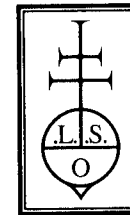


L'ORATORIO MUSICALE ITALIANO E I SUOI CONTESTI

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a cura di
PAOLA BESUTTI



FIRENZE
LEO S. OLSCHKI EDITORE
MMII

LOWELL LINDGREN

ORATORIOS SUNG IN ITALIAN AT LONDON, 1734-82

*dedicated to the beloved
memory of Nino Pirrotta*

According to the unidentified author of *See and Seem Blind* (1732), the London production of «a new Thing» called *Esther* «set the whole World a Madding; Han't you been at the *Oratorio*, says one? Oh! If you don't see the *Oratorio* you see nothing, says t'other; so away goes I to the *Oratorio*, where I saw indeed the finest Assembly of People I ever beheld in my Life».¹ The initial success experienced by this «new Thing» must have greatly encouraged the performance of oratorios, sixty of which were produced publicly in 1732-83 (see Table 1).² In 1732, the author of *See and Seem Blind* damned two of Handel's Italian singers, Senesino and Bertolli, by saying that he would have preferred to hear them sing Italian rather than fractured English, which

¹ *See and Seem Blind: or, A Critical Dissertation on the Publick Diversions, &c.* [1732], facs. rpt. with an introduction by Robert D. Hume, Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1986 («The Augustan Reprint Society», 235), p. 15. The success of *Esther* in 1732 is also mentioned in [JAMES BRAMSTON,] *The Man of Taste*, London, J. Wright for Lawton Gulliver, 1733, p. 13, and *The Woman of Taste*, London, J. Batley, 1733, pp. 8-9; facsimile reproductions of both are in *Early Eighteenth Century Essays on Taste*, introduction by Thomas B. Gilmore, jr., Delmar, NY, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1972.

² Another twelve dating from 1755-83 are found on two slightly different lists published by Eva Zöllner. Her first list is in EVA ZÖLLNER, *English Oratorio after Handel*, «A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music», V, 1996, pp. 21-39: 38-39, her second is in EAD. *Das englische Oratorium nach Händel: Von John Christopher Smith bis Samuel Arnold*, in *Aspekte der englisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. v. Friedhelm Brusniak und Annemarie Clostermann, Sinzig, Studio, 1997, pp. 97-110: 107-108. These twelve are *not* listed on Table 1, because they were not (so far as I know) produced publicly in London before 1784. Another «English oratorio» that was apparently not produced publicly is «*David* by Sign. [Niccolò] Pasquali», for which a two-volume score survives in GB-Lcm 464. Pasquali (1718-57) was in London in 1743-47, in Dublin in 1748-52, in London briefly in 1750 and 1752, and in Edinburgh in 1752-57; see PHILIP H. HIGH-FILL, jr., KALMAN A. BURNIM and EDWARD A. LANGHANS, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 16 vols., Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-93, vol. XI, pp. 231-232.

«might as well have been *Hebrew*».³ When Handel utilized Italian singers from his opera company for oratorio performances of 1734-44, they often sang their roles in Italian rather than English (Table 2). In 1734-82, nine works – including one by Handel – were produced entirely in Italian, while three settings – two by Italian composers – of adaptations of Metastasio's libretti were produced in English translation (Table 3). The following summation of the first half-century for the «new Thing» in London will place it within the context of London's theatrical season, survey religious, political and satirical opposition to it, then comment upon some notable features of the works listed on Table 3. This survey must end in 1783, because the Handel commemorations of 1784-91 in Westminster Abbey and other huge venues drastically changed Londoners' concept of the genre. For example, the five celebratory events of 1784 included four «spiritual concerts» – which consisted entirely of selections from Handel's output – and one rendition of *Messiah*. At the Abbey, there were approximately 525 performers,⁴ which is about ten times more than the number heard in any previous London production.

I. HOW THE «NEW THING» FIT WITHIN LONDON'S THEATRICAL SEASON

How could a genre devised for an Italian oratory fit into a theatrical season? The author of *See and Seem Blind* does not help us, because the genre was not yet associated with the Lenten season,⁵ and the writer dismissed it as «a Religious Farce, for the duce take me if I can make any other Construction of the Word».⁶ A year later, oratorio was defined as «a new Name that Heideggre the Master of the Opera House gave to the Opera of *Hester*».⁷

³ *See and Seem Blind*, p. 16.

⁴ CHARLES BURNEY, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3d and 5th, 1784. In Commemoration of Handel*, London, for the Benefit of the Musical Fund, 1785, plate VII and no. VIII. A different engraving of performers at the Abbey is given in THOMAS BUSBY, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes*, London, Clement, Knight and Lacy, 1825, frontispiece to vol. I. Large-scale oratorio performances had previously been featured at the «Three Choirs Meetings», held at Gloucester, Hereford or Worcester. Their Handel performances began with *Samson* on 14-15 September 1748; see OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1955, p. 653.

⁵ Handel produced *Esther* after Easter in 1732 and 1733, and he produced *Saul* before Lent in 1739. An earlier, private performance of *Esther* was given at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on 23 February 1732, which was Ash Wednesday as well as Handel's birthday; see WINTON DEAN, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, London, Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 204.

⁶ *See and Seem Blind*, p. 14. The passage cited is also in DEUTSCH, *Handel*, p. 300.

⁷ [JAMES BRAMSTON,] *The Man of Taste*, Dublin, George Faulkner, 1733, p. 13 n. This note was

The genre was defined respectfully by James Grassineau and John Lockman in 1740,⁸ then by Newburgh Hamilton in the preface to his 1743 text for Handel's *Samson*.⁹ But none of them explain how it fit into a theatrical season. Robert Maddison did so in his witty definition of 1763: «an Oratorio is a sort of sober, solemn entertainment; which, by way of mortification in Lent, is served up to the public on fish and soup days». These were the days when staged dramas were prohibited, namely, the eleven Wednesdays and Fridays between Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday, and the six days of Holy Week. Oratorios were also performed on other days in Lent, but were infrequently heard outside the boundaries of this penitential season.

Six of the nine works sung in Italian as well as all three translations of Italian works were first performed during Lent. Four works – by Porpora (Table 3, no. 1), Veracini (no. 3), Jommelli (no. 7) and J. C. Bach (no. 8) – were first heard on a Tuesday or Thursday. Two works and three adaptations – by Handel (Table 3, no. 2), Abel (no. 3bis), Hasse/Giardini (no. 4), Piccini/Arnold (no. 6bis), and Jommelli (no. 7bis) – were first heard on a Wednesday or Friday. Two other works by Jommelli (nos. 5-6) and the one by Barthélémon (no. 9) were first mounted before or after Lent. No. 6 was performed for an unnamed charity, while no. 9 was given for the benefit of the composer and his wife.

Maddison noted that by 1763 oratorio performances included two exceptions to the concept of a musical drama in three parts. «The admirers of *Acis and Galathea*, and *Alexander's Feast*, have slyly slipped them in under the names of Oratorios, just as a good catholic friend of mine, who was a great lover of *Pork and Pease*, used to call it *Sturgeon* whenever he eat it in Lent». Likewise, «a bundle of diverting songs and choirs, tied together, with a little

added in the Dublin reprint of the London edition. For Johann Jakob Heidegger, see ELIZABETH GIBSON and WINTON DEAN, *ad vocem*, in *Grove opera*, vol. II, pp. 684-685.

⁸ JAMES GRASSINEAU, *A Musical Dictionary*, London, J. Wilcox, 1740, p. 168, and JOHN LOCKMAN, *Rosalinda, a Musical Drama [...] to which is prefixed: An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of Operas and Oratorios*, London, W. Strahan, 1740, pp. XX-XXIII. Grassineau's definition is an abbreviated translation of that found in SÉBASTIEN DE BROSSARD, *Dictionnaire de musique*, 2nd ed., Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1705, facs. ed. with introduction by HARALD HECKMANN, *Dictionarium Musicum*, Hilversum, Frits Knuf, 1965, vol. I, p. 68. Two Italian performances are described in EDWARD WRIGHT, *Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy, &c., in the Years 1720, 1721 and 1722*, London, Tho. Ward and E. Wicksteed, 1730, p. 449.

⁹ Cited in DEUTSCH, *Handel*, p. 559; HOWARD E. SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio, II. The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1977, p. 211; and ANTHONY HICKS, *Handel and the Idea of an Oratorio*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. by Donald Burrows, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 145-163: 158.

solemn nonsense», which was often advertised as a «concerto spirituale», was permitted on such days.¹⁰ When Handel gave the first such concert in 1738, his libretto was entitled *An Oratorio*. According to Charles Burney, that designation was inapt, for «it appears that this exhibition was miscellaneous; consisting of a mixture of sacred and profane, and English and Italian Airs and Recitatives, without the least connection either in the words or music».¹¹

How many audience members could attend an oratorio performance in 1732-83? Handel and his company first produced oratorios at the King's Theatre, where Italian operas were the usual fare, and the 'comfortable' capacity was less than 700.¹² According to *See and Seem Blind*, this theatre served as «their Oratory», because «H[andell] was plac'd in a Pulpit» (i.e. standing in front of a small organ or sitting in front of a harpsichord, perhaps on an elevated podium?), while the soloists sat beside him «in their own Habits», and «before him stood sundry sweet Singers of this our *Israel*».¹³ A similar description was written in March 1762: «On the [Covent-Garden] stage an amphitheatre is erected with a platform, on which all the musicians and singers have their seats, whilst the public sit in the same places as during the plays».¹⁴ Covent Garden Theatre, which was built in 1732, the year that public productions of oratorios began, normally held 1400.¹⁵ It housed spectacular productions of plays, pantomimes and operas, and in 1735-83 it was

¹⁰ [ROBERT MADDISON,] *An Examination of the Oratorios which have been performed this Season, at Covent-Garden Theatre*, London, G. Kearsly, R. Davis and J. Walter, 1763, pp. 3-4. The entire passage is cited in SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio, III. The Oratorio in the Classical Era*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1987, pp. 199-200.

¹¹ *Sketch of the Life of Handel*, in BURNNEY, *An Account of the Musical Performances*, p. 24 n.

¹² «A comfortably full house» contained 664, according to JUDITH MILHOUS, *Opera Finances in London, 1674-1738*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», XXXVII, 1984, pp. 567-592, 578 and n. 31; and *The Capacity of Vanbrugh's Theatre in the Haymarket*, «Theatre History Studies», IV, 1984, pp. 38-46. According to EDWARD A. LANGHANS, *The Theatres*, in *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert D. Hume, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1980, pp. 35-65: 64-65, the usual capacity of c700-950 had by 1735 been expanded – for an unstated reason – to 2000.

¹³ *See and Seem Blind*, pp. 15-16. For data and conjectures concerning Handel's use of the organ and harpsichord as continuo instruments, see DEAN, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, pp. 108-114, and DONALD BURROWS, *Handel's Oratorio Performances*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, pp. 266-270. The organ and organist are clearly «in a Pulpit» in a pictorial representation of ca. 1800, reproduced in *The London Stage: 1660-1800*, 5 parts in 11 vols., ed. by Arthur H. Scouten (Part 3: 1729-47), George Winchester Stone, jr. (Part 4: 1747-76), Charles Beecher Hogan (Part 5: 1776-1800) et al., Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1960-68: Part 5, ill. 5 after p. 726.

¹⁴ Count FREDERICK KIELMANSSEGG, *Diary of a Journey to England in the Years 1761-62*, trans. Countess Philippa Kielmansegg, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1902, p. 273. The orchestra was still onstage in 1827, according to Miss BARTHÉLÉMON, *Memoir of the Late F. H. Barthélémon, Esq.*, in *Selections from the Oratorio of Jefe in Masfa*, London, Clementi, Collard and Collard, [1827], p. 7.

¹⁵ LANGHANS, *The Theatres*, p. 61.

the favored venue for oratorios. Far fewer were performed at the playhouse in Drury Lane, which had a normal capacity of 500 before 1762, when renovation more than tripled its size.¹⁶ The King's Theatre was the usual site for oratorios sung in Italian. Four of them – by Veracini, Jommelli (Table 3, nos. 6-7) and J. C. Bach – were performed nowhere else. Three were performed there after opening at a different theater: Porpora's opened at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields,¹⁷ Handel's at Covent Garden, and Hasse/Giardini's at Drury Lane.¹⁸ The remaining two works were performed at concert halls, where they were heard only once: Jommelli's *Isacco* was given at The Great Room in Dean-street, Soho, and Barthélémon's *Jefe in Masfa* was given at The New Rooms, Hanover Square.

Since the orchestra was onstage, the enclosure customarily reserved for it was presumably opened for audience seating whenever necessary.¹⁹ Since oratorios were not staged, the scenic area behind the performers could also be utilized for overflow crowds. An example is Handel's benefit performance at the King's Theatre on 28 March 1738: «every usual part of the house» was «uncommonly crowded», and «when the curtain drew up, five hundred persons of rank and fashion were discovered on the stage, which was formed into an amphitheatre».²⁰

At venues with neither an orchestral enclosure nor a scenic area, crowding must have been the only way to increase the capacity. This would have been true for concert halls and for two venues that each held 1000 auditors: the Sheldonian Theater in Oxford, where Handel gave five performances in 1733, and the chapel in the Foundling Hospital, which was utilized for charity performances of *Messiah* in 1750-77.²¹ Beginning in 1762, charity performances of Giardini's *Ruth* (1763-80) and other oratorios were given at a similar chapel in the Lock Hospital.²²

¹⁶ «The likeliest conjecture» is c500, but 1,000 is a possibility. After the renovation of 1762, the likely capacity was increased to c 1800, and possibly to more than 2300 (*ibid.*, p. 62).

¹⁷ Lincoln's-Inn-Fields held a maximum of about 1400 (*ibid.*, pp. 64-65).

¹⁸ The Drury Lane playbill that advertises its performance for «A Public Charity» is reproduced in *The London Stage*, Part 4, ill. 6 after p. 880.

¹⁹ The orchestral enclosure at Covent Garden is clearly shown in an engraving of a riot during a performance of Arne's *Artaxerxes* on 24 February 1763. It is reproduced in *The London Stage*, Part 4, ill. 4 after p. 880, and DEAN, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, facing p. 83.

²⁰ BURNNEY, *Sketch of the Life of Handel*, p. 24.

²¹ See R[EGINALD] H[UGH] NICHOLS and F[RANCIS] A[SLETT] WRAY, *The History of the Foundling Hospital*, London, Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1935, p. 202. An undated engraving of the interior of the chapel is reproduced in NICHOLS and WRAY, *The History of the Foundling Hospital* cit. facing p. 200. John Sanders' engraving of 1773 is reproduced in DEUTSCH, *Handel*, facing p. 672.

²² See SIMON McVEIGH, *Music and the Lock Hospital in the Eighteenth Century*, «Musical

Among the sixty works listed on Table 1, only three by Handel – *Samson*, *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabaeus* – had a sensational success. Even he had poor seasons, such as those of 1733 and 1735.²³ Yet the nineteen works that he produced from 1732 to 1757 were performed 473 times, almost triple the number of 166 renditions given of the forty-one oratorios by twenty-one other composers. Since the success of Handel's oratorios increased rather than decreased after his death in 1759, a few entrepreneurs capitalized on the attraction of his name by producing pasticci based upon his works.²⁴ Others who profited mightily did so mainly by producing his works.²⁵ One such producer was the blind organist John Stanley.²⁶ On 21 April 1784, he declined to set either of the texts that Charles Burney had sent, because «M^r S thinks there is little reason to suppose that any other than M^r Handel's musick would succeed, as people in general are so partial to that, that no other Oratorios are ever well attended».²⁷ Indeed, in 1782, precisely a half-century after public

Times», CXXIX, 1988, pp. 235-240, and SIMON McVEIGH, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750-84*, New York and London, Garland, 1989, pp. 303-306. Genres other than oratorios are discussed in NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY, *The Lock Hospital Chapel and Its Music*, «Journal of the Royal Musical Association», CXVIII, 1993, pp. 44-72.

