FESTA MUSICOLOGICA

Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow

Edited by

Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera

FESTSCHRIFT SERIES No. 14

PENDRAGON PRESS
STUYVESANT, NY

CONTENTS

Ellen T. Harris

PAPER, PERFORMING PRACTICE, AND PATRONAGE: HANDEL'S ALTO CANTATAS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS Mus. d. 61–62

> A rather exaggerated dogmatism is prevalent at the moment—the belief that only that is true which results from the close textual investigation of the original sources and that whatever does not result from it cannot be true. The climate of scholarship will change, however, and the textual scholars will not have the final word. The purely textual will be followed by a more interpretative phase.[1]

Thus wrote Friedrich Blume about Bach scholarship in 1963; words that today apply as or more forcefully to Handel scholarship, or, as Joseph Kerman implies when he quotes this passage, to all of current musicology.[2] The difficulty with this attitude is that textual

[1]Friedrich Blume, "Outlines of a New Picture of Bach," *Music and Letters* XLIV (1963) 216.

[2]Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985) 55.

Ellen T. Harris is Professor of Music at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. She has written extensively on Handel, Purcell, and performance practice and edited Purcell's Dido and Aeneas *and the facsimile edition of Handel's opera librettos. Her edition of the alto cantatas discussed in this article will be published in the near future.*

analysis and interpretation are presented as somehow dichotomous, as if the one is truth and the other is fiction. In reality, textual studies depend on interpretation, just as style analysis offers factual information. Both are simply different forms of evidence which need to be taken into account in any examination of music. That this is so is clear from an examination of the sixteen continuo cantatas for alto in the two-volume collection of Handel's cantatas preserved in the Bodleian Library.[3] In as apparently simple a matter as distinguishing which of these cantatas was written in Italy and which in England, evidence from both source studies and musical analysis must be gathered and interpreted. The result of this work is neither proof nor fact, but rather an interpretation that offers the opportunity to make a considered speculation, which could then initiate a further sifting of evidence.

In textual studies the first avenue of approach is usually the autograph. Of the sixteen alto cantatas in these manuscripts (see table 1, column 1: "autograph"), seven have whole or partial autographs in the alto range, one of which, "Son gelsomino," has a soprano version in autograph as well; in addition, three cantatas have autographs solely in the soprano range. Paper analysis of the autograph frequently provides a rich source of detailed information about a work's date and provenance; at the very least, it usually indicates country of origin. Thus it is significant that the autograph of "Clori degli occhi," for example, is on paper with the triple crescent mark that is definitely Northern Italian in origin; the composition of this cantata can therefore be placed with some confidence in Italy.[4] The other surviving alto autographs in this group of cantatas

[3]**GB** Ob MS Mus. d. 61–62; I am completing an edition of the alto cantatas from these manuscripts for Oxford University Press.

[4]In previous papers, I have argued that "Clori degli occhi" derives from Florence, 1707: see "Händel in Florenz," *Händel Jahrbuch* XXVII (1981) 41–61; and "Le Cantate romane di Händel," in *Le Muse galanti: La Musica a Roma nel settecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985) 59–76. Bernd Baselt, ed., *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis, oratorische Werke, vokale Kammermusik, Kirchenmusik*, Händel Handbuch, vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984) 484–85, also gives this date and provenance. Donald Burrows identifies the autograph as being on "Moons G" paper with 12-stave rastra; see Donald Burrows and Martha Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (Oxford:

