

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Burrows, *Handel*.
- 2 Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 26.
- 3 The original printed wordbooks have been re-published in facsimile in Harris, *Librettos*.

1 Germany – education and apprenticeship

- 1 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*.
- 2 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, pp. 856–7.
- 3 Friedrich Chrysander, *Georg Friedrich Händel* (Leipzig, 1858–67); on Chrysander's attitude towards Zachow, see Günter Thomas, *Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow*, *Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung* 38 (Regensburg, 1966), pp. 21–3.
- 4 Significant contributions include Bernd Baselt, 'Handel and His Central German Background', in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 43–60, and various articles in *HJb* 36 (1990).
- 5 See Walter Serauky, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Halle* [all references are to vol. II] (Halle and Berlin, 1939).
- 6 According to the Weissenfels concertmaster, Johann Beer: see Serauky, *Musikgeschichte*, p. 414.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 412–13; see also Rolf Hünicken, in Richard Bräutigam, Rolf Hünicken and Walter Serauky, *Georg Friedrich Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt – Festschrift zur 250. Wiederkehr des Geburtstages Georg Friedrich Händels* (Halle, 1935), p. 56.
- 8 Guido Bimberg, 'Hallesche Anregungen zu einer Dramaturgie der frühdeutschen Oper', *HJb* 36 (1990), p. 35.
- 9 Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 93; Mattheson admittedly uses the term 'hohe Schule'. For Dreyhaupt 1749/50, see Bräutigam in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, p. ix.
- 10 Werner Piechocki, 'Die Familie Händel in der Stadt Halle. II. Der Wundarzt Georg Händel', *HJb* 36 (1990), p. 202; and Hünicken, in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, p. 51.
- 11 Hünicken, in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, pp. 53–5, summarising the chronicles of Dreyhaupt preserved in the Stadtarchiv, Halle.
- 12 Serauky, *Musikgeschichte*, pp. 381–4. Baselt notes the completion of a Halle dissertation by Johann Samuel Stryk in 1702, debating the usefulness of music in church, in 'Handel and His Central German Background', p. 49.
- 13 Serauky, *Musikgeschichte*, pp. 436–42.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 442, and Hünicken, in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, pp. 71–2.

- 15 Serauky, *Musikgeschichte*, pp. 400–1; see also the document recording Handel's appointment, *HHB* vol. IV, pp. 18–19.
- 16 Handel had deputised at the Cathedral before the time of his appointment. The previous organist, Johann Christoph Leporin, had been particularly negligent in his duties and apparently led a dissolute lifestyle. Thus, as Thomas suggests (*Zachow*, p. 14), Mainwaring's references to Handel's deputising for Zachow because of the latter's 'love of company and a chearful glass' (*Memoirs*, p. 15), might in fact relate rather to Handel's deputising for Leporin at the Cathedral.
- 17 Serauky, *Musikgeschichte*, p. 403.
- 18 Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 3, note a; see pp. 182–3 above.
- 19 See Donald Burrows, 'Handel and Hanover', in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, p. 37.
- 20 Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 358.
- 21 See Thomas, *Zachow*, pp. 113–15.
- 22 Kuhnau, organist of the Thomaskirche, Leipzig, was also a successful practising lawyer.
- 23 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 9–13.
- 24 Piechocki, 'Die Familie Händel', p. 201.
- 25 Baselt, 'Handel and His Central German Background', p. 44.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 27 Piechocki, 'Die Familie Händel', p. 206.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 213.
- 29 See Gerhard Poppe, 'Beobachtungen zu 'Georg Friderich Händels Lebensbeschreibung' von John Mainwaring and Johann Mattheson', *HJb* 36 (1990), p. 179.
- 30 Bernd Baselt, 'Die Oper um 1700 in mitteleutschen Raum', *HJb* 36 (1990), p. 20; Werner Felix, 'Johann Philipp Krieger und die Hofoper in Weissenfels', *HJb* 36 (1990), pp. 41–7.
- 31 Baselt, 'Handel and His Central German Background', p. 48.
- 32 Felix, 'Krieger', p. 41.
- 33 Krieger's son Johann Gotthilf was, like Handel, a pupil of Zachow; see Thomas, *Zachow*, pp. 115–16.
- 34 Hünicken, in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, pp. 52–4.
- 35 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 2.
- 36 Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), p. 309.
- 37 See Bräutigam, in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, p. ix; Dreyhaupt perhaps derived the date from Walther's *Lexicon*.
- 38 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 5.
- 39 Serauky, *Musikgeschichte*, pp. 349–56, 412.
- 40 See *Aufzeichnungen zur Kompositionslehre, HHA Supp.*, pp. 57–9.
- 41 It is possible that Mylius was related to the wife of Johann Praetorius, the Rector of the Gymnasium, since she was the daughter of Samuel Mylius, cantor at nearby Merseburg. See Hünicken, in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, p. 55.
- 42 See John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*, (Cambridge, 1994), particularly Chapter 5.

- 43 See *ibid.*, p. 173, for a reproduction of one of these pages.
- 44 G. Falck, *Idea boni cantoris* (1688); J. C. Lange, *Methodus nova et Perspicua* (1688); W. C. Printz, *Compendium musicae* (1689); J. C. Stierlein, *Trifolium musicale* (1691); M. Feyertag, *Syntaxis minor zur Sing-Kunst* (1695); J. S. Beyer, *Primae lineae musicae vocalis*; and M. H. Fuhrmann, *Musicalischer-Trichter* (1706).
- 45 Thomas, *Zachow*, p. 114.
- 46 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 14–15.
- 47 W. C. Printz, *Phrynis Mitilenaeus, oder Satyrischer Componist* (Quedlinburg, 1676–7, 1679; reprinted Dresden and Leipzig, 1696); F. E. Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung* (vols. I–II Hamburg, 1700, 1706; vol. III published posthumously in 1717). See also David Schulenberg, ‘Composition as Variation: Inquiries into the Compositional Procedures of the Bach Circle of Composers’, *Current Musicology*, 33 (1982), pp. 57–87.
- 48 *Friederich Erhardt Niedt, The Musical Guide*, trans. Pamela L. Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor (Oxford, 1989), p. 158.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 237.
- 50 Coxe, *Anecdotes*, p. 6. See also Robert Hill, “‘Der Himmel weiss, wo diese Sachen hingekommen sind’: Reconstructing the Lost Keyboard Notes of the Young Bach and Handel”, in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 161–72.
- 51 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 17–26.
- 52 This second anomaly was noted by Johann Mattheson in *Georg Friedrich Händels Lebensbeschreibung* (Hamburg, 1761), his annotated translation of Mainwaring, *Memoirs*.
- 53 Piechocki, ‘Die Familie Händel’, p. 208.
- 54 Poppe, ‘Beobachtungen’, pp. 179–80.
- 55 Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 359. See also Burney, *Commemoration*, ‘Sketch’, p. 6: Burney’s book incorporated at the last moment biographical material derived from Mattheson, *Grundlage*.
- 56 See Wolf Hobohm, ‘Georg Philipp Telemann und die bürgerliche Oper in Leipzig’, *HJb* 36 (1990), pp. 49–61.
- 57 Baselt, ‘Handel and His Central German Background’, p. 48.
- 58 Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 93.
- 59 In *ibid.*, p. 359.
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 93–5.
- 61 Hans-Joachim Marx, ‘Die Hamburger Oper zur Zeit des jungen Händel’, *HJb* 36 (1990), p. 117; Baselt, ‘Handel and his Central German Background’, p. 50.
- 62 Hünicken, in *Händel, Abstammung und Jugendwelt*, p. 74.
- 63 John H. Roberts, ‘Keiser and Handel at the Hamburg Opera’, *HJb* 36 (1990), pp. 64–5.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- 65 This is a habit that Handel might have acquired from Zachow, given the scale of his concerted works and the complaints voiced by the town council in 1695; see pp. 13–14 above.
- 66 Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 95.
- 67 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 40. But see p. 318 below.

2 Italy – Political, religious and musical contexts

- 1 Gilbert Burnet, *Burnet's Travels: or a Collection of Letters to the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esq., containing an account of what seem'd most remarkable in travelling thro' Switzerland, Italy, and some Parts of Germany etc. in the years 1685 and 1686* (London, 1737), p. 145. (1st edn: Rotterdam, 1686).
- 2 The number of workers employed at the Arsenal (state-owned shipyards) fell from 2,343 in 1645 to 1,393 half a century later; the shortfall of tonnage was made up by the purchase or hire of Dutch vessels. Silk production declined by 50 per cent between 1662 and 1712, and in the course of the seventeenth century the annual production of soap went down from 13 million to 3 million pounds weight.
- 3 Between 1661 and 1712 the number of clock-makers in Venice remained at the level of half a dozen, as against the 20–40 of Augsburg and the 100 or more of Geneva.
- 4 At the time of Handel's residence in Italy, the ducat (6.2 lire) was worth about 2s 9d in contemporary English coinage.
- 5 The *scudo* was worth just over a shilling in contemporary English coinage.
- 6 Sieur De Rogissart, *Les Délices de l'Italie* (Leiden, 1706).
- 7 The polemic, begun in 1703, broadened out to become, seven years later, the launching-pad for the periodical *Il giornale de' letterati d'Italia*, founded by Apostolo Zeno, Scipione Maffei and Antonio Vallisnieri, a professor of medicine at the University of Padua. In its pages they debated (in accordance with the broad contemporary understanding of the term 'letterato') historical, philosophical, technological and scientific matters as well as literature proper.
- 8 Among them were such illustrious names as the anatomist Malpighi, General Marsigli (founder of the Istituto delle Scienze of Bologna), the physicist Viviani (a pupil of Galileo and of Torricelli), Vallisnieri himself, Lancisi (botanist and personal physician to the Pope) and Count Magalotti, secretary of the Florentine Accademia del Cimento.
- 9 Half of the historical territory of the Duchy of Savoy lay in present-day France.
- 10 Reinhard Strohm, 'Händel in Italia: nuovi contributi' in *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 9 (1974), pp. 152–74, and 'Il viaggio italiano di Handel come esperienza europea' in G. Morelli (ed.), *III Festival Vivaldi: Händel in Italia* (Venice, 1981), pp. 60–71; Giovanni Morelli, 'Monsù Endel, servitore di due padroni (Per una nuova "giustificazione" dell'arte allegorica)', in Morelli (ed.), *III Festival Vivaldi*, pp. 72–82; Giovanni Morelli, 'Morire di prestazioni' in L. Bianconi and G. Morelli (eds.), *Antonio Vivaldi: Teatro musicale, cultura e società* (Florence, 1982), pp. 389–414.
- 11 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 43.
- 12 The Venetian sequin (22 Venetian lire, as compared with the ducat's 6.2 lire) was worth about 9s 2d in the middle of the eighteenth century, but slightly less at the beginning of the century.
- 13 Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (2 vols., Venice, 1724), vol. III, pp. 30–45 (1st edn: Modena, 1706); Carlo Vitali, 'I viaggi di

- Faramondo', introduction to Apostolo Zeno and Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, *Il Faramondo* (facsimile edition), *Drammaturgia musicale veneta IX* (Milan, 1987), pp. ix–xxxv.
- 14 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 66; see Carlo Vitali and Antonello Furnari, 'Händels Italienreise – neue Dokumente, Hypothesen und Interpretationen', in *GHB 4* (1991), pp. 41–66.
 - 15 Mario Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti e il Principe Ferdinando de' Medici* (Florence, 1961), p. 69.
 - 16 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Zambeccari MS correspondence; also quoted by Lodovico Frati, 'Un impresario teatrale del Settecento e la sua biblioteca', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 18 (1911), pp. 6–26.
 - 17 Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London, 1771), pp. 189–90.
 - 18 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 43–69.
 - 19 See Vitali and Furnari, 'Händels Italienreise'.
 - 20 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 39–41. It has been suggested that Handel's contact in Hamburg was not Grand Prince Ferdinando but his brother Gian Gastone: see, for example, Werner Braun, 'Georg Friedrich Händel und Gian Gastone von Toskana', *HJb* 34 (1988), pp. 109–21. However, there is no evidence from the Medici archives to support the presence of either man in Hamburg during 1705–6.
 - 21 Original Italian text *HHB* vol. IV, p. 26.
 - 22 Ursula Kirkendale, 'Nuovi documenti su Händel e il marchese Ruspoli nell'Archivio segreto vaticano: Cerveteri e Civitavecchia nel 1707': unpublished paper delivered at the conference 'La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio', Rome, 5 June 1992. Thanks are extended to Ursula Kirkendale for communicating this discovery.
 - 23 Mario Fabbri, 'Nuova luce sull'attività medicea di Giacomo Antonio Perti, Bartolomeo Cristofori e Giorgio F. Haendel: Valore storico e critico di una memoria di Francesco M. Mannucci', *Chigiana*, 21 (1964), p. 175.
 - 24 Fabbri, 'Nuova luce', pp. 145–9; Juliane Riepe, Carlo Vitali and Antonello Furnari, 'Il Pianto di Maria (HWV 234): Rezeption, Überlieferung und musikwissenschaftliche Fiktion', *GHB 5* (1993), pp. 270–307.
 - 25 Letter of 9 March 1710 from Carl Philipp von Neuburg to Ferdinando de' Medici, *HHB* vol. IV, p. 45.
 - 26 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 65–6.
 - 27 See Vitali and Furnari, 'Händel's Italienreise', pp. 63–4.
 - 28 See Watkins Shaw and Graham Dixon, 'Handel's Vesper Music', *MT* 126 (1985), pp. 392–7.
 - 29 The only clear evidence for Grimani's authorship of *Agrippina*, a printing licence published in Remo Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin, 1973) is a manifest forgery.

Additional bibliography

R. Cremante and W. Tega (eds.), *Scienza e letteratura nella cultura italiana del Settecento* (Bologna, 1984); Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973); Reinhard Strohm, 'Händel und Italien – ein intellektuelles

Abenteuer', GHB 5 (1993), pp. 5–43; Michael Talbot, 'An Italian Overview', in Julie Anne Sadie (ed.), *Companion to Baroque Music* (London, 1990), pp. 3–17; also the articles by Kirkendale and Hicks cited at Chapter 10, note 7 and Chapter 11, note 4 (pp. 311, 313 below).

3 Handel's London – social, political and intellectual contexts

- 1 For examples of this approach to British history, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London, 1992); and John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1985).
- 2 *The Devil to pay at St. James's*, quoted in Gibson, *Academy*, p. 428: see also *The Miscellaneous Works of the Late Dr. Arbuthnot* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1750), vol. I, pp. 213–23 (the attribution to Arbuthnot has been discounted).
- 3 See W. L. MacDonald, *Pope and his Critics: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Personalities* (London, 1951).
- 4 William Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London, 1973), and Weber, *Classics*, pp. 96, 106–8.
- 5 Donald Burrows, 'Handel and Hanover' in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 35–59.
- 6 It is important to remember that he came from a family of standing in Halle: his father was a respected physician and his brother became Valet de Chambre to the Duke of Saxe-Weissenfels. See Coxe, *Anecdotes*, p. 4, and Werner Piechocki, 'Die Familie Händel in der Stadt Halle', *HJb* 33 (1987), pp. 91–108 and *HJb* 36 (1990), pp. 200–21.
- 7 R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993).
- 8 *The Weekly Journal: or, Saturday's Post*, 18 December 1725, quoted in Gibson, *Academy*, p. 388.
- 9 See John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993).
- 10 See David R. Ringrose, 'Capital Cities and Urban Networks in the Early Modern Period', in Bernard Lepetit and Peter Clark (eds.), *European Capital Cities* (Cambridge, forthcoming).
- 11 See Weber, *Classics*, Chapter 9.
- 12 Otto G. Schindler, *Das Burgtheater und sein Publikum* (2 vols., Vienna, 1976). Compare also the social separation inherent in the design of the Venetian theatres, described in Chapter 2.
- 13 See William Weber, 'The Myth of Mozart as Revolutionary', *MQ* 78 (1994), pp. 34–47.
- 14 Compare, for example, J. C. D. Clark in *English Society, 1688–1832: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Practice in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 1985) with Roy Porter in *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1982); Linda Colley presents something of a middle ground in *Britons*.
- 15 See especially MacDonald, *Pope*; John Loftis, *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (Oxford, 1963); and Bernard A. Goldgar, *Walpole and the Wits: The Relations of Politics to Literature, 1722–42* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1976).