²³ Handel's new oratorio of 1733 was *Deborah*, and when Handel doubled the admission prices for it, he provoked a virulent reaction; see «The Bee», I, 1733, p. 303; *The Craftsman* for 7 April 1733 (reprinted in HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary*, VII, pp. 78-79); and EDGAR V. ROBERTS, *Henry Fielding's Lost Play 'Deborah, or A Wife for You All' (1733)*, «Bulletin of the New York Public Library», LXVI, 1962, pp. 576-588 (which concerns a work produced on 6 April 1733 that presumably concerned Handel's as well as Walpole's new «excise tax»). His revivals of *Esther* and *Athalie* were not successful in 1735 because audiences were then enthralled with Farinelli, who sang for the rival Opera of the Nobility; see «The Old Whig» for 20 March 1735, cited in *The London Stage*, Part 3, p. 470.

²⁴ *Nabal* (1764), *Gideon* (1769) and *Tobit* (never produced) are discussed in RICHARD G. KING, *John Christopher Smith's Pasticcio Oratorios*, «Music and Letters», LXXIX, 1998, pp. 190-218. The other Handelian pasticci listed on Table 1 are *The Cure of Saul* (1763), *Israel in Babylon* (1764) and *The Omnipotence* (1774).

²⁵ A superb summary of the many Handelian revivals and the generally unsuccessful new creations of 1760-84 is given in ROGER FISKE, *Concert Music II*, in *Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1990, pp. 211-220. Fiske stressed the profitability of Handelian revivals. Richard Brinsley Sheridan likewise emphasized it in a letter he wrote to Thomas Linley, his father-in-law, in May or June 1775: «If you had conducted oratorios last spring in Town on your own account [that is, by assuming all risks, as Handel did, and as Samuel Arnold is now doing], you might have cleared £ 1000 or £ 1200»; see RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN, *The Letters*, 3 vols., ed. by Cecil Price, Oxford, Clarendon, 1966, vol. III, p. 303.

²⁶ Stanley's productions are discussed in SHERIDAN, *The Letters*, vol. III, p. 304. Stanley had been «absolutely blind since his fourth year», so he played organ concertos and «all operas and oratorios by heart», according to KIELMANSEGG, *Diary* cit., p. 272.

²⁷ Letter in the Gerald Coke Collection, cited in A. GLYN WILLIAMS, *The Life and Works of John Stanley (1712-86)*, Ph. D. dissertation, University of Reading, Department of Music, April 1977, vol. I, p. 56. I am grateful to Dr. H. Diack Johnstone of Oxford University for lending me his copy of this dissertation.

productions had begun, one writer noted that «the fashion about Oratorios seems much on the decline, and it may require the genius of another Handel to restore them to their former credit and reputation».²⁸

When a play was premièred in 18th-century London, three performances represented a successful run, because the profits from the third, sixth, etc., nights were given to the author. No such custom applied to the librettists or composers of oratorios. Yet if three renditions are utilized as the critical number necessary for a successful run, fourteen oratorios (listed on Table 1) failed to reach this number during their only season «onstage»,²⁹ and another seven failed to reach it during two seasons of performances.³⁰ Among these «failures» are two in Italian, Veracini's *L'errore di Salomone* (1744) and Jommelli's *Isacco* (1761). Another three Italian oratorios were performed only for charities or benefits, and thus only single performances were planned for Hasse/Giardini *I pellegrini* (1757-64), Jommelli *The Deliverance of Bethulia* (1768) and Barthélémon *Jefté in Masfa* (1782).³¹ Among the translations, Jommelli's *Passion* (1770) – for which a continuo score survives – was given only once, while the other two were performed five or six times. Four of the nine works produced in Italian did have successful runs, and British scores survive for all of them: Porpora *David e Bersabea* (1734), Handel *Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* (1737), Jommelli *Passione* (1764) and Bach *Gioas* (1770). They will each be characterized below, in Part III.

²⁸ DAVID ERSKINE BAKER, *Biographica Dramatica, or, A Companion to the Playhouse*, new ed. [by Isaac Reed], London, Rivington, T. Payne et al., 1782; rpt. Dublin, T. Henshall, 1782, vol. II, p. 424.

²⁹ Among works performed during only one season, none except CHARLES BARBANDT's *David and Jonathan* (1761) achieved as many as three renditions. In the twelve issues of *Mr. Barbandt's Yearly Subscription of New Music to be Delivered Monthly* (December 1759 - February 1760), only one song from an oratorio – «Teach me to feel another's woe» from *The Universal Prayer* (1755) – is printed. According to *The London Stage* cit., Part 4, pp. 1715 and 1719, LUFFMAN ATTERBURY's *Goliath* was performed twice, on 23 April and 5 May 1773. But the April performance was canceled owing to lack of a sufficient audience, according to the colorful description given in BUSBY, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes*, vol. II, pp. 192-194.

³⁰ One of them was a charity work, *Ruth* of 1763, which included one act by Giardini at its first and two acts by him at its second performance; see McVEIGH, *Music and the Lock Hospital*, pp. 236-237. Giardini's setting of the entire text in 1768 is listed separately on Table 1.

³¹ *I pellegrini* was performed twice for charities. The autograph and thirty-nine copies of this work are listed in MICHAEL KOCH, *Die Oratorien Johann Adolf Hasses: Überlieferung und Struktur*, Pfaffenweiler, Centaurus, 1989, vol. II, pp. 58-73. Scores for Jommelli's oratorios are listed in WOLFGANG HOCHSTEIN, *Die Kirchenmusik von Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der liturgisch gebundenen Kompositionen*, Hildesheim, Olms, 1984 («Studien zur Musikwissenschaft», 1). Jommelli scores include the autograph and twelve copies of *Betulia liberata* (vol. II, pp. 233-234) and twenty-five copies of *Isacco* (vol. II, pp. 247-248).

II. THE RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL AND SATIRICAL OPPOSITION TO THE «NEW THING»

Prejudice against Roman Catholics undoubtedly played a role in limiting the number of Italian oratorios and the participation of Italians in oratorio performances. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 had driven away the Roman Catholic James II, but Jacobites continued to work for the restoration of his son and grandson, called the Old and Young Pretender.³² Italians in London were often suspected of working for the Jacobite cause. For example, in 1722, the new Prime Minister, Robert Walpole, began a political vendetta against Catholics and Jacobites,³³ which partly explains why Rolli – who was to write the libretto for the first Italian oratorio – was in 1722 replaced as poet to the Royal Academy of Music.³⁴ In 1733, the year after oratorios had first been performed publicly in London, the pamphlet entitled *A Protestant Alarm to Great Britain* raucously accused six Italians and three English Catholics of engaging in secret missions. The Italians were Francesco Geminiani, Giovanni Porta, Attilio Ariosti, Francesca Cuzzoni, C. Gambarini «the Picture-monger», and Senesino, who was «neither better nor worse than a Jesuit in disguise, and an immediate Emissary of the Whore of Babylon [i.e., the pope]; his singing alas! is but a mere Pretence to blind us; he is as cunning as the Devil, and no more an Eunuch than Sir Robert Walpole [...]. Add to this our Jesuit's implacable hatred to *Handel*, for making him sing in the English Oratorio's, whereby he incurr'd the Pope's Displeasure».³⁵

³² James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766) and his elder son, Charles Edward (1720-88). His younger son was Henry Benedict (1725-1807).

³³ The leader of one Jacobite plot was Francis Atterbury, Dean of Westminster Abbey, who was arrested in August 1722, then exiled. See J. H. Overton's entry concerning him in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885, vol. I, pp. 705-710.

³⁴ Rolli's bitter reference to the treatment that he and the composer Giovanni Bononcini received is printed in his translation of RICHARD STEELE, *The Conscious Lovers: Gli amanti interni, commedia inglese*, London, 1724, p. 165, n. 8. In 1721-22, they had provided the Academy with two extraordinarily successful works (*Crispo* and *Griselda*), and in return were offered «quarta parte meno d'Onorario dell'Anno antecedente, con diminuzione di prezzo e persecuzione in avvenire». Other possible reasons for replacing «bristly» Rolli are discussed in LOWELL LINDGREN, *The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)*, «Studi musicali», XVI, 1987, pp. 247-380: 304-307. For a satirical poem (from *The Freeholder's Journal* for 14 March 1722), in which his verse (rather than his personality) is identified as «rugged», see ELIZABETH GIBSON, *The Royal Academy of Music, 1719-28: The Institution and Its Directors*, New York and London, Garland, 1989, p. 156.

³⁵ *Do you know what you are about? or, A Protestant Alarm to Great Britain; Proving [...] that the Division between 'Handel' and 'Senesino' has more in it than we imagine. Also that the Latter is no Eunuch but a Jesuit in Disguise; with other Particulars of the greatest Importance*, London, J. Roberts, 1733, pp. 15-22. This pamphlet is discussed and partly reprinted in WILLIAM C. SMITH, *Do you know what you are about? A rare Handelian Pamphlet*, «Music Review», XXV, 1964, pp. 114-119.

During the next decade, the Young Pretender left his native Rome to head the rebellion in Scotland. Castrati are among the Italians derided in the poem entitled «On Operas», written in 1745, «in a Time of actual Rebellion»:

Is it a Time to melt at languid Strains,
When the Foe threatens from yon hostile Plains?
In Luxury's soft Lap, we've slept too long,
Lull'd by the Syren-Charms of Mask and Song.
Let the loud Trumpet drown the vocal Quill
Of Eunuch, warbling an enervate Trill:
Instead of Minstrelsy, let Cannon roar:
Should the Lamb frisk, when Wolves are at the Door?
Or soft *Italian* Sounds debauch the Ear.
Whilst an *Italian* does in Arms appear?
If Popish Capons must the Land infest,
Ev'n make a Capon of each Popish priest.³⁶

The war against «Popish» Italians presumably helps to explain why *Handel* ceased to have roles sung in Italian after 1744 (see Table 2), why no oratorio was produced in Italian between 1744 and 1757 (see Table 3), and why the only one to attain as many as ten performances was the first – Porpora's *David e Bersabea*, which had its run in 1734-35 (see Table 1).

The antagonism felt towards foreigners and their works may well have been stronger in the provinces than in London. For example, on 14 May 1770, the choral concert for Trinity term at the Holywell Music Room in Oxford consisted of «Dr. Burney's Anthem»³⁷ followed by «the *Stabat Mater* of Pergolesi».³⁸ Pergolesi's score had been printed at London in 1749,³⁹ and a Latin/English libretto had been issued for its London performances in

³⁶ Lines 1-12 of the 42-line poem. I have seen the copy of «On Operas» at GB-Ob, Firth b. 22, fol. 46, which appears to be a leaf torn from a pamphlet, periodical or other publication.

³⁷ «An Anthem, Composed by Mr. Charles Burney, as an Exercise for His Degree of Doctor in Music, and Performed in the Music-School of the University of Oxford, Thursday, June 22, 1769», according to the printed text pasted inside the front cover of the manuscript score at GB-Ob, Mus.Sch.Ex.c.15. The soloists in 1769 were four Englishmen and «Miss [Jane] Barsanti», daughter of Francesco Barsanti (see HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. I, p. 359, and FANNY BURNEY, *The Early Journals and Letters, I: 1768-1773*, ed. by Lars E. Troider, Oxford, Clarendon, 1988, pp. 73-76 and 79-81). Barsanti was apparently replaced in 1770 by «Miss [Elizabeth or Mary] Linley», the only female soloist named in «Jackson's Oxford Journal» for 12 May 1770.

³⁸ «Jackson's Oxford Journal» for 12 May 1770.

³⁹ The print by John Walsh is listed in RISM A/I/6, no. P1348. For *concerti spirituali* that included Pergolesi's work, see *The London Stage*, vol. IV, 1962, pp. 536, 652, 725, 1957 and 1960 (s.v. 2 April 1756, 10 March 1758, 4 May 1759 and 6 and 15 March 1776).

1770.⁴⁰ Oxonians strongly objected to its performance at their concert,⁴¹ as we learn from a letter written by Edward Poore of Queen's College to James Harris of Salisbury:

I got to the concert room just as the first act ended. The beginning of the second was immediately overpower'd by loud hisses & catcalls; a thorough riot ensued; loud shouts, clapping & hissing; some trying to pull up benches, & an audible cry of [*English*] *Oratorios for ever! No Monkish Rime! No Popery!* The performers were all driven off; & most of the peaceable part of the audience hastened out: after a full hour's total interruption, the performance went on, not uninterrupted to the end with catcalls, groans & hisses. Thus ended this *Trionfo di Barbarità*.

In 1733, an Oxford antiquarian, whose soul was obviously not soothed by the sound of music, numbered Handel among the despicable foreigners. For the *en-cænia* in July, the vice-chancellor of the university had invited «one Handel, a foreigner, [...] to perform». He and «his lousy Crew», which included «a great number of foreign fiddlers», were given the Sheldonian Theater free of charge for two performances of *Esther*, one of *Deborah* and two of *Athalia*.⁴² These were his first three oratorios. Another Oxonian rightly termed *Athalia* «a spick and span new *Oratorio*», then cited «one of the Royal and Ample», who had said that «the Theater was erected for other-guise Purposes, than to be prostituted to a Company of squeeking, bawling, out-landish Singsters».⁴³ The «out-landish Singsters» included only two with Italian names, Anna Maria Strada del Po and Philip Rochetti, because five others – Cuzzoni, Senesino, Gismondi, Bertolli and Montagnana – had left Handel's company at the end of the 1732-33 opera season in order to join the Opera of the Nobility.⁴⁴

Handel and «his lousy Crew» reportedly collected nearly £ 4000 from six performances of *Esther* at the King's Theatre in 1732⁴⁵ and nearly £ 2000 from five oratorio performances at the Sheldonian in 1733.⁴⁶ Handel doubled his admission prices for oratorios at London in 1733.⁴⁷ Even though the tickets for his performances at the Sheldonian in 1733 were sold at 5s., that is, for the cost of the cheapest seat in London, Oxonians apparently considered them expensive. In the ballad opera called *The Oxford Act*, Dick Thoughtless, a student at Christ Church College, declares that he had sold his furniture in order to procure «some Tickets to hear that bewitching Musick, that cursed *Handel*, with his confounded *Oratio's* [sic]; I wish him and his Company had been yelling in the infernal Shades below». Three other characters, the vice-chancellor and two college fellows (named Haughty and Pedant), likewise declare that the oratorios had wreaked financial ruin on all but «Mr. *Handel* and his Crew».⁴⁸

According to these Oxonians, the «out-landish Singsters» were heard «squeeking», «bawling» and «yelling» in oratorio performances. According to one newspaper, there were «about 70 Voices and Instruments of Musick» in the Sheldonian,⁴⁹ which may well be an exaggeration. Other papers seem to have gone even further overboard by reporting an audience numbering «3700 Persons» – which is nearly four times the theater's capacity of 1000 – at the first performance of *Athalia*.⁵⁰ If thirty or more choristers sang exuberantly in the circular Sheldonian or in any other wooden theater of the time, they could well have made an overwhelming racket. Some – such as Walter Powel, the «Superior Beadle of Divinity», who sang at all five performances in the Sheldonian⁵¹ – may have roared with pleasure. The earliest engravings

⁴⁰ «*Stabat Mater*, an Hymn, as Perform'd at the King's-Theatre in the Hay-Market. The Music by Signor Pergolesi. Executed by «Signor Guadagni and Signor Savoi» (a copy is at GB-Ob, Harding D.2456/2).

