The Solo Sonatas of George Frideric Handel

With particular reference to the sonatas for flute and recorder

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of PhD, School of Music, Cardiff University

May 2019
Abstract

Despite the popularity of Handel’s solo sonatas, up-to-date information about their history and authenticity is not always easy for performers to access. Background information about Handel’s orchestras and the musicians who played in them is presented in Chapter 1 to give context to the solo sonatas, the majority of which were written and published in London during the 1720s and 1730s respectively. Chapter 2 brings together and examines the existing scholarly research on the sources, chronology and authenticity of the solo sonatas. The autographs, eighteenth-century manuscript sources, and early published editions are listed and summarised. The format of the modern collected editions and the HWV system of identification are critically considered. The music itself is examined in Chapter 3 with reference to the range, key, and movement types present in Handel’s solo sonatas.

The sonatas for recorder and flute are discussed in more detail in Chapters 4-7, with the focus on the four solo sonata chosen for the PhD recital (HWV 378, HWV 369, HWV 365, and HWV 359b). The instruments of the time and place are considered, and their influence on Handel’s idiomatic writing for the recorder and flute. New borrowings have been discovered in the course of this research, which are presented in the dissertation and were illustrated in the PhD recital. Aspects of performance practice are discussed with particular reference to Handel’s writing for flute and recorder, such as use of articulation marks, and possible models of ornamentation for the solo sonatas. Inauthentic sonatas for the flute published by Walsh, and Walsh and Hare, as works by Handel are also discussed.

A thematic catalogue of the sixteen authentic solo sonatas is presented as an appendix. Appendix 2 contains the PhD recital programme.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my initial supervisor, Professor Robin Stowell, for giving freely of his time and expertise, and Dr David Ponsford for helping me see this dissertation through to its conclusion. I am very grateful to Professor David Wyn Jones who has guided me through the process of correcting the dissertation after its first submission. I would also like to thank my colleagues within Cardiff University’s Library Service, who have been invaluable, not only for the resources they have procured, but also for their encouragement and support on a personal level. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their help with this project: my parents for their continued support of all my musical activities, my husband (for emotional, musical, and technical support), and my children, both of whom were born during the course of this research.
Abbreviations and Notes

HG     Händelgesellschaft
HHA    Hallische Händel-Ausgabe
HHB    Händel-Handbuch
HWV    Händel Werke Verzeichnis

Sonata movements are referred to with small Roman numerals, for example HWV 360/ii refers to the second movement of that sonata.

Figures with no bar numbers start at the beginning of the movement, otherwise the bar number is marked over the first bar of the music example.

In tables where space is limited, capital letters refer to the major mode (for example E for E major) and lowercase letters to the minor mode (for example e for E minor).

The phrase ‘six fingers D’ is used to refer to C-fingering instruments, for example the flute, oboe, descant and tenor recorders. ‘Six fingers G’ refers to F-fingering instruments, for example the treble recorder and the bassoon.

When referring to particular fingers or finger holes, the fingers are numbered 1 (index finger) to 4 (little finger) so, for example, L3 is used to denote the third (ring) finger of the left hand.

Pitch standard
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[cont.]
Introduction

How many flute sonatas did Handel write? This question, posed by David Lasocki and Terence Best in their article ‘A New Flute Sonata by Handel’,\(^1\) provided the impetus for the present study. A flautist and recorder player myself, I was aware that my copy of the Bärenreiter volume *Elf Sonaten für Flöte und Basso continuo* (ed. Terence Best, 1995) contained sonatas for both flute and recorder, and that some of these sonatas were not presented as Handel intended. For example, HWV 367b in B minor for flute also exists as HWV 367a in D minor for recorder, but the latter version is not included in *Elf Sonaten*. Neither is the D major flute sonata HWV 378, the subject of the above article, despite the fact that this ‘new’ flute sonata was discovered in 1981 - fourteen years before the revised *Elf Sonaten* was published.

Further investigation revealed that the situation regarding Handel's solo sonatas as a whole is far from clear, especially for performers who do not always have ready access to academic resources such as journal articles, thematic catalogues and collected works. Terence Best has shared a vast knowledge of the solo sonatas in his role as a volume editor and, since October 1998, co-general editor of the *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe (HHA)*. This is the new Handel complete edition from which the Bärenreiter performing editions of the solo sonatas are reprinted, including the *Elf Sonaten*, originally published in 1955, which retained its format in Best's revision. As well as the

musical text, the scholarly prefaces and critical reports of the three HHA volumes containing Handel’s solo sonatas (IV/3, IV/4 and IV/18) have been vital sources of information. Best is a major figure in Handel research along with Donald Burrows, a fellow member of the HHA Editorial Board, and David Lasocki, an authority on woodwind instruments, their repertoire, and performance practices. Articles by Best and Lasocki published in the late 1970s and early 80s reveal the fast pace of research into the solo sonatas at this time, culminating in Best’s ‘Handel’s chamber music. Sources, chronology, authenticity’ (1985). This article brings together the most accurate dating of the sonatas, their sources, instrumentation, and the complicated circumstances of their publication. The catalogue of Burrows and Martha Ronish (1993) is also useful, listing the location and contents of all Handel’s extant autographs along with details about paper types and dates of composition.

When examining the solo sonatas, facsimile editions of the autograph scores and early editions have been consulted. These include a volume containing all six recorder sonatas in autograph, as well as the F major trio sonata HWV

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405, and the C minor allegro for violin HWV 408. Facsimiles of the ‘Roger’ print and the Walsh edition were also used. A set of two volumes edited by Marcello Castellini has been the most useful. The first volume contains facsimiles of all fourteen extant autographs of the solo sonatas, and the second presents copies of the ‘Roger’ and Walsh editions, as well as the three flute sonatas attributed to Handel published by Walsh and Hare.

Research Questions

The first objective of the present study is to provide a complete resource for the recorder and/or flute player approaching Handel’s solo sonatas who wishes to know more about the history and authenticity of the works. The majority of Handel’s solo sonatas were written in London, and Chapter 1 provides background information about Handel’s London theatre orchestras.

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7 Georg Friedrich Händel, (ed. Marcello Castellani), *Sonate per Uno Strumento (Flauto, Violino, Hautbois, Traversiere) e Basso Continuo: Parte Prima, Manoscritti Autografi* (Firenze: Studio per Edizione Scelte, 1985).

and the woodwind players he worked with during the period 1710-1728.

Chapters 2 and 3 bring together and expand upon the research carried out by Best, Lasocki, Burrows, and Ronish to include not only a detailed history of the solo sonatas during the eighteenth century but also their publication in scholarly editions in the twentieth century. Chapter 2 takes as a starting point the most recent comprehensive summary of Handel's solo sonatas, Best's 1985 article 'Handel's chamber music: Sources, chronology, authenticity'. Extra information added by the present author to Best's summary includes reference to one of the extant manuscript sources omitted from the article, and the dissertation refers to the sonatas by their HWV numbers rather than any other numbering systems (Best introduced a new numbering system for the sonatas which can be time-consuming to refer back to throughout his article). The chapter constitutes a detailed publication history of the solo sonatas, information concerning their contemporary sources, and a discussion of modern collected editions of the works.

The fact that Handel specified a particular melody instrument for many of his sonatas, in contrast to common eighteenth-century practice, suggests that he intended each sonata to be played by only one instrument. This hypothesis leads to the second objective of this study, which is to discover whether Handel wrote his sonatas idiomatically to suit each instrument: flute, recorder, oboe, and violin. The intended instrumentation (both melody and accompaniment) and issues of key and range will be examined in Chapter 3. The structure of the sonatas and the main movement types will also be discussed.
The third and final objective of the study is to relate the findings of the research to the PhD recital. During the course of this project, many performance considerations have come to light through playing the sonatas as well as reading about them and examining the scores. The kind of instruments on which the recorder and flute sonatas may have been performed are discussed, and my hypothesis is that Handel’s perceived limitations of these instruments may have led to writing that was less than ideal from a purely musical point of view. Compositional techniques used in the solo sonatas will be examined to see if any features are specific to Handel’s writing for any one instrument in particular. The kind of movements that may be suitable for ornamentation (or indeed demand it) are discussed, as well as models that could be used as a guide to performance. The flute sonatas handed down as works by Handel are also considered, as, despite their uncertain origins, they remain popular amongst players and listeners alike. These issues are addressed in Chapters 4 - 8 of the dissertation.

There are two appendices. The first comprises a thematic catalogue for the sixteen authentic solo sonatas, as an easy reference guide. A copy of the recital programme has been included as a second appendix.
The Sixteen Authentic Solo Sonatas

Scholars agree that Handel composed sixteen solo sonatas. Autographs exist for fourteen of these, proving their authenticity. However, not all of these sonatas were published during Handel’s lifetime, and, of those that were, several were transposed and assigned from the originally intended instrument to another (in most cases to the transverse flute). Subsequent editions of Handel’s sonatas were based on these early prints, and, for this reason, the original versions of these transposed sonatas as well as the unpublished works were largely unknown until Handel scholars began examining the autographs. Conversely, a number of other sonatas were published during the eighteenth century as works by Handel which are now known to be inauthentic. Many of these had been passed down through successive printed editions, and, as a result, some of these sonatas are still better known than the most recently discovered sonatas of proven authenticity.

The fourteen authentic sonatas that exist in Handel's autograph are:

- HWV 357 in B flat major for oboe
- HWV 358 in G major for violin
- HWV 359a in D minor for violin
- HWV 360 in G minor for recorder
- HWV 361 in A major for violin
- HWV 362 in A minor for recorder
- HWV 364a in G minor for violin
HWV 365 in C major for recorder
HWV 366 in C minor for oboe
HWV 367a in D minor for recorder
HWV 369 in F major for recorder
HWV 371 in D major for violin
HWV 377 in B flat major for recorder
HWV 379 in E minor for flute

Two other solo sonatas have been accepted as genuine works by Handel, although their autographs have not been found. One of these sonatas was published in Handel’s lifetime as HWV 363b in G major for the flute, but almost all other contemporary sources have the work in F major as HWV 363a, probably for oboe, and this is thought to have been its original form. The remaining sonata, HWV 378 in D major for flute, was never published in Handel’s lifetime. Its only source is a manuscript copy from the eighteenth century, attributed to Weiss, which was recognised as a work by Handel in 1981.9

9 Lasocki and Best, ‘A New Flute Sonata by Handel’.
Chapter 1
Handel’s London Theatre Orchestras

London had a thriving music scene long before Handel’s arrival, and much of the musical activity was connected with the theatres. The orchestra resident in the theatres consisted of a core group of strings and continuo, with a woodwind complement of oboes, recorders and bassoons. The custom was for the oboists, as generic woodwind players, to play any recorder parts. This was possible as oboes and recorders were rarely required to play at the same time; furthermore, in cases where orchestral parts survive, the oboe and recorder parts are very often contained in the same books, suggesting that the same player was responsible for both instruments. Oboes were an integral part of the sound of the baroque orchestra, often doubling the violin part as well as sometimes taking solo lines, whereas recorders would usually appear only a few times for special effect, often in one or two particular arias/songs/movements to illustrate the action on stage. This can be seen in many of Purcell’s stage works from the 1690s which require a pair of oboists who are occasionally required to double on recorder, such as King Arthur and Fairy Queen.

The baroque oboe and recorder almost certainly arrived in England in September 1673, in the hands of a group of French musicians who intended to seek employment in Britain.¹ These woodwind instruments were of the new

baroque design developed in France (as opposed to the renaissance-style instruments widespread in Britain), principally by the Hotteterre family, during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The French musicians were versatile, and several of them could play oboe and recorder, in addition to one or more string instruments. Jacques (James) Paisible was perhaps the most important and probably the youngest; he must only have been about seventeen on his arrival in England. Paisible played ‘hoboye’, and probably recorder as well, in the masque *Calisto* in 1675 along with three of his colleagues, and was sworn in as a member of the twenty-four violins under James II in 1685.

The transverse flute was introduced into England later than the oboe and recorder, and took much longer to establish itself. The flute was also developed predominantly in France, where it was known as the *flûte traversière*. Variations on this name were adopted in England to indicate the transverse flute, as the recorder had become known by the name ‘flute’. This caused some confusion, both at the time and to scholars later on. The transverse flute was usually given a modifier in addition to the word flute (*flûte, flauto*): for example flauto traverso (or simply traverso, *traversa*), transverse flute, or German flute. This was to distinguish it from the recorder, which was initially more common and more popular, and was sometimes

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4 Ibid., p. 371.
referred to as the common flute. The transverse flute was known in England by 1701, although how and precisely when it arrived is not entirely clear. The ‘Flute D’Allemagne’ (German flute) was first mentioned in England in James Talbot’s manuscript on musical instruments which must have been compiled between 1685 (at the earliest) and 1701. The instrument which Talbot describes is a three-piece flute by Peter Bressan (1663-1731), a French maker who had settled in England and was active as a flute maker during the 1690s. Interestingly, the fingering table was to have been supplied by Paisible and La Riche (one of Paisible’s colleagues in the twenty-four violins), but the stave has been left blank.

The first use of the transverse flute in an English work was in John Eccles’s *The Judgement of Paris*, 1701. It has been suggested that the flute (which appears in only one aria) was played on this occasion by the Italian musician Pietro Chaboud, a bassoonist and bass viol player as well as a flautist.

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6 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
Woodwind Players at Drury Lane

The two principal London theatres at the turn of the eighteenth century were Drury Lane and Lincoln’s Inn Fields, both of which produced spoken plays and semi-operas in competition with each other. Music was a very important part of the theatre experience, not only on stage during the action but also during the intervals, when entertainments would be performed. Instrumental chamber music was a common entertainment, although by no means the only kind. Other forms included singing, dancing, imitations (of instruments, people, objects and animals), various acrobatics and a host of other spectacles designed to entertain the audience during a long evening at the theatre, which would generally begin at half past five and run for three hours.9 Newspaper adverts included details of the musicians who played in the intervals, who would have been members of the theatre orchestra: for example 19 April 1703, a performance of the play The Emperor of the Moon at Drury Lane. The entertainments included singing and dancing, as well as ‘a New Entertainment of Musick perform’d by the whole Band, in which Mr Paisible, Mr Banister and Mr Latour play some extraordinary Parts upon the Flute, Violin and Hautboy’.10

These three musicians were key members of the theatre orchestra. Paisible was working at Drury Lane theatre by the 1702-03 season and was one of the most frequently advertised performers at the interval entertainments, always on the recorder (‘flute’). He probably played bass violin in the orchestra,\(^1\) and so the entertainments provided an ideal opportunity for Paisible to demonstrate his capabilities on another instrument. The recorder was always popular at the entertainments, perhaps because it was used so infrequently in the orchestra that the sound was a novelty, and attractive to audiences. John Banister II had also been a member of the twenty-four violins, appointed to his late father’s position on 6 November 1679.\(^2\) As well as the violin, his instrument in the orchestra, Banister often played the recorder in the interval entertainments; sometimes alongside Paisible in music for two flutes (recorders), and sometimes with his son, John Banister III, who was also a recorder player. Banister (II) is assumed to be the ‘J.B. gent’ who compiled the tutor *The Most Pleasant Companion; or, Choice New Lessons for the Recorder or Flute* (London, 1681). Peter La Tour was employed as a musician to Princess Ann of Denmark, first appearing in the Lord Chamberlain’s accounts on 23 October 1699.\(^3\) It is possible that he doubled on recorder in this employment before joining Drury Lane,\(^4\) where he was one of the star performers alongside Paisible and Banister and presumably first (or only) oboe in the orchestra.

\(^2\) Lafontaine, *The King’s Musick*, p. 342.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 434.
One advert which has caused some confusion is that for a concert on 11 December 1703 at the York Buildings, which included ‘a piece for the Hautboy and Violin by [i.e. performed by] Mr Banister and Mr Smith’.

Lasocki has suggested that Banister played the violin and that Mr Smith was the oboist William Smith, this concert being his first recorded appearance. In this case, Smith is likely to have played second oboe to La Tour in the Drury Lane theatre orchestra, as he was performing with La Tour’s colleague, Banister. However, Charles Smith, a violinist from the King’s Musick, may be the Mr Smith in question. This assumes, perhaps more logically, that the order of names corresponds to the order of instruments, and leads to the conclusion that Banister was an oboist as well as a recorder player and violinist. This is certainly a possibility as, despite no concrete evidence that he played the instrument, Banister is thought to be the author/compiler of The Sprightly

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15 The advert was misquoted in the original version of The London Stage, and read ‘a piece for the Hautboy and Violin by Mrs Hodgson and Mr Cook’ (Avery, The London Stage 1660-1800: Part 2. 1700-1729, p. 50). Women very rarely appeared as instrumentalists, although there were exceptions. In this case Mrs Hodgeson and Mr Cook were the singers, not the instrumentalists.


17 The concert took place at the York Buildings but involved musicians from Drury Lane, including Paisible and Gasparini (Milhous and Hume, The London Stage 1700-1711).

18 Ibid.

Companion, an oboe method published in 1695.\textsuperscript{20}

Jean Baptiste Loeillet arrived in London in 1705 and played in the entertainments at Drury Lane on 10 April that year with other members of the orchestra: ‘A Piece of Instrumental Musick by Mr Paisible, Mr Banister, Mr Lully [Loeillet] and others’.\textsuperscript{21} Loeillet was a celebrated virtuoso and seems to have been appointed first oboe in preference to La Tour, who had been playing in England since at least 1699 and found himself demoted to second.\textsuperscript{22} Both men doubled on the recorder and transverse flute. La Tour was the performer in the first advertised concert on the latter instrument on 12 February 1706: ‘At the Great Room in York-Buildings . . . will be Perform’d a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by the Best Masters: Especially several Entertainments upon the German Flute, (never perform’d before) by Mr Latour, for his own Benefit; Beginning at Eight of the Clock’.\textsuperscript{23} Loeillet has been credited with ‘introducing the transverse flute as a fashionable instrument in England’,\textsuperscript{24} which may mean that he was responsible for making the flute popular as the instrument was already known of and scored for in

\textsuperscript{21} Milhous and Hume, \textit{The London Stage 1700-1711}.
\textsuperscript{23} Milhous and Hume, \textit{The London Stage 1700-1711}.
England before Loeillet arrived. It has been suggested that he taught the flute to La Tour.\textsuperscript{25}

**The Queen’s Theatre Orchestra**

On 1 December 1707 the Lord Chamberlain granted permission to fourteen musicians from Drury Lane ‘to perform in the Operas at the Queens Theatre in the Haymarket’. The musicians included Banister, Paisible, Loeillet, and La Tour.\textsuperscript{26} A preliminary list of players, thought to date from early December 1707, indicates that, in addition to Loeillet and La Tour, another two oboists were to be appointed: Smith (who may or may not have played at Drury Lane in the 1703-04 season), and one other (not named).\textsuperscript{27} In the end, presumably for financial reasons, only Loeillet and La Tour were employed. By combining data from two orchestral lists for January 1708,\textsuperscript{28} the Queen’s Theatre opera orchestra at the Haymarket in 1708 can be deduced (see Figure 1. 1 below).


\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., Document 18, p. 33.

\textsuperscript{28} Milhous and Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke’s Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715*, Document 44 (‘Estimate made of the Charges of ye Opera every night’) pp. 68-9, and Document 50 (Haymarket salaries for Spring 1708) pp. 78-9.
The orchestra did not remain constant over the next few years. Numbers fluctuated and personnel came and went and, although the size of the band did not change dramatically. An important addition to the orchestra was the Dutch woodwind player Jean Christian Kytch, who arrived in England c.1708 and joined the Queen’s Theatre orchestra shortly after, perhaps that season but certainly by the next.\footnote{Kytch appears on a list ‘tentatively assigned’ to 1708-9 by Milhous and Hume (Document 73), and again on a list from November 1709 (Document 81). It is likely that Kytch was established in London by June 1709, when a benefit concert was held for him at the Hand and Pen in St Alban’s Street (Milhous and Hume, \textit{The London Stage 1700-1711}).}
Handel arrived in London from Italy in autumn 1710 to find a fully formed opera orchestra resident at the Queen’s Theatre. The orchestra that played for *Hydaspes* on 22 November 1710 (the first opera performance of the 1710-11 season) is detailed in the papers of Vice Chamberlain Thomas Coke (see Figure 1.2 below).\(^\text{30}\)

**Figure 1.2: The Queen’s Theatre Orchestra (22 November 1710)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Harpsichord:</th>
<th>Thomaso</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violoncelli:</td>
<td>Hayam</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pilotti</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Base:</td>
<td>Sagione</td>
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<tr>
<td>Violoncello:</td>
<td>Paisible</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Francisco</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roger</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pitchford</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bassons:</td>
<td>Babel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pietro</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creitch (Kytch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Violins:</td>
<td>Clodio</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corbett</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banister</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Papusch</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ailsworth</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d Violin:</td>
<td>Sojan</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walther</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Babel</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Roberts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenores:</td>
<td>Smith</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lunican</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hautbois:</td>
<td>Lully</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Latour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trumpett:</td>
<td>Davin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Continuo cellists Haym and Pilotti were listed separately: ‘Heyam & Pilotti to play every night and to take their places att ye Harpsichord by Turns’.\textsuperscript{31}

Presumably the orchestra was engaged for the season and the majority of these performers would have played for Handel’s debut London opera, \textit{Rinaldo} HWV 7(a), first performed at the Queen’s Theatre on 24 February 1711. Kytch must have worked his way up the ranks to first bassoon in the orchestra by 1711 as he was named as bassoon soloist on the autograph score of \textit{Rinaldo}.\textsuperscript{32} Handel himself played the harpsichord, perhaps in addition to the orchestra’s own harpsichordist Thomaso Gabrielli, and Handel’s playing was described by John Mainwaring to have been thought ‘as extraordinary as his Music’.\textsuperscript{33} William Babell (son of the bassoonist Charles Babell) made harpsichord arrangements of \textit{Rinaldo}, although he is listed amongst the violins in the orchestra so probably did not play the harpsichord in Handel’s operas. He did play the harpsichord on other occasions; for example, he

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Milhous and Hume, \textit{Vice Chamberlain Coke’s Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715}, p. 160. (Four additional musicians were excluded from the orchestra for this particular performance, perhaps in an effort to save money. For details see Milhous and Hume, \textit{Vice Chamberlain Coke’s Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715}, Document 99, p. 159.)
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
accompanied Paisible (who performed on the mysterious ‘Eccho Flute’) in a concert at Hickford’s Rooms on 25 March 1713.\(^{34}\)

The scoring of *Rinaldo* reveals that extra players must have been required to join the orchestra, as, for example, the March in Act III calls for four trumpets (the orchestra for *Hydaspes* had only one) as well as timpani. Some of the additional instruments, however, such as the three recorders required in the aria ‘Augelletti, che cantate’ (Act I, Scene II),\(^{35}\) were almost certainly played by existing members of the orchestra who had the necessary skills. David Lasocki suggests that the recorder parts in the operas were *not* generally played by the oboists during the early years at the Queen’s Theatre, prompted by a report from 1709 which states that ‘as for the flute and hautbois, we have masters at the Opera in London that need not give place to any at Paris. To prove which assertion I will only mention the famous Mr Paisible and Mr Banister for the first, and Mr Lulliet [Loeillet] for the second’.\(^{36}\) However, ‘at the Opera’ could just as well refer to the interval entertainments (during which Banister and Paisible performed on recorders) as to the music of the operas themselves. In the opinion of the present author, it is likely that the oboists (Loeillet and La Tour) were responsible for doubling on the recorder the majority of the time, with Banister or Paisible taking virtuoso parts on the rare occasions that they appear.


\(^{35}\) See Chapter 4, pp. 158-9.

Loeillet started a series of private concerts in 1711, and probably left the Queen’s Theatre orchestra soon after. By the premiere of Teseo HWV 9 on 10 January 1713, Johann Ernst Galliard was established as first oboe in the orchestra, and Handel included several impressive oboe solos for him, such as ‘M’adora I’idol’ mio’ at the end of Act I. Judging from the recorder parts written after Galliard’s arrival in the orchestra, he was also a very competent player on that instrument. Galliard was taught the flute during his training in France, and Teseo includes an aria for two flutes so, like La Tour, Galliard must have played all three instruments: oboe, recorder, and flute.

Cannons

In 1717, opera productions ceased at the King’s Theatre and Handel commenced new employment under James Brydges, the Earl of Carnarvon, at Cannons. Musicians had been employed at Cannons from 1715, including Nicola Haym. Haym was active in London as a composer and librettist, as well as playing continuo cello in the Haymarket theatre orchestra. Haym had written six anthems for the musicians at Cannons c.1716, which are scored for between one and three voices and a small instrumental ensemble consisting of ‘at least two violins, bass strings (cello and/or double bass),

This presumably reflected the musicians available at Cannons in that year. Handel’s ‘Chandos Anthems’, composed at Cannons 1717-18, show that the orchestra had expanded a little by this time. The first eight anthems were probably composed before the end of 1717, and the autographs show that Handel required ‘at least three violins (with solo, first and second appearing in the sixth anthem - As Pants the Hart HWV 251), no viola, and one each of violoncello, bassoon, ‘Contrabasso’, oboe and organ’.43

Records kept of the musicians’ wages show that, in 1718, Handel had the following ten instrumentalists available to him:

**Figure 1. 3: Musicians at Cannons (1718)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Instrument(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georg Angel</td>
<td>cello, bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigr Biancardi</td>
<td>oboe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Bitti</td>
<td>violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigr Pietro Chaboud</td>
<td>bassoon, bass viol, flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?Johan Christian dürCop</td>
<td>?trumpet/?bassoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicola Francesco Haym</td>
<td>cello, violone, composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis Mercy</td>
<td>recorder, ?flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Pardini</td>
<td>cello, ?bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ruggiero</td>
<td>violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigr Scarpettini</td>
<td>violin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 Ibid.

42 Handel did not compose the anthems with this title, which is commonly used today.


The records were begun in Lady Day Quarter 1718, so the musicians who appear to have started their employment in that quarter may have already been in residence at Cannons and would have played in Handel’s first Chandos Anthems during the preceding years. Some, for example Haym, had certainly been there for several years before the records began. Chaboud (who had played bassoon, bass viol and transverse flute in London) seems to have left the Cannons consort in Lady Day Quarter 1718, but presumably was a member for some time previously. He may have played bassoon in Handel’s Chandos Anthems completed before this date, and he is also likely to have been the flautist for Haym’s anthem(s) requiring transverse flute. It appears that Handel did not score for the transverse flute during his time at Cannons. Handel’s Chandos Anthems each have only one oboe part, and the one available oboist at Cannons (until Christmas Quarter 1719) was (Signor) Biancardi. Two of the Chandos Anthems require a pair of recorders. It is not known whether Biancardi played the recorder, but it is likely that he could as doubling on this instrument was so often required. The other part was presumably played by Louis Mercy, who spent the majority of his life in London (he is first documented performing in a concert in Epsom in 1708), and, unusually, appears to have been a recorder specialist.

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45 Quarter days were traditionally when rents and other payments were due, and when staff were hired. In the liturgical calendar, Lady Day falls on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25.

46 The concert advertisement describes the occasion as ‘being the second time of his performance in public, since his arrival in England’.
In late May or early June 1718, the masque *Acis and Galatea* HWV 49 was first performed at Cannons.\(^{47}\) In contrast to the works that Handel had already composed during the present employment the masque called for a pair of oboes as opposed to only one, and no surviving documents confirm who the additional oboist might have been.\(^{48}\) The Earl of Carnarvon had made enquiries about an oboist in April 1718, writing to ask his friend Sir Matthew Decker if ‘[Madam de Kielmansegge] be willing to part with the Hautbois Monsieur de Kielmansegge kept & in the case she is, that she'll let you know what wages he gave him; because as I want one in my Concert I shou’d be glad to take him’.\(^{49}\) Who this oboist was and whether Carnarvon was successful in employing him is not known. If he was unsuccessful, it is possible that Kytch was engaged for *Acis and Galatea* prior to his official appointment as oboist at Cannons, where he was employed from autumn 1719 to midsummer 1721.\(^{50}\) Kytch, who had played bassoon in Handel’s opera orchestra (notably the solos in *Rinaldo*), had begun to emerge as an oboist in the preceding years, performing on the oboe on two occasions in


\(^{48}\) Beeks, ‘Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon’, p. 10.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., p. 12.

May 1716 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields.\textsuperscript{51} There are no contemporary accounts of the recorder player Mercy as an oboist, and if he was, why would Carnarvon have needed a third? However, a letter from Lady Caroline Brydges, granddaughter of James Brydges, describes Mercy as ‘formerly a hautboy in my grandfather’s band of music’.\textsuperscript{52} This statement cannot be taken as proof that Mercy played the oboe, although it was certainly unusual for a musician to be employed solely as a recorder player as the instrument was used so sparingly in orchestral works. Interestingly, Mercy was paid more than Biancardi,\textsuperscript{53} which could be an indication that he played another, more frequently used, instrument as well as the recorder, or alternatively that he was highly regarded as a virtuoso player and salaried accordingly. \textit{Acis and Galatea} also has parts for two recorders, one of which may have been played by Biancardi. The other part, and probably the solos for flauto piccolo (sopranino recorder), are likely to have been played by Mercy (or by Kytch if he was the other oboist engaged for the masque). Kytch must have owned (or had access to) a small recorder, as in 1719 he performed on the oboe and ‘little flute’ in his own benefit concert.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{51} 10 and 18 May 1716 (Avery, \textit{The London Stage 1660-1800: Part 2, 1700-1729}, pp. 402-3).

\textsuperscript{52} Huntington Library, San Marino, California, Ms STB Box 11(2), quoted in Lasocki, ‘The French Hautboy in England’, p. 354.

\textsuperscript{53} Beeks, ‘Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon’, p. 5.

The Royal Academy of Music

By early 1719, Handel was involved in the formation of a new London opera company, the Royal Academy of Music. He postponed a trip to the continent in February 1719 for this reason, writing to his brother-in-law: 'it is to my great regret that I find myself kept here by matters I must deal with, and on which, if I may say so, my fortune depends'.

Progress was slow. At a meeting of the directors of the Royal Academy of Music on 30 November 1719, it was recommended that 'Mr Hendell be Master of the Orchester with a Sallary', and by February 1720 orchestral lists were being drawn up. The orchestra to which Handel was eventually appointed contained many of the players from the Haymarket opera orchestra of previous years. The Royal Academy orchestra was slightly larger than the original Queen’s Theatre orchestra that had awaited Handel in 1710, employing several more violins, a section of four oboes (instead of two), and a theorbo, bringing the total number of players to approximately thirty-four.

There are three provisional lists of orchestral players dating from February 1720, found amongst the Duke of Portland’s papers and published for the first time.

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56 As noted by Milhous and Hume, it is curious that this salary does not appear on any financial estimates (Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, ‘New Light on Handel and The Royal Academy of Music in 1720’, _Theatre Journal_, 35/2 (May 1983), p. 152).

57 The three lists PwB94, 98 and 97 detail between 32 and 34 players (Milhous and Hume, ‘New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720’, pp. 158-161).
time by Milhous and Hume in 1983.\textsuperscript{58} The first list of names (PwB 94) includes familiar players from the Haymarket theatre orchestra such as Loeillet (who had presumably returned to orchestral work), Kytch, and Chaboud.\textsuperscript{59} The musicians on this list who can be identified as oboists are Loeillet, Kytch and John Festing (brother of the violinist Michael Christian Festing). The Swedish musician Johan Helmich Roman (resident in London c.1715-21) may also have been considered as an oboist, to make a section of four. Galliard, Handel’s principal oboist from the Queen’s/ King’s Theatre orchestra, was not available to join the Royal Academy. He had been employed by John Rich at the rival Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre from 1717, where he wrote masques at first, and later his more successful pantomimes.\textsuperscript{60}

By 15 February 1720, a ‘Committee for the Orchestre’ had been formed. On this date, two further lists were drawn up.\textsuperscript{61} The first of these names the four oboists to be appointed as Loeillet or Joseph (see Figure 1. 4 below), Kytch, Festing, and Neale.\textsuperscript{62} The addition of Richard Neale (fl.1720 – 1744) discounts the possibility of Roman being employed as an oboist. He was appointed to the orchestra, however, as a second violinist. The final draft of the roster (PwB 97) is thought to best represent the orchestra that began

\textsuperscript{58} Milhous and Hume, ‘New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720’.

\textsuperscript{59} PwB 94 (Milhous and Hume, ‘New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720’, p. 158).

\textsuperscript{60} Fiske and King, ‘Galliard’, \textit{New Grove}, Vol. 9, p. 452.

\textsuperscript{61} PwB 98 (Milhous and Hume, ‘New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720’, pp. 159-160).

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., p. 160.
performing in April 1720, and includes the oboists Joseph, Biancardi, Festing, and Neale.\(^{63}\)

**Figure 1. 4: Oboists at the Royal Academy of Music (April 1720)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PwB 98</th>
<th>PwB 97</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luillet or Joseph</td>
<td>Loeillet or Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ketch</td>
<td>Ketch Biancardi*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festin</td>
<td>Festin [sic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neal</td>
<td>Neal*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Corrections/additions (date unknown) in the hand of the Duke of Portland.

‘Joseph’ is thought by Milhous and Hume to refer to Joseph Woodbridge,\(^{64}\) and this view is supported by Lasocki.\(^{65}\) If this is correct, then this is the first reference to Joseph Woodbridge, who appeared as an oboist in advertised concerts from 1725-35 but is mentioned only as a kettledrummer in London theatre orchestras from 1736 onwards.\(^{66}\) Perhaps he was forced to retire from oboe playing because of injury, but was able to continue his musical activities as a timpanist. However, Joseph was added to the Royal Academy list as an alternative to the experienced oboist Loeillet, at the second highest salary rank. Any oboist that could be considered on a par with Loeillet would surely already have a reputation. It seems very unlikely that a previously unknown oboist could have stepped into the first oboe position at the prestigious Royal Academy above Kytch, who had worked his way up through the bassoons at

\(^{63}\) PwB 97 (Ibid., pp. 160-161).

\(^{64}\) Ibid., p. 160.


\(^{66}\) Ibid.
the (previously) Queen’s Theatre to solo bassoon, gradually become well-known enough to perform on the oboe, and already worked with Handel at Cannons. It was also irregular for orchestral lists to refer to an English musician by his first name, and the oboist in question appears, for example, as Mr Woodbridge on the list of musicians who played for the Lord Mayor’s Day celebrations for George II in 1727. Only foreign musicians were referred to by their first names as a matter of course: Chaboud for example most often appears as Pietro on orchestral lists. It was also quite common for foreigners settling in London to anglicise their names, for example John Loeillet and Peter La Tour (and the opposite: for example, Robert Valentine of Leicester, who moved to Rome and called himself Roberto Valentino/Valentini). The suggestion has been made by Bruce Haynes that Joseph was actually Giuseppe Sammartini. Sammartini did not settle in England until 1729, although he may have made an earlier visit, according to Burney, who claimed that he played in a benefit for Pietro at the Haymarket on 23 April 1723. Haynes suggests that the Royal Academy orchestra committee was anticipating Sammartini’s arrival, and hoping to appoint him. In this case, Sammartini would not have been available to the Royal Academy until three years after its opening, so someone else must have been appointed to the

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position in the meantime. Haynes concludes that Loeillet played first oboe at
the Royal Academy during the early 1720s after all, with possible guest
appearances from Sammartini in 1723-4.\textsuperscript{70}

Biancardi, the second oboist on the Royal Academy list, was still at Cannons
in early 1720. According to records, he was on the payroll until Christmas
Quarter the same year, although presumably he was released by the Duke of
Chandos to play for the Royal Academy (to which the Duke was a
subscriber).\textsuperscript{71} Kytch was last recorded in the Cannons books on New Year’s
Day 1721,\textsuperscript{72} hardly longer than Biancardi, so there must have been another
reason why Kytch could not be engaged by the Royal Academy as he
appears to have been first choice for the post. He was certainly active as a
player in London, even during his employment at Cannons. He appeared in
concert in February and March 1720 at Hickford’s Rooms, and again at York
Buildings on 1 April, the very night before the Royal Academy opened. He
also appeared as an extra player at the Chapel Royal on 13 November the
same year. Kytch made regular appearances throughout 1721, 1722 and
1723, performing concerts and concertos at the Haymarket theatre as well as
taking on extra work for the Chapel Royal.

\textsuperscript{70} Haynes, \textit{The Eloquent Oboe}, p. 347.

\textsuperscript{71} Beeks, ‘Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon’, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{72} Although reference is made to ‘Mr. Kaeyscht (at the Duke of Chandos)’ in Humphrey
Wanley’s notebook on 15 May 1721 (Otto Erich Deutsch, \textit{Handel: A Documentary
Festing and Neale were both players of the lowest salary rank, presumably as they had little experience. The four oboists would have doubled on the two oboe parts, and it is likely that the two highest paid, Loeillet (or Joseph) and Biancardi, both played first oboe, with Festing and Neale on second. This also seems to be how the violinists were organised, with the best (and most highly paid) players on first violin and the rest on second, rather than using the best players as section leaders and distributing the remainder throughout both (or all three) violin sections.

Handel did not include recorders in any of his operas for the Royal Academy from 1720 to 1723, using transverse flute(s) instead for *Radamisto* HWV 12 (1720) and *Flavio* HWV 16 (1723). Two arias from *Radamisto* include flutes, which would probably have been played by one or more of the oboists. Loeillet was certainly capable, but there are no records of Biancardi performing on the German flute. John Festing later became a specialist flautist, so he may have played the instrument during the first years of the Royal Academy. Neale definitely played the flute and performed on it in a concert on 4 March 1720, less than a month before the opening of the Royal Academy. This concert took place at Hickford’s rooms, and included other performers such as Kytch, as well as from the rival Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre.73

The aria ‘Amor, nel mio penar’ (Act III, Scene IV) from *Flavio* is in the unusual key of B flat minor, presumably for dramatic effect: the key was described as

'gloomy, terrible’ by Marc-Antoine Charpentier in 1692. The obbligato part was initially scored for the recorder, perhaps because the key of B flat minor would not be completely impractical on the instrument. However, the performing score reveals that the obbligato was transferred to the oboe, and transposed into the more manageable key of A minor. The other parts remain in the original key, revealing that the solo oboist must have had an instrument pitched a semitone higher than the rest of the orchestra. Haynes points out that northern Italian pitch at this time was approximately a semitone higher than that in the London opera house, and concludes that the owner of the transposing oboe was Giuseppe Sammartini, arriving in England on his alleged exploratory visit. However, Burrows suggests that it was Kytch who owned the high-pitched oboe. Kytch was employed as an additional musician during the period 1722-26 to play at the Chapel Royal, where, due to the tuning of the organ, the pitch was also higher than in the theatre, and so he may have had an oboe specially made or adapted to accommodate this. In any case, Kytch must have joined the orchestra by 1724, as in March that year he performed ‘Three songs out of Julius Caesar’ in concert. Giulio Cesare HWV 17 had been first performed only the previous month (20 February), so it seems likely that Kytch had played it in the opera house in

76 Ibid., p. 479.
order for him to have access to the music so soon after the opera’s debut, especially as it had not yet been published.  

There must have been a bass viol player available to Handel at this time, as in 1724, unusually, Handel scored for the bass viol in Giulio Cesare. The part could have been written for Chaboud, who not only played the flute and bassoon, but also the bass viol. However Peter Holman has this to say on the matter: ‘Chaboud was the obvious candidate …, but there is no trace of him in London (or anywhere else) after May 1719. To cut a long story short, a number [of] cellists in the opera orchestra, including Nicola Haym, François Goodsens, Pippo Amadei and Giovanni Bononcini, may have played the gamba, though only the German David Boswillibald, principally a double bass player, seems to have been active in Handel’s circle around 1724. In [Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch] I put him forward as the person most likely to have played the solo in Giulio Cesare’.  

