

Pasticcio, *Arrangement,* *or Adaptation?*

*Georg Philipp Telemann's Pasticcio
Judith Based on Fortunato Chelleri's
dramma per musica Innocenza difesa*

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ABSTRACT

In musicological research on the eighteenth-century operatic pasticcio it has often been discussed how pasticcios can be distinguished from *dramme per musica*. The article examines the evolution of Fortunato Chelleri's opera *Innocenza difesa* in the course of its adaption for several performance venues (Florence 1720, Venice 1722, Kassel 1725, Wolfenbüttel/Brunswick 1731), as well as pasticcio projects based on Chelleri's score (Hamburg 1732). By analysing the surviving libretti, scores, and sheet music related to Chelleri's opera, it can be shown that Chelleri as well as the arranger of the Hamburg pasticcio-production, Georg Philipp Telemann, paid attention to the overarching dramaturgical principles as well as to new forms of music publishing in large metropolises such as London. Telemann not only chose some arias by George Frederic Handel from among the most celebrated numbers in the opera *Lotarius* (composed by Handel, printed by John Walsh in London, 1730), but he also fostered Chelleri's focus on Judith as a main character. Within these musical-dramaturgical perspectives, based on very loose networks of connections between librettists, composers, singers, and probably stage designers, requests for specific arias from individual singers could also be accommodated.

Keywords: pasticcio, music history of London, music history of Italy, mobility, dramaturgy

In musicological studies on operatic pasticcios of the eighteenth century, there has always been a debate concerning the boundaries and transitions between adaptations of operas for different performances and compositions of pasticcios that can also be distinguished in terms of genre.¹ This subject is discussed not only because of the widespread use of techniques such as 'borrowing' or musical-compositional formulas such as walking bass, Lombard rhythms, trill chains, etc. in eighteenth-century opera composition, but also and above all because the term pasticcio as a designation for opera compositions was only used in a few cases in the early eighteenth century.² Since the possible

dramaturgical differences between 'operas' and operatic pasticcios seem to have been of little importance to contemporaries, the classification of *dramme per musica* as pasticcios in research is primarily based on pragmatic contexts such as the composition of new operas in the fast-moving opera business or the influence of singers on the selection of arias.³

In this paper I would like to conduct a case study in which the pasticcio version of an opera is very closely linked to previous revisions: This is the case with Fortunato Chelleri's opera *Innocenza difesa* on a libretto by Francesco Silvani. It was premiered in Florence in 1721 and then given in Venice in 1722 as well as in Wolfenbüttel and in Brunswick in 1731.⁴ Between these

E. Strainchamps and M.R. Maniates (eds), *Music and Civilization. Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, New York/London, Norton, 1984, pp. 141–152; G.J. Buelow, 'Handel's Borrowing Techniques: Some Fundamental Questions Derived from a Study of *Agrippina* (Venice, 1709)', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, vol. 2, 1986, pp. 105–127; J.H. Roberts, 'Handel and Vinci's *Didone Abbandonata*: Revisions and Borrowings', *Music & Letters*, vol. LXVIII, 1987, pp. 141–150; M. Burden, 'Metastasio's "London Pasties": Curate's Egg or Pudding's Proof?', in A. Sommer-Mathis and E.T. Hilscher (eds), *Pietro Metastasio – uomo universale (1698–1782)*, Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000, pp. 293–309.

3 C. Siegert, 'Zum Pasticcio-Problem', in T. Betzwieser (ed.), *Opernkonzeptionen zwischen Berlin und Bayreuth. Das musikalische Theater der Markgräfin Wilhelmine*, Würzburg, Königshausen und Neumann, 2016, pp. 155–166; R. Strohm, 'Wer entscheidet? Möglichkeiten der Zusammenarbeit an Pasticcio-Opern', in D. Brandenburg and T. Seedorf (eds), *'Per ben vestir la virtuosa'. Die Oper des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts im Spannungsfeld zwischen Komponisten und Sängern*, Schliengen, Edition Argus, 2011, pp. 62–79; R. Strohm, 'Voices and Authorship in Opera seria', in S. Paczkowski and A. Żórawska-Witkowska (eds), *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart. Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik*, Warsaw, Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002, pp. 53–81; D.E. Monson, 'Angelo Maria Monticelli and the Revival of Pergolesi's *L'olimpiade*', *Studi Pergolesiani*, vol. 9, 1999, pp. 211–232. These latter two musicologists have attempted to examine the influence of singers in relation to the dramaturgies of individual operas.

4 These and the following data on operatic performances and preserved libretti are taken from <http://corago.unibo.it/> (accessed 6 October 2021). The preserved sources for these performances are as follows: *L'Innocenza difesa. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze Il Carnevale dell'Anno 1721*. Nel Teatro di Via della Pergola sotto la protezione dell'Altezza Reale del serenissimo Gran Principe di Toscana. E dedicato all'Eccellenza illustrissima dell'Signor Duca Francesco Bonelli

1 The following paper is a translated and extended version of the publication 'Pasticcio oder Bearbeitung? Georg Philipp Telemann's Pasticcio *Judith* auf der Basis von Fortunato Chelleri's *dramma per musica Innocenza difesa*', in M. Jonasova (ed.), *L'opera italiana – tra l'originale e il pasticcio*, Prague, Academy of Sciences 2022 (forthcoming).

2 Librettos of operatic pasticcios often only contain the indication 'musica di vari autori'. This is probably why in London the music of pasticcios was often assigned to the arranger. Cf. B. Over, 'Paradigmen musikalischer Mobilität: Händels Pasticci', *Händel-Jahrbuch*, vol. 65, 2019, citation on p. 92 footnote 27. For the relation between 'borrowings', adaptations and pasticcios, see G. Lazarevich, 'Pasticcio revisited: Hasse and his *parti buffe*', in

performances, in 1725, Chelleri worked as Kapellmeister in Kassel on a score of the same opera which he named after the female lead, *Giuditta*.⁵ When he was in London in 1727 he published a few arias from that score in his collection *Cantate e arie con stromenti*.⁶ In 1732, Georg Philipp Telemann took Chelleri's *Innocenza difesa* as the basis for the pasticcio *Judith* given in Hamburg.⁷ In Chelleri's score, Telemann added three arias from Handel's *Lotario* (the name of the principal male character in Chelleri's opera *Innocenza difesa*), premiered in London in 1729 with a libretto by Antonio Salvi.⁸ Besides, Telemann enclosed three arias newly composed by himself on a German text for the child role of Fabio.⁹

The fact, that both Chelleri and Telemann made a title change from *Innocenza difesa* to *Judith* and that both of them reworked the opera with a strong reference to London, suggests a homogeneous process of revision rather than a mere situational adaptation of the libretto and score to local ensembles or audiences.