⁴¹ There had been two previous performances of a *Stabat Mater* in Oxford: Astorga's on 24 November 1760 and Pergolesi's on 13 February 1763 (according to the advertisements in «Jackson's Oxford Journal» for 22 November 1760 and 5 February 1763). I am grateful to Jenny Burchell for supplying these references. She lists the years of performance in JENNY BURCHELL, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730-99*, New York and London, Garland, 1996, p. 211. She has questioned whether rowdy behavior by students might have played a significant role in the «riot» of 14 May 1770; for comments on such behavior in 1787, see BURCHELL, *Polite or Commercial*, pp. 187-188.

⁴² THOMAS HEARNE, *Remarks and Collections*, vol. XI (Dec. 9, 1731 - June 10, 1735), ed. by H. E. Salter, Oxford, Clarendon, 1921 («Oxford Historical Society», 72), pp. 224-230.

⁴³ *The Oxford Act*, A.D. 1733, London, J. Wilford, 1734, p. 44, cited in DEUTSCH, *Handel* cit., p. 367. The «Royal and Ample» person has not been identified.

⁴⁴ DEUTSCH, *Handel*, pp. 315-316 and 338.

⁴⁵ See and Seem *Blind*, p. 15.

⁴⁶ He reportedly took in £ 700 at the first two performances and £ 1300 at the remaining three (DEUTSCH, *Handel*, pp. 327-328).

⁴⁷ See note 23 above.

⁴⁸ *The Oxford Act*, London, L. Gulliver, 1733, pp. 7, 13-14 and 28. The relevant passages are cited in DEUTSCH, *Handel*, p. 332. According to HEARNE, *Remarks and Collections*, vol. XI, pp. 224, 227, 229 and 231, Handel charged 5s. for tickets to the Sheldonian, 1s. for his word-book («not worth 1d.»), and 3s. for a concert in Christ Church Hall. In London, the usual price at oratorio performances was a half guinea for a seat in the pit, in a box or on the stage, 5s. for the gallery of the King's Theatre, and 4s. for the first and 2s. 6d. for the second gallery in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields and Covent Garden («Daily Journal», 1-10 April 1734).

⁴⁹ This number presented *Esther* on July 6, according to a handwritten copy of the «Norwich Gazette» for 14 July 1733, cited in DEUTSCH, *Handel* cit., p. 327.

⁵⁰ «Read's Weekly Journal, or, British-Gazetteer» for 14 July 1733. The same total is given in «The Bee» and in «The Universal Spectator» for 14 July 1733 (DEUTSCH, *Handel*, pp. 326-327).

⁵¹ HEARNE, *Remarks and Collections*, vol. XI, p. 230.

representing an oratorio in London are presumably William Hogarth's for *Judith* (1733). His frontispiece for the libretto⁵² boldly illustrates a text that «revels unashamedly in the details of the gory murder perpetrated by the heroine».⁵³ His portrayal of an intense rehearsal of a chorus in the work depicts a conductor – presumably the foreign composer Willem De Fesch – together with four boy sopranos, eleven adult singers and a bass instrumentalist.⁵⁴ Quite a few of the singers seem to be roaring uninhibitedly, which presumably explains why Hogarth's work served as the basis for Bickham's engraving of the chorus «O save us all! Moore of Moore Hall!» from *The Dragon of Wantley* (1737).⁵⁵

Satire of the roaring character of an oratorio is well represented by *The Dragon of Wantley*, written by Henry Carey and set to music by another non-Italian foreigner, John Frederick Lampe. «A Company of Singers just imported» presented this «New Musical Burlesque of two Acts, in a Grand Oratorio», in which the composer «keeps up strictly to the Italian Taste, the Notes being full of Grandeur and Harmony, and the Words full of low Nonsense». The hero, Moore of Moore-Hall, «shall come as near the Figure of the Divine *Farinello* as possible».⁵⁶ In the closing scene, Signor Furioso (who portrayed the dragon) roared,⁵⁷ then was felled by Moore's most mighty kick to his backside. Moore thus won Margery, after which her father proclaimed that their love

⁵² Reproduced in SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio*, II, p. 358, and RONALD PAULSON, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, 3rd rev. edn., London, The Print Room, 1989, no. 224.

⁵³ IAN BARTLETT, *Boyce and the Early English Oratorio*, «Musical Times», CXX, 1979, pp. 293-297 and 385-391: 294. According to BAKER, *Biographica Dramatica*, ed. [Reed], vol. II, p. 424, this «oratorio or sacred drama» was «performed with scenes and other decorations», a statement confirmed by JOHN IRELAND, *Hogarth Illustrated*, 2nd ed., London, Boydell, 1805, vol. II, pp. 295-296, which is cited in PAULSON, *Hogarth's Graphic Works* cit., pp. 83-84. Reed may well have based his assertion exclusively upon the stage directions in the libretto, which do not prove that the work was staged.

⁵⁴ Reproduced in SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio*, II, p. 359, and PAULSON, *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, no. 127. Only the neck of the string instrument (which could be a gamba, cello or string bass) is visible; its player is not shown. De Fesch was born at Alkmaar in 1687, and had apparently gone to London in 1732, only one year before *Judith* was produced.

⁵⁵ *Bickham's Musical Entertainer*, designed by Hubert François Gravelot and engraved by George Bickham, jr., London, C. Corbett, 1741, vol. II, p. 64. It shows a conductor with a crewcut, no string player, eight singing men on one side, and four singing boys (plus a man facing backwards) on the other. The chorus «O save us all! Moore of Moore-Hall!» is in HENRY CAREY, *The Dragon of Wantley*, I, 3. I am grateful to Suzanne Aspden, who kindly informed me of Bickham's engraving.

⁵⁶ «The Daily Advertiser» for 16-19 May 1737, cited in *The London Stage*, Part 3, pp. 672-673. I am grateful to Professor Robert D. Hume, who informed me of Scouten's source and supplied me with photocopies of «The Daily Advertiser».

⁵⁷ According to «The Daily Advertiser», Signor Furioso's «other Name [was] to be conceal'd». According to the libretto (London, J. Shuckburgh, 1738), he was «Mr. [Henry Theodore] Rein-

In *Roratorios* shall be sung hereafter.
Begin your Songs of Joy; begin, begin,
And rend the Welkin with harmonious Din.

The din was heard in the final chorus, which was accompanied by trumpets, horns, timpani, oboes, strings and continuo.⁵⁸

Sing, sing, and ororio,
An Oratorio, ...
Bellow and bawl
HUZZA! HUZZA! HUZZA!

A comparable din might have been heard at performances of Handel's *Deborah* at the King's Theatre in March 1733. For this production, he reportedly employed «near a hundred performers, among whom [were] about twenty-five singers».⁵⁹ Although seventy-five instrumentalists is perhaps a great exaggeration, the volume might have suggested such a number, because another auditor termed it «excessive noisy, [with] a vast number of instruments and voices, who all perform at a time».⁶⁰

Christopher Smart might have had this roaring tradition in mind when he chose «The British Roratory» as one title for the theatrical burlesques he produced at London in 1751-61.⁶¹ His decade of burlesques primarily satirized the oratory of John Henley (1692-1756),⁶² but operas and oratorios were likewise targeted, in that nearly all of the performers named in his advertisements

hold», a bass born in Dresden (HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. XII, pp. 309-310). For the revival on 30 September 1741, the *Dragon* was portrayed by «Signor Bencraftini», i.e., James Bencraft (*The London Stage*, Part 3, p. 930). A libretto «printed in the year 1742» still identified him as «Signor Furioso».

⁵⁸ The complete score is in GB-Lcm, ms 927. A modern edition of the text is in *Burlesque Plays of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Simon Trussler, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 235-260. A related work is *The Pigeon-Pye, or a King's Coronation, Proper Materials for forming an Oratorio, Opera or Play according to the Modern Taste: To Be Represented in Opposition to the Dragon of Wantley*, London, W. Webb, 1738. Its «proper materials» consist of descriptions of incidents in a partly sung drama, which resembles oratorios when it calls for choruses (pp. 23, 28, 33, 45 and 48) and concertos or organ-tunes (pp. 26, 33, 41 and 50).

⁵⁹ *Diary of Viscount [John] Percival, afterwards first Earl of Egmont*, I: 1730-1733, London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920 (Historical Manuscripts Commission), p. 345, cited in DEUTSCH, *Handel*, p. 309.

⁶⁰ Lady A. Irwin (who attended the performance on 27 March 1733), cited in DEUTSCH, *Handel*, p. 310.

⁶¹ He utilized this title from 4 July to 1 August 1754, as noted in *The London Stage* cit., Part 4, pp. 431-432.

⁶² See «The Midwife: or, Old Woman's Magazine», ed. by Christopher Smart, London, Thomas Carnan, 1853, III, pp. 37-40, 49-50 and 98-100.

were newly arrived signors and signoras. They had outlandish names, such as Bombastini, Rorriminonies, Mimicotti,⁶³ Gapatoono the «first cousin to Farinelli», and Mynheer Van Poop Poop Broomstickato. They sang, danced and played concertos on instruments like «a smoaking Pipe»⁶⁴ and «the *Cremona Staccato*, which, out of Derision, in the vulgar Tongue, and by vulgar People, is commonly called the *Salt Box*».⁶⁵

Porpora, who composed the first Italian oratorio for London, was satirically accused of featuring rough and rude noises. His first work for London was the opera *Arianna in Nasso*, first performed on 29 December 1733; his second was the oratorio *David e Bersabea*, which debuted on 12 March 1734. The rant against him began in March 1734, in *Harmony in an Uproar: A Letter to F[re]d[eric]k H[an]d[e]l, Esq; [...] from Hurlothrumbo Johnson, Esq.:*

Your *Porpoise* [i.e., Porpora], *says he*, may roul and rumble about as he pleases, and prelude to a Storm of his own raising; but you should let him know, that a bad Imitation always wants the Air and Spirit of an Original [i.e., Handel], and that there is a wide difference betwixt full Harmony, and making a Noise [...]. Signior *Porpoise* finds you [Handel] deficient in Roughness.⁶⁶

In 1735, an engraving satirized the sounds heard in Porpora's works, especially *David e Bersabea* (see Plate 1). Its three men, the organ and the owl atop the organ were all copied from a 17th-century French engrav-

⁶³ This name parodies that of the singer Regina Mingotti, who was in London from 1754-59 and 1763-64; see HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. X, pp. 263-266.

⁶⁴ According to advertisements in «The Public Advertiser», this is one of the seven «instruments» that played «A New Grand Concerto» at performances from 13 September to 10 October 1754. *The London Stage*, Part 4, p. 438, lists the seven, but replaces «a Fire Grate» with «a Bassoon».

⁶⁵ *The Midwife, or Old Woman's Magazine*, III, p. 42. «Signior Antonio Ambrosiano from Naples» gave his first London performance on the «salt box» on 3 December 1751; see *The London Stage*, Part 4, p. 276; HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. XIV, p. 118; and E. GRAHAM MIDGLEY, *The Life of Orator Henley*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1973, p. 186. Could he have been a she, namely, Antonia Ambrosini, who sang the male role of Celindo in Leo's *L'amor costante* at Covent Garden on 11-20 February 1754 (*London Stage*, Part 4, pp. 408-410)? Mrs. Midnight's entertainment sometimes included traditional instruments: e.g., on 28 December 1751, the «excellent Band of Musick», which numbered thirty, included «several Persons of Fortune and Distinction» (MIDGLEY, *Life of Orator Henley*, p. 188). In addition to much other verse, Smart wrote two oratorio librettos for public productions: *Hannah* (1764) and *Abimelech* (1768). Also, the recitatives in *Providence* (1777) were «selected from the Cambridge Prize-Poems of the Late Ingenious Mr. Christopher Smart», according to the libretto at GB-Lcm, XX.G.20/12.

⁶⁶ London, R. Smith, 1733, pp. 9 and 19; reprinted in DEUTSCH, *Handel*, pp. 346 and 352. DEUTSCH, *Handel*, p. 357, notes that the pamphlet was published in March 1734, so the putative letter's date – «12 February 1733» – is fraudulent.

ing.⁶⁷ The new elements in 1735 were scrolls on the floor that name *David* and two other works by Porpora, the word «Da-a a-a-vido» that is being screeched by the owl, and the inscription entitled «Harmony»:

With Notes Harmonick, Solemn, grave and Easy
See Sirs, what Pains our Segnior takes to please ye:
Since Airs thus Sweet proceed from Windy Bumm,
H[ande]l avant, thy Oratorio's Dumb.⁶⁸

The age must have been fond of this engraving, for the London version served in turn as the model for a French one of 1739, which satirized Rameau and his collaborators.⁶⁹ Was *David e Bersabea* indeed noisy and rough enough to be classified as a «roratorio» rather than an oratorio?

III. THE «NEW THINGS» THEMSELVES CONSIDERED

Nicola Porpora wrote nearly 200 Latin church works and 50 operas, and he taught Farinelli, Caffarelli, and the 20-year-old Haydn. He was born only sixteen months after Handel, but – unlike Handel – he abandoned Baroque complexities as soon as they became unfashionable. His arias thus focus on the vocal part by relegating the accompaniment to standard harmonic progressions and patterned figurations. He utilizes minor keys only when the affect of grief requires them. Mrs. Delany, a great admirer of Handel, heard the fourth performance of Porpora's *David*, and termed it «a fine solemn piece of music». When she declared that «some of the choruses and recitative[s] are extremely fine and touching»,⁷⁰ she called attention to the most striking as-

⁶⁷ Xavier Cervantes kindly informed me of this French model, entitled «La musique venteuse», in which the bellows blower is «Oculi» and the organist is «Marsoin». A copy is in F-Pn, Cabinet des Estampes, Tf 2, réserve, p. 10 (photographic order no. B579153). It has been described and reproduced in JACQUES CALLOT, *Actes du colloque organisée par le service culturel du musée du Louvre et la ville de Nancy à Paris et à Nancy les 25, 26 et 27 juin 1992*, réunis par Daniel Ternois, Paris, Klincksieck, 1993, p. 296, n. 10, and p. 303.

⁶⁸ Described in FREDERICK GEORGE STEPHENS and EDWARD HAWKINS, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, London, Trustees of the British Museum, 1877: Division I, *Political and Personal Satires*, vol. III, part I: March 28, 1734 to c. 1750, no. 2258. I am very grateful to the Trustees for the British Museum, who gave their permission for the reproduction of this engraving.

⁶⁹ It is reproduced in GRAHAM SADLER, *Patrons and Pasquinades: Rameau in the 1730s*, «Journal of the Royal Musical Association», CXIII, 1988, pp. 314-337: 328. *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330, cites a letter of 1739 that interprets the satirical engraving. Neither the letter-writer nor Sadler was aware of the models, and the former wonders why the owl screeches «Da-a a-a-vido». All the engravings are reproduced in XAVIER CERVANTES and THOMAS MCGEARY, *Handel, Porpora and the 'Windy Bumm'*, «Early Music», XXIX, 2001, pp. 607-616.