The transposing oboe was still in circulation in 1724, as Handel’s autograph of Tamerlano HWV 18 contains the B flat minor aria ‘Su la sponda’ with its oboe part written out in A minor. This may support the theory that it was Kytch who owned the transposing instrument, not only because he is likely to have

82 See HHA II/15 Tamerlano, pp. 231-3 (Burrows, Handel and the English Chapel Royal, pp. 548).
played for *Giulio Cesare* earlier in the year, but also because Sammartini was probably in Italy at this time (having composed two numbers for an oratorio performed in Milan in 1724).\(^8^3\) *Tamerlano* displays some of Handel's most extensive woodwind writing yet, calling for two oboes, two recorders, and two flutes. The oboe parts for *Tamerlano* in the Newman Flower collection include those for flute and recorder as well,\(^8^4\) indicating that the oboists were responsible for all three instruments. Carl Friedrich Weideman, an oboist and flautist, joined the orchestra at this point or very shortly after, as a copy of some (spurious)\(^8^5\) Handel trio sonatas in the British Library has a note by Weideman on the oboe part which reads ‘Tamerlan 1725 which was the first Opera I play’d in &cc. C.W.’.\(^8^6\)

By the late 1720s, specialist flautists had begun to emerge from the ranks of versatile professional woodwind players, and one of these men may have played the solo part for a transposing flute in *Riccardo Primo* HWV 23 (1727).\(^8^7\) Johann Joachim Quantz reported that Weideman was ‘one of the country’s leading flautists’ in 1727,\(^8^8\) and also mentioned John Festing as a flautist at the opera in the same year.\(^8^9\) Festing had originally appeared as an oboist on the orchestra roster for the Royal Academy in 1720, where he would

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\(^{8^5}\) Ibid., p. 555.


\(^{8^9}\) Powell, *The Flute*, p. 79.
have had to double on recorder or flute, and possibly both. Burney described Festing as a musician who 'played the oboe but taught the German flute'.

As well as a solo for the newly-fashionable transverse flute, *Riccardo Primo* also has a virtuoso aria for small recorder, 'Il volo cosi fido' (Act III, Scene VIII). It is likely that Kytch played this solo, as he is thought to have joined the Royal Academy orchestra in 1724 and was certainly first oboe there by 1729: a concert on 16 April 1729 at Hickford’s music room included opera arias, concertos and solos, and was advertised to ‘Benefit Kytch, First Hautboy to the Opera’. Kytch may have played the flauto piccolo parts in *Acis and Galatea*, and he was still performing on that instrument in 1729 as the benefit concert included opera arias with ‘All the Vocal Parts performed by Kytch on Hautboy, also Little Flute and Bassoon’.

An account of one of Handel's performances in 1728 by Pierre-Jacques Fougeroux 'described an orchestra of 24 violins, 3 cellos, 2 double basses, 3 bassoons, occasional flutes, trumpets and horns, and with 2 harpsichords and an archlute for continuo accompaniment'. This cannot be a completely comprehensive account, as neither oboes nor violas are mentioned. Perhaps the violas are included in the twenty-four violins, although doubts have been raised regarding the accuracy of this particular number because of its

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91 Ibid.

association with the *vingt-quatre violons du Roi*. Nevertheless, if this description is assumed to be broadly accurate, Handel’s orchestra at the Royal Academy was twice as large in some sections as the 1710-11 season orchestra at the then Queen’s Theatre. The upper strings had expanded from eleven or twelve at the Queen’s Theatre in 1710, to sixteen at the opening of the Royal Academy in 1720, and to twenty-four by Fougeroux’s account of 1728. Interestingly, the number of cellos and bassoons did not increase to complement the increase in violins; indeed, if Fougeroux’s account is accurate, the number of cellos decreased from six (at the Queen’s Theatre in 1710, and at the Royal Academy in 1720) to just three in 1728. Bassoons remained constant, with three. However, the double basses increased in number from just one at the Queen’s Theatre, to two at the Royal Academy (in 1720 and 1728). Presumably the oboe section was still four-strong in 1728 (as it was at the Academy’s conception in 1720), whereas the section consisted of only two oboists at the Queen’s Theatre in 1710. Fougeroux’s account is the last indication of the size of Handel’s orchestra until the performances of *Messiah* which took place at the Foundling Hospital in the 1750s.

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93 ‘This figure must be treated with some suspicion in view of its obvious associations with ‘vingt-quatre violons’. 24 may be a rough estimate on Fougeroux’s part but, in view of his separation of cellos and double basses from the ‘violons’, I am inclined to accept the number as a probable working total for violins and violas combined’ (ibid., p. 357).

94 In 1754 and 1758 (Deutsch, *A Documentary Biography*, pp. 750-51, 800-801).
Chapter 2
The History and Sources of Handel’s Solo Sonatas

Much confusion surrounds the authenticity of Handel’s solo sonatas, deriving largely from the two earliest publications. The first printed edition was thought to have been published c.1722,¹ supposedly by the firm of Estienne Roger, Amsterdam, but this attribution has since been proven to be false;² it was in fact published c.1730-31 by John Walsh in London.³ Contained within the first published edition were 12 SONATES POUR UN TRAVERSIERE UN VIOLON OU HAUTBOIS Con Basso Continuo Composées par G. F. HANDEL, many of which had been significantly altered by Walsh. This is confirmed by comparing the printed edition with Handel’s extant autographs. Some of the sonatas had been transposed and/or assigned to a different instrument, in three cases to the transverse flute; some movements were (unintentionally?) mixed up

³ Terence Best, Preface to Händel: Complete Sonatas for Recorder and Basso continuo (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), p. VIII.
between the sonatas or missing altogether; and two of the sonatas almost certainly were not by Handel.⁴

A second edition, this time openly attributed to Walsh, was published shortly after (probably between April 1731 and March 1732)⁵ and claimed to be ‘more Corect’ [sic] than the first edition, although the various transposed sonatas were not restored to their original versions, raising questions about Handel’s involvement with the publication. However, some major errors had been corrected: the omitted and misplaced movements were restored to their correct parent sonatas and the two sonatas of doubtful authenticity were replaced by two different sonatas. Unfortunately, these were just as unlikely to have been composed by Handel as the works they replaced, if not more so.⁶

In addition to the ‘Roger’ and Walsh editions, each containing twelve sonatas, a compilation volume was published c.1730 by Walsh and Hare containing six more sonatas by various composers, three of which were claimed to be flute sonatas by Handel. These are now thought to be spurious, although one of the sonatas contains music which is undoubtedly by Handel.⁷

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⁵ Best, Preface to Complete Sonatas for Recorder, p. IX.
⁶ Best, ‘Handel’s chamber music’, p. 483.
⁷ Ibid., p. 484.
The Early Printed Editions

The ‘Roger’ Edition

The ‘Roger’ edition is undated, yet was assigned to c.1722 by at least two twentieth-century sources whilst it was still thought to be a legitimate publication. The print does have a plate number, but there is no apparent connection between this number and the year 1722. The edition appears to have been first dated to 1722 in the Vorwort to Hans-Peter Schmitz’s edition of the Elf Sonaten für Flöte for the Bärenreiter HHA (1955), but there is no reference to the source of this information.\(^8\) David Lasocki suggests that Schmitz decided upon 1722 because this is the year in which Jeanne Roger died (the same year as her father Estienne). This would have been pure speculation by Schmitz, however, as Jeanne Roger had taken over the business from her father in 1716 and there is no reason to suppose that the Handel sonatas were a late ‘Roger’ publication.\(^9\) The date 1722 also appears in a catalogue of Handel’s printed works by William C. Smith, first published in London in 1960;\(^10\) one can only assume that this date was taken from Schmitz.\(^11\)

\(^8\) Schmitz, Vorwort to HHA: Elf Sonaten für Flöte, p. V.


\(^11\) Best (Correspondence: ‘Handel’s Solo Sonatas’, p. 121) gives Jeanne Roger’s death as Smith’s reason for deciding on c.1722 but does not mention Schmitz.
By the late 1970s it was known that the ‘Roger’ edition was a fake, and that it had really been issued by Walsh.\footnote{Best, Correspondence: ‘Handel’s Solo Sonatas’, p. 121; Lasocki, ‘A New Look at Handel’s Recorder Sonatas, III’, pp. 130-132.} Evidence for this comes from the style of engraving, which matches that of two particular engravers employed by Walsh in London, active 1724-35 and 1726-36.\footnote{Burrows, ‘Walsh’s editions of Handel’s Opera 1-5’, pp. 80-82.} As these engravers were both working for Walsh, it seems certain that the print was produced for him. The edition contains the work of both engravers and therefore cannot have been published any earlier than 1726, casting doubt on the supposed date of the ‘Roger’ edition as well as its authenticity.

Further evidence is the fact that plate no. 534, the number given to the ‘Roger’ edition (see Figure 2.1 below), was actually used after Jeanne Roger’s death. She had used the numbers in chronological order, and the last plate number issued by her was no. 495.\footnote{Best, ‘Handel’s chamber music’, p. 481.} No. 534 was eventually used by her successor (Michel Charles Le Cène) in 1727 for Vivaldi’s \textit{La Cetra},\footnote{Vivaldi’s \textit{La Cetra} has plate nos. 533 and 534 (Best, ‘Correspondence: Handel’s Solo Sonatas’, p. 121).} suggesting that the title page bearing Jeanne Roger’s name was a fake, and that the sonatas were published after her death (i.e. later than 1722). The fact that the ‘Roger’ edition of Handel’s solo sonatas shared a plate number with a work by Vivaldi would have been apparent to anyone comparing the title pages of the two works, although there was no reason to do so before the authenticity of the ‘Roger’ edition was questioned.
The publication in 1969 of a facsimile of the 1737 Le Cène catalogue was contributory in exposing the ‘Roger’ as a fake, as information about the plate numbers used by the firm became easily accessible to scholars.\textsuperscript{16} That the ‘Roger’ edition was published after the death of Jeanne Roger is confirmed by modern paper studies of Handel’s autographs, which date the composition of

the solo sonatas published in ‘Roger’ to between c.1712 and 1726, with the majority written in or after 1724. This supports the idea that the edition could not have been published earlier than 1726. Another indication that the publication is a fake is that pages from the ‘Roger’ edition now held in the British Library have the same watermark as one of the first Walsh editions also held there, suggesting that the two editions were probably produced in the same place, and, crucially, must have appeared at almost exactly the same time. The ‘Roger’ edition is now dated c.1730-31, and the Walsh probably between April 1731 and March 1732.

So why did John Walsh go to the trouble of faking an edition of Handel’s sonatas, only to put his name to their subsequent publication less than two years later? Music copyright as it is known today did not exist in the early eighteenth century, and it was Handel who was instrumental in bringing about laws to protect the rights of the composer. Handel’s music was so popular that, in order to satisfy public demand, many unauthorised editions of his works were printed and sold. Whether it was asserting his moral rights or

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18 Walsh printed a second issue of ‘his’ edition of the sonatas c.1733, which can be distinguished from the first as it has a serial number (no. 407).
19 Best, Preface to Complete Sonatas for Recorder, p. VIII.
20 Ibid., p. IX.
pursuing a financial return that prompted Handel into action is debatable, but in June 1720 he was granted a Royal Privilege intended to give him control over publication of his music, thereby stopping the production of unauthorised editions.\textsuperscript{22} However it was not immediately successful, as in November 1720 Handel himself (with the London publisher Richard Meares) issued a print of his \textit{Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin … Première Volume}, stating in the preface that he was obliged to publish them himself because 'surreptitious [sic] and incorrect copies of them had got abroad'.\textsuperscript{23} This was presumably in response to an edition of the same work pirated by Walsh (also issued with a 'Roger' title page), published sometime between 1719 and 1721.\textsuperscript{24} It would therefore appear that Walsh was trying to make money by publishing Handel's music illegally, and that he decided to fake the Roger title page in order to protect himself.

It is unlikely that Handel had anything to do with the 'Roger' edition of his solo sonatas. As Walsh was publishing illegally he would have had to use any


\textsuperscript{23} Interestingly, Thurston Dart points out that as well as printing unauthorised editions, unscrupulous publishers had also been faking prefaces to this effect for over a century before this publication appeared, casting doubt on the involvement of the composer even in editions such as this and stating that 'it is foolish to take them literally'. However, the authenticity of the musical text is not the issue here; however unreliable, the preface at least confirms that there were other copies in circulation whether or not Handel authorised this particular edition. (Thurston Dart, 'Reviews of Music. Georg Friedrich Händel, Collected Works (Bärenreiter-Verlag, Cassel)', \textit{Music & Letters}, 37/4 (October 1956) pp. 400-403).

\textsuperscript{24} Best, 'Handel's chamber music', p. 482.
source he could access, and this would not necessarily have been authorised by Handel. The source for the ‘Roger’ edition is no longer extant, but is thought to have been an earlier version of the sonatas than the surviving autographs, several of which are fair copies. This can be deduced from the fact that where there are differences between the autographs and the ‘Roger’ print, the ideas in the autograph versions are often compositionally more advanced.

When considering the validity of the ‘Roger’ print as a source for Handel’s solo sonatas, the many differences from the surviving autographs must be noted. Several of the sonatas have been assigned to different instruments and, in most of these cases, transposed into a different key. This was presumably organised by Walsh rather than his source (for reasons that will become apparent) and appears to have been done hastily, as the new arrangements contain such incongruences as notes beyond the compass of the designated instrument. As well as relatively minor mistakes such as wrong notes and missing figures, several movements were omitted entirely or published within the wrong sonata (see Figure 2.2 below).
## Figure 2.2: Contents of the ‘Roger’ Edition and Major Errors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>359a</td>
<td>A direct transposition of Handel’s violin sonata in D minor HWV 359a (not published in its original version during his lifetime). The resulting note b in the second movement is too low for the baroque flute, which normally only descended to d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>No major errors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Violino Solo</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>No major errors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>Published with the heading Grave for the first movement, marked Larghetto in the autograph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>G major</td>
<td>363b</td>
<td>A transposition into G major of the oboe sonata in F major HWV 363a. The correct third movement of this sonata was missing, and printed in its place was the sixth movement of HWV 367b (missing from its rightful parent sonata). Also missing from HWV 363b was its fifth movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Hoboy Solo</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>364a</td>
<td>Clearly marked as a violin sonata in Handel’s autograph but appears in ‘Roger’ assigned to the oboe, although the range (which descends to the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[cont.]

25 See the Critical Reports of the relevant volumes in HHA for a comprehensive list of differences between the sources.

26 Some makers in London such as Thomas Stanesby Junior were experimenting with c¹ footjoints in the 1730s, but this was not the norm.
There is contemporary evidence that the violin sonatas HWV 372 and HWV 373 are not authentic. The copy of the ‘Roger’ edition housed in the British Library has ‘NB. This is not Mr. Handel’s’, handwritten above sonatas X and XII, presumably added by the original owner of the volume. Walsh appears to have had only ten Handel sonatas available to him, and, as sonatas were

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Hoboy Solo</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>B minor</td>
<td>367b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Violino Solo</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Violino Solo</td>
<td>E major</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Handel made pencilled alterations to the autograph of HWV 364 in three passages, giving a higher alternative melody line. This may have been in order to keep the melody within the oboe range, as Handel used the same music in the overture to *Siroe* HWV 24 (1728).

Perhaps this autograph, with its alterations, was unknown to Walsh when he decided to assign the sonata to the oboe, or perhaps he intended the upper-note alternatives to be included but the engraver followed Handel’s original rather than the pencilled corrections.

28 *A Tempo di Gavotti* in Walsh, but *A Tempo di Gavotta* in autograph.
commonly published in sets of six or twelve, it is possible that he included two sonatas by another composer to make the edition more saleable.  

_The Walsh Edition_

Sometime between April 1731 and March 1732 Walsh published his ‘more Corect’ edition of the sonatas, this time with his own name on the title page. This edition was printed from most of the same plates as the ‘Roger’ edition, further suggesting that Walsh was responsible for both. Some alterations had been made to the existing plates to correct minor errors, and sixteen new plates were engraved in order to rectify more major mistakes such as the omission of whole movements from the ‘Roger’ edition. However, the transpositions (for flute) and misattribution (of HWV 364a) appeared again in the Walsh print and many other errors remained uncorrected. This strongly suggests that Handel was not involved in this publication either, despite the fact that it is openly attributed to Walsh, and that the title page carries a catalogue of Handel’s works as if Walsh was now his official publisher. An official relationship between Walsh and Handel was also implied through Walsh’s advertising. The advertisement of 1734 in which Walsh publicised Handel’s ‘Opera Prima’ contains a list of ten other items ‘compos’d by Mr. Handel, and Printed for John Walsh’, the largest selection of Handel’s music

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29 Best, ‘Handel’s chamber music’, p. 482.

30 Terence Best, Preface to Händel, Elf Sonaten für Flöte und Basso continuo (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), p. IX.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.
to be advertised in a newspaper until this point, and clearly meant to give the impression of endorsement by the composer (see Figure 2.3 below).\footnote{Deutsch, \textit{A Documentary Biography}, p. 376.}

\textbf{Figure 2.3: Walsh Title Page}
It must be assumed, then, that by the 1730s Handel’s Royal Privilege carried even less weight than it had originally, and that Walsh was testing the waters with his faked ‘Roger’ edition. Presumably, when there was no official penalty for the publication, Walsh decided to disregard the Privilege entirely and go ahead with openly publishing Handel’s works.

When Walsh the elder died in 1736, his son took over the business. It seems that Handel had a much more open and amicable relationship with the younger Walsh, who continued to publish Handel’s music. Op. 4 and Op. 5, published by Walsh the younger in 1738 and 1739, contain none of the multiple errors to be found in the works published by Walsh the elder, suggesting that Handel was involved in these later publications.\(^{34}\) It seems that Handel, realising that his works were going to be published whether he was involved or not, preferred to give the younger Walsh correct versions of his music, and in October 1739 Walsh was granted a privilege ‘to print and publish’ Handel’s works.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{34}\) See Burrows, ‘Walsh’s editions of Handel’s Opera 1-5’.

\(^{35}\) Reproduced in Deutsch, A Documentary Biography, pp. 488-9.
### Figure 2.4: Contents of the Walsh Edition, Corrections from ‘Roger’, and Major Errors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>359a</td>
<td>Walsh retained the transposition for flute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>No major errors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Violino Solo</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>No major errors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>The first movement was given the marking Larghetto, as in the autograph, instead of Grave as in ‘Roger’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>G major</td>
<td>363b</td>
<td>The correct third movement was printed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Hoboy Solo</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>364a</td>
<td>The misattribution to the oboe remained uncorrected. This may have been to compensate for the fact that ‘Hoboy’ was specified on the contents page, but there was only one genuine sonata for that instrument in the volume.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>The missing fourth movement was restored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Hoboy Solo</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>No major errors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>B minor</td>
<td>367b</td>
<td>Walsh retained the transposition for flute, and the sixth movement was returned to its correct place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Violino Solo</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>Not by Handel – see below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Flauto Solo</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>No major errors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Violino Solo</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>Not by Handel – see below.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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36 Interestingly, the recorder was not mentioned at all on the contents page of ‘Roger’ or Walsh, despite the fact that four of the sonatas Handel intended for that instrument retained the designation in print.
Walsh replaced the two spurious violin sonatas from the ‘Roger’ print with two new sonatas. This, combined with the annotation on the British Library copy of ‘Roger’, suggests that HWV 372 and HWV 373 were known at the time not to be by Handel; otherwise, why would Walsh have rejected them? However, he replaced them with two more sonatas now thought to be spurious, HWV 368 and HWV 370, and again this is referred to by a contemporary hand on the British Library volume of the Walsh print – ‘Not Mr Handel’s Solo’.  

**Walsh and Hare**

One other volume containing sonatas supposedly by Handel was published during his lifetime by Walsh and Hare c.1730. It contained six sonatas by various composers, three of which (all for flute) are attributed to Handel (see Figure 2.5 below). It had been suggested by Chrysander that these were early sonatas by Handel from his youth in Halle, and on their publication in the HHA became known as the ‘Hallenser’ sonatas. However, one of the sonatas, HWV 375, cannot date from this period as it contains movements transposed from Handel’s later oboe sonata in C minor HWV 366 (c.1712). There are no extant autographs for any of these sonatas, and, as they do not appear in any contemporary manuscripts either, they are not thought to be authentic.

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37 Best, ‘Handel’s chamber music’, p. 483.
38 Preface to Volume 48 of the *Händel-Gesellschaft*.
Figure 2. 5: Walsh and Hare Title Page

Figure 2. 6: 'Handel' Sonatas published in the Walsh and Hare Edition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>Not by Handel – see Chapter 8 for a discussion of these works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Traversa Solo</td>
<td>B minor</td>
<td>376</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Autograph Manuscripts

Much of Handel’s music survives in autograph, mostly as final drafts or fair copies rather than work-in-progress manuscripts. This has the advantage that many of the scores are clear and easy to read, but Handel’s compositional processes and revisions are not always traceable. A few of the early works have been lost, along with many of the performing parts, the latter denying us knowledge of the alterations they would contain.  

From the many solo sonatas attributed to Handel, autographs exist for fourteen. Over 90% of Handel’s autographs are contained within the Royal Music Library collection, housed in the British Library, London, but only three of the sonatas (HWV 371, 379 and 362) belong to that collection. The remaining eleven solo sonata autographs are housed in three separate volumes at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

The two earliest autograph sonatas, HWV 358 for violin in G major and HWV 357 for oboe in B flat major, are written on paper known as A40. This paper is thought to have been used by Handel whilst he was in Hanover c.1710-12. However, the A40 paper is very similar to some of the paper that Handel used

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40 Burrows and Ronish, A Catalogue, p. x.
41 Ibid., p. xii.
42 Lbl RM 20. g. 13
43 Cfm MU MS 260, Cfm MU MS 261 and Cfm MU MS 263. For a detailed collection history, see Burrows and Ronish, A Catalogue, Preamble.
44 Burrows and Ronish, A Catalogue, pp. xxiv-xxv.
during his time in Italy,\textsuperscript{45} and the style of HWV 358 (especially its chromatic middle movement) points to an earlier date of composition c.1707.\textsuperscript{46} The autograph of the trio sonata for two recorders and continuo in F major HWV 405 is also written on A40 paper, and has a comparable chromatic slow movement. This work almost certainly dates from Handel's time in Italy (1707-1710),\textsuperscript{47} as it uses themes from other compositions of this period such as \textit{Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno} HWV 46a (1707) and \textit{La Resurrezione} HWV 47(1708). HWV 357 could also date from the Italian period, as it, too, is written on A40 paper and has similar chromatic characteristics to HWV 358 and 405. However, the title \textit{Sonata pour l’Hautbois Solo} may suggest that the sonata was written in Hanover, where French was the language spoken at court.\textsuperscript{48}

The handwriting of these early sonatas is untidy, and the manuscripts appear to be working copies (or composition autographs) as they contain many corrections and alterations. In his facsimile edition of Handel’s solo sonatas, Marcello Castellani describes this particular style of handwriting as 'c) A nervous and aggressive hand, rather disjointed and lacking in calligraphic care, with numerous corrections; the numbers in the bass are almost totally

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} Terence Best, Preface to \textit{Händel, Complete Works for Violin and Basso continuo} (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), p. XIII.
\textsuperscript{47} Terence Best, Preface to \textit{Händel, Trio Sonata in F major for Two Treble Recorders and Basso continuo} HWV 405 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988), p. IV.
\textsuperscript{48} Terence Best, Preface to \textit{Händel, Complete Sonatas for Oboe and Basso Continuo} (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), p. V.
lacking…’. An absence of figured bass symbols is common to both HWV 357 and 358: the former has a lone $\frac{1}{4}$ in the middle movement, and the latter just two figures, again in the chromatic central movement. Neither of these sonatas was published in Handel’s lifetime, and the autographs are their only extant source.

The majority of the remaining solo sonata autographs, composed in London, are written on what Donald Burrows describes as English paper. The paper was not manufactured in England, but imported by and obtained from a supplier in London, possibly Walsh. HWV 366 is written on a variety of this English paper known as C10, which Handel used in works dating from 1711 and 1713. HWV 366 has been assigned a date of c.1712 based on the paper type and the handwriting. The writing is in the same untidy hand as the earlier sonatas HWV 357 and 358 (Castellani’s ‘type c’) and the manuscript contains many altered and crossed-out passages, particularly in the second movement. The autograph of HWV 366 only contains the first three

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49 Marcello Castellani, Preface to Georg Friedrich Händel, Sonate per Uno Strumento (Flauto, Violino, Hautbois, Traversiere) e Basso Continuo: Parte Prima, Manoscritti Autografi (Firenze: Studio per Edizione Scelte, 1985) [no page number].


51 One of several varieties of paper previously known as ‘Ca’ by Jens Peter Larsen and Hans Dieter Clausen (see Burrows and Ronish, A Catalogue, pp. 329-330). Burrows and Ronish renamed Larsen and Clausen’s paper types in order to add further sub-divisions based on subtle differences in watermarks.

52 Best, Preface to Complete Sonatas for Oboe, p. V.
movements; the missing fourth movement is present in two contemporary manuscripts (see below) as well as in the printed ‘Roger’ and Walsh editions.

The sonatas HWV 364a and HWV 359a are written on another variety of English paper, known as C20.\(^{53}\) HWV 359a, entitled ‘Sonata 2’, follows directly on from the Violino Solo HWV 364a, beginning halfway down the page, so it is reasonable to assume that it was also intended for violin. These sonatas are neater than the previous three, although there are some corrections and alterations in the manuscript. Castellani describes this handwriting as ‘b) a rather nervous and hurried, though fairly accurate hand, with a much thinner line than a [see below] and a certain number of corrections’.\(^ {54}\) Figured bass symbols are more plentiful in these sonatas than those from the Italian period. At the foot of the first page of HWV 364a is an incipit of the first bar and a beat with the melody an octave lower in the alto clef, marked ‘per la Viola da gamba’, suggesting a transposition of the sonata (HWV 364b). This suggestion was likely to have been made for the musician who played the viola da gamba part in Giulio Cesare HWV 17, as both works were composed c.1724.\(^ {55}\)

\(^{53}\) C20 (previously known as Cb) is an English paper with 10 staves on each side, drawn in 2-stave rastra with a span of between 26.6 and 27 mm. See Burrows and Ronish, A Catalogue, pp. xxxvi – xxxvii for more information about rastra.

\(^{54}\) Castellani, Preface to Sonata per uno strumento: Parte Prima, [no page number].

\(^{55}\) See Chapter 1, p. 33.
Handel used C20 paper for the majority of the solo sonatas that he wrote in London in the 1720s, including the four recorder sonatas HWV 360, 362, 365 and 369 (c.1726). These four sonatas are known as the ‘fair copy’ recorder sonatas as they are neatly copied out, with no corrections, and the bass is unusually well-figured. This is in contrast to the contemporary violin sonata HWV 361, which is also written on C20 paper, in a similarly neat hand with no corrections, but which has no figured bass symbols. The handwriting of these sonatas is distinctive, described by Castellani as ‘a) a veritable « fair copy » in rounded handwriting and using a very thick line’.

Between December 1725 and April 1726 Handel wrote out a series of exercises in figured bass and fugal composition in fair copy, which must have been intended for teaching. The exercises were probably for Princess Anne, who is documented to have been a fine harpsichordist, and skilled at continuo playing. The autographs of these figured bass exercises are on the same paper as the fair copy sonatas (C20), date from the same period, and the

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56 The fair copy recorder sonatas had been previously dated c.1712 by Terence Best on the grounds of the handwriting, but after examining the paper type with the assistance of Burrows and Ronish, Best revised this to c.1726. See Terence Best, ‘Further Studies on Handel’s Solo Sonatas’, Händeljahrbuch, 30 (1984), pp. 75-79.

57 Castellani, Preface to Sonata per uno strumento: Parte Prima, [no page number].

58 The figured bass examples have been typeset and published by David Ledbetter as part of the Early Music Series: David Ledbetter, Continuo Playing According to Handel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

manuscripts bear calligraphic and decorative similarities. It has been suggested that the four fair copy sonatas were copied at approximately the same time for teaching purposes, perhaps as practical examples to supplement the figured bass exercises. The neatness of the autographs and the unusual fullness of the figuring support this theory. Handel also gave lessons in composition and keyboard playing to John Christopher Smith the younger (son of Handel's secretary and principal copyist) from 1725, so it is also possible that the sonatas were copied out for Smith.

The autographs of the fair copy sonatas differ from the early printed editions ('Roger' and Walsh) in several noticeable details, although the text is reliable enough to suggest that they must derive from an authentic source. This is likely to have been a slightly earlier version of the sonatas (now lost) which Handel then corrected when he wrote up the fair copies. If the fair copies were indeed for teaching, they would have been intended for private use. This would explain why they were not available to Walsh as a source for publication even several years after they were written, as presumably they remained within the private collection of either Handel or the pupil(s).

The recorder sonatas HWV 367a and 377 were written on Italian paper with the watermark 'CANTONI / BERGAMO'. Because of this, it was originally


61 Best, 'Handel's chamber music', p. 480.
thought that they were composed during Handel’s time in Italy or shortly after. However, research into paper types by Donald Burrows, Martha J. Ronish and Keiichiro Watanabe shows that Handel did not use this Cantoni paper during his Italian period, but for several works composed in London in the mid-1720s. These autographs are both working copies, in the handwriting style designated ‘b’) by Castellani, with some corrections and alterations. An earlier draft of HWV 367a/vi and viii also survives, on C20 paper.

HWV 379 (c.1728) is the only flute sonata in Handel’s hand, and is also written on the English paper C20. Never published in Handel’s lifetime, the autograph is the only manuscript source. The handwriting is of the same type as the violin sonatas HWV 364 and 359a and the recorder sonatas HWV 367a and 377 (Castellani’s ‘type ‘b’), and there are corrections and alterations that suggest the sonata was written out in haste.

The D major violin sonata HWV 371 was composed much later than the other sonatas and never published during Handel’s lifetime. It is also written on an

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62 Best, ‘Further Studies on Handel’s Solo Sonatas’, p. 76. The Cantoni paper of this period was mostly used for *Rodelinda* (completed January 1725) and *Alessandro* (completed April 1726), as well as the recorder sonatas HWV 367a and 377. There are three types of Italian paper that Handel used during the period 1724-26 and it is thought that they were purchased as a result of a problem with his usual supply, rather than left over from his years in Italy. See Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue*, pp. xxiv – xxvi.

63 See Chapter 3, p. 110-16.

English paper, this time a variety known as C160.\(^{65}\) This particular kind of paper was used by Handel from 1749-1752,\(^{66}\) suggesting that HWV 371 was composed during this period.

**Figure 2. 7: The Fourteen Autograph Sonatas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Date(^{67})</th>
<th>‘Roger’</th>
<th>Walsh</th>
<th>HWV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No title / indication of instrument</td>
<td>(violin)</td>
<td>G major</td>
<td>c.1707</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata pour l’Hautbois Solo</td>
<td>oboe</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td>c.1707-10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hautb Sol</td>
<td>oboe</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>c.1712</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violino Solo</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>c.1724</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>364a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 2</td>
<td>(violin)</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>c.1724</td>
<td>(I - as HWV 359b)</td>
<td>(I - as HWV 359b)</td>
<td>359a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No title / indication of instrument</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td>c.1725</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No title / indication of instrument</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>c.1726</td>
<td>(IX - as HWV 367b)</td>
<td>(IX - as HWV 367b)</td>
<td>367a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo</td>
<td>recorder</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>c.1726</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo</td>
<td>recorder</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>c.1726</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None - first leaf lost</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>c.1726</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{65}\) Ibid., p. 196.

\(^{66}\) Ibid., p. 331.

\(^{67}\) Dates from Best: *Complete Works for Violin; Complete Sonatas for Recorder;* and *Complete Sonatas for Oboe.*
Eighteenth-Century Manuscripts

There are several manuscript copies of Handel’s sonatas which date from his lifetime, most of which have been found within composite volumes of music compiled by one or more copyists. At the present time, four different manuscript sources are known.

The Manchester Manuscript

The largest and most important of the contemporary manuscript sources belongs to the Aylesford Collection, originally owned by Handel’s friend and librettist Charles Jennens and now part of the Newman Flower Collection within the Henry Watson Music Library at Manchester Central Library.\(^{68}\) The Manchester manuscript probably dates from 1730-32\(^ {69}\) and is in the hand of

\(^{68}\) Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312.

the reliable Handel copyist known as S2.70 The manuscript contains ten of Handel’s authentic solo sonatas (nine of which also exist in autograph), as well as his six trio sonatas ‘Opus 2’ (another unauthorised publication by Walsh, again with a false ‘Roger’ title page) and an additional trio sonata not by Handel.71 None of the solo sonatas give a written indication of the melody instrument, and the figured bass symbols have been ‘much supplemented (and in some places altered)’ by Jennens (see Figure 2.8 below).72

Figure 2.8: Opening of HWV 359a from the Manchester Manuscript, showing additional figured bass symbols in bolder writing.

The ten solo sonatas in the Manchester manuscript correspond to the ten authentic sonatas common to ‘Roger’ and Walsh, and the four fair copy recorder sonatas in this manuscript bear closer resemblance to the published versions than to Handel’s autographs. This suggests that the copyist of the Manchester manuscript, S2, may have used the same source as Walsh did for the printed editions. If this is the case, it confirms that the flute

70 S2 worked frequently as a Handel copyist and had his ‘busiest period’ during the 1730s (see Jens Peter Larsen, Handel’s Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957), Chapter Four, especially pp. 264-267, for more information).

71 Best, HHA: Elf Sonaten für Flöte, p. 77.

72 Best, ‘Handel’s chamber music’, p. 480.
transpositions were carried out by Walsh, rather than coming from the source: the Manchester manuscript has the original versions of HWV 363 (363a in F major for oboe) and HWV 367 (367a in D minor for recorder), which Walsh published as HWV 363b in G major and HWV 367b in B minor, both for flute. Significantly, S2 had strong links to John Christopher Smith senior, Handel’s principal copyist (and later amanuensis), secretary, manager, assistant, and friend, and so is likely to have used a genuine source such as an earlier autograph version of the sonatas which Handel later revised. It is interesting (and typical) that the unscrupulous Walsh seems to have had access to this same authentic source and yet made such fundamental changes to the sonatas, presumably without Handel’s involvement.

Figure 2.9: Contents of the Manchester Manuscript

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Autograph</th>
<th>‘Roger’ and Walsh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 1</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>359a</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>I (359b in E minor for the flute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 2</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>364a</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>VI (Marked ‘Hoboy’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 3</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 4</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 5</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 6</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 7</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 8</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>367a</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>IX (367b in B minor for the flute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 9</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonata 10</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>363a</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>V (363b in G major for the flute)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For details of the work of Smith and other copyists including S2 see Larsen, Handel’s Messiah, Chapter 4.
The Brussels Manuscript

A second important source is a German manuscript by an unknown copyist housed in the library of the Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels.\(^74\) The manuscript can be roughly dated to the early eighteenth century from the various composers featured (see Figure 2.10 below), although no date is specified. There are fifty-four sonatas contained within the volume, including Handel's F major oboe sonata HWV 363a and the C minor oboe sonata HWV 366. Two other sonatas (both for transverse flute) from this source bear Handel's name, but are inauthentic.\(^75\) One of these is in D major and made up of movements which have since been attributed to Corelli and Albinoni. The other is in G major and has been described as 'unstylistic' and 'barely competent'.\(^76\) However, the manuscript contains another flute sonata in D major, attributed to 'Sr. Weisse' (the lutenist Johann Sigismund Weiss), which was identified as a Handel sonata by Lasocki and Best in 1981 and is now accepted as HWV 378.\(^77\) The Brussels manuscript is the only known copy of the work and is in the hand of an unknown copyist, but it must be attributed to Handel for reasons which will be explored later.

\(^74\) Shelfmark Litt. XY 15.115.

\(^75\) Best, 'Handel's chamber music', p. 481.

\(^76\) Ibid, p. 481; David Lasocki and Terence Best, 'A New Flute Sonata by Handel', Early Music, 9/3 (July 1981), p. 309. Despite its deficiencies, the G major sonata was published as a work by Handel in 1980 by Reinhold Kubik.

\(^77\) See Lasocki and Best, 'A New Flute Sonata by Handel' for more information.
Guy Oldham

Another eighteenth-century manuscript, previously identified in some articles as belonging to an anonymous collector, belongs to the private collection of Guy Oldham (London). Written in an unknown hand, it contains (alongside works by J.B. Grano and an as-yet unidentified composer) copies of three Handel sonatas for recorder, HWV 369, 365 and 367a, and one for flute, HWV 363b. The Handel recorder sonatas in this volume seem to derive from the same source as the Manchester manuscript, i.e. an earlier source than the

79 Ibid., p. 77.
autograph fair copies, and it is similarly dated 1730-1732. This is the only manuscript copy of HWV 363b, in G major for the flute (as published by Walsh). The other known manuscript copies, including the Manchester Manuscript, present the work as HWV 363a in F major (for the oboe), which, even in the absence of an autograph, is thought to be its original form.

**Bodleian Library**

A manuscript volume in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dating from c.1725, contains a copy of the F major oboe sonata HWV 363a. The volume is the work of many different copyists, and contains a variety of vocal and instrumental pieces including music from many of Handel's operas and twelve of his cantatas as well as music by other composers including Vivaldi, Pepusch and Purcell.

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80 Ibid., p. 77.

81 GB Ob Tenbury 1131.

Figure 2.11: The Sixteen Authentic Solo Sonatas and their Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Instrument&lt;sup&gt;83&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Auto.</th>
<th>‘Roger’</th>
<th>Walsh</th>
<th>Mp</th>
<th>GO</th>
<th>Bc</th>
<th>Ob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>oboe</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>(violin)</td>
<td>G major</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359a</td>
<td>(violin)</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>(as HWV 359b)</td>
<td>(as HWV 359b)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>recorder</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>recorder</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>Lbl</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363a</td>
<td>(oboe)</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(as HWV 363b)</td>
<td>(as HWV 363b)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(as HWV 363b)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364a</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>oboe</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367a</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>(as HWV 367b)</td>
<td>(as HWV 367b)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>recorder</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Lbl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>(flute)</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>flute</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>Lbl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bc – Brussels manuscript  
Cfm – Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge  
GO – Guy Oldham collection  
Lbl – British Library  
Mp – Manchester manuscript  
Ob – Bodleian Library, Oxford

<sup>83</sup> Instruments in brackets indicate that the instrumentation is not specified in the autograph, if extant, or that there is no autograph.
Later Collected Editions of Handel’s Solo Sonatas

Arnold (c.1793)

Samuel Arnold published the twelve solo sonatas from the ‘Roger’ edition in volumes 139 and 140 of his (never completed) Handel edition. The ‘Roger’ edition, to which Arnold ascribed the date 1724, appears to have been his only source.84

Chrysander’s Händelgesellschaft (1879) and ‘Opus 1’

The solo sonatas are often referred to as Handel’s Opus 1, although Handel himself never used the term. Neither the ‘Roger’ nor the Walsh edition was ever published under the title Opus 1, but reference can be found to ‘Twelve Solo’s [sic] for a Violin, German Flute or Harpsichord. Opera Prima’ in a Walsh advertisement of 1734.85 However, this advert postdated the publication of Handel’s Opus 2 and 3, which were so designated (by Walsh) in print. There is no evidence that the solo sonatas were ever collectively known as Opus 1 until Chrysander’s collected edition of 1879, the Händelgesellschaft, which included the volume popularly referred to as ‘Handel’s 15 Solos Opus 1’ (see Figure 2.12 below).

84 Best, ‘Handel’s chamber music’, p. 483.

85 The Craftsman, 7 December 1734. Cited in Deutsch, A Documentary Biography, p. 376.
It can be seen from Chrysander’s note on this page that the ‘Roger’ edition was still thought to be genuine, and, like Arnold, dates it c.1724.
In addition to the ten authentic sonatas published in ‘Roger’ and Walsh, plus the two spurious sonatas from each, Chrysander’s Opus 1 includes two other genuine sonatas not published during Handel’s lifetime, and so the volume actually contains sixteen sonatas. The sonatas published for the first time by Chrysander are the E minor flute sonata HWV 379 (c.1728), and the D major violin sonata HWV 371, not written until c.1749-51 - twenty years after the publication of Walsh’s retrospective Opera Prima. Thus the term Opus 1 is both inauthentic and confusing as a label for the solo sonatas.