- 16 See Price, 'English Traditions in Handel's "Rinaldo"' in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 120–37; and Price, 'Political Allegory in Late-Seventeenth-Century English Opera', in Fortune, *Music & Theatre*, pp. 1–29.
- 17 For lists of the directors, and some of the subscribers, see Gibson, *Academy*. Carole Taylor offers lists of opera subscribers from the later period in 'From Losses to Lawsuit: Patronage of the Italian Opera in London by Lord Middlesex, 1739–45', *ML* 68 (1987), pp. 1–26.
- 18 Donald Burrows and Robert D. Hume, 'George I, the Haymarket Opera Company and Handel's Water Music', *EM* 19 (1991), pp. 323–41.
- 19 Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: Elector and King* (London, 1978) revealed the intelligence and political acumen of George I, in contrast to his received image as a rather boorish monarch.
- 20 Winton Dean tended to be sceptical of religious elements in Dean, *Oratorios*, but Ruth Smith began work in a new direction with 'Intellectual Contexts of Handel's English Oratorios', in Hogwood & Lockett, *18th Century*, pp. 115–34, and R. Smith, *Oratorios*. See also Alexander H. Shapiro, 'Drama of an Infinitely Superior Nature': Handel's Early English Oratorios and the Religious Sublime', *ML* 74 (1993), pp. 215–45.
- 21 Historians now take the impact of religious issues more seriously than their secular-minded colleagues tended to do a few decades ago. Conrad Russell has argued for religious division as the one long-term cause for the Civil War: see *Causes of the Civil War* (Oxford, 1990). Clark, in *English Society*, has likewise reviewed an extensive bibliography of sermons and early histories from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to show how integral religion was within English politics in that period, though his case may be somewhat exaggerated: Linda Colley presents a more balanced viewpoint in *Britons*, stressing the centrality of Protestantism to how the English perceived themselves.
- 22 John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985).
- 23 See Bennet Zon, 'Plain Chant in the Eighteenth-Century Roman Catholic Church in England 1737–1834', (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1993).
- 24 Colley, *Britons*, p. 25.
- 25 *The Devil to pay at St. James's*, quoted in Gibson, *Academy*, p. 429.
- 26 John Pocock, 'Clergy and Commerce: The Conservative Enlightenment in England', in *L'Età dei lumi: Studi storici sul settecento europeo in onore di Franco Venturi* (2 vols., Naples, 1985), vol. I, pp. 523–62; see also Roy Porter, 'The Enlightenment in England', in Roy Porter and Mikul S. Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Perspective* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 1–18; and A. Guerrini, 'The Tory Newtonians: Gregory, Pitcairne and their Circle', *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (1986), pp. 301–21.
- 27 On Addison, Steele and Handel, see Henrik Knif, *Gentlemen and Spectators: Studies in Journals, Opera and the Social Scene in Late Stuart London* (Helsinki, Finnish Historical Society, 1995).
- 28 See Smith, 'Intellectual Contexts'.
- 29 This was noted by Dorothea Siegmund-Schultze in 'Some Remarks on the Interaction between G. F. Handel, his Librettists and the Conditions of his Time', *HJb* 34 (1988), p. 124.

- 30 See Ruth Smith, 'The Achievements of Charles Jennens (1700–1773)', *ML* 70 (1989), pp. 161–90.
- 31 Carole Taylor, 'Handel's Disengagement from the Italian Opera', in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, p. 174.
- 32 Weber, *Classics*, chapter 3.
- 33 This process is described in Colley, *Britons*, and Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics*. See specifically Colley's references to Handel on pp. 31–3.

Additional bibliography

For British history in this period, see also Tim Harris, *Politics under the later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (London, 1993); J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675–1725* (Cambridge, 1975); William Speck, *Whig and Tory: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701–1715* (London, 1970); John Brewer, *Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (London, 1989), and Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714–60* (Cambridge, 1982). For contexts of Handel's career, see Paul Henry Lang, *George Frideric Handel* (New York, 1966); Robert Manson Myers, *Handel's 'Messiah': a Touchstone of Taste* (New York, 1948); Graydon Beeks, 'A Club of Composers': Handel, Pepusch and Arbuthnot at Cannons', in Sadie and Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 209–21; and Burrows, *Chapel Royal*.

4 Handel's London – the theatres

- 1 See Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatres', in Robert D. Hume (ed.), *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800* (Carbondale, Ill., 1980); Richard Leacroft, *The Development of the English Playhouse* (London, 1973); Graham F. Barlow, 'Vanbrugh's Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, 1703–9', *EM* 17 (1989), pp. 515–21.
- 2 See Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery* (London, 1952).
- 3 Judith Milhous, 'The Capacity of Vanbrugh's Theatre in the Haymarket', *Theatre History Studies*, 4 (1984), pp. 38–46.
- 4 On the close parallels between Covent Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields, see John Orrell, 'Covent Garden Theatre, 1732', *Theatre Survey*, 33 (1992), pp. 35–52.
- 5 See Hume, 'The Sponsorship of Opera in London, 1704–1720', *Modern Philology*, 85 (1988), pp. 420–32, and Milhous, 'Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738', *JAMS* 37 (1984), pp. 567–92.
- 6 Virtually complete daily performance records are available after 1705 for both opera and playhouses from newspaper advertisements: they are conveniently summarised in *The London Stage*.
- 7 See Milhous and Hume, 'The Haymarket Opera in 1711', *EM* 17 (1989), pp. 523–37, and 'Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera, 1713–1717', *EM*, forthcoming.
- 8 See Donald Burrows and Robert D. Hume, 'George I, the Haymarket Opera Company and Handel's *Water Music*', *EM* 19 (1991), pp. 323–41.
- 9 See Milhous and Hume, 'The Charter for the Royal Academy of Music', *ML*

- 67 (1986), pp. 50–8; and ‘New Light on Handel and The Royal Academy of Music in 1720’, *TJ* 35 (1983), pp. 149–67.
- 10 On the Royal Academy’s subscribers and patrons, see Gibson, *Academy*.
- 11 See Hume, ‘Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s’, *ML* 67 (1986), pp. 347–62.
- 12 See Milhous and Hume, ‘Box Office Reports for Five Operas Mounted by Handel in London, 1732–1734’, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26 (1978), pp. 245–66; and ‘Handel’s Opera Finances in 1732–3’, *MT* 125 (1984), pp. 86–9.
- 13 See Milhous and Hume, ‘Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London’, *JAMS* 46 (1993), pp. 26–83. For convenient biographical accounts of both major and minor operatic performers in Handel’s time, see the relevant articles in *Biographical Dictionary* and *New Grove Opera*.
- 14 *Vice Chamberlain Coke*, document no. 123.
- 15 For example, the Privy Purse papers imply that George I attended Handel’s *Admeto* 19 times between 30 January and 18 April 1727. See Burrows and Hume, ‘George I’.
- 16 See, for example, *The Daily Courant*, 23 November 1720 and 22 January 1723.
- 17 Milhous and Hume, ‘John Rich’s Covent Garden Account Books for 1735–36’, *Theatre Survey*, 31 (1990), pp. 200–41, esp. p. 218.

5 **Handel’s London – British musicians and London concert life**

- 1 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 787.
- 2 See Stoddard Lincoln, ‘A Congreve Masque’, *MT* 113 (1972), pp. 1078–81. All three settings are discussed by Richard Platt in H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (eds.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, vol. IV: *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 97–103.
- 3 For a detailed comparison of both (and also the 1709 Croft setting), see Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. I, pp. 106–39, and especially Table 1 (pp. 108–13).
- 4 Lbl Harleian MS 7342, fol. 12; for the context of this remark see Christopher Hogwood, ‘Thomas Tudway’s History of Music’, in Hogwood & Luckett, *18th Century*, pp. 44–5.
- 5 See Curtis Price, ‘Handel and The Alchemist: His First Contribution to the London Theatre’, *MT* 116 (1975), pp. 787–8.
- 6 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 78.
- 7 Abel Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, digested into Annals* (11 vols., London, 1703–13), vol. IX, p. 335; also in Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain*, vol. 1 (1711), p. 156 (see *HHB* vol. IV, pp. 47–8).
- 8 See Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. I, pp. 140–51.
- 9 Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 299. Handel himself was one of the subscribers to *The Works of the late Aaron Hill*, published in four volumes in 1753.
- 10 See Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 44–5. For Hughes’s view on the combination of English words with Italian-style music, see Malcolm Boyd, ‘John Hughes on Opera’, *ML* 52 (1971), pp. 383–6.
- 11 See Brian Trowell, ‘Acis, Galatea and Polyphemus: A “serenata a tre voci”?’ in

- Fortune, *Music & Theatre*, pp. 31–93, esp. pp. 82–93. *Venus and Adonis* (HWV 85) is included in Donald Burrows (ed.), *G. F. Handel: Songs and Cantatas for Soprano and Continuo* (Oxford, 1988): while Handel is known to have set Hughes's text, the identity of the composer of these two songs (the only surviving settings) is uncertain.
- 12 Gary C. Thomas, in 'Was George Frideric Handel Gay?: On Closet Questions and Cultural Politics', in Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood and Gary C. Thomas (eds.), *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology* (New York and London, 1994), pp. 177–8, argues that this was also a 'homoerotic milieu'. However, it is difficult to interpret the significance of single-sex relationships from an age in which women were not expected to have an intellectual life of their own and, if they did, it was assumed that they would not wish (or be able) to share it with men: as a result, such intellectual groups were almost invariably single-sex.
 - 13 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, pp. 852n., 859. Hawkins's reference (p. 852n.) to Mattheson's recently published keyboard pieces being played on one such occasion would seem to place this in 1714, but the association clearly goes back at least to late 1712.
 - 14 Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 33 note 'a'.
 - 15 Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 173.
 - 16 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II., p. 879.
 - 17 Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 489.
 - 18 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 879; see also p. 884. Cf. Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 33.
 - 19 Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 354; my italics. See also Mattheson, *Grundlage*, quoted in translation by Deutsch, p. 505. The pamphlet *Harmony in an Uproar*, from which this passage comes, is sometimes attributed – on no sound basis – to George Arbuthnot, in whose *Miscellaneous Works* (Glasgow, 1751) it was included. Whoever wrote it obviously had inside information.
 - 20 See Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London* (London, 1955), pp. 29–49; also Bertha Harrison, 'A Forgotten Concert Room', *MT* 47 (1906), pp. 602–5, 669–72; and 'The Oldest Concert Room in London', *Monthly Musical Record*, 39 (1909), pp. 55–6.
 - 21 Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 57.
 - 22 See Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 363.
 - 23 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 700; see also Curtis Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult', *MT* 119 (1978), pp. 1032–4.
 - 24 See Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 65, and Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 847.
 - 25 See Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 459; also Pippa Drummond, 'The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century', *ML* 59 (1978), pp. 268–89, and Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain* (London, 1985).
 - 26 Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 388; cf. Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, pp. 745–6.
 - 27 *The Daily Journal*, 16 January 1731; the source given in *The London Stage*, Part 3, vol. I, p. 109, is wrong.
 - 28 Lbl Add. MS 11732, fols. 11–12. The fullest and most accurate account of the Academy of Ancient Music so far published is to be found in Weber, *Classics*, pp. 56–74.

- 29 Lbl Add. MS 11732, fol. 16.
- 30 For further details, see Johnstone and Fiske (eds.), *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, vol. IV, pp. 36–8.
- 31 See Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 498–9.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 217.
- 33 See Edmund Hobhouse (ed.), *The Diary of a West Country Physician* [Dr Claver Morris], A.D. 1684–1726 (Rochester, 1934), p. 107.
- 34 See Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 316–29.
- 35 See H. Diack Johnstone, ‘The Chandos Anthems: The Authorship of no. 12’, *MT* 117 (1976), pp. 601–3; also *MT* 129 (1988), p. 489. The anthem in question appears in *HHB* as HWV 257, and the music is to be found in *HG* vol. 36 (1872).
- 36 For details, see Warwick Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1896; facsimile reprint 1979); also Mollie Sands, *Invitation to Ranelagh, 1742–1803* (London, 1946) and *The Eighteenth-Century Pleasure Gardens of Marylebone* (London, 1987).
- 37 See Smith, *Walsh I*; Smith, *Walsh II*; and Smith, *Handel*.
- 38 Burney, *Commemoration*, ‘Sketch’, p. 33 (note carried over from p. 32).
- 39 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 884.
- 40 As recorded by Samuel Wesley in Lbl Add. MS 27593, fol. 35; wording slightly altered. See also William Linley, in the preface to his *Eight Glees* [1832].
- 41 Burney, *History*, vol. II, pp. 1010–11.
- 42 Burney, *Commemoration*, ‘Sketch’, p. 31.
- 43 Mantel (originally Johann Christian Scheidemantel) was born, the youngest of eleven children, near Erfurt in May 1706. He studied theology at Erfurt University but left when, in 1732, his parents died. It was evidently not long afterwards that he emigrated to Britain where, having shed the first half of his surname and exchanged Johann for John, he turns up – conceivably at Handel’s suggestion – as organist of St Mary’s Church, South Benfleet, Essex. In 1738, he subscribed to the publication of Handel’s *Faramondo* (see Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 450); ten years later he moved to a better-paid organist’s post at Great Yarmouth, where he died in 1761. This information is derived from the joint research of David Galbraith and Robert Hallmann, and I thank them for their ready willingness to share their results.
- 44 Westminster Public Library, MS C. 768: Vestry Minutes of St George’s, Hanover Square, April 1741–June 1752, p. 93. Handel is named in the Vestry Minutes of 27 October 1725 (MS C. 766, p. 33) as one of five possible judges, but he evidently chose not to serve; see Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 188 and Vernon Butcher, ‘Thomas Roseingrave’, *ML* 19 (1938), pp. 280–94.
- 45 See Richard Platt, ‘Plagiarism or Emulation: the Gerard Smith Organ Contract for St George’s Church, Hanover Square’, *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 17 (1993), pp. 32–46; also Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 138, 259.
- 46 See Mark Argent (ed.), *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens, An Organist in Georgian London* (London, 1992), p. 212.

- 47 Mary Nash, *The Provoked Wife: The Life and Times of Susannah Cibber* (London, 1977), p. 176.
- 48 Modern edn: G. F. Handel: *Songs and Cantatas for Soprano and Continuo* (see note 11 above).
- 49 See Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 819–20.
- 50 For details, see Carl Morey, 'Alexander Gordon, Scholar and Singer', *ML* 46 (1965), pp. 332–5.
- 51 In Johnstone and Fiske (eds.), *Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, vol. IV (1990).
- 52 It is probably not entirely coincidental that Handel began work on *L'Allegro* on 19 January 1740, just seven weeks after the successful revival of Arne's *Comus* (first performed 4 March 1738). For more on the relationship of these two works, see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973), pp. 181–3.
- 53 See Franklin B. Zimmerman, 'Purcellian Passages in the Compositions of G. F. Handel', in Hogwood & Lockett, *18th Century*, pp. 49–58; also 'Handel's Purcellian Borrowing in His Later Operas and Oratorios', in Walter Gerstenberg, Jan LaRue and Wolfgang Rehm (eds.), *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag*. (Kassel, 1966), pp. 20–30. In neither case, however, is this particular example mentioned (though it is in Dean, *Oratorios*, p. 566).

Additional bibliography

Simon Heighes, *The Lives and Works of William and Philip Hayes* (New York and London, 1995); H. Diack Johnstone, 'The Life and Work of Maurice Greene', (1696–1755) (2 vols., D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1967).