In what follows, I will examine the hypothesis that pasticcios might also be integrated in larger processes of revisions. I will discuss this issue in three steps: First, I will analyse the changes to the libretti and the aria plan that Chelleri made in the course of the various performances of his opera. Second, I will present additions and revisions Telemann made when composing the pasticcio *Judith* relying on Chelleri, Händel, and new arias of his own. In my summary, I will use Chelleri's and Telemann's similar approaches to present an outlook on the role of the operatic pasticcio in early eighteenth-century European opera life.

1. CHANGES MADE BY CHELLERI IN THE COURSE OF THE VARIOUS PERFORMANCES OF HIS OPERA

Chelleri's *dramma per musica Innocenza difesa* has survived through four different libretti, a handwritten score of Act One called *La Giuditta* from Kassel and some arias that Chelleri had printed in the *Cantate e Arie con stromenti* in London in 1727 and that were copied a few times when Chelleri worked as a Kapellmeister in Stockholm between 1732 and 1734.¹⁰ Although it must be emphasised that Chelleri cannot be unequivocally attributed with the composition of the Florentine libretto, since the information on librettist and composer is missing from the libretto print,¹¹ the libretti from Florence (1720), Venice (1722), Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick (1731) can be examined with regard to revisions in dramaturgy and character constellations as well as to the aria plan and its transformations.

An overview of the existing libretti titled *Innocenza difesa* shows that Francesco Silvani's libretto on the descendants and successors of Louis the Pious was in place at the latest from the time of Giuseppe Orlandini's

Baron Romano Duca di Montanara, e Salci, Conte del Bosco, e Marchese di Cassano nello Stato di Milano, e Signor di S. Pietro. In Firenze, Per Dom. Ambrogio Verdi. Sulla Piazza di S. Appol. Con Lic. de'Sup. 1720 [libretto]; *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi Nel Teatro di S. Angelo Nel Carnevale dell'Anno 1722. Dedicato Al Serenissimo, e Reverendissimo Principe Giovan-Teodoro Duca dell'una, & dell'Altra Baviera, Conte Palatino del Reno, Landgravio di Leictemberg, e Vescovo di Ratisbona ec. In Venezia, MDCCXXII. Presso Marino Rossetti, in Merceria all'Insegna della Pace. Con Licenza de' Superiori* [libretto]; *L'Innocenza difesa, Drama per Musica Con Prologo Da Rappresentarsi Al Teatro Ducal Di Wolfenbuttel Festeggiandosi Il Nome Gloriosissimo Della Sac. Ces. E Catt. Real Maesta Di Elisabeta Cristina Imperadrice Regnante, Wolfenbüttel, [ca 1731]* [libretto]; *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi sul famosissimo Teatro di Brunsviga nella fiera d'estate l'anno 1731. = Die Vertheidigte Unschuld in Einer Opera vorgestellt [...], Wolfenbüttel: C. Bartsch, [1731]* [libretto].

5 *La Giuditta. Atto Primo N° VI del Sig.r Chelleri* [La *Giuditta* was cancelled and replaced by: *L'Innocenza* [sic!] *difesa. Atto Primo N° VI*] [score], in D-Kub, Israel-Anhang 12, <https://orka.bibliothek.uni-kassel.de/viewer/image/1357916224968/1/> (accessed 13 February 2021).

6 *Cantate e arie con stromenti dedicate A. S. Ecc.za il Sigr Duca di Queensberrij, Gentilomo della Camera di S.M. Britannica Nort della Gran Bettagna, da Fortunato Kelleri, Direttore e Maestro di Capella di S.A.S. Sigr Landgravio d'Esse-Cassel.* London: Printed by William Smith at Correlli's Head against Norfolk-Street in the Strand, in D-KNm, Rara K 339.

7 For this production, two librettos have been preserved: *Judith, Gemahlin Käyser Ludewigs des Frommen, Oder Die Siegende Unschuld: In einer Opera Auf Dem Hamburgischen Schau-Platze Ao. 1732 vorgestellt*, Hamburg 1732 [libretto] and *Judith, Gemahlin Käyser Ludewigs des Frommen; Oder Die Siegende Unschuld: in einer Opera auf dem Hamburgischen Schau-Platze vorgestellt*, Hamburg 1735 [libretto].

8 *Lotario. Drama da Rappresentarsi nel Regio Teatro d'Hay-Market.* In Londra Per Tomaso Wood, DCCXXIX.

9 *Judith von Händel (Lothario) & Chelleri aufgeführt zu Hamburg 1732* [score], in D-B, Mus. ms. 9057.

10 E.g. *Son qual nave in mezzo | all'onde | Aria da Kelleri* | Viol. 1|mo 2|do & viola [score], in S-L, Saml. Engelhart 531.

11 Cf. *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze Il Carnevale dell'Anno 1721, [...]* Firenze 1720. Corago.unibo.it indicates Chelleri as the composer of the Florentine production, cf. <http://corago.unibo.it/risultatolibretti> (accessed 16 December 2021).

setting for Verona in 1714. In the 1720s it also circulated in a version set by Andrea Stefano Fiorè for Rome (1720) and Turin (1722).¹² Looking at the synopses of these libretti, it becomes clear that the versions from Verona and Florence represent a different stage of work than the ones for Rome, Venice and Brunswick. While the synopses of the libretti for Verona and Florence are very similar, suggesting a retainment of the older Veronese version for Chelleri's Florentine one,¹³ the ones in the libretti for Rome, Venice and later Brunswick and Wolfenbüttel are identical and thus indicate a relationship between the productions set by Fiorè and Chelleri that led to further adaptations of the libretto for the German-speaking lands.¹⁴ This is continued in the synopsis for the Hamburg libretto, which is a rough translation of the synopses from the libretti for Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick.

These last-mentioned versions deal with Louis the Pious' two sons, Lotario and Carlo, who came from two different marriages to Irmengarda and Giuditta. Before his death, Louis gave some parts of his realm that he had already assigned to his elder sons to the younger Carlo, a decision Lotario contested by waging wars against his brothers. In all the *dramme per musica* referred to here, Giuditta has another daughter from her first marriage named Gildippe, who is promised to Lotario's son Adalgiso. While Adalgiso, because of his love for Gildippe, strives to stand by Giuditta against Lotario's attacks on Carlo, Asprando, Giuditta's knight and Lotario's confidant, plots against her, e.g. by kidnapping her little son. Since Lotario is always held back by his son Adalgiso, who pleads for the innocent child Carlo, he follows different strategies to get rid of his younger brother as a legal heir to his realm, e.g. by accusing Giuditta of having born Carlo as her confidant Berardo's illegitimate child. When Berardo is about to attack Lotario with his armies in a large arena with a throne, Asprando reveals his intrigues and is forgiven by Giuditta. In this way, the title 'Innocenza difesa' (defended innocence) reflects the innocence of Carlo (innocent child), as well as of his

mother Giuditta (faithful wife), Adalgiso (defender of Carlo's innocence), and to a lesser extent also Berardo (defender of Giuditta's innocence).