Figure 2.13: Contents of Chrysander’s ‘XV Solos’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chrysander</th>
<th>'Roger'</th>
<th>Walsh</th>
<th>HWV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 1\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 1\textsuperscript{b}</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>359b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 2</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 3</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 4</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 5</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>363b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 6</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>364a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 7</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 8</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 9</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>367b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 11</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 14</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 15</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{87} Chrysander numbered HWV 379 and HWV 359b as 1a and 1b respectively, due to the similarity of their first movements. These movements are compared in Chapter 7, pp. 253-61.
The Hallische Händel-Ausgabe

The Hallische Händel-Ausgabe (HHA) was begun in 1955 to replace Chrysander’s Händelgesellschaft. However, the first few volumes did not consult the primary sources and appeared to be little more than a reprint of the Händelgesellschaft. Following a scathing attack on the edition led by Thurston Dart, from 1958 (after six volumes had already been issued) the editors agreed to publish the forthcoming volumes as critical scholarly editions. However, the quality of these depended largely upon the editor of each volume. This lack of continuity caused much disquiet amongst Handel scholars, particularly in Britain and America, and in the 1980s the editors agreed to appoint a new editorial board which included British and American scholars. Under the guidance of the new editor, Berndt Baselt, the quality and consistency of the HHA improved immeasurably and the newer editions are both critical and reliable.

Unfortunately, the solo sonatas suffered from being amongst the first volumes to be published. Elf Sonaten für Flöte und bezifferten Bass (1955) and Sechs Sonaten für Violine und bezifferten Bass (1955) both received heavy criticism from Dart in his 1956 review of the HHA, mainly for relying on Chrysander’s

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90 Ibid., pp. 639-640.
text rather than consulting the available autographs or even the ‘Roger’ and Walsh editions. 91

**HHA Volume IV/3: Elf Sonaten für Flöte und bezifferten Bass (1955)**

Volume IV/3 of the HHA, *Elf Sonaten für Flöte und bezifferten Bass*, was incorrectly titled. It included the four fair copy sonatas for recorder, and another three sonatas, transposed for the flute by Walsh, which Handel had originally intended for violin, oboe and recorder. It also contained the three spurious sonatas for flute originally published by Walsh and Hare, which appear under the misleading title ‘Hallenser’ sonatas. Thus only one sonata in this volume of eleven was actually composed by Handel for the flute, HWV 379 in E minor (HWV 378 in D major was not discovered until 1981, hence its absence from this volume). The fair copy recorder sonatas were based on Chrysander’s text (which was in turn based on Walsh’s edition) rather than the autographs, and so contained ideas that Handel later revised.

**Figure 2.14: Contents of HHA Volume IV/3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Opus’ no.</th>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 1a</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 1b</td>
<td>359b</td>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>Walsh transposition of HWV 359a in D minor for violin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 2</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>Recorder</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op. 1 No. 4</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>Recorder</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Op. 1 No. 5 | 363b | Flute | G major | Walsh transposition of HWV 363a in F major for oboe (autograph lost) |
| Op. 1 No. 7 | 365 | Recorder | C major |
| Op. 1 No. 9 | 367b | Flute | B minor | Walsh transposition of HWV 367a in D minor |
| Op. 1 No. 11 | 369 | Recorder | F major |
| | 374 | Flute | A minor | Spurious (Hallenser) |
| | 375 | Flute | E minor | Spurious (Hallenser) |
| | 376 | Flute | B minor | Spurious (Hallenser) |

The editor of the volume, Hans-Peter Schmitz, reveals in the Vorwort that he examined the autographs of ‘Sonatas I and IV’ (HWV 379 and 362), housed at that time in the British Museum, but presumably he did not consult the autograph manuscripts held at the Fitzwilliam Museum. Elf Sonaten did not include the recorder sonatas HWV 377 in B flat major and HWV 367a in D minor, even though movements from both had been published in an edition by Thurston Dart some seven years previously. Schmitz published the latter work in B minor for the flute, after Chrysander and Walsh, and was promptly lambasted by Dart, who already suspected that this sonata was originally

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92 Royal Music Library collection. The two sonatas follow each other in Lbl RM 20. g. 13.

93 Schmitz had seen the autograph of HWV 362 and declared that it contained ‘no noteworthy differences’ from Chrysander. However, some of the autographs, for example HWV 369, have markedly different readings from the early printed editions.

94 Thurston Dart, G. F. Handel, Fitzwilliam Sonatas (London: Schott, 1948). HWV 377 was published more or less correctly as ‘Sonata I’, however ‘Sonata II’ is a mish-mash of movements taken from various drafts of HWV 367a and an unrelated minuet, and ‘Sonata III’ consists of the first five movements of HWV 367a.
intended for recorder.\textsuperscript{95} In this 1955 edition of the \textit{Elf Sonaten}, Handel’s sonatas were referred to by their Chrysander Opus numbers as the HWV system was yet to be implemented (see \textit{Händel Werke Verzeichnis} and the \textit{Händel-Handbuch} below).

\textbf{HHA Volume IV/4: Sechs Sonaten für Violine und bezifferten Bass (1955)}

Of the six violin sonatas contained within this volume, only two are now accepted to be by Handel. The two authentic sonatas, HWV 361 and 371, were taken from Chrysander by the editor, Johann Philipp Hinnenthal, who mistakenly stated that only one of these works (HWV 371) survives in autograph, when, in fact, they both do.\textsuperscript{96} The other four works contained within \textit{Sechs Sonaten} are the spurious examples from the ‘Roger’ and Walsh prints, two from each.

\textbf{Figure 2. 15: Contents of HHA Volume IV/4}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘Opus’ no.</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Op.1 No.3</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>361</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op.1 No.10</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>Spurious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op.1 No.12</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>Spurious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op.1 No.13</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>371</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op.1 No.14</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>Spurious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op.1 No.15</td>
<td>E major</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>Spurious</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{96} Johann Philipp Hinnenthal, \textit{Hallische Händel-Ausgabe. Serie 4, Band 4, Instrumentalmusik.}

As Hinnenthal based his edition on Chrysander rather than consulting the autographs, the volume does not include the authentic violin sonatas HWV 359a and HWV 364a which Chrysander mistakenly attributed to flute and oboe respectively, after Walsh. Neither does the volume include the sonata HWV 358 in G major, which is now thought to have been intended for the violin. The autographs of these three sonatas are, and were, to be found in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, along with the autograph of HWV 361 (of which Hinnenthal seems to have been unaware). It was not until the 1970s that manuscripts from the Fitzwilliam Museum were examined and published by Handel scholars, although a catalogue detailing the available autographs had been printed in 1893.97

**Händel Werke Verzeichnis and the Händel-Handbuch**

In 1979 a preliminary list of HWV numbers was published in the *Händel-Jahrbuch* by Bernd Baselt, who was also preparing the first volume of his thematic catalogue, the *Händel-Handbuch*, to be published in the same year. Baselt divided Handel’s works by genre, arranged them chronologically within each genre, and by applying an HWV number to each work devised a system of reference which avoided the need for confusing and historically incorrect terms such as Opus 1. The instrumental works appear in Volume 3 of the *Händel-Handbuch*, published in 1986: just late enough to include important new research concerning the solo sonatas, for example the discovery in 1981 of the flute sonata in D major HWV 378, and, crucially for a chronological

catalogue, the paper dating of the autographs carried out by Burrows and Ronish. 98

However, the ordering of the HWV numbers is not entirely chronological by date of composition. The first HWV numbers allocated to the solo sonatas, HWV 357 and 358, are given to works for oboe and violin that Handel wrote during his time in Italy or shortly after. Following these are the twelve sonatas that were published in the ‘more Corect’ Walsh print (c.1731-32, although the sonatas were composed several years prior to this c.1712-28). The original versions of HWV 359, 363, 364 and 367 are given the same HWV number as their published counterparts, where the original work is, for example, HWV 359a and the Walsh version HWV 359b. The two spurious sonatas from the Walsh edition are also included, and these sixteen sonatas are given the numbers HWV 359 – 370. These sonatas are numbered in the order in which they appear in the Walsh print rather than chronologically in order of composition; so, for example, the C major recorder sonata HWV 365 (c.1726) comes before the C minor oboe sonata HWV 366 (c.1712).

HWV 371 is Handel’s late violin sonata in D major, which is out of place chronologically as it was not composed until c.1749-51. HWV 372 and 373 are the two spurious sonatas from the ‘Roger’ edition, published c.1730-31. HWV 374-376 are the three spurious flute sonatas from the Walsh and Hare

print c.1730, which the HHA re-published as the Hallenser sonatas. HWV 377 is the recorder sonata in B flat major, which is contemporary with the other recorder sonatas and may even have been the first to be composed. It was not published in Handel’s lifetime. The last two HWV numbers for the solo sonatas are given to the two authentic flute sonatas, HWV 378 (D major) and 379 (E minor). HWV 378 is thought to have been composed c.1707 so should really have been given a number close to HWV 357 and 358. HWV 379 dates from c.1728, so should come before HWV 371, which was the last sonata to be composed.

That Baselt chose to give HWV numbers to the spurious sonatas from the ‘Roger’, Walsh, and Walsh and Hare prints (which had already been published in the HHA) is unfortunate, as this gives the impression of authenticity. It would have been preferable if the spurious sonatas had been listed separately in the Händel-Handbuch as doubtful works, perhaps without HWV numbers: a solution suggested by Best.\(^99\)

**HHA Volume IV/18: Neun Sonaten für ein Soloinstrument und Basso continuo (1982)**

The three oboe sonatas were published in the HHA for the first time in this volume, edited by Best. *Neun Sonaten für ein Soloinstrument und Basso continuo* also contains the three authentic violin sonatas that were not included in *Sechs Sonaten für Violine und Basso continuo*, the two recorder

\(^{99}\) Ibid., p. 66.
sonatas that Schmitz omitted from *Elf Sonaten für Flöte und Basso continuo*
and the newly-discovered D major flute sonata HWV 378.

**Figure 2.16: Contents of HHA Volume IV/18**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>(violin)</td>
<td>G major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364a</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>Previously attributed to the oboe in print</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359a</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>Previously published in E minor for the flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367a</td>
<td>(recorder)</td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>Previously published in B minor for the flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>oboe</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>oboe</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363a</td>
<td>(oboe</td>
<td>F major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>(flute)</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Neuausgaben of the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe: Volumes IV/3 and IV/4**

In 1995, *Elf Sonaten für Flöte und Basso continuo* (IV/3) was revised and reprinted in a new edition, edited by Best. It was perhaps a mistake to retain the format of this volume, as, since its first publication in 1955, the original keys and instrumentation of the three Walsh transpositions for flute had been confirmed, the authenticity of the so-called Hallenser sonatas had been called into question, and one other genuine flute sonata by Handel, HWV 378, had been discovered. The old numbering of the sonatas has been replaced by HWV numbers, although the eleven sonatas are presented in the same order and their pagination is almost identical to the previous edition throughout. The
music itself has been edited so that it is based on the autograph manuscripts where possible, giving a slightly different text for the fair copy recorder sonatas, but the Walsh flute transpositions remain. ‘Hallenser’ has been removed from the sonatas HWV 374, 375 and 376, which now form an Appendix and are marked ‘three sonatas of doubtful authenticity’ on the contents page in the flute score, and in a footnote in the realised continuo part. However, these sonatas carry on from the previous eight in the same typeface and without a break, so it is not immediately apparent that they are spurious. HWV 378 is not printed in this volume, and only brief mention is made of it in the preface, as a source for the third movement of HWV 379.

The Sechs Sonaten für Violine und Basso continuo have also been revised since the 1955 edition (Best, 2001) and now include a scholarly preface and HWV numbers. As with the Elf Sonaten für Flöte und Basso continuo, it is regrettable that the musical content of this volume was not altered to reflect advances in scholarship. However, the order of the sonatas was changed so that the two authentic works (HWV 361 and 371) appear at the beginning of the new edition, before the spurious sonatas taken from ‘Roger’ and Walsh.
To summarise, the twenty-six solo sonatas printed in the HHA encompass:

1. The sonatas that survive in Handel’s autograph.

2. The sonatas that were printed under Handel’s name in his lifetime in the ‘Roger’, Walsh, and Walsh and Hare editions, including transpositions and those now thought to be spurious.

3. Sonatas found in contemporary manuscripts that appear to be genuine, including the presumably original F major oboe sonata HWV 363a and the D major flute sonata HWV 378.

The sonata HWV 364b, indicated by Handel’s incipit for viola da gamba, is not printed in full.
Figure 2. 17: The Twenty-Six Solo Sonatas in the HHA and their sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>HHA</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Inst.</th>
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<th>‘Roger’</th>
<th>Walsh</th>
<th>W&amp;H</th>
<th>Mp</th>
<th>GO</th>
<th>Bc</th>
<th>Ob</th>
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<td>oboe</td>
<td>Cfm</td>
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</table>

Bc – Brussels manuscript  
Cfm – Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge  
GO – Guy Oldham collection  
Lbl – British Library  
Mp – Manchester manuscript  
Ob – Bodleian Library, Oxford  
W&H – Walsh and Hare
Chapter 3

Intended Instrumentation and Movement Types

Instrumental associations were of prime importance in the baroque opera orchestra, where the scoring for particular instruments was often as vital as the action on stage for the portrayal of certain topics or emotions. In contrast, much purely instrumental music was written without particular instrumentation intended. Perhaps the best-known example is Bach’s *Das wohltemperirte Clavier*, which is evidently for a keyboard instrument, although no particular instrument is specified in the title. Similarly, many solo sonatas (a misleading term, since at least two instruments are required in performance) were published without indication of the melody instrument. Sonatas were often published with two or more suggested instruments to choose from, commonly violin or flute. This was most likely a marketing ploy initiated by music publishers, enabling many more copies to be sold. Often, composers themselves intended their music to be versatile, for example by not using the g string of the violin in order that the music would be playable on the flute (whose lowest note was d¹). Telemann’s *Methodische Sonaten* are a good example; even though violin and flute are both given in the title, none of the twelve sonatas descends lower than d¹ enabling them to be played on either instrument.
The early printed editions of Handel’s sonatas each specify three melody instruments on their title pages. The ‘Roger’ edition advertised *SONATES POUR UN TRAVERSIERE UN VIOLON OU HAUTBOIS*, and Walsh’s second edition carried the title *SOLOS For a GERMAN FLUTE a HOBBOY or VIOLIN*. This should not be taken to mean that all the sonatas are playable by all three instruments (although perhaps Walsh intended the titles to read that way to sell more copies), as in both publications the appropriate instrument is named at the foot of each sonata’s first page. By the 1730s, the German flute was by far the most popular and fashionable instrument amongst amateurs, and Walsh did not miss an opportunity to sell Handel’s sonatas to that market. The fact that none of the sonatas was originally for the flute did not trouble Walsh, as he transposed three of them to fit that instrument, and proceeded to advertise the German flute above the other instruments on the title page. It is significant that the recorder, or flauto, is missing from both title pages, despite the fact that each edition contained four fair copy sonatas for the instrument in their unaltered form. Presumably Walsh considered the recorder old-fashioned by this time and could see no financial advantage from its inclusion on the title page, although he did retain the *Flauto Solo* indication at the foot of the four relevant sonatas.

However, the autograph manuscripts of Handel’s solo sonatas do not show any evidence of a generic or transferable approach to melody instruments. Of the fourteen extant autographs, nine have explicit confirmation of the intended
instrument in the composer’s hand. These are HWV 357 and 366 for oboe, HWV 361, 364a and 371 for violin, HWV 360, 362 and 369 for recorder, and HWV 379 for transverse flute.

Of the remaining five, two can be attributed to specific instruments with almost as much certainty. The autograph of HWV 359a, which begins halfway down a page, is only marked Sonata 2 (see Figure 3.1 below). However, as it follows on directly from the autograph of HWV 364a, which is marked Violino Solo, it seems certain that HWV 359a was also intended for the violin. As well as the physical evidence, the music itself also gives an indication of its intended instrument. Most obviously, the range of HWV 359a descends to a below middle c¹, putting it out of the range of recorder, flute and oboe. This leaves the violin as the only possibility.

Figure 3.1: Handel’s autograph of HWV 359a (‘Sonata 2’ fifth stave from top)
The first folio of the autograph of HWV 365 is missing so there is no confirmation of the intended instrument in Handel’s hand (the missing leaf of the autograph contains the whole of the first movement, and the first 66 bars of the second). However, the surviving pages are written in the same neat handwriting and on the same paper as the other fair copy recorder sonatas which have the title *Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo*, suggesting that HWV 365 was also intended for this instrument and perhaps indicating that the four sonatas were written as a set. Contemporary sources ‘Roger’ and Walsh both specify *Flauto Solo* at the bottom of the first page of this sonata, and a copy can also be found in the private collection of Guy Oldham where it has the title *Sonata ii A Flauto e Cembalo*. The sonata is also contained in the Manchester Manuscript, although this source does not specify an instrument for any of the sonatas. With the exception of the missing fourth movement in the ‘Roger’ edition (rectified in Walsh), there are very few differences between the remainder of the autograph and the sources mentioned above, from which the missing text has been reclaimed.

The compass of HWV 365 is g⁰ – d⁳, which is theoretically (just) within the ranges of all four melody instruments. However, by comparing this with the sonatas where Handel has named his chosen instrument, it can be seen that the compass of HWV 365 is most similar to that of the other recorder sonatas.

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(see Figure 3.4 below). This, in addition to the physical evidence, leads to the conclusion that HWV 365 was, indeed, intended for the recorder.

Three further solo sonatas, HWV 358, 367a and 377, survive in Handel's autograph with no title or written indication of instrumentation. These autographs give fewer physical clues to their instrumentation than HWV 359a and 365. However, by studying their musical characteristics, scholars have been able to suggest which melody instruments Handel intended.

HWV 358 is thought to have been written during Handel's time in Italy,² and is likely to have been intended for the violin. The sonata can certainly be played on the violin although the range is not consistent with the other four, later, sonatas for that instrument which descend to a or b below middle c¹, whereas HWV 358 has g¹ as its lowest note: a whole octave above the lowest note of the violin. The implied avoidance of f' sharp in the penultimate bar of the first movement (see Figure 3.2 below) may suggest either that g¹ was the lowest note possible on the instrument (as on the violino piccolo),³ or that f¹ sharp was not a viable note (as on many treble recorders).⁴

² Terence Best, Preface to Händel, Complete Works for Violin and Basso continuo (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), p. XIII.
³ Ibid., p. XIII.
⁴ See Chapter 6, pp. 201-2.
As several of the recorder sonatas have $g^1$ as their lowest note, there has been speculation that HWV 358 may have been conceived for the recorder.\textsuperscript{5} The compass of HWV 358 is too high to be consistent with Handel’s writing for flute or oboe, but, with the exception of the three extreme high notes in the penultimate bar of the last movement (see Figure 3.3 below), the sonata would fit the recorder. These three notes have been the topic of much discussion amongst scholars - not only are they extremely high, but they do not appear to fit with the harmony. They must have been deliberate, as Handel changed clef to accommodate them, but Best has suggested that they were intended to sound a tone lower and that Handel simply made a mistake with the ledger lines.\textsuperscript{6}

However, the style of writing makes it unlikely that this sonata was intended for any woodwind instrument. The continuous semiquavers in the first movement raise impracticalities regarding breathing, and none of Handel’s recognised sonatas for woodwind instruments has movements comparable to

\textsuperscript{5} The sonata was published in an edition for recorder by Klaus Hofmann (Hänssler, 1974).

\textsuperscript{6} Best, Preface to Händel, Complete Works for Violin, p. XIII.
this. In addition, the treatment of the note e\textsuperscript{3} in HWV 358 is uncharacteristic of Handel’s writing for the recorder,\textsuperscript{7} and the sharp key of G major is not one that Handel chose for any of his sonatas for that instrument.

Figure 3. 3: HWV 358/iii (Allegro)

The ranges of HWV 367a and 377 are consistent with those of the other four recorder sonatas, although Donald Burrows has argued that HWV 367a fits the violin better than the recorder.\textsuperscript{8} This is not a view shared by other scholars or the present author, mainly because its range is narrow, an octave and a sixth (f\textsuperscript{1} – d\textsuperscript{3}), and its tessitura not low enough to be consistent with the majority of Handel’s violin sonatas. The sonata lies too high to be played comfortably on the oboe, and the fact that Walsh chose to transpose the sonata into B minor for the flute suggests that the original was intended for an instrument other than the flute. The compass is in fact identical to the fair copy recorder sonata HWV 369 and fits very comfortably on the instrument.

\textsuperscript{7} See Chapter 6, pp. 212-15.

\textsuperscript{8} Best, Preface to HHA: Elf Sonaten für Flöte, p. XII (original source not given).
The range of HWV 377 is an octave and a seventh, from f¹ to e³ flat, which is most similar to that of the other recorder sonatas. This compass is uncharacteristically high for the oboe, and the key, B flat major, is not a strong one for the transverse flute. The sonata is playable on the violin, but again the range (f¹ – e³ flat) stops short of the lower reaches of the instrument. Handel also reused the third movement of HWV 377 as the final movement of the violin sonata in A major HWV 361, a transposition which suggests that the original B flat major version was not intended for the violin.

Two solo sonatas now accepted to be authentic do not exist in Handel’s autograph. HWV 363a and 378 both appear in the Brussels manuscript (which is the only source for the latter) with titles which specify their intended melody instruments: oboe and flute respectively. The two oboe sonatas which exist in autograph (HWV 357 and 366) have identical ranges from d¹ to b² flat. HWV 363a adds a tone either side of this range, spanning two octaves from c¹ to c³. This is the commonly used range of the baroque oboe, and is close enough to the range of the other oboe sonatas for the attribution to be credible. The two sonatas for transverse flute demonstrate identical ranges, each covering two octaves from d¹ to d³. Although two is a very small sample size, it is reassuring to note that HWV 378 has the same compass as the autograph sonata for transverse flute HWV 379.

When the ranges of the solo sonatas are compared, they fall into distinct categories as seen in Figure 3. 4 below. This supports the theory that Handel intended each sonata for a specific instrument. Handel’s writing for each
woodwind instrument in the solo sonatas spans a range of two octaves. In the case of the flute, this is achieved within each individual sonata as each has a two-octave range from $d^1$ to $d^3$. The oboe sonatas have an overall range of $c^1$ to $c^3$. None of the recorder sonatas taken in isolation has a range of two octaves; their range varies from an octave and a fifth to an octave and a seventh. However, over the course of all six recorder sonatas, the two-octave range of the instrument (from $f^1$ to $f^3$) is used. The tessitura is significantly different for each woodwind instrument, as the two-octave range in each case uses the lowest note of the instrument as its starting point. The violin sonatas (with the exception of HWV 358) all have a range of more than two octaves and make use of the g string (with the lowest note of either a or b), thus rendering them unplayable by any of the upper woodwind instruments without significant alteration. It is notable that Handel did not use g, the lowest note of the violin, in any of his solo sonatas.

Figure 3.4: Overall range of notes in Handel’s sonatas for each instrument

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recorder</td>
<td>g a b c' d' e' f' g' a' b' c'' d'' e'' f'' g'' a'' b'' c''' d''' e''' f'''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>g a b c' d' e' f' g' a' b' c'' d'' e'' f'' g'' a'' b'' c''' d''' e''' f'''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>g a b c' d' e' f' g' a' b' c'' d'' e'' f'' g'' a'' b'' c''' d''' e''' f'''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin$^9$</td>
<td>g a b c' d' e' f' g' a' b' c'' d'' e'' f'' g'' a'' b'' c''' d''' e''' f'''</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^9$ Not including the three highest notes in the penultimate bar of HWV 358/iii.
The Basso Continuo

The first printed edition of Handel’s solo sonatas, with the fake Roger title page, was entitled 12 SONATES POUR UN TRAVERSIERE UN VIOLON OU HAUTBOIS Con Basso Continuo Composées par G. F. HANDEL. The term basso continuo does not imply any particular instrument, but refers to a bass line that could be played by one or more instruments. As the bass line is figured, it is likely that a keyboard instrument, normally a harpsichord, was required. In accordance with baroque practice, sometimes a bowed string instrument such as a cello, bass viol, or bass violin would have been used in addition to a keyboard instrument to double the bass line.

The second printed edition of Handel’s sonatas, openly attributed to Walsh, has a more descriptive but less helpful title: SOLOS For a GERMAN FLUTE a Hoboy or Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin Compos’d by Mr. Handel. The identification of the harpsichord and bowed string instrument is useful, although the term bass violin may also have been employed to mean the violoncello (the newer and more standardised bass instrument of the violin family, introduced to England during the early 1700s) or the bass viol, which was still sometimes played in London in the 1720s and 30s. Handel wrote for the viola da gamba in his opera Giulio Cesare HWV 17 (1724), and an incipit of the G minor violin sonata HWV 364 indicates a transposition of the work ‘per la viola da gamba’. Bass violin was often abbreviated to bass viol., which led to confusion between the two instruments.
Walsh’s specification of harpsichord or bass violin may be significant. Whilst this does not reflect Handel’s own markings, it may be an indicator of contemporary performance practice. Using the harpsichord alone as a continuo instrument was a perfectly viable option, as was using a harpsichord and a bowed string instrument in combination. Using a bowed string instrument alone to provide accompaniment seems also to have been a possibility, and the wording of many early eighteenth-century sonata publications (most famously Corelli’s *Sonate a violino e violine o cimbalo* Op.5, and also, for example, Benedetto Marcello’s *Suonate a flauto solo con il suo basso continuo per violoncello o cembalo* Op. 2) seemed to suggest that option. Chordal accompaniment must have been intended, as all the Handel sonatas in Walsh’s publication are figured (including the A major violin sonata HWV 361, which has no figures in Handel’s autograph). The bass viol was certainly suited to this kind of accompaniment with its six or seven strings and gently curved bridge, and the bass violin had also been used in this way. However, the cello was rapidly gaining popularity in England by the 1720s, and would also have been a good choice if a string instrument alone was indeed used to accompany the solo line in Handel’s sonatas.\(^\text{10}\)

Five of Handel’s autograph sonatas give some indication of the accompanying instrument(s) in the title. The three fair copy recorder sonatas whose first leaves survive in autograph all give the title *Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo*, and it

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\(^{10}\) For more information about the techniques that may have been used see David Watkin, ‘Corelli’s Op. 5 sonatas: ‘Violino e violone o cimbalo’?’, *Early Music* 24/4 (November 1996), pp. 645-663.
is reasonable to assume that this was also the inscription for HWV 365. This implies that a bowed string instrument was not envisaged or required for these sonatas. There are several possible reasons for this. First, if the fair copy sonatas were written as pieces for instruction in figured bass, to be used in lessons, a string player may not have been available. Second, Handel may have written the sonatas in order to provide pupils at the end of their course in figured bass with the opportunity to improvise a fairly complex accompaniment, perhaps almost an obligato part, which needed freedom from a doubling instrument. Third, strengthening the bass line could have easily overwhelmed the soft-toned recorder, which was better able to project over harpsichord alone. Fourth, some passages in the music are very characteristic of keyboard figuration but perhaps less practicable for a bowed string instrument. Several passages of this nature can be found in the fair copy recorder sonatas, for example the fast-moving bass line in the second movement of HWV 362 (see Figure 3. 5 below).

**Figure 3. 5: HWV 362/ii (Allegro)**
The later violin sonata HWV 371 is similarly titled *Sonata a Violino Solo e Cembalo di G. F. Handel*. Unlike the recorder, the violin could easily project its sound over a harpsichord and a bass string instrument, so in this instance perhaps Handel felt that the music itself was more suited to keyboard alone. The second and final movements of this sonata have an arpeggiated bass line in several sections which may have been awkward at speed in terms of fingering on a bass string instrument (see Figure 3.6 below).

**Figure 3.6: HWV 371/ii (Allegro)**

![Piano sheet music](image)

The one remaining autograph sonata which includes an accompaniment indication in the title is HWV 379, entitled *Sonata a Travers. e Basso*. This sonata was compiled in haste, so Handel may have used this generic ‘Basso’ without specific intention, or it could be that he felt that the transverse flute was a more powerful instrument than the recorder and would be better able to project over a continuo team. It is curious that HWV 379 is marked ‘e Basso’, as two complete movements are borrowed from the *Sonata a Flauto e*
Cembalo HWV 360. This implies that it was the choice of solo instrument rather than any aspect of the music (for these two movements at least) which accounted for the different marking, if indeed it was a conscious choice. Interestingly, Handel avoided writing B♭ in the penultimate bar of the second movement of HWV 379 by not having the octave leap in the bass which was present in HWV 360. This could be for one (or more) of three reasons: either the keyboard Handel was writing for only descended as far as C; or he intended the bass line to be doubled by a cello rather than a bass violin (the latter sometimes had its lowest string tuned to B♭ flat); or he simply recomposed the bass line for the sake of it, as he often did when reusing music from an earlier composition (see Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8 below).

Figure 3.7: HWV 360/ii (Andante)

Figure 3.8: HWV 379/ii (Andante)
Use of Key in Handel’s Solo Sonatas

Handel’s use of key in the sixteen authentic solo sonatas is significant, and shows a keen awareness of the instruments for which he wrote. Baroque composers attached a great deal of importance to the use of keys, each thought to have their own particular characteristics suitable for arousing specific passions. The interpretation of key characteristics by late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century music theorists was far from simplistic, therefore minors were not always perceived as sad and majors happy. For example, G minor ‘is filled with sweetness & tenderness’ according to Charles Masson, whereas F major was described as ‘Furious and quick-tempered’ by Charpentier. Keys with sharps were considered by many to be bright and strong, whereas keys with flats were associated with sombreness. Masson made a distinction between the sharp major keys G and D which he considered ‘brilliant’ and ‘bright’ respectively, and the flat major key F, tinged with ‘gravity’. Charpentier evidently shared this view, describing G major as ‘sweetly joyful’, but E flat major as ‘cruel and hard’.

11 For example Jean Rousseau (Method Claire, 1691), Marc-Antoine Charpentier (Règles de Composition, c.1692), Charles Masson (Nouveau traité, 1697), Johann Mattheson (Das neu- eröffnete Orchestre, 1713, Exemplarische Organisten-Probe, 1719, Gross General-Bass-Schule, 1731), and Jean-Philippe Rameau (Traité de l’harmonie, 1722).


13 Ibid., p. 35.

14 Ibid., p. 37.

15 Ibid., p. 35.
flat and sharp keys was used successfully for characterisation in Handel’s operas. In *Rodelinda* HWV 19, for example, ‘victims of love and politics tend to express their agony in sharp keys, whereas the tyrant reveals his power and apparent control in flat keys’.\(^{16}\) A detailed study of Handel’s use of key by Hugo Leichtentritt noted that Handel ‘employs keys with many sharps to symbolize the longing for heavenly repose and consolation’, and described these keys (for example E major, G sharp minor, C sharp minor) as ‘transcendental’. Interestingly, he omits D major, often remarked upon elsewhere as a favourite key of Handel’s, from his study entirely. Flat keys are commonly used by Handel to express emotions such as grief or anguish. Many flat keys are described by Leichtentritt as ‘pale and sombre’, and G minor is favoured for ‘passionate outbursts of jealous fury’.\(^ {17}\)

Another point of general agreement is that the further away from C major the key signature, the more unflattering the description of the key. C major was often considered the pure or natural scale and was therefore made the most in tune, resulting in keys distant from C major sounding particularly strident when played on a keyboard instrument.\(^ {18}\) Leichtentritt describes the neutral C major in Handel’s works as the ‘*Naturtonart*: it suggests elementary power, military discipline, frankness, manly vigor [sic], etc’.\(^ {19}\) The distinctive sound of


\(^{19}\) Leichtentritt, ‘Handel’s Harmonic Art’, p. 212.
keys with many sharps or flats was caused primarily by the tuning of instruments, particularly the temperament used for keyboard instruments, which had a fixed scale, and to a lesser extent woodwind instruments, whose players could not adjust their intonation quite as readily as string players. The resulting aural effects prompted composers to use the more clamorous keys to express powerful emotions. Handel’s use of keys far from C major in his vocal works shows an increased affect in both sharp and flat directions, as well as a concordance with the sharp-flat principle. The flat key of F minor in Handel’s music is ‘generally chosen to express profound sadness’, and is often used for scenes of death in the operas (see Chapter 7, pages 246-7 for the association of this key with the flute in Riccardo Primo).

Contrary to the views of most theorists at the time, the German theorist Johann Mattheson believed it was the key-note, or tonic, that gave each key its distinctive sound. He argued that the differences in the size of the semitones in a tempered scale were so small as to be almost imperceptible, and that absolute pitch was easier to ascertain. This is rather unlikely given the chaotic situation with regard to pitch in Europe at this time; as pitch varied so widely even on a local level, any idea of absolute pitch is impractical. The importance that Mattheson attached to the key-note pitch may have been greatly influenced by the properties of instruments, particularly string instruments. His descriptions of A major as ‘gripping’ and ‘brilliant’ and E

20 A term coined by Steblin in A History of Key Characteristics.


22 Steblin, A History of Key Characteristics, pp. 54-55.
major as ‘biting’, ‘severing’ and ‘penetrating’ perhaps refer to the violinistic nature of these keys, especially A major with its open strings, and the particular resonance of the E string. Similarly, the contextual associations of an instrument could be so strong that they became linked to the instrument’s preferred key. Trumpets were associated with military fanfares and were very often built in D major, which almost certainly led to Charpentier’s description of the key as ‘joyful and very militant’ and Mattheson’s as ‘noisy, joyful, warlike, and rousing’. Deryck Cooke describes D major as ‘the habitual trumpet-and-drum ‘glory’ key’ of Handel and Bach, amongst others, giving Handel’s oratorios and the D major Gloria, Credo, and Sanctus from Bach’s Mass in B minor as examples. However, softer instruments could override the strong association of D major with trumpets and drums: ‘nobody will deny that when a flute is used instead of a trumpet and a violin instead of kettle-drums, even this hard key [D major] can give a special disposition to delicate things’. These contrasting affects can be seen in Handel’s use of D major for the ‘trumpet and drum’ movements in Messiah, but also the delicate aria ‘Sweet bird’ from L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato HWV 55 (1740).

Handel’s two authentic flute sonatas are both in sharp keys which sound well on the instrument, E minor and D major (the home key of the baroque flute). The three oboe sonatas are in flat keys (F major, B flat major and C minor),

23 Ibid., p. 50
24 Ibid., p. 35.
25 Ibid., p. 50.
27 Mattheson in Steblin, A History of Key Characteristics, p. 50.
which are most comfortable on that instrument. The recorder sonatas encompass the neutral keys of C major and its relative A minor, keys with one flat (F major and its relative D minor) and with two flats (B flat major and its relative G minor). Handel's choice of keys is in accordance with those most suited to the recorder, as the instrument's home key is F major. The violin sonatas use both sharp and flat keys; interestingly, the major sonatas are in sharp keys (G major, D major and A major) and the minor sonatas in flat keys (D minor and G minor). All Handel's authentic violin sonatas are written in keys which have open strings for the tonic and dominant, and as Handel was a violinist himself, he would have been aware that these were the best keys for resonance on the instrument. Handel did not use a key signature of more than three sharps or flats for any of his solo sonatas, although, typically for the period, the C minor oboe sonata HWV 366 was written with only two flats in the key signature and the A flats are added as accidentals (see Figure 3.9 below).

When Handel transposed a sonata from one instrument to another, the key he chose for the new version did not usually have the same associations as the original. Key colour was extremely important to Handel in his dramatic vocal works, and he chose his tonalities with care. In his solo sonatas, choosing a suitable key for the instrument was Handel's first priority. This can be seen in his transcriptions of violin works for the recorder or flute. HWV 359a in D minor, a flat key, was transposed into E minor for the flute, a sharp key. The
violin Allegro in C minor HWV 408, another flat key, was transposed into the neutral A minor for the recorder.\textsuperscript{28}

**Figure 3. 9: Use of Key in Handel’s Solo Sonatas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HWV</th>
<th>Number of flats</th>
<th>Number of sharps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recorder</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>g minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flute</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Oboe</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>B flat major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>c minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363a</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Violin</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364a</td>
<td>g minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{28} See Chapter 6, pp. 207-9.
All of Handel's authentic solo sonatas have at least one movement in a
different key to the tonic. In the case of the three-movement sonatas it is the
central slow movement that is in a different key, either the relative minor or
relative major. The four-movement sonatas each have two slow movements
and the second of these (the third movement of each sonata) is always in a
different key, either the relative minor/major or the sub-mediant major. The
central slow movements of the five-movement sonatas are in the relative
minor/major. The seven-movement sonata HWV 367a (assuming Handel
intended a seven-movement structure – see pages 109-114 below) is the only
sonata with more than one movement in a key other than the tonic, and,
exceptionally, one of these movements is a fast one.

Phrygian Cadences

All of Handel's solo sonatas contain at least one Phrygian (or otherwise
imperfect) cadence; the majority contain two, and almost every slow
movement ends this way. The Phrygian cadence consists of a 7–6
suspension, followed by a descending semitone in the bass to end on the
dominant chord of the movement that follows (see Figure 3. 10 below).

Figure 3. 10: Phrygian cadence
Quantz refers to this as a ‘half cadence’. At this point in the music, the performer would be expected to improvise a short decoration, which could be as simple as a trill. Some of Handel’s sonatas give more guidance than others about the direction the performer should take, but even the simplest gives more information than the example above. The melody line often rises to the fourth above the suspended seventh before descending to the trill, which may or may not be marked (see Figure 3.11 below). Quantz describes this as the way to make a short embellishment: ‘If it is to be short, you may touch only the upper fourth … and from there move to the close’. The *adagio* marking implies a slowing down in the bass, to give the melody instrument time to add further embellishment at this point. Sometimes, Handel added a small amount of decoration himself (see Figure 3.12 below), although performers would not necessarily follow the suggestion of the composer at the cadence, perhaps preferring to improvise.

Figure 3.11: HWV 364/i (Larghetto)


30 Ibid., p. 193.

31 See Chapter 4, Figure 4.13, and Chapter 5, Figure 5.7 for examples of Phrygian cadences as ornamented by the author in the PhD recital.
Figure 3. 12: HWV 362/iii (Adagio)

Movement Types in Handel’s Solo Sonatas

The variety of different movement styles present in Handel’s solo sonatas illustrates the merging of the sonata da chiesa with the sonata da camera. The early eighteenth-century sonata da chiesa typically had four movements: ‘a slow introduction, followed by a movement in fugal style, an expressive slow movement (sometimes merely a short transition) and imitative finale’. 32 The sonata da camera was described as ‘a series of little short pieces named from the dances which may be put to them’. 33 By the 1720s and 30s, the two forms had become more or less entwined, and in 1732 Johann Gottfried


Walther defined the sonata as ‘a serious piece in which adagios and allegros alternate’. ³⁴

**Number of movements**

The number of movements in a sonata varied, but three to five movements was common. Two of Handel’s earliest sonatas, HWV 358 and 357 (c.1707/1710), use a three-movement form (fast-slow-fast). Handel later wrote one other three-movement sonata, HWV 377 (c.1725), which was not published during his lifetime. The reworking of the third movement of HWV 377 into the violin sonata HWV 361, combined with the fact that the only extant copy of the former is a draft version, may suggest that Handel was not sufficiently pleased with to release it for publication. Some consideration may be given to the idea that HWV 377 could have been intended to be a four-movement work. It is the only London sonata to have fewer than four movements. It occupies pages 13-15 of Cfm MS MU 260, where page 12 consists only of blank staves. With the addition of a typical walking quaver bass slow movement to begin, this work would be more consistent with Handel’s other London sonatas.

Nine of Handel’s sixteen solo sonatas have a four-movement structure. These all follow a slow-fast-slow-fast pattern with the exception of HWV 360, which has a slow second movement. The four-movement sonata is represented

throughout Handel’s career, with examples from his time in Italy c.1707, his early years in London during the 1710s, his most prolific sonata period in the mid-1720s, and his lone final sonata HWV 371, c.1750.