6 Handel's London – Italian music and musicians

- 1 Henry Purcell, *Sonnata's of III Parts* (London, 1683), Preface.
- 2 John Macky, *A Journey through England* (London, 1714), pp. 109–10.
- 3 'Notes of Comparison between Elder and Later Musick and Somewhat Historicall of both' [c. 1726], *Roger North on Music*, ed. John Wilson (London, 1959), pp. 307–11.
- 4 See Hans Joachim Marx, 'Some Unknown Embellishments of Corelli's Violin Sonatas', *MQ* 61 (1975), pp. 65–76; Owain Edwards, 'The Response to Corelli's Music in Eighteenth-Century England', *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*, 2 (1976), pp. 51–96; Denis Arnold, 'The Corellian Cult in England', *Nuovi Studi Corelliani: Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale, Fusignano, 5–8 Settembre 1974*, *Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 4 (1978), pp. 81–8; and Weber, *Classics*, pp. 74–89.
- 5 Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), p. 211: 'In Summa: Wer bey diesen Zeiten etwas in der Music zu praestiren vermeinet, der begibt sich nach Engelland. In Italien und Franckreich ist was zu hören und zu lernen; in Engelland was zu verdienen; im Vaterlande aber am besten zu verzehren.'

- 6 The Italians employed by Charles II were forced to flee after the discovery of the Popish Plot of 1679; those in the Roman Catholic chapel of James II had to flee with him after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. See Margaret Mabbett, 'Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90)', *ML* 67 (1986), pp. 237–47.
- 7 *The London Stage*, Part I, pp. 417, 428–9. A letter-writer's comments concerning the Italian lady are published in Curtis A. Price, 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700–10', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26 (1978), p. 41, n.10, and partly published and discussed in Donald F. Cook, 'Françoise Marguérite de l'Epine: The Italian Lady?', *TN* 35 (1981), pp. 58–60.
- 8 'Il paradiso terrestre', according to a letter from Luigi Mancina to Cosimi, written in Düsseldorf on 15 January 1702 [possibly 1702/3], and carried to London by the alto Carlo Luigi Pietra Grua: see Lowell Lindgren, 'Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701–5', *SM* 11 (1982), p. 237, and Lindgren, 'The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678–1729)', *SM* 16 (1987), pp. 252–5.
- 9 Eight rosters are printed in *Vice Chamberlain Coke*, pp. 30–4, 118–19, 127–8, 151–2, 158–61, 179–80, and three are in Milhous and Hume, 'New Light on Handel and The Royal Academy of Music in 1720', *TJ* 35 (1983), pp. 157–61.
- 10 They are the main source for the information concerning concerts given in *The London Stage*, *Biographical Dictionary* and Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces, 1660–1719', in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), entire issue, and 2 (1962), pp. 1–15.
- 11 See the summary given in Elizabeth Gibson, 'Italian Opera in London, 1750–75: Management and Finances', *EM* 18 (1990), p. 48. Gibson does not mention Ricciarelli, but he and Giardini are listed as 'Associates' for 1756–7 in Mingotti, *A Second Appeal to the Publick* (London [1756]), p. 9. Gibson lists Paradisi and Vanneschi only for an unused licence of 17 January 1752, while they are listed together for 1753–6 in *New Grove Opera*, under 'Paradies, (Pietro) Domenico'.
- 12 See Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762)* (Oxford, 1993); Geminiani's directorship is discussed on p. 16, and eight of his illustrious students are named on pp. 19–20.
- 13 See Roberts, *Handel Sources*; John H. Roberts, 'Handel and Vinci's "Didone Abbandonata": Revisions and Borrowings', *ML* 68 (1987), pp. 141–50; and John H. Roberts, 'Handel and Charles Jennens's Italian Opera Manuscripts', in Fortune, *Music & Theatre*, pp. 159–202. Borrowing occurred at all points in Handel's career, as noted in Stanley Sadie, review of Roberts, *Handel Sources*, *EM* 17 (1989), pp. 103–6. Handel's contemporaries accused him of plagiarism, but they were unsure of his sources, and thus questioned the accusations, according to Antoine-François Prévost, *Le pour et contre* (1733); see Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 333–4.
- 14 See George Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London, 1715–44* (The

- Hague, 1967), and Paolo Rolli, *Libretti per musica*, ed. Carlo Caruso (Milan, 1993).
- 15 See *New Grove Opera*, ‘Cori, Angelo’ and ‘Vanneschi, Francesco’. Vanneschi was excoriated in Giuseppe Baretta, *The Voice of Discord* (London, 1753), and in Mingotti, *An Appeal to the Publick* and *A Second Appeal to the Publick* (London [1755, 1756]).
 - 16 See the poem by Lord Halifax, printed in *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. IV, p. 294. She was also identified as ‘Tuscan’ in a poem in *The Diverting Post*, 20 January 1705.
 - 17 George Farquhar, *The Beaux Stratagem*, Act III, Scene 2 (London, 1707), p. 25.
 - 18 *Heraclitus Ridens*, 12 February 1704. Tofts subsequently disclaimed all responsibility for the actions of her ‘late’ servant, whom she asked Rich to prosecute, ‘that she may be punish’d as she deserves’. Tofts’s letter, printed in *The Daily Courant*, 8 February 1704, has been reprinted in Mollie Sands, ‘Mrs. Tofts, 1685?–1756’, *TN* 20 (1966–7), p. 103, and partly in *The London Stage*, Part II, p. 56.
 - 19 John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708), ed. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London, 1987), p. 99. *Arsinoe* and *Ergasto* were respectively composed by Thomas Clayton and Jakob Greber, each of whom had been in Italy.
 - 20 Evidence for L’Epine’s performance in April 1706 is in *Vice Chamberlain Coke*, p. 3; that for Valentino’s performance in December 1706 is in the preface to Mary de la Rivière Manley, *Almyna: or, the Arabian Vow* (London, 1707), fol. 2r–v. The performance on 6 December 1707 with L’Epine as Prenesto (partly in Italian), Valentino (in Italian) and Joanna Maria (mostly in Italian) is listed in *The London Stage*, Part II, p. 160. For a facsimile of the only extant score in English, see Giovanni Bononcini, *Camilla: Royal College of Music, MS 779*, with introduction by Lowell Lindgren, *Music for London Entertainment, 1660–1800*, E/1 (London, 1990).
 - 21 *Vice Chamberlain Coke*, p. 99.
 - 22 Without him the opera floundered badly in 1714–15; see the letter of 18 March 1715 from Giuseppe Como to Cosimi, printed in Lindgren, ‘Nicola Cosimi in London’, p. 246, and that of 8 June 1715 from Giovanni Battista Primoli to Giuseppe Riva, in Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Campori Z.4.3: ‘Già mi è nota l’impazienza con cui costi si stava aspettando il Cav.r Nicolino, mentre si spera ch’egli rimetterà in piedi l’opere già caduto con tanto pregiudizio degl’Impresarij.’
 - 23 *Vice Chamberlain Coke*, p. 120: Swiney, the manager, proposed to ‘pay him £150 for a fair Score with the words & parts of an Opera to be by him fitted for the English stage every Season, if such Opera’s shall be approved of’. Troupes of comic singers typically managed their own productions; for the first five seasons of ‘burlettas’ in London (1748–50 and 1753–6) see Sybil Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies in Great Britain in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Society for Theatre Research, Pamphlet Series no. 4 (London, 1955), pp. 32–7, and the article cited in note 45 below.

- 24 See Richard Steele in *The Tatler*, 3 January 1710, and Joseph Addison in *The Spectator*, 15 March 1711; they are reprinted in *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. XI, pp. 25–30.
- 25 Gay's letter and the anonymous poem are reprinted in Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 149, 163–70.
- 26 Letter of 25 September 1722 from Lord Perceval to Alexander Pope, printed in Pope, *Correspondence*, ed. George Sherburn (5 vols., Oxford, 1956), vol. II, p. 136. Most evidence for teaching by Italians is found in such incidental remarks and in expense diaries. Published mentions are rare: two examples are in *The Daily Post*, 23 December 1730, where Bononcini is named as the teacher of a singer and her brother, the violinist John Clegg, and in *The Daily Advertiser*, 10 May 1745, where Bononcini is named as the teacher of Mrs Davis, a singer, who may well be the unnamed sister of Clegg.
- 27 See Owain Edwards, 'Espionage, a Collection of Violins and *Le Bizzarie Universalì*: A Fresh Look at William Corbett', *MQ* 73 (1989), pp. 331–2.
- 28 See 'Rochetti, (Gaetano) Filippo', in *New Grove Opera*. Rochetti sang in London until 1744, then in Edinburgh in the 1750s. The other six Italian tenors who portrayed serious roles in Handel's London stayed no more than one or two seasons.
- 29 According to Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 876, Guadagni's 'ideas of acting were taken . . . from [David] Garrick, who, when he performed in an English opera called the *Fairies*, took as much pleasure in forming him as an actor, as Gizziello [Gioacchino Conti] did afterwards in polishing his style of singing'. His role of Lysander was originally intended for another Italian, Rosa Curioni, who later created Ferdinand in Smith's *The Tempest* (Drury Lane, February 1756); see *New Grove Opera*, 'Curioni, Rosa'.
- 30 *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. VI, pp. 104–12.
- 31 Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies*, pp. 14–17.
- 32 See *Biographical Dictionary*, 'Fausan' and 'Rinaldi, Antonio'.
- 33 *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 187–8.
- 34 They are listed in Smith, *Walsh II*, pp. 176–80. According to the titles of vols. II–VIII, their contents are 'opera dances as perform'd . . . at the King's Theatre in the Hay Market'.
- 35 Judith Milhous, 'Hasse's "Comic Tunes": Some Dancers and Dance Music on the London Stage, 1740–59', *Dance Research*, 2/2 (1984), pp. 41–55.
- 36 Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 35–8, reprints passages from *The Spectator*, 6 and 16 March 1711.
- 37 *The Spectator*, 18 April 1711, cited in Lowell Lindgren, 'The Staging of Handel's Operas in London', in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, p. 113.
- 38 Lindgren, 'The Staging of Handel's Operas', pp. 94–5, 98.
- 39 They are discussed and reproduced in Lindgren, 'The Accomplishments of Nicola Francesco Haym', pp. 268–9 and Plates 1–2.
- 40 Lindgren, 'The Staging of Handel's Operas', p. 95 and n. 16.
- 41 *Ibid.*, n. 27, cites the report of Servandoni's activities in London from the *Mercure de France* for October 1726.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 105. For conjectures about Devoto's country of birth, see Edward

- Croft-Murray, *John Devoto: A Baroque Scene Painter*, Society for Theatre Research, Pamphlet Series, no. 2 (London, 1953), pp. 5–6.
- 43 Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537–1837* (2 vols., London, 1962–70), vol. II, p. 164. He was reportedly in England in 1729–39 and 1741–2; see *New Grove Opera*, ‘Amiconi, Jacopo’.
- 44 See Lowell Lindgren, ‘Musicians and Librettists in the Correspondence of Gio. Giacomo Zamboni (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawlinson Letters 116–138)’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 24 (1991).
- 45 See Richard G. King and Saskia Willaert, ‘Giovanni Francesco Crosa and the First Italian Comic Operas in London, Brussels and Amsterdam, 1748–50’, *JRMA* 118 (1993), pp. 246–75.
- 46 *The Post Boy*, 20 November 1697, cited in *New Grove*, ‘Kremberg, Jacob’.
- 47 [Francis Fleming,] *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures, the Perils and Critical Escapes, of Timothy Ginnadrake, that Child of Chequer’d Fortune* (3 vols., Bath [1771]), vol. II, pp. 91–2.
- 48 John Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer (6 vols., Oxford, 1955), vol. IV, p. 270. Evelyn also recorded when he heard of others who had ‘lately been roming in Italy’: Mrs. Knight on 1 December 1674 (vol. IV, p. 49), Mr. Pordage on 27 January 1685 (vol. IV, p. 403), and Mr. Pate on 30 May 1698 (vol. V, p. 289).
- 49 *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. I, pp. 6–9, doubts the 1715 billing of ‘lately return’d from Italy’, but Abell advertised his return ‘to his Native Country, after having had the Honour of Singing in most Parts of Europe to the greatest Princes and the Nobility’, in *The Daily Courant*, 26 and 30 May 1715. I am grateful to Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume for informing me of Abell’s advertisement.
- 50 *The Daily Post*, 2–5 December 1719. The same billing is utilised in the advertisement for his next concert; see *ibid.*, 18 January 1720.
- 51 *New Grove Opera*, ‘Gordon, Alexander’.
- 52 *New Grove*, ‘Roseingrave, Thomas’.
- 53 Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 704.
- 54 See Martin Medforth, ‘The Valentines of Leicester: A Reappraisal of an 18th-Century Musical Family’, *MT* 122 (1981), pp. 812–5.
- 55 See Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (7 vols. in 8, London, 1875–83), vol. VI, nos. 1205, 1230, which concern two of their sons, Joseph and Josiah, born at Rome in 1713 and 1719, respectively.
- 56 *The Daily Courant*, 18 March 1724. While in London, Corbett advertised items for sale in *The Daily Journal*, 16 and 18 May 1724: ‘a Series of the finest Instruments’ by named makers, ‘several hundred of original Manuscripts’ in named musical genres, and ‘a small Collection of Pictures, Medals and some Drawings, with Valuable Books of the Theory of Musick, and others of different Languages’.
- 57 *Do you know what you are about, or, A Protestant Alarm to Great Britain* (London, 1733), p. 15: ‘He must be ignorant indeed who knows not that *C-rb-t*, under the disguise of a Fiddler, has for many Years past acted the Spy and sham’d the Madman, to hide the Cunning Fellow, for he is no Fool I assure you. Upon what Motive could he quit a very considerable Business,

leave a Place, where he was in Eminence and Respect, to go a Strolling into a Country where he was sure of finding so many superiors in his Profession: It may be objected, he did it for Improvement; to which I Answer, he is so far from being improv'd, that he has almost forgot what he was then Master of; besides, how could he support himself? not by his Fiddle, 'tis very well known, he gets nothing by that in *Italy*. In short my Conjecture is so probable, there is no need for any body to draw other Conclusions, the Thing explains itself.' Only the first sentence of this passage is cited in William C. Smith, 'Do you know what you are about?: A Rare Handelian Pamphlet', *The Music Review*, 25 (1964), p. 117. This passage was unknown to Edwards, who discussed the possibility that Corbett was a spy in 'Espionage' (see note 27, above), pp. 335–7.

- 58 *Do you know what you are about*, pp. 16–22, names G[eminia]ni, S[en]esi[n]o, Porta, Attilio (Ariosti), Catsoni (= Cuzzoni), and 'G[a]mb[a]r[i]ni, the Picture-monger' (conjecturally the father of the composer Elisabetta Gambarini). All but Gambarini are named in the abbreviated version given in Smith, 'Do you know', pp. 117–18.
- 59 See Gibson, *Academy*, pp. 166–72, for a summary of Bononcini's familiarity with notorious Jacobites; his ties forestalled further operatic commissions for him during the year following the Jacobite plot of spring 1722. Similar ties may have been largely responsible for the termination of Rolli's appointment to the Royal Academy of Music in spring 1722.
- 60 Evelyn, *Diary*, vol. V, p. 531 (28 February 1703). This singer may have been Joanna Maria, Baroness Linchenham, but may instead have been Anna, the wife of Francesco Lodi, or Maria Margherita Gallia, the wife of Giuseppe Fedeli detto Saggione.
- 61 *Roscius Anglicanus* (see note 19 above), p. 97.
- 62 Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Opera Salaries in Eighteenth-Century London', *JAMS* 46 (1993), pp. 26–83.
- 63 *Vice Chamberlain Coke*, pp. 116, 120–1, 139–42.
- 64 See, for example, Judith Milhous, 'Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738', *JAMS* 37 (1984), pp. 567–92; Sybil Rosenfeld, 'An Opera House Account Book [for 1716–17]', *TN* 16 (1964–5), pp. 83–8; Gibson, *Academy*, pp. 121–7, 311–33; Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Box Office Reports for Five Operas Mounted by Handel in London, 1732–4', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26 (1978), pp. 245–66; Milhous and Hume, 'Handel's Opera Finances in 1732–3', *MT* 125 (1984), pp. 86–9; Carole Taylor, 'From Losses to Lawsuit: Patronage of the Italian Opera in London by Lord Middlesex, 1739–45', *ML* 68 (1987), pp. 1–25; and Gibson, 'Italian Opera in London, 1750–75', pp. 47–59.
- 65 Lowell Lindgren, 'Ariosti's London Years, 1716–29', *ML* 62 (1981), pp. 346–7.
- 66 Gildon, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton* (London, 1710), pp. 143–4.
- 67 For a list and summary of such attacks, see Lowell Lindgren, 'Critiques of Opera in London, 1705–19', in Alberto Colzani, Norbert Dubow, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan (eds.), *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell'età barocca* (Como, 1995), pp. 145–65.