⁷⁰ See MARY GRANVILLE, MRS. DELANY, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, ed. by Augusta Hall, Lady Llanover, London, Richard Bentley, 1861: ser. I, vol. I, pp. 449-450. After the cited pas-

pects of Porpora's score, namely, its twelve accompanied recitatives and ten choruses, two of which are for eight rather than four voices.⁷¹ It is richly orchestrated throughout, in that virtually everyone – including trumpets, horns, oboes, bassoons, strings, continuo and sometimes timpani – plays for seventeen pieces (seven choruses, six arias, three instrumental pieces and one accompanied recitative), a far greater number than the four or five fully-scored pieces heard in some of Handel's oratorios.⁷²

David e Bersabea thus seems to be a good candidate for the appellation «roratorio»,⁷³ because some of its singers may have had to screech like the owl in the engraving in order to be heard above the tutti accompaniment that underlies about one half of their arias and choruses. Rolli's text alternates militaristic and erotic scenes,⁷⁴ and nearly all of Porpora's fully scored pieces occur in militaristic settings. A few of the four and eight-voice choruses have military patterns in the brass and timpani, and must have been very noisy. Yet other fully scored pieces are rather reflective. A very good example is the centerpiece, «Nuove grazie, nuova lode», which is the second of three choruses in Part II. It immediately follows the bellicose aria – «Ma il nemico dissipato» – sung by Uriah, the husband of Bathsheba and commander of David's forces at the siege of Rabbah. Instead of emitting tub-thumping «hallelujahs» to celebrate «nostr'impeto guerriero», the chorus is reverentially imitative (see Ex. 1).⁷⁵

sage, Delany wrote: «but they say it is not equal to Mr. Handel's oratorio of Esther or Deborah». The citation is given in its context in FRANK WALKER, *A Chronology of the Life and Works of Nicola Porpora*, «Italian Studies», VI, 1951, p. 29-62: 49, and DEUTSCH, *Handel*, pp. 361-362. Londoners' allegiance to these composers is reflected in two lines from «The Masque at the Old House», a song of the 1730s: «After Porpora or Handel, / Where d'ye think ye Town will dandle?» (BICKHAM, *The Musical Entertainer*, vol. II, p. 67).

⁷¹ The two for eight voices are the first, «Osanna Jeova», and the fourth, «Impaziente di dimora», which were respectively sung four and two times.

⁷² Handel's orchestration for each piece is listed in BERNDT BASELT, *Händel-Handbuch*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1984, II: *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis oratorisches Werke*. His orchestration and the size of his orchestral group are discussed in DEAN, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, pp. 72-80 and 102-6; *ibid.*, p. 104, notes that «horns and trumpets are never found together in these middle-period oratorios», i.e., those produced in 1737-46.

⁷³ Some style elements that differentiate it from Italian oratorio were already noted in ARNOLD SCHERING, *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911; rpt. Hildesheim, Georg Olms and Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1966, p. 191. See also JOHANN HERCZOG, *Tendenze letterarie e sviluppo musicale dell'oratorio italiano nel Settecento tra Vienna e il paese d'origine*, «Nuova rivista musicale italiana», XXV, 1991, pp. 216-229: 226: «*David e Bersabea* [...] è un'opera pomposa e opulenta di grande strumentario con cori e marce, nella quale non si trova affatto l'intimità tipica dell'oratorio italiano».

⁷⁴ His Biblical basis is II Samuel 10-12.

⁷⁵ This chorus is preserved not only in the score, but also in the collection of excerpts at GB-

The first scene of Part III culminates with an erotic duet for David and Bathsheba. Then Rolli at last breaks the alternation of military and erotic scenes. Because the adulterous lust of David led him to order the death of Uriah, the prophet Nathan enters for the first time in order to tell David that Jehovah will vindictively slay him and wreak vengeance upon his heirs. This, the most affecting scene in the work, is multipartite. Nathan's recitative leads to an aria that bursts forth with rapid, vengeful scales in its A section (and *da capo*), yet it is solemnly contemplative in its B section. David then repents in an accompanied recitative that begins in f minor, the key of death; it elicits a suspension-filled choral plea for mercy, sung in g minor (see Ex. 2).⁷⁶ David renews his pledge in a second accompanied recitative, and the chorus reiterates its plea for mercy.⁷⁷ Nathan replies with a conciliatory accompanied recitative, which elicits a repeat of the eight-voiced «Osanna» that opened Part I, followed by a new «Allelujah, Amen», which David begins and a chorus concludes.

The libretto for *David e Bersabea* was published with a frontispiece designed by a Belgian and engraved by a Frenchman (Plate 2). According to one writer, it crudely depicts the lovers David and Bathsheba.⁷⁸ But this seems highly unlikely, because his female features and her breastplate do not portray the David and Bathsheba described in the Bible or the oratorio. Indeed, the same frontispiece heads two earlier collections of Rolli's poetry: *Rime* (London: Giovanni Pickard, 1717) and *Di Canzonette e Cantate, Libri Due* (London: Tommaso Edlin, 1727).⁷⁹ The standing woman is undoubtedly

Cfm, MU.MS.180, which was Lot 43 in the 1779 sale catalogue of William Boyce's books and manuscripts. The English copyist has not been identified, but Boyce wrote the heading (title and composer's name) for the first piece, while Boyce or Maurice Greene wrote the headings for the second and third items. I am grateful to Dr. H. Diack Johnstone and Mr. Robert J. Bruce for providing information about the hands of Greene and Boyce.

⁷⁶ I am very grateful to John Z. McKay, M.I.T. class of 2000, for expertly transcribing the two musical examples by means of a computer program. I am likewise grateful to the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna for granting permission for the publication of Examples 1 and 2. Please note that the staccato markings in both examples are written as vertical slashes; marcato markings could thus supplant some or all of them.

⁷⁷ As noted on Table 3, David's accompanied recitatives and the choral plea for mercy are the only pieces found in both of the Fitzwilliam Museum collections of excerpts. These manuscripts have been consulted in order to rectify a few errors and clarify a few puzzling passages in the Viennese score.

⁷⁸ ALAN BLIGH YORKE LONG (d. 1952), *The Opera of the Nobility* (a typescript dissertation presented for the Osgood Memorial Prize, 1951), p. 131. The only accessible copy of this dissertation is in GB-Lbl, 7901.cc.3.

⁷⁹ Plate 2 has been reproduced from a privately owned copy of the 1727 collection. I am very grateful to the owner for kindly granting permission for its publication within this article.

Britannia, for she holds a staff, is accompanied by a lion and a unicorn, and bears the image of St. George slaying the dragon on her breastplate. She places a laurel wreath on the head of a seated woman. According to iconology of Cesare Ripa, the latter symbolizes Poetry, because she wears a laurel crown, holds a lyre in one hand and (presumably) a plectrum in the other, and has a symbolic swan at her feet.⁸⁰ In this engraving, she looks up to Cupid, who points as he presumably ascends to a loftier sphere.⁸¹ At the extreme right is a ship, which presumably represents the vessels on which the designer Grisoni, the engraver Baron and the librettist Rolli entered Britain in 1715 or 16,⁸² one or two years before this engraving was first published.

The second oratorio produced entirely in Italian was Handel's *Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità*, a Roman work of 1707 which he revised for London in 1737, then revised once again in 1739. In the 1730s, he was still working mainly with Italians and Italian texts. Indeed, before he revived his *Athalia* (Oxford, 1733) for London in 1735, nineteen of its pieces had been heard with new Italian texts in his secular *Parnasso in festa*,⁸³ which began its run on 13 March 1734, one day after the première of Porpora's *David e Bathseba*.⁸⁴ Our knowledge of Italian texts heard in his English oratorio productions of 1734-44 is summarized on Table 2. In 1738, Italian was utilized for

⁸⁰ *Iconologia*, Roma, Giovanni Gigliotti, 1593; Roma, Lepido Facii, 1603; and many later editions, s.v. «Poesia», second icon. The first icon for Poesia is illustrated in the 1603 and later Italian editions, but the second icon is not. The only known illustration of the second is in CESARE RIPA, *Iconologia or Moral Emblems*, London, Benjamin Motte, 1709, fig. 247; its description of «Poesia» (p. 61) agrees with the second Italian icon, with the addition of the «Starry Robe» from the first.

⁸¹ His movement upwards may explain why his torch of flaming passion points downwards. This might also imply that Poetry in this scene is rising above the amorous.

⁸² For Pierre Joseph Grison (1699-1769), see ULRICH THIEME, FELIX BECKER, FRED WILLIS and HANS VOLLMER, *Allgemeine Lexikon der bildenden Künstler; von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1922), vol. XV, pp. 56-57; for Bernard Baron (c1696-1762), see TIMOTHY CLAYTON, *The English Print, 1688-1802*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1997, pp. 19 and 115-118; for Rolli, see *Grove opera*, vol. IV, pp. 14-16, or PAOLO ROLLI, *Libretti per musica*, a cura di Carlo Caruso, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 1993, p. xi.

⁸³ See DONALD BURROWS, *Handel's 1735 (London) Version of 'Athalia'*, forthcoming in the proceedings of a conference (Cardiff, July 1996) concerning music in eighteenth-century Britain.

⁸⁴ They were first performed on 12 and 13 March 1734. Handel then revived *Deborah* (April 2, 6 and 9), while *David* continued to be performed (April 3, 8 and 10). DONALD BURROWS, *Handel*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 178-179, justly views Peleus and Thetis in *Parnasso* as symbols for the Prince of Orange and Princess Royal, who were married in St. James's Palace on 14 March 1734. Does he improperly name David and Bathsheba as symbols? They are guilty of adultery, and David is named in the entry on «adulterio» in CESARE RIPA, *Iconologia*, Siena, Heredi di Matteo Florimi, 1613; CESARE RIPA, *Della più che novissima iconologia*, a cura di Gio. Zaratino Castellini, Padova, Donato Pasquardi, 1630; and in later editions.



W. H. Notes Harmonick, Solemn, grave and easy } Harmony { Since Airs thus Sweet proceed from Winds Broom.
See first what Pains our Seigneur takes to please ye. } H.C. — L'avant, thy Oratorio's Dumb.

PLATE 1 - *Harmony* (1735). An anonymous engraving, purportedly depicting Porpora at the organ, but closely based on an anonymous Fench engraving in which Marsoin is the organist. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.



PLATE 2 - Frontispiece to PAOLO ANTONIO ROLLI, *Rime* (1717), *Di canzonette e cantate* (1727), and *David e Bersabea* (1734). Designed by Pierre-Joseph Grison and engraved by Bernard Baron. reproduced from a privately owned copy of *Di canzonette* with the kind permission of the owner.

thirteen of the nineteen arias/duets and five of the seventeen recitatives (but none of the fifteen choruses) in his spiritual concert called *An Oratorio*.⁸⁵ In 1735, when *Athalia* was first produced in London, and, in 1744, when *Deborah* was revived for the second time, Italian texts were printed on inserts.⁸⁶ The evidence for Italian texts within the other nine productions listed on Table 2 is provided by Handel's annotations in his conducting scores. The latest oratorios to incorporate such texts were *Israel in Egypt* and *Saul*, which were first performed in 1739. As noted above, the rebellion of 1745 may well have turned him away from any further experimentation with Italian texts in his English oratorios.

The plot of *Il trionfo* concerns the quandary of a beautiful woman: should she give way to sensual Pleasure or submit to the dictates of Time and Truth? In his 1707 score, Handel employed no chorus or brass instrument. In 1737, he added five choruses and wrote brass accompaniments for three of them. He also wrote a lively new sinfonia to open each of the three parts. Such alterations move his work closer to a «roratorio». Yet his focus remains on the reflective soloists, who sing twenty-two arias, two quartets and two accompanied recitatives, none of which is accompanied by brass. Their texts are all derived from the 1707 libretto, but Handel wrote new music for twenty of them. By making such substantial revisions, Handel «replaced or rejected the music most obviously displaying the harmonic quirkiness or the decorative flamboyance of his early Italian style in favour of wit and elegance». After four performances of his work during Lent of 1737, he revived it only once, on 3 March 1739. The most significant changes made in 1739 were the addition of a chorus from *Deborah* and the use of a carillon in place of the solo violin that had been featured in two pieces.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Text incipits for items in this work are listed in BURROWS, *Handel's 1738 'Oratorio': A Benefit Pasticcio*, in *Georg Friedrich Händel – ein Lebensbalt: Gedenkschrift für Berndt Baselt*, hrsg. v. Klaus Hortschansky und Konstanze Musketa, Halle an der Saale, Händel-Haus, 1995, pp. 11-38: 33-37. Burrows terms «Mi palpita il cor» (no. 9) a possible accompagnato; but it is labeled «aria» on the page he reproduces in facsimile (*ivi*, p. 28).

⁸⁶ The insert in *Athalia* is reproduced in BURROWS, *Handel's 1738 'Oratorio'*, p. 25. The *Deborah* insert is described in DEAN, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, pp. 243-244. Both are apparently from unique copies in the Gerald Coke Collection.

⁸⁷ ANTHONY HICKS, 21st *London Handel Festival: Programme*, London, Battley Brothers, 1998, pp. 57-58. For the 1737 version, see ROLAND DIETER SCHMIDT, *Die mittlere Fassung von George Friedrich Händel 'Il trionfo del Tempo'*, HWV 46b (London 1737), in *Aspekte der englisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte*, pp. 69-96. Handel's *Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757) is based on *Il trionfo* of 1707-39; see HICKS, 22nd *London Handel Festival: Programme*, London, Catford Print Centre, 1999, pp. 39-41, and J. MERRILL KNAPP, *Handel's 'Il Trionfo del Tempo': 1707, 1737, and 1757*, «American Choral Review: From Schütz to Schubert, Essays on Choral Music», XXIV, nn. 2-3, 1982, pp. 39-47. *The Triumph of Time and Truth* could have been listed on Table 3 and discussed as a fourth adaptation/translation; but it was decided to bypass a work that has long been published,

The Florentine violinist Francesco Veracini (1690-1768) produced the third oratorio, *L'errore di Salomone*, in 1744, near the end of his twelve-year stay in London. He might have been induced to revise and revive this work, first performed at Florence in 1720, after seeing or hearing Boyce's *Solomon*, a «serenata» that was published and publicly performed in 1743, and is based on erotic texts from the Song of Solomon.⁸⁸ In the first version of Veracini's work, repeated warnings from the prophet Ahijah as well as a bolt of lightning convey God's message: that Solomon – a son of David and Bathsheba – must terminate his relationship with Arsinoe, the Queen of Sidonia. Solomon responds wisely, by donning penitential garb and repenting publicly. The London text is markedly different, in that Ahijah appears only once, no lightning is seen and Solomon revels until the end in erotic bliss.⁸⁹ This was accomplished by ending the 1744 version two-thirds of the way through the 1720 libretto, and by preserving only six of the twenty-five aria and choral texts in 1720.⁹⁰ The London version has nine fewer arias but one more chorus than the Florentine version. In 1744, the pleasures of love are delineated in all five choruses, two of which are repeated, as well as in the one aria that has a choral refrain. None of Veracini's music for this work is known to survive.

Veracini's oratorio is the third and last of the quasi-erotic Italian oratorios listed on Table 3. The next work, *I pellegrini* by Hasse / Giardini, concerns four pilgrims. They encounter a hermit, who shows them the city of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives in Part I, advises and obtains their prayers, repentance and praise in Part II, then shows them the sites from Gethsemane to the Holy Sepulchre in Part III. The texts of Parts I and III are identical to Parts I

recorded, and discussed in print in favor of three that are largely unknown. For recent bibliographical information, see HANS JOACHIM MARX, *Händels Oratorien, Oden und Serenaten: Ein Kompendium*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998.

⁸⁸ Boyce perhaps entitled it «a serenata» because of its non-dramatic character (only «he» and «she» are named as singers). It is labeled «an oratorio» on the libretto printed at Edinburgh c 1750, and it is classified as an «oratorio erotico» in BARTLETT, *Boyce and the Early English Oratorio*, p. 386. Another example of the mutability of genre names is noted *ibid.*, p. 296: *David's Lamentation* was called «a lyrical poem» in 1736 and «an oratorio» in 1740.