	Autograph range/country	Ruspoli documents	Santini soprano	Anthologies () = soprano	recit: key sig.	form	keys
Cantatas in GB Ob MS Mus. d. 61–62							
Clori degli occhi	alt/It	no	no	C, E, L6, L7, (M), S	yes	RARA	all flat
Figli del mesto	—	no	no	C, E, L6, L7, S	yes	RARAR	related
Fra pensieri	?alt (frag.)/Eng	no	(yes)	C, L6, L7, S	yes	ARA	closed
Irene idolo mio	—	no	yes	C, L6, L7, M, (M), S, W	yes	RARARa	♯ - ♭
Lungi da me	—	yes	yes	C, L6, L7, M, (M), S, W	yes	RARARA	all flat
Nel dolce tempo	—	no	yes	C, E, L6, L7, M, S, W	yes	RARA	closed
Qualor crudele	—	no	no	C, E, L6, L7, M, S, W	yes	RARA	related
Stanco di più	—	yes	yes	C, E, L6, L7, M, S, (W)	yes	RARA	sharp
Lungi n'ando	sop/It	yes	no	(C), (E), (L6), (L7), (M), (S), (W)	yes	RARA	R - r
Quando sperasti	sop/It	yes	yes	(C), (E), (L6), (L7), (M), (S), (W)	yes	RARA	P - P
Dolc'è pur	alt/Eng	no	no	C, E, L6, L7, M, S, W	no	ARA	♭ - ♯
Deh lasciate	alt/Eng	no	no	—	yes	ARA	all flat
Ho fuggito	alt/Eng	no	no	—	no	ARA	♮ - ♯
L'aure grate	sop/Eng	no	no	—	no	ARA	all flat
Siete rose	alt/Eng	no	no	E	no	ARA	♭ - ♯
Son gelsomino	alt-sop/Eng	no	no	—	no	ARA	♯ - ♭ - ♮
Other cantatas							
Sento la che (alt)	alt/It	yes	yes	C, E, L6, L7, S			
Sento la che (sop-2)	sop/Eng	no	no	C, L6, M, W			
Dalla guerra amorosa	—	yes	yes	L7, E, S			

MSS anthology copies: Cfm 797, Eg 292, Lcm 256 (L6), Lcm 257 (L7), Mp 130 Hd 4, Sydney, Wn 1775
form: R = recitative, A = aria, a = arioso
keys: R = relative major, r = relative minor, P = parallel major, p = parallel minor

Table 1. Handel's alto cantatas.

Clarendon, 1994). On the basis of this evidence, Burrows concludes that "'not Roman' looks likely" but is hesitant to attempt closer identification; I am grateful to Dr. Burrows for providing this information prior to publication.

are all on the Strasbourg Lily paper of Amsterdam manufacture that Handel used in England,[5] but this fact does not permit us to place the composition of these works in England. Rather, it allows us to examine some of the problems inherent in interpreting textual sources.

For example, the aria "Fra pensieri" (from the cantata of the same name) survives in a manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum on English paper that until recently has been considered an autograph.[6] The debate on whether this is the case only emphasizes that even the determination of an autograph source is often a matter of interpretation. If we choose to interpret this as an autograph and follow the "normal" interpretation of autograph as a composing score, then "Fra pensieri" must date from Handel's English period, and 1710, the year Handel arrived in London, is its *terminus ante quem*. Other evidence, however, allows us to make a better interpretation.

"Fra pensieri" also exists in a copy in the Santini collection (MS 1910: "Einband der Zeit Santinis" [1778–1862]).[7] Although this volume dates from the end of the eighteenth century or later, it includes copies contemporary with Handel's Italian sojourn ("Sento la che ristretto"),[8] and the entire Santini collection and its repertoire can be associated generally with Handel's Italian period and more specifically with the household of the Marquis Ruspoli (but see below for a contrary view).[9] Because of this, and because none of

[5]See Jens Peter Larsen, *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Composition, Sources*, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972). See also Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue*; Keiichiro Watanabe, "The Paper Used by Handel and His Copyists during the Time of 1706–1710," *Journal of the Japanese Musicological Society* XXVII (1981) 129–71; Donald Burrows, "Sources, Resources and Handel Studies" in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (London: Macmillan, 1987) 19–42; and Ellen T. Harris, "Handel's London Cantatas," *Göttinger Händel Beiträge* I (1984) 86–102.

[6]**GB** Cfm 30. H. 2. Mu MS 252, pp. 7–8. Baselt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*, II:517; and Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704–1726* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 270–71, identify this as an autograph, but Burrows and Ronish now contest that designation.

[7]Rudolf Ewerhart, "Die Händel-Handschriften der Santini Bibliothek in Münster," *Händel Jahrbuch* VI (1960) 146.

[8]Ibid., 143.

