was the only Monday performance recorded on *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment. Part 4: 1747-1776*, vol. 2, 3 vols., ed. George W. Stone (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), 831.

41), interpreting the protagonist of *Imeneo*, and Fenice in *Deidamia*.[366] Considering that the bookmarked aria in the *Lucio Papirio* score was for bass voice, it may have caught the attention of the adult Savage. Either as a source of material to be sung, or as inspiration for the composition of new music, it seems reasonable to think that the English singer was responsible for the insertion of the 1760s bookmark. By the time it was used as a mark of musical appreciation, Handel was already dead.

The little piece of paper could be seen as an emblem of the contemporary attitude towards the musical past. At a time when Italian opera of the early decades was already going out of fashion, its remnants were (literally) indexed for the sake of canonizing it. Handel and the Royal Academy were introducing such a practice on the stage, while debates on what constituted the musical past as such were informing the public sphere. Today, the same piece of paper is mistakenly seen as an emblem of compositional agency: it *must* have been used by Handel because the idea fulfills our need to identify an author behind the responsibility of producing an opera.

Finally, this small object acquires a sort of agency on its own: it displayed the commerce of early modern theatrical entertainment; it signals eighteenth-century musical interests and related debates on authorship; it mobilizes modern musicology in understanding the assemblage practices of early modern opera. Most of all, it projected and mirrored the desires and needs of the people whose hands have touched it. Not only does this slip of paper still have a social life as an object—traveling through space and time, always acquiring a new meaning; it also has the power to affect the lives of those who have been in contact with it.[367]

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[366] See Donald Burrows, "Savage, William," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 20, 2017, oxfordmusiconline.org; his interest in Italian music from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century (among others, Stradella and Steffani) is mentioned in R. J. S. Stevens and Henry George Farmer, "A Forgotten Composer of Anthems: William Savage (1720-89)," *Music & Letters* 17, no. 3 (1936), 188–99: 190.

[367] For a discussion on the social life of musical objects, see ch. 1.2. Recently, the study of objects as entities with a sort of agency on their own has informed much of the debates on "new materialist" approaches in the humanities, including object-oriented ontologies. For a first overview of the subject, see *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics*, ed. Diana H. Coole and Samantha Frost (Durham: Duke University Press,

In the end, it is a matter of matter. Materials shape our own view of the world, including the appropriation of the past. Handel and Savage appropriated operas from Italy; musicologists appropriated Handel. They made him appear as an author where he was, more accurately, acting in the shadows. They wanted to see him where he was not there. The next section on the pasticcio *Catone*, which was next in the sequence of pasticci organized by the Royal Academy, picks up the same theoretical and historical foundations laid by these pages: performance of authorship and its debates, musical appropriation, and the invention of the musical past. Through the examination of contemporary reports, the close readings of a few scenes, and the introduction of the category of "ghostwriting," it argues for a reconsideration of the very notion of a 'musical author' in connection with the production of opera in eighteenth-century London.

2.3 Performing the Author, Ghostwriting the Music: Staging *Catone* in Eighteenth-Century London

To what extent was the London society (or more precisely, were the subscribers to the Royal Academy opera season) aware of the changing models of authorship in relation to music? How were people discussing the 'newly invented' musical past? Were they discussing music at all?

2010); see also Daniel Miller, "Materiality: An Introduction," in *Materiality*, ed. Daniel Miller (Duke University Press, 2005), 1–50. For a debate over the applicability of such theories to literary studies and beyond, see the articles by Graham Harman ("The Well-Wrought Broken Hammer: Object-Oriented Literary Criticism," 183–203), Timothy Morton ("An Object-Oriented Defense of Poetry," 205–24), and the response by Jane Bennett ("Systems and Things: A Response to Graham Harman and Timothy Morton," 225–33) in *New Literary History* 43, no. 2 (2012).

It is not always easy to identify the opinions of past societies. In the pre-mass communication eras, the very idea of a "public opinion" is hard to grasp. The public sphere of eighteenth-century European intellectuals was far removed from a general, unified view of the world. As historians, the material with which we attempt to identify peoples' thoughts (correspondence, secondary literature, bureaucratic documentation) remains inevitably linked to the likelihood of biases and blatant falsehoods. There is usually little historical 'truth' in someone's letter to a lover or a friend. More than anything, these letters are motivated by feelings, and feelings do not always constitute evidence. It can be said that various strands of societies at different times have shared a common sense of dwelling in this world, a "structure of feeling" that characterized the episteme of an era.[368]

Certainly, the epistemic feeling of early eighteenth-century London theatergoers was of a renewed sense of reading and writing practices, including the individualization of the people responsible for them. Yet, authors were neither suddenly invented nor commonly understood as public figures. Authors were author-ized by means of discourses on such practices and legal acknowledgment. Copyright laws (neither suddenly proclaimed nor universally recognized) played a substantive role in such structures of feeling by enabling debates and instigating lawsuits regarding literary property, giving the authors a 'brand' to be identified with (or a pseudonym to guard from public scrutiny). As Roger Chartier has noticed, the lawsuits that followed the promulgation of the Statute of Anne in 1710 "led to a novel association of notions of individual

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[368] "Structures of feelings" and "episteme" are terms known to modern historians through the writings of Raymond Williams and Michel Foucault. For Williams, structures of feelings are "social experiences *in solution*, as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been precipitated and are more evidently and more immediately available" [*Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 133–4]. The Foucauldian notion of the "episteme" has less to do with the output of societal thinking than the conditions of possibilities for such discourses to emerge: "if in any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one episteme that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in a theory or silently invested in a practice" [*The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Vintage Books ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 168].

authorship, aesthetic originality, and literary property."[369] As argued in the previous pages, and with the aid of the following case study, we see how matters regarding authorship were deemed important in London during the 1730s, to the point of people willing to write about it not only in theoretical essays, political pamphlets, and meta-theatrical plays, but also in personal letters.

"What is an author?" was not a question first asked by Foucault, but one for which early modern audiences also sought answers. On November 6, 1732, a few months after the production of *Lucio Papirio*, the *Daily Advertiser* reported on the recent premiere of the new pasticcio *Catone* at the King's Theatre, emphasizing that Handel was not to be considered the main composer:

> we hear that the Opera was not composed by Mr. Handell,
> but by some very eminent Master in Italy.[370]

Catone was first performed on 4 November 1732 at the King's Theatre as the inauguration of the 1732/1733 season of the new Royal Academy of Music.[371] For the first time, the company co-managed by Handel and Heidegger decided to use a pasticcio for opening night, a move that followed naturally from the productions of the previous season, with its use of revivals, arrangements, and new genres such as the oratorio. Another pasticcio signaled a deliberate continuation of both the revival of the musical "past" (including a quite recent one) and the discussion on musical authorship.

Moreover, the choice of the specific work was not a casual one. After having already set to music three of Pietro Metastasio's libretti (*Siroe*, *Poro*, and *Ezio*), the Royal Academy sought in *Catone in Utica* a subject that was already very popular both in Italy and London. The story of Cato the Younger, a Roman politician who believed in the Republican ideals and committed

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[369] Chartier, *The Author's Hand*, 79.

[370] *Daily Advertiser*, 6 November 1732 (quoted in HCD, II, 564).

[371] On the pasticcio *Catone*, see Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 179–82, and John H. Roberts, "Catone," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, 129–30.

suicide at the idea of living in a world dominated by Julius Caesar, was first conceived by Metastasio in Rome in 1728 for a new production with music by Leonardo Vinci.[372] The drama had trouble meeting with approval, as the tragic ending—the death of Cato on stage—was considered unbearable. A second, revised version of the libretto—with the death of Cato happening offstage—was soon set to music by Leonardo Leo and opened the 1728/1729 season at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice.[373] Handel was likely present at these Venetian performances, as part of his Italian trip to recruit new singers: a copy of the score that reflects the structure of the setting by Leonardo Leo was used by Handel's copyists workshop to prepare the new pasticcio.[374] The material used by the Royal Academy, then, was text and music taken from the 1729 performances of Leonardo Leo's *Catone in Utica* as a base for the preparation of the new opera.

Catone as inauguration of the new season was a bold move. Unlike *Lucio Papirio* (another opera that Handel probably saw in person and decided to bring to England, too), the story of Cato the Younger was well-known to the London society at large. In a sense, it can even be said that during the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, the city of London was obsessed with the figure of the Roman orator.[375] The craze for Roman history and the personalities that were seen as models for modern societies became part of a larger debate

[372] On the 1728 *Catone in Utica* with music by Leonardo Vinci, see Kurt Sven Markstrom, *The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2006), 220–31. Libretto consulted in I-Bc, 05521: *Catone in Utica. Tragedia per musica di Artino Corasio [Pietro Metastasio] pastore arcade da rappresentarsi nel Teatro detto delle Dame nel carnovale dell'anno 1728* (Rome: Bernabò, 1728).

[373] On Leo's version of *Catone*, see the "Preface" to Leonardo Leo, *Catone in Utica*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown, Italian Opera, 1640-1770 70 (New York; London: Garland, 1983), [ix–xi]. Libretto consulted in I-Bc, 02700*: Catone in Utica. Tragedia per musica di Artino Corasio [Pietro Metastasio], pastore arcade, da rappresentarsi nel famosissimo Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo, nel carnevale del 1729* (Venice: Carlo Buonarigo, 1729).

[374] The manuscript score related to the Venetian performance of Leo's *Catone in Utica* is in GB-Lam, ms. 75 (facsimile reproduced in Leo, *Catone in Utica*).

[375] For a first view on the eighteenth-century reception of the figure of Cato the Younger, see Nathaniel Wolloch, "Cato the Younger in the Enlightenment," *Modern Philology* 106, no. 1 (2008): 60–82.

concerning morality in English politics.[376] In 1713 Joseph Addison (the famous English poet, playwright, and politician who founded *The Spectator* with Richard Steele) wrote his own *Cato*, one of the most successful plays in eighteenth-century London and even in the American colonies.[377] Presented as an emblem of liberty against tyranny, Cato—as depicted in Addison's play— was soon appropriated by both the Whigs and Tories as their own symbol of political freedom.[378] In a word, in can be said that—after the premiere of Addison's play—the city of London experienced a sort of 'Cato-mania.'

Cato's pervasiveness on the streets of London was more than just a matter of political debate. The figure of Cato became a material mark of authority and authoriality. Only a month before the premiere of the pasticcio *Catone*, the opening of the new Goodman's Fields Theatre featured the paintings of the four writers and actors Shakespeare, Dryden, Congreve, and Betterton, balancing the four historical figures of Cato, Julius Caesar, Marc Anthony, and Octavia:

> We hear from Goodman's-Fields, that the New Theatre there was open'd on Monday last [29 September 1732] with the Play of King Henry the Fourth, with the Humours of Sir John Falstaff, to a very splendid and crowded Audience, who by their loud and frequent Applauses testify'd their Approbation both of the Decorations and Performance. The principal Embellishments are as follow: on a large Oval over the Pit is represented the Figure of his Majesty, attended by Peace, Liberty, and Justice, trampling Tyranny and Oppression under his Feet; Round it are the Heads of Shakespear, Dryden, Congreve, and Betterton; *on the Coving on the left Hand is*

[376] See Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[377] For a modern edition, see Joseph Addison, *Cato: A Tragedy, and Selected Essays*, ed. Christine Dunn Henderson and Mark E. Yellin (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004). See also Fredric M. Litto, "Addison's Cato in the Colonies," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (1966): 431–49.

[378] The literature on the relationship between English politics and the play by Addison is quite vast. The most important contributions on the topic are Julie Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (University of Chicago Press, 1999), 48–60; Jorge Bastos da Silva, "Cato's Ghosts: Pope, Addison, and Opposition Cultural Politics," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 38, no. 1 (2005): 95–115; David Walker, "Addison's Cato and the Transformation of Republican Discourse in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26, no. 1 (2003): 91–108. In connection to opera in London, Addison's *Cato* is also referenced in McGeary, *The Politics of Opera,* 28–30.

> *painted the Scene of Cato pointing at the dead Body of his son Marcus*; in the Middle, that of Julius Cæsar stabb'd in the Senate-House; and on the Right, that of Marc Anthony and Octavia, where the Children are introduced in All for Love; on the Sounding-Board over the Stage, is a handsome Piece of Painting of Apollo and the Nine Muses.[379]

The allegorical reference to "Peace, Liberty, and Justice" in connection to both the monarchy and the figures taken from literature and history was not chosen by chance. In eighteenth-century London, theater was an instrument for the "micropolitical inculcation of the ideology of the aesthetic," including the relationship between artistic achievements and moral grounds.[380]

The more Cato became a symbol of liberty, the more his material presence was felt in the streets. "Cato's head" was used as an outdoor sign for the bookseller William Chetwood in Covent Garden, on Russell Street since 1721,[381] while in 1723 a "Cato Coffeehouse" was reported as opened, close to another bookseller.[382] "Cato's Letters" appeared in the *London Journal* between 1720 and 1723 as anonymous essays condemning corruption and lack of political morality, only later to be published altogether and revealed as the work of the late John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon.[383] The letters, which attempted at reconciling the two different traditions of political republicanism and economic liberalism, contain an interesting preface about anonymity and the "performance of authorship" (see *supra*), and they were initially published as being written by "Cato" himself, a decision that resembled the way Defoe's publication of *Robinson*

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[379] *London Evening Post*, 3 October 1732. Italics mine. On the Goodman's Theatre, see Frederick T. Wood, "Goodman's Fields Theatre," *The Modern Language Review* 25, no. 4 (1930), 443–56.

[380] Joseph Roach, "Theatre History and the Ideology of the Aesthetic," *Theatre Journal* 41, no. 2 (1989), 155–68: 157.

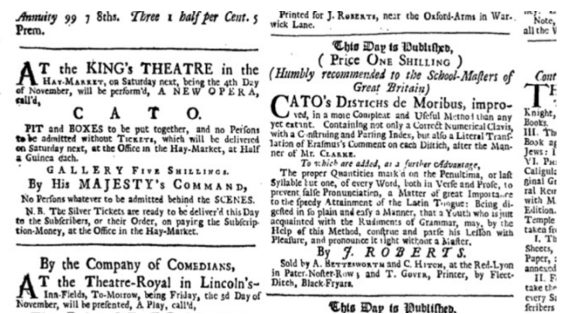
[381] See John Joseph Knight, "Chetwood, William Rufus," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 10, 22 vols., ed. Lee Sidney (New York; London: Macmillan; Smith Elder & Co., 1908-09), 211–2.

[382] An ad for a book on the *True Briton* reported "Sold by Randal Minshul, under Cato's Coffee-House, in Ship-Yard near Temple-Bar." (*True Briton*, 2 August 1732).

[383] The essays are reproduced as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters: Or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects*, ed. Ronald Hamowy, 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1995). I have consulted the eighteenth-century publication: *Cato's Letters* (London: W. Wilkins, 1724).

Crusoe as written by the protagonist. Cato was even used in a sort of manipulative way, by letting people believe through false advertisement in the *Daily Journal* that the author of a textbook for learning Latin (the *Distichs de Moribus*) was the same Cato as our Roman hero (see Fig. 2.11).[384] By putting it side by side with the announcement for the premiere of the pasticcio *Catone* at King's Theatre, Cato's name became a fictional mark of authority. Cato stood for the "performance of authorship," becoming simultaneously an *eidolon* and the object of discourses on authorship.

That Cato would be somehow connected to the practices of writing and reading, and to the various functions of authorship, was already implicit in the legend surrounding his death. As Plutarch reports it in *The Parallel Lives*, Cato attempted suicide while reading the *Phaedo*, Plato's dialogue in which Socrates explores various arguments for the soul's immortality and afterlife. Cato is reading about Socrates's death as he performs his own.[385] This powerful image was vividly portrayed in every retelling of the story, and it must have struck the imagination of Joseph Addison. Not only, in his *Cato*, is the book carrying Plato's dialogue specifically requested as a prop for act 5,[386] but the young Addison himself seemed to have been obsessed by this scene already in 1701, twelve years before conceiving his own play.[387]



Annuity 99 7 8ths. *Three 1 half per Cent.* 5 Prem.

AT the KING's THEATRE in the HAY-MARKET, on Saturday next, being the 4th Day of November, will be perform'd, A NEW OPERA, call'd,

C A T O.

PIT and BOXES to be put together, and no Persons to be admitted without TICKETS, which will be delivered on Saturday next, at the Office in the Hay-Market, at Half a Guinea each.

GALLERY FIVE SHILLINGS.

By His MAJESTY's COMMAND,

No Persons whatever to be admitted behind the SCENES.

N. B. The Silver Tickets are ready to be deliver'd this Day to the Subscribers, or their Order, on paying the Subscription-Money, at the Office in the Hay-Market.

By the Company of COMEDIANS,

AT the Theatre-Royal in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, To-Morrow, being Friday, the 3d Day of November, will be presented, A Play, call'd,

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick Lane.

This Day is Published,

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(Humbly recommended to the School-Masters of Great Britain)

CATO's DISTICHS de Moribus, improved, in a more Compleat and Useful Method than any yet extant. Containing not only a Correct Numerical Clavis, with a Construing and Parsing Index, but also a Literal Translation of Erasmus's Comment on each Distich, after the Manner of Mr. CLARKE.

To which are added, as a further Advantage,

The proper Quantities mark'd on the Penultima, or last Syllable but one, of every Word, both in Verse and Prose, to prevent false Pronunciation, a Matter of great Importance to the speedy Attainment of the Latin Tongue: Being digested in so plain and easy a Manner, that a Youth who is just acquainted with the Rudiments of Grammar, may, by the Help of this Method, construe and parse his Lesson with Pleasure, and pronounce it right without a Master.

By *J. ROBERTS.*

Sold by A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH, at the Red-Lyon in Pater-Noster-Row; and T. GOVER, Printer, by Fleet-Ditch, Black-Fryars.

This Day is Published.

Figure 2.11 – Daily Journal, 2 November 1732.

[384] *Daily Journal*, 4 November 1732.

[385] Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, VIII.68. Modern edition in Plutarch, *Lives. Vol. VIII. Sertorius and Eumenes. Phocion and Cato the Younger*, Loeb Classical Library 100, ed. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919), 401–3.

[386] The stage direction at the beginning of V.1 requires "Cato solus, sitting in a thoughtful Posture: In his Hand Plato's Book on the Immortality of the Soul." *Cato. A tragedy. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, by Her Majesty's servants. By Mr. Addison* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1713), 96.

[387] Most of the theatrical renditions that led to Metastasio's version of the story of Cato the Younger are identified in Paolo Lago, *I personaggi classici secondo Metastasio: Catone in Utica, Olimpiade, Achille in Sciro* (Verona: Fiorini, 2010), 12–5 and 47–68.

In his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, Addison recalls his stay in Venice during Carnival season. Anticipating the virulent tone with which he would later condemn Italian operas in several issues of the *Spectator*, Addison starts describing "the opera that was most in Vogue" at the time, an early operatic version of the story of Cato.[388] The production was *Catone Uticense*, which premiered on 13 January 1701 at the Teatro S. Grisostomo, to a libretto by Matteo Noris and music attributed to Carlo Francesco Pollarolo.[389] This was a typical late baroque plot with little interest in historical accuracy and more focus on amorous relationships. Addison seems distracted by what is happening on stage, and concentrates on one peculiar image:

> Before he [Cato] kills himself, you see him withdrawn into his Library, where, among his Books, I observed the Titles of Plutarch and Tasso. After a short Soliloquy, he strikes himself with the Dagger that he holds in his Hand; but, being interrupted by one of his Friends, he stabs him for his Pains, and by the Violence of the Blow unluckily breaks the Dagger on one of his Ribs, so that he is forced to dispatch himself by tearing up his first Wound.[390]

Addison is bewildered/amused by Cato's library in this clumsy Venetian show. The anachronistic presence of the books by Plutarch and Tasso as props annoys the English writer, but they too contribute (perhaps involuntarily) to the identification between Cato and the realm of literary production. Cato dies surrounded by books—such as Plutarch—that describe his own death. On this Venetian opera stage, Cato's afterlife is represented as unintentionally meta-theatrical. Addison was struck—albeit in a negative way—by this image of Cato's library, and he kept it (although with the right book props) in his version. Even though Cato's library was not featured in Metastasio's own libretto of *Catone*, the Italian poet had read Addison's *Cato*, as the play was

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388 Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1705), 74.

389 *Catone uticense. Drama per musica da recitarsi nel Teatro Grimani in S. Gio. Grisostomo, di Matteo Noris l'anno 1701* (Venice: Niccolini, 1701). Copy consulted in I-Bc, 06045.

390 Addison, *Remarks*, 74.

published in several Italian translations, including those by Pier Jacopo Martello, Antonio Maria Salvini, and Luigi Riccoboni, all of them somehow involved in the reformation of Italian theater in the first decades of the eighteenth century.[391]

To summarize this intricate genealogy: the libretto used by Handel and the Royal Academy was a revision of Metastasio's 1729 version of *Catone in Utica*, which was already a second version for Venice of the original 1728 Roman libretto. Metastasio' *Catone* was possibly an operatic version of an Italian translation of Addison's *Cato*, which itself was prompted by the viewing (and critiquing) of a Venetian opera in 1701 where Cato dies amidst books that write about himself dying.

The choice of Metastasio's *Catone* for the opening of the new 1733 Royal Academy of Music season, then, was not only an explicit homage to a subject that was largely popular in London, but also a natural fit for the genre of pasticcio itself, which was inherently concerned with the re-materialization of previous authors, or "masters," and with the recent trend into the exploration and arrangements of a musical past. Previously, this form of vocalization of past masters would have been visible already in the libretti, for example in *Muzio Scevola* (see ch. 1.1), where the printing layout allowed for the writing of Livy to be identified in a few speeches by the main characters of the opera. The literary past was a ghost that showed itself in the very act of writing.

Similarly, in *Catone*, an instance of this practice of retracing previous voices can be seen from the way the libretto had to be adjusted for the new, smaller cast of the new season at the Royal Academy. Metastasio's and Leo's 1729 version (the one on which the London pasticcio was

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[391] [Pier Jacopo Martello], *Il Catone. Tratto dall'inglese dell'Adisson*, in *Seguito del Teatro Italiano di Pier Jacopo Martello. Parte prima* (Bologna: Lelio Dalla Volpe, 1723), 51–142; [Antonio Maria Salvini], *Cato. A Tragedy by Mr. Addison. Il Catone. Tragedia del signore Addison tradotta da Anton Maria Salvini gentiluomo fiorentino* (Florence: Michele Nestenus, 1725); [Luigi Riccoboni], *Il Catone. Tragedia tradotta dall'inglese* (Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1725).

based on) featured six characters: Catone, Cesare, Marzia (Catone's daughter), Emilia (Pompeo's widow), Arbace (Marzia's lover and friend of Catone), and Fulvio, a Roman ambassador. The new revision for London had to cut entirely the role of Fulvio, the ambassador. The Royal Academy had recently lost one of its singers, the tenor Pinacci to whom the role of Fulvio would have been naturally given.[392] Thus, the company opted for a strategic change: some of the lines originally delivered by Fulvio—a secondary but still relevant role—were to be read as letters by other characters on stage.

The comparison of the two different versions of *Catone* shows how Fulvio's voice had to be inserted in three different scenes, two from act 2 (II.2 and II.4) and one at the beginning of act 3 (III.1). In the second scene of act II, Fulvio delivers to Cato a letter from the Roman senate asking for peace with Caesar. In the London version, a silent "messo" (messenger) covers for Fulvio. But it is in the remaining scenes that Fulvio's voice gets appropriated: in the fourth scene of act 2 in the London version, another "messo" gives Caesar a letter in which Cato agrees to meet with him: "Ad ascoltarti alfine scende Catone" (At length even Cato condescends to hear thee). These words were told by Fulvio to Cesare in the previous version by Leonardo Leo:

Catone in Utica (1729)	*Catone* (1733)	*Catone* (1733, English transl.)
FULVIO Ormai consolati signor, la tua fortuna degna è d'invidia. Ad ascoltarti alfine scende Catone. Io di favor sì grande la novella ti reco. CESARE E così presto si cangiò di pensiero?	*(Un uffiziale dà una lettera a Cesare)* *(Cesare legge:)* CESARE «Ad ascoltarti alfine scende Catone.» E così presto si cangiò di pensiero?	*(An officer delivers a letter to Caesar)* *(Caesar reads:)* CESARE «At length even Cato condescends to hear thee.» Has he then changed suddenly his thoughts?

A similar event occurs at the beginning of act 3: the entire scene is set such that Caesar is reading a letter recently delivered by a "messenger," urging him to avoid a trap set up by Emilia.

[392] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 180.

Originally, this was a dialogue between Caesar and Fulvio, with very little to no revision in its textual transposition:

Catone in Utica (1729)	*Catone* (1733)	*Catone* (1733, English transl.)
CESARE e FULVIO	*CESARE ed un MESSO, che gli dà una lettera*	*CAESAR, and a MESSENGER who delivers a letter to him.*
CESARE Tutto amico ho tentato. Andiamo, ormai giusto è il mio sdegno, ho tolerato assai.	*(Cesare legge:)*	*(Caesar reads:)*
FULVIO Ferma, tu corri a morte.	CESARE «Ferma, tu corri a morte.	CESARE «Proceed no farther, for you haste to death.
CESARE Perché?		
FULVIO Già su le porte d'Utica v'è chi nell'uscir ti deve privar di vita.	Già su le porte d'Utica v'è chi nell'uscir ti deve privar di vita.	This moment, near the gate of Utica is placed an ambush for your life.
CESARE E chi pensò la trama?		
FULVIO Emilia, ella me'l disse, ella confida nell'amor mio, tu 'l sai.	Emilia, ella me'l disse»	Emilia made me acquainted with these dreadful tidings.»
CESARE Coll'armi in pugno ci apriremo la via. Vieni.	Coll'armi in pugno ci apriremo la via.	My sword shall open me a passage then!
FULVIO Raffrena quest'ardor generoso. Altro riparo offre la sorte.	*(segue a leggere)*	*(reads again)*
CESARE E quale?		
FULVIO Un che fra l'armi milita di Catone infino al campo per incognita strada ti condurrà.	«Floro, che fra l'armi milita di Catone infino al campo per incognita strada ti condurrà.	«Floro, an officer of Cato's troops shall safely, thro' a solitary way, conduct you to the camp.
CESARE Chi è questi?		
FULVIO Floro s'appella, uno è di quei che scelse Emilia a trucidarti, ei vien pietoso a palesar la frode e ad aprirti lo scampo.		
CESARE Ov'è?		
FULVIO Ti attende d'Iside al fonte. Egli m'è noto, a lui fidati pur.	Ti attende d'Iside al fonte. Egli m'è noto, a lui fidati pur.»	He now expects you at Isis fountain. Well I know the man, and safely you may trust him now»

If musically the recitatives for Fulvio sometimes stay the same and sometimes get adjusted to suit the vocal types of the new cast, it is nonetheless intriguing to see how the company transformed Metastasio's libretto into a series of reading scenes. It seems as if the entire opera becomes something about reading.

The process of revision and adjustment was likely made at an early stage, given that the score of Leo's *Catone* that was used to prepare the London revision has handwritten markings that modern scholars have identified as being by Handel.[393] The comparison with a contemporary score, such as the autograph of *Ezio*, confirms the overall correspondence of the handwriting style (considering the different tools used: pencil for the annotations in Leo's *Catone*, ink pen for *Ezio*; see Fig. 2.12-16). These marks indicate not only the recitatives that needed to be cut, but also the staging indications of Fulvio's ghosting. Moreover, *Catone* is the last pasticcio in which Handel literally ghostwrites the recitatives. Thait is, it has been assumed that in the conducting score Handel himself had penciled the recitatives that needed adjustment (including those that ventriloquized the part of Fulvio), and that later the copyist in the workshop of John Christopher Smith wrote over the part in ink. Starting with the next pasticcio, *Semiramide riconosciuta* (see Fig. 2.17), this practice of hiding Handel's hand under the copyist would disappear in favor of Handel himself writing most of the recitatives. In *Catone*, the penciled markings are featured in all those parts in the recitatives that needed to be transposed to suit new voice types and re-arranged harmonically, and this of course included the part of Fulvio to be given to other characters.[394]

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[393] Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, 127; Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 180; Roberts, "Catone," 130.

[394] This interpretation partially differs from John Roberts's, who believes the arrangement process for *Lucio Papirio* and *Catone* to be different, with the latter having "[f]irst Smith [copying] the revised text into the conducting score. Then Handel, having marked the Buckworth score to show the cuts and some rucial stage directions, penciled into the conducting score all the notes that needed to be altered, after which Smith inked them over and copied the rest of the notes form the Buckworth score." (Roberts, "Catone," 130). A close look at the conducting score of *Catone* (D-Hs, MA/1012), though, shows extensive signs of Handel's penciled handwriting behind the ink, including sections that were *not* modified from Leo.

Figures 2.12-16 – Leonardo Leo, *Catone in Utica* (GB-Lam, ms. 75), ff. 99*r-v*, 162*r-v*.

Figure 2.17 – *Semiramide riconosciuta*, conducting score (D-Hs, MA/1051), f. 28*r*.

It is also known that Leonardo Leo's version of *Catone* heard by Handel in Venice included an aria for the role of Fulvio which was actually written by Handel for his second version of *Radamisto* in 1721, "Con la strage de' nemici", which became "Il tuo affanno ed il tuo sdegno" for Fulvio. The suppression of Fulvio's role in the 1733 staging required the aria to be cut, thus leaving Handel's tangible presence in this production at a minimum. Yet, it is relevant to note that Handel, having the copy of Leo's score in his hands and actively working on it, had his own music (already used, already heard) in front of him and had to discard it. In a sense, Handel—like Cato—was reading about his own death, his own disappearance.

To summarize: first, the pasticcio had basically become a play about reading; second, it staged a sort of 'ghosting effect' by having a character ventriloquized onstage, with the addition of reading scenes that added a meta-theatrical effect of that very process of retracing and reading other voices (on ghosting as an essential component of patchworking practices in the pasticci, see the *Introduction*); finally, it can be understood as a late performance of ghostwriting, with Handel arranging previous composers' recitatives in the scores he used to compile the pasticcio.

The practice of ghostwriting was extensively practiced in Georgian England. A writer such as Samuel Johnson—one of the most important figures in the definition of modern authorship—was actively engaged in writing for others (such as sermons) or a participant in collaborative projects. Preparing texts for other people was not seen as forgery or faking because of mutual agreement between authors (including payment).[395] Yet, Johnson himself was one of the most vocal in denouncing forgery, such as in the case of James McPherson's *Ossian*. An early historiographer such as John Hawkins was willing to accept (or, at least, not condemn) borrowing practices for both Johnson and Handel.[396] The debates on authorship did not limit collaborative

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[395] Love, *Attributing Authorship*, 183.

[396] See Martha Woodmansee, "On the Author Effect: Recovering Collectivity," in *The Construction of Authorship*, 15–28: 19-20.

processes or ghostwriting practices. Rather, they authorized them by virtue of discussion and legal definition.

The performance of Handel's disappearance through the discourse of playwriting itself, and of ghost-writing, was a feature of the performance of authorship in connection to the pasticci. The pasticcio as a genre—precisely because of its call for the indexing, or referencing, of material outside of it and outside of the author's hands— allowed, even author-ized Handel to perform his own authorial persona through the choice of a subject (*Catone*) that was already about authorship. Handel, I argue, deliberately played with the genre of pasticci as part of a larger tendency towards redefining musical authorship, including the practice of borrowing.

Of course, I can make no claim as to the degree to which the audience of the King's Theatre would have been aware of this ghostwriting effect. Certainly, the performances of *Catone* entailed discussions about Handel's responsibility. Lord Hervey wrote from London to Stephen Fox on the evening of the premiere:

> I am just come from a long, dull, and consequently tiresome Opera of Handel's, whose genius seems quite exhausted. The bride's recommendation of being the first night, could not make this supportable.[397]

Hervey attributes full responsibility for the opera to Handel. But as seen from the newspapers (see *supra*), not everyone agreed on this. On November 15, the *Daily Post* wrote about a rehearsal for *Britannia*, an English opera by the company of Thomas Lampe. There was a poem attached to the article, in which a note specified that "[t]he Opera of *Cato* is not Mr. Handel's".[398]

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[397] Lord Hervey to Stephen Fox, London, 4 November 1732 (HCD, II, 563).

[398] *Daily Post*, 15 November 1732 (HCD, II, 565). The same poem was later reprinted in *The Humours of New Tunbridge Wells at Islington* (London: J. Roberts, 1734), 30, with slightly different words: "At the time that *Britannia* was represented, the Opera of *Cato* (not compos'd by Mr. *Handel*) was playing at the Theatre Royal in the Hay-Market."

The pasticcio has no author and many authors. It is "authorless," in the sense that it stages a lack of authorial intention, a multitude of voices that are ventriloquized on page and on stage. Like novels and plays of the time in which the characters are writers themselves (such as *The Author's Farce* and *Robinson Crusoe*), it performs an "authorlessness" in which the text seems to have been written by itself.[399] Yet, even in its staging of an authorial disappearance, it performed some sort of authorship. For us as modern historians, the ghosts of past masters are still haunting as we strive to understand their role.

2.4 Handling Handel's Hands: Monumentalizing the Composer

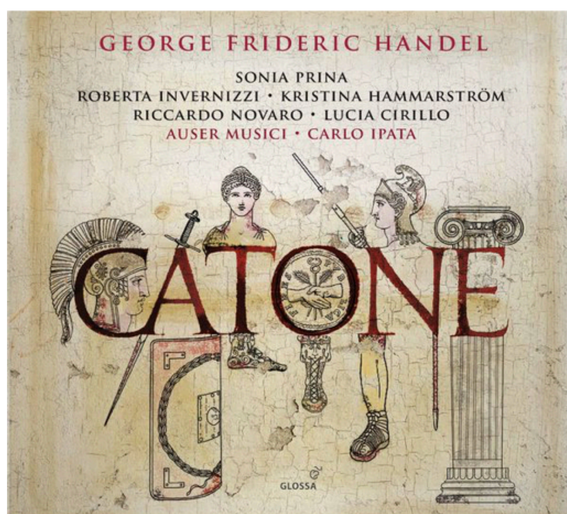

Figure 2.18 – Catone, audio recording cover (Glossa, 2016).