Three of Handel’s solo sonatas have five movements. HWV 365 and HWV 363a are very similar in their structure, both consisting of a slow walking quaver bass first movement, a fast fugal second movement, a slow movement which is shared by the two sonatas (although in different keys), a fast fourth movement in a dance form (a bourée in HWV 363a, a gavotte in HWV 365), and a minuet as the fifth and final movement. They follow the slow-fast-slow-fast pattern of Handel’s four movement sonatas, but have an additional fast dance movement at the end. HWV 379 also has five movements, but does not follow the same pattern. Instead, it has a slow second movement, which is transposed from HWV 360.

The sonata with the most movements is HWV 367a, which has seven movements, although some scholars have argued that the final two do not belong. Uniquely amongst Handel’s recorder sonatas, the autograph manuscripts of HWV 367a (one complete, and one earlier draft of movements vi and vii) represent an earlier version of the sonata than the text of the other sources. The autographs, which do not specify the intended melody instrument, are in D minor. The Manchester manuscript (which has no indication of instrument for any of the sonatas) also contains this work in D minor, as does the contemporary manuscript in the private collection of Guy Oldham which gives the title Sonata iii a Flauto e Cembalo. The manuscript
copy in Manchester and the early prints have ‘important differences [from the autograph], especially in the sixth movement, which must be seen as improvements’. The Manchester manuscript has the same version of this movement as the printed editions, so presumably Walsh and S2 (the Manchester manuscript copyist) had access to the same source.

The only printed version of HWV 367 available during Handel’s lifetime was in B minor for the transverse flute, published and presumably transposed by Walsh. The fact that Walsh chose to transpose down a third for the transverse flute also suggests that the original was for recorder, as this was the usual interval of transposition between the two instruments at the time (the instruments’ lowest notes are a third apart). Walsh’s motive must have been to capitalise on the popularity of the transverse flute, and perhaps it is no coincidence that the sonatas he transposed and allocated to the flute were the ones with no explicit indication of instrument in Handel’s surviving

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36 Several of Telemann’s duets for two recorders, transverse flutes or violas da gamba from der Getreue Musikmeister demonstrate the way in which instruments could share music. Each instrument has its own clef and key signature at the beginning, enabling the music to be played in a different key by each pair of like instruments. In this example, the recorders would play in B flat major and the transverse flutes in G major – a third apart.
autographs.\textsuperscript{37} The sonata was published in ‘Roger’ without its sixth movement, which was (mistakenly?) printed as the third movement of HWV 363b. This was rectified in Walsh, which included all seven movements.

Some scholars and performers have questioned whether the sixth and seventh movements of this sonata belong: none of the other sonatas has as many movements, and the emphatic close of the fifth movement \textit{alla breve} certainly makes a very satisfactory ending to the work. Best writes that the sonata ‘may have begun life with only five [movements]’,\textsuperscript{38} and this view is supported by the surviving autographs. The complete autograph, written on Cantoni paper, consists of two slightly different varieties. The first five movements (pages 51-58, where page 51 consists only of blank staves) form a 4-leaf unit with 2-stave rastra of 88 mm on one side of the paper and 89 mm on the other. Movements vi and vii (pages 59-60) are on a separate leaf and have 89 mm rastra on both sides.\textsuperscript{39} The difference in paper and the separation of the last two movements suggest that they were completed at a slightly different time. HWV 377 (c.1725) is also written on Cantoni paper with 89mm rastra on both sides,\textsuperscript{40} so perhaps the sixth and seventh movements of

\textsuperscript{37} The relevant sonatas are HWV 359, 367, and 363. The autograph of the latter is lost, so whether or not it had a title is unknown (Best, Preface to \textit{Elf Sonaten für Flöte}, p. IX).

\textsuperscript{38} Terence Best, Preface to \textit{Händel: Complete Sonatas for Recorder and Basso continuo} (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), p. XI.


\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 241.
HWV 367a were composed *before* the other five (although see below), or perhaps they were not originally intended to be part of the sonata at all.

An earlier draft of the sixth and seventh movements is written on a separate sheet, on the same English paper as the fair copy sonatas. This sheet contains a fragment of HWV 362 with the tempo marking and bass figuring of the final version, showing that Handel was still working on movements vi and vii of HWV 367a after he had completed at least one of the fair copy sonatas. The later copy of HWV 367a that the other sources must have had access to is now lost, but as these contemporary sources all have seven movements (with the exception of ‘Roger’, which omitted the sixth movement) it must be assumed that Handel decided to include them.

The final version the sixth movement of Handel’s autograph of HWV 367a has notable similarities to ‘No, piú soffrir non voglio’ (Act I, Scene VI) from *Alessandro* HWV 21, which is composed on the same Cantoni paper. *Alessandro* was completed in April 1726, so it seems likely that Handel was working on the sixth movement of HWV 367a at the same time and using these small motifs in both works (marked with square brackets in Figure 3.13 and Figure 3.14 below). This concordance does not seem to have been previously noted, perhaps as these figures do not appear in the same form in the published versions of the sonata.
Figure 3. 13: HWV 367a/vi (final autograph version) (Andante)

Figure 3. 14: ‘No, più soffrir non voglio’ from Alessandro (Allegro)
Handel must have revised the sixth movement still further after completing the surviving autograph, as the printed editions represent a later version of the work. Handel made heavy alterations to the first line of music, apparently trying to avoid the overuse of ‘Figure x’ as identified by Terence Best.41

Interestingly, there is no tempo marking on either of Handel’s autographs of this movement, although most other sources give andante, presumably taken from a later, revised version. Could it be possible that Handel originally intended this to be a fast movement, given the similarity of the final autograph to ‘No, più soffrir non voglio’, which is marked allegro, and also the similarity of the opening bass lines of the first draft of this movement and the allegro HWV 359a/ii (see Figure 3. 17 and Figure 3. 18 below).

Whilst the physical characteristics of the autographs seem to support the idea that HWV 367a was originally conceived as a five-movement work, the music itself may suggest otherwise. The inclusion of a fast third movement may be an indication that Handel intended the work to extend to more than five movements. Handel's three five-movement sonatas (HWV 363, 365, and 379) all have a slow central third movement. Handel saved the slow movement of HWV 367a until fourth: the central movement in a seven-movement plan. The slow movement is in G minor, the subdominant, which Handel did not use for any of his other slow movements. However, G minor is the relative minor of
the preceding movement, the B flat (submediant) major furioso. This gives the sonata an almost cyclical feel, and HWV 367a is unique amongst Handel’s solo sonatas in that it has more than one movement in a key other than the tonic. This could be another reason to support a seven-movement plan: as the music has ventured further away from the tonic, more than one movement in D minor is needed to re-establish the home key. The large cadence at the end of the fifth movement is very final, and, given the fact that the last two movements are on separate paper, it is easy to conclude that Handel intended the sonata to finish here. However, it was common for baroque sonatas to end, not with a big gesture such as this, but with a dance movement or two.

Several of Handel’s sonatas demonstrate this approach, for example the final two movements of HWV 363 (Bourée anglaise and Menuet) are dances. This is also the case with the five-movement sonata HWV 365, which ends with an A Tempo di Gavotte and a minuet. Similarly, the five-movement sonata HWV 379 ends with a gavotte after the fourth-movement allegro. After the journey away from the tonic through movements three and four of HWV 367a, the fugal nature of the alla breve does not allow both parts to cadence together emphatically in D minor right until the end of the movement. Perhaps Handel felt that two additional movements in the tonic were needed, to balance out the work and re-establish the home key.
Movement Types

Walking Quaver Bass Movements

Twelve of the sixteen sonatas have a walking quaver bass first movement. Movements of this type are characterised by a common-time time signature, and display predominantly quaver motion in the bass. The melody line is usually lyrical in character, usually marked adagio, larghetto, or largo, and often with a sustained (tied and/or dotted) first note (see Figure 3. 19 below). Larghetto is interesting as a tempo marking as it was a relatively new direction in Handel’s time. The term does not appear in Brossard’s *Dictionnaire* of 1703, but Grassineau’s 1740 English translation of the *Dictionnaire* (a work recommended by Handel’s associates Pepusch, Greene and Galliard) includes ‘LARGETTO’ [sic] – ‘a movement something slow, yet a little quicker than largo’. Largo is defined by Grassineau as ‘a slow movement, *i.e.* one degree quicker than grave, and two than adagio’. Movements of this type can be found in Corelli’s solo sonatas Op. 5 (1700), although infrequently, and in Telemann’s *Sonate Metodiche* (1728).

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42 HWV 378 has a 4/4 time signature in the Brussels manuscript (the only source for this sonata).


45 For example IV/iv (Adagio) and XI/i (Prelude/Adagio).

46 For example Sonata 1/i (Adagio) and Sonata 2/i (Adagio).
A slight variation on this movement type can be found in the first movements of HWV 359a and its transposition HWV 379, which have the walking quaver bass but with a more angular melody line. HWV 359a is marked Grave, the only such movement with this direction (see Figure 3. 20 below).
Fugal Movements

Handel’s fugal movements most often occur as a second movement of a four-movement sonata (as traditional in the sonata da chiesa) although they sometimes appear elsewhere.47 Any movements which display significant and extended imitation between the parts have been classed here as fugal, following the definition of fugue found in Grassineau’s 1740 translation of Brossard’s Dictionnaire: ‘FUGUE, is when the different parts of a musical composition follow each other, each repeating what the first had performed’.48 Most begin with the subject entering in the melody followed by the same in the bass, either in canonic form at the octave (or double octave), or at the fourth or fifth (see Figure 3.21 below).

Figure 3.21: HWV 359a/iv (Allegro)

However, three of Handel’s fugal movements begin with the subject in the melody, followed immediately by a countersubject in the bass. Examples beginning in this way can be found in Handel’s exercises in fugue, and are referred to as double fugue by Ledbetter in his edition of Handel’s figured

47 For example HWV 367a/v, HWV 359a/iv, and HWV 379/iv.

bass exercises. \(^{49}\) Handel wrote these exercises around the same time as the A major violin sonata HWV 361 and the C major recorder sonata HWV 365 (one of the fair copy recorder sonatas) – both of which have a second movement beginning as a double fugue (see Figure 3.22 below). The third double fugue in Handel’s solo sonatas belongs to the D major violin sonata HWV 371, composed some twenty-five years later.

\[\text{Figure 3.22: HWV 361/ii (Allegro)}\]

\[\text{Dance Movements}\]

The vast majority of Handel’s solo sonatas contain at least one dance movement. Some of the dance forms that Handel used in his sonatas are instantly recognizable by their titles, but others are given a more vague tempo indication (e.g. allegro). The dances that Handel named include two bourées, both with the title \textit{Bourrée Anglaise}, characterised by their duple meter and crotchet upbeat (see Figure 3.23 below). \(^{50}\)


The third movement of the F major recorder sonata HWV 369 is titled *Alla Siciliana*: ‘a kind of air or dance in triple time $\frac{6}{8}$ [sic], or sometimes $\frac{12}{8}$, played slow’.\footnote{Grassineau, ‘SICILIAN’, *A Musical Dictionary*, p. 224.} The *Siciliana* had pastoral connotations, which are very suitable for the recorder (see Figure 3. 24 below). Several minuets appear, with and without descriptive titles and in a variety of time signatures including $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$ and even $\frac{6}{8}$ (see Figure 3. 25 below). The latter two may show the Italian influence on Handel, as the Italian minuet was often faster in tempo and used the quaver pulse to indicate this.\footnote{Meredith Ellis Little, ‘Minuet’, *New Grove*, Vol. 16, p. 743.} There are three gavottes (only two of which begins on the half bar). One is named and two are not; all are characterised by running quaver movement in either the melody, the bass, or both parts (see Figure 3. 26 below).

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Figure 3. 23: HWV 363a/iv (Bourrée anglaise)
Figure 3. 24: HWV 369/iii (Alla Siciliana)

Figure 3. 25: HWV 367a/vii (A tempo di menuet)

Figure 3. 26: HWV 365/iv (A tempo di Gavotta)
Dances which Handel did not identify by their title include six examples of the Italian giga, none of which are labelled as such but are easily recognisable by their $\frac{12}{8}$ time signatures and characteristic rhythms (see Figure 3. 27 below).

There are also examples of the saraband, a triple time movement with a ‘slow and serious’ mood, such as the second movement andante from HWV 360 (Figure 3. 28 below).\(^{54}\)

The Italian corrente is also in evidence in the solo sonatas, suggested as a movement heading for HWV 377/i by Castellani in his facsimile edition.\(^{55}\) This is a ‘fast triple-metre dance ($\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$) usually in binary form with a relatively homophonic texture, balanced phrases, virtuoso performance style and a clear harmonic and rhythmic structure’ (see Figure 3. 29 below).\(^{56}\) By contrast, the French courante is a ‘grave’ dance, usually in $\frac{3}{2}$, which often contains hemiolas and has a contrapuntal texture.\(^{57}\) HWV 367a contains a hornpipe modelled on the famous D major hornpipe from Handel’s Water Music, but in the minor mode (see Figure 3. 30 below). The third movement common to HWV 363a and 365 begins with a ground bass in the manner of a chaconne

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54 This movement begins in a very similar way to the third movement sarabanda from Corelli’s E minor sonata Op. 5 No. 8.

55 Marcello Castellani, Preface to *Georg Friedrich Händel, Sonate per Uno Strumento (Flauto, Violino, Hautbois, Traversiere) e Basso Continuo: Parte Prima, Manoscritti Autografi* (Firenze: Studio per Edizione Scelte, 1985), p. 49.


57 Ibid.
or a passacaglia. The passacaglia was more often in the minor mode and normally described as the slower of the two dances, and may describe this movement more fittingly than the chaconne (see Figure 3.31 below).

However, Mattheson asserts that ‘the chaconne proceeds more deliberately and slowly than the passacaille, not the other way around’.59

58 For example Grassineau states that ‘the movement of this is somewhat graver’ than the chaconne (‘PASSACAGLIO’, A Musical Dictionary, p. 175).

Other Allegros

There are two common-time allegros in the solo sonatas, one minor and one major, which do not fit the fugal template for a second movement or the dance form commonly used as a finale (see Figure 3. 32 and Figure 3. 33 below).

The first movement allegro of the G major violin sonata HWV 358 is unique amongst the solo sonata movements with its constant semiquavers (see Figure 3. 34 below), although it has a parallel in the allegro movement for solo violin HWV 407 (also in G major, but with a lower range). Similar allegro movements can be found in Corelli’s Op. 5 and Telemann’s *Sonate Metodiche* for solo flute, and comparisons can be made with Bach’s preludes for solo cello and for keyboard. Another type of allegro is the non-fugal triple-time
allegro, for example the second movement of HWV 378 and the fourth movement of HWV 371 (see Figure 3.35 and Figure 3.36 below).

**Other Movements**

There are two $\frac{3}{2}$ adagio movements which seem too slow to be dances, one in the G minor recorder sonata HWV 360 and the other in the C minor oboe sonata HWV 366 (see Figure 3.37 below). Movements of this type have a precedent in Corelli’s Op. 5, marked simply adagio, and there are also parallels in Telemann’s *Sonate Metodiche*.

Other notable types of movement in the solo sonatas include two dramatic anger aria movements, both in B flat major, characterised by fast-moving semiquavers in one or both parts, and short, declamatory phrases. The third movement of HWV 367a for example ‘uses the language of the operatic anger aria with its torrent of semiquavers between the bass and treble parts’ (see Figure 3.38 below).\(^{60}\) Also unusual are the two recitativo-style movements, one in each of Handel’s early Italian sonatas (see Figure 3.39 and Figure 3.40 below). These are interesting for their tonal ambiguity and their use of dramatic harmonies on a par with those found in Handel’s vocal writing, contradicting Leichtentritt’s statement that Handel ‘did not find sufficient reason for the use of high seasoning in instrumental music. It would have

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struck [him] as absurd to transfer his dramatic harmony to pure concert-

music'.

Figure 3. 32: HWV 362/iv (Allegro – ‘common-time allegro’)

Figure 3. 33: HWV 369/ii (Allegro – ‘common-time allegro’)

Figure 3. 34: HWV 358/i (no title – ‘allegro - prelude’)

Figure 3. 35: HWV 378/ii (Allegro – ‘triple-time allegro’)

Figure 3. 36: HWV 371/iv (Allegro – ‘triple-time allegro’)

Figure 3. 37: HWV 360/iii (Adagio – \( \frac{3}{2} \) adagio)
Figure 3. 38: HWV 367a/iii (Furioso – ‘anger aria’)

Figure 3. 39: HWV 378/iii (Adagio – ‘recitative’)

Figure 3. 40: HWV 358/ii (No title – ‘recitative’)

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Figure 3. 41: Movements of the Sixteen Authentic Solo Sonatas\(^6\)

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\(^6\) Sonatas listed in order of HWV number for ease of reference.
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Chapter 4

The Recital Sonatas 1: HWV 378

The obvious choice for the recital would have been to programme all eight of Handel’s authentic sonatas for flute and recorder. I decided not to do this for several reasons. Instead, I chose four sonatas that had revealed particular points of interest during my research, and performed them in chronological order. To give them context, and to add variety to the programme, I interspersed the sonatas with contemporary works by Handel and some of his colleagues. I also chose to include pieces for chamber ensemble, prompted by my research into Handel’s orchestra and the musicians available to him at the time he was writing his solo sonatas.

The four sonatas chosen for the recital were the flute sonata in D major HWV 378 to represent the Italian period and ornamentation, the recorder sonata in F major HWV 369 which revealed a hitherto unnoticed borrowing, the recorder sonata in C major HWV 365 for a discussion of the recorder’s high register, articulation, and violinistic writing, and the Walsh publication of the sonata in E minor HWV 359b which reveals similar issues with the high register of the flute when compared and contrasted with Handel’s authentic flute sonata in E minor HWV 379. The sonatas are presented in Chapters 4 to 7 in chronological order (as they were performed in the recital) with a brief summary of their sources, any notable borrowings, and performance issues raised by the sonatas which were illustrated in the recital. Handel’s many reuses of material in the solo sonatas, from within the sonatas themselves
and from other works, illustrate how he tailored his music to suit the intended instrument in these compositions. The HHA and HHB list the borrowings and reuse of material for each sonata, although neither can be described as a complete list as new concordances have since been discovered, including several by the present author during the course of this research. I have not attempted to present a complete list for any of the sonatas discussed here either, the concordances discussed have been chosen because: a) they illustrate some idiomatic treatment of the instruments concerned, for example where borrowed music is transferred from one instrument to another; b) contemporary borrowings such as those from vocal works Handel was writing at the same time as the solo sonatas may suggest that he was writing for his orchestral personnel, or in some cases that the inclusion of popular tunes would appeal to the amateur market once published; c) borrowings from other works with accompanying words or performance directions may influence the way in which the same music in the solos sonatas could be performed; and d) concordances to which previous reference has not been found. A complete and detailed list of differences between the sources (where applicable) can be found in the critical report sections of the relevant volumes of the HHA.

**D major flute sonata HWV 378**

Handel’s earliest authentic flute sonata HWV 378 is thought to have been written during his time in Rome, due to the style of the music and the borrowings it contains; there is no autograph for this work. It is the only one of Handel’s sonatas composed before his arrival in London to display the four-
movement form that was to become most common amongst the solo sonatas: Handel’s other early sonatas, including the violin sonata HWV 358 and the recorder trio sonata HWV 405 (which were also written in Italy), have only three movements. The opening of the first movement, which was reused in two of Handel’s subsequent solo sonatas,¹ makes its first appearance in HWV 378 (Figure 4.1 below).

Figure 4.1: HWV 378/i (Adagio)

HWV 378 has the indication Traversa Solo et Basso continuo in its only source, the Brussels manuscript. Its range is identical to that of Handel’s other flute sonata, HWV 379, and D major is the home key of the baroque flute. However, some consideration may be given to the idea that HWV 378 may have been intended for the oboe. The opening of the second movement is taken from the overture common to Il Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità HWV 46 and La Resurrezione HWV 47, where the music appears on oboes (see Figure 4.2 below). The sonata exceeds the usual range of the oboe by ascending to d³, but so do Handel’s oboe parts in the overture. The sonata is also playable on the violin, and, although it does not require the use of the g

¹ HWV 379/iii and HWV 371/i.
string at any point, nor does the contemporary violin sonata in G major HWV 358. However, the four-bar e\textsuperscript{2} in the second movement of HWV 378 may confirm that it was conceived for a wind instrument (see Figure 4. 3 below). Long notes of several bars duration such as this occur only in Handel’s woodwind sonatas (there is nothing comparable in the violin sonatas) and provide an opportunity to use the *messa di voce* which is more idiomatic for a wind instrument than for the violin (see page 173 below).

**Figure 4. 2: Il Trionfo (Overture - Allegro)**

![Figure 4. 2: Il Trionfo (Overture - Allegro)](image)

**Figure 4. 3: HWV 378/ii (Allegro)**

![Figure 4. 3: HWV 378/ii (Allegro)](image)
Handel certainly had access to a flautist at this time as the aria ‘Così la tortorella’ from *La Resurrezione* (Parte Prima) has a solo line for the instrument. One of the four oboe players in the orchestra would probably have taken the flute part for this single aria, and it is possible that Handel wrote HWV 378 for the same player. Possible contenders include Ignazio Rion (the principal oboe), or Robert Valentine (Roberto Valentini/Valentino) who had moved to Rome from Leicester at the end of the seventeenth century. The transverse flute was something of a rarity in Italy at this time, and may have been first brought to Rome by Hotteterre during a visit around the turn of the eighteenth century. The earliest examples of Italian baroque flutes are by the maker Giovanni Maria Anciuti of Milan and dated 1722 and 1725. In the absence of any Italian instruments or Italian treatises for the transverse flute before this date, it might be assumed that the flautist required for the aria ‘Così la tortorella’ was playing on a French three-piece Hotteterre-style instrument, and had probably learnt to play it from a copy of Hotteterre’s *Principes de la Flûte Traversière* (Paris, 1707) or even from Hotteterre

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himself. ‘Così la tortorella’ also features a solo part for the viola da gamba, whose soft tone is very suitable for accompanying the flute; hence it was chosen as the string continuo instrument for the recital performance of the contemporary sonata HWV 378.

The trio sonata for two recorders and continuo in F major HWV 405, which dates from the same period, shares the opening themes of two of its movements with HWV 378. Handel used the recorder’s home key of F major for the trio sonata HWV 405, and so perhaps the fact that the sonata HWV 378 is written in D major is confirmation that it was intended for the flute, as D major is the home key of that instrument. Using the home key of the instruments means that the figurations of the faster movements fall easily under the fingers, and that particular ornaments may come more naturally to the performer. The imitative nature of the recorder parts in HWV 405 has been used as a model for the keyboard realisation of the continuo in this performance of HWV 378, particularly in the second movement.

Figure 4.4: HWV 378/ii (Allegro)
The chromatic third movement is reminiscent of recitative, and displays similarities to a passage from the overture to *Il Trionfo* and *La Resurrezione*, originally for the oboe (see Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7 below).

Figure 4.5: HWV 405/i (Allegro)

![Allegro](image)

\[\text{Allegro}\]

The chromatic third movement is reminiscent of recitative, and displays similarities to a passage from the overture to *Il Trionfo* and *La Resurrezione*, originally for the oboe (see Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7 below).

Figure 4.6: *Il Trionfo* (Overture – Adagio)\(^6\)

![Adagio](image)

\[\text{Adagio}\]

\(^6\) Figures in italics are the author's, and used here to indicate the orchestral harmonies.
The fourth movement uses the same material as the recorder trio sonata HWV 405. This theme was later used again in the F major recorder sonata HWV 369 which is discussed in Chapter 5.
Performance Issues: Ornamentation

Common to all the sonatas is the issue of ornamentation. It can be seen that composers used two different approaches to ornamentation in their music during the early baroque period: either the melody was left plain for the performer to embellish; or the ornaments were already included in the composition. Therefore the performer must identify whether or not it is appropriate to add further decoration.

Beverly Jerold uses the phrase ‘skeletal writing’ to refer to those melodies which have been left bare as a framework by the composer, common in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Jerold gives as an example ‘Si tornerò’ (Act I, Scene XI) from Handel’s Faramondo HWV 39 (1738), which Burney described as ‘a fine out-line for a great singer’ (see Figure 4.10 below).\(^7\) Frederick Neumann also recognises the idea of a skeletal score, and proposes that an adagio is skeletal if there are no or few notes of smaller value than quavers.\(^8\)

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Many of the works that performers choose to ornament today have in fact already been embellished to some extent by the composer. Leaving music plain for the performer to embellish became risky in the eighteenth century, not only because the composer relinquished control to the performer but also because the composer risked being seen as second-rate.\(^9\) Neumann subdivides already-ornamented music into two categories: first-degree if there is an abundance of semiquavers, and second-degree if there are many demisemiquavers (or even smaller note values).\(^{10}\) The majority of Handel’s sonata first movements follow the walking quaver bass model, and already contain what Neumann describes as first-degree ornamentation.

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\(^{10}\) Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, p. 560.
Possible Models for Free Ornamentation of HWV 378

Music in the Italian style was usually very simple in order to give the performer the freedom to add as many of his own ideas as possible: ‘In the Italian style in former times no embellishments at all were set down, and everything was left to the caprice of the performer’. Typical Italian ornaments (in addition to the essential graces such as trills and appoggiaturas) include flamboyant runs of notes, often with no metric division, so they sound spontaneous rather than measured or rhythmic. Some of the most famous exponents of the style were composer-performers such as Arcangelo Corelli, who led the orchestra for Handel’s *La Resurrezione* at its first performance. It may be appropriate to ornament Handel’s earliest sonatas in a more Italianate manner than the sonatas written and published in London, which require a more cosmopolitan approach. Corelli’s Opus 5 is often used as a model for Italian ornamentation as several contemporary versions were published with embellishments. A volume of music for two recorders and bass by Johann Christoph Pez (1664 - 1716) published by Walsh in 1707 also contains ‘… some of Correlli’s great Solo’s for a Flute and a Bass. Illustrated throughout with proper Graces, by an


It has been suggested that Paisible or Loeillet could be the author of the graces. Apart from the obvious limitations of instrumental range, the style of ornamentation is very similar to that subsequently published for the violin. In fact, some of the embellishments are rather difficult to play on the recorder, and do not fall easily under the fingers. This suggests that the author was aiming for a technique and style as similar as possible to that of Corelli and other Italian violin masters, rather than a style that was particularly suited to the recorder. In 1710 another edition of Op.5 was published by Estienne Roger with ‘authentic’ graces by Corelli, although the veracity of this claim has been questioned. This edition was published in a dual notation score, showing the plain melody on one stave and the ornamented version on another. These two ornamented examples are combined with the original in Figure 4.11 below. Charles Gower Price suggests that flamboyant Corellian graces of this kind are typical of the first decade of the eighteenth century and before, and that the style ‘provides insight into the improvisational technique of late Baroque composer-performers of Corelli’s immediate generation’.

16 ‘Upon the bare view of the print any one would wonder how so much vermin could creep into the works of such a master’ (Roger North (ed. John Wilson), *Roger North on Music, being a selection from his essays written during the years c.1695-1728* (Novello: 1959), p. 161).
Handel’s later reworking of the first movement of HWV 378 into the first movement of the later violin sonata HWV 371 (see Figure 4. 12 below) provides us with Handel’s own ornamented version of the theme. This could
be a realisation of the kind of ornamentation that had been applied to HWV 378 some fourty years previously, or it may reflect the fact that, by the 1750s (when HWV 371 was written), it was more usual for composers to write out the embellishments that they wanted than to leave it entirely to the performer. The kind of ornamentation Handel has included here is more comparable with the rhythmically precise German or mixed style than the florid Italian style. However, German composers were more likely than the Italians to write out the ornaments rather than leave them to the performer. Almost all of Bach’s slow movements are already fully ornamented: As Neumann observes, ‘Bach was not alone in writing out his diminutions, he was alone only in being consistent about it’.  

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Figure 4.12: HWV 378/i (Adagio) and HWV 371/i (Affettuoso)
In practice, I decided to leave the first movement of HWV 378 fairly plain in the recital. The sonata was chosen to open the programme, and the calm beginning (described by Andrew Manze as ‘the transcendent opening passage’)\(^{19}\) did not lend itself to being made too busy with ornamentation. I borrowed a couple of motifs from HWV 371 near the beginning, and added just a few small ornaments later on in the movement. Considering that the flute was a very new instrument in Italy at the time HWV 378 was written, and

that the flautist in question had probably learnt their technique from Hotteterre, perhaps such comprehensive Corelli-style ornaments would not have been applied to HWV 378 at the time of its first performance. It could be that a simpler style is more appropriate for the majority of the work, although there are places where florid runs can be successfully applied. An example is the Phrygian cadence at the end of the dramatic third movement, and the ornament performed in the PhD recital is shown below (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.13: Final cadence of HWV 378/iii (Adagio) with author’s ornaments

I used the repeated sections in the fast movements as opportunities to add some embellishment, particularly in the closing giga where the arpeggio figures in the home key of the baroque flute enable runs to be applied quite easily and naturally (see Figure 4.14 below).
Other works performed in the first section of the recital were also written during Handel’s time in Italy and were chosen to complement HWV 378.20 ‘Così la tortorella’ from La Resurrezione dates from the same period and was possibly written for the same flautist, as discussed above. The flute and viol parts are imitative and as such present some opportunity for ornamentation, especially during the da capo, where the ornaments performed by the singer were used as a model. We chose to ornament the slow movement of the trio sonata for two recorders and continuo HWV 405 following Corelli, with florid runs in the recorder parts (Figure 4. 15 below). The recorder was a much more established instrument in the early 1700s than the transverse flute, so more flamboyant ornaments, on a par with those for violin, would have been the norm.

20 See Appendix 2 for the complete recital programme.
Figure 4. 15: HWV 405/ii (Grave) with author’s ornaments

Possible Models for Ornamenting Handel’s London Sonatas

Handel wrote the majority of his solo sonatas in London, but there was no English style of ornamentation as such. London was a melting pot for all kinds of musical influences, and music from European composers was available in the capital, either printed by music publishers such as Walsh, or shipped over from continental suppliers such as Roger in Amsterdam. The first English edition of Corelli’s Op. 5 was printed by Walsh in 1700,\textsuperscript{21} and the fashion for creating ornamented versions of Corelli’s purposely plain slow movements immediately became popular. This style of music continued to be published in England for many years and remained popular with the amateur market, even as the newly fashionable mixed (German) style of ornamentation came to the fore. Much of the Italian style was perpetuated by the foreign virtuosi, who made up a large part of London’s music scene in the eighteenth century; for

\textsuperscript{21} Price, ‘Corellian Style Improvisation in London’, p. 71.
example, the oboist, flautist (and later viola player) Francesco Barsanti, whose Italianate sonata in C major was published c.1728 as part of his Op. 2 (see Figure 4.16 below), and the virtuoso violinist Francesco Geminiani, whose Op. 1 (first published in London in 1716) was reissued in 1739, showing the continued popularity of this style.

Figure 4.16: Barsanti, Sonata in C major, first movement

English composers such as William Babell were heavily influenced by the Italian style, and Babell’s own sonatas, published posthumously c.1725 by John Walsh, are interesting for the written-out embellishments they contain. The sonatas are in two volumes; the first entitled *XII Solos, for a Violin or Hautboy: with a Bass figur’d for the Harpsichord, With proper Graces adapted to each Adagio, by the Author*, and the second *XII Solos for a Violin, Hoboy, or German Flute* etc. The range and keys of the sonatas in the first volume
suggest the oboe as the most suitable instrument. The second volume of Babell’s sonatas was published with the German flute added to the list of suitable instruments, although only one of the sonatas is in a sharp key (most suited to the flute). It is likely that the typically unscrupulous John Walsh was again intending to gain financially from the popularity of the flute, and presumably added the designation himself. The florid Corellian tirades would certainly be difficult to execute on the flute in the majority of the sonatas, and the fast movements would not prove very effective in many of the flat keys (see Figure 4. 17 below).

Figure 4. 17: Babell, XII Solos for a Violin Hoboy or German Flute, Sonata i/i (Adagio)

Price makes the case for the violin as the more suitable instrument for performing the embellishments, even if the original (plain) sonatas were
intended for the oboe. Babell himself was primarily a harpsichordist, but he played the violin in Handel’s opera orchestra and therefore would have known which embellishments best suited the instrument. The freely notated tirades, usually in small notes, are Italianate in style, but some of Babell’s writing also displays more measured diminution, for example the first movement of Sonata X (see Figure 4. 18 below). This illustrates the mixed style that was starting to emerge in London, although Babell clearly favoured the Italian influence of Corelli and Vivaldi.

Figure 4. 18: Babell, XII Solos…, Sonata X/i (Adagio)

For the last piece in the first section of the recital, I compiled a selection of movements from Handel’s Rinaldo HWV 7a to bridge the gap between the works from Handel’s Italian period and the fair copy London sonatas programmed for the second section. The selection began with an


23 Ibid., p. 30.
arrangement of the overture for recorder, published by Walsh, followed by Babell’s ornamented version of the aria ‘Lascia ch’io pianga’ (Act II, Scene IV). Babell’s version is for harpsichord alone, but I transferred most of the melody line to the recorder and also transposed it into C major (from the original F major) to fit the range of the recorder. There are many examples of written-out ornamentation to be found in keyboard works from the eighteenth century, not only by Babell but also by Handel himself, particularly in the harpsichord suites. However, melodies were often over-ornamented on the harpsichord to maintain the sound, and so not all examples of keyboard ornamentation would be appropriate to a sustaining instrument such as the recorder or flute. Perhaps the most idiomatic for the keyboard are the mordents/inverted mordents on the minims which could perhaps be omitted or replaced with trills.

I chose to transfer the original vocal line to the recorder, leaving the first A section relatively plain with just a few of my own embellishments. I played Babell’s ornamented version of the B section, and on the repeat of the A section I added most of Babell’s ornaments to the recorder line. The exception to this was the tirades at the end of each phrase which were left to the harpsichord. However, towards the end of the repeated A section (from bar 68) I incorporated all of the ornamented line including the tirades into the recorder to achieve an impressive climax to the movement, and because the linking passages became more integral to the melody line at this point (see Figure 4. 19 below).
Figure 4.19: Babbell 'Lascia chio pianga' arr. recorder and harpsichord

Largo
To conclude the selections from *Rinaldo* (and the first section of the recital), we invited our singer back to the stage to perform the aria ‘Augelletti, che cantate’ (Act I, Scene VI). This aria has an obbligato part for the flauto piccolo or sopranino recorder, which shows the level of virtuosity that the instrument was capable of and is an extensive example of Handel’s written out ornamentation (see Figure 4. 20 below). Handel’s embellishments are mainly measured diminutions, many of which are violinistic in nature. Contrary to his usual scoring for paired recorders, Handel did not double parts or write in pairs when he scored for flauto piccolo. This could be because it projects much better than the treble due to its higher pitch, thus rendering doubling unnecessary for reasons of volume. It could also have been the case that the smaller sizes of recorder were rarer and more specialised, and perhaps only one
member of the orchestra was likely to own one. It is likely that this virtuoso part was written for and played by a recorder specialist such as Banister or Paisible, rather than by one of the doubling oboists.

Figure 4. 20: Extract of flauto piccolo part in ‘Augelletti, che cantate’ from Rinaldo (Adagio)
Small recorders were popular during the interval entertainments at the opera houses as well as in the operas themselves. Many concertos were written for the smaller sizes of instrument, including the fifth flute (commonly known as the descant recorder today) and the sixth flute (pitched a sixth higher than the more usual treble recorder). Babell wrote several concertos for small recorder, as did John Baston, a regular member of the London theatre orchestras whose recorder concertos were published in 1729. This shows the continued popularity of the small recorder as a virtuoso instrument, and I programmed Baston’s Concerto No. 2 in D for sixth flute in the middle section of the recital. The slow middle movement with its repeated melody provided an ideal place to add some ornamentation, and I chose to use a measured, rhythmic style here (see Figure 4.21 below).
Figure 4.21: Baston Concerto No. 2 in D\(\text{ii}\) (Adagio) for sixth flute with author's ornaments.\(^{24}\)

The German or mixed style of ornamentation is perhaps best represented by Telemann's *Sonate Metodiche* (published in two volumes in 1728 and 1732), written in dual notation with a plain melody line above an ornamented version.

\(^{24}\) The sixth flute part is notated in F major (as in the original) but sounds a third lower in D major. This is to enable the player to use the same fingering system for all sizes of recorder.
of the same. Telemann’s music was well known in London, and to Handel in particular, as the two composers knew each other well, and often corresponded by letter. Handel was a subscriber to Telemann’s *Tafelmusik* series and he borrowed material from Telemann’s compositions to use in his own works. The *Sonate Metodiche* are written for flute or violin, and thus cater for two of the most popular single-line melody instruments of the eighteenth century. Telemann’s original melodies could be considered to display first-degree ornamentation comparable to many of Handel’s walking quaver bass movements, but have been further embellished by Telemann on the second stave (see Figure 4.22 below). The added ornamentation is extensive and very detailed, and probably intended to be used as a ‘bank’ of embellishments from which the performer could devise similar examples of their own. To copy ornaments directly from another source showed a lack of talent and imagination: Pier Francesco Tosi (in his treatise *Observations on the Florid Song*) said of graces that ‘They be not copied, if you would not have them appear defective’.  

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There is limited evidence for distinct styles of ornamentation that are specific to particular instruments. John Ernest Galliard made the following annotation in his translation of Tosi’s *Observations on the Florid Song*: ‘Many Graces may be very good and proper for a Violin, that would be very improper for a Hautboy; and so with every Species of Instrument that have something peculiar.’26 This is especially interesting in light of William Babell’s graced sonatas, which Walsh claimed were for both instruments, and with which Galliard (as an oboist) may well have been familiar. Telemann made no specific distinction between what ornamentation was possible on the flute and the violin in his *Sonate Metodiche*, although, as with the sonatas in their unornamented form, some of the embellishments lend themselves more naturally to one instrument than the other.

Perhaps the best-known set of instructions for free ornamentation, at least for the flute, is the *Adagio* that Johann Joachim Quantz presented in his *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (see Figure 4. 23 below).

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Quantz’s own ornamentation can be considered mostly in the mixed or German style and is written out in rhythmically defined groupings, although there must be some flexibility in performance. Quantz warns against letting the music become ‘overloaded with graces’, although he stated that an Adagio as simple as the one he composed as an example necessitates the addition of many embellishments.\(^{27}\) It would be unnecessary to add such dense ornamentation to one of Handel’s walking quaver bass slow movements, as in this example (as in many of Quantz’s slow movements) the harmony frequently remains the same for half a bar at a time. Handel’s bass lines tend to move faster harmonically and often contain more varied chord progressions, and so do not require the melody line to compensate by adding so many embellishments. Quantz’s Versuch was not written until 1752, and may reflect a later style of performance, as well as composition, than is appropriate for the 1720s. However, Quantz was in his 50s by the time he wrote it, and it could be that his instructions refer back to his experience as a younger man during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

\(^{27}\) Quantz, On Playing the Flute, p. 169.
Written-Out Ornamentation within Handel's Solo Sonatas

Some examples of the kind of ornamentation that Handel would have expected to be applied to his solo sonatas can be seen within the works themselves. True examples of written-out second-degree ornamentation are
rare in Handel’s solo sonatas. However, some movements contain elements of second-degree ornamentation, such as the first movement of HWV 371 discussed previously (see Figure 4.11 above) and the first movement of HWV 367a, which contains written-out demisemiquaver ornaments in bars 5, 8, and 12 (see Figure 4.24 below).