⁸⁹ The librettist must have created his tale from two unrelated items in I Kings 11: Solomon loved Astoreth, goddess of the Zidonians (vss. 5 and 33), and the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite appeared to Jereboam (vss. 29-30).

⁹⁰ The twenty-five text incipits are listed in JOHN WALTER HILL, *The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini*, Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1979 («Studies in Musicology», 3), pp. 402-403. The 1744 edition retained only six pieces: two choruses (1720, nos. 5 and 16), three arias for Arsinoe (nos. 6, 14 and 17) and one aria for Ahijah (no. 9).

and II of Pallavicini's original oratorio, so they could have retained all of Hasse's musical setting, which includes four arias plus the same «Lauda» at the end of each part.⁹¹ The new Part II includes three arias and, at the end, a chorus that is immediately followed by a double chorus.⁹² The texts for three of these five pieces were borrowed from two of Metastasio's works: the aria «Con miglior duce» was taken from *La morte d'Abel*, while the chorus «Di quanta pena è frutto», the aria «Sacri orrori, ombre felici», and the recitative preceding this aria were taken from *Sant'Elena al Calvario*.⁹³ Since none of the music added by Giardini has survived,⁹⁴ it is not known how much he composed or borrowed when he prepared this work for its performances in 1757 and 1764.

The last oratorio on Table 3, Barthélémon's *Jefté in Masfa*, is likewise a deeply serious work. It focuses on Jephtha's sorrow, his daughter's willingness to sacrifice her life, and God's intervention at the last instant which spares her life. Barthélémon's *Jefté in Masfa* was performed at London in 1782 for the benefit of the composer and his wife Maria, who portrayed Jephtha's daughter, Ifisa. She also sang this part at the first three performances of the work, given at Florence in November or December 1776.⁹⁵ Another who performed a role in both cities was the castrato Francesco Roncaglia, who portrayed Siba.⁹⁶ The extant pieces, printed in *Selections from Jefté in Masfa* (1827), are composed in a reserved Classical style that is far from the world of the «oratorio».

⁹¹ The complete text is printed in KOCH, *Die Oratorien Johann Adolf Hesses*, vol. II, pp. 195-202. The work is discussed in SCHERING, *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, pp. 218-220, and in KOCH, *Die Oratorien Johann Adolf Hesses*, vol. I, pp. 83-84, 105-106, 141-143, and II, pp. 31-35, 58-73 and 103.

⁹² As shown on Table 3, no copy of the 1757 libretto is known to survive. The text discussed here is therefore that of the 1764 edition.

⁹³ METASTASIO, *Tutte le opere*, a cura di Bruno Brunelli, Verona, Arnoldo Mondadori, 1965, vol. II, pp. 591, 565-567 and 1323. «Sacri orrori» is a replacement – in Bettinelli's edition of 1743 – for one in the original libretto of 1731; it was utilized, for example, in Hasse's 1746 setting for Dresden (KOCH, *Die Oratorien Johann Adolf Hesses*, vol. II, p. 231). No source has yet been found for the aria «Ma qual sarà quel fiume» or the double chorus «Come sarebbe ogn'alma».

⁹⁴ McVEIGH, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life*, pp. 162 and 310.

⁹⁵ MARCELLO DE ANGELIS, *Melodramma, spettacolo e musica nella Firenze dei Lorena: Francesco I, Pietro Leopoldo, Ferdinando III (1750-1800): Repertorio*, Milano, Giunta regionale toscana e Editrice bibliografica, 1991 («Inventari e cataloghi toscani», 37-38), pp. 239-240. Portions of *Jefté* were first performed in London at a concert in the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 27 April 1779 (McVEIGH, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life*, p. 104).

⁹⁶ Previously, his last known appearance at London had been ca. June 1781 (HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. XIII, pp. 85-86).

Each of the remaining seven productions listed on Table 3 is based on one of the *azione sacra* written by Metastasio for performances at the emperor's chapel in Vienna during the Holy Weeks of 1730-40. We cannot discuss the production of Jommelli's *Isaac* in 1761, because no text or music from it is known to survive.⁹⁷ Of the remaining six, the three given in Italian respected Metastasio's original text, while the three given in English translation introduced a multitude of alterations, which clearly illustrate the preference for «roratorios» in eighteenth-century London.

Jommelli's setting of *Betulia liberata* was performed only once in London, for the benefit of the castrato Tommaso Guarducci. Jommelli had composed *Isacco* and *Betulia* for the oratory attached to Santa Maria della Consolazione (or della Fava) at Venice in 1742 and 1743, respectively. The Venetian text had modified Metastasio's nine-year-old libretto in various ways.⁹⁸ The London edition is closer to the Viennese original, most notably in its restoration of two characters (Amital and Cabri) and two pieces (Cabri's «Ma qual virtù non cede» and the choral «Oh prodigio! Oh stupor!»). The Italian copy of Jommelli's score in GB-Lcm 305 is annotated with pencilled specifications for the London performance. The aria and chorus that were restored are not in Lcm 305, but the restoration of the first is indicated by the pencilled word «aria». It is not known whose music was utilized for these two pieces. Since the singers for each piece are named in Lcm 305 (see Table 3, no. 7), we know that Guarducci, for whose benefit the performance was mounted, sang five arias and joined Campioni in the only duet. Campioni and the other four singers each had only two arias.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Six years later, Tommaso Giordani set *Isaac* in an English translation that premièred in March 1767 at the Fishamble Street Music Hall in Dublin (GROVE, vol. VII, p. 394). Only two of its pieces – the accompanied recitative «Eternal God! if such thy stern Decree» and the air «Yes, o my God», both for bass voice – are known to have been performed in London. They were heard within the *pasticcio* produced on 19 March 1773 at Covent Garden. A copy of the text printed for this event is at GB-Lcm, XX.G.19/20.

⁹⁸ They are itemized in NICCOLÒ JOMMELLI, 'Betulia liberata' and 'La passione Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo', facsimile editions of two oratorios, introduced by Howard E. Smither, New York and London, Garland, 1986, p. [6].

⁹⁹ Six years later, the oratorio was produced in Italian at Edinburgh. The Italian/English libretto is at GB-Lbl, RB.23.a.8209: *Bethulia Delivered. A Sacred Nama* [sic]. Acted for the first time in the Hall of the Musical Society at Edinburgh, on Friday the 18th February 1774. The Poetry by the Celebrated Signor Metastasio. Set to Music by Signor Dominico Corri, Composer to the Society, Edinburgh, R. Fleming and A. Neill, 1774. Roles were sung by Signor and Signora «Cor[r]i» (Ozias and Judith), Signor St. Giorgio (Amital), Mr. Gilson (Achior), Miss Gilson (Charmi) and Mr. Scott (Chabri). The Edinburgh text faithfully reproduces that of Metastasio.

The two Metastasian settings that received the most performances in London were Johann Christian Bach's *Gioas* and Jommelli's *Passion*. Bach produced both of them at the King's Theatre in 1770 and 71, which were the only seasons when as many as two oratorios sung in Italian were heard in 18th-century London. Burney reported that the success of Bach's 1770 season was «neither flattering nor profitable, though the undertaking was patronised and frequently honoured with the presence of their Majesties».¹⁰⁰ One Member of Parliament provided jocular support for Burney's observation by saying that he would not go to a performance, for he had «no wish to intrude on his Majesty's privacy».¹⁰¹ And one choirboy later recollected Bach's unsuccessful attempt to imitate Handel and later organists: «Between the acts of these oratorios, Bach endeavour'd to play a Concerto upon the organ (by the express command of her Majesty, who as well as His Majesty were present). But this Concerto gave no pleasure to the Audience, and was absolutely hissed. All our boys laughed at the exhibition, so different was it from the true Organ Style of playing, to which we had been accustomed from hearing Worgan, Michael Arne, Doctor Dupuis, and Jonathan Battishill, unquestionably some of the greatest organists of the English school in their day».¹⁰²

J. C. Bach was exactly fifty years younger than Handel. According to the title page of the *Gioas* libretto, his music was «entirely new».¹⁰³ while Metastasio's text was «much altered and encreased by G. G. Bottarelli». Bottarelli altered Metastasio's text in order to suit British taste, in that he deleted much recitative,¹⁰⁴ replaced four texts¹⁰⁵ and added four choruses and four arias. Metastasio's oratorio texts typically include twelve arias, two choruses and a duet or third chorus, while London oratorios typically had up to nine more arias and seven more choruses.

¹⁰⁰ BURNEY, *A General History*, vol. II, 877.

¹⁰¹ WILLIAM THOMAS PARKE, *Musical Memoirs, comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England, from the First Commemoration of Handel in 1784 to the Year 1830*, London, Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830, vol. I, p. 55.

¹⁰² *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens, an Organist in Georgian London*, ed. by Mark Argent, London, Macmillan, 1992, p. 8.

¹⁰³ According to JOHANN CHRISTIAN BACH, *Collected Works*, ed. by Richard C. F. Maunder, New York and London, Garland, 1988, vol. XVII: *Gioas*, pp. x-xi, Bach did base the sinfonia and five of the seven choruses on earlier works; but he thoroughly recomposed them.

¹⁰⁴ Italian recitatives were frequently cut in the operas as well as the oratorios revised for London. Recitative was deemed generally repugnant in [JOHN] BROWN, *A Dissertation on the Rise, Union and Power, the Progressions, Separations and Corruptions of Poetry and Music*, London, L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1763, pp. 216 and 232-235. Brown's points were reiterated in [MADDISON,] *An Examination of the Oratorios*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Two arias, the one duet and the closing chorus.

Bach's setting is classical in terms of keys, orchestration and form. Only two of its twenty-three pieces are in minor keys. Trumpets are heard only in the *sinfonia* and two choruses, horns unobtrusively sustain notes or reinforce rhythmic motives in the remaining five choruses and in seven of the sixteen arias, and treble woodwinds sustain notes more often than they echo or double the violins. Since the long *da capo* form was no longer in favor in 1770, Bach replaced it with three abbreviated structures. Binary form – equivalent to the A section of a *da capo* aria – is utilized for nine pieces. Another nine employ a semblance of sonata form, in which A1 ends on the dominant, the ensuing B section is in related keys and the newly written A2 returns to the tonic. The remaining five employ a *dal segno* structure, in which the *da capo* consists of only the A2 section.¹⁰⁶ The last known performance of Bach's work was given at Edinburgh in 1776.¹⁰⁷

Jommelli (1714-74) represents a mid-point between Handel and Bach. In his setting of the *Passion* he resembles Handel in that he employs *da capo* form for all twelve arias, the duet and one of the three choruses. But he resembles pre-Classical composers like Porpora and Bach in that he utilizes minor keys for only one chorus and one aria. Like Porpora, he composed a wealth of Latin church music and many (64) operas. In 1749, when he became co-director of the papal chapel, he set Metastasio's *Passion* «a richiesta del suo Protettore Cardinal Duca di York»,¹⁰⁸ that is, Henry Benedict Stuart, the younger grandson of James II. Jommelli faithfully preserved every word of Metastasio's text, and the success of his setting was widespread. It received produc-

¹⁰⁶ Bach is following the general contraction in aria form that occurred in the 1760s-70s; see MICHAEL F. ROBINSON, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1972 (it. trans. Venezia, Marsilio, 1984), pp. 143-151. According to BROWN, *A Dissertation*, pp. 219-220, four of the six «Defects» in the music of oratorios are *da capo* structure, long choruses, choruses «calculated more for the Display of the Composer's Art, in the Construction of *Fugues* and *Canons*, than for a natural Expression of the Subject», and choruses «prepared by a correspondent Symphony of instrumental Music». Brown's points were reiterated in [MADDISON,] *An Examination of the Oratorios*, pp. 8-9. These writers may well have disapproved of Bach's lengthy choruses, which are outlined in Maunders' edition, pp. XVI-XXI. In *Gioas*, the first one («È Dio con noi»), for example, is 145 measures long; yet it has neither an opening instrumental ritornello nor extensive fugal passages (see mm. 106-116 and 125-135).

¹⁰⁷ Performances at Edinburgh in 1774, 1775 and 1776 are listed in BURCHELL, *Polite or Commercial Concerts*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ SAVERIO MATTEI, *Elogio di Jommelli*, in *Memorie per servire alla vita del Metastasio*, Colle, Angiolo M. Martini, 1785, p. 78; facs. rpt. in MARITA P. McCLYMONDS, *Niccolò Jommelli: The Last Years, 1769-74*, Ann Arbor, UMI Research Press, 1980 («Studies in Musicology», 23), p. 784. Mattei's praise is echoed in BUSBY, *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes*, vol. I, pp. 258-259 and 295-297. For information on Mattei, see ROBINSON, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*, p. 20.

tions in at least Rome, Castel S. Pietro, Trevi, Florence, Pistoia, Venice, Verona, Lisbon, Prague, Copenhagen, London,¹⁰⁹ Salisbury (5 October 1770),¹¹⁰ Edinburgh (26 March 1772, 31 March 1774 and an unspecified date in 1776)¹¹¹ and St. Petersburg (8 March 1779).¹¹² The newspaper advertisement for the first performance in London declared that the work «is too well known to every Person who has been at Rome, as well as to the Connoisseurs in Music, to stand in need of any Encomium on its Excellency».¹¹³ It must have conveyed a political as well as a religious and musical message to any auditor who knew that it had been commissioned by a grandson of James II. During its revival in 1770, Bremner printed the complete score, including recitatives and treble accompaniments. It is the *only* Italian oratorio for which such a score was printed in eighteenth-century London.¹¹⁴ It has served as the basis for a CD recording of the work.¹¹⁵

At first glance, Jommelli's oratorio seems less like a «roratorio» than

¹⁰⁹ Seventeen productions in the foregoing eleven cities are listed in CLAUDIO SARTORI, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 7 voll., Cuneo, Bertola & Locatelli, 1990-1994, nos. 17894, 17901, 17909-10, 17914, 17917, 17947, 17977-78, 17981, 17983-87, 17993 and 17998.

¹¹⁰ DOUGLAS J. REID, *Some Festival Programmes of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. I: Salisbury and Winchester*, «Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle», V, 1965, pp. 51-79: 57. Since Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* was performed after Jommelli's *Passione*, it seems likely that – as at London in 1770-71 – only the first part of the *Passione* was given.

¹¹¹ W. FORBES GRAY, *The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall*, «The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club», XIX, 1933, pp. 189-245: 205, and BURCHELL, *Polite or Commercial Concerts*, p. 74. An Italian/English libretto for the Edinburgh performance is in GB-Ob, Harding D.2441/7: *La passione di Gesù Cristo, Signor Nostro*, Edinburgh, Wal. Ruddiman and Co., 1772.

¹¹² R.-ALOYS MOOSER, *Opéras, intermezzos, ballets, cantates, oratorios joués en Russie durant le XVIII^e siècle*, [...] *essai d'un répertoire alphabétique et chronologique*, Geneva, A. Kundig, 1945, p. 105.

¹¹³ «The Public Advertiser» for 9 May 1764, which also notes that «The Gentleman who is the Proprietor of the copy of *La passione*, has been so kind as to give it to a *Public Charity*, for the Benefit of which it is to be performed». See also Table 3, no. 6.