As to the dramaturgy and character constellations, a comparison of the versions for Florence and Venice shows that Chelleri made severe cuts and, in particular, restructured act II. This was possible because the Venetian production was cast with singers from Florence such as Rosaura Mazzanti Fiorentina, Maria Giustina Turcotti Fiorentina, and Giovanni Rapaccioli Fiorentino, but not the same as in the Florentine production.¹⁵ The cuts were obviously made in the context of Francesco Silvani's version of *Innocenza difesa* for Rome, which was possibly set to music by Andrea Stefano Fiorè and staged in 1720.¹⁶ Since the Roman libretto contained a second sub-plot for two more characters named Nerina and Gildo, the scenes for the main characters were sometimes shorter.¹⁷ In addition, the Roman libretto seems to have already benefited from a linguistic revision since some complicated and old-fashioned formulations of the Florentine version had been replaced by a more straightforward and effective wording.¹⁸ As the introductory pages of the Florentine and Venetian libretti reveal, the impresario in Florence, Michele Giusti, already described the performance of his opera as a transfer of the Roman production to the Tuscan stage ('[...] offerisco a V. Excell. il presente Dramma, il quale avendo fatta di se vaga mostra sulle Latine Scene, la farà più bella sulle

¹² <http://corago.unibo.it/risultatolibretti> (accessed 16 December 2021).

¹³ Existing summaries and their translations were often copied for the needs of a new printed libretto.

¹⁴ The setting of *Innocenza difesa* by Andrea Stefano Fiorè provides an interesting comparison for the case study on Chelleri presented here since Fiorè also went on to adapt his composition for Turin. Cf. <http://corago.unibo.it/risultatolibretti> (accessed 16 December 2021).

¹⁵ *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi Nel Teatro di S. Angelo Nel Carnevale dell'Anno 1722* [...] Venezia, MDCCXXII, p. 7. The singers in the Florentine production were Margherita Albinoni, Maria Anna Lorenzani, Vittoria Tesi, Giovanni Antonio Archi di Faenza, Andrea Guerri di Pisa, and Lorenzo Berretta di Lucca. Cf. *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze Il Carnevale dell'Anno 1721*, [...] Firenze 1720, p. 7.

¹⁶ *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nell'antico Teatro della Pace nel carnevale dell'anno 1720*. Dedicato alla nobiltà romana. – In Roma: nella stamperia di Antonio de' Rossi, 1720 [libretto]. For example, in Act One Chelleri cut the first half of Scene 6 in his Florentine version in accordance with the length and wording of Scene 7 of the Roman version.

¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Act Two, scene 9 in *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nell'antico Teatro della Pace nel carnevale dell'anno 1720*. Dedicato alla nobiltà romana. In Roma: nella stamperia di Antonio de' Rossi, 1720 [libretto], pp. 40–41.

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. Giuditta's verses before the aria 'Qual sia quell core' in Act One, Scene 6 in *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nell'antico Teatro della Pace nel carnevale dell'anno 1720*, Roma 1720, p. 16.

nostre Toscane, fregiato, ed arricchito del Suo nome glorioso.’)¹⁹ In the Venetian performance of Chelleri’s *Innocenza difesa*, the role of Lotario was given to the same singer as in Rome (Giovanni Paiti) and also the stage sets were created by Roman scenographers (‘Giuseppe e Domenico Fratelli Valeriani di Roma’).²⁰ With these indications, it becomes clear that Chelleri’s opera was part of a larger network of operatic productions that arranged and adapted existing dramaturgical models for new venues, and consisted not only of singers, but also of librettists or stage designers. In this case, such a network had already produced two different libretti that seem to have been combined for the Venetian production.

During these processes of adaptation, perfecting the musical dramaturgy seems to have been a major goal. For the Venetian production, Silvani’s two libretti for Rome and Florence were merged in such a way that most of the recitatives and arias were taken as entire scenes from the two primary versions and were only in some cases mixed and even less frequently completely changed. As can be seen from Table 1, Acts Two and Three are dominated by scenes from the Roman version (in blue). The text of Act Three, on the other hand, is based on the Florentine version (in red). The structure of the Venetian text was also maintained for the Wolfenbüttel production, although the latter comprises even more important cuts and some new arias.

Basically, the adoption of entire scenes also involved the transfer of the arias from the Florentine or Roman versions into the new version for Venice. Since Chelleri often retained two or more consecutive scenes from the former versions, he also transferred entire groups of two or more consecutive arias into his new Venetian version (Table 2). Indeed, the aria plan of the Venetian version only consists of arias or aria groups from the Roman (indicated in blue) and Florentine versions (in red). The six newly inserted arias (two for each act and one for each character) are an exception. The latter arias include two supplementary numbers for the characters of Asprando (I,5) and Adalgiso (final aria of Act Two) that have no direct place in the Roman libretti from which the according recitatives were taken, while the

new arias for Giuditta, Lotario, Gildippe, and Berardo were replacements of arias already contained in the Florentine version. This overview hints at the possibility that Chelleri was first and foremost interested in the textual dramaturgy of the Roman version, which he then enhanced with new arias of his own authorship. In contrast to this, the aria plans of the parts from the Florentine version were not changed when retaining the corresponding texts, although the arias sometimes were.

Even if the insertion of new arias and changes in the existing arias might have been motivated by the musical skills of the singers, the Venetian production also contains eight entire aria groups with two or more consecutive arias (indicated by red curly brackets) – four from the Roman version and just as many from the Florentine version. Because of the strong relation of those aria groups retaining two or more consecutive scenes from the former versions, it seems likely that Chelleri worked with them as scene complexes, i.e. major elements of the dramatic structure. In connection with the severe cuts that Chelleri made in the Venetian version, most of those scene complexes seem to have been selected as a basic framework, which he may have seen as textually and musically felicitous. In fact, it is striking that Chelleri mainly took over anchor points for act beginnings and endings from the Roman version and retained central scenes from the Florentine version.

In many cases, the choice of arias from the Roman version seems to have been motivated by the desire to use more concise and succinct aria texts such as the one in ‘Amoretti vezzosetti’ (II,11). This can be demonstrated also for the cuts and remakes of single arias, for example in the very first scene of the whole opera (Table 3). In addition, by adding new choruses from the Roman version such as ‘Viva il pio, felice e giusto’ (I,8), Chelleri enhanced the symmetry between the individual acts.