[9]Ibid., 111–50, for a thorough description of this collection.

the cantatas of established English origin appear in these manuscripts, one can conclude with some assurance that the cantatas in the Santini Collection, even those in later manuscripts, derive exclusively from Handel's Italian period. Further, Handel's use of this aria setting with a different text in *Rodrigo* (Florence, 1707) and many later works not only indicates the popularity of the melody but also implies that the composition of the cantata preceded 1707, for the typical direction of Handel's borrowing is from cantata to opera, not vice versa. Therefore the English manuscript fragment of "Fra pensieri," if it is an autograph, probably carries a different meaning than compositional score. In fact, this copy preserves a unique, ornamented version of the aria that differs from all other copies. It is possible, and we will examine this idea in more detail below, that the score simply represents an ornamented copy of an older aria for an inexperienced singer.

"Dolc'è pur d'amor" presents an even more complicated case. The paper studies of Donald Burrows not only have placed this autograph in England but have also dated it specifically to 1717/18.[10] If this is the composing score, then "Dolc'è pur" is an English cantata. John Mayo, however, has argued that the autograph of "Dolc'è pur d'amor" is merely a transcription made by Handel of the copy in the same Fitzwilliam manuscript. He postulates that the copy was used by a singer to write in ornamentation and that Handel afterwards recopied and corrected this ornamentation a half step lower.[11] It was then this corrected autograph version that was apparently used as the source for the Oxford manuscripts.

Therefore, despite being considered English by all commentators, "Dolc'è pur d'amor" cannot, at least through textual studies, be identified as English in origin. Indeed, "Dolc'è pur d'amor" is closely tied to the Italian works in that its last aria is borrowed intact and at pitch from the Italian "Stanco di più soffrire." A recent discovery by Anthony Hicks that the text of the first aria, "Dolc'è pur d'amor," is also the first aria of a cantata text by Paolo Rolli, how-

[10]See Burrows and Ronish. The autograph survives in **GB** Cfm 30. H. 2. Mus MS 252, pp. 11–14.

[11]John Mayo, "Handel's Italian Cantatas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1977) 176–82.

ever, complicates the issue.[12] The Rolli cantata text, which begins with the recitative "Soffri mio caro Alcino," was published in his 1727 volume of cantatas and canzonettas, and as Rolli arrived in England in 1716, this might seem at first to be the earliest date Handel could have been given this text to set. Antonio Caldara, however, also set the recitative-aria pair "Soffri mio caro Alcino"-"Dolc'è pur d'amor," and the manuscript of his setting is dated 14 October 1715.[13]

Rolli was, without doubt, writing cantatas in Italy, and he may have known Handel in Rome, where both men were associated with the Arcadian Academy in 1708. Indeed, Hicks argues that the association of Rolli's aria text of "Dolc'è pur d'amor" with an aria from "Stanco di più soffrire," which Handel wrote in Rome (1708), may indicate that the text of the Italian cantata is also by Rolli.

Thus, there are many possible scenarios. Handel could have known the text "Dolc'è pur d'amor" in Italy; he also might have set it in Italy. Caldara's later setting would then follow a tradition of composers resetting cantata texts, perhaps in some competition—just as Handel set cantata texts previously set by Alessandro Scarlatti and Benedetto Marcello.[14] The extant setting of this text by Handel could therefore have been written in Italy, or it could be a new setting written in London of a now lost Italian version, just as the composer reset other of his Italian cantata texts, "Sento la che ristretto" among them. Handel might also never have known or set this text prior to Rolli's arrival in 1716, and the "collage" text may have been put together by Rolli himself. The style of the aria strongly points to

[12]"Paolo Rolli's Canzonets and Cantatas," unpublished paper presented at the Durham Conference on Baroque Music (July 1992). I am grateful to Anthony Hicks for providing a copy of his remarks.

[13]Hicks, "Paolo Rolli's Canzonets and Cantatas." See also Eusebius Mandyczewski and Karl Geiringer, eds., *Antonio Caldara (1670–1736); Kammermusik für Gesang: Kantaten, Madrigale, Kanons*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, XXXIX/75 (Vienna: Universal, 1932) 107.

[14]See Ellen T. Harris, "The Italian in Handel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXIII (1980) 468–500; Mayo, "Handel's Italian Cantatas," 76–104; and Hellmuth Christian Wolff, "Die Lucrezia-Kantaten von Benedetto Marcello und Georg Friedrich Händel," *Händel Jahrbuch* III (1957) 74–88.

an English origin, but more than that is difficult to say.[15] Although "Dolc'è pur d'amor," through its relation to "Stanco di più soffrire," is clearly connected to cantatas written in Italy, it most closely parallels those cantatas revised in England, like "Sento la che ristretto,"[16] by having, on the one hand, its own English autograph and, on the other, a copying history that is more typical of cantatas composed in Italy than in England (see table 1, column 4: "Anthologies").