- 68 A fine survey of the masques of 1715–18 is given in Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 155–9.
- 69 See Lowell Lindgren “Camilla” and “The Beggar’s Opera”, *Philological Quarterly*, 59 (1980), pp. 44–61.
- 70 See Phillip Lord, ‘The English–Italian Opera Companies, 1732–3’, *ML* 45 (1964), pp. 239–51.

7 Handel’s English librettists

- 1 For fuller discussion of Handel’s English librettists see R. Smith, *Oratorios*. On Jennens, see further Ruth Smith, ‘The Achievements of Charles Jennens (1700–1773)’, *ML* 70 (1989), pp. 161–90. One indication of the librettists’ relative financial situations is suggested by the first codicil of Handel’s will (Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 776). He left bequests to Hamilton and Morell; Humphreys and Miller predeceased him. Jennens, to whom he left two portraits by Balthasar Denner (Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 789), was immensely rich and owned one of the largest picture collections in England.
- 2 *Historic Manuscripts Commission*, 15th Report, App., Pt. II, Hodgkin MSS, p. 92; cited in Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 851.
- 3 Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 590–6.
- 4 John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (2nd edn: 9 vols., London, 1812–15), vol. I, pp. 651–6; vol. III, pp. 89–91; vol. IV, pp. 599–603; vol. V, pp. 251–2, 711–12; vol. IX, p. 789. Nichols is not always a reliable source.
- 5 The best account is Paula O’Brien, ‘The Life and Works of James Miller’ (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1979).
- 6 See further R. Smith, *Oratorios*, Chapter 6.
- 7 *Bibliotheca Historico-Sacra: or, an Historical Library of the Principal Matters relating to Religion Antient and Modern* (London, 1737; re-issued 1742, 1756).
- 8 The leaf in Morell’s hand, dated 1735, ‘I was preparing these for the Cave [the Queen’s grotto] by Order’ is apparently inserted opposite the title page of his *Notes and Annotations on Locke on the Human Understanding, written by order of the Queen*, which was finally published in 1794 to elucidate an edition of Locke brought out the previous year. The copies in Lbl (information from Leslie Robarts) and Cambridge University Library both have this page.
- 9 On Hamilton see further Ruth Loewenthal [= Smith], ‘Handel and Newburgh Hamilton: New References in the Strafford Papers’, *MT* 112 (1971), pp. 1063–6, and R. Smith, *Oratorios*, Chapters 8, 12.
- 10 See Ruth Smith, ‘The Argument and Contexts of Dryden’s “Alexander’s Feast”’, *Studies in English Literature*, 18 (1978), pp. 465–90.
- 11 See O’Brien, ‘Miller’; *Are These Things So?* and *The Great Man’s Answer*, ed. I. Gordon, Augustan Reprint Society no. 153 (Los Angeles, 1972).
- 12 This volume (pages numbered 1–155, with no pp. 14–15, 96–7, 100–3, 128–33, 146–7) of poems in Morell’s hand, many signed with his monogram, and with annotations addressed to his wife (of which one is dated 1779, five years before his death), is now in the Osborn Collection, Yale University

- Library, shelf mark Osborn Shelves c.395: see Stephen Parks, 'The Osborn Collection: a 4th Biennial Report', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 50 (1975–6), p. 182.
- 13 Robert Halsband, *Lord Hervey: Eighteenth Century Courtier* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 107–20.
- 14 Thirty lines of pentameter couplets; Osborn MS fols. 26–7.
- 15 MS fols. 22–3.
- 16 For a full account of the Excise and its reception see Paul Langford, *The Excise Crisis: Society and Politics in the Age of Walpole* (Oxford, 1975).
- 17 Averyl Edwards, *Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales 1707–1751* (London, 1947).
- 18 Undated, Osborn MS fols. 135–9, praising Frederick at fol. 137.
- 19 MS fols. 63–5.
- 20 Christine Gerrard, 'The Castle of Indolence and the Opposition to Walpole', *Review of English Studies*, New Series no. 41 (1990), pp. 44–64.
- 21 See *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 15th Report, App., Pt. II, Hodgkin MSS, p. 91; cited in Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 851.
- 22 See Dean, *Oratorios*, p. 87.
- 23 Discussed in R. Smith, *Oratorios*, Introduction.
- 24 The development of the libretto of *L'Allegro* can be traced through documents in the Harris papers, Hampshire Record Office, 9M73/G500/1–2, 9M73/G980/18, 9M73/G887: I am grateful to the County Archivist, Rosemary Dunhill, for bringing them to my attention. See also the letter from Jennens to his friend Edward Holdsworth, 4 February 1742, *HHB* vol. IV, p. 344.
- 25 For Mrs Delany as potential Handel librettist see Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 587–8; for Upton, see Clive T. Probyn, *The Sociable Humanist: The Life and Works of James Harris 1709–1780* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 72–3. Sygne's plan is transcribed in *HHB* vol. IV, pp. 353–4, and discussed in R. Smith, *Oratorios*, Introduction.
- 26 See Smith, 'Achievements of Charles Jennens'.
- 27 For discussion of Jennens's possible authorship of *Israel in Egypt* as well as *Messiah*, see R. Smith, *Oratorios*, Chapter 12.
- 28 On Hamilton as the possible librettist of Handel's *Semele* see Brian Trowell, 'Congreve and the 1744 Semele Libretto', *MT* 111 (1970), pp. 993–4.
- 29 For Italian and German precursors of English oratorio see further e.g. Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 7, 11, 12; Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vols. I and II, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977); Denis and Elsie Arnold, *The Oratorio in Venice*, Royal Musical Association Monographs no. 2 (London, 1986); Carolyn Gianturco, "'Cantate spirituali e morali", with a Description of the Papal Sacred Cantata Tradition for Christmas 1676–1740', *ML* 73 (1992), pp. 1–31. For drolls see Sybil Rosenfeld, *The Theatre of the London Fairs in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1960). For mentions in poems to Handel of later oratorio subjects see e.g. Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 139–43, 306–7, 322, 533. See also John Lockman, *Rosalinda: A Musical Drama . . . to which is prefixed, An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of Operas and Oratorios. With some Reflections on Lyric Poetry and Music* (London, 1740), pp. xx–xxi.

- 30 Letter to Holdsworth, 3 March 1746, *HHB* vol. IV, p. 401. ‘Sternhold and Hopkins’ was *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into the Englishe Meter*, a publication more notable for its antiquity and popularity than for its literary quality: a ‘19th edition’ was published in 1738, about 180 years after the first edition.
- 31 Henry Fielding, *Amelia* (London, 1751), Book IV, Chapter 9.
- 32 Dean, *Oratorios*, p. 392; see also *ibid.*, pp. 349, 471 and Appendix I.
- 33 On the printing of the librettos, see Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 95–101.
- 34 John Dryden, preface to *Albion and Albanus* (1685).
- 35 Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 851–3.
- 36 See Merlin Channon, ‘Handel’s Early Performances of *Judas Maccabaeus*: Some New Evidence and Interpretations’, *ML* 77 (1996), pp. 504–5.
- 37 Letter to Holdsworth, 21 February 1743, *HHB* vol. IV, p. 357.
- 38 Dean, *Oratorios*, p. 549.
- 39 King’s College, Cambridge, Modern Archives, Coll. 34.11, consulted with the kind assistance of the archivist, Jacky Cox.
- 40 See further R. Smith, *Oratorios*.
- 41 Letters to Holdsworth, 10 July 1741, 2 December 1741: *HHB* vol. IV, pp. 334, 339.
- 42 Joseph Warton, *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (London, 1756), quoted in Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 780.
- 43 Letters to Holdsworth, 7 May 1744, 26 September 1744, partly transcribed *HHB* vol. IV, pp. 376, 379; see Smith, ‘The Achievements of Charles Jennens’.
- 44 John Loftis, *The Politics of Drama in Augustan England* (Oxford, 1963).

8 Handel and the aria

- 1 See, for example, the letter of the Modenese diplomat Giuseppe Riva to Ludovico Antonio Muratori, 7 September 1725: ‘If your friend wishes to send some [librettos], he must know that in England they want few recitatives, but thirty arias . . .’ (Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 186). The first editions of music from Handel’s operas, published by Walsh and Cluer, generally contain no recitatives but all of the arias: see Smith, *Handel*.
- 2 So prevalent was the form of the da capo aria in eighteenth-century opera seria that in 1720 the Italian composer Benedetto Marcello, in his satirical *Il teatro alla moda*, could confine his sarcastic remarks to musical style in the aria without reference to the form at all: for Marcello, ‘aria’ was synonymous with the da capo form. For Marcello’s text, trans. Reinhard G. Pauly, see *MQ* 34 (1948), pp. 371–404; 35 (1949), pp. 85–105.
- 3 The most famous eighteenth-century condemnation of the da capo aria is that found in the preface to the first edition of Gluck’s *Alceste*:

I did not think it my duty to pass quickly over the second section of an aria [the B section] in which the words are perhaps the most impassioned and important, in order to repeat regularly four times over those of the first part [the A section], and to finish the aria where its sense may perhaps not end for the convenience of the singer who wishes to show that he can capriciously vary a passage in a number of guises.

- See Alfred Einstein, *Gluck*, trans. Eric Blom (London, 1936), pp. 98–100; the passage quoted is reprinted in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: The Classic Era* (New York, 1965), p. 100.
- 4 Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 93, trans. Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 502.
 - 5 The scores for *Nero*, *Daphne* and *Florindo*, Handel's other German operas, are lost, apart from some fragments from *Florindo*.
 - 6 The aria 'Schönste Rosen und Narcissen' follows the da capo form through the A1, A2 and B sections (the B section is even in a contrasting metre), but the return to A1 is almost immediately altered in order to bring the piece to a close only ten bars later.
 - 7 One of the principal distinctions between German and Italian opera librettos at that time is the placement of arias within scenes: while Italian librettos are characterised by scene-ending exit arias, German librettos contain numerous scene-opening arias and medial arias. See Harris, *Librettos*, vol. I, pp. xxxiii–xxxv.
 - 8 *Ibid.*; see also Robin F. C. Fenton, 'Almira (Hamburg, 1705): The Birth of G. F. Handel's Genius for Characterization', *HJb* 33 (1987), pp. 109–30.
 - 9 The exact date of the premiere of *Agrippina* is not known, although it is clear that it was performed early in the Carnival season of 1709 (that is, sometime shortly after the beginning of Carnival on 26 December).
 - 10 Bars 25–27.
 - 11 As, for example, in the arias 'Ach wiltu die Herzen' and 'So ben che regnante'.
 - 12 Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 701.
 - 13 Translated in Paul Nettl, *Forgotten Musicians* (New York, 1951; repr. New York, 1969), p. 312.
 - 14 See LaRue, *Singers*, Chapter 4.
 - 15 Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 722.
 - 16 Translated in Nettl, *Forgotten Musicians*, pp. 312–13.
 - 17 See Strohm, *Essays*, p. 53.
 - 18 See LaRue, *Singers*, chapter 7.
 - 19 An examination of the parts sung by the alto castrato Francesco Bernardi (Senesino) during the Royal Academy years makes it clear that he, too, was a singer of considerable versatility as well as virtuosity, and that the roles Handel composed for him were of the 'versatile virtuoso' type; see LaRue, *Singers*, chapter 5.
 - 20 Another comparable case is Alceste's aria 'Luci care' in *Admeto* (1727), sung before she sacrifices herself for Admeto, which follows a similar pattern, except that the abbreviated return to the A section is somewhat altered.
 - 21 Harris, *Librettos*, vol. VII, p. xiii.
 - 22 David Ross Hurley, 'Handel's Compositional Process: A Study of Selected Oratorios' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991), pp. 318–63.
 - 23 Ultimately, the aria was rejected due to a change of cast in which the originally intended singer for the part of Bajazet was replaced by the well-known tenor Francesco Borosini: for details of this cast change and its significance to Handel's composition of *Tamerlano*, see LaRue, *Singers*, Chapter 3.

- 24 Handel considerably shortened the aria; see Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 614–15.
 25 See Donald Burrows, *Handel: Messiah* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 69–70.

9 Handel's compositional process

- 1 The themes of this chapter are to be explored more fully in David Ross Hurley, *Handel's Compositional Choices: the Genesis of the Oratorios, 1743–1748* (Oxford, forthcoming).
- 2 In this chapter I use the term 'fragment' solely in reference to a piece that Handel did not complete, as distinct from pieces that Handel completed but which survive only in part.
- 3 There are four versions of 'The leafy honours': 1. 3/8 fragment, in the autograph of *Belshazzar*, Lbl RM 20.d.10, fols. 61v, 66r–v; 2. Complete 3/8 setting (published in *HG* vol. 19, pp. 83–91), also in RM 20.d.10; 3. Complete 12/8 setting in RM 20.f. 12, fols. 39r–42v; 4. Common-time fragment, RM 20.f.12, fol. 43r (published in *HG* vol. 46B, pp. 86–7). The first (and earliest) is the fragment under discussion; the second is the complete version of the aria as used in the first performance of the work in 1745. Recent paper studies have suggested that the third setting of 'The leafy honours' was one of the numbers for Nitocris that Handel reset c. 1748, probably for a revival of *Belshazzar* that never came to pass: this version was probably used in the 1751 performance. The fourth version is a fragment based on the music of 'Gentle Morpheus' in *Alceste* (HWV 45/7a).
- 4 We know from Handel's letters to Charles Jennens that the composition of the first two Acts (or Parts) of *Belshazzar* took place before Handel received the text of Act III. Handel began work on the score on 23 August 1745; he finished the skeleton draft of Act I on September 3 and Act II on 10 September; he returned to Act I and completed it (after much revision) on 15 September. See Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 434–5, 452.
- 5 LaRue, *Singers*, Chapter 2.
- 6 Gerald Abraham, 'Some Points of Style', in Abraham, *Handel*, p. 266.
- 7 Cfm MU MSS 251–264. A description of this material is included in the Preamble to Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994), pp. xx–xxii.
- 8 See Dean, *Oratorios*, p. 87.
- 9 Robert Marshall, 'The Sketches', in *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York, 1989), p. 111.
- 10 There are, of course, times when Handel's sketches are more extensive. See the discussion of 'As the Sun' from *Solomon* in Hurley, *Handel's Compositional Choices*, Chapter 3.
- 11 These include a number identified by John Roberts: see in particular Roberts, *Sources*; John H. Roberts, 'Handel's Borrowings from Telemann: An Inventory', *GHB* 1 (1984), pp. 51–76, and John H. Roberts, 'Handel's Borrowings from Keiser', *GHB* 2 (1986), pp. 147–71.
- 12 If the act of creating thematic material was not a completely spontaneous task for Handel, then he resides in the company of many. Haydn is said to have claimed that composition was quite easy after you found the

appropriate theme. And much later Richard Strauss claimed that ‘the melodic ideas which provide the substance of a composition seldom consist of more than two to four bars, the remainder is elaboration, working out, compositional technique’: see Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism*, trans. Mary Whittall (London, 1980), p. 40.