Looking at the numbers of arias assigned to the individual characters, one can see some larger shifts in the character constellations (Table 4). From a balanced constellation with two minor characters (Asprando and Berardo), Chelleri shifted first to Lotario as a main character in the Venetian version (which may have been motivated by the employment of the singer Giovanni Paita from the Roman production), and then to Adalgiso as the main defender of Carlo’s innocence for the Wolfenbüttel production. Giuditta, on the other hand, who was to become the main character in the Kassel score of about 1725 entitled *La Giuditta*, largely retained her number of arias during the whole process

¹⁹ *L’Innocenza difesa. Dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Firenze Il Carnevale dell’Anno 1721*, [...] Firenze 1720, p. 3.

²⁰ *L’Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nell’antico Teatro della Pace nel carnevale dell’anno 1720*, Roma 1720, p. 7; *L’Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi Nel Teatro di S. Angelo Nel Carnevale dell’Anno 1722* [...] Venezia, MDCCXXII, pp. 7–8.

Table 1. Textual adoptions in the Venetian and Wolfenbüttel libretti from the Roman and Florentine versions

Act	Scene	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Wolfenbüttel 1731
I	1	Rome	Rome
	2	Florence	Florence
	3	Florence (with cuts)	Florence (with cuts) + new aria
	4	Rome	Rome
	5	Rome (with cuts) + new ending and aria [Asprando]	Rome (with cuts) + new ending and aria
	6	Florence (with cuts and short borrowings from Rome)	Florence (with cuts and short borrowings from Rome)
	7	Rome -> Florence + new aria [Giuditta]	Rome -> Florence + new aria
	8	Rome	Rome
	9	Rome	Rome
	10	Rome	Rome + further scene with tempest aria
II	1	Florence (with major cuts)	
	2	Rome -> Florence	Rome (with major cuts) -> Florence
	3	Rome	Rome (with major cuts)
	4	Rome	Rome
	5	Rome -> Florence	Rome -> Florence
	6	new -> Florence	new -> Florence (with major cuts)
	7	Florence -> new ending + new aria [Berardo]	Florence -> new ending (with major cuts) + new aria [Berardo]
	8	Rome (first part cut)	Rome (first part cut)
	9	Rome	Rome
	10	Rome	Rome
	11	Rome	Rome
	12	Rome	Rome
	13	Rome + new final aria [Adalgiso]	Rome + new final aria [Adalgiso]
III	1	Florence	Florence
	2	Florence	Florence (with major cuts)
	3	Rome	Rome (with major cuts) + new aria
	4	Florence (with cuts) + new aria [Gildippe]	Florence (with major cuts) + new aria
	5	Florence	Florence (with major cuts)
	6	Florence + new aria [Lotario]	Florence (with major cuts)
	7	Florence	Florence + 2 new arias
	8	Florence	Florence (with cuts)
	9	Florence (with major cuts) -> Rome -> Florence/Rome	Florence (with major cuts) -> Rome -> Florence/Rome

Table 2. Arias in the Roman, Florentine and Venetian productions

Act	Scene	Andrea Stefano Fiorè, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Rome 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Florence 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722
I.	1	'Bacio, ò Padre, la tua mano' (Adalgiso, Lotario)		'Bacio, ò Padre, la tua mano' (Adalgiso, Lotario)
	2	'Il momento del contento' (Adalgiso)	'Il mio cor già si consola' (Adalgiso)	'Il mio cor già si consola' (Adalgiso)
	3		'Qual bendato nume arciero' (Lotario)	'Qual bendato nume arciero' (Lotario)
	4		'O con l'armi, o col consiglio' (Berardo)	'O con l'armi, o col consiglio' (Berardo)
	5	'Core di Madre, cor di Reina' (Giuditta)	'Qual sia quel core' (Giuditta)	'Siegui pure con regio valora' (Asprando)
			'Come in mare procella fra l'onde' (Lotario)	
6	'Secreto alcun non hà' (Nerina)	'Vedo o caro in mezzo a quelle' (Gildippe)	'Qual sia quel core' (Giuditta)	
			'Come in mare procella fra l'onde' (Lotario)	
I.	7	'Di servir m'impegnarei' (Gildo)	'Parto: ma temo sì' (Adalgiso)	'Ti sovenga di quel sangue' (Giuditta)
			'Spezza le rie catene' (Giuditta)	
			'Se parte il fido cor' (Gildippe)	'Se parte il fido cor' (Gildippe)

Table 2 (continued). Arias in the Roman, Florentine and Venetian productions

Act	Scene	Andrea Stefano Fiorè, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Rome 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Florence 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722	
I.	8	'Il Ciel sereno in un baleno' (Lotario)		'Viva il pio, felice, e giusto' (coro)	
	9	'Va alla bella, e la consola' (Adalgiso)	'Amoretti, vezzosetti' (Gildippe)		
	10	'Quando è tempo sò burlare' (Nerina, Gildo)	'Lascia l'Amato fido' (Giuditta)		
			'Agitata da rapidi venti' (Lotario)	'Figlio. Sposa. Sdegno. Onore' (Giuditta, Adalgiso, Lotario, Asprando, Berardo)	
	11	'L'Alma forte' (Gildo)			
	12	'Viva il Pio, felice, e giusto' (coro)			
	13				
	14	'Figlio. Sposa. Sdegno. Onore' (Giuditta, Adalgiso, Lotario, Asprando, Berardo)			
	II.	1	'È morta la speranza' (Gildippe)		
		2	'Vedi ben dal pianto mio' (Gildippe, Adalgiso)	'Mio caro, caro figlio' (Lotario)	'Pupille care' (Gildippe)
				'Se la bella Tortorella' (Adalgiso)	
		3	'Questo nome troppo offende' (Adalgiso)	'Ombre, che pallide' (Gildippe)	'Questo nome troppo offende' (Adalgiso)
				'Fra gli'Allori di mia chioma' (Lotario)	'Fra gli'Allori di mia chioma' (Lotario)
		4		'Il suo bel cor, io son felice' (Adalgiso)	
5		'Soffri costante' (Asprando)	'Soffri costante' (Asprando)	'Soffri costante' (Asprando)	
6		'Sento rapirmi il core' (Giuditta)	'Vado cercando' (Giuditta)	'Vado cercando' (Giuditta)	
7		'Sia nel nobile, o Plebeo' (Gildo)	'Punirò, chi a te contrasta' (Berardo)	'Sì sì sia mio impegno' (Berardo)	
8			'Lusinghe vezzose' (Giuditta)	'Amoretti vezzosetti' (Gildippe)	
			'Non sperar barbara sorte' (Gildippe)		
9		'Punirò, chi a te contrasta' (Berardo)			
10		'Non tentar barbara sorte' (Giuditta)	'Se vede la sua stella' (Lotario)		
11		'Amoretti vezzosetti' (Gildippe)		'Par che mostri, e Calma, e Lido' (Berardo)	
				'Godi del bel contento' (Lotario)	
12		'Mi par fredda la tua mano' (Nerina, Gildo)		'Nel mio cor ch'è tutto amore' (Adalgiso)	
13					
14					
15	'Par che mostri, e Calma, e Lido' (Lotario)				
16	'Godi del bel contento' (Lotario)				
17	'Ritorna il fido cor' (Adalgiso)				
III.	1	'Fra tanti pensieri' (Giuditta)	'Questo braccio, e questo petto' (Asprando)	'Questo braccio, e questo petto' (Asprando)	
			'Di Tiranno il nome accetto' (Lotario)	'Di Tiranno il nome accetto' (Lotario)	
	2	'Temo: ma sai di che?' (Adalgiso)	'In dolce calma, e bella' (Berardo)	'In dolce calma, e bella' (Berardo)	
			'Veggio nel tuo bel volto' (Adalgiso)		
3		'Va spargendo entro il mio seno' (Gildippe)	'Ti sento sì ti sento' (Gildippe)		
		'Dopo le pene A recar viene' (Giuditta)			