When dealing with attributed autographs, as these examples illustrate, one must ask first whether the interpretation of the hand is correct and then whether the autograph is actually a composing score before it is possible to interpret accurately the information provided by textual analysis, which itself relies on interpretation. When there is no autograph at all, the difficulties become even greater.

Using the earliest copies as evidence of an original reading, for example, can also be fraught with difficulties. In judging the provenance and original range of Handel's cantatas, Bernd Baselt has laid great weight on the Münster Santini collection, which might be called the earliest "anthology" of Handel's cantatas.[17] He seems to imply that in lieu of an autograph we can accept the version in the Santini collection as authentic. Thus, for those cantatas lacking an

[15]In an earlier article, a stylistic analysis of the vocal style led me to identify the composition of the first aria with the castrato Valentini, who left London in 1714 (see Harris, "Handel's London Cantatas").

[16]The revised English version not only appears in autograph but is most probably the version listed in the catalogue prepared by J. C. Pepusch in 1720 of music at Cannons, where Handel also wrote the Chandos Anthems, *Esther*, and *Acis and Galatea* under the patronage of James Brydges (later Duke of Chandos). See C. H. Collins Baker and Muriel I. Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos, Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949) 135–36; and Graydon Beeks, "A Club of Composers: Handel, Pepusch and Arbuthnot at Cannons," in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (London: Macmillan, 1987) 209–21.

[17]The work of Bernd Baselt represents an extraordinary personal and professional achievement. That I disagree with some of his conclusions does not diminish my respect for him or his accomplishments. My hope had been on writing this paper to enter into a dialogue on some of these issues, and to that end I wrote Baselt of my conclusions during the summer of 1993. Unfortunately, he was already too ill to respond more than briefly. His untimely death has been a great loss to the Handel and wider musicological community.

autograph, which survive in both alto and soprano versions, Baselt depends on the Santini manuscripts to determine which is the earlier.

Of the sixteen alto cantatas under examination here, six fall into the category of existing in both soprano and alto versions with a copy in the Santini collection (see table 1, column 3: "Santini"). In each of these cases, the Oxford manuscripts preserve the alto version and the Santini manuscripts preserve the soprano version. In one case, "Stanco di più soffrire," which appears in the Ruspoli documents on 9 August 1708, the Münster copy states that the original was a third lower in B minor.[18] Here, therefore, Baselt assigns the alto version priority. In all other cases he assigns the Münster, or soprano, version priority. The combined evidence, however, argues against this conclusion.

First, in the case of "Stanco di più soffrire," the Santini collection preserves an acknowledged transposition. Second, there are cases outside this group of cantatas that point to further examples of the same practice. For example, the Italian autograph of "Sento la che ristretto" is for alto, whereas the Santini collection copy is for soprano. Baselt in this case still gives the Santini copy priority and lists the original Italian soprano autograph as missing, even though there is no reason to believe there ever was one.[19] That is, of these sixteen alto cantatas, twelve exist in both alto and soprano versions, but only one, "Son gelsomino," has both an alto and soprano autograph (and this is because the versions actually are different). The autograph for the alto version of "L'aure grate" is lacking, but there survives a fragment of an autograph for a soprano version, which is also a completely different setting. The versions that differ largely in pitch alone, like the soprano and alto version of the Italian setting of "Sento la che ristretto," are merely transpositions that would not require the composer's attention, or perhaps even his knowledge. In another example, the cantata "Dalla guerra amorosa" lacks any extant autograph but is for bass voice in all but one of its surviving copies.

[18]D Müs Hs 1898. See Ewerhart, "Händel-Handschriften der Santini Bibliothek in Münster," 144.

[19]Baselt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*, II:587: "... kommt dieser Version trotz des verschollenen Autographs ein besonderer Authentizitätsanspruch zu."