As part of a recent trend towards including more 'unconventional' operas from the baroque era, many opera houses all around the world are producing new stagings of pasticci. Festivals devoted to Handel such as the Internationale Göttingen Händel Festival, the London Handel Festival, and the Händel-Festspiele Halle have been particularly active in promoting the re-discovery of the genre. After the first revival of the 'all-Handel' pasticcio *Giove in Argo* (a 2007 Göttingen Festival production which presented the work of reconstruction

399 On the concept of 'authorlessness' in relation to eighteenth-century dramatic writing, see Lorraine Piroux, "Between a Hieroglyph and a Spatula: Authorlessness in Eighteenth-Century French Theater," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 3 (2011), 345–59: 350.

made by John Roberts),[400] other pasticci such as *Elpidia*, *Didone abbandonata* and, not surprisingly, *Catone* have been put on stage to puzzled audiences and critics.

Elpidia, the pasticcio for which we know Handel's responsibility was little, was promoted and received as being "by" the composer.[401] *Catone* has been staged twice already, first in 2015 as a concert performance by the company Opera Settecento (London), and a year later as a fully staged production in Pisa and Halle with the ensemble Auser Musici conducted by Carlo Ipata, recently released as a recording by Glossa (see Fig. 2.18).[402] From festival posters to the recording itself, Handel's name is everywhere. Reviews perpetrated what seemed to be a natural form of attribution:

> Handel's choice of material is psychologically perceptive…[403]
>
> The world has lived without it for the last 283 years: while I wouldn't condemn it to silence for so long again, Handel's *Catone in Utica* is more an intriguing curio than a must-see.[404]
>
> Although the opera was put together by Handel for his 1732 season, it's stretching the truth a bit to say that it's *by* him.[405]

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[400] John H. Roberts, "Reconstructing Handel's 'Giove in Argo,'" *Händel-Jahrbuch* 54 (2008): 183–204.

[401] "Roll Up! A new opera by Handel is to be performed" as referred in Claire Seymour, "Handel: Elpidia - Opera Settecento" *Opera Today*, http://www.operatoday.com/content/2016/04/post_17.php (consulted on 26 June 2017); a similar title appeared for Tim Ashley, "Elpidia Review – Handel's Pastiche Sung with Magnificence," *The Guardian*, April 1, 2016.

[402] Glossa Music GCD 923511.

[403] Tim Ashley, "Catone in Utica Review – Compelling and Beautifully Done," *The Guardian*, March 18, 2015.

[404] Charlotte Valori, "Cut-and-shut Baroque: Handel's *Catone in Utica* from Opera Settecento," *bachtrack*, 18 March 2015, https://bachtrack.com/review-handel-catone-in-utica-opera-settecento-march-2015 (consulted on 26 June 2017).

[405] "Catone in Utica: George Frideric Handel (1732)," *The Idle Woman*, 18 March 2015, https://theidlewoman.net/2015/03/18/catone-in-utica-george-frideric-handel-with-a-little-help-from-his-friends-1732/ (consulted on 26 June 2017).

Critics today, as three hundred years ago, still argue about Handel's responsibility in the work of music assemblage for this drama. For promotional purposes, though, no one seems to have doubts: the opera is Handel's, even if that constitutes "stretching the truth a bit." In this attempt to foucs our gaze on Handel and Handel alone, the result is a historiographical "curio." The recording of *Catone*, for instance, albeit featuring Handel's name on the cover (and confining the discussion of the attribution problem to the booklet), erases Fulvio's ghosting recitatives, with the effect of reading and ventriloquizing vanished. It seems as if we want "Handel," even when he does not want to be there.

This was not the case back then. The pasticcio was always identified as "that-which-is-*not-by*." A sentence such as "it is *not by* Handel" could mean that that the work had been by Handel—literally in Handel's hands, as we have seen—but somehow no longer. The pasticcio as a patchwork genre, so extensively practiced in London, in a way authorized Handel as an official composer by means of exclusion. The pasticci were excluded from music catalogues which—between the late 1730s and the early 1740s—contributed to the formation of an operatic *corpus* to be associated with Handel as an author. The 1741 catalogue by John Walsh—the main printer and publisher of Handel's music since the 1720s—omitted any reference to the pasticci in the section titled "Handel's Works," confining the *Favourite Songs* from a few pasticci (*Elpidia, Ormisda, Venceslao, Catone*) to the last page without any reference to Handel.[406] During the 1730s, Handel became "Handel" in order to be sold and collected, a phenomenon—that of collecting and "monumentalizing" Handel— that started exactly around the same time as the pasticci. In the words of Ellen Harris, Handel became a "collectible" and a "collector."[407]

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[406] *A cattalogue of musick: containing all the vocal, and instrumental musick printed in England. For Iohn Walsh* (London: John Walsh, [1741]), 2 and 26. Copy consulted in Gb-Lbl, General Reference Collection C.120.b.6.

[407] Ellen T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 227.

Collecting art was a primary interest around the half of the eighteenth century, as a virtuous/virtuosic activity in the definition of a public intellectual.[408] Literary collections, and the anthologizing projects that flourished around the mid-century, were at the same time the result of assembling practices of the earlier times, and the prompt for a renovated interest in achieving uniformity. The "paradox of the anthology" (being "simultaneously inclusive and exclusive") was a chief component of artistic production and aesthetic ideology in Georgian London.[409] The collection, in its material assemblage of items to be seen, read, and displayed, was a "whole experienced in parts," just like the pasticcio.[410] They both tended towards uniformity by means of heterogeneity. Thus, more generally, literary anthologies and musical collections underlined authorship, rather than undermined it.

The shift from song consumption to different modes of arranging and collecting can be witnessed not only in the way the Royal Academy handled the pasticcio as a genre during the early 1730s, but also through the lens of how the circle of people around Handel conceived his music as worthy of being collected.[411] The shift away from collecting to arranging was first and foremost a material one: from print to manuscript, the first seen as easier to mix and rearrange (as a codex), and the latter more prone to unity (as a scroll). This is how James Harris described the former collection of Elizabeth Legh, as soon as he laid his hands on it:

> My own collection of Handel's music is cheifly [*sic*] of his printed works, which are most of them very incorrect, the older opera's more particularly. 'Tis this

[408] See Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[409] Barbara M. Benedict, "The Paradox of the Anthology: Collecting and Difference in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *New Literary History* 34, no. 2 (2003), 231–56: 245.

[410] *Ibid.*, 249.

[411] See David Hunter, *The Lives of George Frideric Handel* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 137–8, and Ellen Harris, "Music Distribution in London during Handel's Lifetime: Manuscript Copies versus Prints," in *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to The Beatles*, ed. Craig Monson and Roberta Montemorra Marvin (Boydell & Brewer, University of Rochester Press, 2013), 95–117: 111.

> incorrectness which makes manuscript copies valuable even of those works which are already printed.[412]

Manuscripts were more valuable because people believed them to be more accurate. Or better, collectors let people believe them to be of more value. The value was seen as duple: lack of errors and homogeneity, both believed to be a sign of author responsibility. It was this paradigm that contributed to the making of Handel as a composer, to the construction of Handel as "Handel." Collecting Handel meant a recognition of his own presence. And not just a metaphysical presence, but a very material one: his hands.

Already after Handel's death, the aura of authority granted to his autographs was such that they were presented to the monarchy. Yet, the bulk of scores that were bequeathed to Smith senior included the not just the autographs, but also the conducting scores, and the story of their possession is much more complex, involving various degrees of interests by the scholars who have had access to them. Their value was inextricably connected to the presence or absence of Handel's own handwriting. Victor Schoelcher, the scholar who first took on the job of cataloguing part of the Smith collection (with the assistance of Rophino Lacy, see ch. 1.4), was adamant in the definition of what was of value: "la main."[413] The different attitude towards the pasticci can be seen in the way Schoelcher refers to them in his catalogue. By mentioning them in a separated section, he reinforced both the exclusiveness of Handel's *ouvre* and the inclusion of a hybrid genre ("Pasticcios Donnés par Handel," Pasticcios *done by* Handel). Moreover, Schoelcher underlined the different values among the pasticci: *Venceslao* was of less importance because there was no

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[412] James Harris to John Roberts, 13 January 1740, quoted in *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780,* ed. Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 86.

[413] Quoted in Richard G. King, "New Light on Handel's Musical Library," *The Musical Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1997), 109–38: 116.

trace of Handel's hand ("Rien de la main de Handel"), while *Semiramide riconosciuta*, *Caio Fabricio*, and *Arbace* were relevant because "[l]a musique des récitatifs est de la main de Handel."[414]

The obsession, even fetishism, with Handel's hands was not confined to the realm of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarian enterprises. As we have seen, twentieth-century musicologists such as Clausen and Strohm were eager to identify Handel's hand even when its presence is more than doubtful. The idea is that the author is identified with his own body, his own hands, as the fetish that attracts identification.[415] Roger Chartier connects the identification of the author's hand and authorship discoursification through the lens of copyright legislation:

> paradoxically, in order to conceptualize texts as individual property, they had to be divorced conceptually from any particular material embodiment and located in the author's mind—or hand. Indeed, the nearest that one could come to a material from of an immaterial work was the trace left by the author's hand. The autograph manuscript thus became the outward and visible sign of the inward and invisible genius of the writer for all those who were not able to visit or to meet him.[416]

The disappearance of the author was the necessary condition for the concept of the work to exist. In the case of Handel, the performance of this disappearance was purposely done through arrangement (*Lucio Papirio*) and ghostwriting (*Catone*) of pasticci, as the self-exclusive genre that allowed the operatic *corpus* to be recognized as such. The pasticcio as an anthology allowed the anthologizing of Handel. If Handel's hand is more visible (symbolically and literally, as in the case of *Semiramide*, *Caio Fabricio*, and *Arbace*), then his musical manifestation, too, becomes more present, according to the past scholarship so far discussed. It also becomes music that it is worth recognizing and, in turn, listening to. And this will be the focus of the next chapter.

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[414] *Ibid.*, 130.

[415] William Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, I," *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 9 (1985), 5–17: 14.

[416] Chartier, *The Author's Hand*, 81.

CHAPTER 3. LISTENING TO THE PASTICCI

We left Henry Fielding in January 1734 at the Drury Lane Theatre, where his *Author's Farce* was revived four years after its premiere. This time, Fielding was no longer an outsider playwright experimenting with the stage. Rather, he was part of the same establishment which contributed to the silencing of the Actor Rebellion in 1733 (see ch. 2.1). The theatrical season of Winter 1733-34 was tumultuous. Not only was the company of actors led by the rebel Theophilus Cibber attempting to take charge of the Drury Lane, but things were getting heated at the King's Theatre, too. Around the time Handel and Senesino had parted due to an irreconcilable conflict, a new rival opera company formed in December 1733 at the Lincoln's Inn Field under the manager John Rich: the "Opera of the Nobility." Fielding—now even more entitled to satirize on contemporary events given his new *pro-status-quo* position—mentioned the rivalry between the Royal Academy of Music and the Opera of the Nobility in the newly added Epilogue to the *Author's Farce*, to be delivered by the famous actress-singer Kitty Clive:

> *English* is now below this learned Town, | None but *Italian* Warblers will go down. | Tho' Courts were more Polite, the *English* Ditty | Cou'd heretofore at least content the City: | That, for *Italian* now has let us drop, | And *Dimi Cara* rings thro' ev'ry Shop. | What glorious Thoughts must all our Neighbours nourish, | Of us, where Rival Operas can flourish. […] Satire, perhaps, may wound some pretty Thing, | Those soft *Italian* Warblers have no Sting. | Tho' your soft Hearts the tuneful Charm may win, | You're still secure to find no Harm within. | Wisely from those rude Places you abstain, | Where Satire gives the wounded Hearer Pain.[417]

There are a few things that I would like to point out about this added epilogue to a play that already has relevance for the purpose of studying pasticci and song culture in London in the 1730s. First, in reference to contemporary news, the "Rival Operas" are clearly the second Royal

[417] Henry Fielding, *The Author's Farce; and the Pleasures of the Town: EPILOGUE. Spoken by Mrs. CLIVE*, in Henry Fielding, *Plays*, ed. Thomas Lockwood, vol. 1: 1728–31, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 299–300. The epilogue was not published until 1750, but it is clearly to be connected to the 1734 revival. See "Introduction," in i*bid.*, 216–9.

Academy and the Opera of the Nobility, caught in the middle of a fight for the prominence of Italian opera during the 1733-34 season, backed up by a divided aristocracy willing to engage in such a competition. The rivalry between the two companies will be the object of further investigation in the following sections of this chapter, in connection to the discussion of what could be termed the "pasticci season" of 1733-34 (*Semiramide riconosciuta*, *Caio Fabricio*, and *Arbace*), but for now let us stay on Fielding's play. This apparently little example will actually serve as an introduction to the main aspects discussed in this chapter on the late pasticci: the relationship between materiality and listening, the role of hearing Italian opera in the context of stage language debates, and the importance of competition in the shaping of aural choices on behalf of the producers.

The highlighted verses begin with a complaint about the prominence of the Italian language over English on theater stages of the time. This was definitely unsurprising news, as the polemics in English intellectual circles over the use of Italian as operatic *lingua franca* dated back at least to the *Spectator* years with Joseph Addison (1711-1712), but even more likely to the inception of the first Italian operas in London in the first two decades of the eighteenth century.[418] What is relevant for the purpose of the present discussion is the example brought by Fielding to support such language rivalry. The author mentions the "ringing" of the song "Dimi cara" [*sic*] in every bookshop in town. The reference is to Lucejo's aria "Dimmi, cara" from act I of Handel's opera *Scipione* (1726), which—according to Charles Burney's *General History of Music*—was "long in favour throughout the nation [… and] could be sung by every one possessed of an ear and a voice."[419] Fielding was familiar with the song, as he had already used it as song n. XXV in his

[418] See Curtis A. Price, "The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700–1710," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26 (1978): 38–76.

[419] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, vol. 4, 4 vols. (London: printed for the author, 1789), 304.

Grub-Street Opera. The play constituted Fielding's first attempt at writing ballad operas, and its strong political undertone had prevented the show from being staged. The *Grub-Street Opera*, as a matter of fact, only exists as a book. It was scheduled for performances at the Haymarket Theatre in June 1731, but the theatre was forced to withdraw it either by Robert Walpole or someone else in the British government.[420] In any case, the printed edition—in line with the tradition of ballad operas—clearly indicates the musical tune for each of the airs that was meant to be sung during the show. In scene 2 from act II, the two lovers, Owen and Molly, are exchanging love vows. At the apex of the romance, Owen sings the air "Dearest Charmer" over the tune of "Dimi caro."[421]

The same tune was also used by Fielding later in his *The Virgin Unmasked*, a play written for Kitty Clive, which opened at the Drury Lane on 6 January 1735. The play was printed not only with the indication of the musical incipit for each song, but also with the music embedded in the text of the play.[422] The same song, with similar words and exactly the same melody, is used as air VIII in the middle of a scene involving the protagonist Lucy (Kitty Clive) and Quaver, a "Singing-Master" who is also in love with the young woman. The entire dialogue between the music teacher and the protagonist is marked by interesting references to the role of the voice (Fig. 3.1):

> *Enter Quaver*. QUAV. Madam, your Servant. I suppose my Cousin Goodwill has told you of the Happiness he designs me. LUCY No, Sir, my Papa has not told me any thing about you. Who are you, pray? QUAV. I have the Honour of being a distant Relation of yours, and I hope to be a nearer one. My Name is Quaver, Madam; I have the Honour to teach some of the first Quality to sing. LUCY And are you come to teach me to sing? QUAV. I like her Desire

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420 See Henry Fielding, *Plays*, ed. Thomas Lockwood, vol. 2: 1731–34, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 18–22.

421 *The Genuine Grub-Street Opera. As it was intended to be Acted at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: Printed and Sold for the Benefit of the Comedians of the New Theatre in the Hay-Market, 1731), 32.

422 See Henry Fielding, *Plays*, ed. Thomas Lockwood, vol. 3: 1734–42, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2011), 99–102. For a facsimile of the printed libretto/songbook, see Walter H. Rubsamen, ed., *The Ballad Opera; a Collection of 171 Original Texts of Musical Plays Printed in Photo-Facsimile.*, vol. 11: Farce, Broad or Satirical, 28 vols. (New York, NY: Garland, 1974).

to learn to sing, it is a Proof of an excellent Understanding. Aside Yes, Madam, I will be proud to teach you any thing in my Power; and do believe I shall not yield to any one in the Science of Singing. LUCY Well, and I shall be glad to learn; for I have been told I have a tolerable Voice, only I don't know the Notes. QUAV. That, Madam, may be acquired, a Voice can not. A Voice must be the Gift of Nature, and it is the greatest Gift Nature can bestow. All other Perfections, without a Voice, are nothing at all. Musick is allow'd by all wise Men to be the noblest of the Sciences; whoever knows Musick, knows ev'ry thing. LUCY Come then, begin to teach me, for I long to learn. QUAV. Hereafter I shall have time enough. But at present I have something of a different Nature to say to you. LUCY What have you to say?

AIR VIII. *Dimi Caro.*

Dearest Charmer! | Will you then bid me tell | What you discern so well, | By my expiring Sighs, | My doating Eyes, | My doating Eyes? | Look thro' th' instructive Grove, | Each Object prompts to Love; | See how the Turtles play, | Each Object prompts to Love; | All Nature tells you what I'd say.[423]

Figure 3.1 – "Dimi Caro" from *The Virgin Unmasked* (Fielding, *Plays*, 3, 121).

The meta-theatrical quality of this scene is that the character is not talking about "any" voice, but is referring to one of the most acclaimed voices of the time, that of Kitty Clive. Her role in the success of ballad opera (and the "balladization" of contemporary drama) was important, and certainly influenced the way songs were received by London audiences.[424] Even more important is the fact that Clive was the same who, in 1734, was supposed to read the Epilogue to the *Author's*

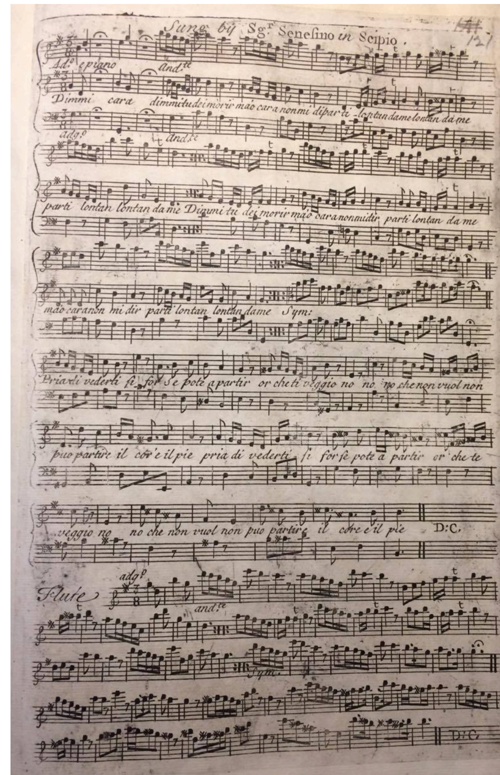
[423] Fielding, *Plays*, vol. 3, 121–2.

[424] See Berta Joncus, "Handel at Drury Lane: Ballad Opera and the Production of Kitty Clive," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 179–226. Joncus makes a case for "Dimmi cara" as being used by Fielding and Clive as a "metonym for the ill effects of Italian opera" (202).

Farce in which the Handel aria was mentioned. Although she was not the featured singer in *The Virgin Unmasked*, Clive listened to the song, and before that she had probably already heard it because it used to "ring" in every bookshop around town, as she claimed in the Epilogue.

Yet, what exactly was she listening to? What is striking about the circulation of "Dimmi, cara" from Handel's *Scipione* is that the printed tune in the printed edition of *The Virgin Unmasked* was very different from what was transmitted as the "official" song from the opera. Note, in fact, that in Fielding's plays the song is in G minor, but that was not the key conceived by Handel for his opera. *Scipione* had numerous printed editions of its music, including a full score printed by Cluer in May 1726,[425] flute arrangements by Walsh and Hare,[426] and a few issues of selected songs (possibly pirated).[427] "Dimmi cara" even had the privilege of being printed as a single item,[428] thus contributing to the celebrity of the aria and to the

Figure 3.2 – "Dimmi cara" from *Scipione*, G major. GB-Lbl, Music Collections G.316.d(121).



425 *Scipio, an Opera* (London: Engrav'd, Printed and Sold by J. Cluer, [1726]). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections Music Collections R.M.7.h.42.

426 *Scipio, for a Flute. The Ariets with their Symphonys for a single Flute and the Duet for two Flutes of that Celebrated Opera, etc.* (London: Printed for I. Walsh and Ioseph Hare, [1726]). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections a.208.(8).

427 *The Most Celebrated Aires in the Opera of Scipio* ([London]: Sold at the Music-Shops, [1726?]). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections H.230.f.(5.).

428 *Dimmi, cara. Sung by Sgr Senesino in Scipio* ([London]: n.d.). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections G.316.d.(121).

"song culture" as mentioned in chapter 1.[429] Among these printed editions, the song was transmitted in different textual traditions: in the complete score by Cluer and in the selection of songs the aria appears in the key of E major, just as in the autograph. One copy of the aria was sold as a single sheet, transposed to G major (see Fig. 3.2, possibly to facilitate the transposition for the flute), similar to what happened with the pirated collection of songs. We do not know exactly who was in charge of editing and printing the song in this single-sheet version, although the layout is similar to other pirated versions of Walsh's editions. A close look at the Cluer score reveals that the song was printed on only two staves (indicating that the violin was to be doubled at the octave), and that the small space devoted to it forced the editor to print the first two words as "Dimi cara" with a line over the "m" to signify the abbreviation of the double consonant. Yet, the crammed presentation of the notes and the text makes this layout barely legible, and thus the song circulated as "Dimi cara." This misrepresentation of the Italian also occurs in the epilogue recited by Kitty Clive.

Thus, when the song was heard on the stage of the Drury Lane in 1735, for the performances of *The Virgin Unmasked*, it had already gone through a process of modification, including a key change and textural adaptation. Still, the change of mode from G major to G minor and the vague resemblance with the rest of the aria after the first two measures imposes a different reading of what might have happened. Given that there was no music provided for the *Grub-Street Opera* printed playbook, it might be that the song was initially supposed to be in G major, similar to the single-sheet score, and that it was specifically modified in the minor key for the dramatic purposes of *The Virgin Unmasked*. This is also what the scholar of ballad operas Berta Joncus seems to imply when she states that "having the suitor/opera singer [Quaver] parody this

[429] For a summary of the manuscript and printed copies of the music of Handel's *Scipione*, see Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1987), 624–31.

tune [“Dimmi cara”] signified his ridiculousness and the futility of his desire.”[430] Even though Joncus does not mention the fact that the tune had turned into the minor mode, she refers to it as a “comic setting” of it.[431] In any case, we must assume that the audience of the Fielding play would have been familiar with the tune, to the point of being able to recognize how “comic” it was to hear it in a minor mode.

The tune, as a matter of fact, had already been used not only in Fielding’s plays, but also in Anthony Ahston’s *The Fool’s Opera* (1731; the air XIII is referred to as “Di mi Caro”, with lyrics “Gi’ me Money”),[432] and—previously unnoticed by modern scholars—in Colley Cibber’s 1729 pastoral ballad opera *Love in a Riddle*.[433] Here, the tune is sung by Cibber himself over the words “Must I despair?”. The notes are printed in the appendix “The Tunes to the Songs in the foregoing Pastoral” and they clearly reveal their Handelian provenance (see Fig. 3.3). As in Handel’s original version, the vocal line of “Dimmi cara” starts only on measure 3, preceded by a short incipit in trochaic rhythm. Even though the prosody of the first words of the song (“Must I despair?”) does not fit the melody, it is clear that the first use of the aria in the context of ballad operas was made so that the audience would be immediately able to recognize the song, and only after a few years of circulation could be slightly transformed (but always recognizable).

Figure 3.3 – “Must I Despair?” from *Love in a Riddle* (*The Ballad Opera*, vol. 8, 87).

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[430] Joncus, “Handel at Drury Lane,” 202.

[431] *Ibid.*

[432] Fac-simile in Rubsamen, ed., *The Ballad Opera*, vol. 1.

[433] Rubsamen, ed., *The Ballad Opera*, vol. 8, 87.

Of course, we cannot speak for the ears of those who actually listened to such performances in the eighteenth century. Listening remains the most ephemeral sense to write about. Yet, there are traces of listening practices that occasionally surface through documentation that has survived until today. The case of Handel's "Dimmi cara" and its dissemination throughout the ballad operas of the time showcases these objects as forms of listening inscription. It starts with a 1750 print of a speech by Kitty Clive as the epilogue for a 1734 performance of Fielding's *The Author's Farce*. Here, she referenced the song as the symbol of everything that was wrong with Italian opera: its ubiquitous presence not only in opera houses, but also as printed items in the bookshops. By claiming that the song was "ringing" in every shop, Fielding (through the voice of Kitty Clive) elaborates on the peculiar phenomenon that music establishes when in it circulates in printed form: it not only allows for new performances to take place, but it also records the inscription of previous listenings. In this sense, the song-sheet *literally* produces sounds that are heard either in the minds of those who have it in their hands (reading it, remembering previous performances, imagining future performances) or those who attend to a live performance of it.

There is another aspect of listening traces that should be noted. As we have seen, some of the documents mentioned so far refer to performances that never happened, or that we assume have happened but for which we have no "direct" testimony. The 1750 edition of *The Author's Farce* reports Clive's epilogue of a performance that happened sixteen years before. In 1731, The *Grub-Street Opera* was never staged, yet it made it into a few printed editions. The objects carrying their possible existence as musical performances give life to a listening that have happened or that was intended to happen. The written page acts as a "double ear," one that records the vocalization of a speech or a musical piece into readable meaning, and one that is recreated in the mind of the readers as they listen to themselves reading other people's words. The printed page becomes the agent of an act of listening.

Thus, the various transformations that characterized the presence of the aria "Dimmi cara" throughout the first half of the 1730s are emblematic of a peculiar relationship that can be established between the role of print culture, the attitude towards Italian opera (sung in Italian) among the theatergoers of the time, and the listening practices of everyone involved in the world of musical theater in London. In other words, I argue that listening practices in early eighteenth-century London were not only shaped by the material circulation of printed items, but they influenced the way music was inscribed in that very same print culture. Listening, that is, always happens twice: as an act of receiving, but also as an act of presenting/recording. It is the contention of this chapter to demonstrate how this relationship was exploited by musicians and intellectuals, in light of the practice of presenting old music in new dramas, just as Handel did in his pasticci (and, more generally, in all of his music in which he borrowed from various sources). In a way, it can be said that Handel was making his audience listen to what he himself had already listened to.[434] Which brings us to a different question: What is the role of composers (in this case, Handel) in shaping listening practices and music circulation?

It is likely that Handel had no direct involvement in the circulation of "Dimmi cara." Yet, the aria was popular and became a metonym for the entirety of Italian opera *because* it was "by" Handel. "Ringing" a Handel song, at that time, meant reading, listening, and singing (in whatever order) the first few measures that one could get their hands/ears on. A remark from Lord Hervey's memoirs, dated 1736, reinforces this idea of singing and listening to the incipit of songs:

> [F]requently, when he [Lord Hervey] talked to her [Queen Caroline] on this subject [King George II being unfaithful] she would begin to sing or repeat these words: "Se mai più sarò gelosa mi punisca il sacro nume," [If I am no

[434] This concept of arranging as inscribed listening is indebted to the work of Peter Szendy, *Listen: A History of Our Ears* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008). It will be further explored throughout the chapter.

> longer jealous, God will punish me] etc., which was the beginning of a song in one of Handel's operas, called *Porus*.[435]

This intriguing anecdote exemplifies the extensive popularity of Handel's music in such detail as to be perceived/apprehended in conversation. It also explicitly demonstrates the significant role of singing musical incipits of songs in everyday life. The Queen (who was known to be fond of Handel's music) repeated and sang the beginning of an aria about jealousy which she had listened to. What is striking about this anecdote, is that the music of *Porus* which circulated in printed form at the time did not include Porus's aria "Se mai più sarò geloso."[436] This indicates that the Queen recalled the tune from having it heard, rather than just reading it from a collection of songs.

Around the mid-1730s, a clear surge in the narrativization of listening took place both in contemporary documentation and private correspondence. This was likely the result of a variety of tendencies, two of which constituted the core subjects of chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation: the role of printing in music circulation and the performance of authorship. When the "author" voluntarily disappeared (as it was the case for the pasticci, for example), it was the audience who was responsible for lending an ear to Handel after the composer had lent his own ear by assembling other people's music. More generally, the 1730s decade was a time of intellectual transformation for the English society of the time, still relying on the premises of the British Empiricism that developed throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, while slowly adapting to the influx of continental philosophy and politics that would later be known as the Enlightenment.[437]

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[435] Lord John Hervey, *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II*, ed. Romney Sedgwick, vol. 2, 3 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 600, quoted in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography.* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), 420.

[436] *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Porus* (London: Walsh and Hare, [1731]). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections H.992.k.

[437] See John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997), 89. For an overview of the role of Empiricism in the development of English society, see Isaiah Berlin, ed., *The Age of Enlightenment: The 18th Century Philosophers* (New York: Plume, 1984). A more

But there was also something more specific affecting music consumption in London, a problem that was mentioned in the *Author's Farce* epilogue "spoken" by Kitty Clive. The Royal Academy of Music was not anymore the main company of Italian opera in London. In other words, the "new" Royal Academy was no longer new. Between 1733 and 1734 a real competition was staged between the opera company housed at King's Theatre (Handel and Heidegger's Royal Academy of Music) and Lincoln's Inn Fields (a new venture by subscription led by the castrato Senesino after the end of his tumultuous professional relationship with Handel).[438] A consistent group of aristocrats and subscribers of the Royal Academy grew more and more tired of Handel's direction, thus prompting the founding of a new company in June 1733.[439] The so-called "Opera of the Nobility" (although at the time mostly referred to as "Senesino's Opera" or "Senesino's House") managed to secure a first-class cast of mostly Italian artists of the caliber of—other than Senesino as the male lead singer—the soprano Francesca Cuzzoni, the castrato Farinelli and the composer Nicolò Porpora. In the end, only Anna Maria Strada del Po remained with Handel, possibly because of her previous feud with Bononcini. The rival companies set foot on a famous competition on a similar subject: they mythological tale of Ariadne and Theseus. The Opera of the Nobility's first opera was a libretto by Paolo Rolli titled *Arianna in Nasso*, newly set to music by

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specific study of the relationship between empiricist philosophy and music theory/practice is given in Maria Semi, *Music as a Science of Mankind in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

[438] The bibliography on the new competition between the Royal Academy and the Opera of the Nobility is quite vast. As an introduction to the subject, the pages from Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726-1741* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006), 132–6, 274–84 and from Donald Burrows, *Handel*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 211–56 will suffice. See also Alan Yorke-Long, "The Opera of the Nobility" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1951). For a more detailed study of the economical situations of both the companies, see Robert D. Hume, "Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s," *Music & Letters* 67, no. 4 (1986): 347–62.

[439] The supposed political rivalry between opponents of king George II (lead by prince Frederick of Wales, supporting the Opera of the Nobility) and more faithful royalists gathered around the monarchy (thus supporting Handel and the Royal Academy) has been posed into question by several studies, including an extended rebuttal in Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 150–79. There is no documentation supporting the claim that Frederick was an actual enemy to Handel, nor that the king would exclusively sponsor the Royal Academy.

the composer-in-residence Nicolò Porpora. The opera premiered on December 29, 1733, while Handel and Heidegger put on their opera *Arianna in Creta* on a libretto by Pietro Pariati in January 1734.[440]

The history surrounding the rivalry between the two opera companies is well known and needs no further summary in this context. Both the companies struggled financially to keep up with the competition and were forced to cease activity. Handel moved to Covent Garden and worked with John Rich since 1734, while the Opera of the Nobility had its last season in 1736-37.[441] While we know quite a lot about the companies' programming, casting, and subscribing, there are still a few aspects about the feud that are relevant for our discussion about pasticci and that have been overlooked by modern scholarship on Handel. One of these has been only suggested by Reinhard Strohm, without further investigation, i.e. that Handel decided to put on an exceptional high number of pasticci for the 1733-34 season (three: *Semiramide riconosciuta*, *Caio Fabricio*, and *Arbace*) as a way to "confront Porpora with superior examples of Porpora's own kind of music."[442] Handel, in fact, did not respond directly to Porpora's *Arianna* with his own version (although the score was finished by the end of October 1733), but rather with one of his pasticci, *Arbace*. The Royal Academy waited until January 24 to put on *Arianna*.[443] In Strohm's view, this reflected a "polarisation of taste" among the London operagoers, who were by now willing to

[440] See Suzanne Aspden, "Ariadne's Clew: Politics, Allegory, and Opera in London (1734)," *The Musical Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (2001): 735–70.

[441] For a detailed summary of Handel's various engagements with different companies during the mid-1730s, see Donald Burrows, "Handel and the London Opera Companies in the 1730s: Venues, Programmes, Patronage and Performers," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 10 (2004): 149–65.

[442] Reinhard Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," in *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 164–212: 183.

[443] See Reinhard Strohm, "Handel and His Italian Opera Texts," in *Essays on Handel*, 34–79: 66–8.

hear more music coming from the south of Italy.[444] In other words, Handel used Italian music to please an audience who were growing increasingly fond of new operas from overseas.[445]

The fascinating suggestion posed by Strohm implies that the audience was musically aware of the differences between a Handelian style of composition and the Italian school, to the point of being able to pre-emptively select which music would best suit to their own taste. This claim seems to be backed up by contemporary comments not only on musical preferences (such as the ones mentioned earlier in this chapter, and more that will be discussed in the following pages), but also by a shifting of narrative about opera in newspapers and private correspondence, from reading scores to listening to music. This is a fundamental aspect of the present chapter and will be further discussed, but for now let us stick to the problem at hand. Handel was directly competing with the Opera of the Nobility on two fronts: operatic subjects (not only *Arianna*, but also *Arbace/Artaserse*, as we will see) and musical style. The Opera of the Nobility, at Lincoln's Inn Field, was literally stepping on the King's Theatre by staging operas on the same nights as the Royal Academy. People were surrounded by Italian music and listened to it on a scale that was unheard before. If we read the competition between the two companies from the perspective of the operagoers, we are faced with the problem of deciphering their reaction to listening to a variety of music in a similar style (i.e. recent music from the South of Italy). From the perspective of the artistic directors (Handel and Senesino), this meant channeling the musical choices as to please the ears of their audiences. We can say that Handel and Senesino were in charge of selecting the listening habits of their own subscribers, who lent an ear to the ears of their hosts.

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[444] Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 184.