Figure 4.24: HWV 367a/i (Largo)

The third movement of the violin sonata in A major HWV 361 is the only example of a Handel sonata movement with second-degree ornamentation throughout. It is just five bars long, and the ornamentation is written out completely (see Figure 4.25 below). The autograph is a fair copy, like the contemporary fair copy recorder sonatas, but whereas the recorder sonatas are unusually fully figured, the violin sonata has no figures at all. The lack of
figures indicates that the accompaniment was not the focus of the sonata, or that it was written for an advanced student to play without figures. Perhaps the continuo was written for Handel to play himself, and of course he would not have needed any figures. In contrast, the violin part is unusually comprehensive and it is possible that HWV 361 was written for the instruction of a violinist, perhaps a pupil of Handel’s. The first movement incorporates a significant number of trills in the violin part, where often Handel would leave these essential graces unmarked, and the ornamentation in the third movement is completely written out, leaving the performer no opportunity to add embellishment of his own. This may indicate that the sonata was written for an inexperienced violinist, although the technically demanding second movement could not have been played by a beginner. An alternative explanation is that the work was written for a performer whom Handel did not trust to add suitable embellishment. Handel’s intolerance of singers who took liberties with his music is well documented, and so perhaps this detailed violin part was written to prevent a particular violinist from doing the same. The density of ornamental detail in the third movement is comparable to, for example, the first movement of Bach’s E major flute sonata BWV 1035 (see Figure 4.26 below). These examples of Handel’s written-out ornamentation show that his own embellishments were much more in keeping with the rhythmic German or mixed style of ornamentation than the florid Italian style.
Handel’s organ concerto in G minor HWV 291 is a reworking of the Presto finale of the recorder sonata in G minor HWV 360 (see Figure 4. 27 below) and includes a variation of the theme for the organ (Figure 4. 28 below). This is useful material for the recorder player to study, although it is more difficult to work something of this nature into the recorder sonata as the moving
quaver bass line must be considered. Handel was able to avoid this issue in HWV 291 by simplifying the left hand of the organ part so as not to interfere with the passagework in the right (see for example bars 15 onwards, compared with the beginning of the extract). The idea of adding ornamentation to a repeated section is a useful one, but it is by no means essential. Quantz suggests:

> Few extempore variations are allowed in the Allegro, since it is usually composed with melodies and passages of a kind that leave little room for improvement. But if you still want to make some variations, you must not do so before the repetition; this is most conveniently practicable in a solo where the Allegro consists of two reprises.²⁸

Handel’s vocal works are a rich source of information concerning the ornaments of which he would have approved. The majority of his arias include ornamentation to some degree, as he trusted very few singers to add their own. However, in the examples below, taken from manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Handel’s ornamentation can easily be compared with the original melody.

Figure 4. 29: ‘O caro mio tesoro’ (Act I, Scene VII) from Amadigi HWV 11 (1715) (ornamented version - Larghetto) (original - Largo e staccato)\textsuperscript{29}

Comparisons of arias with sonata movements raise the question whether vocalists and instrumentalists ornamented in the same way. There is much

evidence to suggest that this was the case, particularly from instrumental treatises, which frequently advocate imitating the voice. This is especially true for wind methods as the breath is the source of sound production for both. Quantz recommends that the beginner flautist should study singing not only to ‘acquire good execution in his playing so much the more easily’, but also because ‘the insight that the art of singing provides will give him a particularly great advantage in the reasonable embellishment of an Adagio’. One example of such imitation of singers can be seen in Quantz’s recommendation of the *messa di voce*, which he says must be used on long notes which are held for ‘either a whole or a half bar’. Suitable places for employment of the *messa di voce* can be found in Handel’s solo sonatas for woodwind instruments, for example in the second movement of the F major oboe sonata HWV 363a (see Figure 4.31 below).

**Figure 4.31: HWV 363a/ii (Allegro)**


32 Ibid., p. 165.
However, singers were actively discouraged from imitating the ornaments of instrumentalists, which implies that instrumentalists, too, were prone to excess. The florid Italianate style of embellishment as displayed in the many eighteenth-century ornamentations of Corelli’s Op.5, for example, would not be appropriate for vocalists. Tosi writes: ‘the instrumental Performers of some Ability imagine that the beautiful Graces and Flourishes, with their nimble Fingers, will have the same Effect when executed with the Voice; but it will not do’. However, Galliard’s annotation reveals that this did not stop singers from trying to copy the ornaments of instrumentalists: ‘It is a very great Error (too much in Practice) for the Voice, (which should serve as a Standard to be imitated by Instruments,) to copy all the Tricks practised on the several Instruments, to its greatest Detriment’.33 Lasocki and Eva Legène justify the comparisons of Handel’s vocal and instrumental music, as the composer ‘used the same or similar melodic material freely in his vocal music and in his sonatas’.34 Perhaps it would be fair to suggest that Handel wrote vocally for instrumentalists, as Bach wrote instrumentally for singers.

33 Tosi (tr. Galliard), Observations on the florid song, p. 159.
Chapter 5

The Recital Sonatas 2: HWV 369

Handel’s six recorder sonatas are all thought to have been composed c.1725-26. The four sonatas HWV 360, 362, 365, and 369 (known as the fair copy sonatas because of their exceptionally neat autographs) were published by Walsh (posing as Roger) c.1730-31, although it is clear that Walsh did not have access to Handel’s final versions of these works. The fair copy recorder sonatas are most likely to have been written for an amateur player, and the primary purpose of the autograph copies at least seems to have been as teaching material, probably for Princess Anne.¹ The fair copy sonatas are tailored extremely well to the instrument, but do not have technically challenging passagework. There is certainly nothing as demanding as, for example, the recorder sonatas of Handel’s Cannons colleague Mercy, and so it is unlikely that they were written for a player of his calibre.

The two remaining recorder sonatas, HWV 367a and HWV 377, were never published in their original versions during Handel’s lifetime. It is possible that these two sonatas were written for members of Handel’s London theatre orchestra. HWV 367a has the most technically demanding movement of any of Handel’s recorder sonatas, the third movement furioso, which may suggest that this sonata was not written for an amateur player. In addition, the imposing cadence at the end of the fifth movement of this sonata leaves all

¹ See Chapter 2, pp. 57-8.
ornamentation to the performer, whereas many of Handel’s other recorder sonatas have at least some suggestion for embellishment at the Phrygian cadence. Most unusually there are dynamic markings in the second movement of the sonata in B flat major HWV 377, the only dynamic markings in any of Handel’s sonata autographs (see Figure 5.1). Dynamics are notoriously difficult to achieve on the recorder, so perhaps their inclusion here is an indication that this sonata, unlike the fair copy sonatas, was intended for a professional player. However, none of the recorder sonatas makes such technical demands of the player as Handel’s orchestral recorder parts from, for example, *Rinaldo* or the works written at Cannons, and none of the sonatas utilises the whole two-octave range of the instrument.

Figure 5.1: HWV 377/ii (Adagio)

F major recorder sonata HWV 369

The texts of HWV 369 in F major which appear in the Manchester manuscript and the ‘Roger’ edition appear to be based solely on an earlier version, now lost, whilst the Walsh print and a copy of the sonata in Guy Oldham’s manuscript both have elements or corrections which can be found in the
autograph (although this does not necessarily mean that it was consulted).² Handel made more significant revisions to HWV 369 than to the other fair copy sonatas. Important differences between the sources include the tempo marking of the first movement which is given as Grave in the autograph, rather than Larghetto which is given in all the other sources. Initially, this appears to suggest that Larghetto was the original tempo marking on the earliest version, and that Handel changed it to Grave on the fair copy. However, a trend can be seen in Handel’s use of the Larghetto marking, which was a relatively new term during the first half of the eighteenth century. It does not appear in any of Handel’s sonatas written before the 1720s. He then used it in all the other fair copy sonatas, and two of the violin sonatas written around the same time (HWV 364 and HWV 361). He also used Larghetto in the flute sonata HWV 379 from the late 1720s, and the violin sonata HWV 371 from late 1749/early 1750s. The fact that Handel’s fair copy of HWV 369 is marked Grave may suggest that this was the original marking, and that HWV 369 is in fact an earlier work than the other fair copy sonatas. The Larghetto marking in the other sources may have been added by Walsh and/or the other copyists/engravers, in order to make the sonata more contemporary and more in keeping with the other fair copy sonatas.

Handel later revised the work further, using the sonata in its entirety as the organ concerto HWV 293 (1735). This concerto is based on the fair copy of

the sonata, although this time Handel chose the Larghetto tempo marking for
the first movement. This may support the idea that Larghetto was the original
tempo marking on Handel’s compositional draft of HWV 369, but in my
opinion is more likely a result of Handel updating the work at a later date
when Larghetto was more commonly used. The main differences between the
prints and Handel’s fair copy are trills present in ‘Roger’ and Walsh in bar 28
of the first movement which are not in the autograph, and dotted quavers in
the penultimate two bars of the movement in the autograph, which are straight
in the printed editions.

The Guy Oldham manuscript copy of the recorder sonata in F major HWV 369
has suggestions for ornamentation written into the first statement of the
theme. The embellishments given in the first two bars follow exactly the
advice given to recorder players in The Compleat Flute Master (1695) and
reprinted in subsequent tutors including Peter Prelleur’s The Modern Musick
Master (1731): ‘if 3 [Crotchets] gradually ascend sigh yᵉ 1ˢᵗ. double rellish yᵉ
2ᵈ. the last plain provided that yᵉ movement of yᵉ tune be Slow enough to
allow the dividing [of] your Crotchett’.³ The ‘sigh’ is given as  and
the ‘double rellish’ as , with the instruction that the quaver is ‘to be
shook on its proper Key’, i.e. trilled. When applied to the opening phrase of

³ Anon, The Compleat Flute-Master or The whole Art of playing on yᵉ Rechorder, A facsimile
of the 1695 first edition, with an introduction and critical commentary by Gerald Gifford, and
contributions by Jeanne Dolmetsch and Marianne Mezger (Mytholmroyd, Hebden Bridge:
Ruxbury Publications Ltd., 2004)
HWV 369 (original shown in Figure 5. 2), this gives the reading in Figure 5. 3 below, which matches the ornamentation given in the Guy Oldham manuscript (the trill is missing, but implied). In the recital, I used these ornaments when the opening phrase is repeated in bar 9.

Figure 5. 2: HWV 369/i (Grave)

![Figure 5. 2: HWV 369/i (Grave)](image)

Figure 5. 3: HWV 369/i embellished according to The Compleat Flute-Master

![Figure 5. 3: HWV 369/i embellished according to The Compleat Flute-Master](image)

Figure 5. 4: Sonata i. A Flauto e Cembalo Dell Sig. Hendel/i (Guy Oldham manuscript)

![Figure 5. 4: Sonata i. A Flauto e Cembalo Dell Sig. Hendel/i (Guy Oldham manuscript)](image)

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The opening of the *Alla Siciliana* third movement, the only such movement in Handel’s solo sonatas, is borrowed from the oboe solo which begins ‘Kind Health descends on downy wings’, the fifth verse of the Birthday Ode for Queen Anne HWV 74 (1713): a re-use of material which does not seem to have been previously identified. Handel was able to vary the melody line in HWV 369/iii, as the supporting continuo (absent in HWV 74) provided the tonic of the chord on the second beat of bars 1 and 2. Also, rising to the c³ in bar 2 might have been too high for the oboe in this context and so Handel purposely avoided this note. Handel altered just one note in the recorder part when making the fair copy of the third movement: the d² at the end of bar 7 in the other sources is moved up an octave to d³ in the autograph, perhaps to add poignancy, variety, and to avoid a predictable sequence.

Figure 5.5: ‘Kind Health descends on downy wings’ (Verse 5 - Andante) from the Birthday Ode for Queen Anne HWV 74
With reference to ornamentation, Tosi advised that ‘Divisions and Shakes in a Siciliana are Faults’,\(^5\) whilst Quantz stated that ‘An alla Siciliana in twelve-eight time, with dotted notes interspersed, must be played very simply, not too slowly, and with almost no shakes. Since it is an imitation of a Sicilian shepherd’s dance, few graces may be introduced other than some slurred semiquavers and appoggiaturas’.\(^6\) I aimed to adhere to this advice in the recital, leaving the movement fairly plain with just occasional embellishments. The exception to this was at the Phrygian cadence, where I chose to include a Corellian style flourish in keeping with the Italian origins of the movement (see Figure 5. 7 below).


The final movement of HWV 369 is an Italian giga; a dance form that Handel used for the finale of several of his solo sonatas. The harmonic structure and melodic shape of much of this movement seem to have been inspired by another recorder sonata in F major by Benedetto Marcello (c.1712), and the similarities between the two are the subject of a case study below where the necessary evidence is given. The opening motif is borrowed from the last movements of both the D major flute sonata HWV 378 and the trio sonata for two recorders and basso continuo in F major HWV 405, which date from the Italian period c.1707. There are several significant revisions in Handel’s autograph fair copy of this movement, including changes to the passagework and the addition of slides to the recorder part.

It may be significant that the borrowings discovered in this sonata date from the 1710s, much earlier than the date of the autograph (c.1726), rather than the contemporary borrowings in the other fair copy sonatas. The concordances here are from early Italian works by Handel, for example the early Italian D major flute sonata HWV 378, the trio sonata for two recorders and continuo in F major HWV 405, *Il Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità* HWV 46.
and La Resurrezione HWV 47. Other Italian connections include the (unique within Handel’s solo sonatas) Alla Siciliana third movement, as well as the (more common) giga finale with borrowing from Marcello. These influences, alongside the absence of the Larghetto marking in the autograph, and the fact that the first three movements of this sonata are not the most common movement types used by Handel, could imply that it was first written or conceived earlier than the other fair copy sonatas.

Performance Issues: A New Borrowing by Handel

The last movement of HWV 369 and the equivalent movement of Benedetto Marcello’s sonata Op. 2 no. 1 have striking structural and harmonic similarities. Although some of these are common to many movements of this type, two features suggest that one of the composers must almost certainly have seen the other’s work. Although there is no record of the occasion, the two composers may have met whilst Handel was in Italy, and, even if they did not, it is likely that they were familiar with each other’s music. Marcello was born in Venice, the city in which Handel’s Agrippina HWV 6 was first performed in December 1709, and Handel’s reputation was such that Marcello would surely have attended at least one performance of the opera.\footnote{Fabrizio Della Seta, ‘Due partiture di Benedetto Marcello e un possibile contributo Händeliano’, Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana, 17 (1983), p. 360 (translated by Suzanne Smart, 25/03/2009).}
Handel, Benedetto Marcello, and Benedetto’s brother Alessandro were associated with a group variously known as The Arcadian Movement, the Accademia poetico-musicale, or the Accademia Filarmonica: a society founded in Rome in 1690. Arcadian shepherds, as they were known, looked back to classical style and ancient Greece as models of artistic perfection. Handel was refused entry to the society during his time in Rome allegedly because he was too young;\textsuperscript{8} therefore, it is surprising that Benedetto Marcello was already a member as he was more than a year younger. Perhaps an exception was made in recognition of the position in society the brothers held after the early death of their father, or, more likely, Handel was actually refused entry because he was German. Although Handel was not able to join, he had strong links with other members of the society in Rome in the early 1700s. These included his patrons Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and the Marquess (later Prince) Francesco Maria Ruspoli, as well as Arcangelo Corelli, who led Handel’s orchestra for \textit{La Resurrezione} in April 1708. Handel set to music a poem by Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili (another of his patrons) for the society, possibly in the spring of 1708, and so presumably was able to attend at least some of their meetings.\textsuperscript{9}

The Italian scholar Fabrizio Della Seta is certain that Handel and Benedetto Marcello were familiar with each other’s work. Both composers set a text from Lucrezia, ‘O numi eterni’, as cantatas. Della Seta asserts that this particular


\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., pp. 22-5.
text appears not to have been set by others, and suggests that it perhaps circulated within a group to which both composers belonged. Handel’s ‘Vo’ far guerra’ (Act II, Scene X) from *Rinaldo* and the final aria of Marcello’s *La morte d’Adone* also present an opportunity for comparison, both arias employing devices which imply that the two composers had access to each other’s music whilst Handel was still in Italy (Marcello is not known to have visited London).

Marcello’s Op. 2 (*XII Suonata a Flauto Solo, Con il suo Basso Continuo per Violoncello ò Cembalo*) was originally published in 1712 by Giuseppe Sala in Venice, predating Handel’s autograph of HWV 369 (c.1726) by some fourteen years. Although Handel left Italy in early 1710, there is a possibility that Marcello had composed his sonatas some years before their publication and that Handel encountered them on an occasion such as an aristocratic soirée. A second edition of Marcello’s Op. 2 was published by Roger in 1715, which corrected many of the errors contained in the Sala edition. Marcello’s sonatas were not published in London until 1732. By this time Handel’s fair

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10 Della Seta tr. Smart, ‘Due partiture di Benedetto Marcello’, p. 360.

11 Ibid., p. 358.


13 Walsh transposed Marcello’s recorder sonatas to fit the German flute, taking advantage of the instrument’s popularity at the time, and published them as *XII Solos for a German Flute or Violin*. Walsh also designated the set as Opus 1 instead of Opus 2, giving the title Opus 1 to the sonatas for two cellos and continuo which were actually Marcello’s Opus 1.
copies had already been made, and the ‘Roger’ edition of his own sonatas (including HWV 369) had already been issued by Walsh. Therefore, if there is a link between the two composers’ works, this cannot have been the first time that Handel encountered Marcello’s Op. 2. It is most likely that Handel obtained a copy of Marcello’s Op. 2 and therefore had the music available to him when he was writing his own recorder sonatas. In the case of HWV 369 this is likely to have been the Sala edition (or a manuscript copy) if my assertion is correct that the sonata was composed during the early 1710s, based on the (likely) contemporary borrowings it contains.

The final movements of both HWV 369 and Marcello’s Op. 2 no. 1 are in $12/8$ and correspond to the Italian giga, although neither is specified as such by its composer. The giga was popular throughout Europe in the early eighteenth century, as evidenced by its widespread use in instrumental chamber music at that time. It was commonly used as the finale of solo or trio sonatas in the Italian style and usually had a time signature of $12/8$ or $6/8$, with the phrases forming regular and predictable rhythmic patterns. The stylised dance was popular in violin music as its characteristic wide leaps and arpeggio figures suited the instrument well; indeed, the word giga itself (along with gigue, gige) was widely used in Europe to describe mediaeval bowed instruments such as the fiddle.\textsuperscript{14} Corelli used the giga six times in his violin sonatas Op. 5, three

times as a finale, and it appears as a movement in three of Telemann's Sonate Metodiche.

HWV 369 and Marcello’s Op. 2 No. 1 are both in the key of F major. Using the recorder’s home key is especially useful in the giga, as it enables the characteristic leaps and arpeggio figuration to be performed with relative ease on the instrument, as, indeed, on the violin. Several of Marcello’s Op. 2 sonatas (which are all for the recorder) employ the giga. As well as the present work, Sonata I, Sonata V (in G major) and Sonata IX (in C major) have an obvious giga-style movement as their finale. Handel used the giga in six of his solo sonatas; each time it occurs as a finale. It is used three times for the violin, twice for the recorder and once for the flute. The giga is also used in the recorder trio sonata HWV 405, and the trio sonata for recorder and violin HWV 389: both of these works are in F major.

The two movements under discussion open with almost identical bass lines, except for some octave transposition (see Figure 5. 8 and Figure 5. 9 below). There is only one difference in the bass figuring of this phrase, which appears under the second chord.
The similarity of these bass lines is likely to be coincidental, as the progression is common, although I have not been able to find this pattern within the many surviving collections of partimenti from the eighteenth century. Perhaps the progression was so elementary that it did not need to be included in these instruction books. Two of the three examples of giga in Corelli’s Op. 5 have the same opening in the bass, although in different keys: Opus V nos. 3 (C major) and 9 (A major). Handel had previously used this bass (as it appears in Marcello’s work) in the trio sonata for two recorders in F major HWV 405, and the flute sonata HWV 378 (both c.1707). These two works also have the same melodic idea as HWV 369/iv (see Figure 5.10 and Figure 5.11 below).
The similarities noted thus far are typical of the genre. However, beyond the opening eight bars (a distinctively short first section, which is to be repeated in each sonata) are two features that suggest that Handel’s movement used Marcello’s as a model.

Having modulated to the dominant, C major, at the end of the first section, both movements restate their respective opening phrase in the new key at the beginning of the second section. Immediately after this two-bar phrase, each work returns to F major to repeat the opening phrase in the tonic, only then moving on to the development.
The use of sequence is not unusual,\textsuperscript{15} but the premature return to the tonic specifically is notable and is a significant point of comparison between the two movements. Marcello used this device in two other giga movements from Op. 2, in Sonata V and Sonata IX. The idea of an early return to the tonic also appears in the \textit{furioso} third movement of Handel’s D minor recorder sonata HWV 367a, although not in such a literal fashion as the very first (almost introductory) bar of the sonata is not included (see Figure 5. 14 below).

\textsuperscript{15} For example, Corelli’s Op. 5 no. 9 Giga (in this case, chords V – ii).
Another example occurs in the finale of the F major violin sonata HWV 370, published in Walsh’s edition of Handel’s sonatas c.1731-2. This is of particular interest, as the sonata is thought to be spurious and its true author is unknown, yet it employs the same distinctive device (see Figure 5. 15 below).

Figure 5. 14: HWV 367a/iii (Furioso)

Figure 5. 15: HWV 370/iv (Allegro)

After the restatement of the theme in the tonic, the harmonic similarity between the Marcello sonata and HWV 369 continues. Both arrive at chord V of vi on the third beat of bar 13 before cadencing in D minor (chord vi) two bars later (after which point the movements diverge). Another undeniable similarity, a melodic one, can be seen in bars 13-14 (see Figure 5. 16 and
Figure 5.17 below). Both melodies focus on a\(^2\) for five beats – Marcello employs plain dotted crotchets (crotchet on the last beat) whereas Handel’s autograph includes slides to add interest, but nevertheless circles a\(^2\) for the same number of beats (Figure 5.18). An earlier version of Handel’s presumably incorporated rests, as the second example gives the relevant passage in the printed editions and other manuscript sources.

**Figure 5.16: Marcello Op. 2 No. 1/iv (Allegro)**

![Marcello Op. 2 No. 1/iv (Allegro)](image)

**Figure 5.17: Handel HWV 369/iv (Allegro) (Walsh)**

![Handel HWV 369/iv (Allegro) (Walsh)](image)

**Figure 5.18: Handel HWV 369/iv (Allegro) (autograph)**

![Handel HWV 369/iv (Allegro) (autograph)](image)
It is likely that Handel's use of Marcello's music as a framework for the final movement of HWV 369 was a conscious decision. The process of borrowing material from another composer and reusing it in this way pays tribute to the original work and, in addition, shows the compositional skill of the borrower. Marcello's Op. 2 was already in print, so the complement of borrowing from another composer and Handel's clever reworking of the material could be publically acknowledged by those canny enough to notice it.16

16 Facsimilies of the two movements have been reproduced for comparison in Appendix 2, p. 358.
Chapter 6

The Recital Sonatas 3: HWV 365

As seen in Chapter 3, Handel’s solo sonatas fall into distinct categories with regard to the tessitura of each instrument. Several of the sonatas demonstrate deliberate avoidance of the extremes of the instrument’s registers, for example in the C major recorder sonata HWV 365, the focus of this chapter. Handel’s reluctance to fully utilise the high register of the recorder in this (and other) sonatas may reflect the limitations, or perceived limitations, of the particular instrument(s) for which he was writing.

The Recorder in England

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the most prominent recorder makers in London were Peter Bressan (1663-1731), who had come over from France in 1688, and the English Thomas Stanesby Senior (c.1668-1734). The English recorder was characterised by a relatively wide bore in comparison to European recorders, which retained much of its width towards the bottom notes as it narrowed steadily but gradually to the foot joint. This gave a relatively full sound in the bottom register of the instrument, which English composers often exploited. The corollary for this strong low register was the weakness of the high register, which was often unreliable and flawed in terms
of intonation. Sir John Hawkins wrote that Bressan’s recorders, ‘though excellent in their tone, are all too flat in the upper octave,’ although Bressan’s surviving (unaltered) recorders have been said to contradict this remark. In light of this, Hawkins could perhaps have been referring to a flat tone or timbre rather than pitch in this instance, but, either way, there was some negativity associated with the high register of English recorders.

Continental makers such as Jacob Denner’s recorders have very different characteristics to those made in England; specifically, they play well in the upper register. The bore of the continental recorder narrows much faster at the bottom of the instrument, which means that the low register of Denner recorders is ‘slim but sonorous’ whilst the high register is reliable, well in tune and easy to play. Composers on the continent generally wrote higher for recorder, as evidenced by Telemann’s solo recorder sonatas, which lie high in the range and spend long periods above the stave. Telemann frequently employed e⁳ and f⁳, and even g⁳ was not uncommon in his sonatas, so the high register seems to have caused no problems for continental instruments or players. Telemann’s F major Sonata à Flauto dolce Solo TWV 41:F2

1 Stephan Blezinger (tr. Terry Simmons), Structural differences and their effects on musical practice, (lecture held at the ERTA Symposium, Karlsruhe 1994), accessed 07/12/2010 <http://www.blezinger.de/eng/comparticle.htm>.
(published 1728) contains the extreme high note $c^3$, although a lower-note alternative was provided as there is only one extant eighteenth-century fingering chart that contains $c^3$ (published in Madrid, 1754). Recorders by the English maker Thomas Stanesby junior also performed well in the high register. Stanesby Junior (bap.1692, d.1754) started his apprenticeship with his father in 1706, and Sir John Hawkins remarked that ‘the flutes … of the younger Stanesby approach the nearest of any to perfection’. Interestingly, Stanesby junior’s recorders have a significantly shorter foot joint than those of Stanesby senior and Bressan. The foot joint of a Stanesby junior recorder narrows much faster to compensate for its reduced length, and perhaps this is what gives the instrument better control over the high register than recorders by the previous generation of English makers.

English recorder tutors usually contained popular tunes of the day that ventured into the high register of the instrument, and fingering charts were routinely provided for the notes required. Significantly, there seems to be no correlation between the range of notes printed in English recorder tutors and the date of their publication. Some tutors from the early 1700s and even the 1680s included fingering for $g^3$, whereas others from the same period only ascend as far as $d^3$, $e^3$, or $f^3$. The fact that there are no discernable trends

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during this period implies that the highest notes were not often used in music of the time, if their inclusion in fingering charts was not universal. Hotteterre’s *PRINCIPES DE LA FLUTE TRAVERSIERE, OU FLUTE D’ALLEMAGNE. DE LA FLUTE A BEC, OU FLUTE DOUCE, ET DU HAUT-BOIS* (Paris, 1707) may have been available in London as it was pirated by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, although these editions were in French and so not accessible to all. Hotteterre gave a fingering chart for the recorder which ascended to $g^3$, but there was no fingering for $f^3$ sharp, which was (and still is) difficult to obtain on most recorders. Most, if not all, English recorder tutors from the 1720s and early 1730s printed $f^3$ as the highest note in their fingering tables.

In a publication of c.1732, Stanesby Junior argued the case for a new C fingering system (six fingers D as used by the oboe and transverse flute, rather than six fingers G as used by the F fingering treble recorder) and for the adoption of the larger tenor recorder as the standard orchestral instrument. The tenor recorder descended to $c^1$ and was therefore of comparable range to the oboe and transverse flute, which, in Stanesby’s opinion, made it a much more useful instrument in the orchestra than the

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8 Editions were printed in Amsterdam in 1708, 1710 and n.d. (David Lasocki, Introduction to Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la Flûte Traversière [Principles of the Flute, Recorder, and Oboe], Translated and Edited by David Lasocki* (London: Barrie & Rockliffe, 1978) p. 13)).

treble recorder with its ‘deficiency of three usefull Notes at the bottom’.⁹

Stanesby’s article was accompanied by a fingering chart which gave fully chromatic and enharmonic fingerings up to d³ sharp - different fingerings are provided for all enharmonic notes with the exception of c¹ sharp and d¹ flat. Recorder players and composers were unconvinced by Stanesby’s suggestion, as the tenor was unwieldy and did not project as well (due to its lower sound, ironically). However, Stanesby’s C fingerings could be (and doubtless were) applied to the F fingering treble recorder, giving the high notes f³ sharp, g³ flat, g³ and g³ sharp. Amateur tutors published a few years later again gave fingering up to g³, but not including f³ sharp (see Figure 6.1 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Highest Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td><em>The Most Pleasant Companion</em>, (?John Banister Junior, London: Hudgebut)</td>
<td>d\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1683</td>
<td><em>The Genteel Companion</em> (Humphrey Salter, London: Hunt and Salter)</td>
<td>g\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686</td>
<td><em>The Delightful Companion</em>, (Robert Carr, London: )</td>
<td>d\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td><em>The Compleat Flute-Master</em>, (London: Walsh and Hare)</td>
<td>e\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td><em>The Compleat Instructor to the Flute</em>, <em>The Second Book</em> (anon, London: Young)</td>
<td>g\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td><em>The Flute Master Compleat Improv’d</em> (anon, London: Young)</td>
<td>g\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td><em>The Fifth Book of the New Flute Master</em>, (anon, London: Walsh and Hare)</td>
<td>f\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td><em>The Compleat Musick-Master</em> (anon, London: Young)</td>
<td>f\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>‘Directions for Playing the Flute’ from <em>The Modern Musick-Master</em> (Prelleur, London)\textsuperscript{11}</td>
<td>f\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1731</td>
<td><em>The Second Book of the Flute Master Improv’d</em> (Wright, London)</td>
<td>f\textsuperscript{3}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{10} For details of fingering charts see Lasocki, ‘17\textsuperscript{th} - and 18\textsuperscript{th}-century fingering charts’.

\textsuperscript{11} Prelleur copied most of his instructional material in ‘Directions for Playing the Flute’ from *The Compleat Flute-Master* (Walsh and Hare, London: 1695). It is interesting that he did not use any material from Hotteterre, as the section of *The Modern Musick-Master* dedicated to the transverse flute is a pirated copy of Hotteterre’s *Principes*.  

[cont.]
It was not just the high register of the recorder that could be problematic; there were limitations at the bottom of the instrument as well. The majority of recorders in Britain in the 1720s and 30s had single holes for f₁ and g₁ rather than the double holes (two smaller holes to be covered by the same finger) usual on modern instruments. The lack of double holes made f₁ sharp and g₁ sharp difficult to produce with reliable intonation or with any amount of force as the player had to use a finger to half-cover the relevant hole (rather than cover just one of the double holes), which was not always easy to achieve accurately. Hotteterre mentions double holes in his *Principes*, but implies that single holes are more usual by referring to them in the first instance throughout his explanation of fingering. The instrument illustrated on Hotteterre’s fingering chart has single holes, although, interestingly, one of the few surviving English recorders with double holes was made by Bressan.¹² Some English treatises, for example Prelleur’s *The Modern Music Master*, 1731, did not even include f₁ sharp or g₁ sharp in their fingering charts as these notes were rarely used (see Figure 6.2 below). Most of the text from

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Prelleur’s recorder chapter is taken from *The Compleat Flute-Master* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1695) but this fingering chart is not (the fingering chart in *The Compleat Flute-Master* does include f\(^1\) sharp and g\(^1\) sharp, but omits top f\(^3\)). Neither f\(^1\) sharp nor g\(^1\) sharp (or their enharmonic equivalents) is used in any of Handel’s recorder sonatas.

**Figure 6.2: Fingering chart from *The Modern Music Master, 1731***

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The Recorder in Handel’s London Operas

The range of Handel’s orchestral recorder parts may reflect the professional players and instruments available to him at different times. The treble recorder parts in Rinaldo HWV 7a (1711), Handel’s first opera for the Queen’s Theatre, do not ascend past d\(^3\) and are likely to have been played by oboists Loeillet and La Tour, whilst the obbligato part in the aria ‘Augelletti, che cantate’ was probably played on the flauto piccolo by either Banister (II) or Paisible. Although it has a similar range of (written) g\(^1\) – d\(^3\), the part is technically much more difficult than the treble recorder parts (see Chapter 4, Figure 4.20). Handel’s writing for treble recorder became more adventurous after Galliard’s arrival in the orchestra in 1713, as Teseo HWV 9 (1713), Silla HWV 10 (1713), and Amadigi HWV 11 (1715) all have at least one recorder part which ascends to f\(^3\).

Handel’s writing for recorder at Cannons is more demanding again, and exceeds the usual range of the instrument by including top g\(^3\) in ‘One thing I have desired’ from the Chandos Anthem 10 The Lord is my light HWV 255 (1717-8). This is higher than any of Handel’s writing for recorder so far, and it is likely that he was influenced by the abilities and possibly the instrument of the recorder specialist Mercy. Acis and Galatea HWV 49 (1718) utilises the more usual two-octave range of the treble recorder from f\(^1\) – f\(^3\). Handel scored for flauto piccolo in aria(s) which may have been written for Mercy, or for Kytch if he was indeed engaged for Acis and Galatea.
Handel did not include recorders in any of his operas for the Royal Academy from 1720 to 1723, using transverse flute(s) instead for *Radamisto* HWV 12 (1720) and *Flavio* HWV 16 (1723). Recorders reappear (in addition to flutes) in *Guilio Cesare* HWV 17 (1724), by which point Kytch is presumed to have joined the orchestra as first oboe. Handel wrote one eꜜ3 flat for the first recorder in the middle section of ‘Svegliatevi nel core’ (Act I, Scene IV) from *Guilio Cesare*, but apart from this, his recorder parts for the Royal Academy do not venture above dꜜ3 again. It is notable that Handel’s recorder sonatas (written 1725-6) should ascend above dꜜ3 even occasionally, as none of Handel’s recorder parts written for professional players at the Royal Academy utilises notes higher than dꜜ3 after 1724.

The extra-musical associations of the flute and recorder are very important in Handel’s vocal works. Some of these instrumental associations were used in combination with a carefully chosen key for dramatic affect, while others were purely pictorial and did not necessarily have any particular key associated with them. Woodwind instruments (oboe, recorder, or flute, often with bassoon either as an obbligato instrument or in continuo role) were often used to illustrate pastoral scenes in eighteenth-century operas. F major was a very suitable key for both the oboe and the recorder (and also the bassoon), which may well have led to its association with the pastoral. Leichtentritt asserts that F major is ‘the tonal background for the pastoral idyl [sic]’, not just in Handel’s works but in those of many eighteenth-century composers. However, several other keys were thought to be just as suitable, and a range of keys was in use for pastoral music around the turn of the century. Charpentier thought A major
‘joyful and pastoral’, and Handel often used G major, as well as F major, for nature and pastoral subjects (for example the aria ‘Augelletti, che cantate’ from Rinaldo). Lia Starer Levin’s doctoral thesis examines the use of the recorder (and flute) in Handel’s vocal works, and remarks on the association of the latter two keys with the pastoral: ‘Inasmuch as Handel’s pastorals were frequently composed in G or F major, regardless of the instrumentation, the use of the recorder in such pieces may have been both a motive for suggesting this particular key or perhaps a result of the choice of tonality’. The almost exclusive association between F major and the pastoral accepted today was forged rather later, with Beethoven’s ‘Pastoral’ symphony perhaps cementing the link.

Handel used recorders to illustrate love, lyrics involving the heart, scenes of nature, the pastoral, the sea, death (in nature and mythological), mention of wings or flight (of birds or angels, the latter often in connection with death), sleep, the supernatural, heaven, and, of course, birds. Recorders have traditionally been used in pairs, not only to illustrate their association with love, but also to represent the aulos (an ancient wind instrument with two side-by-side pipes). Handel continued this tradition, almost always writing for paired recorders (flauti rather than flauto) even when they play a single melodic line.

16 Ibid., pp. 375-7.
This had the practical advantage of helping the soft-toned instrument to project, as it would be more difficult for a single recorder to make itself heard.

It is common for Handel’s recorder parts to double the singer, which is appropriate as the sound of the recorder had often been compared to the voice. Recorders are usually paired with soprano or countertenor/alto voices in Handel’s dramatic vocal works, although there are some exceptions. 17 This doubling is normally at the octave rather than in unison, due to the relatively high range of the recorder. Handel also used recorders to double the violin line. Sometimes a pair of recorders plays in unison (or in octaves) with the first violin part, and sometimes two recorders double the first and second violins respectively. On occasion the recorder is used as an obbligato instrument in an aria, with its own independent solo line.

Handel’s orchestral texture is often sensitive to the soft dynamic of the recorder and it is common for the accompanying parts to be restrained in some way, such as con sordini, pizzicato, senza cembalo or sempre piano.18 During the opening bars of ‘Augelletti, che cantate’ from Rinaldo, for example, the two recorders are accompanied only by the violas, which provide the bass line in the absence of the continuo section. This limited accompaniment helps the pair of recorders to project, which may indicate that they were placed behind the scenes (as suggested by some contemporary reports), or perhaps

17 For example ‘Ruddier than the Cherry’ (Act II) from Acis and Galatea HWV 49: a bass aria with (small) recorder for comic effect.

18 Levin, The recorder in the music of Purcell and Handel, p. 356.
it was to maximise the chance of hearing the live birdsong over the orchestra.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{The High Register in Handel’s Solo Sonatas for Recorder}

The incidence of notes higher than $d^3$ in Handel’s recorder sonatas is always exceptional. The use of $e^3$ natural and $f^3$ in Handel’s solo recorder sonatas is unique to the sonata in A minor HWV 362 and each note occurs only once, in bar 44 of the fourth movement. This movement is a transposition of the Allegro in C minor HWV 408, thought to be for the violin, which exists in Handel’s autograph as a working copy written on Cantoni paper dated 1724-5.\textsuperscript{20} Handel made several adaptations to the movement when recomposing and transferring it to the recorder, some to allow for the recorder’s more limited range. Presumably Handel decided that the intended recipient of this sonata (or the amateur recorder player in general) would be able to manage the $e^3$ and $f^3$, particularly as they appear at the climax of the movement and therefore can be attacked with the necessary force. However, the following phrase had to be recomposed (in melody and bass parts) to avoid writing up to an improbable $a^3$ for the recorder in bar 46 (see Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4 below).

\textsuperscript{19} See Appendix 2, p. 357.

The extracts below also demonstrate Handel’s deliberate avoidance of the note $g^1$ sharp in his writing for recorder. In the violin Allegro (Figure 6.3), the melodic line descends to $b$ (below middle $c^1$) in the penultimate bar, whereas in the recorder sonata (Figure 6.4) the equivalent note is displaced up an octave. The use of $g^2$ sharp here primarily avoids the awkward and weak $g^1$ sharp, but also creates a heightened rhetorical effect just before the end of the movement: ‘the upward leap (exclamatio) is shocking (hyperbole) and most unexpected (hyperbaton)’.  

Figure 6.3: HWV 408 (Allegro)


See pp. 130-133 for a detailed analysis of the rhetorical nature of this movement.
The note e\textsuperscript{3} flat appears in two movements of Handel's solo sonatas for the recorder: in the second movement of the sonata in G minor HWV 360, and the third movement of the sonata in B flat major HWV 377. In each of these movements e\textsuperscript{3} flat is used twice only, within the space of one bar, and the incidences are unremarkable. However, the third movement of the recorder sonata in B flat major HWV 377 was reused shortly after its composition in the A major violin sonata HWV 361 (c.1726), where it appears as movement iv, and Handel made several alterations/improvements to the music when transferring it to the violin. One of these changes involves the avoidance of e\textsuperscript{3} flat, from which it could be inferred that he felt constrained by the limited range of the recorder and the particular weakness of the English instrument in the high register. For example, bars 32-33 could be seen to compare
unfavourably with the corresponding passage in the violin sonata (bars 33-34).\textsuperscript{22} In this instance the $e^2$ flat (*) comes as an anti-climax, and perhaps Handel would have preferred the $e^2$ flat and subsequent notes to sound an octave higher as in the violin version (see Figure 6.5 and Figure 6.6 below). Presumably Handel avoided writing $e^3$ on this occasion as he thought the following $f^3$ and $g^3$ would be too high for the instrument or player he was writing for (despite having used those notes previously in his orchestral writing at Cannons).\textsuperscript{23}

\textit{Figure 6.5: HWV 377/iii (Allegro)}

\textsuperscript{22} The movement under discussion is a bar longer in the violin sonata HWV 361, due to Handel's recomposition of the final five bars. The two movements broadly follow each other phrase for phrase until bar 32 (which is the extra bar in HWV 361/IV).