¹¹⁴ *Samson*, printed by Walsh in 1763 (DEAN, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, p. 35), was the first English oratorio issued in full score. HOCHSTEIN, *Die Kirchenmusik von Niccolò Jommelli*, vol. II, pp. 268-270, lists fifty extant manuscript scores of Jommelli's *Passione*. Excerpts from Jommelli's work also survive (presumably in abundance). In GB-Lcm, for example, three eighteenth-century sources preserve six pieces: Giovanni's *accompagnato* «Dopo un pegno sì grande» and the ensuing duet «Vi sento, oh Dio, vi sento» for Pietro and Maddalena are in ms 718, ff. 30-42; the chorus «Quanto costa il tuo delitto» and Giuseppe's *accompagnato* «Qual terribil vendetta» and aria «All'idea de' tuoi perigli» are in ms 2060, ff. 100-117; and Giuseppe's aria «Torvido mar che fremere» is in a vocal/key-board reduction in ms 2256, ff. 66-69. Nine «scelte» – including three recitatives, three arias, one duet and two choruses – are preserved ms 2114, cc. 39v-60, which is a keyboard score written for a nineteenth-century organist.

¹¹⁵ Recorded in Palermo at the Oratorio dell'Immacolatella, March-April 1996, by soloists, the Ensembles Eufonia and Sigismondo D'India and the Berliner Barock Akademie, directed by Alessandro De Marchi, on the label K.617.

Bach's. Nothing was added for the 1765 production, and only one chorus was added for the 1770 production. The score has no trumpets or timpani, and its horns are utilized unobtrusively in less than half of the arias and choruses. In the six accompanied recitatives, treble instruments play their motives between vocal phrases, which allows characters to express their anguish freely, that is, without regard for written note-values. In arias, the orchestra provides a continuous rhythmic commotion, which intensifies whatever affect is being expressed. The central character is the guilt-ridden Peter, who had fled from the scene after thrice denying his master, and therefore did not witness the crucifixion. In the opening section of the first aria, for example, Peter emits screams of anguish via wide leaps and passage-work that utilize the complete tenor range, from small *c* to *c*². In the sharply contrasting B section, he weeps via descending chromaticisms.

In London, the entire score of Jommelli's *Passione* was conjecturally heard three times-once each in 1764, 1765 and 1770. At the remaining five renditions in 1770 and 1771, only Part I was heard, after which the *Stabat Mater* by Pergolesi and other works were performed.¹¹⁶ J. C. Bach presumably conjoined these works in order to attract some of those who were going to venues other than the King's Theatre. During Lent of 1770, productions at Covent Garden and Drury Lane included sixteen renditions of seven Handelian works, four of Samuel Arnold's new *Resurrection*, and an English version of Jommelli's complete *Passion*, the very work that Bach was performing in a shortened version in Italian.¹¹⁷

As mentioned above, there were three productions of Metastasian libretti translated into English. The only one for which a score survives is *The Passion*. Giardini is conjecturally the adapter who transformed Jommelli's score into a three-part work (Table 3, no. 7bis). He retained as much as possible, that is, the overture, two of the three choruses, the duet, eleven of the twelve

¹¹⁶ The notices in «The Public Advertiser» are somewhat garbled in *The London Stage*. In 1770, the *Stabat Mater* was heard before (not «after») the violoncello solo on March 8 and 15 (*ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 1460-61) and Signora Grassi (not Signor «Servi») and Guadagni were the soloists for the *Stabat Mater* on June 12, when it was followed by the violoncello solo, then – as at all other performances in 1770-71 – by «a grand Chorus composed by Signor Guglielmi» (*ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 1485). On 28 February and 7 March 1771, the *Stabat Mater* was performed after (not «in») the violin concerto (*ibid.*, IV, pp. 1530 and 1532).

¹¹⁷ See SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio*, III, pp. 203-207, for lists of the oratorios produced at London in 1760, 65, 70, 75, 80, 85, 90, 95 and 1800. In 1770, the «Handelian» works included three oratorios (*Messiah*, *Samson* and *Judas Maccabaeus*), two unstaged secular works (*Alexander's Feast* and *Acis and Galatea*) and two oratorios compiled from Handel's music (*Gideon* and *Israel in Babylon*).

arias, all six accompanied recitatives, and part or all of each *secco recitative*. In each recitative, the vocal lines were altered in order to fit the new English texts. Only the chorus and three of the borrowed arias retained Jommelli's full *da capo* structure. Three were shortened by the *dal segno* employed by J. C. Bach (in which the *da capo* consists of only the A2 section). In two arias for Giuseppe, the B sections led *subito* to an added chorus, which thus «replaces» the *da capo*.

In three arias and the duet, Jommelli's form has been reduced to its A section, which produced the binary form that was heavily favored by J. C. Bach and other pre-Classic composers. Not surprisingly, it is also the form of the newly added arias, which tend to be unswervingly tender in mood. Thus they contrast sharply with Jommelli's melodramatic expression of every change in the mood of his texts. The only replacement aria in the English score provides an excellent example. Jommelli set «Come a vista di pene si fiere» for Giovanni in 2/4 and C minor, with wide leaps and rushing scales in the A section. His B section is a complete change in character, consisting of an *Adagio* recitative followed by a *Larghetto* lament in 3/4 and F minor. The tender English replacement, «How could the Heavens see a suffering Deity», is a *Larghetto* in 3/8 and Eb major. It is scored for two horns, two flutes, bassoons, strings, and a vocal part marked «Tenducci». The castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci was singing in London during the spring of 1770,¹¹⁸ and thus portrayed the role of St. John in English, a fact hitherto unknown. It is not known who portrayed the other characters: St. Peter, Joseph of Arimathea, Mary Magdalen and Martha.

Jommelli's work was significantly altered by the addition of one *sinfonia*,¹¹⁹ one duet, five arias, and twelve choruses. The libretto identifies the composers of eight of the added choruses: three are by (Leonardo) Leo, two by (Franz Xaver) Richter, and one each by Carlo Meli, (Karl Heinrich) Graun and (Francesco) Barsanti.¹²⁰ Jommelli's work is clearly focussed on the key of E^b. The English version retains this focus through the beginning of Part III. But eight of its added choruses are in D major,¹²¹ and Part III

¹¹⁸ See HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary*, XIV, p. 395.

¹¹⁹ It is in C minor and serves as a thirty-one-measure introduction to Jommelli's first chorus, which is in G minor.

¹²⁰ A ninth chorus («At the dangers thee attending»), which serves as the *da capo* for Giuseppe's aria on the same text, is based on Jommelli's score for this aria («All'idea de' tuoi perigli»).

¹²¹ D was also the key for a ninth chorus («See, behold, the Jewish king!» in Part II). Only its first page remains in the score, since it was replaced by a different setting in C major. According to the libretto, «Graun» composed at least one of these settings.

ends with two large-scale plagal cadences in D: an air in G is followed by a chorus in D, then a duet in G leads to a chorus in D. These choruses typically utilize trumpets, and thus introduce a «ratorio» character, which seems markedly inappropriate to the content of the penitential text.

The other two translations of Metastasio were both based on *La morte d'Abel* (1732). Arne's setting was performed five times in 1755-64, while Arnold's revision of Piccinni's 1758 setting was given three times in 1768-69, then – in a significantly reworked version – three more times in 1771-73. Arne's setting had debuted in Dublin, where performances were given at the Smock-Alley Theatre on 18 and 25 February 1744. They were preceded and followed by performances – in Mr. Neal's Great Musick Hall in Fishamble-street – of Handel's *Messiah*, which had had its première at Dublin in 1742.¹²² Metastasio's text has twelve arias for five roles (Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel and an Angel) and two choruses, one at the end of each part. The unknown translator and adapter gave the name Raphael to Metastasio's angel, then added roles for Lucifer and the angel Gabriel. He followed Metastasio's sequence of arias through much of the first of his three parts. But he added many pieces, so that the new totals are eighteen arias, four duets and eleven choruses. The most striking additions are Lucifer and the «Chorus of Infernal Spirits». When Lucifer appears in Part II, he encourages the «Infernals» to «rouse his [Cain's] Pride and Indignation». In III, after Cain has slain Abel, Lucifer is triumphant: «Let Confusion ever reign, and Man, like us, rebel». The chorus ferociously sings through its final line: «let Hell make Holiday».

The extant tenor part for the eleven choruses in the work illustrates their great length, their imitative texture, and the aptness of their keys for the affect expressed in their texts. The oratorio opens and closes with imitative choruses in C major that praise Jehovah's mercy. The first is the only chorus in da capo form, which has a 55 bar A section and a 32 bar B section. The penultimate chorus, «'Tis Death. O dreadful Death!», is aptly a brief, declamatory piece in F minor. The other two choruses in minor keys are each about 60 bars long. In the first, in G minor, the Angels sing about the «rebel Angels»; in the other, in C minor, the «Infernals» utilize 2/2 meter for their first menacing chorus («Let them fall, who wou'd rise / On our Overthrow»). In their second chorus, which is a «Sprightly March» (115 bars, D major, 2/2), trumpets and drums undoubtedly augmented their «infernal» roar. Part II was given a pastoral char-

acter by three of its choruses. «Peace! descending» (113 bars, D major, 3/4) is in binary form, in which each half was repeated. «Welcome to Nature, gay to Sight» is the culmination (24 bars, A major, 3/4) of a joyful aria and a duet. «In the dear Bosom of thy Father's Love» ends act II with 123 placid bars in 4/4 and E^b major. The only air which survives, «How chearful along the gay Mead», is sung by Eve near the beginning of Act III; it is marked «siciliano amoroso» and is completely pastoral in character (two strophes, D major, 6/8). The only «Hallelujah» chorus in the work ends Act I. Its first two lines (80 bars, A major, 3/4) may have been set and sung quietly, but the remaining five lines (105 bars, D major, 4/4) clearly call for «the Trumpet's Blast»:

There we tune our heav'nly Lyres,
And glow with pure seraphic Fires:
Then join our Voices in Accord
To Heav'n and Earth's triumphant Lord:
While *Hallelujahs* join the Trumpet's Blast,
To sound our Maker's Praise, *Him* first, *Him* last.
Hallelujah.

In 1768, Edward Toms and Samuel Arnold produced a new setting of Metastasio's text, entitled *The Death of Abel*. In its Parts II-III, it cuts much of Metastasio's recitative, but provides English versions of all fourteen pieces in the 1732 libretto. Piccinni's ten-year-old score for Naples is presumably the source for these pieces, except for the closing chorus in Part III, which the London libretto attributes to Leo. Within each of these parts (II and III), one aria and two choruses were added. The libretto identifies Corelli, Pergolesi and Carissimi as the composers of three of the four added choruses.

In 1768, Part I was entitled «The Morning Hymn from Milton's *Paradise Lost*»,¹²³ which aptly served as a prelude to Metastasio's drama. Johann Ernest Galliard's setting of Milton's text had been published in 1728. He is named in the 1768 libretto as the composer of the only duet, while Carissimi is named as the composer of one chorus and Pergolesi of the remaining two. No composer is named for the seven arias, but they were presumably those named in the libretto for a *Concerto Spirituale* of 8 April 1772. Its text is identical with Part I in 1768, and it names composers for all of the arias: Piccinni for three, (Antonio) Sacchini for two, and Jommelli and Arnold for one each.¹²⁴

¹²² BRIAN BOYDELL, *A Dublin Musical Calendar, 1700-1760*, Dublin, Irish Academic Press, 1988, pp. 81 and 97.

¹²³ JOHN MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, Book V, lines 153-208.

¹²⁴ GB-Lcm, XX.G.20/8. I am grateful to Anthony Hicks, who found and described this libretto before I examined it.

The libretto for the revival of 1770 contains eighteen airs, one duet and ten choruses. Thirteen of the airs and six of the choruses are found in Parts II-III of the 1768 edition. The four new choruses are attributed to Pergolesi, Richter, Mr. Bach and Jommelli. This adaptation of Metastasio resembles the English *Passion* of 1770, because it divides Metastasio's first part into two parts, then adds many «tropes» to the few Metastasian pieces. In other words, Part I adds two airs and four choruses before, between and after Metastasio's first four arias. Part II similarly adds four airs, one duet and two choruses to Metastasio's next two arias and closing chorus. The chorus that closes Part I in Metastasio's libretto became the fifth to last piece in Part II of the English version. Its Part III utilizes five of the six arias in Metastasio's Part II, adds two choruses, and – as in the 1768 edition – replaces Metastasio's closing choral text with one that utilized music by Leo:

Come, ye bright angelic choirs,
Join your voices, strike your lyres;
Sound the lofty strain ye sung
When, at *his word*, creation sprung;
When, flaming o'er the dark profound,
The constellations blaz'd around,
And shew'd the well-poiz'd earth in ether hung;
Make heav'n's high dome with praises ring
To our Almighty and Eternal King.

HALLELUJAH.

AMEN.

Surely this text – which totally ignores the sombre character of Metastasio's closing chorus¹²⁵ – calls for «roaring». It thus follows an English tradition – already present in the Rolli/Porpora *David e Bersabea* of 1734 – in which an oratorio «always ends with an Alleluia, when everybody in the theatre quietly and devoutly rises».¹²⁶ English traditions differed significantly from the Italian. In London, oratorios were given in public theaters, and profit – for all those involved in the endeavor – was the main motive. As in plays and operas, there were three parts or acts, which required more set pieces than the two parts or acts in Italian works. Choruses were exceedingly numerous, surprisingly long and texturally complex. Handel established the English

¹²⁵ «Parla l'estinto Abelle, e colle chiare | Voci del sangue il parricida accusa. | Mortali, a noi si parla. Ognun di noi | Ha parte nel delitto, | Ma non l'ha nel dolor. Detesta ognuno | Le vie degli empi, e v'introduce il piede; | Aborrisce Caino, e in sé nol vede».

¹²⁶ KIELMANSEGGE, *Diary*, p. 273.

oratorio in all its glory, but before the rebellion of 1745 he did not abandon a practice of utilizing Italians who sang expressively in their own language. He produced one oratorio in Italian in 1737-39. The other eight works produced in Italian include two – by Veracini and Barthélemon – that were apparently forgotten after their brief runs in Florence and London. The remaining four «imports» – Hasse's *I pellegrini* and Jommelli's *Isacco*, *La passione* and *Betulia libertata* – were acclaimed and repeatedly revised and revived on the Continent.¹²⁷ Only two Italian works were written specifically for the London audience: Porpora's *David e Bersabea* and J. C. Bach's *Gioas, re di Giuda*. Since their scores survive, revivals of both will be welcome. This is especially true for Porpora's work, since it was the first «new Thing» performed in Italian, was written in response to Handel's first public productions of oratorios and was reportedly rough and noisy. If full scores are found for the English adaptations of Metastasio's texts, productions of them should likewise be fascinating. Because of their many added choruses, their roar should be much more conspicuous than that in Porpora's or any other Italian work. As noted above, even Lucifer and his henchmen were added to Arne's *Abel* in 1755, and many D major choruses were added to *The Passion* in 1770.

Handel was responsible for the birth and flowering of theatrical productions of the «new Thing» in eighteenth-century England. At first, it was attacked as unsuitable, and some must have always found it «rather strange to hear on one day a comedy, which is often very worldly, and on the following day, in the same place, sacred music».¹²⁸ But during the eighteenth century, the English public soon began to relish English oratorios, while remaining cool towards those in Italian (most of which had originally been commissioned by Catholic churches or clerics, one of which was the Cardinal Duke of York, brother to the Young Pretender). Italian scores and libretti did provide listeners with fine opportunities to hear a dozen oratorios – by Porpora, Handel, Veracini, Abel, Hasse/Giardini, Jommelli (three works), Piccinni/Arnold, Jommelli/?Giardini, J. C. Bach, and Barthélemon. Although most of their works focused on the tender affects associated with the pre-Classic style, they also managed to «roul and rumble about», so as to attain the noise level of a «roratorio», which seems to have been a prerequisite for acceptance of the «new Thing» in London.

¹²⁷ See note 109 above for Sartori's listings (17 productions in 11 cities) for Jommelli's *La passione*. He lists more cities (14) for Hasse's *I pellegrini*, but they are limited geographically to Northern Italy (4), Germany (9) and London. His eleven for Jommelli's *Isacco* are in Italy (10) and Braunschweig, and his ten for Jommelli's *Betulia liberata* are in Italy (9) and Prague.