[445] Corbett Bazler makes an interesting point in his dissertation "The Comedies of Opera Seria: Handel's Post-Academy Operas, 1738--1744" (Columbia University, 2013) by claiming that—in the operas *after* the end of the Royal Academy—Handel is ironically commenting on the Italian style of operatic music (especially the more "Southern" one, represented by Porpora) by quoting him in his own operas. The suggestion is fascinating and could account for a shift in musical taste after the end of the rivalry with the Opera of the Nobility.

This aspect of the operatic rivalry in London during the 1730s focuses attention on the role played by the composer (Handel) and the singer (Senesino) in shaping the soundscape of the city. Rather than emphasizing exclusively the audience's response to this influx of new Italian music, it studies the mutual influence that both the agents of the opera companies and the audiences played in shaping listening expectations. As a matter of fact, Handel and Senesino were listeners, too. And they likely wanted to share their own listening preferences with their own audiences. It is not by chance that the tickets for the subscribers to the Opera of the Nobility's *Arianna* depicted Senesino dressed like a hero, as if he was singing the motto of Louis XIV *Nec pluribus impar*, which literally translates as "Not unequal to many," meaning that he shared with the world his own majesty (like the sun).[446] Leaving aside the self-flattery of such motto, it is nevertheless important to note that the motto can also be read as "a match for everyone," in the sense that Senesino is sharing with the audience his own musical interests. From the position of power of the stage, Senesino listens to his audience's demands and calls for an attentive ear to the music he listens to, at the same time among the people and above them.

It is in this light, I believe, that we can read the choice of the Royal Academy to stage three new pasticci, plus a revival of *Ottone* (13 November 1733), and only in late January a new opera (*Arianna*). It was a way for a composer such as Handel to display the variety of his own listening attitude towards Italian opera to an audience that was more and more attuned to it. The pasticci functioned as a receptor of everyone's ears, as a form of inscription of listening practices.

[446] Although no such ticket has survived until today, there were contemporary comments about it that help us imagining its design. One of these was by the Prussian minister reporting to Berlin about the premier of Porpora's *Arianna in Nasso*: "Last Saturday was the opening of the new *Opera*, which the *nobility* has undertaken since they were not satisfied with the *conduct* of the *director* of the old Opera, *Handel*, and to humiliate him, planned a new one, to which over two hundred people *subscribed*, and each one contributed 20 *guineas*. The premier singer, named *Senesino*, is pictured on the *ticket* of the subscribers with the inscription: *Nec pluribus impar*." (dispatch from Caspar Wilhelm von Borcke to King Friedrich Wilhelm I, 1 January 1734). Joseph Atwell, in a letter to Sarah Cowper, 2 January 1734, described the ticket as representing a scene "with Senesino, drest like a Heroe, in a Singin Posture" (both quotations are mentioned in McGeary, *The Politics of Opera*, 158).

Thus, Handel *did* deliberately choose music similar to Porpora's kind, but not exclusively for the reason provided by Strohm (i.e., to provide "superior examples"). Rather, I would argue that the two companies were somehow forced to display their own musical taste and listening habits in a town where Italian opera was becoming more and more an object of attention on behalf of audiences, politicians, and intellectuals, in the context of new attitudes towards the role of music and language in English society. This chapter will thus first introduce the general issue of how English society discussed, theorized, and performed listening to Italian opera during the 1730s. Then, it will focus on a few examples of early pasticci from the perspective of listening to music that was already known and circulating. Finally, it will analyze the three pasticci of the 1733-34 season (*Semiramide riconosciuta*, *Caio Fabricio*, and *Arbace*) in the context of the aural rivalry with the Opera of the Nobility.

3.1 Listening to Italian Opera in London in the 1730s

Theories of listening, especially in the context of continental philosophy, have dominated the 20th-century horizon of discussion.[447] Yet, during the early modern era, the concept of listening as a sense that defines the sentient subject was alien to the majority of European societies. Not that treatises and discussions on the role of hearing were lacking: in the age of the scientific revolution, the studies on the role of the ear brought philosophers and scientists to the definition of a modern system of acoustic knowledge that was fundamental for the development of both music theory and

[447] It would be impossible to list all the major contributions to the topic. Some of the canonical texts will be cited along the way of this third chapter. Of the many volumes of continental philosophy that have shaped the most my own thinking about listening, Jean-Luc Nancy, *Listening*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007) is certainly the most influential.

human physiology.[448] Yet, the topic was not treated as a unified one, and the typical modern distinction between hearing and listening was certainly not a shared notion in the pre-Enlightenment era. In England, between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the role of new theories of knowledge and perception—as elaborated by the philosophy of empiricism, starting with Francis Bacon, up to the Scottish Enlightenment—deeply affected the way intellectuals discussed music and the way they responded to it. It was in England, in fact, that music criticism developed more quickly than the rest of Europe: music was considered as being able to be discretely perceived, understood, and elaborated in writing. One of the most famous music critics of the time, Joseph Addison, was influenced in his writings on the *Spectator* by the empiricist philosophy of John Locke, among others.[449]

Thus, it comes as no surprise that it was in London where music first started to be discussed as a matter of "listening." And given the visceral response to Italian opera given by Addison over the pages of the *Spectator*, it was musical theater that generated most of the writings and critiques of intellectuals and audiences with regards to the act of listening. What does it mean to listen to an opera in which the language used would not be understood by most of the attendees? We will get back to Addison and his vitriolic diatribe against the prominence of Italian in the singing of operas on London stages. For now, let us focus again on the years 1733-34.

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[448] Penelope Gouk has been one of the most attentive scholars of early modern theories of hearing and its relationship with the development of modern science. See her *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999) for a general overview of the problem. More specific issues have been addressed in "Some English Theories of Hearing in the Seventeenth Century: Before and After Descartes," in *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, Michael Fend, and Penelope Gouk (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1991), 95–113; "Music and Spirit in Early Modern Thought," in *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700*, ed. Elena Carrera, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2013), 221–39; "Music and the Nervous System in Eighteenth-Century British Medical Thought," in *Music and the Nerves, 1700-1900*, ed. James Gordon Kennaway (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 44–71.

[449] Maria Semi, *Music as a Science of Mankind,* 25–7.

Handel and the Royal Academy were in the middle of their peculiar season mostly made of arrangements, revivals, and a new genre such as the oratorio (see ch. 2.3). In the pages of *The Weekly Miscellany*, on 10 February 1733, Aaron Hill published an ode "on Occasion of Mr. Handel's Great *Te Deum*" performed at St. Paul's Cathedral. The stanzas 2 and 3 of this poem are of particular interest for the purpose of discussing listening attitudes in London:

> III. Say, sacred Origin of Song! | Where hast thou hid thyself so long? | Thou Soul of HANDEL! […] IV. But, 'tis enough—since thou art *here again*; | Where thou hast wander'd, gives no Pain: | We *hear*—we *feel*, thou art return'd, once more, | With Musick, *mightier* than before…[450]

Hill is here celebrating Handel's non-operatic music as being able to bring back the British musical taste that the nation demanded.[451] It is significant that in the original print the following words were in italics: "here again," "hear," "feel," "mightier." Not only does Hill make a point about the similar sound of the words "here" and "hear," but he is also specifically linking the possibility of listening again to the "feeling" of music. In this formulation, listening is described as an empirical sense, and a prominent one for the description of Handel's "mighty" music. Hill expresses the need for the repeated listening of great music, but he also argues for a return of English as the main language for opera. He expressed this idea in a famous letter to Handel only a few months before the publication of the ode:

> The excellence of the *sound* should be no longer dishonour'd, by the poorness of the *sense* it is chain'd to. My meaning is, that you would be resolute enough, to deliver us from our *Italian bondage*; and demonstrate, that *English* is soft enough for Opera, when compos'd by poets, who know how to distinguish the *sweetness* of our tongue, from the *strength* of it, where the last is less necessary. […] I am sure, a species of dramatic Opera might be invented, that, by

[450] *The Weekly Miscellany*, 10 February 1733. The ode was also published later in *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill* […], vol. 3, 4 vols. (London: printed for the benefit of the family, 1753), 167–9 (transcribed in HCD, II, 587–9).

[451] See Christine Gerrard, *Aaron Hill: The Muses' Projector, 1685-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 159.

> reconciling reason and dignity, with musick and fine machinery, would charm the *ear*, and hold fast the *heart*, together.[452]

Once again, the words depict the sound of English as compared to Italian. Hill does not strictly advocate for a political reason as to why English should be the main language of opera in London (although, any sort of discourse for the prominence of native language over a foreign one is political, after all). Rather, he makes a point about the sound of English as being more suitable for the stage and more appealing to the ear.

Listening to Handel was becoming more and more a matter of political competition. And not just Handel's music, but Handel as a human being. His own persona would be at the center of attention in taking sides with the promoters of either English opera and oratorios, or Italian opera. As we have seen with Senesino's ticket for the Opera of the Nobility, people did not just go to the opera to listen to music: they went to listen to someone preparing the music for them. In the case of Handel, this meant going to listen to a composer who was considered more and more an appropriator and a monopolist.[453] This, at least, is what seems to be the import of the satirical letter *Harmony in an Uproar*, where a mock trial is set to denounce Handel's musical tyranny.[454] The publication was likely encouraged by the rivalry with the Opera of the Nobility, especially with respect to the *Arianna* competition, and in its surreal language it makes clear that the writer is supporting Handel against his detractors.[455] Yet, similar to the trend observed in 1733, Handel too is vocalized over these pages as he attempts to respond to the mock charges brought against him:

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[452] *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill*, I, 115–6, transcribed in HCD, II, 572–3.

[453] Dennis Arundell, *The Critic at the Opera: Contemporary Comments on Opera in London over 3 Centuries* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1980), 257.

[454] *Harmony in an Uproar. A Letter to F-d-k H-d-l, Esq* […] (London: R. Smith, 1734).

[455] See Aspden, "Ariadne's Clew," 740–1.

> *Clerk of the Court* — *Frederick Handel*, look full at the Court, and make three Bows.
> *Court.* —— Sirrah —— Demme, we say —— Sirrah! what has your Stupidity to offer in your Defence, that Sentence of Annihilation should not be immediately pronounc'd against you and your *Tramontani* of the *Hay-Market*, for daring to oppose our mighty Wills and Pleasures —— well said Us!
> Pris.[oner: Handel] —— *Most noble, Right honourable, and superlatively excellent* —
> *Court*. —— Go on —— Scoundrel ——
> Pris. — *I am almost confounded at being thus arraign'd before so August an Assembly of the wisest Heads of the Nation*; *and to appear as a Criminal, where tho' I am guilty of the Charge, I am as innocent of any Crime, as ignorant of any real Accusation. Wherein have I offended?*[456]

The dialogue marks a clear separation between the tone used by the prosecutor (broken sentences, vulgar vocabulary) and the gentle one used by Handel. The composer speaks with an "English taste" that contrasts with the rest of the pamphlet. Considering that the entire publication was written for and supposed to be read by Handel, we can picture the composer imagining mentally his own voice as he reads his responses to the mock trial. In a way, Handel's voice itself was 'created' by the people around him, and inscribed in printed form. The pamphlet would be remembered by Charles Burney decades later, in 1785.[457] Writing the *Sketch of the Life of Handel* for the commemorations at Westminster, Burney included a detailed account of *Harmony in an Uproar* to explain both the rivalry with the Opera of the Nobility, and the composer's presumed irritability and unconventional directorial style. In attempting to describe the composer's temper, Burney even went as far as registering the composer's voice with a peculiar German accent:

> You toc! Don't I know better as your seluf, vaat is pest for you to sing? If you vill not sing all de song vaat I give you, I vill not pay you ein stiver.[458]

Handel's authority/authoritarianism is underlined by Burney as a matter of voice. Moreover, the *sound* of Handel's voice was recorded on the pages of the *Sketch* not only for posterity to know

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[456] *Harmony in an Uproar*, 12

[457] *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey* […] (London: Printed for the benefit of the Musical Fund, and sold by T. Payne and son [etc.], 1785), [19–22].

[458] *Ibid.*, [24].

about Handel's thick German accent (more likely a supposedly friendly way for Burney to remember the composer), but also because inscribing listening to voices (whether they be of singers or composers) was an essential part of the experience of Italian opera. In explaining the causes of the schism between Handel and Senesino (which would contribute to the formation of the Opera of the Nobility), Burney describes the castrato's voice as having a direct effect on Handel's own dramas, even though he was not singing in them anymore:

> Indeed the breach with the Academy and enmity to Senesino, may with truth be said to have had some effect on his [Handel's] later Dramatic compositions. Senesino had so noble a voice and manner of singing, was so admirable an actor, and in such high favour with the public, that besides the real force and energy of his performance, there was an additional weight and importance given to whatever he sung, by the elevated situation in which he stood with the audience.[459]

What was this "additional weight and importance" and the "elevated situation" from which Senesino would have the audience listening to him in rapture? I believe that Burney is here referring to the fact that Senesino was also the leader of the company *de facto*, a position consecrated in the tickets sold for the performances (see *supra*). Thus, the competition between the Royal Academy of Music and the Opera of the Nobility was certainly conducted on similar textual grounds (i.e., Italian opera from the most recent fashionable masters), but it seems to me that the stress was placed mostly on the importance of their respective directors' "voices." And in both cases, their voices could be inscribed in public discourses, or they could be reflected in the musical choices of the two companies, as a way to have the audiences listen to what they had listened to.

The relationship between voice and the possibility of inscribing it in writing is thus essential to Italian opera as an experience. The insistence on the role of language and the perception of its sound in contemporary criticism of opera seems to me to highlight an important

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[459] *Ibid.*, [23].

matter for the production of pasticci: the 'presentness' of the performance can be inscribed and recorded over the written page (in the score, but also in the discourses about those scores) for the purpose of being played again. It is a strategy for producers to have their audiences aware of the complicated process behind the selection, arrangement, and performance of that very music. It is a meta-theatrical form of listening to opera before the actual act of listening. The pasticci, as previously noted in this dissertation, rely on this meta-theatrical dynamic, in which the performance signals previous performances *hic et nunc*. The pasticci could also play with the audience's expectations through the implicit pact of having music already used (and possibly already heard) because they operated as a sort of "memory machine" (see *Introduction*).[460]

From this perspective, the choice of pushing the pasticci presence in the 1733/34 season by the Royal Academy could be read in light of Handel's choices about what his audience should listen to. As previously mentioned, this is what Reinhard Strohm seems to suggest when he claims that Handel's "pasticci… were to provide the answer to his rivals" by having the audience listen to better examples of Italian music against Porpora's and Senesino's.[461] The rivalry was even featured in contemporary engravings, including a 1735 satire on Porpora titled "Harmony" (see Fig. 3.4).[462] The composer is portrayed playing a portative organ, sitting on the back of a man who, in turn, is playing the pan flute while another young man blows air into his anus. At the top

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[460] The term is taken from Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), in which the scholar of performance studies highlights the inherent recycling quality of Western theater. The application of Carlson's theories to the subject at hand are further developed in the *Introduction* of this dissertation.

[461] Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 183.

[462] The image is available online at the British Museum website under CreativeCommons license (http://www.britishmuseum.org/join_in/using_digital_images/using_digital_images.aspx?asset_id=355486001&objectId=3072766&partId=1, consulted on November 15, 2017). The engraving is described in detail on Frederic George Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. Division 1. Political and Personal Satires*, vol. 3 (London: printed by the Order of the Trustees, 1877), 176–7. For further elaboration on this engraving and the connection to the rivalry with the Opera of the Nobility, see Xavier Cervantes and Thomas McGeary, "Handel, Porpora and the 'Windy Bumm,'" *Early Music* 29, no. 4 (2001): 607–16.

of the organ, an owl is singing "Da–a–a–a–vido," while Porpora is concentrated reading music attached to his own hat (as a sort of parody of the carrot and stick). On the floor, three sheets of paper contain the titles of some of the works premiered at the Opera of the Nobility and directed by Porpora: "Poly[fem]o" (*Polifemo*, 1 February 1735, libretto by Rolli, music by Porpora), "A[rtaxer]xes" (*Artserse*, 29 October 1734, libretto by Metastasio, music by Hasse and Broschi), and "D[avi]d" (*Davide e Bersabea*, 12 March 1734 and revived on 28 February 1735, oratorio, libretto by Rolli, music by Porpora). At the bottom of the print there are four verses which refer directly to the competition with Handel, especially to the 1735 oratorio season (*Esther*, *Deborah*, and *Athalia*).

Figure 3.4 – "Harmony" (1735).
The British Museum, 1874,0808.2027.

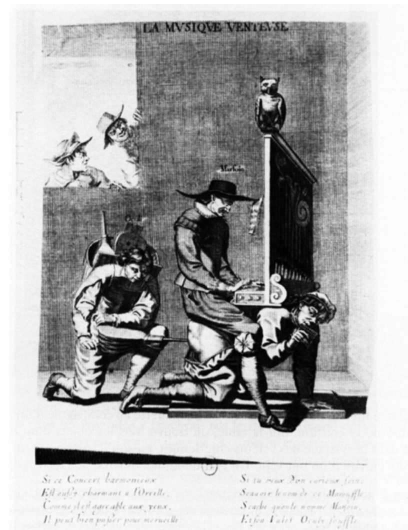

Figure 3.5 – "La Musique venteuse" (17th century).

Apart from the curiosity of the image and the satirical aspects of its content, we know nothing about its creator. Yet, the engraving was modelled after a famous seventeenth-century print by an anonymous French engraver, called "La Musique Venteuse" (see Fig. 3.5).[463] The two images are

[463] The image is reproduced in Alberto Ausoni, "Les femmes et la musique: pratique musicale, peinture de moeurs et élégance vestimentaire dans les gravures parisiennes à l'époque de Louis XIV," in *Le prince & la musique: les passions musicales de Louis XIV*, ed. by Jean Duron (Wavre: Editions Mardaga, 2009), 153–77: 170.

almost identical except for two important details: in the 1735 English engraving, there is no one at the window listening, while the French print has no sheets on the floor. The absence of people listening to the performers is indicative of the fact that the English portrait plays on the supposed failure of the Opera of the Nobility during the 1735 season, i.e. that no one was listening to Porpora (unlike Handel). The competition was thus being narrated in contemporary writings and visual imagery as being about listening. As obvious as this might sound, given the musical quality of such competition, the general insistence on the aspects of production and circulation (music printing), language barrier (listening to Italian), and the perception of hearing as a fundamental sense (empiricism) seem to form a broad picture in which the production of pasticci and their litmus test (i.e. ballad operas) developed and were used for the purpose of winning an economic battle.

Another drawing from 1735 highlights this particular aspect of the rivalry. It is an anonymous print entitled *The Opera House or the Italian Eunuch's Glory*, directly modelled after the 1728 anonymous plate *The Beggar's Opera Burlesqued* (once attributed to Hogarth and now de-attributed on the base of external evidence; see Figg. 3.6 and 3.7).[464] Ironically "inscribed to those generous encouragers of foreigners, and ruiners of England," the print is framed by the list of gifts to Farinelli "in ye opera Artaxerxes." By this time, Farinelli was the star of the Opera of the Nobility, and he featured in the main role of Arbace in the pasticcio version of Metastasio's *Artaserse* presented as the opening of the 1734-35 seasons. The list was inspired by William Hogarth's plate n. 2 in *The Rake's Progress*. In Hogarth's famous scene, the protagonist is surrounded by tradesmen, including a musician with a list of presents for the castrato Farinelli.[465]

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[464] Ronald Paulson, ed., *Hogarth's Graphic Works.*, 3rd ed. (London: The Print Room, 1989), 34.

[465] *Ibid.*, 96: "A pair of Diamond knee Buckles Presented by… A Diamond Ring by… A Bank Note enclosed in a Rich Gold Lace by… A Gold Snuff Box Chaced with the Story of Orpheus charming ye Brutes by T. Rakewell Esqr."

Both prints (from 1728 and 1735) depict a surreal stage filled with zoomorphic singers, surmounted by the Arcadian inscription *Et cantare pares et respondere paratae* [sic, *parati*] (Equal in the Song and Ready in the Response, from Virgil's *Eclogues* n. VII). The reference is to the opposite stage on the right side of the drawing, in which an opera seria is performed in its "normal" setting. The 1728 print mocks the *Beggar's Opera*, with a flying angel carrying "Harmony" away from the ballad opera towards the realm of Italian opera. If we read the 1735 drawing as the opposite of its model, the same angel is now flying away from the realm of castrati towards an unknown other stage where presumably an English play is performing, given the "Stage Mutiny" reported at the bottom (absent from the 1728 version), referencing the 1733 Actor Rebellion.[466] This s implied by reading the accompanying verses below the images, which are the same for the first two lines:

Figure 3.6 – "The Opera House or the Italian Eunuch's Glory" (1735). The British Museum, 1868,0808.3526.

Figure 3.7 – "The Beggar's Opera Burlesqued" (1728).
Victoria&Albert Museum Collection.

The Opera House or the Italian Eunuch's Glory, 1735	*The Beggar's Opera Burlesqued*, 1728
Brittains attend—view this harmonious Stage And listen to those notes which charm the age	Brittons attend—view this harmonious Stage And listen to those notes which charm the age

[466] Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 95.

How sweet the Sound where Cats and Bears With brutish Noise offend our Ears! Just so the Foreign Singers move, Rather contempt than gain our Love. Were such discourag'd, we should find, Musick at Home to charm the Mind! Our Home Spun Authors, must forsake the Field, And Shakespear to the Italian Eunuchs Yield.	Thus shall your tastes in Sounds & Sense be shown And Beggar's Op'ras ever be your own.

The insistence on listening is similar in both poems, but the 1735 version highlights hearing a "foreign" language as a fundamental aspect of this competition, linked to the "charm of the mind." Moreover, the poem concludes with a satirical promotion of castrati over local authors, including Shakespeare, which closes the circle around three of the recurrent obsessions of these years: printing, authorship, and the experience of listening.

That this print is concerned with Farinellli's performance of *Artaserse* with the Opera of the Nobility is a matter of importance for this chapter in the sense that it brings to the surface both the competition with the Royal Academy (which prompted an unusual number of pasticci productions, from both companies) and the topics intimately connected with the reception of the pasticci. Some of the issues touched in this subject of listening to Italian opera will return in the discussion of the individual pasticci of the 1733-34 season which constitute the core of this third chapter. The choice of reading such pasticci through the processes of listening and musical inscription is partially due to the insistence on such terms in contemporary readings of the companies' rivalry, but also to internal evidence which will be uncovered through analysis of scores, libretti, and more secondary sources. These pasticci could have been studied from the perspective of their "materiality" or "authorship," too, and in a sense, they will. It is the goal of this chapter to articulate an interdisciplinary conception of listening inextricably related to the very materials which carry the signs of such listening (on behalf of composers, producers, and audiences) and to a more nuanced notion of authorship which reveals the composer as an arranger, producer, and listener.

3.2 Play It Again, George: The Repetition of Songs in Earlier Pasticci

Listening is an experience of recurrence. When we listen to something, we activate an aural process with which our brain seeks signs of resemblance to make sense of what we are hearing. This tenet of empirical philosophy (particularly evident in David Hume's influential work *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, published in 1748) is still shared by modern philosophers, scholars of linguistics and pragmatics, and cognitive scientists, and it is valid for both language and music.[467] Yet, as we have seen with the previous discussion about the role of listening to foreign language in operatic performances, the inextricable relationship between words and music in the act of listening was a matter of concern in the first decades of the eighteenth century. But what about listening to music and words that were already used in previous productions? Were audiences aware of the reuse of music already played and circulating, or were composers and producers subtly inserting borrowed material for the sake of musical economy?

When the pasticcio *Ormisda* was mounted in 1730 by the new Royal Academy of Music, five years after *Elpidia*, things had changed in terms of both management and involvement of musicians and producers. Handel's personal involvement in these two productions was different, although not minimal as scholars have recently suggested.[468] Unnoticed until now, *Ormisda* had an aria taken almost directly from *Elpidia*. In scene II.7 of *Ormisda*, the protagonist, left alone with his thoughts, sings the aria "Sì, sì, lasciatemi" before he leaves the stage. This aria was originally featured in the 1718 version of Orlandini's *Lucio Papirio* in Bologna in a scene where the protagonist is addressing the Senators in the form of a political speech (in terms of the music, this

[467] See Aniruddh D. Patel, *Music, Language, and the Brain* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 327–41. See also Seth S. Horowitz, *The Universal Sense: How Hearing Shapes the Mind* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012).

[468] See John H. Roberts, "Vinci, Porpora and the Royal Academy of Music," *il Saggiatore Musicale* 23, no. 2 (2016): 243–76. See also ch. 1 of the present dissertation.

Lucio Papirio had nothing to do with the one used by Handel for the Royal Academy performances in 1732).[469] The music for both Orlandini's Bolognese setting and the London pasticcio *Ormisda* were the same: a manuscript copy of the aria preserved at the Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles gives the header "Aria S.r Orlandini" and contains the same music as the conducting score of the pasticcio.[470] Yet, the aria had been already used in the pasticcio *Elpidia*, albeit with a different textual incipit "Amor deh lasciami" (I.9; see Figg. 3.8 and 3.9).[471] The two arias are musically identical, both scored for tenor voice (in *Elpidia* for Luigi Antinori, in *Ormisda*, Annibale Pio Fabri). The text of "Amor deh lasciami" has to be determined from the score, though, as the aria was inserted at a later stage than the premiere on 11 May 1725 (and so it does not appear in the printed libretto), possibly for the November 1725 reprises, given that it appeared in print as part of *The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick Containing the Choicest Songs for the last Three Months October November & December* [1725] *being the Additional Songs in Elpidia*.[472] There, the song was published with the title "Sung by Sigr Tenori [*sic*] in Elpedia [*sic*]" in full score with a good degree of accuracy from the manuscript version in the conducting score (see Fig. 3.10).[473] The printed copy of the aria, unlike other similar cases (as detailed in ch. 1), is consistently faithful to the inserted manuscript gathering in the conducting score, including a peculiar rewording of the initial incipit the second time the motto is introduced on f. 23*r* (see Fig. 3.11). To summarize: "Si, si, lasciatemi" first appeared, as far as we know, in Orlandini's *Lucio Papirio* in 1718; Handel used the

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[469] *Lucio Papirio. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Formaliari* [sic] *in Bologna l'estate dell'anno 1718. Seconda impressione* (Bologna: per li Rossi, [1718]). Copy consulted in I-Mb, Racc. Dramm. 4237.

[470] B-Bc, ms. 4448.

[471] *Ormisda*'s conducting score (GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31551) features the aria at 86*v*-89*r*, while *Elpidia*'s conducting score (GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606) has it at 22*r*-24*v*.

[472] See David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703-1726: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1997), entry 167.

[473] *The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick Containing the Choicest Songs for the last Three Months October November & December being the Additional Songs in Elpidia* (London: J. Walsh and I. Hare, [1726]), 13–4.

aria with this text in *Ormisda* in 1730, but had already used a contrafactum of the aria, with the text "Amor deh lasciami," in *Elpidia* in 1725.

Figure 3.8 – Ormisda, "Sì, sì, lasciatemi" (II.7). GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31551, f. 86*v*.

Figure 3.9 – Elpidia, "Amor deh lasciami" (I.9). GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606, f. 22*r*.

Figure 3.10 – The Additional Songs in Elpidia, "Sung by Sig.r Tenori in Elpedia" p. 13.

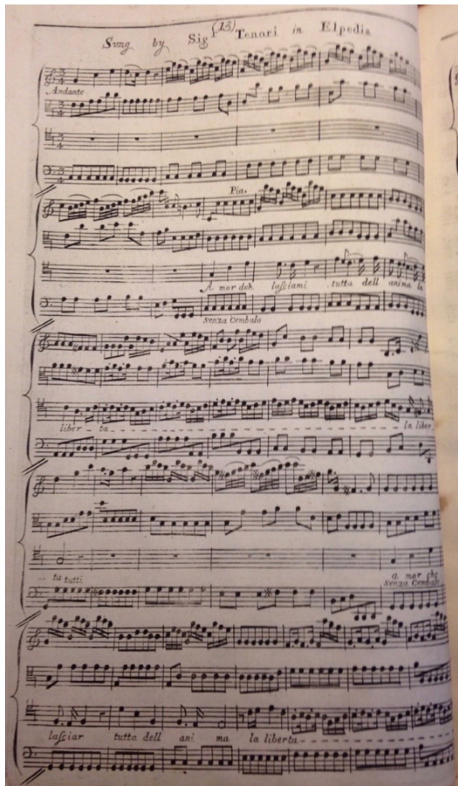
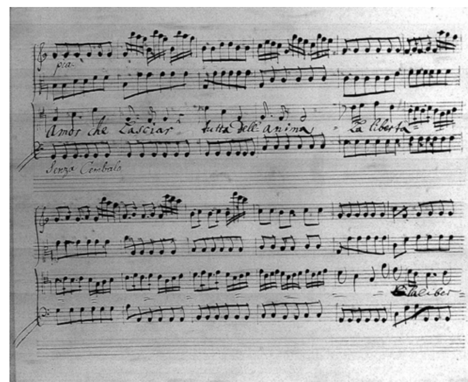


Figure 3.11 – Elpidia, "Amor deh lasciami" (I.9). GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606, f. 23*r*.



In this case, instead of the expected "Amor deh lasciami," a second copyist has erased the initial incipit in favor of a similar "Amor che lasciar." The rewording follows an incorrect metric pattern, given that in Italian "Amor deh làsciami" and "Amor che lasciàr" have accents on different syllables. There are two possible explanations for this: either the second copyist believed that "che lasciar" was more accurate than "deh lasciami" (which in handwriting is very similar to "deh lasciami," with the "r" resembling an "m"); or, the second copyist felt that it *sounded* better, even with the clunky Italian as a result. The insertion of such a mistaken rewording in the aria seems to point in the direction of John Roberts's thesis that Handel had almost nothing to do with the assemblage of *Elpidia*, given his mastery of the Italian language.[474] Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that Handel himself may have wrongly suggested that incorrect Italian text to one of the copyists. In any case, the appearance of the same aria (albeit with its original wording from Orlandini's opera, "Sì sì lasciatemi") in *Ormisda*, which was initially prepared around the same time as *Elpidia* (only to be dropped due to the late arrival of Faustina Bordoni in London in 1726),[475] means that the producers of the two pasticci had initially planned to have an identical song (with only the textual incipit modified) to be heard by the same audience at a distance of only a few months. The history of the pasticci went in a different direction, and *Ormisda* would only see the light in 1730. Yet, the very possibility for that aria to be heard twice in a similar context would seem to be an anomalous case.

Would audiences have been aware of such a return of the same music? And, if so, what meaning would have been attributed to it? No answer can be given with certainty. The interesting

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[474] John Roberts, "L'Elpidia, ovvero Li rivali generosi," in Annette Landgraf and David Vickers, eds., *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 211–2. On Handel's knowledge and mastering of the Italian language, see Terence Best, "Handel and the Italian Language," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 225–37.

[475] John H. Roberts, "The London Pasticci of 1730-31: Singers, Composers, and Impresarios," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 62 (2016), 173–92: 175.

fact about this aria is that the textual incipit, although slightly different ("Amor deh lasciami" vs. "Sì sì lasciatemi") still contains words that sound very similar ("lasciami" "lasciatemi"). In a way, it was as if the producers were at the same time trying to cover the possibility of recognizing the song while making it even more obvious by using similar words over exactly the same music. Considering this and the fact that "Amor deh lasciami" was printed as part of the *Additional Songs in Elpidia*, thus circulating among the London elites (the song even made it into a keyboard commonplace book),[476] it seems unrealistic to think that the producers did this by chance. The song was repeated for a purpose, even though the significance of this borrowing might escape us.

A similar situation took place with the pasticci that followed *Ormisda*, i.e. *Venceslao* and *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*. Both the conducting and harpsichord scores of *Venceslao*, and the libretto for the January 1731 performances at the King's Theatre, include the aria "Io sento al cor" as part of scene 8 in act I.[477] It is sung by the character of Erenice (interpreted at the time by Anna Maria Strada del Pò) as she rejects the love of prince Casimiro and accepts Ernando's. The aria was not part of any previous version of *Venceslao* (including the one sent by Swiney in 1725, see ch. 2.3), as the music was taken from the aria "Tornate ancor" in act II of Giacomelli's *Lucio Papirio Dittatore* (Parma 1729), the same opera that was later arranged in 1732 at the King's Theatre by Handel. In Giacomelli's 1729 *Lucio Papirio*, Papiria sings the aria after she has convinced Lucio Papirio to listen to Quinto Fabio, her lover, before sentencing him to death. In the conducting score of the *Lucio Papirio* 1732 pasticcio, the aria is recorded only through the presence of the first measures on the back of a folio prior to a new gathering, marked with a cross which indicates that the song was

[476] GB-Lgc, G. Mus. 362, vol. III, ff. 81*v*–82*v*.

[477] D-Hs, ms MA/1071, ff. 34*r*-37*v*.

not supposed to be sung and was eliminated at an early stage (the aria does not appear in the printed libretto).[478]

As with the *Elpidia/Ormisda* case, here too the texts share not only similar content, but also similar wording and rhyming (I have underlined both the same exact words and the return of similar ones such as "idolatrato" *vs.* "idolo"):

Venceslao, 1731	*Lucio Papirio Dittatore*, 1729-32
Io sento al cor dardi d'Amor, lusinghe di beltà del caro idolatrato. Amor tu non sperar ei sol può consolar il cor piagato.	Tornate ancor vezzi d'Amor, lusinghe di beltà sul volto innamorato. Tornate a consolar, tornate a richiamar l'idolo amato.

The practice of rewording aria texts with similar content (what Reinhard Strohm calls "parody-texts") in the context of pasticci was not an unusual one (in *Venceslao* the same thing happened with another aria, "Parto e mi sento)."[479] A remarkable feature of "Io sento al cor" is that the same music would have been featured a year later in the pasticcio *Lucio Papirio*, with very similar words that *sounded* like the original aria. The fact that the aria was cut at an early stage of the preparation of *Lucio Papirio* seems to confirm Strohm's hypothesis that this pasticcio was planned well in advance of May 1732, possibly at the same time as *Venceslao*. The most likely explanation is that the copyist of *Lucio Papirio* inadvertently transcribed the beginning of the aria "Tornate ancor" (possibly from the score in the Savage collection) even though the aria had not been designated for inclusion in the work from the beginning. As opposed to Clausen's statement in his

[478] D-Hs, ms MA/1029, f. 83*v*.