Since authenticity cannot be determined solely by the number of surviving copies, Baselt, placing a higher value in the Santini collection than in any other source, identifies the single soprano copy of "Dalla guerra amorosa" as the original.[20]

In assigning such priority to the Santini collection, Baselt makes a series of tacit assumptions that can be elucidated: (1) In lieu of an autograph or other clear documentary evidence to the contrary (and sometimes even with a surviving autograph indicating otherwise), the first surviving source copy represents the original version; (2) in the case of the Santini manuscripts in particular, the copies derive from the house of the Marquis Ruspoli, which gives them added authority; and (3) the cantatas copied for Ruspoli were originally written for Ruspoli and thus represent their original versions. Let us test the strength of these assumptions.

First, the only Santini manuscripts that seem to be inextricably bound to the Ruspoli household during Handel's tenure are MS 1898 and MS 1899. In these volumes, containing thirty-five cantatas, only four are not specifically named in the Ruspoli documents.[21] By contrast, of the five remaining cantatas under examination here that exist in both soprano and alto versions with a copy in the Santini collection (now excluding "Stanco di più soffrire," whose original range is clear), only two appear by name in the Ruspoli documents: "Lungi da me" and "Quando sperasti." Of these, only "Quando sperasti" exists in an Italian autograph, and this is for soprano. With "Quando sperasti," therefore, Baselt is certainly correct to conclude that the alto version in the Oxford manuscripts is a transposed copy.

This leaves only four cantatas whose range is in question. "Irene idolo mio" appears in Santini MS 1899 for soprano and in the Oxford for alto. "Lungi da me," "Nel dolce tempo," and "Fra pensieri" appear in more peripheral Santini manuscripts for soprano and in Oxford for alto. We must assess whether these four cantatas fall into the category of "Stanco di più soffrire" (originally for alto) or

[20]Ibid., 503: "Demnach wäre die Sopranfassung HWV102b als Originalfassung anzusehen, die Händel später für Baß umschrieb."

[21]"Irene idolo mio," "O lucenti e sereni occhi," "Sarai contenta un di," and "Torna il core."

into the category of "Quando sperasti" (originally for soprano), not by assuming the priority of the Santini collection, but by weighing the evidence from various sources.

Of these four, only "Lungi da me" is listed in the Ruspoli documents (31 August 1709), but this does not appear an absolute governing factor one way or the other. That is, on the one hand, it is not necessarily the case that a cantata that is not listed in these documents could not have been written for Ruspoli, as Baselt concludes in the case of "Fra pensieri," despite the survival of a copy in one of the later Santini manuscripts.[22] Historical documents are by definition incomplete and allow us only to see what survives. On the other hand, the assumption of Ursula Kirkendale (and apparently Baselt) that all of the cantatas in the Ruspoli documents were not only copied for the Marquis but were written for him as well can be shown to be false on account of autograph evidence. For example, various cantatas can be shown by their watermarks to have Florentine or Neapolitan provenance, and these were most likely copied later by Ruspoli's scribes.

In the case of "Sento la che ristretto," Baselt argues that the original soprano autograph is lost, that Antonio Giuseppe Angelini, Ruspoli's primary scribe, made two copies of this autograph that survive in the Santini collection MS 1898 and MS 1910, and that Handel himself transposed the cantata for Naples, which autograph survives.[23] A better interpretation, it seems to me, is that Handel composed this cantata for Naples, and that Angelini later made transposed copies for Ruspoli, with a slight shortening of the second aria but without the need of a second autograph. That the Angelini copies of "Sento la che ristretto" in the Santini collection are not cited in the Ruspoli account books may offer specific evidence that these documents are incomplete, and, further, the bill that is listed in these documents from 3 August 1709 for a later copy of

[22]Baselt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*, II:517: "Die Kantate entstand vermutlich 1707/08 in Italien, wurde aber nicht für Ruspoli geschrieben, in dessen Rechnungbüchern sie nicht erwähnt wird."

[23]Ibid., 587.

this cantata by Francesco Lanciani,[24] which copy does not survive, clearly indicates that Ruspoli sometimes had works copied significantly after they were composed.[25] Some of the works copied for Ruspoli after the fact were probably first written not only for patrons from other cities (as apparently happens here) but also for patrons such as Cardinal Ottoboni from Rome.[26]

In sum, the fact that all of the solo continuo cantatas in the Santini collection are copied in the soprano range—given (1) conflicting autograph evidence in some cases, (2) a specific notation to the contrary in the case of "Stanco di più soffrire," and (3) the prevailing source history in all other cases—cannot support an interpretation that these works were all conceived in that range. Rather, the fact that the soprano Margherita Durastanti was Ruspoli's only regularly paid singer during Handel's years in Rome allows us to interpret this collection as a group of works copied and sometimes transposed for a specific singer. In light of all the evidence, therefore, it seems more likely that of this group of six cantatas, only the one that survives in autograph for soprano was originally conceived in that range: "Quando sperasti."