\textsuperscript{23} ‘One thing have I desired of the Lord’, from \textit{The Lord is My Light} (Chandos Anthem 10).
Handel’s sonatas for the recorder favour its low and mid registers, with d\textsuperscript{3} the highest note used in three of the six sonatas for the instrument. This may suggest that he wrote his solo sonatas specifically to suit English-made instruments, which were not always reliable in the high register, and perhaps their suitability for the English recorder suggests that they were written for an amateur player, likely to own such an instrument. However, Handel may have been over cautious with his approach to the high register of the recorder, and, in HWV 365 in particular, his avoidance of certain notes is to the detriment of the music. Given a reliable instrument and player, I believe that a more satisfactory performance can be given by reinstating two phrases that Handel rewrote in a lower register for the recorder.
Performance Issues: Avoidance of $e^3$ on the Recorder

The first folio of the autograph of HWV 365 in C major is missing so there is no confirmation of the intended instrument in Handel’s hand, but the surviving pages are written in the same neat handwriting and on the same paper as the other fair copy recorder sonatas. HWV 365 is included in the Manchester manuscript, although this source does not specify instrumentation for any of the sonatas contained within. However, ‘Roger’ and Walsh both specify Flauto Solo at the bottom of the first page of this sonata, and a copy can also be found in the private collection of Guy Oldham, where it has the title Sonata ii A Flauto e Cembalo. There are very few differences between the remainder of the autograph and the other sources, from which the missing text has been reclaimed. The exception to this is the ‘Roger’ edition which is missing the fourth movement; this is rectified in Walsh.

The third movement passacaglia of HWV 365 is a revision of the same from the F major oboe sonata HWV 363a (published by Walsh as the G major flute sonata HWV 363b). Handel made several changes when reusing this movement, marking it Larghetto instead of Andante (as it appears in the Manchester manuscript of HWV 363a) or Adagio (in Walsh’s transposition for flute HWV 363b - the movement is missing in ‘Roger’), and transposing it into A minor from the original D minor of HWV 363a. The bass line of HWV 365/iii

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is an octave lower in relation to the melody line than in HWV 363/iii and there are several octave transpositions, notably in the very first bar where the dramatic leap of a tenth has been replaced with a minor third.

Significantly, Handel rewrote the melody line of HWV 365/iii an octave lower in two places to avoid writing e³ for the recorder. As a result of this octave transposition, the literal high point of the phrases concerned is changed, and any rhetorical effect that Handel may have intended in the original version is altered. It seems likely that, in a tender movement such as this, the instrument could not be relied upon to produce the note either at all, or in a suitably gentle manner. The original version of the melodic line is more musically satisfying from a rhetorical point of view, with its progressively rising motifs in contrary motion to the bass line in the first example. I chose to put both phrases into the high register in the recital performance (indicated by the small notes in Figure 6.7 and Figure 6.8 below). Using a gentle tongue stroke such as di rather than ti can help to lessen the attack on the note to suit the mood of the movement.
Handel did write e³ for the recorder on a very few other occasions in his instrumental chamber music, for example in the last movement of the A minor recorder sonata HWV 362 as discussed above (see Figure 6. 4). The note also appears in Handel’s F major trio sonata for two recorders and basso continuo HWV 405, written in Italy c.1707. The first occurrence of e³ is during
the first movement Allegro of the trio sonata, where it is used as part of a
descending run from f⁴ in the first recorder part. This is comparable to the use
of e⁴ and f⁴ in HWV 362 mentioned previously, and the note is arguably easier
to produce in a loud, fast movement than it is in a soft, slow movement.
However, e⁴ is also used in the Grave middle movement of HWV 405, again
by the first recorder, and at a very exposed point in the music (see bar 7 of
Figure 6.9 below). It could be that Italian recorders were more reliable in the
high register than English ones, or that in this instance Handel was writing for
professional musicians and did not need to make any concessions to either
instrument or player. Alternatively, it may not have been successful in
performance, and perhaps Handel subsequently decided to avoid writing e⁴
for the recorder in his slow movements.

Figure 6.9: HWV 405/ii (Grave)

A Note About Ornamentation

An example of the kind of ornamentation that Handel may have envisaged for
the passacaglia movement common to HWV 365 and HWV 363 can be found
in an autograph fragment of the opening (see Figure 6. 10 below).\(^{25}\) The fragment is in the original key so must belong to HWV 363a, thought to date from pre-1716, but the fragment is dated c.1724-5.\(^{26}\) The ornamentation appears to contradict the advice of Quantz and others not to obscure the theme on its first appearance: however, if this fragment does represent Handel’s intended ornamentation at the beginning, it could be assumed that the rest of the movement should be embellished in a similarly detailed manner. The later date may be significant, and the fragment may show what kind of ornamentation was common in the mid-1720s rather than a decade earlier when the movement was first conceived. Alternatively, the fact that Handel abandoned the melody line after only a couple of bars may indicate that he was not satisfied with the ornamentation, and therefore should not be used as a model.

Figure 6. 10: Autograph fragment of HWV 363a/iii (no tempo marking on fragment)

\(^{25}\) The fragment does not have a heading, only the footnote ‘12 Gallons Port’!

\(^{26}\) Best, Critical Report of HHA IV/3: Elf Sonaten für Flöte, p. 82.
For the recital performance, I decided to add only minimal ornamentation to this movement. In the context of the whole sonata, the passacaglia movement comes after the very busy fugal second movement and before the lively \textit{A tempo di Gavotta}, so I felt a sense of calm was needed between these two faster movements. In addition, there are two vocal works that are closely related to the passacaglia movement, and the text of these works also supports a simple approach to the melody line so as not to detract from the tender mood of the music. The distinctive descending bass line of the movement was used in 'Tears are my daily food' from Chandos Anthem 6 \textit{As pants the Hart} HWV 251\textsuperscript{27}, the first version of which dates from 1711-12 and may be contemporary with HWV 363a.

\textbf{Figure 6. 11: 'Tears are my daily food' (Larghetto) from \textit{As Pants the Hart} HWV 251}

\textsuperscript{27} David Lasocki and Eva Legêne, ‘Learning to ornament Handel's sonatas through the composer's ears. I.’, \textit{American Recorder} 30/1 (February 1989), 9-14 (pp. 13-14).
The passacaglia movement also has similarities to the earlier ‘Ad te Clamamus’ from Handel’s *Salve Regina* HWV 241 (1707), including the rising passage in the middle of the movement. The passage is punctuated with rests (in both melody and bass) in ‘Ad te Clamamus’, as is the oboe line in HWV 363a (see Figure 6. 13 below). Handel may have included these rests to obtain a similar dramatic effect, although the bass line continues in HWV 363a. However they may also serve a practical purpose. The oboe requires a high-pressure but low-volume airstream and so the rests may have been included as opportunities for the player to exhale if too much air had previously been taken into the lungs. The rests do not appear in the recorder version of this movement (see Figure 6. 14 below). This could be for a number of reasons: first, the autograph of this sonata no longer exists, so perhaps Handel had already revised the rhythm in the autograph of HWV 363a; second, perhaps Handel decided to take the rests out to make this passage more legato; third, the recorder player is less likely to have excess air to exhale, so would not need rests for this purpose; fourth, Handel may have revised this passage during transposition as he often did when reusing material. If this rising passage is ornamented in performance, the written rhythms may not be strictly observed in any case.

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28 Presumed from the other sources, in the absence of an autograph.
Figure 6. 12: ‘Ad te Clamamus’ (Adagio) from *Salve Regina*

Figure 6. 13: HWV 363a/iii (Adagio)

Figure 6. 14: HWV 365/iii (Larghetto)
Performance Issues: Articulation and Other Techniques

There are few articulation marks in Handel’s solo sonatas, but the fair copy recorder sonatas display some of the most plentiful markings. The majority appear as slurs over written-out ornaments such as appoggiaturas and slides. Small ornaments such as these were known as essential graces and often did not need to be indicated as the performer would have known to include them, however there are some written-out examples in Handel’s autographs.

Appoggiaturas

The appoggiatura was strongly associated with articulation, as it was customary for dissonant notes to be slurred onto consonant notes as they resolve. An example of written-out appoggiaturas complete with slurs can be seen in the third movement of the recorder sonata in F major HWV 369. The appoggiaturas here occur as a result of the 7-6 and 4-3 suspensions in the melody, which are indicated by the figured bass (see Figure 6. 15 below).

Figure 6. 15: HWV 369/iii (Alla Siciliana)
Appoggiaturas can also be added, at the discretion of the performer, where they are not indicated by the figures. Quantz warns against adding them too freely, lest they become monotonous: 'It is true that the ornaments described above [including the appoggiatura] are absolutely necessary for good execution. But they must be used sparingly or they become too much of a good thing. The rarest and most tasteful delicacies produce nausea if over-indulged'.

**Trills**

The trill, another essential grace, was closely related to the appoggiatura and therefore to articulation. It was usual for a long appoggiatura to be added at the beginning of a trill, although neither ornament was indicated in the score as a matter of course.

The first shake in the scale, which is on D below, is made by opening the 6th hole, before you blow, in order to take it from E, which is the next note above, you tip this note with your tongue, and then shake your finger several times upon the 6th hole without taking breath or tonguing the 2nd note ... you must not press the shaking too quick, but rather suspend it about half the value or measure of the note, especially in grave movements...

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An example can be seen in the second movement of the C major recorder sonata HWV 365 where the 4-3 suspension in the figures suggests an $f^2$ appoggiatura in the recorder part on the second quaver of bar 88, leading to a short cadential trill on the $e^2$ (see Figure 6. 16 below).

**Figure 6. 16: HWV 365/ii (Allegro)**

Handel's neatest sonatas, the fair copy recorder sonatas and the A major violin sonata HWV 361, have more marked trills than the other sonatas. These are usually decorative trills, at places other than cadences. However, trills are not marked consistently. For example, the first movement of the violin sonata in A major HWV 361 has differing numbers of trills marked each time the motif below appears (see Figure 6. 17 below).

**Figure 6. 17: HWV 361/i (Larghetto)**
Many of Handel’s marked trills include some kind of written-out termination, several examples of which can be seen in the C major recorder sonata HWV 365. The written-out termination (\*) can indicate a trill before it when the trill itself remains unmarked, as in the second movement of HWV 356 (see Figure 6. 18 below).

**Figure 6. 18: HWV 365/ii (Allegro)**

The presence of a termination after a trill may indicate that Handel wished subsequent trills to be concluded in the same manner. In the fifth movement of HWV 365 (Figure 6. 19 below), it is likely that bars 9 and 11 are to be played the same as bars 1 and 3, even though the termination is not marked.

**Figure 6. 19: HWV 365/v (Allegro)**
Handel often included slides, a short run of three consecutive notes, in his solo sonatas, and usually included a slur over these. Examples of the slide occur in slow walking quaver bass movements such as the first movements of HWV 360, 359a, and 379, and also fast giga movements, such as the final movements of HWV 377, 361, and 369. Often it is unclear from the autograph exactly how many of the notes are intended to be under the slur: sometimes it appears that only two of the three notes in the slide are slurred together, leaving the highest note to be articulated separately, but most commonly the slur appears to encompass all three notes. Slurs can also be found over slightly longer scalic runs of fast notes (or tirata) implying that this was the usual way to articulate such motifs.

Figure 6. 20: HWV 369/iv (Allegro)

Figure 6. 21: HWV 377/iii (Allegro)
Paired slurs

Handel marked slurs over dissonances other than appoggiaturas, for example the paired slurs in the second movement of the B flat major recorder sonata HWV 377. These slurs connect a consonant to a dissonant but anticipatory note, indicating that the first note of each pair should be strongest and giving an expressive and sighing quality to the phrase (see Figure 6. 23 below). Similar slurs are used in bars 1 and 4 of HWV 360/i and paired slurs can also be seen in bar 5, one over a large leap from $b^2$ flat down a minor seventh to $c^2$. This is unusual (slurs in the recorder sonatas are almost always over notes which move by step) but not difficult for the recorder (see Figure 6. 24 below).
The paired slurring in the fourth movement of the G minor recorder sonata HWV 360 is inconsistent and raises questions about Handel’s intentions. For example, the descending quavers at the end of bar 10 are slurred in pairs, but the quavers in the equivalent phrase at the end of bar 12 are not (see Figure 6. 25 below). Did Handel vary the articulation purposely, for variety, or does the absence of slurs mean that he expected the performer to add them?

Distinctive patterns of slurring

Two of Handel’s recorder sonata movements feature distinctive patterns of slurring. The first movement of the recorder sonata in A minor HWV 362 has perhaps the most marked slurs in any of the sonatas, with almost all the triplet
quaver groups slurred in threes (see Figure 6.26 below). These groups often include passing notes or auxiliary notes of some kind, and so the purpose of the slurs could be to encompass that dissonance. However, they are applied so consistently throughout that they become integral to the character of the music. Interestingly, these slurs also appear in the bass line. It is unusual to have slurs in the bass, especially as the sonata is marked *a Flauto e Cembalo* implying that no string instrument is required. So if they are not slurs for a bowed instrument, could their purpose be to mark the triplets? And does that imply that the dotted rhythms should be strictly observed? This sonata was not performed in the recital and the issue of dotting has not been discussed in this thesis due to space limitations, but rhythmic oddities of this kind are not unusual in baroque music.31

Figure 6.26: HWV 362/i (Larghetto)

The second movement of the recorder sonata in G minor HWV 360 also has unusually comprehensive slurring. In this case, the recurring motif is

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31 The Sanctus from Bach’s Mass in B minor for example has dotted rhythms against triplets.
slurred consistently throughout (see Figure 6. 27 below). Again, many of the slurred notes are technically passing notes or auxiliary notes, but the articulation is notated consistently and as such this pattern of slurring is a distinctive feature of the movement.

Figure 6. 27: HWV 360/i (Andante)

**Violinistic writing - String Crossing**

Examining Handel's melody writing in the solo sonatas reveals that many patterns are common to more than one instrument, some of which are techniques most often seen in violin writing. The C major recorder sonata HWV 365 demonstrates some of these figurations, the first of which is string crossing, often indicated in the violin sonatas with slurs. The passage below from the fourth movement (see Figure 6. 28 below) has a similar shape to a string crossing passage from the second movement of the violin sonata HWV 359a (see Figure 6. 29 below), and the articulation that Handel included in the
latter could be applied to the recorder sonata. I decided to use this one-plus-three pattern of slurring in the recital performance of HWV 365.

Figure 6. 28: HWV 365/iv (A tempo di Gavotta)

Figure 6. 29: HWV 359a/ii (Allegro)

Slurs could usefully be added to similar passagework in other recorder sonatas, for example the *furioso* (movement iii) of HWV 367a, probably Handel’s most virtuosic sonata movement for the recorder. There is no articulation marked, but the figure at bars 31-2 (see Figure 6. 30 below) has the same basic figuration as the passage at bar 9 of the violin sonata HWV 359a/ii (although the lowest note stays the same) and this one-plus-three pattern of slurring could also be applied here (see Figure 6. 31 below).
When Handel does write slurs in his sonata movements, they are often incomplete and/or inconsistent. For example, paired slurs are present over the first four quavers of the example below from HWV 360/iv, but not the following eight quavers, or any of the equivalent phrases (see Figure 6. 32 below).

When Handel transcribed this movement for the flute (see Figure 6. 33 below) he changed the figuration of the passage below slightly and did not add any slurs at all. This is probably a result of Handel’s hurried copying of this sonata with minor recomposing as he went along (note that the bass line is also different), and not for any particular reason to do with the change of instrumentation. Paired slurring as seen in HWV 360/iv is typical of Handel’s string writing, where it usually indicates string crossing which helps to bring
out the lower, and more interesting, melody line. An example of this can be seen in the second movement of the A major violin sonata HWV 361 (see Figure 6.34 below). The articulation is continued throughout the relevant passage in this case, so perhaps this could serve as a model for such figuration in the woodwind sonatas.

Figure 6.32: HWV 360/iv (Presto)

Figure 6.33: HWV 379/v (Presto)

Figure 6.34: HWV 361/ii (Allegro)
Violinistic writing - Voicing

The fourth movement *A Tempo di Gavotta* of the C major recorder sonata HWV 365 demonstrates another technique familiar from string writing, known as voicing. In Figure 6.35 below, the violinist would play the upper notes on one string and the lower on another thus emphasising the dialogue between the two lines. A similar effect could be achieved on the recorder in HWV 365/iv by using dynamics and/or contrasting articulations to distinguish the voices. The rests in the continuo enable the effect in the melody line to be heard more easily on the soft-voiced recorder (see Figure 6.36 below).

![Figure 6.35: HWV 359a/ii (Allegro)](image1)

![Figure 6.36: HWV 365/iv (A tempo di Gavotta)](image2)

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The Dagger Marking

The dagger marking is used on many occasions in Handel’s solo sonatas, and it appears to have several different functions. Two of these can be seen in HWV 365. The most obvious of these is to indicate a staccato articulation, for example in HWV 365/v where they appear to indicate short, detached notes at the end of the first phrase. The same articulation could apply in bar 4, but perhaps not in bars 10 and 12, as here the bass line continues in semiquaver motion instead of playing in rhythmic unison (see Figure 6.37 below).

Figure 6.37: HWV 365/v (Allegro)

The fifth movement of HWV 365 above uses the same material as the duet ‘Placa l’alma’ (Act I, Scene IX) from the contemporary opera Alessandro HWV 21 (1726). This borrowing is well documented (see Figure 6.38 below). However, the opening motif, without the rests, can also be found in the

33 Alessandro is almost all written on C20, the same paper as the fair copy sonatas, with one 4-leaf unit on Cantoni, the same paper as HWV 377 and 367a. Donald Burrows and Martha J. Ronish, A Catalogue of Handel’s Musical Autographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 13.
Menuet HWV 523 which was copied later by J. C. Smith junior c.1727-30,\textsuperscript{34} a concordance which does not seem to have previously been noted (see Figure 6. 39 below).

Figure 6. 38: ‘Placa l’alma’ (Allegro) from Alessandro

Figure 6. 39: HWV 523 (no tempo marking)

Handel used the dagger marking presumably for articulation purposes on several occasions in HWV 377/iii (see Figure 6. 40 below), again probably to indicate that these notes should be detached. The performer could emphasise

\textsuperscript{34} Lbl RM 18. b. 8 f.87r (Terence Best, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe. Serie 4, Band 19, Instrumentalmusik. Einzelüberlieferte Instrumentalwerke II. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988)).
this by playing these notes with a strong articulation such as \( ti \), although these marks are not unique to the woodwind sonatas.

Figure 6. 40: HWV 377/iii (Allegro)

Handel also used the dagger marking to indicate the beginning of a phrase, an example of which can be seen in the interesting parallel between the passages below, from the first movements of the C major recorder sonata HWV 365 and the A major violin sonata HWV 361 (see Figure 6. 41 and Figure 6. 42 below). Phrases in both begin on the fourth beat of the bar, and there is articulation present in HWV 361/i which could be used as a model for HWV 365/i. Handel used the dagger marking in bar 14 of HWV 361/i presumably to indicate that the last beat of the bar requires unusual emphasis. It is unlikely to mean that the note under the dagger is to be staccato as it is tied over the barline. It could mean that the note should be slightly detached from the previous one, but is unlikely to indicate a significant break before the note in question as the bass line continues to move between beats three and four. It could even indicate that the performer is to retake the bow in order to start the \( e^2 \) on a downbow. The following bowing would then be taken as it comes, and so the subsequent phrases would also start with a downbow on the fourth beat. The recorder sonata movement shares the same
phrase structure and I chose to articulate this by taking a breath before the fourth beat as an equivalent gesture to retaking the bow, and then using a strong tongue stroke (\textit{ti}) to emphasise the beginning of the new phrase. It is a possibility that Handel included the dagger marking in the autograph of HWV 365: the first page (which includes these bars) is lost.

\textbf{Figure 6. 41: HWV 365/i (Larghetto)}

![Figure 6. 41: HWV 365/i (Larghetto)](image)

\textbf{Figure 6. 42: HWV 361/ii (Larghetto)}

![Figure 6. 42: HWV 361/ii (Larghetto)](image)

The dagger mark is also employed for this purpose in HWV 360/ii, over the second beat of bars 7 and 9. Interestingly, the mark is not present over the first bar of this pattern. This may confirm that the purpose of the dagger is to indicate the beginning of each phrase, otherwise surely there should be such a marking in bar 5 as well? Perhaps in this case the dagger indicates that the note under it should be detached from the previous one, hence no need to
include it the first time the relevant note follows a rest (see Figure 6.43 below). Presumably the performer is meant to apply the same articulation to the subsequent phrases, as the dagger markings continue in the equivalent passage of the E minor flute sonata HWV 379 (see Figure 6.44 below).

Figure 6.43: HWV 360/ii
Studying Handel’s articulation marks across all the solo sonatas informed the choices I made in performance. Handel was often inconsistent with his markings, inviting the performer to decide whether to include slurs that are absent based on those which Handel included on other occasions. Several of the articulation issues discussed above can be demonstrated in HWV 365, for example unmarked appoggiaturas, trills, and violinistic figurations in the recorder part. I was able to use my knowledge of Handel’s practice in other sonatas to decide where appoggiaturas, trills, larger ornaments, and extra articulation could be added, and what kind of techniques were appropriate to use.
Chapter 7

The Recital Sonatas 4: HWV 359b and HWV 379

Six sonatas for the transverse or German flute were published under Handel’s name during his lifetime. Of these six, the three published in ‘Roger’ and Walsh, HWV 359b, 363b and 367b, are all transpositions of authentic Handel sonatas intended for other instruments (violin, oboe, and recorder). The most likely reason for Walsh making these transpositions was the increasing popularity of the German flute at the time. As none of the sonatas Walsh had acquired was for the flute, presumably he took the opportunity to make more sales by adapting some of them for that instrument. This must have been deliberate, as the flute is the first instrument listed on the title pages of both ‘Roger’ and Walsh (traversiere and German flute, respectively), before oboe or violin.\(^1\) Significantly, neither edition mentions the recorder on the title page, although five of the sonatas contained within were originally written for recorder and four of those retained the designation in both printed editions.

Another three flute sonatas attributed to Handel were published c.1730 by Walsh and Hare. They were thought by Chrysander to be early works dating from Handel’s time in Halle, but this cannot be the case for at least one of the sonatas, and they are now thought to be spurious.\(^2\)

\(^1\) See Chapter 2, Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.3.

\(^2\) Terence Best, Preface to *Elf Sonaten für Flöte und Basso continuo* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), p. X.
There are only two authentic flute sonatas by Handel, neither of which was published during his lifetime. These are HWV 378 in D major c.1707 which was discussed in Chapter 4, and HWV 379 in E minor c.1728 which will be discussed below.

The Flute in England

The majority of the treatises for transverse flute published in England in first half of the eighteenth century were based on Hotteterre’s *Principes*. The flute section of Hotteterre’s tutor was translated and published in London by Walsh and Hare c.1729, so flautists had access to Hotteterre’s instructions for their instrument in English. The music examples at the back of the book included French suites by Paisible and Dieupart, in accordance with the fact that the first generation of players of the German flute in England were French (Paisible, Loeillet, LaTour) and probably brought French instruments with them. Hotteterre gave a fully chromatic fingering chart up to g\(^3\), with the exception of f\(^3\) which ‘can almost never be done on the flute’. The fingering chart in Hotteterre (and any subsequent plagiarised version) was based on

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5 Lasocki, Introduction to Hotteterre’s *Principles*, p. 46.
three-piece French instruments rather than English ones, which by the 1730s were mostly of four-piece construction.

_The Modern Musick-Master_ (Prelleur, 1730/1) contained a chapter called ‘The Newest Method for Learners on the German Flute’ which is an abridged and edited version of Hotteterre’s chapter on the flute. Prelleur’s fingering chart is almost identical to Hotteterre’s, although the former includes extra alternative fingerings for $c^3$ sharp and $d^3$ as well as a different fingering for $g^3$. These may have worked better on English-made flutes, although the transverse flute illustrated in Prelleur appears to be of the French three-piece design, with bulbous turned joints (see Figure 7.1 below). Flutes of this design (known as Hotteterre) were not only brought over from France by musicians but were being made in England as well, for example by the instrument maker Bressan. Two of the three surviving transverse flutes by Bressan are three-piece instruments of this kind, but the third is of four-piece construction. Stanesby Junior, active during the period 1713-50, made flutes in four pieces. The majority of his surviving flutes (twenty-five of thirty-eight) are made of ivory, but he also made flutes in boxwood and ebony.

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6 This must have been pirated from the Walsh and Hare edition, as the section on ‘The first Scale’ refers to the G clef placed on the second line (i.e. the treble clef) rather than on the first line (French violin clef) as in the original 1707 publication. Walsh and Hare must have made their translation from an Amsterdam edition rather than the Paris original.


instruments play well in the top register, and their simple exterior has more in common with later classical flutes than with the ornate turning of the Hotteterre-style instrument.

Figure 7. 1: Detail of illustration from The Modern Musick-Master (Prelleur)\(^9\)

![Image]

Telemann often wrote e\(^3\) for the flute and Bach ventured much higher above the stave (up to a\(^3\) in his Partita for solo flute BWV 1013, which probably dates from the early 1720s), whilst Handel’s authentic flute sonatas both have a two-octave range, from d\(^1\) – d\(^3\). Handel had experience with flutes and flautists in the opera orchestra and would therefore have had a good idea of the limitations of both instrument and player. The flute was a newer instrument than the oboe or recorder, and therefore it is likely that, especially in the early part of the century, when the flute was essentially a doubling

\(^9\) No page number – facing title page of section on the German Flute.
instrument amongst professionals, players were not so proficient.\textsuperscript{10} However, many of the tunes intended for the amateur player in \textit{The Modern Music Master} (1731) ascend to $e^3$, so perhaps Handel was being over-cautious by avoiding the highest notes in his solo sonatas.

[cont.]

\textsuperscript{10} Later works featuring the flute are more adventurous, for example ‘Sweet bird’ in Part the First of \textit{L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato} HWV 55 (1740) must have been written for a virtuoso player, probably a specialist flautist, and contains a rare use of the note $e^3$ in Handel’s orchestral writing for the flute.
Figure 7. 2: English flute tutors of the 1720s and 30s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Highest Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.1720</td>
<td><em>Instructions for the German Flute</em> (London: J. Walsh, c. 1720)</td>
<td>(not extant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1725</td>
<td><em>Lessons for the German Flute</em> – Lully (Loeillet) (London: Walsh?)</td>
<td>(not extant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td><em>The Rudiments or Principles of the German Flute</em> (London: J. Walsh, 1729)</td>
<td>g³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td><em>The Modern Musick-Master</em> - The Newest Method for Learners on the GERMAN FLUTE* (London: Prelleur)</td>
<td>g³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 For details of the content of these volumes, see Helen Crown, *Lewis Granom: his significance for the flute in the eighteenth century* (PhD dissertation: Cardiff, 2013), Chapter 3.

12 Nancy Hadden describes another extant but undated flute tutor, published by Walsh and Hare and belonging to the Dayton Miller Collection, Library of Congress, which provides four fingering charts, one of which ascends to a³ and another to b³ flat. Hadden suggests that it dates from pre-1725 due to the use of the term flute d’Allemagne, which seems to have only been in general use until c.1711 (being replaced by German flute). See Hadden, ‘English Tutors for the German Flute, Part 1’, pp. 4-5.


Unlike his writing for recorder, the range of Handel’s flute parts in his operas does not vary significantly over time. Instead, the way in which Handel used the flute within the orchestra changed and developed as he and the players grew in confidence with the instrument. Handel kept his writing for the flute in the opera orchestra within a two-octave range from d$^1$ – d$^3$, only occasionally using the highest notes. Handel’s first London operas for the Queen’s Theatre orchestra have two flute parts, presumably played by Loeillet and La Tour. The flutes are used as doubling instruments to add colour to the violin lines, rather than playing independent parts.

It appears that Handel did not score for the transverse flute during his time at Cannons, despite having Chaboud available to him for a time, and possibly Kytch as well. The whole two-octave range of the flute is used in ‘Priva son d’ogni con forto’ (Act I, Scene IV) from Giulio Cesare HWV 17 (1724), written for the Royal Academy. In this aria the flute has gained some freedom from the violin line, so either a more competent player was available by this time (possibly Kytch), or the existing woodwind personnel had gained in confidence on the instrument. The single flute in ‘Ombre Plante’ (Act I, Scene VII) from Rodelinda HWV 19 (1725) is given even more prominence, echoing the violins and then the voice with solo phrases. By 1726, Handel’s confidence in the flute and its players had extended to arias including two flutes. ‘Se mormora rivo o fronda’ (Act III, Scene II) from Scipione HWV 20 (1726) gives the traversi more independence from the violin line than previous
arias with a pair of flutes. By the late 1720s, it appears that Handel felt able to
treat the flute as a solo instrument equal to the oboe. For example, for the
1728 revival of Radamisto HWV 12b Handel transposed the aria ‘Quando mai
spietata sorte’ (Act II, Scene I) into G major (from its original E flat major),
transferring the obbligato line from the oboe to the flute.

Handel used the flute to illustrate many of the same subjects as the recorder,
for example the supernatural, the pastoral, sleep, and, of course, birds. The
flute was commonly used to portray sadness, and Handel used the
instrument for arias on the subject of grief, bereavement, parting, and
suffering. Both flute and recorder could be used in arias about love, but the
more melancholy flute tended to be used where the difficulty or pain of love
was addressed.\textsuperscript{15} Handel often scored for only one transverse flute, in
contrast to the paired recorders. The flute was a more powerful instrument
and capable of projecting over the orchestra, especially when playing in a
strong key. Like the recorder, the flute was often paired with the
soprano/countertenor/alto voice in Handel’s dramatic works. Because of its
lower range, the flute was able to play in the same register as the violins, and
therefore often played in unison with them (and also with the
female/countertenor voice) rather than doubling at the octave.

The aria ‘Morte, vieni’ (‘Death, come’) from Act III, Scene II of Riccardo Primo
HWV 23 (1727) is likely to have been written for a specialist flautist such as

\textsuperscript{15} Lia Starer Levin, The Recorder in the Music of Purcell and Handel (Doctoral dissertation:
Weideman or Festing. The aria is in F minor, but the solo part, for *flauto traverso basso*, is written out a tone higher in G minor (see Figure 7.3 below). The instrument in question was probably a four-part flute with various *corps de rechange* (interchangeable middle joints) one of which would lower the pitch of the instrument by a tone, or possibly a Hotteterre flute, brought over from France, at a much lower pitch. Handel did not use the lowest notes of the flute in this aria, indeed the part does not descend below (written) g⁴, so his reason for writing for a bass flute was not to extend the usual range of the instrument. The explanation must be that Handel wanted the timbre of the flute, which itself could be associated with death, but was aware of the difficulty of playing in his chosen key of F minor. The weak sound of that key on the flute would not easily project over the rest of the orchestra, as the flautist would have to blow gently for the many sensitive notes. By writing the flute part in the stronger key of G minor, he could effectively combine the associations of the flute and the key of F minor for its *affect*. ‘Morte, vieni’ is the only aria in the opera which features the transverse flute. Although the aria is short, the flute is largely independent of the violins and the novelty of the sound in this context would have been very emotive.

Figure 7.3: ‘Morte, vieni’ (Largo assai) from *Riccardo Primo* HWV 23
Two Flute Sonatas in E minor: HWV 359b and HWV 379

I opened the PhD recital with Handel’s earliest authentic flute sonata, HWV 378 in D major (discussed in Chapter 4). Given that Handel only intended one other sonata for the flute, HWV 379 in E minor, it may seem surprising that I did not include both works in the programme. Handel’s E minor flute sonata HWV 379 has many similarities with the E minor flute sonata HWV 359b published by Walsh, and I chose to perform the latter work. The two sonatas are examined side by side below, and I justify my decision to perform an inauthentic Handel sonata in the recital.

HWV 359b in E minor is the Walsh transposition for the flute of the complete four-movement D minor violin sonata HWV 359a (1724). This sonata was not published in its original form as a work for the violin during Handel’s lifetime, instead appearing in the ‘Roger’ (1730/31) and Walsh (1731/32) printed editions as a flute sonata in E minor (HWV 359b). It is possible that Walsh was aware of the existence of Handel’s own E minor flute sonata HWV 379 (autograph manuscript c.1728) and thought that, due to their almost identical first movements, it was merely a transposition of the D minor violin sonata. However, Walsh cannot have had a copy of Handel’s own E minor flute sonata HWV 379 otherwise he would surely have published it and saved himself (or his engravers) the bother of transposing. There are several possible reasons that Walsh chose E minor as the key for his transposition of the violin sonata. First, because he thought Handel had already transposed the whole work into this key; second, he was aware that sharp keys were
generally more suitable for the flute than flat ones;\textsuperscript{16} or third, Walsh could see that the D minor violin sonata was too low for the one-keyed flute as it contained a significant number of middle c\textsuperscript{1} and c\textsuperscript{1} sharps, which would have to be either rewritten or avoided by the player. However, this did not concern him in the second movement of his transposition, which contains a b below middle c\textsuperscript{1} in bar 34. This note appears in both the ‘Roger’ and the Walsh prints, so either it was not noticed, or the error was not considered important enough to be changed (see Figure 7.4 below).

Figure 7.4: HWV 359b/II (Allegro) ‘Roger’ edition

\textbf{HWV 379 in E minor} is the only sonata originally composed for the flute that exists in Handel’s autograph. It was first published by Chrysander in the \textit{HändelGesellschaft} in 1879. Perhaps, like the fair copies of the recorder sonatas, it was made for a particular purpose or occasion and remained in a private collection where it was not accessible to Walsh for publication. The sonata was thought by Lasocki and Best (writing in 1981) to have been

\textsuperscript{16} D minor can be a perfectly good key for the baroque flute. Some difficulties may arise with fast movements in the relative major however, as f\textsuperscript{1} and f\textsuperscript{2} (and particularly f\textsuperscript{3}) are weak notes on the instrument.
compiled for the woodwind player Kytch for a concert in 1720, when it was recorded that he performed on the transverse flute, but as the recorder sonatas which must pre-date this work are now known to have been composed during the period 1724-26 this cannot be the case. This is confirmed by paper studies that date HWV 379 c.1728. The work consists of five movements, all of which are borrowed (in whole or part) from earlier sonatas and transferred to the flute which suggests that it was written in a hurry, perhaps for a specialist flautist such as Weideman or Festing to perform at a concert. A possible occasion could be a concert held at Hickford’s rooms on 15 March 1728, which was a benefit concert for Michael Christian Festing, brother of flautist John Festing. The emergence of specialist professional flautists during the 1720s coincided with the huge rise in popularity of the transverse flute amongst amateur players, for whom Walsh was so keen to provide with his flute transcriptions of Handel’s sonatas for other instruments. Walsh also published flute arrangements of Handel’s operas at this time, for example that of Riccardo Primo HWV 23, published 9 March 1728.

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The two E minor sonatas share almost identical first and fourth movements. Whereas Walsh merely transposed the whole sonata from D minor into E minor, Handel made several adaptations to these two movements when compiling HWV 379 to accommodate what he perceived to be the technical limitations of the flute especially with regard to the high register of the instrument. The second and fifth movements of HWV 379 are borrowed from the recorder sonata in G minor HWV 360, with a few small changes that Handel made as he rewrote it. The opening of the third movement is borrowed from the earlier flute sonata HWV 378, although in a different key. With reference to HWV 379, Best, writing in *The Cambridge Handel Encyclopedia* (2009), states that ‘The adaptations from HWV 359a and 360 are skilfully made to suit the technique of the flute, so the oft-stated belief, based on the frequent ambiguities in contemporary publishers’ title pages, that composers of this period were indifferent to which instruments their sonatas were played on, is clearly untrue in Handel’s case.’

I disagree with the first assertion: in my opinion, the majority of the changes that Handel made when compiling HWV 379 (particularly in the first movement) were made because of his perceived limitations of the instrument - not skilfully made adaptations to show the flute at its best, but awkwardly made concessions which are to the detriment of the music. Other alterations to the borrowed music (for example those to the fifth movement which is taken from HWV 360) do not have any significance with regard to the technique of the flute.

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the flute as opposed to the recorder, rather they appear to be the kind of minor alterations Handel made to much of his music when recycling it in another composition.

Walsh’s transposition HWV 359b is inconsistent with Handel’s authentic flute sonatas, mainly because of its impractical range of two octaves and a diminished fifth, from b below middle c¹ to f³. However, I consider the work as a whole more satisfying to perform than Handel’s genuine flute sonata HWV 379, perhaps as a result of the hurried compilation of the latter and Handel’s determination to keep within what he perceived to be the safe limits of the instrument. With the exception of the single low b in the second movement, Walsh’s transposition of the sonata has nothing unsuitable for the flute. The high notes in the first movement are inconsistent with Handel’s writing for the instrument but perfectly possible. The second and fourth movements of the sonata present some challenges to the woodwind player in terms of breathing as some of the phrases in the fourth movement are a little long to be comfortably played in one breath, but the same is true of Handel’s own adaption of this movement for the flute where the phrases are not significantly shorter.
The first movement is marked Grave in the D minor violin sonata HWV 359a, which Handel revised to Larghetto in the E minor flute sonata HWV 379. According to Grassineau, Larghetto is a slow movement but slightly faster than Grave, so perhaps Handel wished this movement to be played at a brisker tempo on the flute than the violin. Alternatively, he may just have modernised the tempo marking to the newer and more fashionable Larghetto as discussed in the previous chapter with reference to the recorder sonata in F major HWV 369. However, Walsh retained the original performance direction in his transposition HWV 359b for the flute, perhaps confirming that

\[\text{HWV 359b} \quad \text{Grave}\]

\[\text{HWV 379} \quad \text{Larghetto}\]

21 I have taken the facsimile examples for HWV 359b from the 'more correct' Walsh print (April 1731 – March 1732), although this sonata is identical to the earlier 'Roger' print (c.1730-31). The HWV 379 examples are taken from the autograph, which is the only source.

22 See Chapter 3, p. 115.
he had not seen Handel’s autograph of HWV 379 when deciding to transpose the sonata.

When comparing the first movements, there are several differences between the three versions of the sonata. Handel’s autograph HWV 359a clearly shows the first group of four semiquavers are straight, and the second group of four are dotted. This rhythm is repeated exactly at the restatement of the opening theme in bar 12. Walsh changes the rhythm so that in the first bar the first two groups of four semiquavers are all straight, and at the restatement of the theme in bar 12 they are all dotted. Handel’s autograph version is very clear, and he repeats the original rhythm in his E minor flute sonata HWV 379 (see Figure 7.5 and Figure 7.6 below).

**Figure 7.5: Dotted rhythms in bars 1 and 2 of Handel’s autograph HWV 359a/i (Grave), Walsh’s HWV 359b/i (Grave), and Handel’s autograph HWV 379/i (Larghetto).**
Whereas Handel chose to keep the same rhythms, the very first bar of the sonata shows differing patterns of articulation between Handel’s original D minor violin sonata HWV 359a and his E minor flute sonata HWV 379. There are very few articulation marks present in the autograph of HWV 379: indeed, only the first movement has any slurring marked at all. This could be a consequence of the apparently hurried assembly of the flute sonata, although the kind of articulation that is omitted from the first movement (when compared to the violin sonata HWV 359a) is much more suited to the violin than the flute, implying that its omission was deliberate. The articulation in question is mostly slurred pairs of notes, including some large leaps. Examples of this occur on the second beat of the first bar, where the paired slurs are omitted from the flute sonata (see Figure 7. 5 and Figure 7. 6 above). Despite changing Handel’s original rhythms in the first bar of his transposition, Walsh copied all the slurs in the same bar from the violin sonata HWV 359a (although he omits all slurring for the restatement of the opening
theme in bar 12), again suggesting that he had not seen the autograph of HWV 379.