[479] Apostolo Zeno's original text "Da te parto e parto afflitto" was replaced by the text "Parto e mi sento" over the music of Vinci's *Medo* "Taci o di morte" (Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 176–7).

study of the conducting scores, at this point in the score there is no trace of a missing gathering.[480] Given that the aria would have been sung by the same Anna Maria Strada del Pò who had already performed it in *Venceslao*, it seems as if the producers of *Venceslao* and *Lucio Papirio* were aware of the problem of including the same music at a close distance. This time, though, the repetition was avoided. But then again, why bother modifying the text of *Venceslao*'s aria with the words "Io sento al cor" (which bear similar content to "Tornate ancor") if the original aria was not meant to be heard again in the following pasticcio? The dramatic situation is quite different between the two operas (a lover's choice in *Venceslao*, a daughter's bittersweet hopeful song in *Lucio Papirio*). As with the *Elpidia/Ormisda* case, it is not possible to give a certain answer. Maybe it was Strada herself who did not want to sing the same musical piece over the course of two seasons, especially given the fact that the aria in *Venceslao* was circulating due to the inclusion in *Venceslao*'s printed *Favourite Songs*.[481]

What is also interesting about this aria modification for *Venceslao* from Giacomelli's *Lucio Papirio* is that the new words "Io sento al cor" (instead of "Tornate ancor") describe exactly what is happening in practice. In Italian "Io sento" can mean both "I feel" and "I hear," which indicates that the verse can be read/heard as "I feel in my heart" or "I hear in my heart."[482] So, "I hear/feel" substitutes for the original "Return again," because the *Lucio Papirio* aria does *not* return again in the homonymous pasticcio and we "hear" a different song. At some point, someone must have made the decision to alter only a few words of the same song: whether it was

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[480] Hans Dieter Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren (Handexemplare).* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung, 1972), 170, where he refers to a *lacuna* after folio 83.

[481] *The Favourite Songs in the Opera of Venceslaus* (London: J. Walsh and J. Hare, [1731]), n.p.

[482] The English translation provided in the libretto opted for "I feel Love's thrilling Dart," although it was probably not to be expected from English translators of the time to know about such subtleties of the Italian language. See *Venceslao. Drama. Da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Hay-Market. Done into English by Mr. Humphreys* (London: Thomas Wood, 1731), 17.

the person in charge of adapting the libretti (Giacomo Rossi), Handel himself (as Strohm believes),[483] or anyone else, the words were changed to "I hear/feel" instead of "Come back" while otherwise retaining the same content of the previous aria. It is true that the dramatic situation requires a different text in the two settings, but there is no reason why Handel and his collaborators could not have chosen an entirely different piece (as it usually happened). The use of this particular aria at this point informs my claim that not only audiences, but producers too were invested in a particular listening attitude and narrative when they were working on preparing and attending Italian operas and pasticci.

The "intertheatrical" play between pasticci—referencing songs already heard or potentially to be heard—was not confined to the realm of the Royal Academy.[484] In the mid 1730s, the Opera of the Nobility, too, would be interested in mounting several productions of Italian libretti with music by different Italian composers. This was Porpora and Senesino's own way of responding to Heidegger and Handel's choice of introducing a large amount of pasticci in their 1733-34 season. Between 1734 and 1737, the Opera of the Nobility staged *Belmira*, *Artaserse*, *Orfeo*, *La clemenza di Tito*, and *Sabrina*, all of which are known pasticci assembled by the rival company.[485] Among these, *Orfeo* stands out for presenting a peculiar case of textual reference to other arias. The libretto (basically all the recitatives, as the arias were interpolated or slightly modified form the originals) was written by Paolo Rolli, the Italian poet and playwright who at

[483] Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 174.

[484] For the use of the word "intertheatricality" in connection to the practice of recycling music in the pasticci, see note 159 in ch. 1.

[485] See Darryl Jacqueline Dumigan, "Nicola Porpora's Operas for the 'opera of the Nobility': The Poetry and the Music" (Ph.D. diss., University of Huddersfield, 2014), *passim*.

the time was the main collaborator of the Opera of the Nobility,[486] for performances at the King's Theatre beginning on March 2nd, 1736.[487] It was dedicated to Catherin Edwin, a young English aristocrat with a passion for Italian poetry and possibly one of Rolli's pupils.[488] The libretto follows the seventeenth-century tradition of the myth's operatic re-elaborations, including the sub-plot of king Aristeo and princess Autonoe. And it is through the mouth of one of the secondary characters, Aristeo, that Rolli and the producers of the Opera of the Nobility decided to play with the conventions of Italian opera and paid "homage" to the text of a celebrated Metastasio aria "È follia se nascondete" from the end of act I of his *Catone in Utica*. There, the aria was initially conceived for the role of Marzia as she sings about the impossibility of concealing love from public view. In Rolli's *Orfeo*, the aria is sung by Aristeo as he learns that his beloved Eurydice is coming back from the underworld with Orpheus, reproaching women's ability to remain silent while showing love through their raptured sight:

Metastasio, *Catone in Utica*	Rolli, *Orfeo*
MARZIA È follia se nascondete, fidi amanti, il vostro foco; a scoprir quel che tacete un pallor basta improvviso, un rossor che accenda il viso, uno sguardo ed un sospir. E se basta così poco a scoprir quel che si tace, perché perder la sua pace con ascondere il martir?	ARISTEO È follia se nascondete, ninfe belle, il vostro affetto: a svelarlo, se 'l tacete, un pallor basta improvviso, un rossor ed un sorriso, parla un guardo ed un sospir. Ninfe vaghe, quel che piace quanto in van s'asconde o tace! Presto o tardi vien ai guardi quel che il labbro non può dir.

[486] On Paolo Rolli and the London operatic world, see R. A. Streatfeild, "Handel, Rolli, and Italian Opera in London in the Eighteenth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (1917): 428–45; see also George E Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London 1715-1744* (The Hague; Paris: Mouton & Co., 1967).

[487] *Orpheus. An Opera by Paul Rolli, F. R. S. Perform'd at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: Charles Bennet, 1735).

[488] Paolo Rolli, *Libretti per Musica*, ed. Carlo Caruso (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 1993), 455–9.

Although the object of the lyrics varies in gender (general lovers for Marzia, nymphs/women for Aristeo), the content of the song remains similar: the gaze reveals what a complicit silence cannot. In the case of Aristeo, the meaning is that women's silence is never a "real" silence: words are implied. This seems particularly intriguing if we think that this same aria (albeit with a different musical setting) was heard in London a few years before *Orfeo*: it was part of the Royal Academy's pasticcio *Catone* which opened the 1732-33 season at the King's Theatre (see ch. 2.4).

In the pasticcio *Catone*, the text was sung by Anna Maria Strada del Pò with music by Leonardo Leo, as the Neapolitan composer's score made up most of the music of the pasticcio. In the pasticcio *Orfeo*, on the other hand, the aria was interpreted by Senesino and sung with music by Leonardo Vinci (his version of *Catone in Utica* was premiered in Rome in 1728).[489] Vinci's aria was circulating in manuscript form in various anthologies of Italian music that were commonly available in England throughout the first decades of the eighteenth centuries, as at least three different manuscripts of Roman origins held at various English libraries attest.[490] As hard as it is to know exactly if these copies were brought to England before or after the premiere of *Orfeo*, their presence in English collections speaks to the fact that the aria was known and used in the networks of music circulation across the continent. We know for sure that both Leo's and Vinci's versions were featured in the printed collections of their respective pasticci, thus speaking to the fact that these songs circulated to some extent before and after they were heard over the stage of

[489] The score for the pasticcio *Orfeo* is in GB-Lbl, R.M. 22.i.11-13. The aria is featured at ff. 42*v*-47*r*. The attribution to Vinci is also reported in a copy of the printed libretto in GB-Bp, 782.12 Plays B/43, which contains several handwritten attributions of the arias in pencil: see Colin Timms, "Handelian and Other Librettos in Birmingham Central Library," *Music & Letters* 65, no. 2 (1984), 141–167: 149–51. See also ch. 1.1 of this dissertation.

[490] The manuscripts I have been able to consult all present Roman watermarks and layout: GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31595, ff. 65*r*-68*v*; GB-Lam, ms 134, ff. 83*r*-88*v*; GB-Ob, Ms. Mus. e.11, ff. 21*r*-26*r*.

the King's Theatre.[491] Yet, once again, the fact that the text of the aria was only partially modified puts this case in a sort of mirror-like position to the two previous ones. Here, too, the producers felt the need to modify part of the text of the aria, although in this case the initial verse is left intact (given that the settings are different) possibly to remind the audience of the version in *Catone*. In the context of the rivalry between the Royal Academy and the Opera of the Nobility, it makes sense that Porpora and Senesino were somehow referring to a previous performance of their opponents (not to mention the fact that Leo's *Catone* contained music by Handel himself, see ch. 2.4). The choice of an aria by Vinci, with the same text as another used by the Royal Academy over music by Leonardo Leo for the pasticcio *Catone*, would seem to be a response to Handel's display of Italian musical choices that he featured in his recent season full of pasticci, although at this point Handel had stopped composing operas and the Opera of the Nobility had no real-time competitor in the genre. Senesino singing the same text of an aria previously heard (and read in the printed libretti and scores) must have been a symbolic act: as we have seen before, Senesino was, after all, *the voice* of the Opera of the Nobility, embodying at the same time the character on stage, the singer, and the institution of the operatic company as such. Notwithstanding the changes in the text that Rolli provided to the Metastasio aria, it seems likely that for the audience such Italian words would have sounded the same, and that was probably what the company wanted. The rivalry of Italian opera battled over listening to language and music that were foreign and new, given the relatively recent composition of most of the music by the Neapolitan composers used by the rival companies.

Handel, too, was listening to the products of the Opera of the Nobility, sitting among the audience "in silent triumph to insult this poor dying opera in its agonies," as Lord Hervey bitterly

[491] *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Cato* (London: I. Walsh, [1732]), 7–10. Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, Music Collections H.130.a.

recorded.[492] The occasion was another Italian opera mounted by the Opera of the Nobility only a few months before *Orfeo*, Francesco Veracini's *Adriano in Siria* which premiered on 25 November 1735.[493] The letter sent by Lord Hervey to Mrs. Charlotte Digby, in which he condemned everything regarding the production, is an insight into what aspects of the drama would be perceived when attending an Italian opera:

> I am this moment returned with the King from yawning four hours at the longest and dullest Opera that ever the ennobled ignorance of our present musical Governors ever inflicted on the ignorance of an English audience; who, generally speaking, are equally skillful in the language of the drama and the music it is set to, a degree of knowledge or ignorance (call it which you please) that on this occasion is no great misfortune to them, the drama being composed by an anonymous fool, and the music by one Veracini, a madman, who to show his consummate skill in this Opera has, among half a dozen very bad parts, given Cuzzoni and Farinelli the two worst. The least bad part is Senesino's, who like Echo reversed, has lost all his voice, and retains nothing of his former self but his flesh […] The last air in the Opera has really some merit, besides the being the last; and I was extremely pleased with the wit of a footman (who has, I dare swear, ten times as much as his master) that called out at the conclusion of this air – "This song Ancora, and the rest no more-a." And to prove to you that the footman has more wit, or at least more judgement, than either Farinelli or the majority of the Directors, the song was sung *no-more-a,* and the Opera is to be on Saturday *ancora.*[494]

The letter goes on describing Handel's presence among the audience. Hervey's bias towards Italian opera is clear from the fact that he refers to Metastasio as "an anonymous fool" and Veracini "a madman." But the interesting aspects of this letter have to do with Hervey's reference to Senesino's body as an "Echo reversed," being purely flesh and no sound, only presence and no musical metaphysics. Senesino is by now a symbol not only of the Opera of the Nobility, but also of Italian opera as such. Moreover, the anecdote about the footman asking for the final song to be repeated is told in such a way that it both plays with listening to Italian ("ancora" "no more-a")

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[492] John Hervey of Ickworth, *Lord Hervey and His Friends, 1726-38: Based on Letters from Holland House, Melbury, and Ickworth* (London: Murray, 1950), 239.

[493] Dean, *Handel's Operas. 1726-1741*, 278–9.

[494] Hervey of Ickworth, *Lord Hervey and His Friends*, 238–9.

and with the phenomenon of the repetition of songs. The song culture that inhabited London during the first decades of the eighteenth century allowed and encouraged, even more than in Italy, the extrapolation and detachment of songs from drama. A song is a "song" because of its possibility to be repeated independently, whether during the same performance or in another one. Not by chance, Charles Burney made a very clear point about the specific English way of dealing with the *encore* of arias on stage when discussing Rolli's *Orfeo* and the contemporary performances of the pasticcio *Artaserse* as late benefits for Farinelli in March 1735. After transcribing an announcement which appeared on the newspapers in conjunction with the benefit performances of *Artaserse* which claimed that "[w]hereas the repetition of songs adds considerably to the length of the opera, and has been often complained of, it is hoped no person will take it ill, if the singers do not comply with *encores* for the future,"[495] Burney commented that

> [i]t was very natural for lovers of Music to wish for a repetition of the delight they received from so exquisite a singer as Farinelli, and as natural for those whose pleasure was small to think these repetitions tedious; but it seems as if both parties might have been satisfied, if an uninteresting song by a bad singer had been omitted for very one of a different kind that was encored.[(g)]
>
> [(g)] I know it will be said by those who love poetry better than Music, that this would ruin the drama; but as the business of the drama is chiefly transacted in the recitative, and as few people interest themselves in England about an Italian drama, the evil would not be insupportable.[496]

Writing decades after the actual performances of *Orfeo* and *Artaxerses*, Burney's reflection characterizes the culture of late eighteenth-century sensibility towards musical dramas, describing Farinelli's performances as delightful and "exquisite," projecting over those past audiences the desire for repetition of song they enjoyed as "natural." At the same time, Burney claims that English audiences held little interest in an "Italian drama" (brought on by recitatives in a foreign

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[495] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 24 March 1736.

[496] Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol. 4, 392.

language), while charmed by the music of songs. Yet, as evidenced by the 1736 advertisement, the producers of Italian operas in the 1730s were aware of the problem of repeating songs during performances, as the length of such dramas could well go over four hours (as Lord Hervey reminds us in his letter), and thus encouraged singers not to engage in *encores* for the sake of that part of the audience who were enjoying the opera. I believe, though, that there must have been other reasons for such a request. As seen from all the previous documentation, the problem with Italian language was never linked to the understanding of the drama (i.e. the recitatives), but rather with the music as such, with the sound of the Italian language in songs. The constant transcription of singers' vocalizations in pseudo-Italian was part of a listening culture in which music always came before words. The individualization of arias as stand-alone pieces simultaneously influenced and fostered a "song culture," in which I argue that pasticci played a major role. Thus, it seems that the request *not to* repeat songs (if possible) was linked to the performances of pasticci (*Orfeo* and *Artaserse*) because it was a genre entirely built on the issue of repetition and re-use. When the audiences listened to a song in a pasticcio, especially those that were already circulating and (in a few cases, such as the ones just described) heard in previous performances, it was as if they were listening to it three times: as the song that is part of the drama *hic et nunc*, as the song "that was performed before," and as the "imagined" song that was built as part of the audience's expectations.[497]

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[497] Needless to say, the very concept of the *da capo* aria is built on repetition, inherently damning the possibility of language to make sense of a discourse. The theorization of the *da capo* feature and its aesthetic premises lie outside the boundaries of this dissertation. For a recent historical survey of the debates around the concept of repetition in the *da capo* arias (with a partial focus on eighteenth-century England), see Andrea Garavaglia's "L'aria barocca made in Italy: interpretazione antropologica del modello italiano" *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft / Annales Suisses de Musicologie* 32 (2012), 195–218, and "'La brevità non può mover l'affetto': The time scale of the Baroque aria," *Recercare* 24 (2012), 35–61. For a general overview, see James Webster, "Aria as Drama," in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 24–49, and the issue of *Musica e Storia* 16, n. 3 (2008) devoted to "L'Aria col da capo." For a discussion of *da capo* arias in relation to Handel's own operatic output, see C. Steven LaRue, "Handel and the aria," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. by Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 111–21. See also Nathan Link, "Continuities of Time in Handel's Operas," in *Word, Image, Song, Vol. 2:*

In sum, as seen already in the earlier pasticci, it seems that producers of the Royal Academy of Music (Handel included) were aware of the possibility that the pasticcio could play with the concept of recycling. For this genre of operatic music, recycling operated on two levels: being an assemblage of music previously composed, its performance was implicitly based on a pact with the audience about "used" music; when that same music would be presented again in another context (either in another pasticcio or similar), it meta-theatrically activated a double mechanism of listening to something both already composed and already heard. In the case of the pasticci, this double mechanism of recycling would appear throughout the Royal Academy years while Handel was becoming more and more involved in the creation of such dramas. The case with the pasticci is that he seemed to be aware of the possibility of playing with the audience's listening expectations by hinting at previous performances. John Roberts suggests in terms of the composer's arrangement of the 1737 pasticcio *Didone Abbandonata* (with which this dissertation ends) that it seems as if "Handel the borrower can be seen covering his tracks," by slightly altering the musical content from Vinci's version.[498] Yet, the cases from *Elpidia/Ormisda*, *Lucio Papirio/Venceslao*, and *Orfeo/Catone* highlight how this process of recycling music—in such a way that it appears easily recognizable—was already in place throughout the Second Royal Academy years. This practice needs to be partially distinguished from the more general way with which Handel borrowed his or someone else's music into his own operas. Handel's appropriation and inclusion of previously used musical ideas was part of his compositional process throughout his career, and the degree and quality with which he borrowed varied to a degree that generalizations

Essays of Musical Voices, ed. by Rebecca Cypess, Beth Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 46–71.

[498] John H. Roberts, "Handel and Vinci's 'Didone Abbandonata': Revisions and Borrowings," *Music & Letters* 68, no. 2 (1987), 141–150: 149. See *Conclusion*.

cannot be made.[499] If borrowing is an ontological matter for Handel the composer, the re-appearance of arias in different contexts is an experiential (in the sense of wanting the audience to feel and listen to such a practice, in light of the empirical approach to music-making) and meta-theatrical habit for Handel the arranger and producer. This practice became essential to the organization of the rivalry with the Opera of the Nobility, with which Handel had to compete on musical grounds. In the next section, I will thus focus on the "pasticci season" 1733/34 to analyze in what ways the three pasticci staged by the Royal Academy (*Semiramide riconosciuta*, *Caio Fabricio*, and *Arbace*) participated in such competition.

3.3 The War of Jennens' Ear: Competing for Patrons during the 1733-34 "Pasticci Season"

"The War of Jenkins' Ear" between Great Britain and Spain from 1739 to 1748 was supposedly precipitated by one Captain Robert Jenkins, who claimed that his ear had been cut off by Spanish sailors who had boarded his ship illegally.[500] In the early 1730s, the war between operatic styles was fostered by manuscripts collected by Charles Jennens, later Handel's librettist for *Messiah.* What Jennens "heard" through his collection was transcribed onto the London stage by Handel in the fierce operatic competition that ensued following the establishment of two companies on the London stage. The Opera of the Nobility was born out of the diaspora of singers from Handel's and Heidegger's Royal Academy to Porpora's and Senesino's new

[499] See John H. Roberts, "Why Did Handel Borrow?," in *Handel. Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), 83–92.

[500] For an in-depth study of this battle—which would later be subsumed by the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748)—see Philip Woodfine, *Britannia's Glories: The Walpole Ministry and the 1739 War with Spain* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1998).

company. The move was based on personal acrimony (Senesino), economic reasons (some of the shareholders of the Royal Academy), and political motivations (part of the aristocracy).[501] But most of all, the creation of a new company was fueled by the desire to take over the direction of Italian opera in town, and to compete with continental operatic capitals.[502] In order to do that, the newly formed company had to convince a contingent of the usual English operagoers that their way of performing Italian opera was better than Handel's and Heidegger's, thus competing with them on musical grounds that were first and foremost human resources, i.e. Italian singers. After Senesino brought all the Italian singers with him that were previously engaged with Handel (with the notable exception of Anna Maria Strada del Pò), Handel had to recruit new artists that had to be Italian (for the most part) for the sake of being convincing to an audience that was dragged towards something else. Singers had to be eloquent. And if we assume that singers, when engaged in different productions, usually brought with them music previously sung as a sort of "aural gift" of their own previous performances to a new audience, then we can see how Handel's choice to push forward with three new pasticci for the first season without his usual cast was probably done with an eye/ear towards what he expected to happen at the Opera of the Nobility, i.e. an intensification of songs already used in previous performances.

This is also what both Reinhard Strohm and Donald Burrows seem to think when they refer to the 1733-34 pasticci at the King's Theatre as being both a way to compete on the same musical plane as Porpora,[503] but also as an occasion for the audience to listen to the newly arrived castrato stars Carlo Scalzi and Giovanni Carestini interpreting roles that they had already

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[501] For a general overview of the events that led to the schism and the formation of the rival companies, see Carole Mia Taylor, "Italian Operagoing in London, 1700-1745" (Syracuse University, 1991), 190–244. See also Burrows, "Handel and the London Opera Companies" and McGeary, *The Politics of Opera*, 150–79.

[502] Carole Taylor, "Opera of the Nobility," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, 453–4.

[503] Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 183.

performed in Rome between 1729 (Scalzi in *Semiramide riconosciuta* by Leonardo Vinci) and 1730 (Carestini in Vinci's *Artaserse*).[504] Considering the degree of social relevance placed upon the castrati in the rivalry between the two companies (Senesino and Farinelli as embodying the Opera of the Nobility as such, see *supra*), it seems all the more important that Handel and Heidegger decided to engage singers from Italy for the purpose of re-interpreting their famous roles in a different context. The competition was thus played not only on musical grounds, but also on the singers' own way of presenting themselves *as* characters. One of the assets of the musical pasticcio is that the composition of its characters did not follow the 'standard' pattern (whatever 'standard' means in baroque opera). Due to the recycling of the music presented, and the exchangeability of the music interpreted, the pasticcio character lies somewhere between a role and a musician: the character *is* a singer and the singer is the character. Carestini and Scalzi interpreting their previous Roman roles activated an interhteatrical network that, while possibly not perceived as such in the audience, was nonetheless certainly felt by themselves as they displayed their own musical personae on the stage of the King's Theatre against the rival opera company. The occasion for the audience was not just to go hear a foreign celebrity, but also to hear them interpreting a recurring character. In this sense, the ghosting quality of the "haunted body" of actors and singers—as theorized by Marvin Carlson—neatly applies to new performances of previously interpreted roles, affecting the audience's expectations and the performance as such.[505] This feeling of ghosting around castrati celebrities was likely bolstered during the 1733/34 season

[504] Burrows, *Handel*, 229–30.

[505] "In the case of well-known and highly celebrated actors a phenomenon that in some ways is even stranger is not uncommon. Even new audiences, for whom a performance cannot possibly be ghosted by fond personal memories of previous high achievement, may be affected by the operations of celebrity itself to view and experience a famous actor through an aura of expectations that masks failings that would be troubling in someone less celebrated. […] It is quite possible that their reception has been in fact significantly conditioned by the actor's celebrity, ghosting their reception even in the absence of previous theatre experience." Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 58–9.

as a mean to construct the rivalry between the two opera companies. It is in this light that one might read, for example, the choice of the Royal Academy to revive (once again) *Acis and Galatea* on May 7, 1734, casting Carestini in Senesino's former role (Acis) at the same time as Senesino was interpreting Teseo in Porpora's *Arianna in Naxo* at the Lincoln's Inn-Field.[506] The ghosting effect also worked for Cecilia Young a few weeks later, on July 10, 1734. A relatively unknown singer at the time, Young performed in concert an aria from the pasticcio *Semiramide riconosciuta*, "Scherza il nocchier talora," which was interpreted by Carestini a few months before. The concert was organized "for the benefit of Mr. Topham," a professional strongman who used to entertain his audience by both singing in bass voice and performing "experiments of his surprising strength."[507] It was probably during one of Young's concerts that Handel heard her and decided to cast her for the role of Dalinda in his upcoming *Ariodante* (1735).[508] If indeed Handel attended this concert, it means that he decided to cast an important new singer after hearing her singing an aria from one of his previous pasticci that Carestini had recently interpreted. Ghosting, that is, operated even outside the realm of the operatic stage. And the idea that the competition at the level of the arias played a major role here as it did with the companies' rivalry cannot be ruled out (see ch. 3.2). "Scherza il nocchier talora," a bravura aria, was included in *Semiramide* albeit not part of Vinci's original setting of Metastasio's drama. In the conducting score of the pasticcio, the aria is exceptionally marked as "Del sig.r Fran[ces]co Corselli."[509] This attribution marks the piece as being already quite out of place (this being the only aria by Corselli in the entire

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[506] *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment*, ed. by Arthur H. Scouten, vol. 3, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 395. For the advertisement of the single performance of *Acis and Galatea*, see HCD, II, 780.

[507] *The London Evening-Post*, 29 June 1734 (HCD, II, 787–8).

[508] Eva Zöllner, "Young, Cecilia," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, 677.

[509] D-Hs, ms. MA/1051, ff. 20*r*-27*v*.

repertoire of the pasticci, by a composer whose music otherwise never reached the English soil before the 1750s), but even more so is the musical setting.[510] The song, as a matter of fact, moves between virtuosic roulades for the voice and sudden mode shifts to minor with chromatic vocal stasis. The ghost of Carestini's voice loomed over this somewhat uncanny and strange aria performed by a young soprano. Ironically, after her recital, the muscular Thomas Topham interpreted a song from the play *The Necromancer* (originally sung by Richard Leveridge in 1723) called "Ghosts of Ev'ry Occupation."[511]

In a way, Handel and Heidegger seem to have chosen to stage pasticci on dramas already interpreted as pasticci in order to display the very ghosting quality of the operatic genre as such. The London society (at least the very small part of which would regularly go to the opera) contributed to the construction of such haunted celebrity status by attending the premiere of *Semiramide riconosciuta* in mass (King's Theatre, 30 October 1733), at least according to Lady Bristol:

> I am just come Home from a dull empty Opera, tho' the second time; the first was full to hear the new man [Carestini], who I can find out to be an extream [*sic*] good Singer; the rest are all Scrubbs except for old Durastante, that sings as well as ever she did.[512]

Lady Bristol remarks that the second performance of *Semiramide riconosciuta* (3 November) was not well attended, unlike the premiere on 30 October when the King's Theatre was "full" of people specifically there "to hear the new man." Yet, even the premiere seems to have been boasted more by having been staged on the King's birthday, with the entire royal family in attendance

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[510] The only extant manuscript with music by Corselli still available in a British institution is precisely the aria "Scherza il nocchier talora." It is part of a collection of arias by Gluck, Sacchini et alii, which was prepared in the second half of the eighteenth century and today held at GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31674.

[511] A transcription of the song can be found as "A Song in ye Necromancer" in Richard Neale, *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies*… (London: Cluer, [1724]), 92.

[512] Lady Bristol to John Hervey, London, 3 November 1733 (HCD, II, 704).

(exceptionally missing the usual ball at St. James's Palace).[513] At the second performance (*Semiramide* only lasted four nights), the opera house was deserted.

Carestini's presence was exceptional because it was the first time that he ever appeared on a London stage, and audiences were apparently eager to listen to the novelty of his voice. On the opposite side, Margherita Durastanti was returning to the operatic stages after nine years of absence.[514] According to Lady Bristol, her voice was still intact albeit "old." In this light, it seems relevant that Handel and Heidegger—abandoned by most of their previous colleagues—opted for a special comeback of one of the most important stars of the 1720s, a singer for whom Handel created some of the most important roles in his operas.[515] Durastanti symbolized the return of the old as something new, unlike Carestini who symbolized pure novelty. Along with them, Carlo Scalzi was also debuting on the London stage, and he was chosen for a role (Mirteo) which he created in 1729 with music by Vinci. In a sense, Scalzi embodied the opposite pole of the audience's expectations, i.e. the coming of the new as something old. The 'new' company was thus partially assembled with possibly a deliberate intention of playing with the issue of returning and recycling that was not only inherent to the genre of pasticci, but was also now physically embodied by a company made of old and new stars who fulfilled different purposes in the eyes/ears of the London society.

Semiramide riconosciuta—like many other titles used for pasticci—was one of the most popular libretti by Metastasio. After the first performances in Rome in 1729, the libretto was set

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513 For a transcription and interpretation of the surviving documents regarding finances for part of the 1733/34 season, see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Box Office Reports for Five Operas Mounted by Handel in London, 1732-34," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26, no. 3 (1978), 245–66: 256–7. *The Daily Advertiser* (31 October 1733) reported that the Majesties and Royal Family went to the opera "which was perform'd with prodigious Applause, and to a very crowded Audience".

514 John Roberts, "Semiramide riconosciuta," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, 579–81.

515 See Roberto Staccioli, "Durastanti, Margherita," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 67 vol. (Rome: Fondazione Treccani, 1960-), vol. 42 (1993), *ad vocem*.

to music by none other than Porpora in the same year (Venice, with Farinelli as Mirteo) and by Giacomelli in 1730 (Milan, with Scalzi playing a different role, Scitalce). According to Strohm, Handel may have obtained the score of Vinci's *Semiramide riconosciuta* during his journey in Italy in 1729,[516] although it's more likely that Handel was able to get his hands on one or more collections of arias from Rome which included arias from *Semiramide*, possibly those that did not include recitatives or instrumental parts.[517] The presence of various volumes of arias originating from Rome that are now part of the Chrysander collection in Hamburg, together with Handel's conducting scores, seems to confirm this point. Two of them were most likely produced in Rome in the early 1730s, as they share the same copyists and layout of other Roman song collections that I have been able to consult (see ch. 1.3).[518] Thus, *Semiramide* circulated mostly as separate arias between Italy and England, and these same copies of song collections contain songs from other Roman operas of the time (such as Vinci's *Artaserse* and Hasse's *Caio Fabricio*) which constitute the basis for the preparation of all the three pasticci of the 1733/34 season at the King's Theatre.

Semiramide was the first pasticcio for which Handel wrote the recitatives into the conducting score for the most part by himself. This was probably motived from practical reasons,

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[516] Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 183.

[517] Roberts, "Semiramide riconosciuta," 580. We do not know whether Handel and his collaborators had a printed copy of the libretto by Metastasio, or if they were working on the necessary adjustments to the text (mostly cutting) directly from scores. If they only relied on aria collections, then it means that the text of the recitative must have been transcribed from other scores or a printed libretto of which there is no longer trace in British libraries today.

[518] D-Hs, ms MA/1243 and ms ND VI 1078 (2 volls.) presents a variety of handwriting styles and layouts, but they overall seem to have originated in Rome. The ms ND VI 1078, in particular, has the fleur-de-lys in circle watermark that is typical of the first decades of the eighteenth-century in Rome. This set of two volumes, in particular, still bears a sign of English possession, as both the covers have a leaflet "Vol. I [or II] Collection of Songs | 1730". The indication of 1730 is to be considered generic, as the manuscript was assembled as early as 1732, considering that there are a few arias from operas first performed in that year. For a concise description of this manuscript, see Richard Charteris, "Further British Materials in the Pre-War Music Collection of the Staats- Und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 31, no. 1 (1998), 91–122: 102–3.

such as the absence of a complete score of Vinci's *Semiramide* in the first place. Yet, this practice will be followed in the other pasticci as well, leaving us with the impression that Handel did this for the sake of quickness in the making of the shows (see *infra*). We get a first-hand hint of the assembling process of the pasticci in a Handel autograph that is preserved at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.[519] Amidst a few pages that contain sketches for *Arianna in Creta* (the opera that would be staged only a few months later, but already finished by 5 October 1733, and that would constitute the direct attempt at competing with the Opera of the Nobility), Handel himself had written down two different short recitatives for *Semiramide*, one for Mirteo (I.7) and one for Sibari (III.5). When compared with the same passages in the conducting score, one can see that those are the only places where Handel did not have to write himself the recitatives in the score because they could fit at the end of gatherings prepared by other copyists (see Figg. 3.12, 3.13, 3.14).

[519] GB-Cfm, MU.MS.263, p. 72.

Figure 3.12 – Sketches of recitatives from *Semiramide riconosciuta* (I.7 and III.5). GB-Cfm, MU.MS.263, p. 72.

Figure 3.13 – *Semiramide riconosciuta*, recitative (I.7). D-Hs, MA/1051, f. 39*v*.

Figure 3.14 – *Semiramide riconosciuta*, recitative (III.5). D-Hs, MA/1051, f. 182*r*.

In the case of *Semiramide*, the Cambridge manuscript highlights two material aspects of such hastiness in the preparation of the pasticci: first, the page Handel used to write the two recitatives also contains other sketches of different works (mostly keyboard music), sometimes with different

music sharing the same staves.[520] Due to the limited availability of paper (which was expensive) composers had to use every single inch of paper they could; Handel jotted down musical ideas for various works onto the little paper that he had. It can even be speculated that the sharing of musical materials across several different works—a borrowing process that constituted the core of Handel's compositional method—was to a certain extent predicated upon the very material conditions of the composer's labor, sketching musical themes over the same pages and finally assembling them.

The Cambridge manuscript also reveals the last-minute adjustments Handel and his collaborators had to make in the pasticcio when the cast as originally conceived became unavailable as they approached the night of the premiere. Together with Carestini, Scalzi, and Durastante, the company was comprised of the sisters Maria Rosa and Maria Caterina Negri, and the bass singer Gustav Waltz. For unknown reasons, however, Waltz did not sing in the performances of *Semiramide riconosciuta* and *Arbace* (he still sang in *Caio Fabricio* in the title role), thus forcing the management to a last-minute change in the assignation of roles.[521] This meant that the part of Ircano was taken over by Caterina Negri, while the role of Sibari was sung by her sister Rosa.[522] The voice change must have happened so late in the process that neither Handel nor his collaborators had time to adjust the recitatives and some of the arias for the new vocal ranges in the conducting score. The Cambridge manuscript, as a matter of fact, uses the alto clef for the role of Sibari, which—after the cast change—should have been mezzo soprano. Scalzi's voice had

[520] For a full description of the manuscript, see J. A Fuller-Maitland and A. H Mann, *Catalogue of the Music in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London: C. J. Clay and sons, 1893), 207–18.

[521] Roberts, "Semiramide riconosciuta," 180, believes that the reason for Waltz's drop out was that he was recruited by Lampe at the Drury Lane for Henry Fielding's burlesque opera *Tom Thumb, or The Opera of Operas*.

[522] The cast is given in the printed libretto: *Semiramis riconosciuta. Drama da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market* (London: T. Wood, 1733). [3].

apparently lowered in range since the Roman years, and the conducting score painfully reflects this change by having almost every aria for Mirteo copied twice (on separate gatherings) one tone lower, but the actual key that was sung was always indicated on one of the two gatherings, and not always the lower one ("Ex F," "Ex C," etc.). This probably indicates that Scalzi himself was 'testing' his voice and would find the right fit only at the very last minute. He also sung almost entirely the same arias as he did in Rome, testifying to a desire (both by the singer and Handel) to recreate the role of Mirteo as he had sung it in Rome (and to save time in preparation).