For all these cantatas, the source history seems a further confirmation of the original range, even though, once again, a greater number of surviving copies in any one version does not necessarily

[24]Ursula Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XX (1967) 273.

[25]Kirkendale ("The Ruspoli Documents," 249) suggests that the lack of a bill for the Angelini copies may indicate that these were a gift to Ruspoli from Cardinal Ottoboni, Pamphili, or Colonna and that the lack of a copy by Lanciani in the Santini collection may indicate that Ruspoli had this (and other Lanciani copies) made for the purpose of giving it away.

[26]Ibid., 222–73. The Ruspoli documents provide dates on which a copyist was paid to copy a specific work. With the continuo cantatas, it can be shown in many cases that these dates closely follow the composition of the work. In other cases, however, it seems that earlier compositions were being copied, either because Ruspoli had requested the copying of an earlier work, for performance or for his library, or because Handel was depending on these earlier works to meet some prescribed "quota." See John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel, To which is added, A Catalogue of his Works, and Observations upon them* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760; reprint, Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1975) 55: "Handel was desired to furnish his quota." See also Harris, "Le Cantate romane di Händel," 59.

indicate that version is authentic. Nevertheless, for those with soprano autographs ("Quando sperasti" and "Lungi n'ando," which latter does not appear in the Santini collection, despite being listed as copied by Angelini in the Ruspoli documents), the only copies for alto survive in the Oxford manuscripts. For "Stanco di più soffrire," on the other hand, whose soprano version is described as a transposition in the Santini collection, the alto version predominates with nine copies as opposed to four for soprano (including Santini).[27] For the remaining four cantatas, the situation parallels "Stanco di più soffrire." "Irene idolo mio" survives in its alto version in eight copies; it is transposed for soprano in five copies.[28] "Lungi da me" survives in nine copies for alto and in four copies for soprano.[29] "Nel dolce tempo" survives in ten copies for alto and four for soprano.[30] Finally, "Fra pensieri" differs in its copies primarily in clef, but with alto clef predominating.[31]

Not only does the relative paucity of soprano copies for these last four cantatas imply a non-original key, as in the case with "Stanco di più soffrire," but an overlapping source picture indicates that these few copies are closely related. Thus, the Tenbury source (**GB** T MS 1131) contains soprano versions of both "Stanco di più soffrire" and "Fra pensieri." The Library of Congress (MS 1620) contains soprano versions of both "Stanco di più soffrire" and "Nel dolce tempo." And Fitzwilliam Museum MS 24. F. 12. Mu MS 51, British Library Add. 29484, and Manchester Public Library MS 130 Hd4, v. 76 each contain the soprano versions of both "Irene idolo mio" and "Lungi da me." Of course, all appear for soprano in the Santini collection. It is clear, however, that the Santini collection,

[27]**GB** T MS 1131*; **US** Wc MS 1620; **A** Wn MS 17750; **D** Müs MS 1898. (An asterisk in nn. 27–30 signifies that the copy is not identified with the correct version in Baselt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*.)

[28]**D** Müs MS 1899; **GB** Cfm 24. F. 12. Mu MS 51; **GB** Lbl Add. 29484*; **GB** Lbl Add. 31574; **GB** Mp MS 130 Hd4, v. 76.

[29]**GB** Lbl Add. 29484*; **D** Müs MS 1910; **GB** Cfm 24. F. 12. Mu MS 51; **GB** Mp MS 130 Hd4, v. 76.

[30]**GB** Lbl Add. 14212*; **US** Wc MS 1620*; **D** Müs MS 1901; **GB** Lcm MS 698.

[31]In one copy it is a third higher (**GB** T MS 1131).

despite its temporal priority, does not in all of its copies represent Handel's original conception of the vocal range.