- 13 See Robert Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach* (Princeton, 1972), p. 239.
- 14 The terminological confusion surrounding the word ‘form’ is discussed in Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). As Bonds points out, two of the meanings of the word ‘form’ are diametrically opposed: “‘form’ is commonly used to denote those features a given work shares with a large number of others, yet it is also often understood as the unique structure of a particular work’ (Introduction, p. 1). This terminological confusion is sometimes avoided by using ‘outer form’ to denote the former and ‘inner form’ to denote the latter; although ‘outer form’ is generally understood, ‘inner form’ is more mysterious, sometimes bearing meanings that are most compatible with nineteenth-century music. I have adopted the term ‘outer form’ in its most common meaning and I use ‘inner structure’ to refer to smaller-scale aspects of form, such as phrase structure, key areas, and so forth – all of which play a role in the creation of outer form, but which can be distinguished from it.
- 15 This model is obviously related to Abraham’s, quoted above, but it differs in certain ways. First, the ‘data’ with which Handel worked was not limited to borrowings; as I have pointed out here, sketches are similarly pre-compositional. Second, Abraham restricts his discussion to pre-existent matter that was used at the beginning of a piece as a way of getting started: research by John Roberts has shown that borrowings also feature in later parts of movements. I have argued elsewhere that these internal borrowings are often pre-compositional, although a certain number of them may have emerged as Handel composed (see *Handel’s Compositional Choices*, Chapter 3). I am suggesting a broadening of Abraham’s model, but Abraham did not take into account the fact that large-scale form was also often a pre-compositional decision.
- 16 I am grateful to John Roberts, the discoverer of this borrowing, for drawing it to my attention.
- 17 Ellen Harris has identified Handel’s typical harmonic patterns in ‘Harmonic Patterns in Handel’s Operas’, in Mary Ann Parker (ed.), *Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice* (Stuyvesant, N.Y., 1994), pp. 77–118.
- 18 For this form, see Chapter 8, p. 111.
- 19 These attempts can be outlined as follows. In the original autograph version (Lbl RM 20.e.8) fol. 89r followed fol. 86v, the intervening folios in the autograph being a later insertion. In other words, the first version of the duet follows Chrysander’s edition up to bar 111 (*HG* vol. 4, p. 180 bar 8); thereafter comes Example 9.3. Handel did not complete this version of the duet. The second version of ‘Joys of Freedom’ exists, crossed out, on fol. 87r-v. (See Example 9.4.) This version, too, was not completed. The third version,

- beginning on the bottom system of fol. 87v and continuing on fol. 88r, is like *HG* to bar 141 (p. 181 bar 14), followed by Example 9.5. Again, Handel abandoned this version before completing it. The fourth version on fol. 88v is the first performance version as we have it in *HG*. (See Example 9.6.)
- 20 See especially bars 56–64 and 68–72 (*HG* vol. 32, pp. 139–40).
- 21 See bars 131–7 and 143–8 (*HG* vol. 32, pp. 141–2).
- 22 These revisions focus on the idea that appears six bars before the end of the fragment; in the second setting (bars 62–3) Handel repeats one bar which prolongs the secondary dominant, making the resolution to the dominant key more emphatic, and decorates the bass with triplets, allowing it to share in the motivic make-up of the aria. The resulting two-bar passage is also added (in a less elaborate form) to the opening ritornello in the second setting (bars 25–6), as discussed in the course of this chapter.
- 23 For first complete printed edition of *Clori, Tirsi e Fileno*, see *HHA* series V, vol. 3 (1994), where the aria is printed on pp. 161–8: Chrysander printed only a fragment of the cantata in *HG* vol. 52B. Roberts has pointed out that the second setting of ‘The leafy honours’ draws heavily upon ‘Và col canto’, and has identified certain borrowings from ‘Và col canto’ within A1 of the new setting, some of which are also found in the first setting; these will be pointed out as they arise. The most substantial borrowings noted by Roberts occur in the second setting beyond the point where the fragment ends, which raises the possibility that the new borrowings in A1 plant seeds for a continuation that relies more extensively on the cantata aria, but this is difficult to prove. It is not entirely clear that the borrowings in the later parts of the new setting would not have been included in the old version, if Handel had continued; for the most part they do not rely on new material within A1 of the second setting that was not also present in the fragment. In any case, the new version is audibly different from the old, which Handel surely intended. I thank John Roberts for privately communicating his discovery of the borrowings, and his interpretation of their significance, while this chapter was being prepared.
- 24 Paul Brainard, ‘Aria and Ritornello: New Aspects of the Comparison Handel/Bach’, in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 24–30. The idea added in bars 19–20 of the second setting of the ritornello, for instance, serves to preview the return of this material in bars 62–3, 87, 89, and 101–2: the passage appeared near the end of the fragment (bar 54), but it was not featured in the ritornello of the first setting. This example illustrates what Brainard calls the ‘retroactive’ effect of the body of the aria upon the ritornello. A more subtle long-range connection might have influenced Handel’s revision of the triplet/dotted crotchet pattern at bars 11–16. The original ritornello had featured the two-bar idea that later appeared in the vocal A section of the second setting at bars 114–23. Although Handel did not reach this point before abandoning the fragment, the presence of this material in the ritornello might indicate that he had planned to use this passage in A2 even in the first version, although this is impossible to demonstrate. In any case, the new version makes the relationship between

the two passages even closer, for the transposition up a third in bars 13–16 recurs in bars 120–3.

- 25 Roberts notes that bars 41–4 of the new setting bear a closer resemblance to bars 24–30 of ‘*Và col canto*’ than did the corresponding bars in the first setting. In my view, the middle of this passage (bars 42–3) resembles bars 35–7 of the fragment more closely than the cantata aria. The descending line from C to E \sharp in bars 43–4 might represent a simplification of ‘*Và col canto*’ bars 29–30. However, the treatment of the tail-motif which follows (described above) is by no means controlled by the source.
- 26 Handel’s revision also provides a different approach to the passage in the dominant (a setting of the text ‘in giddy dissipation’). In the old version, the second half of the passage begins in the dominant (C major), and the use of B \sharp creates a tonicisation of C before the ‘giddy dissipation’ passage. In the second version of the aria, on the other hand, the use of B \sharp suggests the dominant seventh chord of F major: we expect to return to F until the tonality is diverted when the C major ‘giddy dissipation’ passage appears.
- 27 Gerald Abraham (‘Some Points of Style’, p. 270) discusses this phenomenon in the harpsichord Sonata HWV 580 and the opening of the Trio Sonata Op. 2 No. 1 (HWV 386b). Composing a new melody over a pre-existent bass-line was, of course, an extremely common technique in Baroque music.
- 28 See Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 531–2.
- 29 J. Robert Oppenheimer, *Atom and Void: Essays on Science and Community* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 31–2.

10 Handel and the idea of an oratorio

- 1 For detailed accounts of the origins of oratorio in Italy and Germany, see Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vols. I and II (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977).
- 2 ‘Oratorium’ is the more common German form, being the equivalent in ecclesiastical Latin of the Italian *oratorio*, in its older meaning of a place of prayer.
- 3 A setting of the Passion of St John, based on the Gospel text with interpolated texts by C. H. Postel, has long been attributed to Handel and has been published as his in *HG* (vol. 9) and in *HHA* (series I, vol. 2). The attribution is almost certainly false, but the true composer has yet to be convincingly identified.
- 4 The longer title appears on the title page of the working copy used for the first performance (D-MÜs MSS 1896, 1914a), prepared by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini, Handel’s chief Roman copyist, and in Angelini’s bill of 14 May 1707 for making the copy (*HHB* vol. IV, p. 27). On the first page of Handel’s autograph of the opening Sonata (LbI RM 19.d.9, fol. 69r) Angelini added the heading ‘Sonata dell’Overtura del Oratorio à 4. con Stromento Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno’, justifying the shorter version of the title. These documents all describe the work as an ‘oratorio’. Carolyn Gianturco, ‘*Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*: Four Case-Studies in Determining Italian Poetic-Musical Gestures’, *JRMA* 119 (1994), pp. 43–59, attempts to define the

- work more precisely as a ‘moral cantata’, which indeed it is; but the references to it as an ‘oratorio’ remain perfectly valid in the broad use of that term, and suggest more clearly a work of substantial length divided into two parts.
- 5 The original wordbook gives the full title as *Oratorio per La Risurrettione di Nostro Signor Giesù Cristo*.
 - 6 The title of this work is given in the original wordbook as *La Passione del nostro signore Gesù Cristo*, though a CD was issued in 1992 under the title *La Colpa, il Pentimento, la Grazia*, the names of the three principal characters.
 - 7 Details derived from the original accounts are given by Ursula Kirkendale, ‘The Ruspoli Documents on Handel’, *JAMS* 20 (1967), pp. 222–73. The arrangement of the musicians is likely to have resembled that for B. Pasquini’s serenata *Applauso musicale* (Rome, 1687), illustrated in Hans Joachim Marx, ‘The Instrumentation of Handel’s Early Italian Works’, *EM* 16 (1988), pp. 496–505. For a detailed discussion of *La Resurrezione*, see Ellen Rosand, ‘Handel paints the Resurrection’, in Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera, *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow* (Stuyvesant, N.Y., 1995), pp. 7–52.
 - 8 J. C. Pepusch, musical director at Cannons, was the composer of four of these English theatre masques.
 - 9 Score in the Earl of Malmesbury’s collection, originally copied for Elizabeth Legh (d. 1734): this is referred to as Source B in *Esther* (1. Fassung), *HHA* series I, vol. 8, ed. Howard Serwer.
 - 10 In 1732 the text was attributed to Alexander Pope (Lord Perceval’s *Diary*, 23 February, and *The Daily Journal*, 19 April; Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 286, 288) and to John Arbuthnot in Dublin wordbooks of 1741 and 1742.
 - 11 The chorus ‘Mourn all ye Muses’ is based on the trio ‘O Donnerwort! O schrecklich Schreien’ in the Passion, but the additional unaccompanied choral passages echoing the words ‘No more’ – especially the closing sequence with its ‘English’ false relation – impart greater emotional depth to the chorus.
 - 12 Handel’s indications for shortening the final chorus are discussed in the commentary to the *HHA* edition (see note 9), pp. 205–6.
 - 13 See Edmund Hobhouse (ed.), *The Diary of a West Country Physician* [Dr Claver Morris], *A. D. 1684–1726* (Rochester, 1934), pp. 64 and 107.
 - 14 *Diary*, 23 February 1732; Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 286.
 - 15 In Britain the public staging of sacred drama was effectively forbidden by King James I’s statute of 1605 against blasphemy. By then biblical drama had already become distasteful in Protestant eyes because of its potential to distort scriptural truth, and, by extension, to subvert the authority of church and state. The publication of the Authorised Version of the Bible in 1611 increased the reverence accorded to the exact words of the Scriptures. On this topic, see Murray Royston, *Biblical Drama in England* (London, 1968), especially pp. 109–120.
 - 16 Burney, *Commemoration*, ‘Performances’, pp. 100–1.
 - 17 This phrase presumably refers to the physical arrangement of the band of musicians (‘the Musick’), but its precise implications are regrettably unclear.

- 18 Anon., *See and Seem Blind* (London, [1732]), pp. 15–16, 19–20; Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 301.
- 19 All subsequent similar dates are of first performances.
- 20 Less than would appear from the table of borrowings in Dean, *Oratorios*, p. 643: the movements in the Trio Sonatas Op. 5 Nos. 4 and 5 are derivatives of *Athalia* movements, not sources for them; the ‘Hallelujah’ chorus was not taken from any anthem but is an original movement that was later added by Handel to one of the Chapel Royal versions of his anthem *As pants the Hart*.
- 21 Not *Il Parnasso in Festa*, a form of the title which seems to have been invented by Friedrich Chrysander.
- 22 On readings of the poem, see Ruth Smith, ‘The Argument and Contexts of Dryden’s “Alexander’s Feast”’, *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, 18 (1978), pp. 465–90.
- 23 See Ruth Smith, ‘The Achievements of Charles Jennens (1700–1773)’, *ML* 70 (1989), pp. 161–90.
- 24 Jennens’s attempts to revise Handel’s score are discussed in Anthony Hicks, ‘Handel, Jennens and *Saul*: Aspects of a Collaboration’, in Fortune, *Music and Theatre*, pp. 203–27.
- 25 Handel added Italian arias for the second performance. There was one further performance in 1739 and one more in 1740. The oratorio was not subsequently revived until 1756, and then with a new (pastiche) Part I and damaging alterations to the rest of the work.
- 26 The recently discovered information on Harris’s connection with *L’Allegro* is taken from Rosemary Dunhill, *Handel and the Harris Circle* (Hampshire Papers 8; Winchester, 1995), pp. 6–7.
- 27 Handel’s programme even included an Italian opera, *Imeneo*, presented as a serenata.
- 28 Jennens’s concern with the validity of biblical prophecy, prompted by a desire to refute Deist arguments against irrationality, is also apparent in his other original oratorio texts. In *Saul* the King’s death is foretold by the ghost of Samuel as a consequence of earlier disobedience. In *Belshazzar* Daniel interprets the fall of Babylon and the coming of Cyrus as the fulfilment of the prophecies of Jeremiah and Isaiah.
- 29 For the controversy see the texts in Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 563–6; *HHB* vol. IV, pp. 359–61.
- 30 Dunhill, *Handel and the Harris Circle*, p. 6 (corrected from the original document, Hampshire Record Office, 9M73/G349/29).
- 31 Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 533. Tollett’s poem *To Mr. Handell* was published after her death in 1755, but its content suggests that it was written in 1740 or 1741.
- 32 Preface to the original wordbook of *Samson*, reprinted in full in Robert Manson Myers, *Handel, Dryden and Milton* (London, 1956), pp. 63–4.
- 33 Letter of 28 July 1743, *HHB* vol. IV, p. 364.
- 34 Winton Dean, ‘Charles Jennens’s Marginalia to Mainwaring’s Life of Handel’, *ML* 53 (1972), pp. 160–4; slightly revised in Winton Dean, *Essays on Opera* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 74–7.
- 35 Letter of 21 February 1744, Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 584.

- 36 For the problems, articulated through press announcements, see Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 602–6.
- 37 Letter of 21 February 1745, *HHB* vol. IV, pp. 386.
- 38 The interlude *The Choice of Hercules* (HWV 69; 1 March 1751, presented with a revival of *Alexander's Feast*) was a re-working of music written in the winter of 1749–50 for Tobias Smollett's play *Alceste* (HWV 45) which never reached performance. The high quality of the music, inspired by a classical tale, suggests that Handel's decision to avoid treating secular subjects in oratorio form was made with regret.
- 39 *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (HWV 71; 11 March 1757) was not a new composition, but a version with English text of *Il trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* (HWV 46b; 23 March 1737), Handel's own substantial revision of his 1707 Roman oratorio. The amount of new music in the English version, other than recitative, is slight (most of the numbers not from the 1737 *Trionfo* are taken from other works) and the arrangement may well have been made under Handel's supervision by the younger John Christopher Smith.
- 40 Lord Malmesbury (ed.), *A Series of Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury* (London, 1870), vol. I, p. 74. The phrase 'it will not insinuate itself' is quoted correctly in R. A. Streatfeild, *Handel* (London, 1910), p. 199; but the further quotations in Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 657, and *HHB* vol. IV, p. 419, omit the word 'not'.
- 41 In a letter of Thomas Morell, c. 1770. Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 852.
- 42 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 890.