Also unnoticed by modern historiography on pasticci is the use of paper slips to cover parts of the conducting score that needed to be cut or rewritten. These cuts correspond to what was then transcribed in the printed libretto, thus must have been taken sometime before the premiere. The watermarks of these paper covers, albeit different form the those found in the scores themselves, nevertheless can be dated between 1732 and 1733.[523] Of course, these papers could have been at disposal of Handel's collaborators well after 1732-33, thus used only during the final preparations of the opera before going on stage. Yet, sometimes these papers covered parts of the original score where only the text had been added, before Handel had written down the notes of the recitatives, thus testifying to their placement early in the preparation of the scores. It now seems that the idea of staging *Semiramide* must have been in the minds of Handel and Heidegger for some time, only to be heavily reworked at the last minute when the singer Waltz had to withdraw from the production.

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[523] Some of these papers carry two different watermarks. As an example, those found on ff. 32*v*-33*r* of the conducting score of *Semiramide* watermark feature the quartered arms of England and the motto "HONI SOIT [QUI] MAL Y PENSE" surmounted by a crown. This seems to correspond exactly to what is described in William Algeron Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* (Amsterdam: Nieuwkoop, 1985), 46. Another leaflet on 100*v* (which covered a page entirely crossed in pencil) has the watermark "PRO PATRIA", the so-called "Maid of Dort" watermark, symbolizing Holland; Amsterdam was the home base of the 'Maid of Dort' watermark throughout the 18th century.; see Churchill, *Watermarks in paper*, fig. 134 and pp. 71–72, dated around 1732.

This early engagement with the text of *Semiramide* is also testified by the presence of two different sections in which it seems clear that Handel's own involvement with Vinci's original score happened at an early stage of the preparation. First, in Metastasio and Vinci's 1729 setting, the second scene of Act II featured "ballerini" (dancers) who supposedly accompanied the full chorus "Il piacer, la goia scenda." Queen Semiramide is introducing a feast prepared by Sibari in order to poison the bowl which will be offered by Tamiri to her choice of three suitors (believing it would be Scitalce). In Metastasio's 1729 libretto, Semiramide announces the meal with the words "Ognuno la mensa onori e intanto misto rusuoni a liete danze il canto" (Everyone be seated at the table, and in the meantime let dances and singing resound). Handel and Heidegger did not have the resources to have dancers at the King's Theatre, thus Handel himself (as it is visible in his own handwriting in the conducting score) slightly changed the Queen's words to "e intanto sciolga ugnuno la lingua in dolce canto" (And in the meantime let everyone sing a sweet song). But even this chorus was eventually cut, so that the recitative was reduced to "ognuno la mensa onori" (Everyone be seated at the table), leaving the score without any chorus but only with a short unidentified "sinfonia".[524] The second piece of evidence for Handel's early involvement with the preparation of *Semiramide* was the unusual musical reworking of an aria. In the pasticci generally, Handel barely modified the musical core of the pieces he borrowed from Italian composers, with the exception of text alteration or adjustment. In the case of the aria "Saper bramate," however, the conducting score offers a rather different musical version of the song than that transmitted by the scores carrying Vinci's version of this aria. Reinhard Strohm has transcribed both versions in

[524] This particular episode is briefly mentioned in Sarah McCleave, *Dance in Handel's London Operas.* (Los Angeles: Renaissance Books, 2013), 71–2, and Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 186. Roberts, "Semiramide riconosciuta," 581, claims that the Sinfonia "had previously done duty in the pasticcio *Vencesclao* (1731)," but I do not see any trace of this music in either the conducting nor the harpsichord scores of such pasticcio.

his study of Handel's pasticci, thus there is no need to do it again here.[525] The most obvious reasons for the modification of the vocal contour is the transposition from the original alto range to bass and the necessary adjustments to the melody to to suit Waltz's voice. Moreover, the violin part has been mostly transposed down an octave to project an overall lower sound. Yet, the most striking change—as noted by Strohm—is the structural modification to the form of the aria, where Vinci's traditional development of the da capo aria is treated by Handel towards an intensification of the use of contrast. In Vinci's setting, the second part of the first musical phrase is given as part of the general 'A' section, while in Handel it is treated as a sort of schizophrenic 3/8 section separated and repeated at the end to mark Ircano's "[r]ough, overbearing and more than slightly absurd" character (see Figg. 3.15 and 3.16).[526]

Figure 3.15 – [Handel], *Semiramide riconosciuta*, "Saper bramate" (II.4). D-Hs, MA/1051, f. 107*v*.

Figure 3.16 – Vinci, *Semiramide riconosciuta*, "Saper bramate" (II.4). I-Nc, Rari 7.3.18, f. 107*v*.

What has gone unnoticed in modern scholarship, though, is that none other than Nicola Porpora picked up this peculiar way of treating this aria. As mentioned earlier, Porpora first set Metastasio's *Semiramide* the same year as Leonardo Vinci, with a premiere on 26 December 1729

[525] The transcription and an analysis of the various modifications are given in Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 187–96.

[526] The quotation is from Roberts, "Semiramide riconosciuta," 581.

at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice. The opera was dedicated to John Buckworth, one of the English patrons of the Royal Academy and a later supporter of Handel, and whose collection of scores constitutes the bulk of the Savage collection held today at the Royal Academy of Music in London (see ch. 2.3).[527] That Porpora was aware of (and partially influenced by) the music composed by Vinci has already been demonstrated,[528] and the score held in the Savage collection (the only extant full copy of Porpora's 1729 Venice version) shows traces of 'Vincian' influences. Yet, in the case of "Saper voi bramate" Porpora takes a personal departure from Vinci's (and, later, Handel's) way of treating the role of Ircano, giving him a quite standard da capo aria with no real distinction between first and second verses as was hinted at in Vinci's setting and strongly emphasized in Handel's (see Fig. 3.17).[529] Yet, ten years later, in 1739, Porpora set *Semiramide* to music again as a commission to write an opera for the King of Naples' birthday. Porpora opted for a revised version of the music he already composed, but the number of alterations and new arias has led modern scholars to consider it basically an entirely new opera.[530] "Saper voi bramate," here, shows a rather more sophisticated musical writing, with more contrapuntal elaborations in the orchestra and a vocal flourishment that has no parallel with his own version ten years earlier. Yet, already from the first bars of the aria, it is clear that Porpora is following the same structural modifications that Handel had introduced in his pasticcio (see Fig. 3.18).

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[527] *Semiramide riconosciuta. Dramma per musica di Artino Corasio pastore arcade da rappresentarsi nel famosissimo Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo nel carnevale del 1729* (Venice: Carlo Buonarigo, 1729). Copy consulted in I-Bc, Lo. 04330.

[528] Diana Andrea Blichmann, "Espressione affettiva e rappresentazione psicologica nella *Semiramide riconosciuta* del Metastasio: le intonazioni di Leonardo Vinci e Nicola Porpora," in *Leonardo Vinci e il suo tempo*, ed. Gaetano Pitarresi (Reggio Calabria: Iiriti, 2005), 23–77.

[529] GB-Lam, ms 81, f.n.n.

[530] The fac-simile of one of the copies of the Neapolitan version (D-Dl, Mus.2417-F-2) is given in Nicola Porpora, *Semiramide Riconosciuta*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown, Italian Opera, 1640-1770 30 (New York: Garland, 1977). I have also consulted the full copy of the 1739 *Semiramide* in I-Nc, 30.2.14 (*olim* Rari 7.2.19).

Figure 3.17 – Porpora, *Semiramide riconosciuta* (1729 version), "Saper bramate" (II.4). GB-Lam, ms. 81, f.n.n.

Figure 3.18 – Porpora, *Semiramide riconosciuta* (1739 version), "Saper bramate" (II.4). I-Nc, Rari 7.2.19, f. 106*r*.

For the second verse "Non vi sdegnate," Porpora marks Ircano's split personality by shifting from 4/4 to 3/8 meter, the same used by Handel in his revision of Vinci's setting (although Handel shifts from 6/8 to 3/8). For the next verse, Porpora follows Handel in using a similar upwards progression (vocally, more than harmonically). It is unlikely that Porpora would have access to a score of Handel's pasticcio. The only surviving copy of Handel's version of "Saper voi bramate" (other than the conducting score) is preserved in a manuscript at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge which shows preparation by Smith senior and includes arias from *Semiramide* and other pasticci.[531] If Porpora was among the audience at one of the four performances of *Semiramide*, as it is likely, then maybe the aural memory of the aria was such that he transfused some of what he heard in the new version for Naples. Once again, the battle between Handel's company and the new Opera of the Nobility, more than anything, created a *listening* rivalry, in which composers/directors were not only aiming to gain more auditors by introducing new

[531] GB-Cfm, MU.MS.633, ff. 8*v*-11*r*.

Italian music, but also by listening to each other in order to display a superior mastering of 'Southern' style.

Only three days after the last performance of *Semiramide*, Handel and Heidegger's company staged a revival of *Ottone* on 13 November 1733, once again without any direct competition with the Opera of the Nobility (which would open its season only at the end of December).[532] Initially planned for the previous Spring, *Ottone*'s revival featured similar 'ghosting' circumstances as *Semiramide*. First, it casted Durastanti in the same role she sang ten years before, that of Gismonda. Even though we have no information about the reception of Durastanti in the revival of *Ottone*, we must assume that her return in such a role garnered attention, given Lady Bristol's account about her re-appearance (see *supra*). Moreover, the 1723 *Ottone* was itself a sort of re-appearance of singers in roles they had already sung, in that Handel's opera was based on the same libretto as the one used by Antonio Lotti for his *Teofane* (Dresden, 1719) in which Durastanti, Senesino and Boschi played the same roles and which Handel must have heard while in Dresden. Thus, Senesino haunted the 1733 performance, the trace of his absence evoked by Carestini's voice, who took over the main role and for whom Handel mostly gave the same music as Senesino's, only with an even higher range to display.[533] The part that needed an almost complete rewriting was Adelberto's, originally planned for Gaetano Berenstadt and now given to Carlo Scalzi, whose soprano vocal range made Handel supply his role with a generous inception of 'new' music, mostly taken from either *Lotario* or *Muzio Scevola*. In the aria "Sino che ti vedrò," Handel opted for the by now familiar strategy of using previous music with only slightly modified

[532] The libretto was printed with the same layout as the original 1723 London production with only a few pages of "Additions to the Opera of Otho" which included the new cast and the substitute arias for the role of Adelberto. *Ottone, Re di Germani. Drama. Da Rappresentarsi Nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market* (London: T. Wood, [1733]), copy consulted in GB-Lbl, General Reference Collection 907.i.2.(3.). The conducting score (of which only Act III survives) is in D-Hs, ms MA/1037. On *Ottone*'s revival and sources, see Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726*, 440–1 and 451–2.

[533] *Ibid.*, 420, 440.

text, so as to hint to the original without completely 'photocopying' the aria "Cara, se ti vedrò" from *Muzio Scevola*:

Muzio Scevola, 1721	*Ottone*, 1733
Cara, se ti vedrò, come partir potrò? Ahi che tormento fier! Ma parto, addio. Addio, mio ben, ma che? Torna dov'era il piè. Ah che partir non so dall'idol mio.	Sino che ti vedrò, [*a Matilda*] cara partir non so. Ahi che tormento fier! Pur parto addio. Addio, madre, ma che? [*A Gismonda*] Se altrove volgo il piè, a voi qui lascerò [*A tutte due*] mesto il cor mio.

Dramaturgical needs informed the rewording, with Adelberto here singing to both his lover and his mother, while in *Muzio Scevola* the aria was meant for Orazio's declaration of love to Irene before parting from her. Scalzi likely had no interest in making too obvious a reference to a minor role in *Muzio Scevola*, but he probably was interested in interpreting an aria previously sung by Senesino. Thus, Handel gave him a *verbatim* version of "Pupille sdegnose" (sung by Senesino in *Muzio Scevola*), transposed a third higher from D to F. In a sense, this revival of *Ottone* was *about* Senesino without him on the stage. In this light, the choice of the Opera of the Nobility to include *Ottone* as their only opera by Handel in December 1734 was not only made to display Farinelli and Senesino on the same stage, but also as a sonic response to the Royal Academy.[534] That the competition was set up so that the audience would listen to such a musical competition, and feel it as part of the entertainment of such spectacles, is proven by the fact that *Oreste*—one of the three pasticci assembled by Handel exclusively on music by himself and which was performed over the same days as the Opera of the Nobility's *Ottone*—also included three arias from *Ottone*.[535]

[534] *Ibid.*, 441.

[535] On *Oreste*, see Bernd Baselt, "Dramaturgische Uns Szenische Aspekte Der Coventgarden-Oper Händels, Dargestellt an Der Oper 'Oreste' (1734)," in *Symposien-Bericht Karlsruhe 1986–1987*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1988), 133–42; Bernd Baselt, "Zum Libretto von Händels Oper 'Oreste,'" *Händel-Jahrbuch*, no. 34 (1988): 7–55; Bernd Baselt, "Barocke Musiktheaterformen in Der Heutigen Opernpraxis:

Under such circumstances, the choice of Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* (Rome, 1732) as the model for the second pasticcio of the 1733/34 season at the King's Theatre seems counterintuitive. Even though Hasse's arias had already been introduced in earlier pasticci (staring with *Ormisda*), Handel and his collaborators had never taken on an entire opera by Hasse as the musical base for a pasticcio. And contrary to the other two pasticci of the season, none of the singers involved with Handel had sung in the original Roman production a year before. Both Strohm and Roberts believe that Handel and Heidegger had planned this pasticcio earlier than the month of December when it was first performed (with only four performances, like *Semiramide*, on 4, 8, 15, 22 December 1733), possibly even as the opening of the season.[536] I would like to advance a few ideas regarding the choice of Hasse's *Caio Fabricio*: a first possibility is that Handel was aware of possible future productions of Hasse's operas on behalf of the Opera of the Nobility (as it will happen with *Artaserse* the next year), and thus wanted to claim first the 'ownership' of such a discovery. As we will see later in the chapter, *Artaserse* was a choice strictly related to the competition between the two companies, and it would not be impossible to think that Handel and Heidegger had early news of the decision of staging *Artaserse* even before knowing that Farinelli signed a contract with Porpora. Secondly, it seems as if Handel and his company were focusing exclusively on Roman repertoire from very recent years (between 1729 and 1732), leaving aside dramas from Venice which at that point could be associated with Porpora's residency.[537] This

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Zur Aufführung Des Opernpasticcio 'Oreste' von G.F. Händel," in *J.J. Fux-Symposium Graz '91: Bericht*, ed. Rudolf Flotzinger, Grazer Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 9 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 17–25. See also Reinhard Strohm's review of the critical edition of *Oreste* in *Notes* 49, no. 2 (1992): 788–90.

[536] Roberts, "Caio Fabbricio," in *The Cambridge Handel Enyclopedia*, 113–5. Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 185–6.

[537] Porpora was a stable figure during Venetian carnavals between 1726 and 1729, including his own *Semiramide riconosciuta* in 1729. See Berthold Over, "Ein Neapolitaner in Venedig: Nicola Porpora Und Die Venezianischen Ospedali," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 46 (2000): 205–30.

focus could be related to specific cast members having appeared in Vinci's premieres, and thus a play on the notion of musical re-appearance. Yet, none of the singers had appeared in any earlier version of *Caio Fabricio*, so that the inclusion of this title had to have been considered for the sake of completion or as an homage to a city that was associated with a specific musical and vocal style.[538] Even more, Rome in itself was a city associated with the issue of playing the musical past, on stage and on page, as the city of ruins and ghosts.[539]

Most likely—considering Handel's and Heidegger's haste in mounting three productions (*Semiramide*, *Ottone*, and *Caio Fabricio*), even before the start of the Opera of the Nobility—the practical reason for including Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* was the availability of music coming directly from Rome. As already noted throughout the previous chapters of this dissertation, manuscripts assembled in Rome (with watermarks and scribes associated with the city) were abundant during the 1720s and 1730s in London, as the city was an important center of musical distribution, possibly even more than Venice.[540] Moreover, Rome—as one of the city of the aristocratic Grand Tour—was at the center of attention of art and music collectors, for whom the memory of voyages to Italy included both visual and the aural memorabilia.[541]

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538 See Kurt Sven Markstrom, *The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2006). See also the various contributions by Reinhard Strohm, such as *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento : (1720-1730)*, 2 vols., Analecta Musicologica 16 (Köln: Volk, 1976); *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

539 See Bruno Forment, "Music-making ghosts: Eighteenth–century Rome as operatic memory machine," in *Music and the City: Musical Cultures and Urban Societies in the Southern Netherlands and Beyond, c. 1650-1800*, ed. by Stefanie Beghein, Bruno Blonde, and Eugeen Schreurs (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), 59–77.

540 For a first introduction to the issue of Roman musical manuscripts and their distribution around Europe between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Alessio Ruffatti, "'Curiosi e bramosi l'oltramontani cercano con grande diligenza in tutti i luoghi:' la cantata romana del Seicento in Europa," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 13, no. 1 (2007), https://doi.org/https://sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/ruffatti.html (consulted on 19 December 2017).

541 For the "idea" of Rome from the point of view of London intellectuals, see Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). The bibliography on art collectors in London during the eighteenth century is quite vast; for a few recent overviews, see Joan Michèle Coutu, *Then and Now: Collecting and Classicism in Eighteenth-Century England*

In the case of Handel's circle of patrons and friends, we know of a few cases of musical books given to Handel that were part of collections gained from Italian tours, and that the composer used as models for his own compositions and arrangements.[542] Among these, Charles Jennens' volumes of Italian opera (which he obtained with the collaboration of Edward Holdsworth and would later constitute the so-called Aylesford Collection) included copies of Vinci's *Artaserse* and Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* that we know were used by the composer to prepare the pasticci *Arbace* and *Caio Fabricio*.[543] Given that both these pasticci were assembled from Jennens' scores (and that we have no clear information about *Semiramide*), we can consider the 1733/34 "pasticci season" as a sort of aural gift (as an "idea of Rome") and homage to a Handel friend and supporter who was concerned about the poor status of the Royal Academy's reputation. The letter with which Holdsworth announced to Jennens the acquisition of Roman operas refers to them as "your [Jennens'] musick," thus making those operas specifically associated with the English nobleman.[544] As is well known, even before the start of the actual competition with the

(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015); Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett, eds., *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (London: British Museum Publications, 2003).

[542] See Ellen T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), ch. 8 "Making and Collecting." See also Ellen Harris, "Music Distribution in London during Handel's Lifetime: Manuscript Copies versus Prints," in *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard von Bingen to The Beatles*, ed. Craig Monson and Roberta Montemorra Marvin (Boydell & Brewer, University of Rochester Press, 2013), 95–117.

[543] John H. Roberts, "Handel and Charles Jennens's Italian Opera Manuscripts," in *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 159–202. On the Aylesford collection, see John H. Roberts, "The Aylesford Collection," in *Handel Collections and Their History*, ed. by Terence Best (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1993), 39–85. The annotated copy of Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* is now in US-Cn, ms VM 1500 H35c, while Vinci's *Artaserse* is in US-R ms M1500.V777A.

[544] The letter with which Holdsowrth mentions the purchasing of the music of Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* and Vinci's *Artaserse* to Jennens is dated 17 [6] April 1732, and is transcribed in Roberts, "Handel and Jennens," 160 and HCD II, 510. See also Amanda Babington and Ilias Chrissochoidis, "Musical References in the Jennens–Holdsworth Correspondence (1729–46)," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 45, no. 1 (2014): 76–129.

Opera of the Nobility (which opened with Porpora's *Arianna in Nasso* only on December 29, 1733), Handel and Heidegger were struggling to get a full house at the King's Theatre, according to more than one person. Jennens himself wrote in between the performances of *Caio Fabricio* a dire report of the situation:

> How two Opera Houses will subsist after Christmas, I can't tell; but at present we are at some difficulty for the Support of One; & Mr. Handel has been forc'd to drop his Opera three nights for want of company.[545]

November 27, December 1, and December 11 were the days of closing (a fourth would follow on December 18, all Tuesdays and Saturdays usually devoted to opera and exceptionally empty. The lack of "company" has been interpreted as referring to a lack of sold tickets, forcing the management to keep the King's Theatre closed, lest risk a frightening empty opera house.[546] Yet, it could also be read as a lack of singers, unavailable for every Tuesday and Saturday in a moment of distress for the company. This might explain, for example, the problem with the recasting due to the lack of Gustav Waltz in *Semiramide*. As a matter of fact, Waltz is recorded as singing in *Caio Fabricio*, his presence as the seventh singer of the cast given in both the libretto and conducting score.[547] Waltz sang the title role, an important character originally created by Hasse for Domenico Annibali and whose music will make a return in 1737 in the pasticcio *Didone abbandonata* with Annibali singing himself (see *Conclusion*) an aria that had already been included in Handel's versions of both *Semiramide* and *Caio Fabricio*. The role of Fabricio in Handel's arrangement was heavily cut, his original five arias (in Hasse's setting) being cut down to one

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[545] Charles Jennens to John Ludford, 13 December 1733, transcribed in Anthony Hicks, "A New Letter of Charles Jennens," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 4 (1991), 254–7: 255.

[546] *Ibid.*, 257, and

[547] *Caio Fabbricio. Drama. Da Rappresentarsi Nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market* (London: T. Wood, 1733). The conducting score is in D-Hs, ms MA/1011.

("Quella è mia figlia e 'l mio"),[548] as the possible second song "Non sempre oprar da forte" was taken out of the conducting score and marked with a cross.[549] This last aria had already been heard by the audience during the performances of *Semiramide*, sung by Caterina Negri with the completely different words "Trovo ch'è gran follia." The elimination of the aria from the pasticcio *Caio Fabricio* has led scholars to believe that the pasticcio was planned earlier, and that the aria was only eliminated after the decision to include it in *Semiramide*. This left Waltz with only one aria: "Quella è mia figlia e 'l mio" taken from Hasse's original setting.[550] It might also be that Gustav Waltz was very limitedly available, thus forcing Handel to reduce his participation on the stage to the least amount of music as possible, given that his was the title role (unlike the situation in *Semiramide*, when Waltz was completely cut out the production).

In any case, *Caio Fabricio* was the last pasticcio to be put on stage without actual competitors at Lincoln Inn's Fields. Only a week after its last performance, on 29 December 1733, the Opera of the Nobility ("Senesino's Company," as it was referred to at the time)[551] would inaugurate its first season with a performance of *Arianna in Naxo* with new music by Porpora. This started what has been termed as the "Ariadne-mad" competition, which prompted the two rival companies to stage a very similar subject (even though Handel's *Arianna in Creta* had been ready since 5 October 1733).[552] For six different nights, between December 1733 and April 1734, the

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[548] On Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* and the history of its performances around Europe, see Roland Dieter Schmidt-Hensel, *"La musica è del Signor Hasse detto il Sassone ...": Johann Adolf Hasses "Opere serie" der Jahre 1730 bis 1745 : Quellen, Fassungen, Aufführungen 1 1* (Göttingen: V & R-Unipress, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 197–251. See also Raffaele Mellace, "German composers and 'Italian' music: "Cajo Fabricio" between Rome, Dresden and London," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 58 (2012), 89—100.

[549] D-Hs, ms MA/1011, ff. 63*v*-64*r*.

[550] Roberts, "Caio Fabbricio," 114.

[551] Francis Coleman calls it this way in *The Opera Register*, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 11258, f. 32*r*.

[552] On Handel's *Arianna in Creta*, see Dean, *Handel's Operas 1726-1741*, 256–73. On Porpora's *Arianna in Naxo*, in the context of the new season by the Opera of the Nobility, see Dumigan, "Nicola Porpora's Operas," 240–88.

King's Theatre (led by Handel and Heidegger) and the Lincoln's Inn Fields (led by Senesino and Porpora) staged an opera based on the Arianna legend in direct competition with each other. Moreover, Marie Sallé, the French dancer and choreographer who at the time was working with Cristopher Rich at Covent Garden, performed a pantomime entertainment called *Bacchus and Ariadne* on 26 February 1734, and on 20 April entertainment was given at the same time as performances at the two opera companies. When Handel revived *Arianna* at Covent Garden in 1734, he hired Sallé for the newly added dances.[553] Ghosting of characters was at its peak, and the city was clearly participating in this craziness around the mythical story of the unhappy princess loved and abandoned by Theseus by attending both houses with quite some enthusiasm. Porpora managed to have 24 performances of his new opera, while Handel had 17. It is likely that Handel's decision to set to music a libretto by Pietro Pariati was taken in order to use the same text used by Porpora in 1727, when the Neapolitan composer staged it Venice at the Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo. Porpora was thus forced to use a different libretto for his inaugural opera, opting for Handel's old Italian poet, Paolo Rolli.

Handel biographers and scholars have been united in describing Handel's *Arianna* as a weak opera compared to the more experimental *Orlando* of the previous season, while in contrast praising Porpora's own one for its "catchy rhythms and florid vocal writing." What is said to be lacking in Handel's drama was a "clear delineation of characters moving through conflict to a dramatic climax."[554] These judgments are fair, but they seem to miss the point: Handel and Heidegger, at the moment, were probably not particularly interested in dramatic coherence as they were in musical competition on the same musical grounds as Porpora. Hawkins, in *General History*, points out this situation while still condemning the opera:

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[553] Dean, *Handel's Operas 1726-1741*, 266.

[554] *Id.*

> Most of the songs in the opera of Ariadne are calculated to please the many; and for this deviation of his general conduct, Mr. Handel gave to one of his friends as a reason, that he meant by it to recover the favour of the nobility, whom he was sensible he had displeased in some of his more elaborate compositions for the stage; but this attempt failed of its end.[555]

A small hint of such a need to please the audience's ears can be found in the way Handel reworked the libretto by Pariati at the beginning of act II. In Porpora's 1727 version for Venice, act I concludes with an elaborate monologue for Teseo, whom Arianna believes a betrayer, is left alone on stage with his thoughts.[556] Handel's reworked this scene by moving it to the beginning of act II, with a more elaborate and interesting rewording of Teseo's verses, having the hero slowly fall into sleep:[557]

Arianna e Teseo, 1727	*Arianna in Creta*, 1734
Oh patria! Oh cittadini! Oh Arianna mio bene! Oh Amor che mi combatti! Oh gloria, oh fede! E che seguir conviene? Se t'ascolto Arianna la patria offendo, l'onor mio calpesto; s'armo armito la mano contro il mostro, e l'uccido, e tuo germano. Dunque… no, ceda amore alla patria, all'onore.	Oh patria! Oh cittadini! Oh Arianna mio bene! Oh Amor che mi combatti! Oh gloria, oh fede! E chi seguir conviene? Se t'ascolto Arianna la patria offendo, e *se non t'odo, Amore* *divien per me furore.* Agitato cor mio! Dite, ditemi oh Dei! Che far degg'io? Ma, sulle stanche luci versa un placido oblio sonno pietoso, non turbate, o pensieri, il mio riposo.

Both versions make Teseo exclaim: "Se t'ascolto *Arianna* la patria offendo" (If I listen to you, *Arianna*, I insult this country), but it is only in Handel's treatment that Teseo goes on sings about hearing: "e se non t'odo, Amore divien per me furore" (And if I don't listen to you, Love turns

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555 Hawkins, *A General History,* 913.

556 *Arianna e Teseo. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Grimani di San Gio. Grisostomo nell'autunno 1727* (Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1727), 30. Copy consulted in I-Bc, Lo. 04328.

557 *Ariadne in Crete. An Opera as it is performed at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market* (London: T. Wood, 1733), 20. Copy consulted in

into a fury for me). Put at the beginning of the act, marked by an *accompagnato* recitative which makes for an emotional entrance of Giovanni Carestini on stage, it would not be difficult to argue that Handel made a meta-theatrical reference to the other *Arianna* at the Lincoln Inn's Field by having Teseo singing about the problem of listening to it.

Almost certainly, as noted by various scholars, the choice of staging *Arbace* at the King's Theatre on 5 January 1734 required a reaction by the Opera of the Nobility, which responded with the pasticcio version of Hasse's *Artaserse* in October 1734, also at the King's Theatre (where the Opera of the Nobility had by now taking residency).[558] We cannot know for sure whether Handel's and Heidegger's decision of choosing one of the most famous among the libretti by Metastasio (*Artaserse*) was dictated by the fact that they knew Porpora wanted to stage Hasse's version of it, or if there were other reasons behind it. Certainly, it was once again Charles Jennens's obtaining the score of Leonardo Vinci's setting of the libretto (which was premiered in Rome in 1730) that gave Handel the opportunity to work on this opera. Just as with *Caio Fabricio*, Jennens acquired the music from Edward Holdsworth. Already in August 1730, Holdsworth wrote to Jennens about the possibility of having a few musical numbers copied from the recent performances of *Artaserse* by Vinci, who had just suddenly died:

> Dear Sir, I have given orders to have the Ouverture, Songs and Symphonies of the last Opera copied, being very much admir'd. 'Tis the Composition of Vinci, who is since dead, very much lamented, and this performance is the more valued not only as twas the last but esteem'd the best He ever did.[559]

The way Holdsworth describes the copying of the music, it seems as if he wanted to obtain a copy of all the songs without the recitatives, as a sort of "evaluation copy" for Jennens. And Jennens

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[558] See Robert Torre, "Operatic Twins and Musical Rivals: Two Settings of *Artaserse* (1730)," *Discourses in Music* 6, no. 1 (2006), http://archive.is/ngi5v (consulted on 28 December 2017).

[559] Edward Holdsworth to Charles Jennens, 13 (24) August 1730. HCD, II, 374.

apparently did try it, much to his disappointment (according to this reply by Holdsworth almost two years later):

> I am sorry that the loose airs which I sent you from Rome were not to your mind; but this comes of employing a blockhead who knows no more of an air than he does of the language of China.[560]

It is hard to tell whether Jennens actually disliked the music as such, or if he was just disappointed by the format of the collection he received. In any case, only two months later Jennens obtained a full copy of Vinci's *Artaserse*, as attested by the letter in which Holdsworth also announced the purchase of Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* (see *supra*).

Figure 3.19 – Vinci, *Artaserse*, Cowper copy.
GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 22106, p. 24.

Of these two different scores of Vinci's *Artaserse*, the full copy is still part of the Aylesford collection, while the "evaluation copy" has not been identified. I would argue that a score preserved at the British Library, which contains all the music of Vinci's *Artaserse* without the recitatives, in the guise of "loose airs" (each with a title that refers to "Alle Dame 1730", the name of the Roman theater where *Artaserse* was first staged) is a good candidate for such copy (see Fig. 3.19).[561] The score is on Southern Italian paper, with a distinctive Roman layout. On the top of a few arias, it even reports the name of the singer who played the part in the Roman premiere in 1730, including Carestini who—as we know—played the role of Arbace in Vinci's setting before Handel's. If this copy was actually the copy obtained

[560] Edward Holdsworth to Charles Jennens, 2 (13) February 1732. HCD, II, 584.

[561] GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 22106.

by Holdsoworth, it means that something about it was not right for Jennens, possibly the lack of recitative or something in the layout, given that the music in it is almost complete, meaning that Jennens could not have been displeased by its "selection." There is also another intriguing theory. The manuscript bears on its first leaf the crest, coat of arms, and motto "Tuum Est" that belonged to the first Earls of Cowper in the first decades of the 1700s. William, 2nd Earl of Cowper, was one of the first directors of the Opera of the Nobility, listed by Burney as the main director during the initial stages.[562] He was also the dedicatee of the premiere of Hasse's *Artaserse* in Venice in 1730,[563] and he was instrumental in securing the arrival of Farinelli to London:

> We hear that the Town will be entertain'd next Season with an Opera at the Hay-Market, and with another under the Direction of Mr. Handel (twice a Week) at the new Theatre in Covent-Garden… The former will consist of Signor Senoseni [sic], Signora Cuzzoni, Signora Celest, Signora Bertolli, and Signora [sic] Montagnana, with the Addition of the famous Signor Farinelli, who is now on the Road from Italy, and is expected to land shortly at Dover, from whence he will repair to the Righ. Hon. the Earl Cowper's Seat in Kent.[564]

If this recitative-less copy of Vinci's *Artaserse* actually belonged to the Earl of Cowper, and if we assume that this is also the "evaluation copy" owned by Jennens, it may be that at some point Jennens decided to sell the item. If this was the case, it can also be argued that Porpora and the Opera of the Nobility were studying Vinci's music while preparing a revision of Hasse's. In a way, they were listening to Handel's musical material before it was even staged. Vinci's *Artaserse* was part of both companies' aural archive as they planned the competition. Possibly, they were both thinking about staging Vinci's version, until Porpora opted for Hasse's (or until Handel produced Vinci's version first).

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562 Dumigan, "Nicola Porpora's Operas," 21.

563 *Artaserse. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel famosissimo Teatro Grimani di S. Gio. Grisostomo nel carnevale dell'anno 1730. Dedicato a […] mylord Guglielmo conte Cowper […]* (Venice: Carlo Buonarigo, [1730]). A copy of Hasse's *Artaserse*, with the same coat and motto of the Earl of Cowper, is at GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 22107.

564 *The London Evening-Post*, 11-13 July 1734.

It seems as if more and more the choice of titles for both companies was dictated by attempts to please the interests and aesthetics of their financial supporters and directors rather than the musicians' will. The fact that Jennens requested another copy of Vinci's *Artaserse* meant that Handel's friends were deeply invested in the circulation and distribution of Italian opera in London, to the point of making sure that they had the *right* material object to satisfy their own aural and even visual requirements, in what seems more and more as a broader way of conceiving musical collecting in the early eighteenth century as such.[565]

Handel used the copy of Vinci's opera that had apparently pleased Jennens when preparing the pasticcio *Arbace*.[566] It contains several of Handel's markings in the first five scenes of Vinci's opera, mostly as indications for cuts and adjusting of recitatives. After those first few scenes, there is barely any trace of Handel's hand, with the exclusion of recitative II.15 and a few simplifications of the vocal line for the aria "Così stupisce e cade." These last adjustments were not included in the conducting score, which in itself is rather problematic as it makes Jennens's copy a sort of in-between stage of the preparation of the pasticcio.[567] The rush with which the score must have been assembled (with inconsistencies in clef choices,

Figure 3.20 – [Handel], *Arbace*, excerpt.
D-Hs, MA/1004, f. 20*r*.