¹²⁸ KIELMANSEGGE, *Diary*, p. 273.

TABLE 1 - *Oratorios in English or Italian performed publicly in London, 1732-83*
 day of first performance, composer / librettist, *title* (reference to T[table] 2 or 3),
 number of performances / seasons → last performance before 1784. On Tables 1-
 3, the titles of works sung entirely in Italian are underlined. On Table 1, the names
 of Italians are likewise underlined.

1732 may 2	Handel / Humphreys (1718, revised) <i>Esther</i> (T. 2)	26 / 12 → 1779
1733 feb 16	De Fesch / Huggins, <i>Judith</i>	2 / 2 → 1740
1733 mar 17	Handel / Humphreys, <i>Deborah</i> (T. 2)	23 / 11 → 1781
1734 mar 12	<u>Porpora</u> / <u>Rolli</u> , <u><i>David e Bersabea</i></u> (T. 3)	10 / 2 → 1735
1735 apr 1	Handel / Humphreys, <i>Athalia</i> (T. 2)	8 / 2 → 1756
1737 mar 23	Handel / <u>Pamphili</u> (Rome 1707, revised), <u><i>Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità</i></u> (T. 2 and T. 3)	5 / 2 → 1739
[1738 apr 28	Handel, <i>An Oratorio</i> (T. 2) = a «concerto spirituale» in three parts; it and nineteen similar events are <i>not</i> counted as oratorios in this article	20 / 13 → 1776]
1739 jan 16	Handel / Jennens, <i>Saul</i> (T. 2)	15 / 7 → 1754
1739 apr 4	Handel / Exodus &c., <i>Israel in Egypt</i> (T. 2)	15 / 11 → 1777
1740 feb 22	Smith / Lockman, <i>David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan</i>	8 / 2 → 1741
1743 feb 18	Handel / Hamilton, <i>Samson</i>	81 / 35 → 1783
1743 mar 23	Handel / Jennens, <i>Messiah</i>	131 / 37 → 1783
1743 nov 1	Boyce / Croxall-Moore, <i>Solomon</i> , «serenata»	6 / 5 → 1767
1744 mar 2	Handel / Miller, <i>Joseph and His Brethren</i>	10 / 5 → 1757
1744 mar 20	<u>Veracini</u> / <u>Berzini</u> , <u><i>L'errore di Salomone</i></u> (T. 3)	2 / 1
1745 mar 20	De Fesch / anon, <i>Joseph</i>	2 / 1
1745 mar 27	Handel / Jennens, <i>Belsazzar</i>	6 / 3 → 1758
1746 feb 14	Handel / Hamilton, <i>Occasional Oratorio</i>	7 / 3 → 1763
1747 apr 1	Handel / Morell, <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	95 / 35 → 1783
1748 mar 9	Handel / anon, <i>Joshua</i>	9 / 5 → 1778
1748 mar 23	Handel / Morell, <i>Alexander Balus</i>	7 / 4 → 1773
1749 feb 10	Handel / anon, <i>Susanna</i>	5 / 2 → 1759
1749 mar 17	Handel / anon, <i>Solomon</i>	7 / 4 → 1782
1750 mar 16	Handel / Morell, <i>Theodora</i>	6 / 4 → 1767
1752 feb 26	Handel / Morell, <i>Jephtba</i>	10 / 7 → 1777
1755 feb 13	Barbandt / Pope, <i>The Universal Prayer</i>	4 / 3 → 1760
1755 mar 12	Arne / <u>Metastasio-trans.</u> , <i>Abel</i> (T. 3)	5 / 3 → 1764
1756 mar 25	Barbandt / Milton, <i>Paradise Regained</i>	2 / 2 → 1761
1757 mar 11	Handel / Morell, <i>The Triumph of Time and Truth</i> (a revision of <i>Il trionfo</i> , 1737 mar 23)	7 / 3 → 1760
1757 mar 25	Hasse- <u>Giardini</u> / <u>Pallavicini</u> , <u><i>I pellegrini</i></u> (T. 3)	2 / 2 → 1764

1758 mar 9	Barbandt / Rowe, <i>Oratorio on the Divine Veracity</i>	1 / 1
1760 feb 29	Smith / Milton-Stillingfleet, <i>Paradise Lost</i>	4 / 3 → 1774
1760 mar 12	Stanley / Hawkesworth, <i>Zimri</i>	2 / 2 → 1761
1761 jan 21	<u>Jommelli</u> / <u>Metastasio</u> , <u><i>Isaac</i></u> (T. 3)	1 / 1
1761 jan 28	Barbandt / anon, <i>David and Jonathan</i>	3 / 1
1761 feb 27	Arne / Bickerstaffe, <i>Judith</i>	7 / 5 → 1773
1761 mar 4	Smith / ? Stillingfleet, <i>Rebecca</i>	1 / 1
1763 mar 4	Handel &c. / Brown, <i>The Cure of Saul</i> , «sacred ode»	2 / 1
1763 apr 15	Avison- <u>Giardini</u> / Haweis, <i>Ruth</i>	2 / 2 → 1765
1764 mar 16	Handel-Smith / Morell, <i>Nabal</i>	2 / 1
1764 apr 3	Worgan / Smart, <i>Hannah</i>	1 / 1
1764 apr 12	Handel pasticcio / Toms, <i>Israel in Babylon</i>	5 / 4 → 1770
1764 may 9	<u>Jommelli</u> / <u>Metastasio</u> , <u><i>La passione</i></u> (T. 3)	8 / 4 → 1771
1766 apr 30	Worgan / anon, <i>Manasseh, King of Judah</i>	2 / 2 → 1767
1767 jan 23	Arnold &c. / Brown, <i>The Cure of Saul</i> , «sacred ode»	7 / 4 → 1771
1768 feb 24	<u>Piccinni</u> -Arnold / <u>Metastasio</u> -Toms, <i>The Death of Abel</i> (T. 3)	6 / 5 → 1773
1768 feb 25	<u>Jommelli</u> / <u>Metastasio</u> , <u><i>The Deliverance of Bethulia</i></u> (T. 3)	1 / 1
1768 mar 16	Arnold / Smart, <i>Abimelech</i>	3 / 2 → 1772
1768 may 25	<u>Giardini</u> / Haweis, <i>Ruth</i>	11 / 11 → 1780
1769 feb 10	Handel-Smith / Morell, <i>Gideon</i>	3 / 2 → 1770
1770 mar 9	Arnold / anon, <i>The Resurrection</i>	10 / 6 → 1776
1770 mar 16	<u>Jommelli</u> -? <u>Giardini</u> / <u>Metastasio-trans.</u> , <u><i>The Passion</i></u> (T. 3)	1 / 1
1770 mar 22	J. C. Bach / <u>Metastasio</u> (ed. <u>Bottarelli</u>), <u><i>Gioas, re di Giuda</i></u> (T. 3)	6 / 2 → 1771
1773 mar 5	Arnold / Hull, <i>The Prodigal Son</i>	13 / 4 → 1778
1773 may 5	Atterbury / anon, <i>Goliath</i>	1 / 1
1774 feb 25	Handel-Arnold / Toms, <i>The Omnipotence</i>	12 / 5 → 1779
1774 mar 23	Stanley / Hawkesworth, <i>The Fall of Egypt</i>	3 / 2 → 1775
1776 mar 20	Hook / Bible verses, <i>The Ascension</i>	2 / 2 → 1778
1777 mar 12	Lindley jr. / Hoadly, <i>The Song of Moses</i>	2 / 2 → 1778
1777 may 14	Fisher / Smart-compiler, <i>Providence</i>	4 / 4 → 1781
1782 may 3	Barthélemon / <u>Semplici</u> , <u><i>Isté in Masfa</i></u> (T. 3)	1 / 1

TABLE 2 - Oratorios composed and conducted by Handel, in which one or more Italian singers (named below) apparently performed partly or entirely in Italian.

1734	<i>Deborah</i>	Carestini
1735	<i>Esther</i>	Carestini (?4 arias)
	<i>Deborah</i>	Carestini
	<i>Athalia</i>	Carestini (5 arias, 1 duet, ?1 recitative), Strada (1 duet)
1736	<i>Esther</i>	Arrigoni
1737	<i>Trionfo</i>	Bertolli, Conti, Strada, ?Maria Negri (see Table 3)
	<i>Esther</i>	Annibali, Bertolli, Conti (?at least 6 arias and 1 duet)
	[<i>Deborah</i>]	Annibali, Chimenti, Conti are named in the plan for a revival]
1738	<i>An Oratorio</i>	Caffarelli, Chimenti, Francescina, Marchesini, Merighi, Montagnana (they sang 11 arias, 2 duets and 5 recitatives)
1739	<i>Trionfo</i>	Reinhold, Mrs Davis and two others (see Table 3)
	<i>Israel</i>	Francescina (3 arias and 2 recitatives at the second and third performances)
1740	<i>Esther</i>	Francescina
1741	<i>Saul</i>	Andreoni
1744	<i>Deborah</i>	two unidentified Italians at the second performance (16 pieces)

Sources for TABLE 2: OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1955; WINTON DEAN, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, London, Oxford University Press, 1959; DONALD BURROWS, *Handel's 1738 Oratorio: A Benefit Pasticcio*, and HOWARD SERWER, *The Italians in 'Esther'*, both in *Georg Friedrich Händel – ein Lebensinhalt: Gedenkschrift für Berndt Baselt*, hrsg. Klaus Hortschansky und Konstanze Musketa, Halle an der Saale, Händel-Haus, 1995, pp. 11-38 and 77-89; and unpublished information from Donald Burrows and Anthony Hicks.

TABLE 3 - Sources for the nine oratorios performed in *Italian* and the three settings of English translations of Metastasio's texts performed at London in 1734-82.

Abbreviations:

L = libretto (name of its printer), S = score(s), E = excerpts from the score.

Newspaper advertisements are the primary source for information in *The London Stage*, ed. by William Van Lennep et al., 5 parts in 11 vols., Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1965-68. Advertisements are cited here only when *The London Stage* provides incomplete or incorrect citations.

1. PAOLO ANTONIO ROLLI, *David e Bersabea*, set by Nicola Porpora.

1734 L (Sam. Aris): C-Tu, F-Pc Rés. V.S. 662, GB-Bp MLA.Y82.12.PlaysB/43, GB-Cu S721.d.70.49/1, GB-Lbl 11714.aa.22/9, I-Bc 7742, I-Vqs, US-Hw ML53.2.D3P6.1734, US-LAu ML50.2.F272.A77.1734, US-Wc. «Composto [...] per la Nobiltà Britannica»; with a frontispiece by G. Grisoni / B. Baron and a dedicatory sonnet from Rolli to Maria How Herbert, Contessa di Pembroke.

1735 L (Sam. Aris): GB-Lbl 11715.aaa.33. It is identical with the 1734 edition, except for the year 1735 and the four inserted folios, which provide six new arias: five for Joab, now portrayed by Farinelli, and one for Bersabea (Francesca Cuzzoni). Brown ink on pp. 10, 13, 18, 34, 38 and 42 identifies six passages that were deleted or abbreviated. This copy is bound in red leather, with the arms of G[eorge] R[ex] stamped in gold. A modern edition is in PAOLO ROLLI, *Libretti per musica*, a cura di Carlo Caruso, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1993, pp. 333-354.

1734 S: A-Wn 18594, 242 ff., signed by the copyist Adamo Scola, who worked in London.

1734 E: GB-Cfm MU.MS.180 (2.F.23), ff. 57-78, and MU.MS.633 (52.B.1), ff. 113-138. Both include the climactic scene, consisting of David's accompagnato «Ahi! ahi! giusto rimprovero», the coro «Pietà, mercé, misericordia, o Dio», and David's accompagnato «Ahi! misero, peccai». The former ms also includes the choruses «Nuove grazie» and «Alleluia. Amen». The latter also includes four arias: «Cortese talora» for Abigail and «Fu del braccio onnipotente», «Sì, ch'è la tua beltà» and «Sovra'l guerriero» for David (Senesino).

2. BENEDETTO PAMPHILJ (Cardinal), *Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità*, set by George Frederic Handel for Rome in 1707 and revised by him for London.

1737 L (T. Wood): US-BE ML48.C586, US-PRu James Hall Collection. «Da Contarsi [sic] nel Reggio Teatro d'Covent-Garden. Done into English by Mr. George Oldmixon». Oldmixon, in other words, translated the text that was sung.

1737 *autograph* S: GB-Lbl R.M.20.f.10, 39 ff., with displaced pages in GB-Cfm MU.MS.251, pp. 9-20. See Donald Burrows and MARTHA J. RONISH, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1994, pp. 161-162 and 216-217.

1737-39 *conducting* S: D-Hs M/A 1060, 110 ff., which include Handel's annotations made for his 1737-39 performances. See HANS DIETER CLAUSEN, *Händels Direktionspartituren* («Handexemplare»), Hamburg, Karl Dieter Wagner, 1972 («Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft», 7), pp. 243-244.

1737 S: GB-Cfm MU.MS.835, GB-Lbl Add. 31568, Egerton 2934, R.M.18.c.8, R.M.19.f.1, *Gerald Coke Handel Collection* Shaftesbury ms. Anthony Hicks has kindly supplied the list of ms sources given in this entry and in 1737 E.

1737 E: GB-Lbl R.M.18.c.11, R.M.19.e.5 (3 partbooks), GB-Mpl 130 Hd.4. v. 28-33, 35, 37-45, 247-248, 351-353 (21 partbooks).

3. GIO. PIETRO BERZINI, *L'errore di Salomone*, set by Francesco Maria Veracini for Florence in 1720 (as *La caduta del savio nell'idolatria di Salomone*) and revised by him for London.

1744 L (no printer is named): GB-Cu S721.d.70.49/2, US-LAu ML50.2.F272.A77.1734. «Nel Teatro di S. M. B.» (I am grateful to Ruth Smith, who kindly examined this libretto before I obtained a copy of it.).

3bis. PIETRO METASTASIO, *La morte d'Abel*, translated as *Abel* and set in English by Thomas Augustine Arne.

1755 L (R. Francklin): F-Pc Rés.V.S. 525, US-Cn, US-PR Ex.3609.37.311. «As it is Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal, in Drury-Lane».

[1764?] L (T. Lowndes): GB-Lbl R.M.5.e.6/4, US-PROu Rock.Storage.Cutter.-YQC.M64. «The Sacrifice: or Death of Abel [...] As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden». Arne's work is not known to have been performed at Covent Garden. According to *The London Stage*, the two performances advertised under the title «The Sacrifice: or The Death of Abel» were at Drury Lane on 4 March 1762 (IV, p. 920) and at the King's Theatre on 8 February 1764 (IV, p. 1038). The «edition of 1764» cited in IV, p. 1038, is presumably this edition, which might have been printed in 1764.

[1755] E: GB-Lbl Add. 46122, ff. 37-43: «The Chorus's in Abel, D^r Arne». On the fly-leaf is written «Tenor / W^m Davis». Only the tenor part for the eleven choruses is here.

[1755-83] E: «The Favourite Hymn of Eve: How chearful along the gay mead», a printed song sheet; in GB-Lbl (seven editions antedating 1784), GB-Lgc 33/22, GB-Ob Harding Mus.G.11/7 and 11/8, US-DM.

4. STEFANO BENEDETTO PALLAVICINI, *I pellegrini*, set by Johann Adolf Hasse for Dresden in 1742 (as *I pellegrini al sepolcro di Nostro Signore*) and revised by Felice Giardini for London.