In the recital, my aim was to follow Handel’s original violin sonata HWV 359a as closely as possible while changing some aspects (particularly of articulation) to make the performance more consistent with Handel’s writing for woodwind instruments. With the obvious exception of the basic idea of transposing the sonata, I did not incorporate any of Walsh’s changes to the text such as the rhythmic alterations discussed above or the Neapolitan sixth in the penultimate bar of HWV 359b/i, which appears to have been added by Walsh and is not representative of Handel’s style in the solo sonatas (see Figure 7.7 below).

Figure 7.7: Neapolitan sixth (marked *) in Walsh HWV 359b/i (Grave)

Where Handel used movements again in his own flute sonata HWV 379 I incorporated some of his adaptions, particularly the removal of some slurs that were not idiomatic for the flute. Using more detached articulation, especially for the leaps in the first bar of the first movement, follows the advice from Quantz regarding the original tempo marking, Grave: ‘The dotted notes must be swelled up to the dot, and, if the interval is not too great, must be slurred softly and briefly to the following notes; in very large leaps, however,
each note must be articulated separately. 23

The D minor violin sonata HWV 359a is the only one of Handel’s four-
movement sonatas without a Phrygian cadence at the end of the first
movement (with the exception of the early four-movement sonata HWV 378).
Handel added an extra bar incorporating a Phrygian cadence at the end of the
first movement of HWV 379, which addition makes the movement more
consistent with Handel’s London style (see bar 21 in Figure 7.8 below). I
decided not to add the Phrygian cadence to the first movement of HWV 359b
in the recital as I wanted my performance to follow Handel’s original violin
sonata HWV 359a, but the possibility of performing a hybrid of HWV 359a and
HWV 379, incorporating the Phrygian cadence and perhaps using some of the
movements from HWV 379 is briefly discussed at the end of this section.

Figure 7.8: Phrygian cadence in Handel’s autograph HWV 379/i (Larghetto)

23 Johann Joachim Quantz (tr. Reilly), On Playing the Flute, second edition (London: Faber
A Note about Ornamentation

The first movement common to HWV 359a/b and HWV 379 could be considered second-degree ornamentation as it stands, although the demisemiquavers generally appear as a result of the prevailing dotted rhythm. The original performance direction of Handel’s D minor violin sonata HWV 359a, Grave, could have a bearing on how the music is played. Quantz gives the following advice: ‘A Grave, in which the air consists of dotted notes, must be played in a rather elevated and lively manner, and embellished from time to time with passage-work outlining the harmony’. So a performer may choose to embellish this movement further by including more demisemiquavers in order to create second-degree diminutions. It could be argued that fewer ornaments should be included if the movement was taken at a slightly faster speed, as implied by the Larghetto marking in HWV 379. In performance I opted for a tempo probably closer to Larghetto than the original Grave tempo marking, to keep the music moving forwards whilst allowing space to add occasional embellishments. I used the mixed style of ornamentation to embellish this movement, with some rhythmic alterations and the occasional run of faster notes (see Figure 7.9 below).

Performance Issues: The high register – avoidance of notes above d³

The most significant difference between the first movements of the Walsh transposition HWV 359b and Handel’s own version of this movement for flute in HWV 379 is Handel’s recomposition of two passages towards the end of
the movement to avoid the high register of the instrument. The note $f^3$ in particular (which occurs in bar 15 of HWV 359b) does not always speak reliably on the baroque flute, and cannot be achieved at all on some instruments. Hotteterre did not include it in his fingering chart, although he explained in words how to attempt it without expectation of success.\(^{25}\) However, it was not only $f^3$ that Handel took steps to avoid: he also rewrote the passage at bar 17 an octave lower to avoid $e^3$ and $d^3$ sharp (see Figure 7. 10 and Figure 7. 11 below). This is typical of Handel’s writing for flute, which never goes above $d^3$ in the solo sonatas, but in this movement the alteration changes the shape of the melody to the detriment of the musical line. Direct transposition of the first movement into E minor, as it appears in Walsh’s HWV 359b, is musically more satisfying and it is certainly possible to achieve the high notes on the baroque flute. The $d^3$ sharp and $e^3$ are normally playable without any difficulty. The $f^3$ natural on my particular instrument is fairly reliable and so I was able to play the passage containing the note as written. However, if the $f^3$ natural is temperamental and difficult to produce when tongued, a practical solution is to add an $e^3$ before it, enabling the now adjacent notes to be slurred together and increasing the chance of producing a passable $f^3$ (see Figure 7. 12 below).\(^{26}\)


\(^{26}\) Suggestion by Rachel Brown, Early Music Exhibition masterclass at Trinity College of Music, November 2010.
Figure 7. 10: HWV 359b/i (Grave)

Figure 7. 11: HWV 379/i (Larghetto)

Figure 7. 12: HWV 359b/i (Grave) with ornament
**Movement II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>HWV 359b</strong></th>
<th>Allegro</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HWV 379</strong></td>
<td>Andante</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HWV 359b**

The second movement of HWV 359b works very well on the flute, the only slight challenge being the length of some of the phrases. However, there are many suitable places to take a breath, where a break may naturally be taken for musical reasons even on the violin for example between the first two quavers of bar 18 (see Figure 7.13 below). Alternatively, a shorter breath may be taken after the d sharp on the fourth beat of bar 17, which would have a short cadential trill in practice.
The low b in bar 34 can be avoided by playing the relevant phrase an octave higher, which is the solution suggested in the Bärenreiter editions. It could of course be argued that this alters the rhetorical effect of the following phrase, although Handel set a precedent for this as two equivalent phrases appear in this juxtaposition in the melody in the opening bars of the movement (see Figure 7.14 and Figure 7.15 below).
Performance Issues: Articulation

The articulation Walsh has printed in bars 4-5 and in the similar passage in bars 8-10 is taken from HWV 359a and is an example of string crossing, a technique that transfers well to the flute. The use of violinistic writing in Handel’s sonatas for woodwind instruments (for example the string crossing and voicing used in HWV 365 and discussed in the previous chapter) can be used to justify the choice to perform what was originally a violin sonata on the flute, as there are no compositional techniques used that are specific to the violin to the exclusion of woodwind instruments (such as double stopping) in this work. Handel (and Walsh) only mark this one-plus-three articulation in the first two appearances of the pattern, but it can be usefully applied to similar passages throughout the movement. Conversely, the paired slurs marked in bars 10 and 11 (marked with a bracket below) work better as bowing marks for the violin than slurs for the flute, so I chose to tongue these larger intervals for clarity and contrast to the previous slurs (see Figure 7.16 below).
The second movement of Handel's own E minor flute sonata HWV 379 is transposed from the G minor recorder sonata HWV 360, where it also appears as the second movement. Unusually, the melody line appears to be a direct transposition, although the slurs and trills present in the fair copy of HWV 360 are missing in HWV 379. This is likely to have been as a result of Handel's hurried copying of this sonata, rather than because he thought them suitable for the recorder and not for the flute. Handel revised some aspects of the bass line when transposing this movement as discussed in Chapter 3, pages 95-6. The dagger markings present in this movement are discussed in Chapter 6, pages 236-38.
**Movement III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HWV 359b</th>
<th>Adagio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Image of musical notation]</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HWV 379</th>
<th>Largo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Image of musical notation]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HWV 359b: Performance Issues: Ornamentation**

The third movement of HWV 359b is similar in style to Jerrold’s skeletal arias, with plenty of scope for the performer to add embellishment. One possibility for ornamenting this movement would be to use Handel’s own complete example of second-degree ornamentation from the violin sonata in A major HWV 361 as a model. In the recital I decided not to do this for several reasons. First, the movement is in a different style to third movement of HWV 361, with the bass line moving in crotchets as opposed to a walking quaver bass movement. Second, by playing the sonata on the flute (whether following the Walsh transposition or making my own interpretation of the violin sonata) I had already moved a step away from Handel’s original intentions for the work, so I wanted to include other contemporary influences in the performance.
rather than trying to recreate purely Handelian ornaments. The proximity of
the work in the recital programme to Babell’s Sonata No.5 in G major led me
to incorporate a mixed style of ornamentation in this movement, leaning
towards the Italian influence with lots of free-flowing runs but also including
some German style rhythmic embellishment as favoured by Telemann. This
approach can be seen in several of Babell’s slow movements, which
incorporate aspects of both styles, for example the first movement of the G
major sonata illustrates both the Italian and mixed style of ornamentation in a
suitable key for the flute (see Figure 7. 17 below). That Babell’s sonatas are
not thought a good or tasteful model by some scholars nowadays for
ornamenting Handel does not alter the fact that they may represent the actual
practice of some musicians in the eighteenth century.

Figure 7. 17: Babell Sonata No. 5 in G major/i

The movement does not end at this point, it continues on the next page of the score.
HWV 379: Performance Issues: Avoidance of e⁢³ on the flute

The opening of this movement, which is clearly distorted in the melody line to avoid the note e⁢³ in the middle of the second bar (see * in Figure 7. 19 below), was a puzzle to scholars from its first publication in the HändelGesellschaft in 1879. The present sonata, HWV 379, was thought to contain the first appearance of this theme, which Handel used again without the distortion in his later violin sonata in D major HWV 371 (c.1749-1751), until the identification of the D major flute sonata HWV 378 (where the theme originally
appears) as a work by Handel in 1981. Presumably Handel thought $e^3$ too high for the baroque flute to obtain with ease, but Handel’s perceived limitations of the flute again result in a less than satisfactory alteration to the melody. Performers may wish to attempt the $e^3$ to preserve the musical line, raising the question of which octave to choose for the following phrase.

Figure 7. 19: HWV 379/iii (Largo)
Performance Issues: The high register – avoidance of notes above d^3
and idiomatic passagework for the flute

The fourth movement is also common to both sonatas, and, as he did with the first movement, Handel recomposed several passages when rewriting it for the flute. Most of the alterations involving taking sections down an octave to avoid notes above d^3. However, some of the alternative passagework in HWV 379 occurs in places where the original version is perfectly playable when transposed for the flute. Figure 7. 20 below shows some distinctive passagework for the flute consisting of rapid leaps over intervals of a tenth. This would be rather difficult for the violin, which may find it impossible to cross two strings at a brisk tempo, and, as the passage is out the range of the
recorder and the large leaps would be unsuitable at speed for the oboe, shows that Handel specifically tailored this movement for the flute to the exclusion of other instruments. This supports Best’s statement that Handel was not ‘indifferent’ to which instrument was to play this sonata at least. This passagework may also imply that Handel put HWV 379 together for a professional flute player, as, although it is much more suited to the flute than any other instrument, the large leaps would not necessarily be easy for the majority of amateur players. It is more virtuosic than anything that appears in the earlier D major flute sonata HWV 378, which perhaps illustrates the increase in skill of flute players over the twenty years between the two sonatas (despite the continued avoidance of the high register). Interestingly, nearly twenty years later again, Geminiani pronounced the flute unsuitable for ‘swift Movements where there are Arpeggs and Jumping Notes’\(^{28}\) suggesting that this kind of writing was still considered beyond the technique of many flautists.

\[\text{Figure 7. 20: HWV 379/iv (Allegro)}\]

\(\text{Figure 7. 20: HWV 379/iv (Allegro)}\)

\(^{28}\) Francesco Geminiani, Preface to *Rules for Playing in a True Taste* (London: no date), [no page number].
Handel seems to have made no allowances for breathing when transferring movements from a string to a woodwind instrument. The stretches of uninterrupted semiquavers in HWV 379/iv are not significantly shorter than those in HWV 359a/iv, and the longest phrase would surely have required the majority of players to break it with a quick breath.

As well as avoiding the high notes in his recycling of this movement, Handel altered some of the passagework and added rests to the bass line (see Figure 7.21 and Figure 7.22 below). This is a technique he had previously used when transcribing movements originally composed for the violin to the soft-voiced recorder (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.36), and in this instance the rests could allow the sensitive cross-fingered $g^2$ sharps to be heard.

**Figure 7.21: HWV 359b/iv**

![Musical notation](image)
Handel’s original violin sonata in D minor HWV 359a has paired slurs over the first three bars of semiquavers in the fourth movement. That they stop after three bars could be an indication that Handel intended the performer to continue in the same manner, but this is not necessarily the case (see Figure 7. 23 below). Walsh reproduced these slurs, extending them over one further bar of semiquavers to make four in a row, after which the pattern of notes changes from large leaps to more conjunct movement (see Figure 7. 24 below). The slurs are missing altogether in the equivalent movement of the flute sonata HWV 379, including the slurs over the thirds in bar 16 which are present in both version of HWV 359 (see Figure 7. 25 below), but this is not to say that the performer could not choose to add their own articulation. However, the paired slurs in this movement are more characteristic of Handel’s writing for violin rather than woodwind instruments. The large leaps
would be easier to tongue on the flute, and could sound untidy if slurred. I also liked how tonguing this passage brought out the hemiola effect of the chromatic notes (first and fourth semiquavers) in bars 5 and 6. I chose to omit the slurs in the first few bars altogether, as they feel more like bowing marks, but I retained those over the smaller intervals in bar 16 to provide some contrast.

Figure 7. 23: HWV 359a/iv (Handel's autograph)

Figure 7. 24: HWV 359b (Walsh print)
Rather than substitute Handel’s adapted fourth movement, I chose to keep the original fourth movement from HWV 359b. As I had already chosen to play the first movement of Walsh’s transposition, which includes the high register of the flute, it seemed a better choice to retain the fourth movement from the same sonata as it has a similarly high tessitura to balance the opening movement.

[cont.]
The fifth and final movement of the Handel’s E minor sonata HWV 379 is also taken from the G minor recorder sonata HWV 360, although HWV 379 starts on the half-bar (more characteristic of a gavotte) instead of the full-bar. Handel made alterations to some of the passagework in the second half of HWV 360/iv when he transcribed it for the flute as HWV 379/v (see Figure 7.26 and Figure 7.27 below). This is probably a result of recomposing as he copied it out (note that the bass line is also different), and not for any particular reason to do with the instrumentation. It would be perfectly possible for the flute to play the original version in the new key, and equally for the recorder to play the revised version in the original key without any difficulty. There are no slurs marked in HWV 379/v, but the articulation from HWV 360/iv could be taken as a model and applied here. Alternatively, the first three pairs could be slurred, but then the following three pairs could be
articulated with a soft tongue stroke to add variety and to avoid any untidiness that may be caused by slurring the larger intervals.

Figure 7. 26: HWV 360/iv (Presto)

Figure 7. 27: HWV 379/v (Presto)

A Fifth Movement for HWV 359b?

Handel’s own E minor flute sonata HWV 379 is different in structure to his other two five-movement sonatas. This is because of the slow second movement, which changes the pattern of movements from slow-fast-slow-fast-fast (as in HWV 363a and HWV 365) to slow-slow-slow-fast-fast. Combining movements from HWV 359b and HWV 379 to make a five-movement work is a possibility that could be explored. For example, Handel’s perceived limitations of the flute could be disregarded in the first, third, and fourth movements of HWV 379 and the music could be rewritten to reinstate the high notes that he avoided. This could take the form of borrowing the first
movement from HWV 359b, but including the Phrygian cadence from HWV 379 to make the end of the movement more consistent with Handel’s other London sonatas. Similarly, the fast second movement of HWV 359b could be chosen instead of the slow second movement of HWV 379. The melodic line of the third movement of HWV 379 could be altered to include the top e³ in the second bar and possibly the subsequent phrase, and the fourth movement from HWV 359b could be chosen to balance the high tessitura of the first movement from that sonata. The fifth movement from HWV 379 could be added to give the work as a whole the same pattern of movements as Handel’s other five movement sonatas.

I decided not to do this in the recital, as HWV 359b stands very well as a sonata in its own right and would have been widely performed in its published version in the eighteenth century. Conversely, HWV 379 was presumably in the collection of a private individual, and possibly performed only on the particular occasion for which it was written. The rough draft manuscript seems to indicate that the sonata was hurriedly composed, and the fact that it was never published in Handel’s lifetime could indicate that the work was not polished enough for Handel to consider it a ‘finished’ composition.
Chapter 8

Flute Sonatas published by Walsh, and Walsh and Hare

The Walsh Transpositions

The Walsh transpositions of Handel’s solo sonatas are not transcriptions. Apart from changing the key, Walsh made no (intentional) alterations to the music. Some of the sonatas are merely inconsistent with Handel’s writing for the instrument in question and the resulting technical challenges could be accommodated by capable players, for example Walsh’s foray into the high register of the flute in HWV 359b. However, some of Walsh’s transpositions descend below the compass of the instrument, rendering the passages in question unplayable in their published form.

HWV 359b in E minor

This sonata works very well on the flute, although the use of the high register is not typical of Handel’s writing for the instrument. See Chapter 7 for a detailed study of this sonata in comparison with Handel’s own E minor flute sonata HWV 379.

HWV 363b in G major

HWV 363b was published in the ‘Roger’ and Walsh prints in G major for the transverse flute. The original is thought to have been in F major for the oboe.
(HWV 363a), but the autograph is lost. However, copies of this sonata found in the Manchester manuscript, the Tenbury manuscript in the Bodleian library, and the Brussels manuscript are all in F major, suggesting that this was the original version. Interestingly, the Guy Oldham manuscript has this sonata in G major for the flute, like the published editions, suggesting initially that Walsh may not have been entirely responsible for this transposition. However, the Guy Oldham manuscript is also missing the fifth movement, showing the possible influence of ‘Roger’. G major is a good key for the flute, having only one note outside the home key of D major (C natural), which, although technically cross-fingered, is fairly strong and in tune. If it was Walsh who transposed this sonata, he showed awareness either that F major is an unsuitable key for the flute, or that the sonata descends to c, which is too low for the instrument.

HWV 363b has the same two-octave range from d – d as Handel’s authentic flute sonatas, and fits the flute best of all Walsh’s transpositions. The opening motif of the first movement (see Figure 8.1 below) can also be found in ‘Parto, si’ (Act II, Scene V), from Flavio HWV 16 (1723), where it appears first in the voice, and then in the flute and first violins (see Figure 8.2 and Figure 8.3 below). In this case the music is in E major, rather than G major, but it shows that Handel had previously linked the opening theme with the melancholy flute, here accompanying a sad farewell from Emilia to her lover.

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Figure 8. 1: HWV 363b/i (Walsh print)

Figure 8. 2: ‘Parto, si’ (Largo) from Flavio (opening)

Figure 8. 3: ‘Parto, si’ (Largo) from Flavio (end of A section)

The second movement is unusual in that it opens with the melody instrument alone. This was a device that Handel had used in the second movement of his oboe sonata in C minor HWV 366 (thought to have been composed just before or at around the same time as HWV 363a), and used again in the alla
breve of the recorder sonata in D minor HWV 367a. The present movement perhaps lends itself a little better to the oboe than the flute, with its fanfare-like motif. This is particularly true at the lowest extremity of the instrument. The original movement descends to middle c$^1$ on the oboe, a powerful note, whereas the equivalent d$^1$ on the flute is much softer and less able to project (see Figure 8. 4 below). The differences in tonguing between the woodwind instruments are mentioned by Hotteterre. The translation by Paul Marshall Douglas implies that the differences in attack arise from the instruments themselves: ‘It should be noted that the tonguing may be more or less sharp, depending on the instrument. For example, it is soft on the transverse flute, sharper on the recorder and very pronounced on the oboe’.\(^2\) However, Lasocki’s translation suggests that it is the player who is responsible for consciously altering the articulation, depending on which instrument he is playing: ‘It will be good to note that the tongue strokes must be more or less articulated, according to the instrument you play. For example, you soften them on the flute, you mark them more on the recorder, and you pronounce them a lot more strongly on the oboe’.\(^3\)


The third movement is ideally suited to the flute, and has the same fingerings in this key as the recorder transposition (HWV 365/iii). The fourth and fifth movement dances of HWV 363b fit the flute well, and are not inconsistent with Handel’s writing for the instrument.

**HWV 367b in B minor**

The published version of HWV 367, transposed into B minor and allocated to the flute, is unique amongst Handel’s solo sonatas in that it represents a later version of the music than the extant autographs. For this reason, it has been taken to represent Handel’s final version of the sonata, and transposed back into D minor for the recorder.\(^4\) This sonata has the narrowest range of all the flute sonatas attributed to Handel, unsurprisingly, as it was originally written for the recorder for which Handel favoured a smaller range. HWV 367b has a

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range of an octave and a sixth (d¹ – b²), compared to the two-octave range of Handel’s authentic flute sonatas.

B minor is a fairly good key for the baroque flute, as it is the relative minor of the home key, D major. However, some passages that pass through F sharp minor or F sharp major do not fall easily under the fingers. It is difficult to attack the first two beats of bars 39 and 40 of the second movement as purposefully as in the recorder version, as in HWV 367b they begin on the weak e² sharp, which needs to be moderated with the breath in order for it to be in tune (see Figure 8. 5 below).

Figure 8. 5: HWV 367b/ii

The third movement of the sonata in Handel's autograph is in B flat major, although it has a key signature of only one flat. Key signatures in the baroque were often one sharp or flat short of the correct number, and the missing one was added as an accidental all the way through the movement. The third movement in the transposed version HWV 367b should then be in G major, which it is, but with a key signature of two sharps. This is one too many rather
than one too few, and therefore the C sharps have to be cancelled out with naturals all the way through. Perhaps this is an indication that the sonata was hastily transposed, and not by Handel. The presto marking is more suited to this movement in ‘gay and brilliant’ G major than Handel’s original B flat major furioso, and it is tempting to think that the new marking was put in place by Walsh for this reason. However, the Manchester manuscript, which has the sonata in its original key, also has presto for this movement. This indicates that Handel changed the heading himself in his final version of the sonata. Perhaps he felt that the soft-voiced recorder could not do the furioso marking justice in performance, and that presto was more appropriate.

Another indication that this transposition is not the work of the composer is the B₁ in the continuo part of the fourth movement. This is atypical of Handel’s bass lines in the solo sonatas, as, for example, he deliberately avoided descending to B₁ in the penultimate bar of HWV 379/ii.

The Walsh and Hare Sonatas

These three sonatas were first published by Walsh and Hare c.1730. With their publication in the 1955 edition of volume IV/3 of the HHA they became known as the Hallenser sonatas, following Chrysander’s erroneous suggestion that they might date from Handel’s youth in Halle. HWV 374 and HWV 376 contain some Handelian ideas and ‘may just conceivably be early

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works⁶, but their authenticity is subject to doubt by scholars on stylistic grounds.⁷ Furthermore, there is no autograph for any of these sonatas, and, as they appear in no contemporary manuscripts (the printed edition is their only source), all three are generally thought to be spurious. In recognition of this, the Hallenser label was removed from the sonatas and they were relegated to the appendix in the 1995 revised edition of volume IV/3 of the HHA Neuausgaben.

**HWV 374 in A minor**

The range of HWV 374 is consistent with Handel’s authentic flute sonatas, spanning two octaves from d¹ to d³. However, A minor is not a key that Handel used in his flute sonatas, and he used it only very rarely in his vocal movements with flute.⁸ Although A minor is a fairly good key for the instrument, used successfully by Bach in his *Partita* for solo flute BWV 1013 for example, difficulties can arise with the frequent occurrence of the weak F natural. Handel’s genuine flute sonatas are in keys which favour F sharps: the

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flute sonata in D major HWV 378 does not contain any F naturals, and the E minor sonata HWV 379 contains only twelve, half of which occur in the fairly chromatic opening movement. HWV 374 contains a total of fifty-six F naturals, nearly five times as many. This is not unexpected in the context of the key, but is nevertheless inconsistent with Handel’s authentic flute sonatas.

Several characteristics can be identified within HWV 374 that are reminiscent of genuine Handel sonatas. For example, the opening motif recalls the passage at bar 26 of the F major recorder sonata HWV 369, and, interestingly, the two versions are played with broadly the same fingerings on their respective instruments.

Figure 8.6: HWV 374/i

Figure 8.7: HWV 369/i

It does however contain three e² sharps, one of which is a feature of the harmonically adventurous third movement.
However, the movement under discussion has some important features that are not typical of Handel’s writing in the solo sonatas, for example, fifteen consecutive bars of one rhythm in the melody line (see Figure 8.8 below).

Figure 8.8: HWV 374/i (Adagio)

A curiosity of the print is the two notes in octaves towards the end of the movement, which may imply that the work was originally conceived for the violin (although this is not an easy combination of double stops), or perhaps indicates that the performer should add some embellishment at this point. The Neapolitan sixth in the penultimate bar is not characteristic of Handel’s sonatas (although there are several in the A minor Andante for violin, and Walsh (or his engravers) inserted one into the penultimate bar of HWV 359b). The slow first movement ends with a perfect cadence, which is atypical of
Handel’s authentic four-movement sonatas (see Figure 8. 9 below which illustrate these three points).

Figure 8. 9: HWV 374/i

In 2009, the 250th anniversary of Handel’s death, Rachel Brown published an article in which she identified features of these three spurious works to support her view that they may, after all, be authentic Handel sonatas. Included in her analysis is a passage from the second movement of HWV 374/ii which bears a striking resemblance a passage from the last movement of the A minor recorder sonata HWV 362 (see Figure 8. 10 and Figure 8. 11 below). Brown also gives several examples from Handel’s vocal works which resemble passages from the sonatas. These are not distinct borrowings, more Handelian ‘flavours’, and as such perhaps none is convincing enough to confirm Handel as the composer of HWV 374.

The bass line of the third movement contains a low B₁ in bar 11, which is uncharacteristic of Handel’s sonatas, and a note which he actively avoided writing in HWV 379/ii. The bass line also has paired slurring which lends itself to string instruments, possibly suggesting that it was intended to be doubled by a bass violin which could play the low B₁ that the cello (and usually the harpsichord) lacked. This would be consistent with the designation of this sonata as an early eighteenth-century work, whether or not it was by Handel, as the bass violin continued to be used in London ‘until the second decade of
the 18th century', 11 when the cello became the usual choice of bowed string
continuo instrument.

Most unusually, all four movements of HWV 374 are in the tonic key of A
minor. In all sixteen of Handel’s authentic solo sonatas, at least one
movement (the slow middle movement, or the slow third movement in a four-
movement sonata) is in a different key. 12 In addition, this third movement ends
with a perfect cadence, whereas all sixteen of Handel’s genuine central slow
movements (i.e. slow movements that are not first movements) conclude with
a Phrygian cadence. There are also some unconvincing rhythms in the
second half of this movement which again cast doubt on Handel’s authorship.
The opening of the fourth movement allegro has the distinctive rhythm:

\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{3}{4} & \quad \frac{3}{4} \quad \frac{3}{4} \quad \frac{3}{4} \\
\mid & \quad \mid \quad \mid \quad \mid \quad \mid
\end{align*}
\]

Brown identifies two instances of its use in Handel’s vocal works: the first from
\textit{Guilio Cesare} HWV 17, and the second from the sixth Chandos Anthem \textit{As
Pants the Hart} HWV 251. However, neither of these examples has the sudden
shift from minor to relative major present in HWV 374. This rhythm is very
common and often appears in chaconnes, such as, for example, the well-

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[12] In the two earliest sonatas (HWV 378 and 358) the slow movements are chromatic rather
than in a clearly defined key, but both end on the dominant of their respective sonata’s
relative minor.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
known chaconne from Purcell’s *The Fairy Queen*. This movement also has some unconvincing rhythmic changes from quavers to triplets, and the bass line is too uninteresting to be consistent with Handel’s writing.

**HWV 375 in E minor**

The key of E minor is very suitable for the flute, and is the one that Handel chose for his autograph sonata HWV 379. However, the range of HWV 375, d⁴ – e³, exceeds the highest note (d³) of Handel’s authentic flute sonatas. HWV 375 contains three movements that are certainly by Handel, but transposed for the flute in this instance. The first two movements are from the oboe sonata in C minor HWV 366 (c.1712) and contain careless errors in the transposition which would not have been made by Handel. This is as a result of HWV 366 having no A flat in the key signature so that when the movement was transposed up a third, some of the resulting Cs are missing a sharp.

The first two movements are very playable on the flute in E minor, and although they do not ascend higher than d³, they sit noticeably higher in the range than Handel’s genuine sonatas. Handel tended to favour the lower register of the flute, both in solo and orchestral works, but, due to the transposition up a major third from the original oboe work, the lowest note in the first two movements is f⁴ sharp.

The third movement again remains in the tonic, rather than changing to another key as in all of Handel’s genuine sonatas. Like the first movement,
the third ends with a perfect rather than Phrygian cadence. This is a further indication that HWV 375 is not the work of Handel. This movement includes $d^3$ sharp, $e^3$ flat and $e^3$: notes which Handel actively avoided in the first movement of his own E minor flute sonata HWV 379. It is also the only movement of the sonata to descend to $d^1$, giving an uncharacteristically large range of over two octaves in this one movement whilst the first two have much narrower ranges. It opens with the same melody as the second movement of HWV 360, although the rigid decoration and the simplified bass line are not typical of Handel’s writing (see Figure 8. 12 below). Handel made his own transposition of HWV 360/ii into E minor in HWV 379, but this was presumably unknown to Walsh because he never published it.

Figure 8. 12: HWV 375/iii

The uncharacteristically simple bass line continues throughout the movement, and rhythmic oddities are present which do not occur in any of the other sonatas, such as the awkward transition from semiquavers to a dotted triplet rhythm and back in Figure 8. 13 below. The detailed and plentiful slurring marked in this example is also atypical of Handel’s writing, as there are
usually fewer articulation marks to be found in the authentic sonatas for flute and recorder.

Figure 8. 13: HWV 375/iii

The last movement is again unquestionably Handel's music, but not in its original form. The movement is based on a minuet in G minor from the keyboard suite in B flat major HWV 434, transposed into E minor for the flute.¹³

**HWV 376 in B minor**

B minor is a fairly good key for the baroque flute and one that Handel used in arias with flute in his vocal works, for example 'Deh, lasciatemi' (Act I, Scene VIII) from *Tamerlano* HWV 18 (1724) and 'Ombre, piante' (Act I, Scene VII) from *Rodelinda* HWV 19 (1725).¹⁴ The range of this sonata is narrower than that of Handel's genuine flute sonatas, and the only one of the sonatas for that instrument attributed to Handel which does not descend to d¹. The lowest

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¹³ Brown, *Handel Flute and Recorder Sonatas*.

¹⁴ Six out of sixty-six arias: Fourth favourite behind G major (twenty), D major (twelve), and E minor (eight) (Levin, *The recorder in the music of Purcell and Handel*, pp. 371-2).
note in HWV 376 is e\textsuperscript{1} sharp, which occurs only once, in the first movement. The tessitura of this sonata is noticeably higher than that of Handel’s genuine flute sonatas, raising further doubts about its authenticity.

The two-bar bass introduction to the first movement is unusual, and does not occur in any of Handel’s solo sonata first movements. However, there are parallels in, for example, the passacaglia movements HWV 363/iii and 365/iii, which begin with a four-bar introduction. The repetition of the first two bars in the bass implies a similar scheme in HWV 376, or perhaps a ground bass aria-style movement such as the first movement of HWV 362. However, after the first four bars, the bass does not return to the opening theme and the movement takes on more of a walking quaver bass character (see Figure 8.14 below).

Figure 8. 14: HWV 376/i (Walsh and Hare print) (Adagio)

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{HWV_376_i.png}
\end{center}

The second movement has a relatively high tessitura when compared to Handel’s genuine flute sonatas, as it only descends to f\textsuperscript{1} sharp in the flute part. The approaches to the cadence at the end of each section (slowing to deliberate minim movement in the melody line) recall compositional features
more often found in the work of earlier composers than in Handel’s solo
sonatas (see Figure 8.15 below).

Figure 8.15: HWV 376/ii (Allegro)

The gently lilting rhythm of the paired quavers in the third movement is
reminiscent of Handel’s use of flutes and recorders to illustrate sleep in his
vocal works (for example ‘Heart the Seat of Soft Delight’ (Act II) from Acis and
Galatea HWV 49), although the quavers are straight in this instance. This
slow movement is in the relative major and ends with a Phrygian cadence,
making this work perhaps the most similar in style to Handel’s genuine
sonatas, despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that it contains no
recognised borrowings (see Figure 8.16 below).
The fourth movement is in $\frac{3}{8}$, like the fourth movement of HWV 379, although the parts are in rhythmic unison in HWV 376 rather than in canon. The rising chromatic scale recalls the slow movement of the B flat major oboe sonata HWV 357, as well as the G minor recorder sonata HWV 360/iii (see Figure 8. 17 below).
The Walsh transpositions are of varying suitability for the transverse flute, and treat the instrument quite differently to Handel’s authentic flute sonatas. The G major sonata HWV 363b is perhaps the most Handelian and fits the flute very well. The E minor sonata HWV 359b extends the upper range of the flute beyond that which Handel considered suitable, but is perfectly playable on the instrument and is in many ways a more satisfying and musically coherent

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15 Lowest note is written e\(^1\) sharp.
work than Handel’s own E minor flute sonata HWV 379. The B minor sonata HWV 367b has a narrower range than Handel used for the flute, as it is a transposition from the D minor recorder sonata HWV 367a, but can be performed on the instrument without any significant problems.

The Walsh and Hare sonatas contain a mixture of music by Handel and by other composers, but raise some interesting questions. For example, HWV 375 begins with the first two movements of the C minor oboe sonata HWV 366, transposed up into E minor. Why were the third and fourth movements replaced with different music, and would the whole sonata work on the flute? Although the range would be too high to be consistent with Handel’s authentic sonatas for the instrument, it would be possible to play in transposition.
Conclusions

Research Questions Answered

The first objective of this dissertation was to provide a complete resource for the flute and/or recorder player approaching Handel’s solo sonatas who wishes to know more about the history and authenticity of the works. This has been achieved firstly by providing background information in Chapter 1 about the orchestral players (particularly the woodwind players) that Handel was working with in London during the period 1710-1728, when most of the solo sonatas were written. This information gives context to the contemporary performance circumstances of the solo sonatas when considering whether any of them might have been written for professional players rather than the amateur market. I have also discussed the D major flute sonata from Handel’s Italian period c.1707 in Chapter 4, and its possible original performance context. In Chapter 2 I have collated and summarised all the available information about the publication history of the sonatas, information concerning their contemporary sources, and a discussion of modern collected editions of the works. This is supplemented by the thematic catalogue provided in Appendix 1.

The second objective of this study was to discover whether Handel wrote his sonatas idiomatically to suit each instrument: flute, recorder, oboe, and violin. In Chapter 3 I have examined the range and keys of the solo sonatas and found that there is a clear correlation with Handel’s intended melody.
instruments, so much so that it is possible to assign an instrument with a great deal of certainty to the few sonatas which do not specify an instrument in the title. The ranges for each instrument are clearly defined, and Handel's use of key shows that he was well aware of the strengths and weaknesses of each instrument. In the case of the violin he utilises keys that have an open string note for the tonic, and for each of the woodwind instruments he stays within comfortable key signatures: flat keys for the oboe, sharp keys for the flute, and a mixture of neutral and flat keys (not exceeding two flats) for the recorder.

There are many more idiomatic features to be found in the violin sonatas than in any of the sonatas for woodwind, including occasional double stopping, passages making use of string crossing, and articulation markings such as slurs and daggers which relate to bowing techniques. Handel was a violinist himself, so it is not surprising to learn that he wrote well for the instrument. However, the absence of many of these features in the woodwind sonatas is in itself idiomatic. The most virtuosic kind of string crossing is not in evidence in the woodwind sonatas, although, interestingly, two of Handel's Italian compositions (the D major flute sonata HWV 378 and the F major trio sonata for two recorders HWV 405) display violinistic figuration not found in later works, suggesting that his writing for woodwind instruments (as distinct from the violin) became more idiomatic over time. Some kinds of passagework are common to both violin and woodwind sonatas, for example the one-plus-three pattern of notes, paired slurs to bring out a melody, and occasional voicing of parts. Slurs and daggers are also found in the woodwind sonatas, especially
the fair copy recorder sonatas which contain many articulation marks. In these sonatas the slurs and dagger markings are realised in performance with tonguing rather than bowing. The majority of the woodwind sonatas do not lend themselves to the violin, either because their keys are unsuitable, or because the writing in the high register (for example in the recorder sonatas) does not fit comfortably on the instrument. One feature found in the woodwind sonatas, but not those for the violin, is the use of held notes of more than two bars duration. This is more suited to woodwind instruments, with their similarity to the voice (and ability to perform the *messa di voce*), than to the violin, which probably would have needed more than one bow to sustain such a long note. Articulation also varies between the string and woodwind sonatas. The usual purpose of slurs in the woodwind sonatas is to connect consonant and dissonant notes, or to indicate that a written-out ornament should be slurred. The violin sonatas have more articulation between consonant notes, which is usually added to passages involving string crossing to indicate bowing.

Apart from the range and key, there are few features that distinguish the sonatas for one woodwind instrument from those for another. The flute sonatas display some of the most virtuosic passagework, which is not generally seen in the recorder sonatas. However, this is mostly as a consequence of the relevant movements having been transposed from violin sonatas. The fact that Handel’s style of writing does not differ significantly between woodwind instruments means that when sonatas are transposed from one woodwind instrument to another (for example Walsh’s transposition
of HWV 363 from the oboe to the flute) they usually work well, and are consistent with Handel’s writing for the new instrument. However, Handel never transposed whole sonatas from one instrument to another (with the exception of the suggested incipit for viola da gamba HWV 364b), so Walsh’s methods were not consistent with Handel’s own.

The fact that Handel transferred material so freely from voice to instrument, and between different instruments, in his solo sonatas shows that he considered much musical material interchangeable in terms of instrumentation. Handel reused a movement from an oboe sonata in a recorder sonata, movements from a violin sonata in a flute sonata, material from a flute sonata in sonata movements for recorder and violin, and movements from his recorder sonatas in sonatas for flute and violin. However, the way he treated that material in terms of key and placement within the instrumental range shows that he intended each sonata for one specific instrument. The way that the music is adapted to fit each instrument seems to have been more important to Handel than the musical material itself, which has been freely transferred between instruments.

The third and final objective of the study was to illustrate the findings of the research in the recital. In contrast to the wealth of contemporary information available about the premieres of Handel’s operas, the circumstances surrounding the first performances of Handel’s solo sonatas are mostly unknown. Due to the controversial nature of Handel’s relationship with Walsh, it is not even certain that Handel intended the sonatas for publication. Walsh’s
published versions do not represent Handel’s final versions of the sonatas in many cases, which suggests that he was publishing without the composer’s authorisation. Several of the sonatas were not published at all, which could mean that Handel wrote them for a specific performer or occasion, and so manuscripts were kept private, or that Handel was unhappy with the works in some way and did not wish to release them for publication. The formal concert hall situation does not represent the eighteenth-century performance contexts of the solo sonatas, which were likely to have been heard in public at benefit concerts, in the interval at the opera house, or by smaller gatherings at aristocratic soirees, and at home performed by amateur music makers in the case of the published sonatas. The performance of the sonatas on stage to an attentive audience in a modern day recital is far-removed from the reality of such eighteenth-century performances. However, the research carried out enabled me to give, as far as possible, a musically and historically informed performance of the works themselves.

I chose to play four of Handel’s solo sonatas in the recital, and each of these sonatas illustrated a particular point of interest or discovery which had arisen during my research. The first sonata, the D major flute sonata HWV 378, was chosen to represent Handel’s Italian period, and how Italian style ornamentation might be applied to the sonata. The issue of ornamentation is covered in Chapter 4 of the dissertation, and possible models of embellishment for Handel’s sonatas are discussed from Corelli’s Opus 5 for the early Italian sonatas to Babell, Telemann, Quantz, and Handel’s own practice for the London sonatas. Some of these models were demonstrated in
other pieces during the recital, for example an arrangement Babell’s 
ornamentation of ‘Lascia ch’io pianga’ from Handel’s *Rinaldo* HWV 7a was 
performed, as well as Babell’s own G major sonata. I added my own 
ornamentation to the other Handel sonatas in the recital, and justified the 
embellishments used in the chapter relating to each sonata.