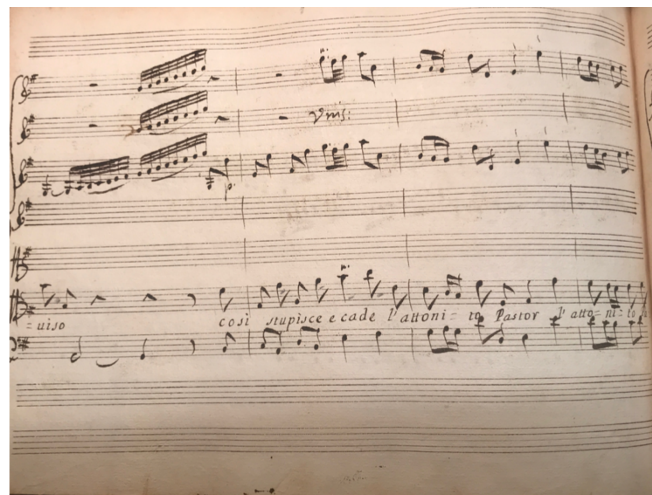
[565] Jennens will later have a quite strong opinion about Handel's use of his own scores. For a discussion of the letter in which Jennens mentions the issue (and for a different evaluation of its contents with respect to modern scholarship), see *Conclusion*.

[566] See the discussion in Roberts, "Handel and Charles Jennens's Italian Music Manuscripts," 166–71. The copy is in US-RC, ms. M1500.V777A. See also John Roberts, "Arbace," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, 47–9.

[567] The conducting score of *Arbace* is in D-Hs, ms. MA/1004.

cuts, and even Handel's own interventions) probably reflected the last-minute change that the company underwent after Gustav Waltz was no longer available. An example of the producer's struggle in adjusting the score to a new cast (with the same role redefinition as with *Semiramide*) can be materially observed in a single folio among those covering the first few scenes of the pasticcio (see Fig. 3.20). It is clear that both the copyist in the Smith workshop and Handel himself hastily adjusted the vocal parts and clefs in two or three different places to suit a lower vocal range in the role of Semira, which now was sung by the alto Maria Caterina Negri instead of the mezzo Durastanti. The conducting score of the pasticcio shows how (after this point in the score) Handel abruptly decided to write almost all the recitatives himself, starting from scene I.6. Even this decision did not exempt the rest of the score from interventions, and John Roberts has rightly warned about "the danger of assuming that the version in the conducting score is the final one."[568] One might look, for example, at the aria "Così stupisce e cade" at the end of act II, intended for Durastanti, where Handel indicated in the Vinci score a few simplifications of the vocal part (mostly a reduction of octave leaps to sixths) that were *not* recorded in the conducting score (see Fig. 3.21).

Figure 3.21 – Vinci, *Artaserse*, Aylesford copy. US-RC, ms. M1500.V777A, f.n.n.



In light of the importance placed on scores that carried the 'original' versions of the opera from which composers and producers would prepare pasticci, especially on behalf of the owners/supporters such as Jennens, it seems reasonable to think of the conducting scores more as palimpsests

[568] Roberts, "Handel and Charles Jennens's Italian Music Manuscripts," 169.

written over multiple times, with the hypotextual Italian scores less as an original from which to copy and more as aural inscriptions of patrons who were fond of Italian opera (and have sometimes heard it overseas) and over which composers would annotate their own modifications for their own aural inscription in the conducting score.[569] In the case of *Arbace*, these layers of modifications might also have led to this pasticcio being brought to stage for many more nights than the previous two pasticci. After six performances between 5 and 22 January 1734 (in direct competition with Porpora's *Arianna in Naxo*), *Arbace* was granted a short revival a few months later between 26 and 30 March for three more performances, including a benefit for Durastanti which was the first benefit performance since Strada's on 21 March 1730.[570] Nine performances for a Royal Academy pasticcio, at this point, seems quite remarkable, even though Francis Coleman noted in his *Opera Register* that "*Arbaces.* A new Opera did |not| take |at all|."[571] The words "not" and "at all" were actually inserted at a later stage in the Coleman manuscript, as if the writer changed his mind after a while. So, did *Arbace* "take" or did it not?

Certainly, the number of performances indicates that the producers felt more confident than before about the possibility of selling enough tickets. Yet, the fact that Coleman either changed his mind about *Arbace* or critiqued it unusually (*Semiramide*, for example, did not have any such comments even though it was one of those with only four nights) seems to ask for a rethinking of "success" for operas at this time: success for whom? Coleman's negative comments might have reported the view of the circle of intellectuals and friends around Handel, rather than the larger audience's reception. Also, as is known, Coleman at this time was collaborating with

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[569] Terms such as palimpsests and hypotexts are indebted to Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

[570] See HCD, II, 766. The performance was on a Thursday night (not a regular opera night) possibly to avoid the competition with the Opera of the Nobility, at least once.

[571] Coleman, *The Opera Register*, f. 31*v*.

Handel on the new libretto for *Ariadne in Crete* (a direct competitor to the Opera of the Nobility's *Ariadne*), and might have wanted to downplay the role played by a mere pasticcio in the competition. Jennens seemed also to have had mixed feelings about Vinci's *Artaserse*, as did Mary Pendarves writing to Anne Granville:

> I din'd with him [Bernard Granville] at Sir John Stanley's whose Spirits were so rais'd by the return of his companyon [sic] that he would treat him with the Opera that he might hear Carestini sing; I went with Lady Chesterfield in her Box… 'twas *Arbaces* an opera of Vinci's pretty enough but not to compare to Handel's composition's.[572]

The circle of people close to Handel was well aware of the origins of the pasticcio and remarked about its lower status in comparison to the composer's full operas. They also noticed the presence of Carestini (interpreting again a role that he created four years earlier in Rome) as intriguing. The singer retained almost all of the arias he had already sung in Vinci's version, emphasizing the ghosting effect of singing his role in a new context. He and the producers, at some point (but after the printing of the libretto), decided to cut the famous virtuosic aria "Vo' solcando un mar crudele" at the end of act I, and decided to replace it with an unknown version of "Son qual nave ch'agitata," moved from the end of the opera.[573] This aria was not part of Metastasio's and Vinci's original setting, but rather an insertion made during one of the reprises. Scholars have debated whether "Son qual nave" was actually the product of Farinelli's brother for the London pasticcio at the Opera of the Nobility, or if it was an aria originally composed by Giovanni Antonio Giay in 1730 and appropriated by Farinelli for the first few reprises of Hasse's *Artaserse* in Lucca and elsewhere.[574] What is important for the present discussion is the aural identification of

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[572] Mary Pendarves to Anne Granville, 28 March 1734. HCD, II, 766.

[573] *Arbace. Drama da rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market* (London: T. Wood, 1733). Copy consulted in GB-En, Nha.T49(4).

[574] The attribution of "Son qual nave" to Riccardo Broschi was first given in Burney, *A General History*, IV, 378 and transcribed at 439–4. See Robert Freeman, "Farinello and his Repertory," in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel*, ed. by Robert Marshall (Kassel, Bärenreiter; Hackensack, N. J., J.

singers such as Carestini and Farinelli with a specific "sound," something that Farinelli was very well aware when he decided never to sing "Vo' solcando un mar crudele" in opera houses in front of large audiences, as he believed the song was too closely associated with Carestini's performances, thus the choice of having "Son qual nave" instead:

> As for the arias, I'll bring them along with me since I haven't had time to have them done as I would like. Regarding the one Signor marchese Bentivoglio wants, "Vo solcando il mar crudele," I beg your Excellency to persuade him that in the privacy of his chamber or outside the theater I'll sing it as many times as he commands me to, but inside the theater I implore you to leave me free not to sing it. For as long as I've been in this business there has never been a single occasion on which I've sung others' arias on the stage, especially those of that conceited person [Carestini]. I myself enjoy the fact that others sing my arias in the theater and thus give me the pleasure of hearing them, as has often happened to me, so I do not want some vainglorious person to be able to boast that Farinelli sings his arias.[575]

Indeed, there is no trace of "Vo' solcando" either in Handel's setting of Vinci's *Artaserse* or in Porpora's own pasticcio for the Opera of the Nobility. Carestini, at the end, opted for a new version of "Son qual nave," one which has only been transmitted through the conducting score of *Arbace* and the selection of songs from such pasticcio printed by Walsh soon after.[576] In light of Farinelli's claims about the identification of songs and the ongoing competition with Carestini, it seems to reasonable to me to think that Carestini would have chosen a song initially identified

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Boonin, 1974), 327. See also Sabine Henze-Dohring, "'One God, One Farinelli!' Kastratengesang Des Fruhen 18. Jahrhunderts. Seine Verschriftlichung Als Arkane Kunst Und Offentliche Prasentation in London," *Marburger Jahrbuch Für Kunstwissenschaft* 24 (1997): 271–9; Katherine Bergeron, "The Castrato as History," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8, no. 2 (1996): 167–84. Recently, Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 71–81, has brought to light a manuscript copy dedicated by Farinelli himself to the Empress Maria Theresa in 1753 (A-Wn, ms. 19111) which she firmly attributes to Riccardo Broschi, Farinelli's brother. Recently, Randall Scotting ("A Calculated Triumph: Farinelli, Handel, and the Misappropriation of the 1734 Aria 'Son qual nave'," unpublished paper presented at the American Handel Festival, April 6-9 2017, Princeton) has argued for attributing the aria to Giovanni Giaj.

[575] Carlo Broschi to Sicinio Pepoli, 26 September 1731, Milan, quoted in Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty*, 253–5.

[576] *The favourite songs in the opera call'd Arbaces* (London: Printed for I. Walsh, 1735), 15–9. Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, G. 206.j.

with Farinelli's interpretation of the character of Arbace (the first version of "Son qual nave" as he sang in the first reprises of Hasse's opera in Italy, possibly written by Giay) and that Farinelli and his brother worked on a new song for the London pasticcio precisely to avoid competing with Carestini. As the conducting score of *Arbace* shows, the aria was initially planned as a grand finale for the pasticcio, but then it was moved to the end of act I in lieu of "Vo' solcando," a song which—even though associated with Carestini himself—had already been heard in the pasticcio *Catone*.[577] Carestini possibly wanted to sing Farinelli's music, to *be* Farinelli at the same time as he was ghosting his own performances of the role of Arbace.

In conclusion, the rivalry between the Royal Academy and the Opera of the Nobility was played mostly on musical grounds, in the sense that the companies employed various strategies to be identified with a specific sound to please the ears of the most influential patrons of both parties. The pasticci, traditionally viewed as a mere filler in-between the performances of 'real' operas, were instead a key strategy on behalf of the producers to showcase their soundscape of choice and to meta-theatrically re-enact past performances as instances of ghosting. The singers participated in such war for listening attention by carefully placing their own personae and musical choices in such a way as to make clear what they were *not*, always in comparison with what was happening at the opposite opera house. Handel and the singers (from Senesino, to Carestini and Farinelli) were asking the audiences to listen to what they had listened to through years of touring, trials and rehearsing. Soon, this system would collapse due to financial exhaustion, audiences fatigue, and lack of interest in such repertoire on behalf of the producers. Handel will attempt at one last pasticcio, *Didone abbandonata*, three years later, in 1737, at a turning point in his career. And this turning point will be the subject of the brief conclusion of the dissertation.

[577] Roberts, "Arbace," 48, who nonetheless believes the aria "not to be confused with Giay's setting of the same text sung by Farinelli in Lucca and London."

CONCLUSION

Materiality, authorship, listening.

The story of the pasticci produced and arranged by Handel and his collaborators has served to shed light on three major aspects of historical inquiry into the realm of Italian opera in London during the first decades of the eighteenth century. It started by rephrasing the traditional question behind the study of this genre. Instead of asking "what lies behind them?" as a prompt for textual reconstruction, it challenged me to think "what lies in front of me?", which is a question that interrogates both the object of study (as a sort of exercise in hermeneutics) and the scholar himself (as a challenge for renovated historiographical investigation and as phenomenological approach). Yet, it is at the convergence of these two questions that—I believe—lies the fundamental conundrum of approaching the pasticcio as a historical phenomenon: not only do we struggle in understanding its aesthetical premises, its reasons to exist, and its textual genealogies; we are also struggling in performing them because the very essence behind their existence (what I have sketched in the *Introduction* as "the aural materialization of a meta-theatrical contract between authors and their audiences") is lost when a pasticcio is performed again. As I have tried to unfold over these pages, the inner repetitive quality of the pasticci (their relying on issues of ghosting and reappearance) makes a historically informed performance a contradiction in terms. If the pasticcio itself is the performance of a return, the return of the return is an operation that historicizes what has already been historicized.

I believe all these issues emerge clearly in the analysis of the one pasticcio that has been left out from the rest of the dissertation, the last arranged by Handel from Italian music, i.e. *Didone abbandonata*.

History Repeating: *Didone abbandonata* and the Problem of the Pasticci

It took Handel some time before mounting another pasticcio production after *Arbace*. *Didone abbandonata* saw the light on April 1737, more than three years after the spectacular "rival" season in which the Opera of the Nobility and the Royal Academy fought over who would have the last sound of Italian opera. Handel had had to chase different patrons and directors after the end of the contract with Heidegger.[578] In 1734, Handel moved to Covent Garden with Cristopher Rich, where he had the opportunity to work with new musical resources, a stage that had to be shared with prose theater, and the possibility of having choruses and ballets. In 1736, after having regained the protection of the Prince of Wales, Handel was able to restore a company of international reputation (taking advantage of Farinelli's slow fading from the audience's preference) by hiring two Italian castrati: Gioacchino Conti (Gizziello) and Domenico Annibali.[579]

It was around the time of the premiere of *Didone*, on 13 April 1737, that Handel suffered a stroke that caused a paralysis of his right hand, thus making it difficult for him to conduct the pasticcio. It is unlikely that this was the cause of the little success granted to the opera, with only four nights of sparse performances once a week between April 13 and 27, and then an isolated reprise on June 1st.[580] Yet, Handel's sufferings (requiring several spa visits for cure and health restoring) started around this time and will never really cease until the composer's death in 1759.

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[578] For a summary of the vicissitudes between 1733 and 1737, see Donald Burrows, "Handel and the London Opera Companies in the 1730s: Venues, Programmes, Patronage and Performers," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 10 (2004): 149–65; see also Robert D. Hume, "Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s," *Music & Letters* 67, no. 4 (1986): 347–62.

[579] See Strohm, "Handel's Pasticci," 197–9; see also John Roberts, "Didone abbandonata," in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia*, ed. by Annette Landgraf and David Vickers (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 190–1.

[580] See *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment*, ed. by George W. Stone, vol. 3: 1729-1747, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), *ad vocem*.

In a sense, the last breath of pasticci on Italian opera was staged with the same conditions as the previous ones. First, it was based on a score that Handel had access to through his friend Charles Jennens. Second, it featured a cast of Italian singers who—even though they were not involved in the "original" staging—had something to do with the ghosting of previous pasticci. Third, it displayed a story (that of Dido and Aeneas) which was quite popular among the London society.

Let's go in order. The complete score of Vinci's *Didone abbandonata* (matching the libretto of the 1726 Roman production) is in the library of the Earl of Aylesford, arguably being one of the scores picked up by Edward Holdsworth during his Italian trips and sent to Charles Jennens for evaluation (see ch. 3.3).[581] It contains a few annotations by Handel, mostly regarding indications of transposition for arias. It certainly does not feature "numerous pencil annotations" as scholars have enthusiastically remarked, at least not minimally comparable to other similar cases (such as *Catone* and *Arbace*).[582] Yet, even in this overestimation of Handel's material presence in the scores, we are faced with a familiar problem, that of the modern obsession with the identification of Handel's presence even when evidence does not seem to support such case. As said before, we want Handel even where Handel did not want to be.

The three major roles for Handel's adaptation of *Didone* were given to important singers: a familiar figure, such as Anna Maria Strada del Pò (Didone), and two new castrati from Italy, Gioacchino Conti "Gizziello" (Enea) and Domenico Annibali (Iarba), as listed in the printed libretto.[583] Annibali was a key choice not only for the pasticcio *Didone*, but also for the rest of the

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[581] See John H. Roberts, "The Aylesford Collection," in *Handel Collections and Their History*, ed. by Terence Best (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1993), 39–85. The score is in US-Cn, MS Case VM 1500.V777d.

[582] John H. Roberts, "Handel and Vinci's' Didone Abbandonata': Revisions and Borrowings," *Music & Letters* 68, no. 2 (1987), 141–150: 141.

[583] *Didone Abandonata* [sic]. *Da Rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro di Covent-Garden* (London: T. Wood, 1737). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, RB.23.a.6966.

season. Both Conti and Annibali, in fact, were casted in *Arminio, Giustino*, and an interesting revival of *Poro* where Handel "allowed" Annibali to insert three arias from previous operas by Ristori which he had sung while in Dresden.[584] Moreover, in *Didone* Annibali was able to sing another aria by Ristori and an aria from Hasse's *Caio Fabricio* which he had already sung as the creator of the title role in Rome (1732). We will come back shortly to these particular songs, but for now it is important to note how the presence of a long-standing singer (Strada) and a new member (Annibali) was part of a by now familiar plan to display a peculiar "ghosting" of old and new starts through the choice of music that was either associated with them personally or the re-enacting of the same role they previously portrayed.

This strategy was sustained by the fact that the story of *Didone abbandonata* was widely known among the London audiences. Not only was the unhappy story of Dido Queen of Carthage the subject of one of the first masterpieces of English musical theater, *Dido and Aeneas* by Henry Purcell (ca. 1689, although probably unknown to 1730s audiences),[585] but the city has had numerous productions and retellings of the story in various dramas and printed editions which contributed to the popularity of the Virgilian episode.[586] This was clearly stated in the prefatory pages of the printed libretto for the 1737 pasticcio:

> THE ARGUMENT. The Story of *Dido and Aeneas* is so well known, that it is unnecessary to enlarge on it here. On that, and the Fiction of Jarba's introducing himself into Carthage as his own Ambassador under the Name of Arbaces, the present Drama is founded.[587]

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[584] See Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas, 1726-1741* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006), 186–7, and Roberts, "Handel and Vinci's' Didone Abbandonata'," 142–3.

[585] The traditional dating of the premiere of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* in 1689 at Josias Priest's boarding school can no longer be given as a fact, according to Ellen T. Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas*, Second edition (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[586] See Anthony Welch, "The Cultural Politics of Dido and Aeneas," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 21, no. 1 (2009): 1–26. See also Deanne Williams, "Dido, Queen of England," *ELH* 73, no. 1 (2006): 31–59.

[587] *Didone abandonata*, 3.

Only two sentences instead of the usually long "Argument" to explain that the story did not need further explanation. Moreover, Metastasio's own version was circulating in London long before the pasticcio performances. A quasi-prose version in Italian of Metastasio's *Didone* was printed in London in 1726, for a single performance at the King's Theatre on 17 December 1726, as part of a long residence in town by a company of Italian *comici*.[588] It's a "quasi-prose" edition because, in fact, this "Tragedia Heroicomica" follows almost *verbatim* Metastasio's first edition, albeit intended for a non-musical performance by the "Comici Italiani" in front of the monarchy at the King's Theatre.[589] The fact that *Didone* was selected to be performed and printed in London shortly after its Italian premiere demonstrates the town interests towards Italian drama. This is particularly interesting in the context of the strong resistance towards the Italian language on stage, which was a recurrent topic of discussion throughout the early decades of the eighteenth century (see ch. 3.1). Not by chance, a mock play attributed ironically *post mortem* to Thomas D'Urfey was published the following year as part of such discussion. *The Italian Stage Italianiz'd* was "a New Entertainment, Called *Dido and Aeneas: Or, Harlequin, a Butler, a Pimp, a Minister of State, Generalissimo, and Lord High Admiral, Dead and Alive Again, and at Last Crown'd King of Carthage, by Dido,*" written as "a Tragi-Comedy, after the Italian Manner; by way of Essay, or First Step towards the farther

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[588] *Didone Abbandonata da Enea. Tragedia Heroicomica* […] *Da Rappresentarsi nel Teatro Reale dell'Hay-Market, Dalla Compagnia de Comici Italiani* (London: T. King, 1726). Copy consulted in GB-Lbl, General Reference Collection RB.23.b.647. For the single date of performance in December 1726, see *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces, Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment*, ed. by George W. Stone, vol. 1: 1700–1729 part 2, 3 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 898. See Gillian Rees, "The Italian Comedy in London, 1726-1727, with Zanetta Casanova," *L'intermédiaire des casanovistes* 13 (1996): 25–32.

[589] The practice of staging Metastasio's libretti as prose dramas is only partially known to modern scholars. See Giorgio Mangini, "Il Metastasio recitato e altri paradossi," in *Il canto di Metastasio: atti del convegno di studi, Venezia (14-16 dicembre 1999)*, ed. by Maria Giovanna Miggiani, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Bologna: A. Forni, 2004), 587–602.

Improvement of the English Stage."[590] By mixing together Commedia dell'Arte masks and the Virgilian tragedy, and published as a typical *scenario* (a publication in which there is no transcription of actual words to recite, but only a general recounting of what is happening on stage), the anonymous author depicts ironically the Italian tragedies as emblems of everything that was wrong with non-English plays, vulgar and unintelligible. By means of hyperboles and satire, the presumed Thomas D'Urfey himself recalls in the introduction the extent to which the Italian was by now the main language on stage:[591]

> You are not insensible to what a pitch of perfection we have already brought the Italian Opera here in England; and 'tis with the utmost pride I make a concession of my lyrical lucubrations: nor do I repine to see 'em give place to those delightful Italian Airs, which are now so common, that the very Shoe Boys, sing "Non è sì vago e bello", at the corner of every street.[592]

In 1726-7, London experienced first-hand the residency of a company of Italian comedians, their presence signifying not only the pervasiveness of Italian theatrical culture, but also the problems related to the Italian language as such. The *comici*, as a matter of fact, were not actually singing (at least not in full-mode as in operas). They were reciting Metastasio as the memory of the opera, their prose version of the drama being simply a non-sung opera, a libretto not meant to be sung. Opera was at the same time evoked and rebutted, and *Didone* became the emblem of such tension.[593]

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[590] *The Italian Stage Italianiz'd, in a New Entertainment, Called Dido and Aeneas: Or, Harlequin, a Butler, a Pimp, a Minister of State, Generalissimo, and Lord High Admiral, Dead and Alive Again, and at Last Crown'd King of Carthage, by Dido* […] *Written by Thomas D'Urfey* (London: A. Moore, 1727).

[591] It is worth noting that this could be a form of ghosting, too, as the "real" poet Thomas D'Urfey (1653-1723) was a close associate of Josias Priest and wrote the epilogue for Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* for performance at Priest's school. I thank Ellen Harris for this precious suggestion.

[592] *Ibid.*, iii.

[593] For a discussion of *The English Stage Italianiz'd* in the context of the debates regarding Italian opera, see Lisa A. Freeman, *Character's Theater: Genre and Identity on the Eighteenth-Century English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 79–82.

Thus, when *Didone abbandonata* was staged in London again ten years later as a pasticcio, its performance came after a long history of re-materializations of Metastasio's texts that had already influenced London audiences. As a pasticcio, its intrinsic quality of re-telling and re-sounding the past was the right match for a subject that was felt in London as being already charged with meta-theatricality. In a sense, we can say that *Didone* was the *non plus ultra* of the nine pasticci assembled by Handel, the final word and extreme result of years of experimenting with the genre before he left the realm of Italian opera altogether.

And what is even more intriguing about the city's involvement with *Didone* as a potential emblem of Italian opera as such, is the fact that around the same days as the performances at Covent Garden of the pasticcio assembled by Handel, at the King's Theatre the Opera of the Nobility staged *L'impresario* as an intermezzo for several operas (*Demetrio, La clemenza di Tito*, and the pasticcio *Sabrina*).[594] This intermezzo was published also in English as *The Master of the Opera*, and it was one of Metastasio's most successful comic pieces, the one the Italian poet chose to be inserted during the intervals of his opera *Didone abbandonata* in Naples in 1724.[595] It was a meta-theatrical piece created by Metastasio and Sarri to make fun of the 1720s operatic production system in Italy. Yet, its insertion in the program of the Opera of the Nobility right around the time of the staging at Covent Garden of its associated opera (*Didone*) makes a case for a larger "intertheatrical" meta-effect. That is, while Covent Garden was getting ready to stage a last breath of Italian opera, the Opera of the Nobility was partially mocking it from the doors of the

[594] See the dates in *The London Stage, 1660-1800*, vol. 3, *ad vocem*. See also Michael Burden, "Metastasio on the London Stage, 1728 to 1840: A Catalogue," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, no. 40 (2007), iii-332: 203–7.

[595] *L'Impresario. Intermezzo da Rappresentarsi dalla signora Anna Fantini et il Sig. Antonio Lottini. Nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market. Musica Del Sig. Domenico Sarri.* […] *The Master of the Opera. An Interlude.* […] (London: J. Chricley, 1737). See also Michael Burden, "The Opera House on the London Stage," paper presented at the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies meeting (Albuquerque, NM, 18-21 March 2009), available online at https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:4375e8ad-fda1-4e58-a166-bc46478bb6f0 (consulted on 5 January 2018).

King's Theatre. In a sense, both companies were staging meta-operas at the same time, one from the perspective of an Italian intermezzo and the other with the most meta-theatrical genre, the pasticcio.[596]

The pasticcio *Didone* featured a choice of songs that went beyond the simple assemblage of Vinci's arias. Here, Handel and his collaborators included nine arias that were chosen to display previous performances of songs by their own first singers. This was the case for Gizziello (Gioacchino Conti), who closed act 1 of the pasticcio singing "Tra fieri opposti venti" on the same music as "Scherza il nocchier talora" (which he sang in Naples in 1732 in Leonardo Leo's *Demetrio*),[597] and for Domenico Annibali, whose choice of songs deserves further explanation.

Annibali sang the first aria of the third act "Mi tradì l'infida sorte" on music by Giovanni Alberto Ristori. It is possible to identify such music through a rare glimpse into the assemblage process, thanks to the surviving manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge) which bears a list of five arias related to the revival of *Poro* in 1736 and the pasticcio *Didone* (see Fig. 4.1 and 4.2):[598]

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[596] For a general overview of the role of meta-theatricality in operatic music, see Alice Bellini, "Music and 'Music' in Eighteenth-Century Meta-Operatic Scores," *Eighteenth Century Music* 6, no. 2 (2009): 183–20.

[597] This identification was unknown to Strohm, "Handel's pasticci," 210.

[598] GB-Cfm, MU.MS.258. The list of arias is on p. 89, while on p. 90 Handel has sketched the incipits of such arias and the indications of where to include them.

Figure 4.1 and 4.2 – GB-Cfm, MU.MS.258, pp. 89 and 90.

The aria listed as n. 5, "Quel pastor che unendo [*sic,* udendo] al suono" is attributed to Ristori for "Sig.r Annibali in der Opera Didone." At the bottom of the next page there are two separated chunks of music from "Quel pastor," for violins and bass respectively, under the heading "die noten von Quel Pastor." I was able to attribute the origins of such aria to the festive *serenata* composed by Ristori for the sixth anniversary of the coronation of the Russian empress Anna, on 9 May 1736.[599] Annibali had sung in such *serenata* and was likely responsible for the inclusion of the aria in the pasticcio.[600] It is unclear whether the Cambridge manuscript was used by the assembler of the conducting score as a reminder of what to change or include in the "final" version, or rather if this was an unusual document specifically made at the last minute when Annibali brought with him a series of arias by Ristori to be included in various productions between 1736 and 1737. In addition, Annibali sang an aria that had been already used in *Semiramide* as "Trovo ch'è gran follia," the song "Non sempre oprar" from Hasse's *Caio Fabricio*, which Annibali had first sung in Rome in 1732. "Non sempre oprar" was initially planned to be included in the pasticcio *Caio Fabricio*, too, but had to be removed because of its insertion in *Semiramide*. Its revival here, through the voice of the same singer who first performed it years before, was probably conceded to allow Annibali not only to interpret repertoire familiar to him, but also to come back as Caio Fabricio in a different setting. What has gone unnoticed about the revival of this song from Hasse's *Caio Fabricio*, is that the music is strikingly similar to another song used in two different pasticci: "Amor deh lasciami"/"Sì, sì, lasciatemi" in *Elpidia* and *Ormisda* (see Fig. 4.3, to be compared with Fig. 3.8-11):

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[599] The score is in D-Dl, Ms. Mus. 2455-G-1.

[600] See Alina Żórawska.Witkowska, "Giovanni Alberto Ristori and his Serenate at the Polish Court of Augusts III, 1735-1746," in *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Renihard Strohm*, ed. By Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 139–158: 151.

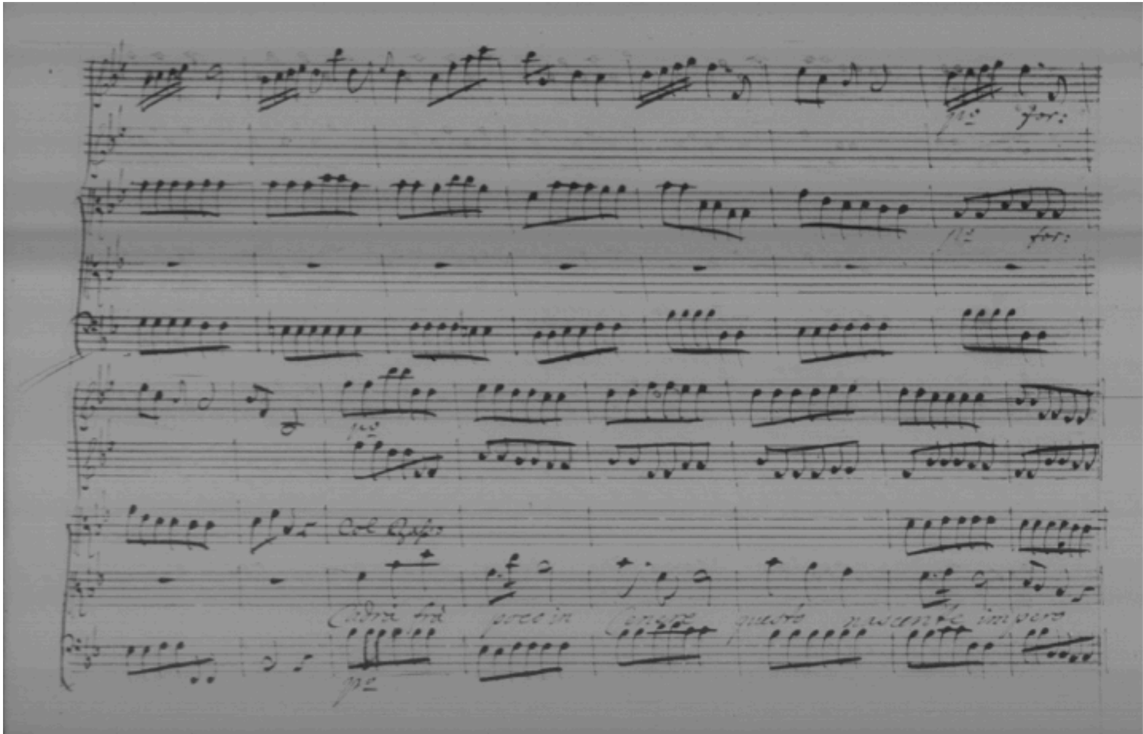

Figure 4.3 – Incipit of "Cadrò fra poco in cenere", *Didone abbandonata* (1737), GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31607, f. 139*v*.

It seems as if there was something peculiar, acoustically appealing, about this incipit, something that the singer and the composer thought would connect them to previous performances and previous audiences. Conti, too, opted for an already-used song, "Vede il nocchier la sponda" from Hasse's *Euristeo*, which was included in the pasticcio *Catone* and here presented with the lyrics "A trionfar mi chiama." All in all, *Didone* seems to evoke the ghosts of past performances, in London and abroad.

As we have seen in previous chapters, the possibility of recognizing familiar music was linked to two factors: the availability of music circulating in either manuscript or printed form, and the bias towards Handel's works among the circle of his friends. With *Didone*, this paradigm became explicit through the words of James Harris, an intellectual and amateur musician who was influenced by empiricist philosophy (through the writings of his uncle, the third Earl of Shaftesbury) and who took Handel's side during the last years of the competition with the Opera

of the Nobility.[601] Harris did not attend *Didone*, but he read about it through the mixed feelings reported by his friend, the fourth Earl of Shaftesbury:

> The opera of *Dido* (in my opinion a very heavy one) will be acted but once more tomorrow only, and then comes on viz the Wednesday following *Justin*, and after that the charming *Berenice* which we all hope will bring you up.[602]

Harris was (literally) hearing about Handel through his friend's words. He then made an even more explicit statement about his own approach to Handel's music in a letter written to Shaftesbury a few days later:

> If Mr Handel gives off his Opera, it will be the only Pleasure I shall have left in ye musicall way, to look over his Scores, and recollect past Events. Here Strada used to shine—there Annibale—This was an Excellent Chorus, and that a Charming piece of Recitative—In that I shall amuse my Self much in the Same manner as Virgil tells of ye Troyans…[603]

The reference to Virgil's *Aeneid* is a possible connection to the performances of the pasticcio *Didone*. Whether Harris attended it or not, he was able to create a mental vision, an aural image of the performance through the reconstructed voices of Strada, Annibali, and the chorus. He did that by "looking over" his collection of scores, reading music not just as a prompt for new performances, but as a recollection of "past events," even those that he was not able to attend. For Harris, his own scores were inscriptions of past performances which could prompt new ones in his own mind. Imbued in empiricist philosophy, Harris was elaborating what he would later

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[601] On James Harris, see Clive T. Probyn, *The Sociable Humanist: The Life and Works of James Harris 1709-1780 : Provincial and Metropolitan Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991). For the context of his friendship with Handel, see Harris, *George Frideric Handel*, *passim*. For a reading of the musical writings of James Harris, in the context of pre-Enlightenment philosophy, see Donald Burrows, "Pomegranates and Oranges: James Harris's Philosophy and Handel's Music," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 63 (2017): 35–47. The collection of letters regarding music wrote by Harris throughout his lifetime are collected in *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780*, ed. by Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[602] 4th Earl of Shaftesbury to James Harris, London, 26 April 1737 (transcribed in *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, 26).