Table 2 (continued). Arias in the Roman, Florentine and Venetian productions

Act	Scene	Andrea Stefano Fiorè, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Rome 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Florence 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722
III.	5	'Il sereno Ch'ho nel seno' (Adalgiso)		
	6		'Tua bella costanza' (Lotario)	'Un soave dolce affetto' (Lotario)
	7	'Il generoso ardir' (Adalgiso, Berardo)	'Io sento in me' (Giuditta)	'Io sento in me' (Giuditta)
			'Qual stella in mezzo al Mar' (Adalgiso)	'Va spargendo entro il mio seno' (Adalgiso)
	8	'Cessa già la molesta' (Gildippe)		
	9	'Molte volte il matrimonio' (Nerina) 'Gildo mio, voglio sposarmi' (Nerina, Gildo)	'Porgi la bianca mano Idolo mio' (Gildippe, Adalgiso)	'Porgi la bianca mano Idolo mio' (Gildippe, Adalgiso)
			'Festeggia in questo dì' (coro)	'Festeggia in questo dì' (coro)
	10	Condannar dovrò me stesso (Lotario)		
	11			
	12			
	13	'Porgi la bianca mano Idolo mio' (Gildippe, Adalgiso, Nerina, Gildo) 'Festeggia in questo dì' (coro)		

Table 3. Comparison of the first aria versions in I,1a

Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Florence 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722	Andrea Stefano Fiorè, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Rome 1720.
Atto Primo	Atto Primo	Atto Primo.
Scena 1	Scena Prima.	Scena Prima.
Cortile.	Atrio Imperiale con Scala, ch'introduce nel Palazzo destinato per alloggio di Lotario.	Suburbj von veduta della Città, e Ponte sopra il Reno, che conduce alla Porta di essa.
<i>Lotario con numeroso seguito di Soldati, e di Guardie; Adalgiso suo Figlio, che li va incontro.</i>	<i>Lotario, & Adalgiso, con numeroso seguito di Guardie.</i>	<i>Lotario, & Adalgiso, con numeroso seguito di Guardie.</i>
Adalgisus	Adalgiso	Adalgiso
Padre, e Signor sù la tua invitta mano	Bacio, ò Padre, la tua mano,	Bacio, ò Padre, la tua mano,
Che dell'Orbe Romano	Che del vasto Orbe Romano	Che del vasto Orbe Romano
E del Gallico Ciel regge la sorte,	Regge il Freno, ed il Consiglio,	Regge il Freno, ed il Consiglio,
Io, fra Germani il primo	Lotario	Lotario
Di Figlio, e di Vassallo i baci imprimo.	Sorte amica avere io spero.	Sorte amica avere io spero.
Lotario	Se di Gloria nel sentiero,	Se di Gloria nel sentiero,
Non può sperar Lotario	Ho l'incontro del mio Figlio.	Ho l'incontro del mio Figlio.
Oggi sul Reno un più felice augurio,		
Se l'oggetto primiero,		
Che si presenta al ciglio		
E' l'incontro d'un Figlio.		

Table 4. Number of arias, duets and ensembles assigned to individual characters

Role	Andrea Stefano Fiorè, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Rome 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Florence 1720	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Wolfenbüttel 1731	[Georg Philipp Telemann), <i>Judith</i> , Hamburg 1732
Lotario	8	7	8	6	4
Adalgiso	10	7	7	9	8
Giuditta	5	7	5	6	6
Gildippe	5	8	5	6	5
Asprando	2	2	4	4	3
Berardo	4	3	5	4	4
Carlo/Fabio					3
Gildo	7				
Nerina	6				

of revisions. Indeed, even if Giuditta's importance was stressed in the course of the extensive cuts of recitatives etc., her name was later cancelled on the title page of the Kassel score and the original title *Innocenza difesa* was put there instead.

Since in the Venetian production Lotario's role was entrusted to the same singer as in Rome, it is necessary to examine what weight was given in each case to dramaturgical changes and to the singers' hierarchies. In fact, Lotario is involved in seven out of the eight scene complexes (i.e. takeovers of blocks of several successive scenes and their aria plans rather than just single sections or arias) that Chelleri selected for Venice from the Roman and Florentine versions, and in six of them he sings an aria. Beyond these scene complexes, only one aria for Lotario was inserted into the new version that had nothing to do with the Roman or Florentine versions ('Un soave dolce affetto', III,6). Since only three of the scene complexes were retained from the Roman version and since Chelleri placed them at the end of Act One as well as at the beginning and end of Act Two, it might be concluded that the retainment of the Roman scene complexes was not entirely motivated by the pragmatic intention to accommodate the Roman singer in the Venetian production by letting him sing the arias he already knew, but also by dramaturgical considerations. Such dramaturgical motivation becomes most evident at the end of the *drama*, where a large proportion of the recitatives of the 'scena ultima' of the Florentine version was cut. Instead of letting the intriguer Asprando fear his sentence, the Venetian and Roman versions immediately pass on to the forgiving lines by Giuditta. Thus, her recitative not only culminates in affirming the title of

the whole opera (that had already been the case in the Florentine version) but also accentuates mercy for the innocent:

Giuditta

Evviva Asprando ancor, che sì bel giorno
 Vuol clemenza, non sangue. In tanto io giuro
 All'ombra del moi sposo, il sacro Alloro,
 Che in fronte di Lotario oggi risplende
 A miei suditi, al Figlio, à sommi Dei.
 Di Berardo, e Giuditta l'innocenza.²¹