1757 L: No copy is known to be extant. *The London Stage* cit., IV, p. 588, cites the list of performers named in «The Public Advertiser» for 25 March 1757, but deletes

the following: «Books of the Oratorio may be had of Mr. Woodfall, Printer, at Charing-cross, and at the Theatre, Price 1S».

1764 L (Francklin and Bunce): F-Pc Rés.V.S.540. «The Music by Signor Gio. Ad. Hasse. With Additions by Signor Felice Giardini».

1806[-1815] E: A piano/vocal version of «Pellegrino è l'uomo in terra» (which Hasse added at the end of his oratorio for the Dresden performance on Good Friday, 1751, according to the score in GB-Lbl Add. 32024) is in CHRISTIAN I. LATROBE, *Selection of Sacred Music from the Works of Some of the Most Eminent Composers of Germany and Italy*, London, Robert Birchall, 1806, vol. III, pp. 161-167. Keyboard versions of two choruses – «Le porte a noi disserra» (the «Hymn» or «Lauda» that ends Parts I and III) and «Pellegrino è l'uomo in terra» – are in WILLIAM CROTCH, *Specimens of Various Styles of Music*, 3rd edition, London, Cramer, Addison and Beale, [ca. 1808-15]), vol. II, pp. 132-137.

5. METASTASIO, *Isaac*, set by Niccolò Jommelli for Venice in 1742 (as *Isacco figura del Redentore*).

1761: No libretto is known. *The London Stage*, IV, p. 838, cites the list of performers named in «The Public Advertiser» for 21 January 1761, but deletes the following: «The whole Band to be conducted by Sig. Cocchi [...]. The first Violin by Sig. [Thomas] Pinto, the Rest of the Orchestra by the ablest Hands». Gioacchino Cocchi, who supervised productions at the King's Theatre in 1757-62, conjecturally organized, conducted, and perhaps altered this «Italian Oratorio [...] in two Acts» for its single performance «at the Great Room in Dean-street, Soho».

6. METASTASIO, *La Passione*, set by Jommelli for Rome in 1749.

1764: No libretto is known. The listing in «The Public Advertiser» for 9 May 1764 (which is not in *The London Stage*) is as follows: «For One Night only. At the King's Theatre, Haymarket, This Day, May 9, will be performed *La Passione*. Set to Music by Signor Niccolò Jommelli. The First Violin by Mr. Giardini, And the Opera Band [...]. N.B. To do Justice to this excellent Performance, another *Rehearsal* was thought necessary, on which Account it could not be performed on Thursday last as intended». Two other passages from this advertisement have been cited above (see note 113 and the text to which this note refers).

1765 L (H. Cock): F-Pc, US-Wc ML53.2.P28]6.1765.case. «To be Performed at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market». No date for a performance in 1765 is known.

1770 L (W. Griffin): GB-Cu S721.d.70.4/5, GB-Lbl 1608/4555/4, GB-Ob Harding D.2456/5. «As Perform'd at the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market». The text is identical with the 1765 edition, except for the chorus «Ah, se muor l'eterna proles», which was added immediately after the aria «Se la pupilla inferna».

[1770] S (R. Bremner): *La Passione di Nostro Signore Giesù Cristo*. Thirty-three copies of this print are listed in RISM, A/I, s.v. J 568, and seven copies of two 18th-cen-

ture reprints are listed *ibid.*, s.v. J 569. A facsimile reprint is in *The Italian Oratorio, 1650-1800*, introduction by Howard Smither, New York, Garland, 1986, vol. XVIII. Since Bremner reproduces Jommelli's score, he does not include the chorus added in the 1770 libretto.

[1815] E: A keyboard arrangement of the final chorus, «Santa speme», is printed in CROTCH, *Specimens*, vol. III, pp. 30-31.

6bis. METASTASIO, *La morte d'Abel*, translated by Edward Toms as *The Death of Abel* and set in English by Samuel Arnold on the basis of Niccolò Piccinni's setting for Naples in 1758.

[1768] L (Sold at the Theatre): F-Pc Rés.V.S.520, GB-Bp LL.Ap852.57, GB-Lbl 1342.k.19, Ob Vet.A5e.3801. «An Oratorio, from the Italian of Metastasio, and the Morning Hymn, from Milton's Paradise Lost; As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in the Hay-makert [sic]. The music by Signor Niccolò Piccini. With Additional Choruses from other eminent Masters». In its citation of «The Public Advertiser» for 24 February 1768, *The London Stage*, IV, p. 1313, makes three mistakes: Niccolò Piccini (rather than Niccolò Piccinni), Evening (rather than Morning) Hymn, and «First Violin Solo» rather than «The First Violin and a Solo» by Mr. Barthélémon.

[1770] L (Sold at the Theatre): GB-Lcm XX.G.19/17, GB-Lcm XX.G.20/7, US-NY-cub Pamphlet 820.12Z.v.2. «An Oratorio, from the Italian of Metastasio, as it is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden. The Music by Signor Niccolò Piccini [sic]. With Additional Choruses by other Eminent Masters». (I am grateful to Anthony Hicks, who kindly examined this edition before I was able to consult it.).

7. METASTASIO, *The Deliverance of Bethulia*, set by Jommelli for Rome in 1743 (as *Bethulia liberata*).

1768 L (no printer is named): GB-Lbl 1600/72, GB-Ob Vet.A5d.698. «As Performed at His Majesty's Theatre in the Haymarket, for the Benefit of Signor Guarducci, Musician to His Royal Highness the Great Duke of Tuscany, on the 25th of February 1768».

1768 S: GB-Lcm 305, 88 ff. + 69 ff., which is an Italian (probably a Roman) copy with pencilled specifications for the 1768 production. The sopranos «Campolini» (Luisa), «Guarducci» (Tommaso) and «Quercioli» (Anna Maria) shared the role of Giuditta. The sopranos «Savoio» (Gaspere) and «Guarducci» shared that of Ozia. «Quercioli» also sang the role of Cabri, while the bass «Morigi» (Andrea) sang that of Achiorre and the tenor «Moser» (Francesco) sang those of Amit and Charmi.

7bis. METASTASIO, *La Passione*, translated as *The Passion* and set in English on the basis of Jommelli's setting for Rome in 1749.

[1770] L (Sold at the Theatre): US-Ws Acc.155 228.13. «From the Italian of Metastasio. The Music by Signor Niccolò Jommelli, With Additional Choruses. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden». *The London Stage*, IV, p. 1461, cites «The Public Advertiser» for 16 March 1770, but deletes the following: «First Violin and a Solo by Mr. Giardini; Concerto on the French Horn by Mr. Rodolfo [Jean Joseph Rodolphe]». Giardini was conjecturally responsible for organizing and directing this production.

1770 S: D-Hs Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung, M A/144, 146 ff.: *The Passion, an Oratorio* [Jommelli's Italian Oratorio *La Passione*, translated and occasionally altered, with additions from the works of Graun, Pergolese, Leo & c.]. The bracketed text was added to the original title. In this continuo score, the parts for treble instruments are infrequently notated, and the several hands, paste-overs, and inserted pieces reflect the alterations that were made during the preparation of the production.

8. METASTASIO, revised by Gio. Gualberto Bottarelli, *Gioas, re di Giuda*, set by Johann Christian Bach.

1770 L (W. Griffin): GB-Cu S.721.d.70.4/4, I-Vgc 1812, US-Wc, US-Ws 155228; facs. rpt. (of I-Vgc) in JOHANN CHRISTIAN BACH, *Collected Works*, XLV, *Librettos III*, New York, Garland, 1991.

1770 S: A-Wgm III/14233, A-Wn S.M. 3091. The edition by Richard Maunder in BACH, *Collected Works* cit., XVII, 1988, is based on these scores and the following excerpts.

1770 *autograph* E: GB-Lcm 24, which contains the last seven of the ten pieces in Part I, but only the thirteenth of thirteen in Part II.

[1773] E (Welcker): *The Favourite Songs and the Duett in the Oratori[o] Gioas*. Copies of this print are extant in F-Pc Rés.V.S.1194, GB-Lbl H.348.c/3, GB-Lbl R.M.13.c.21/9, GB-Lbl R.M.14.f.4/1 and GB-Lcm VI.A.31.

9. LUIGI SEMPLICI, *Jefté in Masfa*, set by François Hippolyte Barthélémon for Florence in 1776 and revised by him for London.

1782: No libretto is known. The advertisements in «The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser» for 1-2 May 1782 and «The Public Advertiser» for 3 May 1782 are not cited in *The London Stage*. The latter is as follows: «*Hanover Square*. By Particular Desire of Several of the Nobility. For the Benefit of Mr. and Mrs. Barthélémon. *This Day*, the 3d of May, will be performed *Jefté in Masfa*, A Sacred Drama, With Grand Chorusses, Set to Music by Mr. Barthélémon, And performed at Florence and Rome, where it was received with the most flattering Applause. The Vocal Parts by Signor Roncaglia, Signor Nonini, Miss Barthélémon and Mrs. Barthélémon. End of Act I. a Concerto on the Piano Forte by Miss Barthélémon. End of Act II. a Concerto on the Violin by Mr. Barthélémon. To begin at Half past Seven. Tickets, Half a Guinea each, to be had of Mr. Barthélémon, Kennington lane, Vauxhall;

Mr. Mac Mahon, No. 80, near the Opera House, Hay-market; and at the New-Rooms, Hanover-square».

[1827] E (Clementi, Collard and Collard): *Selections from the Oratorio of Jefe in Masfa*. Copies of this print are in GB-Lbl H.1079 and US-Bp **M.241.10; only the former includes the separate parts for two violins, viola, cello and two flutes. The score includes the overture (arranged for keyboard by Samuel Wesley), «Con inni e cantici» (duettino with coro), «Dove brami» (aria), «Omnipotente [sic] Iddio» (accompagnato) → «Ah non è vero, o Dio» (duet), «Contro la gloria mia» (aria rondo, arranged by Mr. Attwood) → «Ah, del cielo» (coro), and «Sorgi, o figlia» (quartet and final coro, arranged by Dr. Crotch). These six «selections» are prefaced by a «Memoir of the late F. H. Barthélemon, Esq.», in which his daughter expresses hope that the Royal Concert of Ancient Music will perform the whole oratorio on 20 July 1828, the twentieth anniversary of her father's death.

Ex. 1 - NICOLA PORPORA, *David e Bersabea*, first half of an aria and first half of the ensuing chorus from II, 2 (A-Wn, 18594, ff. 138-140 and 142-146). In both halves, the viola part - which is often *col basso* - has been omitted (except in mm 1-9 of the chorus). In the chorus, pairs of trumpets and horns - which augment the chordal texture - have also been omitted.

The musical score is arranged in systems. The first system (measures 1-4) includes Violini col basso and Continuo. The second system (measures 5-8) includes Vns. and C. (Cello). The third system (measures 9-12) includes Vns., Uria (Soprano), and C. with lyrics: *Ma il ne - mi - co dis - si - pa - to, dis - si - pa - to, dis - si - pa*. The fourth system (measures 13-16) includes Vns., Uria, and C. with lyrics: *to Dal no - str'im - pe - to guer - rie - ro, Nel - la stra - ge su - a pro -*. The fifth system (measures 17-20) includes Vns., Uria, and C. with lyrics: *stra - to Fe' sen - tiere alvin - ci - to re, alvin - ci - to re Si - no, al mu - ro di - fen - so - re Del - la*. The sixth system (measures 21-24) includes Vns., Uria, and C. with lyrics: *ti - mi - da cit - tà, Del - la ti - mi - da cit - tà, Del - la ti - mi - da cit - tà.*

Larghetto

Violini & Oboi
Viola
Violoncelli

Tutti 7 6 7 6

Vn./Ob.
Vn.
S.
A.
T.
B.
C.

Nuo - ve gra - zie,
Nuo - ve gra - zie,
Nuo - ve gra - zie, nuo - va lo -

7 6 5 6 5 2 4 5 4 3 4 3

Vn./Ob.
S.
A.
T.
B.
C.

nuo - va lo - de, Nuo - ve gra - zie, nuo - va lo -
nuo - va lo de, Nuo - ve gra - zie, nuo - va lo -
de, Nuo - ve gra - zie, nuo - va lo -

2 6 7 6 7 6 7 9 7 7 6 7 6 2 6 7

Vn./Ob.
S.
A.
T.
B.
C.

lo - de. Al gran Dio, che in o - gn'im - pre sa A di -
nuo - va lo - de Al gran Dio, che in o - gn'im - pre - sa
de, nuo - va lo - de Al gran Dio, che in o - gn'im - pre - sa A di - fe - sa
va lo - de Al gran Dio che in o - gn'im - pre sa,

2 6 7 6 7 6 7 9 8 5 2 4 5 5 5 7 6 5 6 5
4 3 4 3 4 3 5 4

Vn./Ob.
S.
A.
T.
B.
C.

fe - sa, A di - fe - sa no - stra sta, A di - fe - sa no - stra sta,
A di - fe - sa no - stra sta, A di - fe - sa no - stra
no - stra sta, A di - fe - sa, A di - fe - sa no - stra sta,
A di - fe - sa no - stra sta, A di - fe - sa no - stra

6 7 6 5 6 7 6 7 6 7 6 5 6 6 6 5

Vn./Ob.
S.
A.
T.
B.
C.

A di - fe - sa no - stra sta.
sta, A di - fe - sa no - stra sta.
sta, A di - fe - sa no - stra sta.
sta, A di - fe - sa no - stra sta.

7 6 7 6 7 6 5 6 5 9 5 6 6 5 4 forte

SUMMARY

Some characteristic features of the first fifty years of oratorios in London are defined. Such works were almost always given at public theatres during Lent, especially on 'fish and soup days', when staged drama was prohibited. Profit was the main motive. In London, a play performed at least three times was considered a financial success. According to this standard, four of the nine works produced in Italian had successful runs, and British scores survive for all of them: Porpora's *David e Bersabea* (1734), Handel's *Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* (1737), Jommelli's *La Passione* (1764) and J. C. Bach's *Gioas* (1770). The other works were Veracini's *L'errore di Salomone* (1744), Hasse/Giardini's *I pellegrini* (1757-64), Jommelli's *Isacco* (1761) and *Betulia liberata* (1768), and Barthélémon's *Jefté in Masfa* (1782).

Many Englishmen reviled the oratorio because of its Roman Catholic origins and its popularity with audiences. In some of their published satires, they termed it a 'roratorio', that is, a genre in which large and numerous choruses produce rough and rude noises. London revivals of Italian oratorios usually inserted many such choruses, so they could justifiably be termed 'roratorios'.

In the appendix, Table 1 lists the numbers of performances and seasons for each of the sixty oratorios produced publicly between 1732 and 1783. Table 2 lists the Italians who apparently sang in Italian in Handel's productions of his own oratorios between 1734 and 1744. Table 3 provides a detailed list of sources for the text and music of twelve works produced between 1734 and 1782, namely, the nine oratorios performed in Italian and the three settings of English translations of Metastasio's texts.

Musical score for measures 13-16. The score includes parts for Violins (Vns.), Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), and Cello/Double Bass (C.). The lyrics are: "o, Pie - tà, pie - tà, pie - tà". The C part includes fingerings: 9 8 13 13 5 15 6 13 5 15 6.

Musical score for measures 17-20. The score includes parts for Violins (Vns.), Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), and Cello/Double Bass (C.). The lyrics are: "Di - o, Di". The C part includes fingerings: 16 5 12 2 6 7 6 16 4 1 5 4.

Musical score for measures 21-24. The score includes parts for Violins (Vns.), Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), and Cello/Double Bass (C.). The lyrics are: "Di - o, Di". The C part includes fingerings: 13 4 4 4. Performance markings include *piano* and *Sostenuto*.