[603] James Harris to the 4th Earl of Shaftesbury, Salisbury, 5 May 1737 (transcribed in *ibid.*, 27–8).

conceptualize in his *Three treatises* (1744) as the double agency of music, being "an ally to Poetry" and deriving its force from the power of affections against pure imitation.[604]

Harris was also particularly sensible to the issue of language and authorship, right around the time when *Didone* was performed. In the same letters he exchanged with the Earl of Shaftesbury between April and May 1737, he addressed one of the issues that both the Houses of Parliament were discussing, i.e. the Copyright Bill also known as the Booksellers' Bill. This bill never really made it into law, but it would have extended protection of authorship to any "book, pamphlet, or writing," possibly including printed music.[605] This was supported by people like Shaftesbury and Harris who were generous collectors of Handel's music, and they wanted Handel to be recognized as "author," a status which the monarchy will grant him again in 1739 with the second copyright privilege of fourteen years.[606] Shaftesbury made clear that the Copyright bill was strongly opposed by "lord Hervey & Lord DeLawar [John West, 7th Baron de la Warr]," the latter being one of the most important patrons of the Opera of the Nobility.[607] In the same letter in which he described the reading of his scores, Harris replied to Shaftersbury's complaint:

> I rejoice to hear from ye Lord that the Author's Bill is likely to Succeed, and I am Sure ye Lovers both of Letters & of Harmony ought to be thankfull to yr Lord for ye Pain you have taken in Solliciting it. Tis a bad Proof what remains of Gothic Barbarity we have Still amongst us that ye Bill Should have been opposed on account of Mr Pope & Handel. It may however for our comfort be remembered that even in ye Augustan Age when Virgil & Horace were alive, at ye Same time lived Bavius & Maevius. The Success of this Bill will I hope give us ye Ode, which I have a vast desire to be possessed of.[608]

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[604] James Harris, *Three Treatises: The First concerning Art, the second concerning Music, Painting and Poetry, the third concerning happiness* (London: H. Woodfall, 1744), 95, quoted in Burrows, "Pomegranates and Oranges," 44.

[605] See Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 56.

[606] See David Hunter, "Music Copyright in Britain to 1800," *Music & Letters* 67, no. 3 (1986), 269–82: 273.

[607] *Music and Theatre in Handel's World*, 27.

[608] Harris to the 4th Earl of Shaftesbury, Salisbury, 5 May 1737 (transcribed in *ibid.*, 27–8).

Things were changing fast. The "performance of authorship," with which Handel staged the disappearance of his public persona in the early 1730s, had reached its goal. Handel was effectively becoming a monument, a living "author," promoted as such by his own supporters and collectors, and subjected to the law of infringement. The stages were getting more and more under control as authors became "authors." The Licensing Act, which enforced control and censorship over what was said in plays with respect to the government, was promulgated in June 1737.[609] This is probably why in the works of the late 1730s Handel returned to an old practice of his, that of concealing his borrowing material into tiny pieces scattered all over his music and arrangements. It was as if he had to hide the works of other people. Recently, Winton Dean has thus summarized this change of compositional habit:

> It may be significant that since the move to Covent Garden he [Handel] seems to have resorted increasingly to his long-established practice of generating movements, especially arias, from passages in the work of others, as well as his own earlier compositions. It is possible that, more than at other periods, he needed a push to start his engine, or that he was more inclined to allow alien ideas access to his subconscious mind. But two points are worth noting: it is the frequency of the borrowings in these operas, not their extent, that increases; many are quite short, and might never have been noticed but for the presence of undoubted borrowings from the same source. Secondly, the number of borrowings bears no relation to the quality of the opera. Two of Handel's finest operas, *Alcina* and *Serse*, contain more borrowings than any of the others except *Agrippina* and *Rinaldo*.[610]

This was the case for *Didone*, too, as elaborated by John Roberts: "[t]here can be little doubt that in his adaptation of Vinci's *Didone abbandonata* Handel the borrower can be seen covering his tracks."[611] No wonder this was the last pasticcio arranged by the composer on music by Italian

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[609] For an understanding of the consequences of the Licensing Act for live music in London during the Georgian era and beyond, see David Thomas, "The 1737 Licensing Act and its Impact," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832*, ed. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor, Oxford Handbooks of Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 91–106.

[610] Dean, *Handel's Operas 1726-1741*, 283n.

[611] Roberts, "Handel and Vinci's' Didone Abbandonata," 149.

masters (*Oreste* and *Alessandro Severo*, on music entirely previously composed by Handel, will follow in 1738 and 1739). Handel was at the same time getting uncomfortable with it and he was in the position of not having to do it anymore. He had become "Handel," as the pose of a statue of his in the Vauxhall Gardens attested.

It seems appropriate to end this journey into the pasticci culture with an image that summarizes the three major aspects of the present investigation (see Fig. 4.4):

Figure 4.4 – detail from "The Pleasures of Life," in George Bickham, *The Musical Entertainer* (London: C. Corbett, [1740], II, 21).

In 1740, George Bickham engraved two volumes of songs (mostly on popular tunes, a few from Italian operas) called *The Musical Entertainer*.[612] Each page features a single song, with a layout that presents a quite refined image at the top. In the second volume, a depiction of four people in the Vauxhall Garden having luncheon introduces the song "The Pleasure's of Life" (on an unidentified tune, likely from the ballad operas repertoire). What is relevant about this engraving is that the people seem to be listening to the statue of Handel, recently posed in the Garden on 26

[612] The picture and a short a commentary about it are given in Ilias Chrissochoidis, "'Hee-haw … llelujah': Handel among the Vauxhall Asses (1732)," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 7, no. 2 (2010), 221–62: 247–8.

April 1738. The sculptor, Louis-François Roubiliac, had captured the composer in what was the first statue to immortalize Handel as Apollo playing the lyre (see Fig. 4.5).[613] Yet, the patrons of Vauxhall Gardens are depicted in the engraving as listening not to the performers in the background, but rather to the statue itself. They are lending their ears to an object that stands metonymically for the author it represents. They listen to someone who is not there and yet it is there all the time, as contemporary documentation attested. Handel, as a matter of fact, was not only constantly performed at the Gardens, but was also personally choosing his own music to be heard there.[614] The statue by Roubiliac constitutes an important passage in the monumentalizing of the myth of Handel as genius author.[615] Yet, the 1740 engraving seems all the more appropriate for the present discussion as it depicts a moment of listening to the ghost of Handel *as* Author over a song that was *not* by him. That is, Handel had become the patron not only of his own music, but of music-making as such. Let us picture an eighteenth-century user of Bickham's *The Musical Entertainer*: she is playing a song on the pleasures of life, either by reading or singing it, as she joins an imaginary crowd of listeners to the statue of Handel as someone else's music is played in the background (as depicted in the engraving with the ensemble in the background).

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[613] For an account of the posing of the statue in the context of the history of Vauxhall Gardens, see Joseph Burke, "Hogarth, Handel and Roubiliac: A Note on the Interrelationships of the Arts in England, c. 1730 to 1760," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3 (1969), 157–74; David Bindman, "Roubiliac's Statue of Handel and the Keeping of Order in Vauxhall Gardens in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Sculpture Journal* 1 (1997), 22–31. In the context of Handel studies, see Ellen T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel: A Life with Friends* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 229–31, and David Hunter, *The Lives of George Frideric Handel* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 373–6.

[614] Ilias Chrissochoidis, "Handel at a Crossroads: His 1737–1738 and 1738–1739 Seasons Re-Examined," *Music and Letters* 90, no. 4 (2009), 599–635: 609.

[615] See Suzanne Aspden, "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, Tho' Transformed to Stone': The Composer as Monument," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (April 2002): 39–90. See also Ellen T. Harris, "Handel's Ghost: The Composer's Posthumous Reputation in the Eighteenth Century," in *A Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought*, ed. J. Paynter et al. (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 199-216.

The player is the listener, too, just like Handel—in order to become "Handel"—had to have its audiences listening to what he listened to, i.e. music by the Italian masters.

After 1737, the pasticcio culture had thus become engrained in the very core of music consumption in London, from its marketplace to the ideologies of listening and performing of Italian opera. It was at the end of the 1730s that Handel switched to the oratorio, partially as a reaction to such a change in operatic culture, from the introduction and exemplification of Italian composers to their concealing into his own compositional process. Handel the listener had become Handel the author, by means of experimenting with the genre of pasticcio. Now, it was the time for him to listen to something else.

Figure 4.5 – Louis-François Roubiliac, statue of Handel, 1738 (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

APPENDIX

L'Elpidia

Arias (with attributions from libretto in Gb-Lbl, 163.g.29)	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
[Sinfonia]		Vinci, *Eraclea* (Naples 1724; with new last movement)		
Duet: Il valor di questo braccio [Vinci]		Senesino + Pacini		
Dea triforme astro fecondo [Orlandini]		Cuzzoni Vinci, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice, 1725), sung by Bordoni	*The Favourite Songs* B-Bc (ms. 5354) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 4266, n. 5: "S. Gio[vanni] Gris[ostom]o 2:da [right:] Del Sigr. Leonardo Vinci.") I-Vnm (Contarini 10001: "Arie | Dell'Opera Seconda | In San Gio Gris | Ifigenia | Del S.g Leonardo Vinci")	
Per serbarti e regno e core [Orlandini]		Borosini Orlandini, *Berenice* (Venice 1725), sung by Barbieri	I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	
Si può ma sol per poco [Vinci]		Sorosina Vinci, *Rosmira fedele* (Venice 1725), sung by Antonia Merighi	I-MC (6-D-12/11c) B-Bc (ms. 15180/2) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	The song is replaced by the following one in the GB-Lbl score
	Sorge qual luccioletta	Dotti Sarro, *Arsace* (Naples 1718), sung by Benti Bulgarelli	*The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick*	

Arias (with attributions from libretto in Gb-Lbl, 163.g.29)	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			GB-WMl (Music Manuscript 8) I-Nc (Cantate 183/33, digitized on InternetCulturale)	
Se non trovo il caro bene [Peli]		Borosini	I-Rama (A.Ms.3704: "Aria in Elpidia Sgr Borosini")	The song is replaced by the following one in the GB-Lbl score
	Amor deh lasciami	Antinori [Orlandini, *Lucio Papirio* (Bologna 1718), sung by G. Paita on the words "Sì sì lasciatemi"]	*The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick* GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 362, vol. III)	
D'alme luci sfavillate		Cuzzoni Vinci, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice 1725), sung by Bordoni		
Amante tuo constante [costante] [Orlandini]		Cuzzoni Vinci, *Rosmira fedele* (Venice 1725), sung by Carlo Scalzi on the words "Amante ch'incostante"	GB-Lfom (299) GB-Cfm (MU.MS.167.T) As "Amante che incostante": D-B (Mus. Ms. 22381/2) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001) I-Nc (34.5.24)	
	Dopo il vento e il nube irato	*Boschi*		The song is not featured in the libretto.

Arias (with attributions from libretto in Gb-Lbl, 163.g.29)	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		A. Lotti, *Teofane* (Dresden 1719), sung by Boschi on the words "Le profonde vie dell'onde"		Different music setting in Handel's *Ottone re di Germania* as "Le profonde vie dell'onde"
Men superba andria la sorte [Vinci]		Pacini Vinci, *Rosmira fedele* (Venice 1725), sung by Bernardi	*The Favourite Songs* Gb-Lbl (Ms. Add. 31593) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	The song is replaced by the following one in the GB-Lbl score
	Ahi nemico è al nostro affetto	*Baldi* [Giacomelli, *Ipermestra* (Venice 1724?), sung by Baldi on the words "Dal tuo sdegno e dal tuo amore"]	*The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick* GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 362, vol. III)	
Un vento lusinghiero [Sarro]		*Senesino* [Sarro, *Merope* (Venice 1716), sung by Senesino]	*The Favourite Songs*	[incomplete]
Duet: Deh caro Olindo		Cuzzoni + Senesino ?	*The Favourite Songs (2nd ed.)*	
Dimmi bel idol mio [Fiorè]		Cuzzoni	*The Favourite Songs (2nd ed.)*	In the score the aria has the words "Parto bel idol mio" and is to be sung by Senesino
Qual senza stella [Capelli]		Pacini [Capelli, *Venceslao* (Parma 1724), sung by Vittoria Tesi]		The song is replaced by the following one in the GB-Lbl score

Arias (with attributions from libretto in Gb-Lbl, 163.g.29)	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Parte il piè ma teco resta	Baldi [Giacomelli, *Ipermestra* (Venice 1724?), sung by Bernacchi]	*The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick*	
Dolce orror che vezzeggiando [Vinci]		Cuzzoni Vinci, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice 1725), sung by Bernacchi	*The Favourite Songs* D-MÜs (SANT Hs 4266, n. 3) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001) GB-CDu (Mackworth Collection vol. 10)	
S'al mio tesoro [Vinci]		Vinci, *Rosmira fedele* (Venice 1725), sung by Barbieri		
Addio dille e da quel labro [labbro] [Orlandini]		Senesino Orlandini, *Berenice* (Venice 1725), sung by Scalzi	*The Favourite Songs (2nd ed.)* GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 362, vol. III) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	
Pupillette vezzosette [Vinci]		Cuzzoni Vinci, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice 1725), sung by Bordoni	*The Favourite Songs* D-MÜs (SANT Hs 4266, n. 4) GB-CDu (Mackworth Collection Vol. 9) GB-Lfom (325, 1297) GB-Mp (BRm710.5Rf31, arr. harspichord) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. c.107) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001) US-BEm (ms. 13)	

Arias (with attributions from libretto in Gb-Lbl, 163.g.29)	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			US-GRB (Luigi Silva Collection)	
Dì pur ch'io sono ingrato [Vinci]		Senesino	*The Favourite Songs* GB-Ob (?)	
Bell'alma ver gli erranti [Orlandini]		Cuzzoni Vinci, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice 1725), sung by Giovanni Ossi	D-LEm (Becker III.15.82) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001) GB-Lfom (A.N. 299)	
	[Più non so dirti spera] [not in the manuscript, but in *The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick*]	Cuzzoni Vinci, *Trionfo di Camilla* (Parma 1725), sung by Bordoni on the words "Più non so finger sdegni"	*The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick* D-B (Mus.ms 30176/26)? GB-Lgc (Ms. G. Mus. 362, vol. III)	
	Di quel crudel gl'inganni	*Boschi* A. Lotti, *Teofane* (Dresden 1719), sung by Boschi on the words "Al minacciar dell'onde"		
	Ad amar la tua beltade	*Pacini* Orlandini, *Berenice* (Venice 1725), sung by Bernardi on the words "Ad amar varia beltade"	I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	The song is replaced by the following one in the GB-Lbl score
Vado costante a morte [Capelli]	*id.*	*Pacini* Capelli, *Venceslao* (Parma 1724), sung by Pacini	I-Vc (Correr Busta 125.86) I-Vnm (It. IV, 2096, lost?)	

Arias (with attributions from libretto in Gb-Lbl, 163.g.29)	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Già sente il core [Scarlatti]		Sorosina Vinci, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice 1725), sung by Merighi	I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	The song is replaced by the following one in the GB-Lbl score
	Con nodi più tenaci	*Dotti* Sarro, *Alessandro Severo* (Naples 1719), sung by Dotti	*The Quarterly Collection of Vocal Musick* GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 362, vol. III)	
Barbara mi schernisci e questa è fede? [Vinci]		Senesino Vinci, *Rosmira fedele* (Venice 1725), sung by Scalzi	*The Favourite Songs (2nd ed.)* B-Bc (15179/10) GB-Lgc (G.Mus.362, vol. III) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	
Tortora che il suo bene [Vinci]		Cuzzoni Vinci, *Rosmira fedele* (Venice 1725), sung by Bordoni	*The Favourite Songs (2nd ed.)* B-Bc (15180/9; 5149/1 and 2) D-MÜs (Hs 4266, n. 10) D-Dl (Mus.1-F-28,8) D-SWl (Mus. 4721) Gb-Lfom (299) I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	
Sì sì spera [Orlandini]	Vanne e spera	Borosini Vinci, *Rosmira fedele* (Venice 1725), sung by Barbieri	*The Favourite Songs (2nd ed.)*	

Arias (with attributions from libretto in Gb-Lbl, 163.g.29)	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 31606)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Duet: Stringi al sen caro un amplesso		Cuzzoni + Senesino Vinci, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice, 1725), sung by Bordoni + Scalzi	I-Vnm (Contarini 10001)	

Ormisda

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia	Vinci, *Flavio An. Olibrio* (Naples 1728)?		The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Ouverture	(ascribed to conti)		
Pupillette vezzosette		Strada Hasse, *Tigrane* (Naples 1729), sung by Anna Maria Mazzoni [more likely *Cleofide*]	B-Bc (ms. 4147, as "Aria I.la Strada dell Sig.re Gio: Adolfo detto | Ill. Sassone | [by later hand:] di hasse (nel Cleofide)") GB-CDu (Mackworth Collection, vol. 9, by "Bonacini"?) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-9)	
Sino alla goccia estrema		*Bernacchi*		The piece is replaced by the following one:

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		[Orlandini, *Ormisda* (Bologna 1722), sung by Bernacchi		
	Ricordati ch'è mio	*Senesino* Orlandini, *Adelaide* (Venice 1729), sung by Senesino		
Infelice abbandonata		*Merighi* Vinci, *Flavio An. Olibrio* (Naples 1728), sung by Merighi on the words "Tu m'offendi"	S-Skma (p.6-7?) as "Tu m'offendi": SI-Mpa (SI_PAM/1857/010/00013) US-Wc (M1613.A2 V79) I-MC (6-B-20/12a) I-Nc (Arie 616/3)	
Se non sa qual vento il guida		Fabri ? [found in a cantata by Francesco Brusa, "So che sospiro e sento",	D-MEIr (Ed 82b)	
O caro mio tesoro		Strada Vinci, *Caduta dei Decemviri* (Naples 1727), sung by Carlo Scalzi on the words "Del caro mio tesoro"	B-Bc (ms. 4946, "aria Sr Vincio") as "Del caro mio tesoro": I-Nc (Arie 617/16) I-Mc (Noseda A.25.8)?	The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Non ti confonder	Strada	I-MC (2-F-16/2)	

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		Hasse, *Sorella amante* (Naples 1729), sung by unknown		
Tacerò se tu lo brami		Bertolli ? (text from *Didone abbandonata*) [apparently found in a setting of *Didone* by Gaetano Maria Schiassi, Bologna 1735, but later attribution]	B-Bc (ms. 4880, "Aria | [by later hand:] di Schisassi. | [upper center:] Sra Bertoli = dell Sigre Gaetano | Maria Schiassi | [by later hand:] Nella Didone 1735 Bologna") D-B (Mus. ms. 30330/11, "Aria [at right:] Del Sigr Schiassi [at the left margin, upright:] Bologna",)	
Se non pensi al dovere di figlio		Fabri ?		The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Non fulmina ancora	Fabri [Orlandini, *Lucio Papirio* (Bologna 1718), sung by G. Paita		
Vede quel pastorello		*Bernacchi* Orlandini, *Ormisda* (Bologna 1722), sung by Bernacchi	I-Fc (D.I.208)	The piece is replaced by the following one:
	È quella la bella	*Senesino* Orlandini, *Adelaide* (Venice 1729), sung by Senesino on the words "Tiranna ma bella"		

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible ‘provenance’ from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Se quel cor con nobil vanto		*Merighi* Hasse, *Ulderica* (Naples 1729), sung by Merighi on the words “Pria di darmi un sì bel vanto”	I-BGi (ms 8290) B-Bc (ms 4158, “Dell Sig: Gio: Adolfo Hasse detto | ill. Sasone [!] | Aria [by later hand:] di Hasse”) GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 432) as “Pria di darmi un sì bel vanto”: I-MC (2-F-17/11c) as “Vil trofeo d’un’alma imbelle” (Hasse, *Cleofide*?): GB-Lbl (RM 23.d.8, n. 12) I-MC (2-F-17/6, but on different notes)	
Se d’aquilon lo sdegno		*Strada* [Porpora, *Semiramide* (Naples 1724), sung by Strada] [more likely Porpora, *Siface*, Milan 1725?]	CH-Gc (R 232 ms. 10533) I-MC (5-F-5/5d) B-Bc (ms. 4670)	The piece is replaced by the following one (missing):
	[unknown]			
Leon feroce che avvinto freme		*Bernacchi* [Orlandini, *Ormisda* (Bologna 1722), sung by Bernacchi]	As “Leon feroce se avvinto geme”: I-Nc (Arie 21/5) B-Bc (ms 5360) I-MC (5-B-11/5c)	

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Reo mi brami e reo sarò	Bernacchi ?		
Come l'onda furibonda		Riemschneider Fiorè, *Sesostri* (Turin 1717), sung by G. M. Boschi on the words "Mira l'onda"		
Nel tuo amor o dolce sposo	La speranza lusinghiera	*Merighi* Orlandini, *Antigona* (Bologna 1727), sung by Merighi on the words "Le pupille"	GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 432) B-Bc (ms. 4447) GB-Mp (MS. 130Hd4v.314) GB-Lbl (Ms. Add. 63508, arrang. harpsichord) As "Le pupille tue vezzose": GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 434)	The words "La speranza lusinghiera" are below the notes, and "Nel tuo amor o dolce sposo" (which are the one found in the libretto) above (in the GB-Lbl score)
Sì sì lasciatemi		Fabri [Orlandini, *Lucio Papirio* (Bologna 1718), sung by G. Paita] cfr. *Elpidia*	B-Bc (ms. 4448)	
Lasciami amico fato		Bertolli [ascribed to Porta]	B-Bc (ms. 4678)	The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Tuona il ciel trema ogni core	Bertolli Leo, *Argeno* (Venice 1728),		

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		sung by Elisabetta Uttini		
Timido pellegrin		*Merighi* Giaj, *Publio Cornelio Scipione* (Turin 1726), sung by Merighi	B-Bc (ms. 5389) S-Skma (T-SE-R, "del Sigre Hendel") GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 432) GB-Mp (Ms. Q520Vu51)	
Sentirsi dire dal caro bene		Strada Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Scalzi	GB-Lbl (Ms. Add. 31602; Ms. Add. 24307) GB-Lam (ms 134) S-Skma (Alströmer saml. 170:23) S-Uu (Vok. mus. i hs. 66/17) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3) US-SFsc (*M2.5 v. 54) CZ-Pak (ms 1435) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 182, n. 4) D-Hs (ms ND VI 1078/2) B-Bc (ms 4950) F-Pc (?, "Timido pellegrino. Sentirsi dire dal caro bene") I-MC (6-B-20/10d) I-Nc (Arie 616/4) I-Rc (mss. 2772/10) I-Mc (ms Noseda R.7.11) I-TLp (?)	

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Fia tuo sangue il sangue sparso		*Bernacchi* [Orlandini, *Ormisda* (Bologna 1722), sung by Bernacchi]	GB-Lbl (Ms. Add. 31504)	The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Di mia costanza armato	*Senesino* Orlandini, *Adelaide* (Venice 1729), sung by Senesino on the words "Vedrò più liete"	GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 434, as "Vedrò più liete")	
Io corro pietoso		Bertolli ?		
Ti sento amor di padre		Fabri ? (text from *Alessandro Severo*)		The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Speranze del mio cor	*Fabri* Giacomelli, *Zidiana* (Milan 1728), sung by Fabri	B-Bc (ms 3968-4006/8)	
Passaggier [passegger] che in selva oscura		Strada Hasse, *Sesostrate* (Naples 1726), sung by Scalzi	B-Bc (ms 5369) CZ-Pak (ms 456) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1964)	
Se mi toglie il tuo furore		*Merighi* Hasse, *Attalo* (Naples 1728), sung by Merighi on the words "Tu svenasti il mio tesoro"	GB-Lam (ms 140) GB-Lfom (317) I-BGi (ms 8090) D-Hhg (ms Hg 206)	

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Ms. Add. 31551)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			As "Tu svenasti il mio tesoro": GB-Lbl (R.M.22.d.25/14, same n. 19 on the words "Vol vendetta il core offeso") I-Nc (33.2.20)	
Amico il fato mi guida in porto		Strada Sarro, *Siroe* (Naples 1727), sung by Maddalena Salvai	D-LEm (Becker III.15.45) GB-Lgc (G. Mus. 432) GB-Mp (MS. 130Hd4v.314) GB-CDu (Mackworth Collection vol. 9) S-Uu (Vok. mus. i hs. 76:2:9b)	The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Agitata dal vento e dall'onda	Strada ?		
Coro: D'applausi e giubilo		?		The piece is replaced by the following one:
	Coro: Tutto rida in sì bel giorno	?		

Venceslao

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1061 and D-Hs, MA/189)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia	?		
Se già di Marte io son guerriero	Se a' danni miei	Bertolli Vinci, *Stratonica* (Naples 1727), sung by Anna Bagnolesi		
Se tu vuoi dar legge al mondo		Fabri ?		
Quell'odio che in mente		*Bernacchi*, Senesino Vinci, *Medo* (Parma 1728), sung by Bernacchi on the words "Quel fiume che in monte"		
Lascia il lido e 'l mare infido		*Merighi* [Porpora, *Amare per regnare* (Naples 1723), sung by Merighi]		
Io sento al cor dardi d'amore		Strada Giacomelli, *Lucio Papirio Dittatore* (Parma 1729), sung by Bordoni on the words "Tornate ancor"	D-Dl (Mus.1-F-82,14-1)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1061 and D-Hs, MA/189)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Ecco l'alba d'un giorno sereno		Fabri ?		
Per mia vendetta ingrato		*Merighi* Orlandini, *Antigona* (Bologna 1727), sung by Merighi on the words "Se morir deggio ingrato"		
Son belle in ciel le stelle		Strada [Porta, *Ulisse* (Venice 1725), sung by Carestini] [also Porta, *Lucio Papirio Dittatore* (Rome 1732)]	D-Hs (ND VI 1078/1, "1732 Il Lucio Papirio alle Dame musica Del Sig: Giovani Porta | Son belle in Ciel lestelle") S-Skma (T-SE-R) B-Bc (4679 and 15180/10) US-NYp (Mus. Res. *MP (Italian))	
D'ira armato il braccio forte		*Bernacchi,* Senesino Vinci, *Medo* (Parma 1728), sung by Bernacchi on the words "Vengo a voi"	US-Wc (M1505.V64 A4) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 4241b) I-Bc (Ms.Mart.2.88/18) I-Rc (ms 2771/1)	
Nel seren di quel sembiante		Fabri [anon., *Venceslao* (1722?), sung by Barbieri]		

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1061 and D-Hs, MA/189)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Con bella speme		*Merighi* Hasse, *Attalo* (Naples 1728), sung by Merighi on the words "Con dolce frode"	S-Skma (Alströmer saml.) As "Con dolce frode": I-BGi (ms 8690) I-MC (2-F-15/3j, "Barbaruccia Sassone") CZ-Pak (ms 453, as "Ad te o Deus manus levabo")	
Lascia cadermi in volto		Strada Hasse, *Artaserse* (Venice 1730), sung by Farinelli	I-Rama (A.Ms.3721) DK-Kk (mu 7411.0534) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1982, n. 28) I-MC (2-F-17/17b) D-Hs (ND VI 2918, n. 21) S-Skma (T-SE-R, "Aria [crossed out:] del Sigre Wencelaus.") GB-Lfom (1301) I-Nc (Cantate 157/19, digitized on InternetCulturale) I-PAc (Sanvitale Sanv.A.191) I-Mc (Noseda O.31.4? attributed to Fiorillo)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1061 and D-Hs, MA/189)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Parto e mi sento		*Bernacchi*, Senesino Vinci, *Medo* (Parma 1728), sung by Bernacchi on the words "Taci o di morte"	D-Hs (ND VI 1078/2) I-Bc (Ms.Mart.2.88/12) I-Rc (ms 2771/2)	
La vaga luccioletta		Merighi Hasse, *Attalo* (Naples 1728), sung by Merighi		
Vuò ritrar dalla tempesta		Bertolli ?		
Vado costante a morte	Vado costante della mia morte	*Bernacchi* Vinci, *Medo* (Parma 1728), sung by Bernacchi on the words "Nella foresta leone invitto"	I-Rsc (Governativo G.Mss. 0468) I-Rc (ms 2771/8)	Strohm thinks that "Vado costante della mia morte" (sung by Bernacchi) was later replaced by "Vado costante a morte" (sung by Senesino)
Come nave in ria tempesta		Strada Porpora, *Semiramide* (Naples 1724), sung by Farinelli	I-MC (5-B-11/5e) I-Nc (Arie 234.14?)	
Corro volo e dove oh Dio!		Merighi Hasse, *Attalo* (Naples 1728), sung by Merighi	I-Nc (Cantate 157/31, InternetCulturale)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1061 and D-Hs, MA/189)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Spero al fin [alfin] che il ciel irato		Bertolli Hasse, *Gerone* (Naples 1727), sung by Bagnolesi on the words "Sappi poi che il cielo irato"		
Da te se mi divide		Senesino Lotti, *Alessandro Severo* (Venice 1717), sung by Francesco de Grandis on the words "Da te tu mi dividi"		
Balenar con giusta legge		Fabri [anon., *Venceslao* (1722?), sung by Barbieri]		
Del caro sposo		Strada Capelli, *Venceslao* (Parma 1724), sung by Bordoni	B-Bc (ms 3758, "Del S. Capelli"; ms 15184/5; ms 6327/63, harps. arran.) GB-Mp (Ms. Q520Vu51) D-Dl (Mus.1-F-124)	The aria "Del caro sposo" (act III), according to Strohm, 175, was parodied in its first line from Capelli's *Venceslao* (Parma, 1724; complete score in GB-Lbl, Add Ms 15993). RISM gives 4 other copies of the aria traceable in Manchester, Dresden, and Bruxelles (attributed to Hasse, though, but the incipit does correspond; the copy in B-Bc, 3758, has "del S. Capelli";). A manuscript containing several arias from Venice (including "Leon feroce" claimed to be by Vivaldi, used in *Ormisda* but from Orlandini) also includes Capelli's "Del caro sposo" (sung by "Faustina"): it has been sold by Sotheby's in 2008, and I have not been able to trace it so far.