Chelleri's aim – to perfect the musical dramaturgy – can also be proved by the fact that four out of those six scene complexes in which Lotario sings an aria were retained for both the Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick versions (the red curly brackets), even if Adalgiso was awarded the most arias here (Table 5). In one of the scene complexes that were left out in Wolfenbüttel, Lotario received another aria ('Un raggio di speranza', I,3) and in another one his aria was replaced with a new aria for Adalgiso, the now central character of the whole opera ('Come il vago ruscelletto', II,12). To sum up, it can be said that the presence of a singer in several productions could bring about an accentuation of the role, but that this accentuation was at the same time integrated into the overall dramaturgical revision concepts. For example, by following the Roman version at the end of Act Two of his Venetian production, where Lotario 'lost' one of his arias, Chelleri highlighted the conflict between Lotario

²¹ *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi Nel Teatro di S. Angelo Nel Carnevale dell'Anno 1722 [...] Venezia, MDCCXXII, p. 56.*

and Adalgiso, who emerged from his father's shadow as a luminous counterpoint to the mistrustful and bitter Lotario.²²

The Wolfenbüttel version, through further cuts in recitatives and monologues, focused on the conflict between Giuditta and Adalgiso over Carlo's condemnation by Lotario. As to the arias, Chelleri pursued a new strategy in this version that affected the arias of all characters. Since he had stopped composing new operas after the Venetian season of 1722,²³ he not only started to revise his earlier operas to make them musically and textually more concise, but also envisaged promoting them by the publication of single arias. Into the Wolfenbüttel version of 1731, he inserted not only an aria from his earlier opera *Il Temistocle*, originally from Florence 1720 ('Mostra che m'ami', III,3),²⁴ but also an aria that he had published in his *Cantate e arie con stromenti* some years before in 1727 ('Piangi, se pianger vuoi', II,5).²⁵ In the London publication, Chelleri had also included two other arias from Act Two of *Innocenza difesa* ('Pupille care', II,1 and 'Soffri costante', II,4) that belonged to the same scene complex.²⁶ Besides, the London *Cantate e arie con stromenti* contain at least two arias based on some well-known metaphors of tempests ('Se in queste arene quell ruscelletto va mormorando', 'La navicella che trova il lido').²⁷ Three new arias for Wolfenbüttel were also based on those metaphors ('Son qual nave in mezzo all'onde', I,7; 'Veggio il porto, e veggio il lido', I,11; 'Come il vago ruscelletto', II,12). Manuscript copies of two of these new arias, 'Veggio il porto' and 'La navicella che trova il lido' can also be found in Swedish libraries.²⁸

22 Adalgiso's text reads as follows: 'Mi deride Lotario, e non distingue/Dal Figlio il Traditore; / Mà la notte si avvanza, / E il nuovo giorno io spero,/Che cangi di speranza, e scopra il vero. / Nel mio cor ch'è tutto amore / Nobil raggio di Speranza / Sol mi sento à balenar. /Figlio son, ma il Genitore / L'invincibil mia Costanza / Non potrà mai debellar. / Nel ec.' *L'Innocenza difesa. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi Nel Teatro di S. Angelo Nel Carnovale dell'Anno 1722 [...]* Venezia, MDCCXXII, p. 39.

23 M. Talbot, 'Fortunato Chelleri's *Cantate e arie con stromenti* (1727): A souvenir of London', *De Musica Disserenda*, vol. VII, no. 1, 2011, pp. 52–58.

24 Cf. 'Mostra che m'ami con cor pietoso' from *Il Temistocle*, manuscript copy 1720–1740, in F-Pn, X 637 (3).

25 Chelleri, *Cantate e arie con stromenti*, pp. 15–16.

26 Chelleri, pp. 13–14 and 27–28.

27 Chelleri, pp. 19–20 and 25–26.

28 E.g. 'Veggio il porto e veggio il lido', manuscript copy 1700–1799 and 'La navicella che trova il lido' (*Aria del Sig.r Chelleri*

That Chelleri probably used his London sojourn as an opportunity to excel in the composition of typical arias can be demonstrated on the basis of his foreword to the *Cantate ed arie con stromenti*, where he stated that he intended to leave a 'small record of his talent in England' and that he wanted the 'mediocre distinguished from the good, and the good from the best'.²⁹ That Chelleri was particularly interested in tempest-arias can also be seen from the Kassel score. This score seems to reflect an intermediate state between the versions for Venice and Wolfenbüttel, since it follows the aria plan for Wolfenbüttel, but still retains the later cancelled aria 'Se parte il fido cor' (I,7), which also depicted a sea storm. In addition, the score contains studies for the aria 'Veggio il porto, e veggio il lido' (I,11), which Chelleri newly composed for the Wolfenbüttel version.³⁰

To sum up, the overview of Chelleri's revisions gives an impression that his versions for the Italian and German performance venues are clearly different. In Italy, he worked on perfecting the dramaturgy within an operatic network extended between Rome, Florence and Venice. Nevertheless, he still took into account the pragmatic framework, such as serving individual singers. In the German-speaking venues, he seems to have been primarily concerned with perfecting individual arias, an aim that he had already pursued during his stay in London.

2. TELEMANN'S COMPOSITION OF THE PASTICCIO JUDITH (HAMBURG 1732)

As already mentioned, Telemann also looked to London for the production of the pasticcio *Judith*: This was partly due to the participation of the Hamburg singer Johann Gottfried Riemschneider, who had incorporated the secondary role of Clodomiro in the London production of Handel's *Lotario* from 1729.³¹

La navicella), manuscript copy 1759–1799, in S-Kma, T-SE-R and SO-R; 'La navicella che trova il lido' and 'Son qual nave in mezzo all'onde', manuscript copies 1700–1799, in S-L, Samml. Engelhardt 531 and 586.

29 Chelleri, *Cantate e arie con stromenti*, dedication.

30 Chelleri, *La Giuditta. Atto Primo*.

31 On Riemschneider's participation in the production of *Lotario* in London and on his Hamburg connections, see G. zur Nieden, 'Between dwarfs and giants. Aesthetics of the Pasticcio between London and Hamburg', in B. Over and G. zur Nieden (eds), *Operatic Pasticcios in 18th-Century Europe. Contexts, Materials and Aesthetics*, Bielefeld, transcript, 2021, pp. 157–158.