The Santini manuscripts are hardly the only sources that depend on interpretation. The Oxford volumes are problematic in another way. These two scores are dated respectively 1718 and 1720, and there is no obvious reason to assume that these dates do not represent the copying and binding dates of the two volumes. Thus it might be possible to use those dates to provide a *terminus post quem* for cantatas in both volumes. For example, a previous examination of the vocal style of "Deh! lasciate" and "Ho fuggito" has led me to conclude that both cantatas were probably written for Senesino. Given that both appear in the 1720 volume and Senesino arrived in London that year, it seemed reasonable to date both the cantatas in 1720.[32] Donald Burrows, however, has dated the autographs of these two cantatas in 1722.[33] More recently, Burrows has also concluded that both the Oxford volumes were "bound up in about 1722," partly no doubt on the basis of his conclusions concerning the dating of these autographs, and possibly on the identity of S2 as the copyist for the second half of the 1720 volume as well, for, as he writes, a 1720 date "would be the earliest example of S2's hand in a Handel copy."[34] Burrows has also shown that these volumes must have contained at least some blank pages when they were bound, as the copyist for the last two cantatas in the 1718 volume has been identified as Philip Hayes, who lived from 1738 to 1797. Burrows then concludes, "the title-page dates are no guide to the dates of these copies."[35] But this seems extremely unlikely. That is, the Philip Hayes example aside, the conflict is merely between a 1720 title-page date for the volume in which copies of "Deh! lasciate" and "Ho fuggito," whose autographs Burrows has dated to 1722, appear. Once again, various scenarios are possible: the year of 1720 given in Ob MS Mus. d. 62 may offer "no guide" to either the binding or copying date and Burrows's paper studies may

[32] As I did in "Handel's London Cantatas."

[33] I am grateful to Donald Burrows for sharing this conclusion with me.

[34] Burrows, "Sources, Resources and Handel Studies," 29.

[35] Ibid., 30.

separately have correctly identified the *terminus ante quem* for these cantatas to be 1722; the date may indicate when the volume was begun, with Ob MS Mus. d. 62 completed in 1722 and bound at that time, as Burrows argues; or the date may correctly identify the year of copying and binding, Burrows's watermark dating of the autographs of these two cantatas may be off by two years, and the volume may represent the first example of S2's hand in a Handel copy.

After looking at the evidence provided by textual studies, including the examination of autographs, primary copies, and dated copies (all of which, as has been seen, needs to be interpreted), the evidence of stylistic analysis can sometimes provide corroboration or further information. And here, it is true, biases come even more into play. For example, scholars have frequently assumed *a priori* that composers in the course of their careers either work toward greater complexity or toward greater simplicity. That is, most of the time, regardless of the direction chosen, it is easy to fall into the trap of believing that a composer's stylistic evolution is linear, or one-way. By necessity, some measure of this tacit assumption underlies all theories about chronology based on stylistic analysis. Having examined Handel's dated continuo cantatas in some detail, I continue to believe it is possible to identify such specific early characteristics as repeated cadences to a single tonic; melodic repetitions, extended sequences, disjunct melodic motion, and few rests in arias; and disjunct and chromatic intervals, arioso style endings, extended rests, and quarter-note phrase endings in recitative.[36] But these stylistic traits can only be viewed as existing on an imaginary continuum without clear reference. By examining the two large (but unequal) groups of continuo cantatas originating in Italy and England it may be possible to identify large-scale differences as a foundation against which detailed stylistic changes could be measured.

One such gross distinction between the Italian and English cantatas is their movement structure (see table 1, column 6: "form"). All cantatas known to be of English origin (1710–20) are in the form aria-recitative-aria (ARA): "Deh! lasciate," "Ho fuggito," "Siete rose," and "Son gelsomino." Although lacking an autograph, the

[36]Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) 154–76; and "Le Cantate romane di Handel."

alto "L'aure grate" is also tied to England in that two of its three surviving sources, both of which are dated 1718, are English[37]; it is also ARA in form. Finally, "Dolc'è pur d'amor," discussed above, is also ARA. On the other hand, the "normative" pattern for Italy is RARA: examples from this selection of alto cantatas include "Clori degli occhi" (Italian autograph), "Stanco di più soffrire" (copied for Ruspoli in 1708), "Lungi n'ando" (Italian autograph for soprano; copied for Ruspoli 1708), and "Quando sperasti" (Italian autograph for soprano; copied for Ruspoli 1708).[38]