The second sonata performed was the F major recorder sonata HWV 369. 
Several new discoveries came to light when researching and playing this 
sonata, including some previously unrecorded borrowings which may 
challenge currently accepted ideas about when the relevant sonata was 
conceived. The borrowings for this sonata date from several years before the 
sonata was published, whereas the other sonatas tend to borrow music from 
compositions that Handel was working on at the same time. This may imply 
that HWV 369 was composed much earlier than the other fair copy sonatas, 
even though the autograph manuscripts date from the same period. The most 
significant concordance, with Marcello’s F major recorder sonata Op. 2 No. 1, 
is the subject of a case study in Chapter 5. In the recital I delivered a short 
talk on the originality and potential significance of the two borrowings 
discovered in this sonata, with demonstrations of the original and reworked 
music and presented facsimilies of the Marcello and Handel movements side 
by side in the programme for comparison.

The third Handel sonata performed in the recital was the C major recorder 
sonata HWV 365, which demonstrated several features of Handel’s writing for 
recorder. First of these was Handel’s avoidance of e³, as seen in the third
movement which is borrowed from the F major oboe sonata HWV 363a. English recorders, as discussed in Chapter 6, were thought to be unreliable in the high register and Handel's reluctance to use notes higher than d\textsuperscript{3} in the recorder sonatas appears to confirm this. However, the note is easily obtainable on most recorders and I decided to reinstate the passages which had been altered to avoid e\textsuperscript{3} to obtain a more satisfactory musical and rhetorical effect. I believe this is a new and valid approach that has potential significance for the performer, as Handel was over cautious with his treatment of the high register and some of his concessions to the recorder compromise the musical effect. Articulation, essential graces, and violinistic techniques such as string crossing and voicing are also considered in this chapter, as many of these elements are present in HWV 365.

The fourth and final Handel sonata I chose to perform in the recital was not an authentic Handel sonata but a Walsh transposition. This may seem a strange choice, as I deliberately did not include any of the Walsh transpositions in my thematic catalogue (Appendix 1) for the sake of clarity. The sonata I chose to play was HWV 359b, the E minor transposition of Handel's D minor violin sonata HWV 359a. This transposition has two movements in common with Handel's authentic E minor flute sonata HWV 379. From a scholarly point of view it would have made more sense to perform the latter work, as one of my main criticisms of the new Bärenreiter editions is that they include the Walsh transpositions and it is difficult to distinguish these from the authentic Handel sonatas. In practice, what we actually performed was a transposition of the violin sonata HWV 359a into E minor without some of the alterations that
Walsh made, for example the Neapolitan sixth towards the end of the first movement. As with the recorder, Handel was overcautious when writing for the high register of the flute. His authentic E minor flute sonata HWV 379 demonstrates this in several places, most of which are to the detriment of the music and this is one of the main reasons I favour the Walsh E minor flute sonata HWV 359b. The English flute, English treatises and the high register of the instrument are discussed in Chapter 7, along with a movement-by-movement comparison of the two E minor flute sonatas HWV 359b and HWV 379.

The issue of the Walsh transpositions is addressed in Chapter 8 of the dissertation. Their suitability for the flute is examined, and elements of composition that differ from Handel’s own practice are discussed. The Walsh and Hare sonatas are also included in this chapter, with examples of my own to support my view that they are not authentic.

**Next Steps**

Much research remains to be done on the solo sonatas. More detailed categorisation of the movement types used by Handel would be of great interest, as this is an area of study that does not seem to be represented and which was only briefly touched upon in this dissertation. A comprehensive and easily accessible list of borrowings/reuse of material online could be constantly updated, incorporating the new discoveries here and elsewhere.
The many performing editions of Handel's solo sonatas (with the exception of the Bärenreiter editions drawn from the HHA) have not been examined due to lack of space. This would make an interesting study in itself as so many of them are misleading or misrepresentative in some way.¹ Bärenreiter have already taken steps in this direction by publishing performing editions of the complete Handel sonatas for the violin, oboe, and recorder,² but for the flute, *Elf Sonaten für Flöte und Basso continuo*, with its omission of the D major sonata HWV 378, remains the only volume of Handel flute sonatas available from this publisher. The volumes of the HHA which contain the solo sonatas could be re-examined and perhaps presented in a different way in a revised complete edition, to more clearly reflect the most up-to-date knowledge about the authenticity, instrumentation, and chronology of the works.

From a performance point of view, the research undertaken could be used to inform future transpositions of Handel's sonatas between instruments. The fact that Handel’s writing for woodwind does not appear to vary significantly for the recorder, flute, and oboe means that sharing music between these instruments is generally successful when transposed into a suitable key for the new instrument. Much of his violin writing also works well on recorder and flute, although there are more considerations to be taken into account including double stopping and some of the more virtuosic string crossing

² Published in 2002, 2003, and 2003 respectively.
passages which are not easily transferrable to woodwind instruments. Handel also used different slurring patterns, for example larger intervals are slurred on the violin that are commonly slurred in the woodwind sonatas, so the articulation could be altered to be more consistent with Handel’s writing for woodwind instruments. The larger range of the violin sonatas is inconsistent with Handel’s writing for flute and recorder, but as we have seen, Handel was often overcautious with the high register of those instruments.

Handel frequently reused movements from his existing sonatas and assigned them to a new instrument. These reused movements are always combined with new ones in order to make a complete sonata (even the E minor flute sonata HWV 379 has a significant amount of new material in the middle movement) and so it would not be possible to follow Handel’s example of reusing movements to make a new sonata without composing new material. For the performer then, the most successful approach would be to transpose a complete sonata from one instrument to another, following Walsh’s practice in, for example, his E minor flute sonata HWV 359b (from the original D minor violin sonata HWV 359a) and the transposition of the F major oboe sonata HWV 363a into G major for the flute (HWV 363b). Further justification for sharing whole sonatas between instruments of the same family could be taken from Handel’s suggestion that the G minor violin sonata HWV 364a could be performed an octave lower on the viola da gamba (HWV 364b).

Using the same methodology as this study, another project could examine Handel’s sonatas for oboe and violin. I chose not to include the sonatas for
those instruments in detail here, not only due to lack of space, but because I do not play the oboe or the violin, and the insight of the performer is essential to examine whether or not Handel wrote idiomatically for the instruments in question. A detailed study of the sonata for oboe and violin, in addition to the work done here on the flute and recorder sonatas, would provide a comprehensive information resource for the historically aware performer researching Handel’s solo sonatas.
Appendix 1

Thematic Catalogue

This catalogue presents Handel’s sixteen authentic solo sonatas with details of their sources and incipits of their movements. The sonatas are listed in order of their HWV numbers for easy reference, rather than chronologically or by instrument. The HWV number and the key of the sonata are given at the top of each entry, followed by the designated instrument. The instrument is given in brackets if the autograph is missing, or if the intended instrument is not named on Handel’s autograph. This catalogue aims to be more concise than Baselt’s listings for the solo sonatas in the HHB in some ways (for example by not listing the available literature under each sonata), yet also more comprehensive (for example by providing the movement headings from each source, where available, and showing the original key signatures before each incipit).

Autograph sources are listed first, if extant, and are described as fair copy or composition autograph. Fair copy autographs are those written ‘in rounded handwriting and using a very thick line’. This is the description given by Marcello Castellani in his facsimile edition, and he refers to this style with the letter a). In the catalogue, this handwriting style is designated MCa.

Composition autographs fall into two further categories. First, the ‘rather nervous and hurried, though fairly accurate hand, with a much thinner line than a and a certain number of corrections’. This is Castellani’s b), referred to

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1 Castellani, Preface to Sonata per uno strumento, Parte Prima, Manoscritti Autografi, [no page number].
in the catalogue as MCb. Second, a ‘nervous and aggressive hand, rather disjointed and lacking in calligraphic care, with numerous corrections; the numbers in the bass are almost totally lacking; more similar to b than a’. This style is referred to by Castellini as c), and, in the catalogue, MCc. The location of each autograph manuscript is provided, alongside information about the paper type. This information is taken from Burrows and Ronish, A Catalogue of Handel’s Musical Autographs. The title of the work is also listed here, if present on the manuscript. Dates of composition are taken from Terence Best’s prefaces to the Bärenreiter Urtext editions of Händel, Complete Works for Violin and Basso Continuo, Complete Sonatas for Recorder and Basso Continuo, and Complete Sonatas for Oboe and Basso Continuo. Aspects of major importance (such as missing movements) have been noted.

Manuscript sources other than the autograph are listed second, with information about their location and the title of each sonata, if present. Early editions of the sonatas are the final sources to be listed, with the title and page numbers of each work. Entries in red type refer to the b versions of the sonatas, for example manuscript sources used for HWV 359a in D minor which present the work as HWV 359b in E minor. The dates of these manuscript and printed sources were discussed in Chapter 1, but are reproduced here for easy reference:
Below the information about the sources for each sonata, incipits of each movement are presented. Movement headings in normal type are those given in Handel’s autographs, in his own writing. Handel’s original spellings are retained, for example *afetuoso* in HWV 371/i instead of *affettuoso*. The movement headings from other sources are given in small type underneath the main heading. Where autograph sources are not extant, or Handel’s own markings are absent, movement headings are taken from other sources (if available). In this case, the movement headings are given in italics.

The musical text is taken from the most recent editions of the solo sonatas published in the HHA. Key signatures have been modernised in the main musical text, but an incipit shows the original key signature. So, for example, the oboe sonata in C minor HWV 366 is written out here with a key signature of three flats, although the eighteenth-century sources have only two flats in the key signature and add the A flats as accidentals. Similarly, the third movement of HWV 367a was originally written with one flat in the key signature and E flats added as accidentals. In the catalogue, the key

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript Sources</th>
<th>Manchester</th>
<th>c.1730-32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>(Early 18th century)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guy Oldham</td>
<td>c.1730-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bodleian, Oxford</td>
<td>c.1725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printed Sources</td>
<td>‘Roger’ edition</td>
<td>c.1730-31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walsh edition</td>
<td>April 1731 – March 1732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
signature is changed to two flats. The original use of tenor clef in the bass has also been shown with an incipit, for example in HWV 369/iv and 365/v.

Notation peculiar to the eighteenth century has been modernised; for example, the crotchets that Handel wrote across the bar line in HWV 367a/vii have been notated here as tied quavers, but the original rhythmic notation has been indicated above the stave.
HWV 357 in B flat major

Oboe

**Autograph**

Composition autograph  
Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 65-8 (A40 paper)²

(MCc)  
*Sonata pour l’Hautbois Solo*³

c.1707/10

**Manuscript copies**  
None

**Early editions**  
Not published during Handel’s lifetime

I. (no title)⁴

```
\[\text{music notation}\]
```

II. *Grave*⁵

```
\[\text{music notation}\]
```

III. Allegro

```
\[\text{music notation}\]
```

* Clef changes to tenor clef at this point.

³ Last word possibly not in Handel’s hand (ibid.).
⁴ The HHA gives Allegro, presumably to fit a fast-slow-fast scheme. Given the character of the music and the ‘walking bass line’, Adagio or Larghetto may be more appropriate.
⁵ Taken from autograph, but not in Handel’s hand (Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue*, p. 246).
HWV 358 in G major (Violin)

Autograph

Composition autograph Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 61-4 (A40 paper)\(^6\)

(MCc) No title or indication of instrument

c.1707

Manuscript copies None

Early editions Not published during Handel’s lifetime

I. (no title)\(^7\)

\[\text{Music notation}\]

II. (no title)

\[\text{Music notation}\]

III. (no title)

\[\text{Music notation}\]

---


\(^7\) The HHA gives the three movements the headings Allegro - Adagio – Allegro.
HWV 359a in D minor (Violin)

**Autograph**

Composition autograph  Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 25-9 (C20 paper)\(^8\)
(MCb)  *Sonata 2*

c.1724

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester  Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 1-5
  *Sonata 1*

**Early editions**

Published as HWV 359b in E minor for the flute

‘Roger’  pp. 1-5
  *SONATA I. Traversa Solo*

Walsh  pp. 1-5
  *SONATA I. Traversa Solo*

I. Grave

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Grave)

[cont.]

\(^8\) Burrows and Ronish give p. 26 (*A Catalogue*, p. 244), but the sonata must start half way down p. 25.
II. Allegro

(Manchester - All®, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

III. Adagio

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Adagio)

IV. Allegro

(Manchester - All®, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)
HWV 360 in G minor  

Recorder

**Autograph**

Fair copy  
Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 1-5 (C20 paper)\(^9\)

(MCa)  
*Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo*

c.1726

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester  
Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 11-14

*Sonata 3*

**Early editions**

‘Roger’  
pp. 7-10

*SONATA II. Flauto Solo*

Walsh  
pp. 7-10

*SONATA II. Flauto Solo*

I. Larghetto

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Larghetto)

[cont.]

II. Andante
(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Andante)

III. Adagio
(Manchester - Adg°; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Adagio)

IV. Presto
(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Presto)

(‘Roger’, Walsh - ³)
HWV 361 in A major

Violin

**Autograph**

Fair copy

Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 13-19 (C20 paper)\(^{10}\)

(MCa)

*Violino Solo*

c.1726

Notes:

No figures

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester

Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 15-19

*Sonata 4*

**Early editions**

‘Roger’

pp. 11-15

*SONATA III. Violino Solo*

Walsh

pp. 11-15

*SONATA III. Violino Solo*

I. Larghetto

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Andante)

\(^{10}\) Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue*, p. 244.
II. Allegro
(Manchester - All®, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

III. Adagio
(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Adagio)

IV. Allegro
(Manchester - All®, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)
HWV 362 in A minor Recorder

**Autograph**

Fair copy

Lbl RM 20. g. 13 ff. 12"-15 (C20 paper)\(^{11}\)  
(MCa)

Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo  
c.1726

Fragment

Cfm MU MS 263 p. 21 (C20 paper)\(^{12}\)  
Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester

Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 22-26  
Sonata 5

**Early editions**

‘Roger’  
pp. 17-21  
SONATA IV. Flauto Solo

Walsh  
pp. 17-21  
SONATA IV. Flauto Solo

I. Larghetto

(Manchester - And\(^{38}\); ‘Roger’ - Grave; Walsh - Larghetto)

\[^{12}\] Ibid., p. 255.

[cont.]
II. Allegro

(Manchester - Allegro; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

III. Adagio

(Manchester - Largo; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Adagio)

IV. Allegro

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

13 In ‘Roger’ and Walsh, the third note of the melody line is a b1 flat.
HWV 363a in F major (Oboe)

**Autograph**

None.\(^{14}\) Pre – 1716?

**Manuscript copies**

**Manchester**

Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 55-9

*Sonata 10*

**Brussels**

Litt. XY 15.115 pp. 209-212?\(^{15}\)

*SONATA XLVI. Hautb. Solo del Sr. Hendel*

**Bodleian, Oxford**

Ob Tenbury MS 1131 pp. 120-21

*Solo del Signore Hendel\(^{16}\)*

**Guy Oldham**

ff. 18\(^v\) - 20\(^r\)

*Sonata vi A Traversiere e Cembalo*

**Notes:**

In G major. No figures; 5\(^{th}\) movement missing.

**Early editions**

Published as HWV 363b in G major for the flute

*‘Roger’*

pp. 23-26

*SONATA V. Traversa Solo*

**Notes:**

Third movement missing - replaced with HWV 367b/vi. Fifth movement also missing.

**Walsh**

pp. 23-26

*SONATA V. Traversa Solo*

**Notes:**

Missing movements restored.

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\(^{14}\) Cfm MU MS 260, p. 40 (c.1724-5) contains a fragment (first 6 bars plus one note) of HWV 363a/iii, with ornamentation to the melody line. This must be a later reworking (see Chapter 6, Figure 6. 10).

\(^{15}\) The page numbers on the contents page and the page numbers throughout the manuscript seem to disagree. The sonata is listed on the contents page as beginning on p. 204, but appears to start on p. 209).

\(^{16}\) In the index, the sonata is referred to as ‘Solo, Harpsichord’ (Best, *Kritischer Bericht of HHA IV/18: Neun Sonaten für ein Soloinstrument*, p. 59).
I. *Adagio*

(Manchester - no tempo marking; Brussels - Adagio; Bodleian - ; Guy Oldham - ; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Adagio)

II. *Allegro*

(Manchester - All; Brussels - Allegro; Bodleian - ; Guy Oldham - ; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

III. *Adagio*

(Manchester - Andante; Brussels - Adagio; Bodleian, Guy Oldham - Largo; ‘Roger’ - movement missing; Walsh - Adagio)

[cont.]
IV. Bourrée anglaise

(Manchester - All; Brussels - Bourrée angloise; Bodleian - Anglose; Guy Oldham - Bourrée;
‘Roger’ - Bour; Walsh - Boree)

V. Menuet

(Manchester, Brussels, Bodleian - Menuet; Guy Oldham, ‘Roger’ - movement missing; Walsh - Menuetto)
HWV 364a in G minor

Violin

**Autograph**

Composition autograph  Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 21-5 (C20 paper)\(^{17}\)

(MCb)  *Violino Solo*

c.1724

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester  Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 6-10

*Sonata 2*

**Early editions**

‘Roger’  pp. 27-30

*SONATA VI. Hoboy Solo*\(^{18}\)

Walsh  pp. 27-30

*SONATA VI. Hoboy Solo*

I. Andante Larghetto\(^{19}\)

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Larghetto)

![Music notation image]

[cont.]

\(^{17}\) Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue*, p. 244.

\(^{18}\) This must be a mistake, but appeared again in the Walsh edition.

\(^{19}\)
II. Allegro

(Manchester - All; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

III. Adagio

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Adagio)

IV. Allegro

(Manchester - Giga; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

HWV 364b in G minor

‘per la viola da gamba’

Incipit:

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20 Although the movement opens in E flat major, the editors of the Bärenreiter edition have chosen not to modernise the key signature.
HWV 365 in C major (Recorder)

**Autograph**

Fair copy

Cfm MU MS 263 pp. 13-17 (C20 paper)\(^{21}\)

(MCa)

No title or indication of instrument (1\(^{st}\) leaf missing)

c.1726

Notes:

Missing leaf contained the whole of the first movement and bb. 1-66 of the second movement

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester

Mp MS 130 Hd4 vol. 312 pp. 32-39

*Sonata 7*

Guy Oldham

ff. 3\(^{v}\)-8\(^{r}\)

*Sonata ii A Flauto e Cembalo*

**Early editions**

‘Roger’

pp. 31-34

*SONATA VII. Flauto Solo*

Notes:

Fourth movement missing

Walsh

pp. 31-36

*SONATA VII. Flauto Solo*

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I. *Larghetto*\textsuperscript{22}  

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Larghetto; Guy Oldham -

\[\text{[Image of musical notation]}\]

II. *Allegro*  

(Manchester - All\textsuperscript{o}; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Larghetto; Guy Oldham -

\[\text{[Image of musical notation]}\]

*Changes to bass clef at the beginning of bar 9. Autograph missing; alto clef in other sources.*

III. *Larghetto*  

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Larghetto; Guy Oldham -

\[\text{[Image of musical notation]}\]

[cont.]

\textsuperscript{22} The HHA takes the Manchester manuscript as the source of its text for the first movement and the first sixty-six bars of movement two, with occasional corrections from ‘Roger’ and Guy Oldham’s manuscript. The autograph is the primary text for the rest of the sonata (Best, Critical Report of HHA IV/3: Elf Sonaten für Flöte, p. 83).
IV. A tempo di Gavotta

(Manchester - A tempo di Gavotto; Guy Oldham - A tempo di Gavotta; ‘Roger’ - missing;
Walsh - A tempo di Gavotti)

V. Allegro

(Manchester - Alí; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro; Guy Oldham -

* Changes to bass clef at the beginning of bar 3.
HWV 366 in C minor

Oboe

**Autograph**

Composition autograph  Cfm MU MS 263 pp. 9-12 (C10 paper)

(MCc)  *Hautb. Sol*

c.1712

Notes:  Fourth movement missing

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester  Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 50-54

*Sonata 9*

Brussels  Litt. XY 15.115 pp. 216-218?

SONATA XLVIII. *Hautbôis Solo del Sr. Hendel*

**Early editions**

‘Roger’  pp. 37-40

*SONATA VIII. Hoboy Solo*

Walsh  pp. 37-40

*SONATA VIII. Hoboy Solo*

I. Largo

(Manchester - Ad; ‘Roger’, Walsh - no tempo indication; Brussels – Adagio)

[cont.]

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23 The key signature in all sources is two flats, with A flats added as accidentals.
25 The sonata is listed on the contents page as starting on p. 211, but appears to start on p. 216 (the second page is marked 217) - see Appendix 1, page 299 (footnote 15).
II. *Allegro*\(^{26}\)

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh, Brussels - Allegro)

III. *Adagio*

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh, Brussels – Adagio)

IV. *Bourrée anglaise - Allegro*\(^{27}\)

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro; Brussels - Bourrée anglaise)

\(^{26}\) No title in autograph.

\(^{27}\) Tempo marking from *HHA IV/18: Neun Sonaten für ein Soloinstrument* (movement missing from autograph).
HWV 367a in D minor (Recorder)

**Autograph**

Composition autograph Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 52 – 60 (Cantoni paper)\(^{28}\)

(MCb) No title or indication of instrument

c.1726

Earlier draft Cfm MU MS 263 pp. 21-22 (C20 paper)\(^{29}\)

Movements VI and VII only

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312 pp. 40 – 49

Sonata 8

Guy Oldham ff. 8’ – 13’

Sonata iii a Flauto e Cembalo

**Early editions**

Published as HWV 367b in B minor for the flute

‘Roger’ pp. 41-47 Movement VI missing

SONATA IX. Traversa Solo

Walsh pp. 41-48

SONATA IX. Traversa Solo

(cont.)

\(^{28}\) Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue*, p. 245. The Cantoni paper used is of two different kinds - movements i-v are written on one kind and movements vi and vii on another (see Chapter 3, p. 109-10).

\(^{29}\) Ibid., p. 255.
I. Largo

(Manchester - Largo; Guy Oldham - ; 'Roger', Walsh - Largo)

II. Vivace

(Manchester - Vivace; Guy Oldham - ; 'Roger', Walsh - Vivace)

III. Furioso

(Manchester - Presto; Guy Oldham - ; 'Roger', Walsh - Presto)

* The clef changes to tenor clef at this point.

('Roger', Walsh - )

30 The key signature of Handel's autograph is one flat, with all E flats added as accidentals.
IV. Adagio

(Manchester - Ad; Guy Oldham - ; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Adagio)

V. Alla breve

(Manchester - Alla breve; Guy Oldham - ; ‘Roger’, Walsh - Alla breve)

VI. Andante

(Manchester - And; Guy Oldham - And; ‘Roger’ - movement missing, Walsh - Andante)

[The musical text of this movement is taken from Manchester/Walsh, which must be based on a later revision (no longer extant, or lost) of the composition autograph.]

[cont.]

31 Although the movement opens in G minor, the editors of the Bärenreiter edition have chosen not to modernise the key signature.
32 See HWV 363b.
VII. A tempo di menuet\textsuperscript{33}

(Manchester - A tempo di menuet; Guy Oldham - A tempo di Minuet; ‘Roger’, Walsh - A Tempo di Minuet)

\* Handel’s original notation each time this rhythm occurs is a crotchet on the bar line.

\textsuperscript{33} The autograph has crotchets across the bar lines instead of tied quavers.
HWV 369 in F major

Recorder

**Autograph**

Fair copy
Cfm MU MS 261 pp. 7-11 (C20 paper)\(^{34}\)

(MCa)
Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo

c.1726

**Manuscript copies**

Manchester
Mp MS 130 Hd4, vol. 312  pp. 27-31
Sonata 6

Guy Oldham
ff. 1-3’
Sonata.i. A Flauto e Cembalo Dell Sig. ’Hendel

**Early editions**

‘Roger’
pp. 54-57
SONATA XI. Flauto Solo

Walsh
pp. 54-57
SONATA XI. Flauto Solo

I. Grave

(Manchester, Guy Oldham, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Larghetto)

\[\text{cont.}\]

\(^{34}\) Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue*, p. 244.
II. Allegro

(Manchester - All; Guy Oldham - ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro)

III. Alla Siciliana

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Siciliana; Guy Oldham - Alla Siciliana)

IV. Allegro

(Manchester, ‘Roger’, Walsh - Allegro; Guy Oldham -

* Autograph changes to tenor clef at this point.
HWV 371 in D major

Violin

**Autograph**

Composition autograph  RM 20. g. 13 ff. 5-8 (C160 paper)\(^{35}\)

*Sonata a Violino solo e Cembalo di G F Handel*

c.1749-1751

**Manuscript copies**  None

**Early editions**  Not published during Handel's lifetime

I. Afetuoso

\[\text{MIDI notation}\]

II. Allegro

\[\text{MIDI notation}\]

III. Larghetto

IV. Allegro

adagio
HWV 377 in B flat major (Recorder)

**Autograph**

Composition autograph  Cfm MU MS 260 pp. 13-15 (Cantoni paper)\(^{37}\)

(MCb) No title/indication of instrument

c.1725

**Manuscript copies** None

**Early editions** Not published in Handel’s lifetime

I. (no title)

![Musical notation for I. (no title)](image1)

II. Adagio

![Musical notation for II. Adagio](image2)

III. Allegro

![Musical notation for III. Allegro](image3)

HWV 378 in D major (Flute)

Autograph
None. c. 1707.

Manuscript copies
Brussels
Litt. XY 15.115 pp. 142-145
SONATA XXX. Traversa Solo et Basso continuo
del Sr Weisse

Early editions
Not published in Handel's lifetime

I. Adagio

II. Allegro

III. Adagio

[cont.]
IV. Allegro
HWV 379 in E minor

Flute

Autograph

Composition autograph RM 20. g. 13 ff. 9-11 (C20 paper)\(^38\)

(MCb) Sonata a Travers: e Basso

c.1728

Manuscript copies None

Early editions Not published during Handel’s lifetime

I. Larghetto

\[\text{[Musical notation]}\]

II. Andante

\[\text{[Musical notation]}\]

III. Largo

\[\text{[Musical notation]}\]

[cont.]

\(^{38}\) Burrows and Ronish, A Catalogue, p. 196.
PhD Recital
Music by Handel and Friends

Handel: Sonata for flute and continuo in D major HWV 378
Handel: ‘Così la tortorella’ from La Resurrezione
Handel: Trio sonata for two recorders and continuo in F major HWV 405
Handel: Three movements from Rinaldo for a flute

INTERVAL

Handel: Sonata for recorder and harpsichord in F major HWV 369
Baston: Concerto No. 2 in D major (for a sixth flute)
Handel: Sonata for recorder and harpsichord in C major HWV 365
Handel: Trio sonata for recorder and violin in F major HWV 389

INTERVAL

Babell: Sonata V in G major
Handel: Sonata for flute and continuo in E minor HWV 359b
Handel: Trio sonata for flute and violin in B minor HWV 386b

END
PhD Recital

Music by Handel and Friends

Handel: Sonata for flute and continuo in D major HWV 378
I. Adagio; II. Allegro; III. Adagio; IV. Allegro

This early sonata is one of two authentic sonatas by Handel for the flute, probably written c.1707 during Handel's time in Rome. There is no extant autograph of this sonata; the only source is a manuscript copy which was wrongly attributed to Johann Sigismund Weiss and later identified (in 1981) as a work by Handel. The distinctive opening theme was reused by Handel in two later sonatas. The second movement uses a common theme from the overtures to Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno (1707) and La Resurrezione (1708), and the third movement is an unusual quasi-recitative. Handel reused the opening of the fourth movement several times in his chamber music, two examples of which will be seen during the course of this recital.

Handel: 'Cosi la tortorella' from La Resurrezione

The oratorio La Resurrezione was first performed on Easter Sunday 1708, at the palace of Francesco Ruspoli, Handel's patron in Rome. The large orchestra was led by Arcangelo Corelli, and must have included at least one flute player for the aria 'Cosi la tortorella' (the turtle-dove). The flute part is likely to have been played by one of the four available oboists, perhaps Ignazio Rion (the principal oboe) or Robert Valentine ('Roberto Valentini/Valentino') who had moved to Rome from Leicester at the end of the 17th century. The flute was something of a rarity in Italy at this time, and it is possible that the sonata HWV 378 was written for the flautist in Handel's orchestra for La Resurrezione. 'Cosi la tortorella' also features a solo part for the viola da gamba.

Handel: Trio sonata for two recorders and continuo in F major HWV 405
I. Allegro; II. Grave; III. Allegro

This trio sonata for two recorders dates from c.1707, and, like the D major flute sonata HWV 378, uses a motif from the overtures to Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno and La Resurrezione (in the first movement). The third movement reuses and extends the theme from the last movement of HWV 378. Handel's writing for the recorder in this trio sonata ventures higher than his later sonatas, perhaps suggesting that the present work was written for the professional players in his Italian orchestra.

(Così la tortorella
Talor plange e si lagna.
Perché la sua compagnia
Vede, ch'augel feroce
Dal nido gli rubò.
Cosi la tortorella, etc.

Ma poi, libera e bella
Se ritornar la sana,
Compensa in lieta voce
Quel gemito dolente
Che mesta già formò.
Cosi la tortorella, etc.

Thus may the turtle-dove
weep and lament,
believing that her mate
hath been snatched from the nest
by a fierce bird of prey.
Thus may the turtle-dove, etc.

Yet when he returneth
free and in all his beauty,
her joyful song will compensate
the pitiful laments
she uttered in her grief,
Thus may the turtle-dove, etc.

(Translation by Anthony Hicks and Avril Bardoni © Decca)
Handel: Three movements from *Rinaldo* for a flute

I. Overture (Largo, Allegro, Adagio, Allegro); II. Lascia ch’io pianga; III. Augelletti

*Rinaldo* (first performed in 1711) was Handel’s operatic debut in England, and also the first all-Italian opera to appear on the London stage. It was a huge success, and music publishers such as John Walsh made a great deal of money by publishing arrangements of the most popular music from the opera for the public to perform at home. The overture in this arrangement for recorder (known as ‘flute’ in the 18th century) is taken from one such Walsh publication.

The arrangement of ‘lascia ch’io pianga’ is based on the keyboard version ornamented and published by William Babell in 1717, with the ornaments shared here between recorder and harpsichord. Babell was a virtuoso harpsichordist, although he is documented as having played the violin in Handel’s orchestra for *Rinaldo* (with Handel himself at the keyboard). This arrangement provides an insight into the contemporary style of ornamentation, although it was not subject to universal approval:

> [Babell] acquired great celebrity by wire-drawing the favourite songs of the opera of Rinaldo, and others of the same period, into showy and brilliant lessons, which by mere rapidity of finger in playing single sounds, without the assistance of taste, expression, harmony or modulation, enabled the performer to astonish ignorance, and acquire the reputation of a great player at a small expence ... Mr Babell ... at once gratifies idleness and vanity.

(Charles Burney)

*Rinaldo* was expensively staged, perhaps with some over-ambitious special effects which included the release of live sparrows and chaffinches into the theatre during the aria ‘augelletti’ (‘birds’). This was certainly spectacular, although there were concerns that the birds would take up permanent residence in the theatre and perhaps greater fears for the Inconveniences which the Heads of the Audience may sometimes suffer from them.¹ The main musical feature of the aria was the obbligato part for small recorder, used here to portray the birdsong; the singer having a relatively small part to play in the overall effect.

INTERVAL – 15 minutes

Handel: Sonata for recorder and harpsichord in F major

HWV 369

I. Grave; II. Allegro; III. Alla Siciliana; IV. Allegro

This is one of four recorder sonatas that survives in a very neat manuscript in Handel’s own hand. The autographs date from c.1726, although this sonata may have been composed earlier than the others as it contains borrowings (discovered in the course of this research) dating from the 1710s. The autograph is entitled *Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo*, i.e. sonata for recorder and harpsichord, rather than basso continuo team, hence the decision to perform this work without a stringed bass instrument. The fourth movement again uses the motif first introduced in the finale of the D major flute sonata HWV 378, as a melodic layer over the new structural borrowing identified from another composer’s work.

(see over)

Baston: **Concerto No. 2 in D major (for a sixth flute)**

I. (Allegro); II. Adagio; III. Presto

John Baston was active as a cellist and recorder player in London in the early 18th century, playing in the theatre orchestras. He often performed concertos on the 'little flute' in the interval entertainments, and wrote a set of six recorder concertos which were published in 1729. Two of these concertos are for common flute (treble recorder), three for the sixth flute (a small recorder pitched in D, a sixth higher than the treble), and one for the fifth flute (the usual descant recorder). His concertos demonstrate his skill as a recorder player, and also have solo violin parts which were presumably taken by his brother Thomas, who also played in the theatre orchestras and entertainments.

Handel: **Sonata for recorder and harpsichord in C major**

**HWV 365**

I. Larghetto; II. Allegro; III. Larghetto; IV. A tempo di Gavotta; V. Allegro

This sonata also survives in Handel’s neat autograph manuscript, although the first leaf is missing. The music from this missing leaf is included in two contemporary manuscripts and two published editions from the early 18th century, and these have been used as sources for modern editions of this sonata. The sonata is thought to have been composed c.1726 and contains borrowings from operas *Scipione* and *Alessandro*, written in the same year. The third movement is borrowed from an earlier sonata for the oboe (HWV 363a), with two passages recomposed in a lower octave for the recorder. This modification was made to avoid the use of high e\(^3\), a note which Handel had used in his earlier trio sonata for two recorders (HWV 405). Perhaps the English recorder was not as reliable in the high register, but the relevant phrases can be played successfully in the higher octave and this arguably gives a more musically satisfying reading of this movement.

Handel: **Trio sonata for recorder and violin in F major**

**HWV 389**

I. Larghetto; II. Allegro; III. Adagio; IV. Allegro; V. Allegro

This trio sonata was probably written during Handel’s time at Cannons (1717-19), and uses material from the Chandos Anthems, written for James Bridgetes. The top part of this trio sonata fits the recorder very well, and uses the same range as the majority of the recorder sonatas (with d\(^3\) as the highest note). Interestingly, Handel’s orchestral recorder parts from this period venture much higher into the range of the instrument than this trio sonata. It could be that the present work was written for amateur players rather than musicians from the orchestra, although some of the passagework for the recorder, particularly in the second movement, is technically more challenging than anything in the solo sonatas.

**INTERVAL – 15 minutes**

Babell: **Sonata V in G major**

I. Adagio; II. Vivace; III. Allegro

William Babell’s solo sonatas were published posthumously c.1725, in two volumes ‘with proper Graces adapted to each Adagio by ye Author’. Many of the slow movements are heavily ornamented, this time in a style to suit the violin or oboe. ‘German Flute’ is added to the title page of the second volume, presumably in an attempt to capitalise on the popularity of the instrument with the amateur market. Many of the sonatas are in
unsuitable keys for the flute however, making the elaborate
ornamentation even more challenging (and possibly less
effective). Just one of the sonatas is in a sharp key, which suits
the flute best – number 5 in G major.

Handel:  Sonata for flute and continuo in E minor HWV
358b
I. Grave; II. Allegro; III. Adagio; IV. Allegro
This sonata was originally written c.1724 in D minor for the
violin (HWV 359a) but was not published in this version in
Handel’s lifetime. The present work is a transposition of
the sonata into E minor, designated to the flute (presumably by
John Walsh) and published in the early 1730s. Despite several
characteristics atypical of Handel’s writing for the flute
(especially the range, which ventures up to a third higher than
Handel’s two authentic flute sonatas), the sonata works well on
the instrument and is arguably a much more satisfying work
than Handel’s only other autograph flute sonata (also in E
minor) – HWV 379 – which appears to have been composed in
a hurry and is made up entirely of movements ‘borrowed’ from
other sonatas (including this one).

Handel:  Trio sonata for flute and violin in B minor HWV
386b
I. Andante; II. Allegro; III. Largo; IV. Allegro
Like HWV 389, this trio sonata is thought to date from Handel’s
period of employment at Cannons (1717-19), although it was
not published until the 1730s. Two versions of the work survive,
one in C minor (HWV 386a) and the other in B minor. C minor
is likely to have been the original key, as there are signs in the
music that the B minor version has been transposed (for
example missing octaves in the bass line that would be too low
for the range of the cello, and impractical double stopping in the
violin part). This time however, Walsh may not have been the
guilty party. Although his printed edition gives the work in B
minor with the top line for the flute, one of the manuscript
copies which predate Walsh’s edition also has it in B minor.

END

The Musicians

Nicola Loten – Flute and recorders
Nicola studied music at Cardiff University and the Royal Welsh
College of Music and Drama. Whilst studying modern flute at
the RWCMD Nicola also began baroque flute lessons, which
led to her winning the Performance Practice Prize and sparked
her interest in historical performance. Nicola has since studied
the baroque flute and recorder with Katy Bircher, Rebecca
Prosser and Rachel Brown, and plays professionally with
several period instrument orchestras including the Gabrieli
Consort & Players, the Musical & Amicable Society,
Réjouissance, and Rachel Podger’s Brecon Baroque. Nicola is
a founder member of Wales’s newest period instrument
ensemble, Wales Baroque Players, and also enjoys performing
chamber music for smaller forces with her duo partner Thomas
Breeze.

Thomas Breeze – Harpsichord
During a varied musical upbringing, Tom studied piano, organ,
violin, viola and singing, and has performed as a choral singer,
orchestral player and soloist. His main love is keyboard
accompaniment, and he specialises in historically-informed performance. Tom studied at Cardiff University, gaining a first class bachelor’s degree in music and four university prizes. He then spent a further year working for an MA in performance studies, specialising in the organ and studying with the renowned Bach scholar, Professor Peter Williams. Tom now combines a busy teaching career with continuo and accompaniment work across the UK, and has given lecture recitals exploring aspects of performance and accompaniment in venues such as the Handel House museum in London.

**Annikka Gray – Violin**

Annikka graduated from the Royal Welsh College of Music & Drama in 2009 where she subsequently completed a Master of Music degree in 2011. Annika has a special interest in the world of historical performance as well as a passion for chamber music. She currently performs with a variety of ensembles including Marches Baroque and Consort de Danse Baroque, and is researching for a PhD on the solo sonata in Restoration Britain.

**Tabitha Rodway – Voice and recorder**

Growing up with music-making as a daily essential, Tabitha was immersed in music from an early age, singing as well as playing a wide range of instruments. Having studied music at Cardiff University, Tabitha now specialises in her first love of early music, both vocally and instrumentally. She is a member of the Cambrian Consort, in which she sings and plays treble viol, recorders, crumhorns and other assorted Renaissance instruments. A past member of the BBC National Chorus of Wales, Tabitha is currently a chorister and soloist with Cardiff-based chamber choirs Cantemus and Caritas, as well as with the professional London-based groups Concento delle Donne and Voces Assumptio.

**Gillian Stevens – Viola da gamba**

Gillian was born in Cambridge, and her musical career has subsequently been equally in the fields of early and new music. As well as writing music, all of which has been publicly performed, Gillian has maintained a performing career of a varied nature, playing crwth, viola da gamba and baroque cello. More recently she has brought her creative improvisatory skills on treble and bass viols and crwth to the performance of folk music such as in the Taith trio with guitarist Dylan Fowler and Finnish kantele player, Timo Vaananen. In June 2015 she joined the Icelandic early music group, Spilmenn Ríkinis in Iceland’s Vaka festival. She continues to perform early music with the Welsh Baroque Orchestra and Crickhowell Festival Orchestra and also joined Bragod to recreate the mediaeval Welsh bardic tradition with two crwths and voice.

**Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my initial supervisor, Professor Robin Stowell, for giving freely of his time and expertise, and Dr David Ponsford for helping me see the dissertation through to its conclusion. I would also like to thank my colleagues within Cardiff University Library Service, who have been invaluable, not only for the resources they have procured, but also for their encouragement and support on a personal level.

For today’s recital, I would like to thank all the musicians for their friendship, talent, commitment, and willingness to be involved in this project. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their help: my parents for their continued support of all my musical activities, my husband (for emotional, musical, and technical support), and my daughter, who has helped in many ways unique to a nearly-four-year-old.
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