Table 5. Arias, duets, and ensembles in the productions for Venice, Wolfenbüttel/Brunswick and Hamburg

Act	Scene	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Wolfenbüttel 1731	[Georg Philipp Telemann), <i>Judith</i> , Hamburg 1732
I.	1	'Bacio, ò Padre, la tua mano' (Adalgiso, Lotario)	'Bacio, ò Padre, la tua mano' (Adalgiso, Lotario)	'Bacio ò Padre la tua mano' (Adalgiso, Lotario)
	2	'Il mio cor già si consola' (Adalgiso)	'Il mio cor già si consola' (Adalgiso)	'Il mio cor già si consola' (Adalgiso)
				'Die Kraft der schönen Augen'
	3	'Qual bendato nume arciero' (Lotario)	'Un raggio di speranza' (Lotario)	'Un raggio di speranza' (Lotario)
	4	'O con l'armi, o col consiglio' (Berardo)	'O con l'armi, o col consiglio' (Giuditta)	'O con l'armi, o col consiglio' (Berardo)
	5	'Siegui pure con regio valora' (Asprando)	'Siegui pure con regio valora' (Asprando)	'Siegui pure con regio valora' (Asprando)
	6	'Qual sia quel core' (Giuditta)	'Qual sia quel core' (Giuditta)	'Ich küsse Dir die Hand' (Fabio)
		'Come in mare procella fra l'onde' (Lotario)	'Come in mare procella fra l'onde' (Lotario)	'Qual sia quel core' (Judith)
				'Come in mare procella fra l'onde' (Lotario)
	7	'Ti sovenga di quel sangue' (Giuditta)	'Ti sovenga di quel sangue' (Giuditta)	'To sovenga di quel sangue' (Judith)
		'Se parte il fido cor' (Gildippe)	'Son qual nave in mezzo all'onde' (Gildippe)	'Scherza in mar la navicella' (Gildippe)
	8	'Viva il pio, felice, e giusto' (coro)	'Viva il pio, felice, e giusto' (coro)	'Viva il pio, felice, e giusto' (coro)
	9			
10	'Figlio. Sposa, Sdegno. Onore' (Giuditta, Adalgiso, Lotario, Asprando, Berardo)	'Figlio. Sposa, Sdegno. Onore' (Giuditta, Adalgiso, Lotario, Asprando, Berardo)	'Ach lass Dich doch mein Flehn erweichen' (Fabius)	
11		'Veggio il porto, e veggio il lido' (Adalgiso)	'Veggio il porto, e veggio il lido' (Adalgiso)	
II.	1		'Pupille care' (Gildippe)	'Pupille care' (Gildippe)
	2	'Pupille care' (Gildippe)	'Questo nome troppo offende' (Adalgiso)	'Questo nome troppo offende' (Adalgiso)
	3	'Questo nome troppo offende' (Adalgiso)	'Fra gli'Allori di mia chioma' (Lotario)	'Fra gli'Allori di mia chioma' (Lotario)
	4	'Fra gli'Allori di mia chioma' (Lotario)	'Soffri costante' (Asprando)	'Soffri costante' (Asprando)
	5	'Soffri costante' (Asprando)	'Piangi, se pianger vuoi' (Giuditta)	'Der theuren Mutter klugen Willen' (Fabius)
				'Piangi, se pianger vuoi' (Judith)
	6	'Vado cercando' (Giuditta)	'L'innocenza difendete' (Berardo)	'L'innocenza difendete' (Judith)
	7	'Si si sia mio impegno' (Berardo)	'Amoretti vezzosetti' (Gildippe)	'Amoretti Vezzosetti' (Gildippe)
	8	'Amoretti vezzosetti' (Gildippe)		
	9			
	10		'Parche mostri, e calma, e lido' (Berardo)	'Parche mostri, e calma, e lido' (Berardo)
	11	'Par che mostri, e Calma, e Lido' (Berardo)		
	12	'Godi del bel contento' (Lotario)	'Come il vago ruscelletto' (Adalgiso)	'Come il vago ruscelletto' (Adalgiso)
13	'Nel mio cor ch'è tutto amore' (Adalgiso)			

Table 5 (continued). Arias, duets, and ensembles in the productions for Venice, Wolfenbüttel/Brunswick and Hamburg

Act	Scene	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Venice 1722	Fortunato Chelleri, <i>L'Innocenza difesa</i> , Wolfenbüttel 1731	[Georg Philipp Telemann), <i>Judith</i> , Hamburg 1732
III.	1	'Questo braccio, e questo petto' (Asprando)	'Questo braccio, e questo petto' (Asprando)	'Questo braccio, e questo petto' (Asprando)
	2	'Di Tiranno il nome accetto' (Lotario)	'Di Tiranno il nome accetto' (Lotario)	'Di Tiranno il nome accetto' (Bernhard)
		'In dolce calma, e bella' (Berardo)	'In dolce calma, e bella' (Berardo)	'In dolce calma, e bella' (Berardo)
	3		'Mostra che m'ami' (Adalgiso, Gildippe)	'Mostra che m'ami' (Adalgiso, Gildippe)
	4	'Ti sento sì ti sento' (Gildippe)	'Sia speme ò inganno' (Gildippe)	'Sia speme ò inganno' (Giuditta)
	5			
	6	'Un soave dolce affetto' (Lotario)		
	7	'Io sento in me' (Giuditta)	'Al mirar il sol nascente' (Giuditta)	'Vedrò più liete e belle' (Judith)
		'Va spargendo entro il mio seno' (Adalgiso)	'A chi è fedel prepara' (Adalgiso)	'[Arma lo sguardo]' (Adalgiso)
8				
9	'Porgi la bianca mano Idolo mio' (Gildippe, Adalgiso)	'Porgi la bianca mano Idolo mio' (Gildippe, Adalgiso)	'Porgi la bianca mano Idolo mio' (Gildippe, Adalgiso)	
	'Festeggia in questo dì' (coro)	'Festeggia in questo dì' (coro)	'Festeggia in questo dì' (coro)	

This primarily continued Chelleri's efforts tastefully to compose typical arias for the London market. For his pasticcio – as can be deduced from the Hamburg score – Telemann used John Walsh's *Favourite Songs* prints as the basis for integrating Handel's arias, i.e. a source similar to Chelleri's *Cantate e arie con stromenti*, in which he had promoted his arias from the opera *Innocenza difesa*. Indeed, all the three Handel arias seem to have been copied from John Walsh's *The Most Celebrated Songs in the Opera of Lotharius* of 1730, since the Hamburg score also reproduces paratexts of those prints such as 'sung by Sigra Strada in Lotharius' and there is one copy of this print that survives in the national library of Hamburg (D-Hs, M/C49).³² In the pasticcio *Judith*, Telemann postpones Chelleri's scene complexes taken from Rome for the act closings by inserting a new aria into the first

scene complex opening Act One ('Die Kraft der schönen Augen', I,2) and by replacing the final ensemble of Act One, 'Figlio, Sposa, Sdegno, Onore', with a newly composed aria for the child role Fabio ('Ach lass dich doch mein Flehn erweichen', I,10), the final aria of the first act in *Judith* now being Adalgiso's 'Veggio il porto e veggio il lido' (I.11).³³ Furthermore, Telemann replaced two of Chelleri's tempest-arias as well as arias referring to the sense of sight or the eyes with arias by Handel ('Scherza in mar la navicella' is substituted for 'Son qual nave in mezzo all'onde', I,7; 'Vedrò più liete e belle' – for 'Al mirar il sol nascente', III,7). While retaining Chelleri's scene complexes in the middle of Act One and at the beginnings of Act Two and Three, he also restructured the final scene complex of the *dramma*. Directly after Handel's aria 'Vedrò più liete e belle', Telemann placed a third Handel aria 'Arma lo sguardo' (III,7).³⁴ In addition, by assigning some arias to other characters, Telemann changed the character constellation from Adalgiso as the main character to Judith, who was now entrusted with most of the arias and was also accentuated in her role as mother by the actively singing the child role of Fabio (cf. Table 3).