11 Handel's sacred music

- 1 Various sacred works with German texts have been attributed to Handel, but none convincingly. Eight works are ascribed to Handel in a catalogue of the library of St Ulrich's Church in Halle from November 1718, but none are known to survive. See *HHB* vol. IV, p. 77.
- 2 The numbering of Psalms in the Roman Catholic usage derives from the Vulgate Bible and differs (from Psalm 42 onwards) from the numbering which is found in Protestant Bibles and *The Book of Common Prayer*; the latter numbering is used here.
- 3 See *HHB* vol. II, p. 659–60; also Burrows, *Handel*, p. 42.
- 4 Mattheson, *Grundlage*, p. 93; see also Anthony Hicks, 'Handel's Early Musical Development', *PRMA* 103 (1976–77), pp. 80–9.
- 5 The Marian motet *Giunta l'ora fatal* (HWV 234), known as *Il Pianto di Maria*, has now been identified as a composition by G. Ferrandini (1710–91): see Chapter 2, note 24 (p. 290 above).
- 6 See James S. Hall, 'Handel among the Carmelites', *The Dublin Review*, 223 (1959), pp. 121–31, and 'The Problem of Handel's Latin Church Music', *MT* 100 (1959), pp. 197–200.
- 7 See Watkins Shaw, 'Handel's Vesper Music – Some MS Sources Rediscovered', *MT* 126 (1985), pp. 392–3; Graham Dixon, 'Handel's Vesper Music – Towards a Liturgical Reconstruction', *MT* 126 (1985), pp. 393–7; Anthony Hicks,

- ‘Handel’s Vespers’, *MT* 126 (1985), p. 201; and Watkins Shaw, ‘Some Original Performing Material for Handel’s Latin Church Music’, *GHB* 2 (1986), pp. 226–33.
- 8 The term ‘canticle’ generally refers to scriptural hymns apart from the psalms, although it is also loosely applied to the *Te Deum* (or Hymn of St Ambrose) and other non-scriptural texts as well as to certain psalms. In the Roman rite canticles were used as regular elements of the Office: the Magnificat, for example, was proper for Vespers. *The Book of Common Prayer* specified that two canticles should be sung at Morning and Evening Prayer: by the eighteenth century the most common morning canticles were the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, while those generally used for Evening Prayer were the Magnificat and *Nunc dimittis*. The *Venite* (Psalm 95, sometimes preceded by a seasonal antiphon), which serves as the Invitatory or opening chant for Morning Prayer, is also referred to as a canticle. See *New Grove*, ‘Canticle’.
 - 9 This and much of the remaining discussion of Handel’s music for the Chapel Royal is derived from Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’.
 - 10 Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. I, p. 92.
 - 11 See Donald Burrows, ‘Handel’s “As pants the Hart”’, *MT* 126 (1985), pp. 113–16.
 - 12 The undertaking of this commission resulted in Handel’s temporary dismissal from the service of the Elector in Hanover, the future King George I, whose best interests the Peace of Utrecht did not serve. See Donald Burrows, ‘Handel and Hanover’, in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 35–59.
 - 13 The date of completion is missing from the *Jubilate* autograph. Burrows has suggested that work on this project was interrupted by the need to compose the Ode for Queen Anne’s Birthday (HWV 74); the birthday was celebrated on 6 February, although the Ode itself was almost certainly not performed in 1713. See Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. I, pp. 140–6.
 - 14 See Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. II, p. 94.
 - 15 *The Post Boy*, 28 September 1714.
 - 16 *Hamburger Relations-Courier*, 9 November 1714; original in German, translation by Donald Burrows in ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. I, p. 156.
 - 17 For a discussion of the original organ, and of the new organ installed at St Lawrence’s in 1995, see Dominic Gwynn, ‘An Organ for St Lawrence, Whitchurch’, *Choir & Organ*, 3/1 (February 1995), pp. 30–4.
 - 18 Handel’s music for his two tenors, James Blackley and Francis Rowe, requires light, flexible voices capable of negotiating a high tessitura. Although Handel always writes for them in the tenor clef, Pepusch wrote for Blackley in the alto clef. This suggests that they may have been examples of the Purcellian low counter-tenor, with perhaps some additional usable notes at the bottom of the range.
 - 19 See Graydon Beeks, ‘Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon’, in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 1–20. Donald Burrows has argued convincingly that *As pants the Hart* most likely preceded *O sing unto the Lord*. See Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. I, pp. 71–7.

- 20 Music from many of these sonatas was later published as contributory movements to the *Concerti Grossi* Op. 3 (1734) and *Select Harmony* (London, 1740), and to the *Trio Sonatas* Op. 5 (1739): see Hans Joachim Marx, ‘The Origins of Handel’s Opus 3: A Historical Review’, in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 254–70.
- 21 In the Anglican tradition such texts, which also occasionally drew on other Books of the Bible, were generally restricted to celebrations of political and dynastic events. See John Morehen, ‘The English Anthem Text, 1549–1660’, *JRMA* 115 (1992), pp. 62–85. A recent example which Handel might have heard was Croft’s *O Sing unto the Lord a New Song*, performed on 7 November 1710 ‘upon the great successes of that Year in Spain and Flanders’, which combined verses from Psalms 89, 28 and 29. In Handel’s later *Cannons Anthems* he drew from as many as eight different Psalms in a single work. This pattern also holds true for the anthems written for *Cannons* by Pepusch, whose work overlapped with Handel’s. See Graydon Beeks, ‘The Chandos Anthems of Haym, Handel and Pepusch’, *GHB* 5 (1993), pp. 161–93.
- 22 Brydges’s library copy is now Lbl Add. MS 62561. The dedication makes it clear that the anthems were designed to be performed by the entire complement of the *Cannons* Concert, and one should probably assume that the same goal was sought by Handel and Pepusch in their anthems for *Cannons*. The forces available to Haym in 1716 were smaller than those used by Handel, including only treble and bass singers, two violins, ‘cello and organ, supplemented occasionally by oboe and transverse flute.
- 23 It was published in full score by Birchall & Beardmore in 1783 as ‘a favourite anthem’; by Wright & Wilkinson in 1784 as one of ‘Ten Anthems composed chiefly for the Chapel of his Grace the late James Duke of Chandos’, and by Harrison in 1785 in piano/vocal score. It was also arranged (with some alterations) for voices and continuo for use in the Chapel Royal by William Boyce some time in the 1750s or 1760s: see Graydon Beeks, ‘Boyce’s Arrangements of Handel for the Chapel Royal’, *HJb* 39 (1983), pp. 42–59.
- 24 The earliest sources, including the *Cannons* Music Library Catalogue (Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Stowe MS 66) and the ‘Malmesbury’ copy of the score, refer to this work as ‘The Oratorium’. The name *Esther*, by which the work is generally known, seems first to have been attached to it in the 1730s. Handel’s theatre version of *Esther* in 1732 incorporated music from English anthems that he had written in the intervening period. The name ‘Haman and Mordecai’, which was used by Chryander to designate the *Cannons* version of the work, derives from a single manuscript copy (D-Hs MB/1667) and has no claim to authenticity.
- 25 See Graydon Beeks, ‘“A Club of Composers”: Handel, Pepusch and Arbuthnot at *Cannons*’, in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 209–21.
- 26 Dominic Gwynn, *St Lawrence Whitchurch, Little Stanmore, Middlesex. Organ by Gerard Smith c. 1716*, The Harley Foundation Technical Report No. 17 (1995), p. [22].

- 27 The revised version of ‘Vouchsafe, O Lord’ (HWV 280/5B) almost certainly dates from a performance in the 1720s, see Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. I, pp. 168–74, 322–4.
- 28 Burrows, ‘Handel’s “As pants the Hart”’. The situation is confused by Boyce’s arrangement of HWV 251b: see note 23, above.
- 29 See Donald Burrows, ‘Handel’s 1738 “Oratorio”: A Benefit Pasticcio’, in Konstanze Musketa and Klaus Hortschansky (eds.), *Georg Friedrich Händel – ein Lebensinhalt: Gedenkschrift für Bernd Baselt* (Halle, 1995), pp. 11–38. The music for HWV 251e is printed in full in *HHA* series III, vol. 9, and is clearly distinguished in *G. F. Handel, As pants the Hart*, ed. Burrows (Novello Handel Edition, London, 1988).
- 30 Details of the coronation and its preparation are taken from Donald Burrows, ‘Handel and the 1727 Coronation’, *MT* 118 (June 1977), pp. 469–73.
- 31 Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. II, pp. 120–3.
- 32 See Carole Taylor, ‘Handel’s Disengagement from the Italian Opera’, in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 165–81.
- 33 He had previously considered a plan to use some of the music in *Saul* (HWV 53), as the ‘Elegy on the Death of Saul and Jonathan’: see Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 309–10, 312.
- 34 Burrows, ‘Chapel Royal’, vol. II, pp. 108–9.
- 35 David Hurley, ‘“The Summer of 1743”: Some Handelian Self-Borrowings’, *GHB* 4 (1991), pp. 174–93.
- 36 For a detailed account, see Donald Burrows, ‘Handel’s “Peace Anthem”’, *MT* 114 (1973), pp. 1230–2.
- 37 See Donald Burrows, ‘Handel and the Foundling Hospital’, *ML* 58 (1977), pp. 269–84.

12 Handel’s chamber music

- 1 It is true that instrumental pieces were not, as a rule, published in the same volumes, or copied into the same manuscripts, as vocal works. The reason for this, of course, is that such publications or collections were designed for a particular kind of performer, not for a particular milieu.
- 2 Burney, *Commemoration*, ‘Sketch’, p. 3. The nobleman referred to was probably Hugh Hume-Campbell (1708–94), styled Lord Polwarth from 1724 and Earl of Marchmont from 1740; or possibly his father Alexander (1675–1740), Lord Polwarth from 1709 and Earl of Marchmont from 1724.
- 3 See especially Terence Best, ‘Handel’s Chamber Music: Sources, Chronology and Authenticity’, *EM* 13 (1985), pp. 476–99.
- 4 The rhythmically inactive bass of the first movement of HWV 393 has been put forward as one reason for questioning Handel’s authorship; but a similar bass (and, incidentally, a similar thematic opening) is found in the corresponding movement of the trio sonata HWV 386.
- 5 Bernd Baselt listed them as doubtful and dated them 1700–5. See the entry for HWV 380–5 in *HHB* vol. III, pp. 161–6.
- 6 The structural uniformity of HWV 380–5 is, however, one feature which

counts against Handel's possible authorship. Rarely do we find a run of works by him as conformist as this.

- 7 Henry Watson Music Library, Newman Flower Collection, MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312, p. 154.
- 8 E. Hanley, 'Alessandro Scarlatti's Cantate da camera: A Bibliographical Study' (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1963). These totals include some works of doubtful authenticity.
- 9 The cantata texts often provided for the expressive dualism of the R–A–R–A scheme. In Handel's *Mentre il tutto è in furore* (HWV 130), for example, the singer first urges her lover to join battle in a recitative and aria replete with phrases imitating trumpet-calls; in the second recitative and aria she entreats him to return to the pleasures of love when the battle is over.
- 10 Michael Talbot: *Tomaso Albinoni: the Venetian Composer and his World* (Oxford, 1990), p. 135.
- 11 Library of the Conservatoire Royale de Musique, Brussels, MS Litt. XY.15.115. David Lasocki and Terence Best ('A New Flute Sonata by Handel', *EM* 9 (1981), pp. 307–11) compare the movement to the brief central Adagio of the Sonata in G major HWV 358, in which, however, the solo part displays neither the rhythmic flexibility nor the melodic contours of vocal recitative.
- 12 On Handel's cantatas, see John Mayo, 'Handel's Italian Cantatas', (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1977) and John Mayo, 'Einige Kantatenrevisionen Händels', *HJb* 27 (1981), pp. 63–77.
- 13 These figures do not include later versions of cantatas that Handel revised, except in those cases where the revision affected the actual make-up of the work. One example is *Nell'africane selve*, which in its first version from c. 1708 (HWV 136a) consisted of R–A–R–A; in a second (?later) version (HWV 136b) the second recitative was replaced by a new, shorter recitative and an aria.
- 14 'Dominant' in this context includes the diminished seventh on the leading-note, a chord often used for an abrupt, dramatic opening to a cantata; the few examples in Handel's cantatas, however, are deployed over a tonic pedal.
- 15 For example, in Beethoven's Piano Sonata in B \flat Op. 106 ('Hammerklavier'); in violin concertos by Saint-Saëns (No. 3, Op. 61) and Elgar (Op. 61); and in Britten's opera *Billy Budd*.
- 16 Dean & Knapp, *Operas*, p. 15.
- 17 See *New Grove*, 'Cantata', section I, 7, p. 699.
- 18 On the cantatas for Ruspoli, see especially Ursula Kirkendale: 'The Ruspoli Documents on Handel', *JAMS* 20 (1967), pp. 222–73; on those for Pamphili, see L. Montalto, *Un Mecenate in Roma barocca* (Florence, 1955) and H. J. Marx, 'Die "Giustificazioni della Casa Pamphili" als musikgeschichtliche Quelle', *SM* 12 (1983), pp. 121–87.
- 19 On Handel's ownership of Lbl Add. MS 37779, a manuscript copy of Steffani duets dated 'Roma 1706', see Colin Timms, 'Handel and Steffani: A New Handel Signature', *MT* 114 (1973), pp. 374–7; on the dating of Handel's chamber duets, see Donald Burrows, 'Handel and Hanover', in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 35–59; and on Steffani's influence on Handel, see

Colin Timms, 'Steffani's Influence on Handel's Chamber Duets', in Sadie & Hicks, *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, pp. 222–45.

- 20 No tempo indications for these two sections are given in the source, but a slow–fast interpretation is obvious from the music itself.
- 21 Chamber duets could, of course, have been performed instrumentally without any arrangement, in the same way that solo cantatas were frequently played, in England at least, as flute pieces.
- 22 On the complexities of Handel's sonata publications, see especially Donald Burrows: 'Walsh's Editions of Handel's Opera 1–5: The Texts and their Sources', in Hogwood & Lockett, *18th Century*, pp. 79–102, and Best, 'Handel's Chamber Music'.

13 Handel as a concerto composer

- 1 From the fifth letter of 'Voilage d'Angleterre' by Pierre-Jacques Fougereux: see Winton Dean, 'A French Traveller's View of Handel's Operas', *ML* 55 (1974), pp. 172–8. Original (in French) in the Gerald Coke Handel Collection; translation by Donald Burrows and Terence Best. Hickford, a dancing master, first promoted his large room in Panton Street as a concert-room in the 1690s: in 1739 he moved to a new room in Brewer Street.
- 2 Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 825n.
- 3 See Neal Zaslaw, 'When is an Orchestra not an Orchestra?', *EM* 16 (1988), pp. 483–95; John Spitzer, 'The Birth of the Orchestra in Rome – An Iconographic Study' *EM* 19 (1991), pp. 9–27. The November 1988 issue of *EM* also includes articles by Hans Joachim Marx and Eleanor Selfridge Field relevant to orchestral practice in Italy during Handel's time there.
- 4 The two sections (which originated as a succession of two different dances) were not usually linked thematically, and might be regarded as separate 'movements' in the sense that they had contrasted tempi and moods: however, the binary-scheme tonal linkage has resulted in the two-section overture being generally regarded as a single piece or movement.
- 5 In this Handel may have been influenced by Overtures from French composers which followed the same procedure. A similar plan is found also at the opening of the second section of *Agrippina*, and may be a stylistic feature of Handel's earlier works, which he quickly discarded after *Rinaldo*.
- 6 See Gerhard Poppe, 'Eine bisher unbekannte Quelle zum Oboenkonzert HWV 287', *HJb* 39 (1993), pp. 225–35. Another possible orchestral work from Handel's Hamburg years is the three-movement Sinfonia HWV 339.
- 7 See Chapter 12, reference at note 2 (p. 315 above).
- 8 *Select Harmony, Fourth Collection. Six concertos in Seven Parts For Violins and other Instruments Composed by M^r. Handel, Tartini and Veracini*, published by Walsh in 1740. The Handel concertos were Nos. 2 and 3 of the set.
- 9 The oboes are specified at the beginning of the first movement in Handel's autograph: in the last movement he took the orchestral violin parts down to low B \flat , below the oboe range.