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1061 and D-Hs, MA/189)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
				The conducting score has other words (crossed out and replaced with the ones found in the libretto and in the harpsichord score) for the second stanza, "Non dee chi regge"
Coro: Fausti numi a Casimiro				The chorus is fully harmonized in the conducting score, and only has soprano part in the harpsichord one
Fido amor non più lamenti		Senesino Lotti, *Alessandro Severo* (Venice 1717), sung by Diana Vico on the words "Fidi amori or sì dolenti"		Signs of cut in the scores

Lucio Papirio Dittatore

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1029)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info) (indication of provenance given only in the case when it is *not* from Giacomelli, *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia			
Dall'alta tua sfera lo sguardo volgendo		Pinacci		
Chi del fato e della sorte		*Montagnana* Porpora, *Siface* (Rome 1730), sung by Montagnana		
Per dolce mio riposo		Strada Bordoni	US-BEm (ms 17)	crossed in the score
Per te già forte		Campioli Pacini		
Se ti ferisse amor		Bagnolesi Lancetti		
Che follia pregar d'affetto		Bertolli Negri		
Non ti chiedo questa vita		Senesino Farinelli		

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1029)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info) (indication of provenance given only in the case when it is *not* from Giacomelli, *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Consigliando un bell'orgoglio		Strada Bordoni	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31504, attributed to Predieri)	
Porto nel core impressi		Bagnolesi Lancetti		
Scostati non più mio	Scostati né più mio	Montagnana Bernacchi		
Ti lascio m'involo		Strada Bordoni	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31504, attributed to Predieri) B-Bc (3968-4006/37)	
Vanne priega che verranno	Vane e priega	Bertolli Negri		
Quei begli occhi, quei bei sguardi	Que' begli occhi e que' bei sguardi	Senesino Farinelli		
	Tornate ancor vezzi d'amor	Strada Bordoni	D-Dl (Mus.1-F-82,14-1)	cut in the score (cfr. *Venceslao*)
Fra le scuri sanguinose		Pinacci Borosini		
Spera sì presago in petto		Senesino Bernacchi		
Coro: Di trionfo e non di morte		? (not listed in Strohm)		

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1029)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info) (indication of provenance given only in the case when it is *not* from Giacomelli, *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Sorge dal monte fonte ch'appena		Bagnolesi Lancetti		
Cor di viltà nudrito		Bertolli Negri		
Sulla tomba coronata		Pinacci Borosini [Strohm: "Bordoni"?]	D-B (Mus.ms. 30330/4, "Borosino")	
Questa fronte e questo petto		Senesino Farinelli		cut in the score
Alma tra miei timori		*Montagnana* [Porpora, *Poro* (Turin 1731). sung by Montagnana on the words "O sugli estivi ardori"]		
Vengo a darti anima bella		Strada Bordoni	Sl-Mpa (SI_PAM/1857/010/00083) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31504, attributed to Predieri) S-Skma (T-SE-R) US-FAy (Quarto MS 532 MS 3, "Aria del S:r | Leonardo Vinci.") H-Gk (AMC, G. 21/1, contrafactum "Manum suam") B-Bc (ms 3968-4006/32) I-Rc (mss. 2558/3)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1029)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info) (indication of provenance given only in the case when it is *not* from Giacomelli, *Lucio Papirio Dittatore*)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Coro: O grande o generoso		? (not listed in Strohm)		
Coro: Viva Roma eterno viva		? (not listed in Strohm)		

Catone

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1012)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia			
Con sì bel nome in fronte		Senesino Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Nicolino Grimaldi	I-Vnm (It. IV 472.9, "Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	The aria doesn't feature the da capo
Non ti minaccio sdegno		Strada Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Lucia Facchinelli	I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	
Un raggio di speme		Bertolli [Hasse, *Dalisa* (Venice 1730), sung		

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1012)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		by Antonio Pasi on the words "Un raggio di stella"]		
Pensa di chi sei figlia		Senesino Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Nicolino Grimaldi	I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	
Non paventa del mar le procelle		*Montagnana* Porpora, *Siface* (Rome 1730), sung by Montagnana		
	La cervetta timidetta	Gismondi Vivaldi, *Giustino* (Rome 1724), sung by Giacinto Fontana	CH-Gc (R232 ms 10509)	The aria in the score is cut and replaced by the following one:
Priva del caro sposo		Gismondi Porpora, *Germanico* (Rome 1732), sung by Angelo Monticelli	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31603) S-SK (494:48a [1st set] 494:48b [score and 2nd set]) D-Hs (MB/1923) GB-WMl (Music Manuscript 10, "Aria. S^{r}a. Celeste, in Cato")	
Vaghe labra [labbra] voi fingete		Gismondi [Hasse, *Ulderica* (Naples 1729), sung by Carestini on the words "Vaghe labbra voi ridete"]	As "Vaghe labbra voi ridete": I-MC (2-F-15/17)	The aria in the libretto and score is replaced by the following one:
	Chi mi toglie il mio dolce compagno	Gismondi Hasse, *Attalo* (Naples 1728), sung by Merighi	I-MC (2-F-15/3c) D-Hs (ms MB/1923) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 4262, n. 23)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1012)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			B-Bc (ms 4101) I-Nc (Cantate 157/28, digitized on InternetCulturale) I-Mc (Noseda O.41.12; Noseda A.50.11)	
È follia se nascondete		Strada Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Lucia Facchinelli	I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	
Mi conosci e sai chi sono		Senesino Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Nicolino Grimaldi		
Vaghe luci, luci belle		Bertolli [Vivaldi, *Ipermestra* (Florence 1727), sung by Lucia Lancetti]	US-BEm (ms 13)	
Agitato da più venti		Montagnana [Vivaldi?]		
	[Di tenero affetto]	Strada Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Lucia Facchinelli	I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	Cut in the score
Care faci del ben mio		Gismondi ?		The aria in the libretto and score is replaced by the following one:

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1012)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sento in riva all'atre sponde	Gismondi Hasse, *Attalo* (Naples 1728), sung by Merighi	D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1979, n. 27; SANT Hs 4262, n. 22) I-Nc (Cantate 157/25, digitized on InternetCulturale) I-Mc (Noseda A.26.18)	The aria is marked at the top "2d act" (in English!)
So che nascondi		Montagnana Vivaldi, *Orlando* (Venice 1727), sung by Gaetano Pinetti on the workds "Benché nasconda"	As "Benché nasconda": D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-516 [score]; Mus. 2477-F-516a [parts], digitized) PL-Wu (ms RM 5047, contrafactum "Nato pastor pro me melos")	According to Strohm, "inserted later"
Dovea svenarti allora		Senesino Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Nicolino Grimaldi	I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	
So che godendo vai		Strada Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Lucia Facchinelli	I-Mc (Noseda A.26.17)? I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	
Fra tanti pensieri		Gismondi Hasse, *Demetrio* (Venice 1732), sung by Bordoni	S-Skma (T-SE-R; Alströmer saml. 157:7) GB-Mp (ms BRm410Hh35) D-ROu (ms. Mus.Saec.XVIII:40|1|1) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-108)	
Confusa smarrita spiegarti vorrei		Strada Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Lucia	I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1012)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		Facchinelli [although, according to RISM, it does not seem like it is from Leo's *Catone*]		
Quando piomba improvvisa saetta		Bertolli [Porpora, *Poro* (Turin 1731), sung by Anna Bagnolesi]		
È ver che all'amo intorno		*Montagnana* [Porpora, *Poro* (Turin 1731), sung by Montagnana]		
	[unknown aria]	Gismondi		According to Strohm and Clausen there should be an "unknown aria" here, although there is no trace of it in the score
Vede il nocchier la sponda		Gismondi Hasse, *Euristeo* (Venice 1732), sung by Caffarelli	D-RH (Ms 306) CZ-Pnm (ms XL A 313, contrafactum as "Huc prata date flores") GB-Lbl (R.M.22.d.25./17) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1981, n. 11) D-W (Cod. Guelf. 302 Mus. Hdschr., Nr. 3) B-Bc (ms 5060) I-Rc (ms 2252)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1012)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Per darvi alcun pegno		Senesino Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Nicolino Grimaldi	I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	
	[Soffre talor del vento]	Strada Leo, *Catone* (Venice 1729), sung by Dom. Gizzi	GB-Lbl (ms R.M.23.c.16./4)? I-Vnm (Contarini 10350: (Arie Per Mandolino dell'Opera 2.a In S. Gio. Grisosto. 1729 Venezia")	There is a textual indication of the incipit at the end of the leaf preceding the aria, which is not included in the score nor the libretto. Instead there is the following one:
Vo solcando un mar crudele		Strada Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Carestini	B-Bc (ms 12614; ms 4956) GB-Lbl (ms R.M.23.f.2./16.; R.M.23.e.2./30.; ms. Add. 31592; ms. Add. 14219; ms. Add. 24307) D-KA (Mus. Hs. 1028) I-MC (6-E-10/17; 6-B-20/4; 6-B-20/9; 6-B-20/12f) CH-Gc (R 232 ms 10530) D-B (Mus.ms. 22375/5; Mus.ms.22375/8) D-W (Cod. Guelf. 301 Mus. Hdschr., Nr. 17) S-Skma (T-SE-R) D-Hs (ms MA/681, n. 9) DK-Kk (ms mu 6411.0430) D-SWl (ms Mus. 5544/4) US-BEm (ms 870; ms 120; ms 27) US-Wc (ms ML96.H83) GB-Lfom (2541) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1012)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			I-Mc (Noseda A.26.24? Noseda A-50-15i) I-Nc (Arie 616/17; Arie 614/1; Cantate 304/03, 304/05, 304/13 these three digitized on InternetCulturale) I-Bc (Ms.Mart.2.88/3) I-Rc (Ms. 2558/17)	

Semiramide riconosciuta

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia	Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730)		
Non so se più t'accendi		Durastanti	US-SFsc (*M2.1 M530; *M2.5 v. 54)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Giacinto Fontana	D-Hs (ND VI 1078/2) US-Fay (Quarto 532 MS 3) I-Rc (Mss. 2772/1) GB-Lam (ms 134) GB-Cfm (MU.MS.13)	
Scherza il nocchier talora		Carestini "Del signor Francesco Corselli" (in the score)	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31674)	
Che quel cor quel ciglio altero		Strada Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729)	US-SFsc (*M2.5 v. 54; *M2.1 M528) US-BEm (ms 120) I-Nc (Arie 614/23) Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.633; MU.MS.13)	
Trovo ch'è gran follia		Caterina Negri Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Domenico Annibali on the words "Non sempre oprar"	As "Non sempre oprar": S-Smka (T-SE-R) PL-Wu (ms RM 5413, contrafactum on the words "O dulcis amor Jesu") I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) S-L (Saml.Wenster M:56)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Bel piacer saria d'un core		*Scalzi* Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Scalzi	US-SFsc (*M2.5 v. 54) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 182, n. 1) D-Hs (ms MA/1243, n. 4 and 11) B-Bc (ms 15178/7) I-Rc (ms 2772/6)	The aria is copied twice in the score, in two different keys (the second being marked "Ex D. Un mezzo tuono più basso")
Pensa ad amare		Rosa Negri ?	Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.633)	
	[unknown aria]	Carestini		There is only the last page of this aria left in the score, and it contains the words "quanto è grande il mio goder". The aria is replaced by the following one (both in libretto and score):
Dal labro [labbro] tuo vezzoso		*Carestini* [Hasse, *Antigona* (Milan 1732), sung by Carestini] [or, more likely, Hasse, *L'Erminia*]	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31595; ms. Add. 31572) D-Hs (ND VI 1078/1) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e.11) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1982, n. 3) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3) GB-Lfom (1301)?	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Ti credo a me pietoso		Strada [Hasse, *Arminio* (Milan 1730), sung by Bordoni on the words "Potresti esser pietoso"]		The aria is crossed on the first page
	Voi non sapete quanto	Durastanti Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Giacinto Fontana	US-SFsc (*M2.5 v. 54)	The aria is cut out in the score, but has no replacement in it. The following one is present in the libretto only:
Se colle vostre lacrime		Durastanti ?		
Rondinella a cui rapita		*Scalzi* Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Scalzi	I-Mc (Mus. Tr. ms. 1318) CH-Gc (R 232 ms. 10516) D-B (Mus. Ms. 22380/5) US-SFsc (*M2.5 v. 54) D-Hs (ND VI 1078/2) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 182, n. 7) GB-Lam (ms 134) I-Mc (Noseda A.34.16) I-Rc (Mss. 2772/7)	The aria is copied twice in the score, in two different keys (the second being marked "Ex C.")
Mi disprezzi ingrato core		Strada	As "Dolce rieda":	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		[Hasse, *Arminio* (Milan 1730), sung by Bordoni on the words "Dolce rieda"]	D-Mbs (Mus.ms. 141) I-MC (2-F-17/17e) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-107) PL-Wu (ms RM 4456, contrafactum as "Scintillate chara stella")	
	[unknown aria]			There is only the first and last page of this aria left in the score, and it contains the words "non sa paventar". The aria is replaced by the following one (both in libretto and score):
Il cor che sdegnato		Carestini Feo, *Ipermestra* (Rome 1728), sung by Carestini [or Giacomelli?]	I-Mc (Noseda L.24.8, "Alibert 1728 Del Sig.re Francesco Feo") I-Rc (ms 2768) I-MC (6-E-5/22, "Del Sig.r Gemiano Jacomelli | Fatto in S. Bartolomeo | 1736")	
Saper bramate		Caterina Negri Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Berenstadt	US-SFsc (*M2.5 v. 54) I-Nc (Arie 614/6) Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.633; MU.MS.13)	
Saria piacer non pena	Sarà piacer non pena	Scalzi	D-Hs (ND VI 2651/26, "1732 | Il	The aria is copied twice in the score, in two

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		Leo, *Demetrio* (Naples 1732), sung by Teresa Cotti [or Giaj, *Demetrio*?]	Demetrio | Musica | Del Sigr: Gio: Ant:o Giay")	different keys (the second being marked "Ex B.")
	[unknown aria]	Caterina Negri		Indicated as such in Strohm, but no trace of replacement in the score
D'amor trafitto sei		Rosa Negri Leo, *Argeno* (Venice 1728), sung by Farinelli on the words "Mio cor tradito sei"	As "Mio cor tradito sei": D-MÜs (SANT Hs 2360) I-PAc (Sanvitale Sanv.A.56)	
Fiumicel che s'ode appena		*Scalzi* Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Scalzi	US-SFsc (*M2.1 M529) I-Rama (A.Ms.3702)	The aria is marked "Ex F."
Tortorella abbandonata		Strada Sarro, *Artemisia* (Naples 1731), sung by Cuzzoni	I-Nc (Cantate 252)	
Tradita sprezzata		Durastanti Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Giacinto Fontana	D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 23) GB-Cfm (MU.MS.13) B-Bc (ms 15178/9) I-TLp (?)	
	[Passagier che su la sponda]	Carestini Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729)		Cut and replaced by the following one:

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Peregrin che in erma arena		*Carestini* Hasse, *Attalo* (Naples 1728), sung by Carestini	Us-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 2) B-Bc (ms 5370) I-MC (2-F-15/4 and 18) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1981, n. 18; SANT Hs 4262, n. 21))	
	[unknown aria]			there is a lacuna in the score that probably corresponded to an aria that was then cut
Il nocchier che vana ogn'opra	Qual nocchier che vana ogn'opra	Caterina Negri Feo, *Andromaca* (Rome 1730), sung by Annibali		
In braccio a mille furie		*Scalzi* Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Scalzi	US-SFsc (*M2.5 v. 54) GB-Lam (ms 134) GB-Cfm (MU.MS.13) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 182, n.2) D-Hs /(ms MA/1243, n. 4 and 11) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3) I-Rc (ms. 2772/2)	The aria is copied twice in the score, in two different keys (the second being marked "Ex C.")
	[unknown aria]	Caterina Negri		There is only the last page of this aria left in the

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
				score, and it contains the words "far ad insultar". The aria is replaced by the following one (both in libretto and score):
Avvezzo alla catena		Rosa Negri Hasse, *Demetrio* (Venice 1732), sung by Appiani on the words "Non sembra ardito e fiero"	GB-Mp (BRm410Hh35) A-LA (ms 487, contrafactum as "Jam vieta prostrata")	
Fuggi dagl'occhi miei		Durastanti Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Giacinto Fontana	GB-Cfm (MU.MS.13)	
Se in campo armato		*Carestini* Vinci, *Catone* (Rome 1728), sung by Carestini	Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.633) GB-Lam (ms 134) I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3) I-Vnm (Contarini 10350, arrang. mandolino) I-Mc (Noseda R.7.4) I-Rc (Mss. 2773/7) I-TLp (?) I-IBborromeo (?)	
Per far che risplenda		Strada Hasse, *Tigrane* (Naples 1729), sung	Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.633)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1051)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		by Mazzoni on the words "Se brami che splenda"	As "Se brami che splenda": I-MC (2-F-17/11e) PL-Wu (ms RM 4461, contrafactum as "Qui expers poenarum") I-Vc (ms Correr Busta 43.1)	
Un'aura placida di bella speme		*Carestini* [Porta, *Gianguir* (Milan 1732), sung by Carestini]		
Coro: Viva lieta e sia reina				

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia	?		
In così lieto giorno		Caterina Negri Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Alessandro Veroni		
Vedi l'amata figlia		Carestini Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Caffarelli	S-Uu (Vok. mus. i hs. 56:12, digitized?; Gimo 162) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31592; ms. Add. 31602; ms. Add. 31603; R.M.23.d.8./24.) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e. 7) GB-WMl (Music Manuscript 10) I-Rama (A.Ms.3704) CZ-Pak (ms 462, contrafactum as "Pensa vitae mortalis caducas") US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 1) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1982, Nr. 19) D-Hs (ND VI 2918, Nr. 24) D-Dl (Mus.1-F-28,7; Mus.1-F-28,7a; Mus.2477-F-109,9) D-B (ms SA 1361) I-MC (2-F-16/4) B-Bc (ms 4172) S-Skma (Musik Rar) I-Nc (32.2.20 *olim* Cantate Ibride 22; Cantate 156/11, digitized;) I-Vnm (ms 12788) I-Mc (Noseda Q.7.12)	The aria is replaced by the following one:
	Fissa ne' sguardi miei	Carestini [Hasse, *Ulderica* (Naples 1729), sung by Antonio Bernacchi]	I-Vc (Torrefranca Ms.B. 10, digitized; Correr Busta 43.1) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31601) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e. 10; Ms. Mus. e. 11)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			D-Hs (ND VI 2918, Nr. 13) US-PHu (faC7.H7777.A837c v.15) US-Wc (ML96.H83) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-118; Mus.1-F-124) D-MEIr (ms Ed 129p)	
Il trono il regno		Strada Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Angelo Monticelli	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31603) S-Skma (T-SE-R) B-Bc (ms 4125)	
Non ti ricuso amante		Caterina Negri Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Felice Salimbeni	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31603) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1982, Nr. 23) D-B (ms SA 1541/2) D-Hhg (ms Hg 205) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,11)	The aria is replaced by the following one:
	Vezzi lusinghe e sguardi	Durastanti Hasse, *Tigrane* (Naples 1729), sung by Teresa Pieri	D-MEIr (ms Ed 129p)	
Scherza talor sul prato		Scalzi Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by A. Fontana		The aria (whose first page is still present in the score, with the indication "Ex. D# Una Terza più Bassa") is

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
				replaced by the following one:
	Per amor se il cor sospira	Scalzi Vinci, *Astianatte* (Naples 1725), sung by Farinelli	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 24307)	
Reca la pace in dono		Carestini Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Caffarelli	B-Bc (ms 4149) D-B (Mus.ms. 9542) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,5, digitized; Mus.2477-F-11) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31602, 31603, 14180; R.M.23.d.8/22) S-Skma (T-SE-R)	The aria is replaced by the following one:
	Quando verrà quel giorno	Carestini ?		
Caro sposo amato oggetto		Strada Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Angelo Monticelli	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31592; ms. Add. 31595; ms. Add. 31602) I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,10)	
Amor a lei giurasti	Amore a lei giurasti	Durastanti Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1729), sung by Salimbeni	Gb-Ob (Ms. Mus. e. 10) GB-Lbl (R.M.23.d.8./18.) S-Skma (T-SE-R) D-Hs (ND VI 968)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			D-Dl (Mus.2477-E-527, contrafactum as "Schon längst gewünschte Stunden")	
Non ha più pace l'amor geloso		Carestini Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Caffarelli	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31592; ms. Add. 31595) I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) S-Skma (T-SE-R) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,7) I-Nc (Cantate 156/13, digitized)	
Giovani cori amanti		Rosa Negri Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Felice Checacci	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 14180) I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) S-Skma (T-SE-R)	
	Non sempre oprar	G. Waltz Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Domenico Annibali	S-Smka (T-SE-R) PL-Wu (ms RM 5413, contrafactum on the words "O dulcis amor Jesu") I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) S-L (Saml.Wenster M:56)	The aria is cut in the score. [see *Semiramide*]
	[unknown aria; possibly "Lungi dagl'occhi tuoi"]			The only indication of the presence of an aria here is the beginning of a new gathering in the conducting score. The aria was replaced by the following one:

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Troppo fiere disdegnose		Scalzi [Corselli, *Venere placata* (Venice 1731), sung by Pietro Murigi]		
	[unknown aria; possibly "Se tu non senti oh Dio"]			The only indication of the presence of an aria here is the beginning of a new gathering in the conducting score. The aria was replaced by the following one:
Al foco del mio amore		*Carestini* [Albinoni, *La fortezza al cimento* (Milan 1729), sung by Carestini]		
Non mi chiamar crudele		Strada Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Angelo Monticelli	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 14180; ms. Add. 31595) D-ROu (Mus.Saec.XVIII:40|5|,|6) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 1) I-MC (2-F-15/3h) D-Hs (ND VI 2918, Nr. 18) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,13) B-Bc (ms 4134) S-L (Saml.Engelhart 573) I-Rc (Mss. 2767/7)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Nocchier che teme assorto		Scalzi Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by A. Fontana	D-SWl (Mus.2494) D-B (ms SA 1363) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-508 and Mus.2477-E-502, contrafactum as "O was empfind' ich heute") CZ-KU (Hr 328, contrafactum as "Cantate Deo laudes") CZ-Pu (59 R 4540, contrafactum as "Amati quaeso montes") I-Mc (Noseda Q.7.11)	In the score, under the "Corno Primo" staff, there is an indication: "French Horns a Note higher. Ex C." Parts of the orchestral introduction are crossed out.
	[unknown aria; possibly "Sarà vezzosa"]	Durastanti Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1729), sung by Veroni		The only indication of the presence of an aria here is the beginning of a new gathering in the conducting score. The aria was replaced by the following one:
E' grande e bella quella mercede		Caterina Negri Anonymous (Naples, c. 1725), on the words "Non sempre torna"		
Volgi a me gl'affetti tuoi		Durastanti Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1729), sung by Salimbeni	S-Skma (T-SE-R) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1981, Nr. 13) I-Rama (A.Ms.3721) D-B (ms SA 1361)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			D-Dl (Mus.1-F-123) I-Rc (ms. 2253/9)	
Quella è mia figlia e 'l mio	Quella è mia figlia il mio	G. Waltz Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Domenico Annibali	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31592) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e.11) S-Skma (T-SE-R) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 2) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,1)	
Vedrai morir costante		Carestini Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Caffarelli	S-Skma (T-SE-R) Gb-Lbl (ms. Add. 31602; ms. Add. 31603; R.M.23.d.8./17.) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1981, Nr. 17) D-B (ms SA 1575/5) I-MC (2-F-16/20a) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,8) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 1) I-Gl (B. 2b.45.A.7.19)	
Lo sposo va a morte		Strada Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Angelo Monticelli	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31601) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1981, Nr. 15) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,6)	
Varcherò le flebil onde	Varcherò la flebil onda	Scalzi Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by A. Fontana	As "Varcherò la flebil onda": I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-109,3)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1011)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			I-Nc (Arie 379.21 and 22; Cantate 156/09, all digitized)	
Vorrei da lacci sciogliere		Carestini Leo, *Demetrio* (Naples 1732), sung by Teresa Cotti	I-Nc (Noseda A.26.25) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 2361a, Nr. 29) US-Wc (M1505.L56 D4) US-BEm (ms 120) D-Dl (Mus.1-F-28,8)	
Coro: Con la pace le grazie e il piacere		[not by Hasse]		

Arbace

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia	?		
Conservati fedele		Strada Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Giacinto Fontana	CH-N (XB obl. 219, Ms.9759) CH-Gc (R 232, Ms.10522) D-B (Mus.ms. 22375/5) D-Hs (ms MA/681, n. 5) GB-Lbl (R.M.23.f.2./10.; ms. Add. 31593) GB-Cfm (MU.MS.13) GB-Lfom (2541) H-Gk (AMC, V. 7/1,2, contrafactum as "Ad festa convolate") I-Bc (MS.MART.2.88/13) I-Gl (B.2b.45.A.7.19) I-Mc (Noseda R.7.5) I-MC (6-B-20/10k) I-Rc (ms 2773/8) US-BEm (ms 870)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3)	
Fra cento affanni e cento		*Carestini* Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Carestini	B-Bc (ms 4942) D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 5) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31592) I-Mc (Noseda R.7.6; Noseda L.40.9) I-MC (6-B-20/12i) I-Rc (ms 2558/11; ms 2773/13) US-BEm (ms 870) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3)	
Per pietà bell'idol mio		Scalzi Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Raffaele Signorini	CZ-Pak (ms 1351, contrafactum as "Jesu meta fons amoris") D-Hs (ms MA/678, nr. 6; ms MA/681, n. 6)) GB-Lbl (R.M.23.f.2./13.) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e. 8; Ms. Mus. e.11) I-Mc (Noseda ?) I-Mcom (Mus. Var. 944) I-MC (6-B-20/10h) S-Skma (Alströmer saml. 170:22) US-BEm (ms 869)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			US-Wc (ML96.H83)	
Bramar di perdere		Caterina Negri Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Giuseppe Appiani	CZ-Pu (59 R 4526, contrfactum as "Nulla culpa laevi ora") D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 14) GB-Lbl (R.M.23.f.2./11.) S-Skma (T-SE-R)	
Deh respirar lasciatemi		Scalzi Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Raffaele Signorini	B-Bc (ms 5143) CH-N (XB obl. 218, Ms.9760) D-B (Mus.ms. 22375/5) D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 7) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31603; R.M.23.f.2.(12.)) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e.11) I-Bc (MS.MART.2.88/10) I-Mc (Noseda A.25.10; Noseda N. 22.2) I-MC (6-B-20/10j) I-Nc (Arie 84/01, digitized; Arie 616/26; Arie 689/34 and 35) I-Rc (ms 2773/6) US-BEm (ms 870) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3) US-Wc (M1505.V64 A6; ML96.H83)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Non ti son padre		Durastanti Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Francis Tolve	B-Bc (ms 5147) D-B (Mus.ms. 22375/5) I-Mc (Noseda A.25.27) I-Nc (34.5.24)	
Impallidsce ingrato		Strada Hasse, *Issipile* (Naples 1732), sung by Lucia Fachinelli on the words "Impallidisce in campo"		
Vo solcando un mar crudele		*Carestini* Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Carestini cf. *Catone*	cf. *Catone*	The aria is featured in the score only with the first page. It is there replaced by the following one:
	Son qual nave ch'agitata	Carestini Hasse, *Artaserse* [Lucca 1730 or Venice 1729], sung by [Farinelli]?		It is unlikely that this is the same aria from the Lucca's version of *Artaserse*, given that probably Farinelli sang the setting by his brother Riccardo for this particular aria, the same that was then used in London in 1734. Randall Scotting attributes "Son qual nave" to Giaj's *Mitridate* (Venice 1729)

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Rendimi il caro amico		Scalzi Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Raffaele Signorini	D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 1) GB-Lfom (2541) I-Rama (A.Ms.3702)	
Mi scacci sdegnato		*Carestini* Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Carestini	D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 9; ms MA/681, n. 10) GB-Ob (MS. Mus. Sch. B.8*) GB-WMl (Music Manuscript 10) I-Bc (MS.MART.2.88/4) I-MC (6-B-20/10g) I-Rc (ms 2773/9) US-BEm (ms 870) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3)	The aria is fully featured in the score. It is then followed by a few lines of recitative (repeated from before) and another aria, which is the following:
	Caro padre ah forse è questo	*Carestini* Porta, *Lucio Papirio* (Rome 1732), sung by Carestini	B-Bc (ms 4677) D-Hs (ND VI 1078/1) US-BEm (ms 459)	
Non temer ch'io mai ti dica		Rosa Negri Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Giovanni Ossi	D-Hs (ms Ma 681/11) I-TLp (?)	
Se d'un amor tiranno		Strada Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730),	B-Bc (ms 4949) D-Hs (ms MA/681, n. 13)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		sung by Giacinto Fontana	D-Rtt (Prota 4) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31593; R.M.23.f.2./14.) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e.11) GB-Cfm (MU.MS.13) I-Bc (MS.MART.2.88/5) I-Nc (Arie 616/12) I-Rc (ms 2558/14) I-Rama (A.Ms.3702/14) S-Uu (Leufsta Mus. ms. 37, arrang. pf) US-BEm (ms 870)	
Per quel paterno amplesso		*Carestini* Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Carestini	B-Nimep (ms 255) D-Hs (ms MA/681, n. 15) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31602; R.M.23.f.2./15; R.M.23.e.2./31) Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.13) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e.11; MS. Mus. Sch. B.8*, arrang. keyboard) I-Bc (MS.MART.2.88/9) I-Fc (D.I. 208) I-Gl (B.2b.45 A.7.19) I-Mc (Noseda R.7.9; Noseda L.39.31) I-MC (6-B-20/12l) I-Biblioteca San Giorgio, Pistoia (?)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			I-Rama (A.Ms.3702/4) I-Rc (ms 2773/3) I-TLp (?) J-Tk (ms S10-891-5) US-BEm (ms 869) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3) US-SFsc (*M2.1 M519) US-Wc (M1497.H13 Case)	
Parto se vuoi così		Strada [? Strohm?] [Albinoni] [Hasse, *Issipile* (Naples 1732)]	B-Bc (ms 4142) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1980, Nr. 1) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31603; R.M.22.d.25./4) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e. 10) I-Mc (Noseda A.26.4, attr. Albinoni) I-MC (2-F-15/3e) I-Nc (Cantate 3/17, attr. Albinoni, digitized; Arie 374, attr. Leo, digitized; Arie 375) I-PLcon (Pisani 29) I-Vc (Correr Busta 43.1) SI-Mpa (SI_PAM/1857/010/00010) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 1)	There is a sign of crossing on the last leaf in the score.

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Per quell'affetto che l'incatena	Caterina Negri [? Strohm?] [Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730)]	D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 19; ms MA 681/16) D-SWl (Mus.2479) GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31601; R.M.23.f.2./17) GB-Lfom (2541) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e.11) I-MC (6-B-20/10l) I-Nc (Arie 616/20) I-Rama (A.Ms.3702) I-Rc (ms 2558/13; ms 2773/5) I-TLp ()?) S-Skma (T-SE-R) US-BEm (ms 869)	The aria is added in the score at the end of scene II.12
	Non conosco in tal momento	Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Raffaele Signorini		There is just one crossed out leaf that corresponds to the last one of the aria, containing the words "in me l'amore in te necessità". The aria is to be replaced by the following one, both in the libretto and the score:
Potessi al mio diletto		Scalzi Hasse, *Dalisa* (Venice 1730),	As "Se fosse il mio diletto": B-Bc (ms 5069)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		sung by Bordoni on the words "Se fosse il mio diletto"	D-Dl (Mus.2477-F-107) D-Mbs (Mus. Ms. 141) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1981, Nr. 4) I-MC (2-F-17/17c) I-Nc (Cantate Ibride 22; Cantate 156/06, digitized)	
Così stupisce e cade		Durastanti Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Francis Tolve	B-Bc (ms 15178/12) D-B (Mus.ms. 22375/5) I-MC (6-B-20/12d; 6-B-20/5) I-Nc (Arie 614/24) I-Rama (A.Ms.3702) I-Rc (ms 2513/19) US-BEm (ms 870)	
Perché tarda è mai la morte		*Carestini* Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Carestini	D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 11)	
	[Nuvoletta opposta al sole]	Scalzi Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Raffaele Signorini		given that on 120*v* there is a system left blank with three sharps and the soprano clef, Clausen assumes—and he's probably right—that the initial plan was to have here (instead of later) Vinci's aria

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
				"Nuvoletta opposta al sole" (which is in E+ with three sharps), only to be later subsituted with Hasse's "Se l'amor tuo mi rendi"
Se l'amor tuo mi serbi	Se l'amor tuo mi rendi	Scalzi Hasse, *Siroe* (Bologna 1733), sung by Farinelli	Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.633) B-Bc (ms 5401) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1975) S-Skma (T-SE-R)	
L'onda dal mar divisa		*Carestini* Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Carestini	CH-SAf (Musikbibl.Anon 175, Ms.7100) D-Hs (ms MA/681, n. 12) D-SWl (Mus.167) GB-Lam (ms 137) GB-Lbl (R.M.23.f.2./18.) I-Rc (ms 2558/15) S-Skma (T-SE-R) US-BEm (ms 870) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3)	
Figlio se più non vivi		Durastanti Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Francis Tolve	I-MC (6-B-20/12h) I-Rama (A.Ms.3702) US-BEm (ms 869) US-FAy (Quarto 532 MS 3)	

Arias	Arias (from score, D-Hs, MA/1004)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
Mi credi spietata		Strada Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Giacinto Fontana	D-Hs (ms MA/678, n. 18; ms MA/681, n. 14) I-Nc (Cantate 304/12, digitized) US-BEm (ms 869)	
Duet: Tu vuoi ch'io vivi o cara	Duet: Tu vuoi ch'io viva o cara	Strada + *Carestini* Vinci, *Artaserse* (Rome 1730), sung by Fontana + Carestini	I-Biblioteca San Giorgio, Pistoia (?) I-Nc (Cantate 304/08, 09 and 10, digitized) Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.13)	
Son qual nave che agitata		[Broschi?]		The aria is present in the libretto at this point, (just before the Coro), but not in the score (where it's placed at the end of act 1), where it is replaced by the following one:
	Di te degno non sarei	*Carestini* Porta, *Lucio Papirio* (Rome 1732), sung by Carestini	Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.633) D-Hs (ND VI 1078/1) GB-Lbl (R.M.23.d.8./15.)	
Coro: Giusto re la Persia adora				

Didone abbandonata

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add.MS. 31607)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
	Sinfonia	Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726)		
Ahi lasso vorrei		Conti ?		
Dirò che fida sei		Bertolli Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Finazzi	D-Hs (ms MA/679, n. 1; ms MA/1243, nr. 8) I-PEsp (M CXXVIII/17) I-Rama (A.Ms.3705) PL-Wu (RM 4457/18, contrafactum as "Non curo voluptates") S-Skma (T-SE-R)	
Son Reina e son amante	Son regina e sono amante	Strada	GB-Lam (ms 134)	

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add.MS. 31607)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Fontana	GB-Lbl (ms. Add. 31605) I-Rama (A.Ms.3705) US-NYp (JOG 72-29, vol. 9)	
Grato rende il fiumicello		Caterina Negri Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Franchi		
Fra lo splendor del trono		Annibali Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Berenstadt		
Se dalle stelle		Beard Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Domenico Gizzi		cut in the score
Quando saprai chi sono		Conti Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Antonio Barbieri	CZ-Pak (ms 1449, contrafactum as "Quando mi Jesu care") D-Hs (ND VI 1078, n. 2) I-PEsp (M CXXVIII/17)	
Son quel fiume che gonfio d'umori		Annibali Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Berenstadt	GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. d. 4) I-Rama (A.Ms.3705)	
Non ha ragione ingrato		Strada Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Fontana	B-Bc (ms 4944) CZ-Pak (ms 1461, contrafactum as "Non tardes cor meum")	

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add.MS. 31607)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
			D-Hs (ms MA/1243, nr. 15) GB-Lam (ms 134) GB-Ob (Ms. Mus. e. 7)	
Tra fieri opposti venti		*Conti* [Leo, *Demetrio* (Naples 1732), sung by Gioacchino Conti on the words "Scherza il nocchier talora"]		
Leon ch'errando vada		Annibali Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Berenstadt		
Tanto amor sì bella fede		Bertolli Vinci, *Semiramide* (Rome 1729), sung by Pietro Murigi on the words "Ei d'amor quasi delira"	As "Ei d'amor quasi delira": Gb-Cfm (MU.MS.13) GB-Lam (ms 134) I-Rama (A.Ms.3709) I-Rc (ms 2772/9) I-TLp (?)	
Amor che nasce colla speranza		Beard Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Domenico Gizzi	B-Bc (ms 4935)	
Se vuoi ch'io mora mio dolce amore		Strada Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Fontana		
Vedi nel mio perdono		Conti		Printed smaller in the libretto

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add.MS. 31607)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Antonio Barbieri		
Sono intrepido nell'alma		Conti Giacomelli, *Annibale* (Rome 1731), sung by Angelo Monticelli on the words "Per te perdo il mio contento"	As "Per te perdo il mio contento": B-Bc (ms 4010) D-W (Cod. Guelf. 301 Mus. Hdschr., Nr. 22) Gb-Lbl (R.M.23.e.2./20.) I-IBborromeo (?) I-PLcom (Pisani 22) S-Skma (T-SE-R) US-BEm (ms 460)	Printed smaller in the libretto
Chiamami pur così		Annibali Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Berenstadt	B-Bc (ms 4939) I-Fc (D.I.183)	Printed smaller in the libretto
Ritorna a lusingarmi		Strada Vivaldi, *Griselda* (Venice 1735), sung by Margherita Giacomazzi		Printed smaller in the libretto
Mi tradì l'infida sorte		Annibali Ristori, "Quel pastor che udendo al sono"		see Roberts 1987
Quando l'onda che nasce dal monte		Caterina Negri Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Franchi		cut in the score
A trionfar mi chiama		Conti	As "Vede il nocchier la sponda", cfr. *Catone*	

Arias	Arias (from score, GB-Lbl, Add.MS. 31607)	Singers, and possible 'provenance' from Strohm 1985 (name of the singer in italics if it is the same, parenthesis for inferred info)	Other Manuscripts	Notes
		Hasse, *Euristeo* (Venice 1732), sung by Caffarelli on the words "Vede il nocchier la sponda" cf. *Catone*		
Ch'io viva! Ma come?	Ch'io resti! Ch'io viva! Ma come?	Bertolli Hasse, *Issipile* (Naples 1732), sung by Lucia Fachinelli on the words "Ch'io speri! Ma come?"	As "Ch'io speri ma come": D-Hs (ND VI 2918, Nr. 5) D-MÜs (SANT Hs 1980, Nr. 4)	
Va crescendo il mio tormento		Strada Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Fontana		
Già si desta la tempesta		Strada Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Gizzi		
Cadrà fra poco in cenere		*Annibali* Hasse, *Caio Fabricio* (Rome 1732), sung by Annibali on the words "Non sempre oprar da forte" cf. *Semiramide* and *Caio Fabricio*	As "Non sempre oprar da forte", cfr. *Semiramide* and *Caio Fabricio*	
Vado ma dove oh Dio		Strada Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726), sung by Fontana	B-Bc (ms 4939)	
[Finale *accompagnato*]		Vinci, *Didone abbandonata* (Rome 1726)		

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