³² Cf. e.g. the arias 'Scherza in mar la navicella', 'Vedrò più liete e belle' and 'Arma lo sguardo' by Handel in *Judith von Händel (Lothario) & Chelleri aufgeführt zu Hamburg 1732* [score], fols 38–39a, 111 ff. and 115 ff., in D-B, Mus. ms. 9057. Prints of *Favourite Songs* by John Walsh were well established as models for operas in Hamburg; they had already been used for the arrangement of Handel's *Ottone* in Hamburg 1726, which also contains some arias by Chelleri. Cf. R.D. Lynch, 'Händels *Ottone*: Telemanns Hamburger Bearbeitung', *Händel-Jahrbuch*, vol. 27, 1981, p. 119, and more generally S. Stompor, 'Die deutschen Aufführungen von Opern Händels in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Händel-Jahrbuch*, vol. 24, 1978, p. 68.

³³ Chelleri/Telemann, *Judith von Händel (Lothario) & Chelleri*, fols 45v–48v.

³⁴ Chelleri/Telemann, fols 111r–116v.

The fact that Telemann chose two Handel arias on texts about sight and the eyes can be explained by the Hamburg dramaturgy, which was strongly based on those metaphors.³⁵ The Hamburg dramaturgy was certainly also decisive for the transformation of the spoken role of Carlo into the sung role of Fabio, because the new aria texts for the child role in German dramaturgically highlighted the appeasement of the tyrant Lotario.³⁶ Since Fabio's arias had a very simple setting, where the singer's voice was accompanied by the violins playing in unison, the dramaturgically important link between innocence and childhood, which is increasingly used in the course of the drama to persuade Lotario to let go of Carlo, was also fostered musically.³⁷

With regard to the scene complexes, at the first glance, the grouping of the two Handel arias 'Vedrò più liete e belle' and 'Arma lo sguardo' (in Handel's *Lotario* originally in III,10 and II,8) at the centre of Act Three reveals a similar strategy to the one adopted by Chelleri. But while Chelleri's scene complexes helped him to shorten the libretto and to adopt a more concise wording, Telemann pursued a completely different concept of scene complexes related to stylistic aspects of musical composition. Indeed, as the two arias are placed just before the great showdown in an amphitheatre, this possible stylistic peak compared to Chelleri's arias on the same metaphors was dramaturgically harmonised with the other arias by the dramatic climax.³⁸ Even if through this scene complex with arias by Handel, Telemann once again brought out the opera's now central conflict between Judith and Adalgiso, already highlighted by Chelleri in his Wolfenbüttel version, his pasticcio differs from Chelleri's operas in that it accentuates a comparison of styles within one single opera. Thus, Telemann oriented his Hamburg pasticcio not only pragmatically towards the London music market with its 'favourite

songs', but also looked to basic reception models and aesthetics of London pasticcios that were reflected in treatises, caricatures and pamphlets in terms of a tasteful comparison of styles.³⁹

3. CONCLUSION: LONG-TERM PASTICCIOS IN THE CULTURAL NET

As has been demonstrated on the example of an analysis of *Innocenza difesa* and *Judith* in the perspective of the years 1720–1732 and different music venues from Florence, Rome and Venice to Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel, Kassel, London and Hamburg, in the 1720s and 1730s several strategies were employed for revisions as well as for the composition of pasticcios. One of them was to work with scene complexes that both Chelleri and Telemann used or maintained for their settings, even if this happened sometimes in completely different ways. The second strategy that both composers followed was to work with arias promoted in other ways, namely by publishing individual arias in compilations or as sheet music. Using these strategies, they achieved a constant perfection of the musical dramaturgy, be it for the effect of single, textually concise arias, or for the overall dramaturgical structure of their works. Within this process of revision, the orientation towards specific performers or individual venues in London or Hamburg could be accommodated. That is why one can also say that in the early eighteenth century many operas were pasticcios and many pasticcios were also operas.

Nevertheless, different strategies of dramaturgical perfection or adaptations to different audiences can also be identified in different geographical areas. The Italian domain seems to be characterised by loose networks of singers, composers, stage designers, and other actors of the operatic production that ensured operatic transfers between Rome and Florence or Florence, Rome, and Venice. The northern part of Europe, especially Hamburg, was more oriented towards London as a metropolis with a flourishing public music market and the corresponding forms of music reception.

In conclusion, an analysis of operas in the process of adaptations, revisions, and pasticcios not only broadens our understanding of the strategies and units that were used in early eighteenth-century opera composition,

35 A. Beise, "...indem eine Opera keine Philosophische Geschichte ist." Johann Georg Hamanns musikdramatische Aufklärung', in J. A. Steiger and S. Richter (eds), *Hamburg. Eine Metropolregion zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Aufklärung*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 2012, pp. 867–876.

36 Cf. 'Ich küsse dir die Hand' (I,6) and 'Ach lass dich doch mein Flehn erweichen' (I,10), in Chelleri/Telemann, *Judith von Händel (Lothario) & Chelleri*, fols 25v and 48v. On the concept of tyranny in Hamburg operas in relation to Handel's London operas, cf. Stefan Stompor, 'Die deutschen Aufführungen', p. 72.

37 Chelleri/Telemann, *Judith von Händel (Lothario) & Chelleri*, fols 25v, 48v, and 66v–67r.

38 For an analysis of Handel's arias in comparison to Chelleri's arias see zur Nieden, 'Between Dwarfs and Giants', pp. 171–172.

39 G. zur Nieden, 'E manca l'arte? Die intermediale Pasticcio-Ästhetik im London des beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts', in I. Knoth (ed.), *Music and the Arts in England, c. 1670–1750*, Dresden, musiconn, 2020, pp. 133–150.

such as the scene complexes, but it also indicates the complexity of the network that fostered the processes of revision represented here. This network involved not only composers and singers, but also impresarios, dedicatees, consumers of sheet music, and stage designers. At the same time, the processes were based on the physical and material mobility of the different actors and their objects such as libretti, scores, stage designs, etc. One of the main aspects to examine in the future might be the long-term evolution and transformation of ideas on how to perfect operatic works, which travelled between the different metropolises of early modern opera such as Florence, Venice, London and Hamburg, and may have been the main interest of composers in composing a pasticcio.

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