- 10 This passage is printed correctly in *HHA* series IV, vol. 12 and in the Sonata as published by Edition Peters (ed. Burrows), but wrongly in Chrysander's edition, *HG* vol. 21.
- 11 In the adaptation, Handel added trumpets: the trumpet parts printed in Chrysander's edition of *Il trionfo del Tempo* (*HG* vol. 24, pp. 7–8) are incorrect for that oratorio.
- 12 There are only occasional appearances of this style in Handel's later works, but one example is in the second movement (sometimes called 'The Cuckoo and the Nightingale') of the 'Second Set' organ concerto HWV 295 (1739). It is interesting that, when Handel rearranged the music of the movement for use in one of his Op. 6 concertos, he departed from the formal clarity of the previous ritornello scheme.
- 13 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 57.
- 14 HWV 336 is in the wrong key for use in the oratorio. The overture to *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757), which contains a borrowing from Keiser, may reflect the original overture to *Il trionfo*.
- 15 It looks as if Walsh printed Op. 3 in a hurry, perhaps in order to capitalise on the current popularity of concertos in London, following Geminiani's concert series at Hickford's Room in 1731–2 and Walsh's publication of Geminiani's Op. 2 and Op. 3 concertos in 1732: see Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 68–9. The pattern of the elder Walsh's dealings with Geminiani over his Concertos (Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 850) may have been repeated with Handel over the latter's Op. 3, but it seems more likely that Walsh printed Handel's concertos from 'surreptitiously obtained' copies, without any reference to the composer.
- 16 This is one reason for doubting that the multi-movement overture to *Rodrigo*, as found today in Handel's autograph, was the version performed with the opera.
- 17 Movements 1 and 3 are associated with the Brockes Passion in some sources.
- 18 There are also some other detached orchestral movements (e.g. HWV 302b, HWV 337) which are undoubtedly genuine but whose context has yet to be established.
- 19 See the various versions printed in *HHA* series IV, vol. 1, *Die acht grossen Suiten*, revised edn. (ed. Terence Best, 1993), Anhang 5–7. Anhang 5 probably gives the earliest version, perhaps with the addition of some spurious passage-work in bars 79–111.
- 20 The organ was not usually present in the orchestra for Handel's opera performances but, exceptionally, it was specified by Handel for use in *Terpsicore*, the prologue to *Il pastor fido* at the Covent Garden revival in November 1734.
- 21 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 881; Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 23.
- 22 *The London Daily Post*, 1 March 1735.
- 23 The title page of Op. 4 reads *Six Concertos for Harpsicord or Organ*, but the solo instrument in Handel's performances was always the organ, except for the special case of the original version of the concerto for harp, Op. 4 No. 6.
- 24 Handel drew on several musical ideas from two recent collections of

- harpsichord music: Domenico Scarlatti's *Essercizi* (i.e. sonatas), which had been published in London in 1738, and Gottlieb Muffat's *Componimenti Musicali*, published in Augsburg c. 1739.
- 25 This is proved by the figurings that Handel added to the autograph of Op. 6 No. 9 (HWV 327), movement 4: the music was written in G major, originally as part of the overture to *Imeneo*, but Handel's figurings are written with accidentals applicable to F major, the key of the concerto.
- 26 HWV 295, HWV 296a. These were published by Walsh in 1740, as the first items in *A Second Set of Six Concertos For the Harpsichord or Organ Compos'd by Mr. Handel*. The set, which bore no opus number, was made up to six concertos with four keyboard arrangements from Handel's *Concerti Grossi* Op. 6; these arrangements, so far as is known, were not made by the composer.
- 27 To *Imeneo* (HWV 41, composed 1738) and the *Song (Ode) for St Cecilia's Day* (HWV 76, composed in September 1739, immediately before Handel embarked on the concertos).
- 28 The organ was no doubt Handel's own. Following his 'new large Organ' of 1735, Handel seems to have experimented further with new instruments – or adaptations of existing ones – in 1737–40: see the letter quoted in Chapter 18, p. 268.

14 Handel and the keyboard

- 1 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 5.
- 2 Two are in 3/8, one in 6/8.
- 3 It is described in Coxe, *Anecdotes*, p. 6n.
- 4 Quoted in Donald Burrows and Martha J. Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford, 1994), p. 267.
- 5 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 14.
- 6 See Terence Best, 'Handel's Harpsichord Music: A Checklist' in Hogwood & Lockett, *18th Century*, pp. 171–87.
- 7 Principally Lbl RM 18.b.4, RM 18.b.8, RM 19.a.3, RM 19.a.4, Add. MS 31577, and a few in other collections (Malmesbury, Coke, Flower).
- 8 HWV 435, 437, 439 without its Sarabande, HWV 440, 441 and 442/2 in the Second Collection of 1727/1733–4, and the Sarabande from HWV 439 in the First Collection of 1720.
- 9 J. W. Lustig, in F. W. Marburg, *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* (3 vols. in 2, Berlin, 1759–63), vol. II, p. 467.
- 10 Original Italian text *HNB* vol. IV, p. 26.
- 11 Werner Braun, 'Händel und der römische "Zauberhut"', *GHB* 3 (1987), pp. 75–6.
- 12 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 51–2.
- 13 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, pp. 60–62. See also Graham Pont, 'Handel versus Domenico Scarlatti: Music of an Historic Encounter', *GHB* 4 (1991), pp. 232–47.
- 14 The Electress's quaint French spelling has been modernised: for a transcription see Donald Burrows, 'Handel and Hanover' in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, p. 39.

- 15 Lady Llanover (ed.), *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delaney* (London, 1861), pp. 5–6.
- 16 Printed in *HG* vol. 48 (1894), pp. 206–9, and *HHA* series II, vol. 4/1, *Rinaldo* (1993), pp. 134–41.
- 17 It might have been the Prelude and Sonata in B \flat , HWV 434 Anhang; there is a sketch for this in Handel's autograph, on a single leaf in the Coke Collection, and 1713 is one of the possible dates for it.
- 18 See Winton Dean, 'The Malmesbury Collection', in Terence Best (ed.), *Handel Collections and their History* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 29–38.
- 19 MS 1977/85.
- 20 The title page has the plate-number 490. F. Lesure, in *Bibliographie des Editions musicales publiées par Etienne Roger et Michel Charles le Cène* (Paris, 1969), dates the edition to 1721, but it could be as early as 1719, and the sense of Handel's preface implies that it had already appeared by November 1720.
- 21 David Fuller, in *New Grove*, 'Suite', suggests that it might be more logical not to assume that there ever was a concept of the 'traditional' suite.
- 22 On the history of these, see *G. F. Handel, Twenty Overtures in Authentic Keyboard Arrangements*, ed. Terence Best (3 vols., Novello, London and Sevenoaks, 1985–6). Some of the authentic versions were published in Walsh's series of keyboard arrangements of Handel's overtures.
- 23 See Donald Burrows, 'Walsh's Editions of Handel's Opera 1–5', in Hogwood & Lockett, *18th Century*, pp. 79–102.
- 24 In *The Lady's Banquet*, Book 5. Reference from Lustig in Marpur, *Kritische Briefe*, vol. II, p. 467.
- 25 The fugues were published as *Troisieme Ovarage* [sic], which was confusing, since the previous year Walsh had issued a set of concerti grossi as Op. 3 (*Opera terza*).
- 26 Handel was so described in a press notice on 29 August 1724; see *Deutsch*, Handel, p. 173. Princess Anne was Handel's student by June 1723: see Richard G. King, 'On Princess Anne's lessons with Handel', *Newsletter of the American Handel Society*, 7/2 (1992), p. 1.
- 27 Autograph in Cfm MU MS 260, pp. 27–39, 42. Published in facsimile in *HHA Supp.*, and with realisations and commentary in David Ledbetter, *Continuo Playing according to Handel* (Oxford, 1990).
- 28 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 912.
- 29 See *Deutsch*, Handel, pp. 675–6.
- 30 Raymond Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord* (London, 1959; rev. 1973), pp. 75–6; *HHA* vol. IV, p. 91 (where the J. Ruckers instrument is incorrectly listed as having three manuals).
- 31 Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. See *New Grove*, 'Harpsichord', illus. 9 and accompanying text.
- 32 Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, pp. 165–8.
- 33 See *EM* 21 (1993), p. 335.
- 34 Hawkins, *History*, vol. II, p. 412.
- 35 See Michael Cole, 'A Handel Harpsichord', *EM* 21 (1993), pp. 99–109.

15 Handel and the Italian language

- 1 Letter to Charles Burney from Dr Quin, 16 July 1788, quoted in Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 1007.
- 2 9 November 1709, *HHB* vol. IV, p. 43.
- 3 Of the seven surviving letters to his brother-in-law, Michael Dietrich Michaelsen, five are in French and two are in German, though with the French form of address. The texts of all seven are printed in Deutsch, *Handel*, though the letter of 17/28 August 1731 is mis-dated to 1736.
- 4 Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, p. 110n.
- 5 For instance the one to Jennens from Dublin, describing the success of *Messiah*, 9 September 1742.
- 6 Mainwaring (*Memoirs*, p. 14) says that Zachow, Handel's first teacher, 'had a large collection of Italian as well as German music: he shewed him the different styles of different nations'.
- 7 There were in fact fourteen, but no music by Handel survives for one of them, 'Ingrato, spietato' at the end of Act I.
- 8 D-Hs M/A 1056.
- 9 Chrysander occasionally misread the Italian in the autographs, even when Handel's writing is perfectly clear. In the cantata *Dunque sarà pur vero* ('Agrippina condotta a morire', HWV 110) the recitative following aria no. 4 begins as follows in the autograph (Lbl RM 20.e.1, fol. 48v): 'Prema l'ingrato figlio di plaustro trionfal gemmate sponde' – 'Let my ungrateful son lean on the bejewelled sides of his triumphal chariot'. Chrysander printed 'Trema' for 'Prema' and 'plauso' for 'plaustro', rendering the passage meaningless; in the Preface to the volume containing the cantata (*HG* vol. 52A) he specifically comments on the obscurity of this line, and tells us that a certain Signor Rizzelli, who had often helped him, had not been able to find any acceptable sense in it. In the same Preface there is another complaint about an 'unintelligible Italian text' in the cantata *Figlio d'alte speranze* (HWV 113), where Handel's clearly written 'rimirava' is printed as 'riandava' (RM 20.e.1, fol. 54v). The first comment reveals that Chrysander had an Italian colleague to whom he referred problems with Handel's Italian texts, but it is clear that his rendering of them in print is not to be relied on. In the Preface to *Rodrigo* (*HG* vol. 56), he acknowledges the assistance of B. von Gugler in the preparation of the Italian text.
- 10 Proof of this is that Handel wrote 'lo portate' instead of 'la portate' in the fourth line from the end of Bajazet's death scene. Gasparini's score has 'la', which makes better sense, but the 1719 wordbook reads 'lo', which is probably a misprint; the 1724 wordbook also has 'lo'.
- 11 A copy of Gasparini's 1719 score, now in the Staatliche Museen, Meiningen, was presented by Borosini in 1727 to Duke Anton Ulrich of Sachsen-Meiningen. The title-page reads 'La Poesia è del Nobile Venetiano Pioveni Toltone l'ultima Scena che fù Composta dal Zanella secondo L'Idea del Sig^{re} Borosini . . .'. See Strohm, *Essays*, p. 50.
- 12 I am grateful to John Roberts for this suggestion.

16 Handel and the orchestra

- 1 Johann Mattheson, *Exemplarische Organisten-probe* (Hamburg, 1717), vol. I, p. 85.
- 2 Hans Joachim Marx, 'Die "Giustificazioni della Casa Pamphil]" als musikgeschichtliche Quelle', *SM* 12 (1983), p. 179.
- 3 A bassoon is mentioned in 'Risorga il mondo' in this oratorio: a player of another instrument may have doubled for that movement, which would explain the lack of a bassoon player in the orchestra list. Hans Joachim Marx, in 'The Instrumentation of Handel's Early Italian Works', *EM* 16 (1988), p. 502, argues against the presence of bassoons in Italy during the period that Handel was there, suggesting that the bassoon reference in this movement was not realised in performance. The violin count given here is the maximum number of violinists listed: some of these players did not play in all three performances, but it is presumed here that the full complement played for the initial performance, since all of these players are listed as attending all rehearsals.
- 4 Described in Watkins Shaw, 'Some Original Performing Material for Handel's Latin Church Music', *GHB* 2 (1986), pp. 226–33; see also Watkins Shaw, 'Handel: Some Contemporary Performance Parts Considered' in Mary Ann Parker (ed.), *Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice* (Stuyvesant, N.Y., 1994), pp. 59–75.
- 5 This presumes that the 'concertino' part was read by two players: see note 17, below.
- 6 For *Laudate pueri* two organ parts were copied, but for *Haec est regina* and *Te decus virgineum* only one survives. No organ part survives for *Saeviat tellus*.
- 7 It was also found in London: the lists of instrumentalists at Cannons in Graydon Beeks, 'Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon', in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 8, 17–18, include some who doubled on unrelated instruments.
- 8 Data from *Vice Chamberlain Coke*, pp. 127, 151, 159–61. There is no indication in any of Handel's early London scores for a 'ripieno' group of violins: we do not know whether the two 'ripieno' players briefly listed were substitute or supplementary musicians, but they were not a 'concerto grosso' in the Corellian fashion.
- 9 See Beeks, 'Handel and Carnarvon', p. 8. Information in this paragraph includes conclusions from Graydon Beeks's subsequent work on the Cannons lists, and I thank him for making the information available.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18. This list shows two keyboard players, not including Handel. One, Johann Christoph Pepusch, was also a composer and violinist: the other, George Munro, is listed only as a keyboard player. There are no score markings or other indications in *Esther* to indicate that more than one harpsichord was used in performance, and it was Handel's practice to cover this duty himself. The other players may have assisted in rehearsals, and possibly directed performances of non-Handel works. The Cannons musical establishment was at its largest in 1720, after the main period of Handel's association.

- 11 Milhous and Hume, 'New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720', *TJ* 35 (1983), pp. 158–61: as in the earlier London opera lists, the successive documents have variations in details.
- 12 Winton Dean, 'A French Traveller's View of Handel's Operas', *ML* 55 (1974), pp. 177–8.
- 13 Jacob Simon (ed.), *Handel: A Celebration of his Life and Times* (London, 1985), p. 145. This list, like those for the 1709–11 theatre orchestras, mentions just two oboes: further sources suggest that Handel's practice at other times was to double at least Oboe I.
- 14 Hans Dieter Clausen, who first brought this source to light in *Händels Direktionspartituren ('Handexemplare')* (Hamburg, 1972), p. 61, insists that it is an incomplete list of orchestral parts. However, if we allow for 'cello, bass and theorbo players reading over the harpsichordists' shoulders, the list could provide for the entire orchestra. To account for the five or six 'concerto grosso' cellos and string basses and the theorbo (as mentioned by Fougeroux and Clerk) in this fashion would require three players around each harpsichord, but the composition of the orchestra may have changed by 1737. It is possible that an additional continuo bass part had been copied earlier for rehearsals, and that this list covers only the remaining orchestral parts. Arguing against this is the fact that the single 'cello part in the *Didone* list is for the lead 'cellist, who would presumably have been needed for the earlier rehearsals: in this case, he must have read from the keyboard score in rehearsals with soloists, as shown in Plate 7.
- 15 Printed in Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 751, 800–1.
- 16 Even as late as the 1770s, Charles Burney reported that the orchestra at the San Carlo opera in Naples was led by the concert-master: see Percy A. Scholes, *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours of Europe* (2 vols., London, 1959), vol. I, pp. 283–4.
- 17 It is also possible that this 'concertino' part was shared by two violinists, one playing Violin I and one Violin II, so that both sections were led from the front, a practice apparently confirmed by paintings and drawings of the time. The parts to Handel's Latin church music contain equal numbers of first and second violin parts, in addition to the concertino part (which contains both), suggesting that the first and second violin sections for the church music would have been equal in numbers.
- 18 Parts of this sort appear also in sets for Antonio Caldara's oratorios performed in Vienna after his arrival from Rome in 1716: see Ursula Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara: Sein Leben und seine venezianisch-römischen Oratorien*, Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge 6 (Graz, 1966), pp. 122–7. Caldara imported this orchestral practice to Vienna from Italy; in Rome he had been in service for eight years to Marquis Ruspoli, the same patron that employed Handel for nearly two years.
- 19 Shaw, 'Some Original Performing Material'. The scores to these works likewise contain no indications of concertino/concerto grosso practice.
- 20 Burney, *History*, vol. II, p. 1010; Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 27.
- 21 Letter to Jennens, 29 December 1741, Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 530.

- 22 It is used, for instance, in the ‘Sonata’ (Overture) to the Roman version of *Il trionfo*, where the ‘concertino’ violins are on separate staves in Handel’s autograph score. Three arias from early in his career – ‘Per me gia’ and ‘Se impassibile’ from *La Resurrezione*, and ‘Venti, turbini’ from *Rinaldo* – imitate concerto grosso scoring, but these carefully written features cannot support the supposedly routine practice of a concertino/concerto grosso convention.
- 23 See Clausen, *Händels Direktionspartituren*, pp. 58–9.
- 24 This issue is somewhat contentious at present: for the argument against the older view that Handel used concertino/concerto grosso divisions throughout his works, see Mark W. Stahura, ‘Hidden Scoring in Handel’s Theater Works’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1992), pp. 65–96.
- 25 The chalumeau aria in *Riccardo Primo* may not have been performed, but Handel clearly intended to use the instrument. Similarly, while the serpent listing is deleted in the autograph of the *Fireworks Music* (Handel’s only score to include the instrument), it is named in an undated part-copying list for *Samson* and *Solomon* (Cfm MU MS 259, p. 79). An interesting case with demonstrable performance implications is that of Carlo Arrigoni, a singer and lutenist whose presence in London inspired Handel to use both of his talents in 1736: see Winton Dean, ‘An Unrecognized Handel Singer: Carlo Arrigoni’, *MT* 118 (1977), pp. 556–8. On the rarity of trombones, see Donald Burrows, ‘Handel, the Dead March, and a Newly Identified Trombone Movement’, *EM* 18 (1990), pp. 408–16, and Trevor Herbert, ‘The Sackbut in England in the 17th and 18th Centuries’, *EM* 18 (1990), pp. 609–16, esp. p. 612.
- 26 In the score to *Poro* Handel divided the violins into three sections, but fussed with this balance further in ‘Vil trofeo’, moving some (‘qualche’) second violins down to the Violin III line.
- 27 Bernd Baselt, ‘Instrumentarium und Besetzung bei Georg Friedrich Händel, dargestellt an ausgewählten Beispielen aus seinen Opern’, in Eitelriedrich Thom (ed.), *Zu Fragen des Instrumentariums, der Besetzung und der Improvisation in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation von Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts (Part 1, Magdeburg, 1976), pp. 26–32; Dean, *Oratorios*, pp. 72–80; Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (Berkeley, 1969), Chapter 10; and Dean & Knapp, *Operas*, pp. 33–5. Even Dirk Möller’s *Besetzung und Instrumentarium in den Opern Georg Friedrich Händels* (Frankfurt, 1989) dwells on ranges and exceptional uses, not standard practices.
- 28 It is impossible to know for certain when Handel completed the orchestration of *Samson*, but he probably filled in at least some of the orchestral parts when he expanded the work in 1742, after his return from Dublin.
- 29 Of his London theatre works (operas, oratorios, odes, etc.), no complete original orchestral string, wind or brass parts survive. Only a single harpsichord part survives that was certainly used in performance: a figured bass part to *Alexander’s Feast* (HWV 75, 1736), copied even before the

- conducting score was produced, and used through several revivals (see Chapter 18). See also note 33, below, concerning ‘harpsichord scores’. Some of Handel’s original orchestral parts may have perished in the fires that destroyed the King’s Theatre in 1789 and Covent Garden in 1808.
- 30 When there are two treble-clef lines, ‘tutti’ in some cases implies the use of oboes on both lines; this use of ‘tutti’ needs to be carefully distinguished from Handel’s use of ‘Tutti unis[oni]’, indicating all Violin I and Violin II playing together. Oboe cues need to be considered carefully for each score: see for example Terence Best’s preface to *Tamerlano*, HHA series I, vol. 15, pp. xxiv–xxv.
- 31 An absolute definition of ‘ritornello’ for this context is impossible, since there are examples in Handel’s scores of oboes added to the violins for only two notes between vocal phrases, as well as examples of oboes being restricted to the longest of orchestral passages. In ensembles and choruses the oboes could play throughout.
- 32 This collection is now known as the ‘Aylesford Collection’, after the titled family who inherited Jennens’s library on his death. The majority of the Aylesford Collection is now in the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester Public Library. For a fuller account of the origins and peregrinations of the Aylesford Collection, see John Roberts, ‘The Aylesford Collection: History and Reconstruction’, in Terence Best (ed.), *Handel Collections and their History* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 38–85.
- 33 Second copies of performance scores, designated ‘harpsichord scores’ by Clausen in *Händels Direktionspartituren*, survive for some of Handel’s operas performed between 1729 and 1741: see Hans Dieter Clausen, ‘The Hamburg Collection’, in Best (ed.), *Handel Collections*, pp. 17–21. There is some doubt as to whether these functioned as performing parts, though their contents accurately reflect Handel’s performing version from these years, and they might have been used by the second harpsichordist.
- 34 The bassoons, as part of the ‘tutti’ group, played with the full continuo even in some movements without oboes. Handel’s markings in *Alexander’s Feast* and *Saul* (and occasional markings elsewhere) show that the organ could be used in the oratorio ‘soli’ group for extraordinary reasons, but these instances are normally clearly and explicitly marked in the scores. On Handel’s general use of the organ in oratorios, see Chapter 18.
- 35 Barry Cooper, ‘The Organ Parts to Handel’s “Alexander’s Feast”’, *ML* 59 (1978), pp. 159–79. The surviving sources are copies of the original organ part: for further details of the organ parts, and the performance history of *Alexander’s Feast*, see Donald Burrows ‘Handel and “Alexander’s Feast”’, *MT* 123 (1982), pp. 252–5; Burrows, ‘The Composition and First Performance of Handel’s “Alexander’s Feast”’, *ML* 64 (1983), pp. 206–11, esp. pp. 210–11; and the correspondence in *ML* 65 (1984), p. 324; *ML* 66 (1985), pp. 87–8.

17 Production style in Handel’s operas

- 1 The fullest account, covering the whole subject, is Joachim Eisenschmidt, *Die szenische Darstellung der Opern Händels auf der Londoner Bühne seiner*

Zeit (2 vols., Wolfenbüttel and Berlin, 1940–1). See also Dene Barnett, ‘The Performance Practice of Acting: The Eighteenth Century’, a series of articles in *Theatre Research International*, 2–3 (1977–8); Lowell Lindgren, ‘The Staging of Handel’s Operas in London’, in Sadie & Hicks, *Tercentenary Collection*; Edward A. Langhans, ‘The Theatres’, in Robert D. Hume (ed.), *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800* (Carbondale, Ill., 1980); Richard Leacroft, *The Development of the English Playhouse* (London, 1973); Graham F. Barlow, ‘Vanbrugh’s Queen’s Theatre in the Haymarket, 1703–9’, *EM* 17 (1989), pp. 515–21; and Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery* (London, 1952).

- 2 Eisenschmidt, *Szenische Darstellung*, vol. II, p. 26.
- 3 *The Spectator*, no. 42, cited by Eisenschmidt, *Szenische Darstellung*, vol. II, p. 87.
- 4 Lindgren, ‘The Staging of Handel’s Operas’.
- 5 W. R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London, 1749) mentions ‘a Machine to move the Scenes regularly all together’ as a common feature in English and French theatres. It may have been employed by Davenant as early as 1661. Chetwood was the prompter at Drury Lane.
- 6 Handel was not personally involved, though he may have lent material; this could account for the disappearance of both his autograph and his performing score. The *Giulio Cesare* staged at the Haymarket Theatre in 1787 was not the opera but a pasticcio put on at the request of King George III.
- 7 Preface to the vocal scores of *Rodelinda* and *Julius Caesar*, English edition (Peters, n.d, [c. 1927]).
- 8 Among them Joan Sutherland, Janet Baker, James Bowman, Philip Langridge and Felicity Lott.
- 9 *Opera*, April 1972, pp. 351–3.
- 10 *Opera*, August 1988, p. 944.
- 11 Handel wrote for it in *Terpsicore*, performed as a prologue to *Il Pastor Fido* in 1734, but this is a French-style *opéra-ballet*, a genre in which the organ is appropriate.
- 12 Sellars’s reported claim, in connection with his production of *Giulio Cesare*, that his only intention was to render the motives of the characters meaningful for a historically uneducated public has been stigmatised by Terence Best as both patronising and arrogant: see ‘Die Händel-Szene unserer Zeit’, in Hans Joachim Marx (ed.), *Zur Dramaturgie der Barockoper* (Karlsruhe, 1994), pp. 128–9.

18 Handel’s oratorio performances

- 1 *HHB* vol IV, p. 27; see also Chapter 16.
- 2 See Ursula Kirkendale, ‘The Ruspoli Documents on Handel’, *JAMS* 20 (1967), pp. 222–73, 517–18.
- 3 The first page of Handel’s autograph is lost, but he almost certainly headed it ‘Oratorium’, with no further title: see chapter 11, note 24. The work was always referred to as *Esther* in the revivals of 1732: see Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 286–8.

- 4 See Graydon Beeks, 'Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon' in Williams, *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti*, pp. 1–20.
- 5 There was also a substantial role for an Israelite, with music in the alto clef.
- 6 This would have involved one of the tenors taking the upper voice in the duet for two bass-clef voices in the final chorus.
- 7 Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Performances', pp. 100–1. All but one name from the cast-list that Burney gives on p. 100 are identifiable as boys who were discharged from the Chapel Royal with broken voices between June 1733 and June 1737, so it seems likely that Gates's production had entirely treble-voice soloists, though it is possible that Gentlemen from the Chapel provided lower voices in the choruses.
- 8 'Colman's Opera Register', 29 May 1732: Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 292.
- 9 Anon., *See and Seem Blind: or, a Critical Dissertation on the Publick Diversions, &c* (London, [1732]): extracts in Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 300–1.
- 10 See F. H. W. Sheppard (general ed.), *Survey of London*, vol. 35 (London, 1970), Chapter 6. Plate 10 was published as an etching and coloured aquatint: two of Pugin's sketches for the picture survive (at The Art Institute of Chicago), but they do not supply further details of practical relevance. I thank David Hurley for examining the sketches and confirming this.
- 11 Letter, Jennens to Lord Guernsey, 19 September 1738: printed, with minor errors, Deutsch, *Handel*, pp. 465–6.
- 12 Journal of John Marsh, vol. IV, p. 134, entry for 22 February 1774, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Ms. 544757. The entry is misdated: Handel's *Samson* was performed at Drury Lane under the direction of Smith and Stanley on 23 February. Although this entry is dated 1774, Marsh wrote up his Journal in its final form in the 1790s, drawing presumably on an entry in an earlier diary. I thank Brian Robins for drawing this reference from Marsh's Journal to my attention.
- 13 Marsh wrote up the items in his Journal as if they were contemporary diary entries, but he included material from later sources as part of his narrative. In the entry dated 22 February 1774, the sentences following that quoted here include references to the 1784 Handel Commemoration, and an unacknowledged quotation from Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 29.
- 14 *The Daily Journal*, 12 March 1733, Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 308.
- 15 *The London Daily Post*, 10 February 1736, Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 440.
- 16 *The London Daily Post*, 25 February 1736, Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 400: see also *The Dublin Journal*, 14 February 1744, Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 583.
- 17 *The Daily Journal*, 19 April 1732.
- 18 *The London Daily Post*, 28 March 1738: Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 455: see Donald Burrows, 'Handel's 1738 "Oratorio": A Benefit Pasticcio', in Konstanze Musketa and Klaus Hortschansky (eds.), *Georg Friedrich Händel – ein Lebensinhalt: Gedenkschrift für Bernd Baselt* (Halle, 1995), pp. 11–38.
- 19 The lists are printed in Deutsch, *Handel* and *HHB* vol. IV: there (and elsewhere) an error in transcription from the 1754 list puts the viola player Rash into the violin section.

- 20 Beard was paid, but returned, 2 guineas for his first Foundling Hospital performance in 1751: one would expect his regular fee to have been larger. Similarly, the payment of only 1½ guineas to Wass, the bass soloist, in 1754 looks unrealistically modest when compared with the payments to the ladies. The choristers' rate is revealed by an entry in the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* account for 1759 (Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 825): '6 Boys – £4 14s 6d'.
- 21 See Watkins Shaw, *A Textual and Historical Companion to Handel's 'Messiah'* (London, 1965), Chapter 4.
- 22 Handel's chorus voices were always provided by professional singers in London: the first Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performance to break with this practice was in 1771, twelve years after Handel's death, when thirty professional singers were supplemented with '26 Chorus singers Volunteers not paid'.
- 23 See Shaw, *Textual Companion*, pp. 79, 82–3, 205–10: the ornamentation from these sources is printed in the vocal scores of *Messiah* edited by Shaw (London, 1992) and Burrows (London, 1987).
- 24 Pier Francesco Tosi, trans. J. Galliard, *Observations on the Florid Song* (London, 1743): Tosi makes the distinction between church, theatre and chamber styles in the context of his chapter on the performance of recitative (Chapter 5), but the implications of different manners of performance seem to have wider application.
- 25 Letter, Handel to Jennens, 29 December 1741, Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 530.
- 26 See Donald Burrows, 'Handel's London Theatre Orchestra', *EM* 13 (1985), pp. 349–57.
- 27 Burney, *Commemoration*, 'Sketch', p. 29.
- 28 His organ voluntary at the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performance on 1 May 1753 is the last reference in the London newspapers to Handel playing the organ in public: however, he seems to have continued playing concertos at theatre oratorio performances, at least occasionally: see the reference from 1756 in Rosemary Dunhill, *Handel and the Harris Circle*, Hampshire Papers 8 (Winchester, 1995), p. 16. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that he attempted to direct any other aspect of the oratorio performances after 1754.
- 29 He was also responsible for collecting the artillery drums from the Tower of London in 1750 for use in Handel's Covent Garden performances: see Deutsch, *Handel* p. 681.
- 30 In payments to additional players for services at the Chapel Royal.
- 31 The original copy is lost but there are authoritative secondary copies: two of them (deriving from the 'Aylesford' Collection) are now with the Royal Music Library collection at the British Library (RM 19.a.1 and RM 19.a.10).
- 32 London, Royal College of Music MS 900.
- 33 Letter to James Harris, describing the performance of *Deborah* on 14 November 1744, Hampshire Record Office, 9M73/G308/20.
- 34 Letter from Handel to Jennens; see note 25 above.
- 35 *The Dublin News-Letter*, 23 January 1742 (Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 535). It is

possible that the ‘Organ’ referred to is Handel’s specially constructed instrument from 1738 which, as noted above, may have been a claviorganum.

36 Autograph, Lbl RM 20.f.2, fol. 133r.

37 As a result, his figurings sometimes conflict with the completed harmony above. In the 1720s, however, Handel did add more copious ‘practical’ figuring to some instrumental sonatas and to at least one opera, the latter apparently in connection with the preparation of a printed edition.