Longer patterns, and especially patterns ending in recitative, tend to be early Italian and specifically not for Ruspoli and the Arcadian academy. Three of these sixteen alto cantatas observe such longer patterns: "Figli del mesto cor" (RARAR), "Irene idolo mio" (RARARa), and "Lungi da me, pensier tiranno" (RARARA).[39] Two others among Handel's cantatas stand out as longer works shortened in later copies: "Ninfe e pastori" (RaRARA) shortened to RARA (aR dropped) and "Lungi dal mio ben" (RARARA: shortened to RARA; A2 R3 dropped). There are no cases where cantatas are lengthened in later versions. Later versions are always accommodated to the more modern style, and this overall change in movement structure is a fact of chronology in Handel's cantatas.

Key signatures in recitatives also provide a clear distinction between cantatas composed in Italy and later cantatas (see table 1, column 7: "recitative key signatures"). That is, in the known Italian-composed cantatas (by reason of autograph or association with the Ruspoli documents or Santini collection; see table 1, columns 1–3), the simple recitatives generally have key signatures. Among the sixteen alto cantatas under study here, this includes: "Clori degli occhi

[37]**GB** CDp M. C. 1. 5. and **GB** Ob MS Mus. d. 61.

[38]In earlier articles, I have argued that "Clori degli occhi miei" was written for Florence in 1707, that "Stanco di più soffrire" and "Quando sperasti" were written for Naples in 1708, and that "Lungi n'ando" was written for Rome 1708 (See Harris, "Händel in Florenz" and "Le Cantate romane di Händel").

[39]"Nel dolce tempo" is given in all but one of its alto copies in the form RARAR, but this is the result of an incorrect reading of the **D** Müs MS 1901 copy: see Mayo, "Handel's Italian Cantatas," 176–82. The recitative copied at the end of the cantata belongs at the end of the first recitative, as both the music and text make abundantly clear.

miei," "Fra pensieri," "Irene idolo mio," "Lungi da me," "Lungi n'ando," "Nel dolce tempo," "Quando sperasti," and "Stanco di più soffrire." The English-composed cantatas generally do not have key signatures. This is also a fact. In terms of style traits, however, we are trained—as unfortunately we are not always in terms of documentary evidence—to go beyond fact to interpretation.

First, we must place this trait in some context. Handel uses key signatures in simple recitative regularly in *Almira* (1704) and then decreasingly in *Rodrigo* (1705) and *Agrippina* (1709). Incidences increase again somewhat in *Rinaldo* (1711) and then, I believe, drop off permanently. *Il trionfo del tempo* (1707) uses some recitative signatures; *La resurrezione* (1708) uses almost none at all. Thus, there is not a fractionally diminishing use of recitative signatures related directly to a specific chronological continuum, but within a period of seven years, and these focused mainly on the Italian period of 1707 and 1708, Handel slowly but distinctly relinquishes his use of signatures in simple recitative. To determine why, we must examine both Handel's style and his notational practices.

Over this period of time, Handel's style in simple recitative generally turns away from a more song-like, arioso idiom to swift declamation. This is evidenced in a number of ways. The earlier recitatives have more disjunct intervallic patterns that become increasingly dissonant when expressive of pathos. They exhibit more regular phrasing, and the rhythms are carefully composed. Harmonically, the earlier recitatives tend to remain within a closer circle of keys, even if they are harmonically dissonant.[40]

If we look at the eight cantatas from this group known to be Italian in origin, we will find that their overall harmonic patterns tend to remain entirely on the flat or sharp sides of the circle of fifths (see table 1, column 7: "keys"). "Clori degli occhi," "Fra pensieri," "Lungi da me," and "Nel dolce tempo" are composed entirely in flat keys. "Stanco di più soffrire" is in entirely sharp keys. Further, "Fra pensieri" and "Nel dolce tempo" both begin and end in the same key. Only "Irene idolo mio," "Lungi n'ando," and "Quando sperasti" shift between sharp and flat keys in their arias, but even

[40]See examples given in Harris, "Le Cantate romane di Händel."

here "Lungi n'ando" begins and ends in the relative major/minor (C-a), and "Quando sperasti" begins and ends in the parallel major/minor (d-D).

On the other hand, the English cantatas show striking shifts in harmony. "Dolc'è pur d'amor" begins in E-flat major and ends in E minor, and "Siete rose" begins in E-flat major and ends in B minor. "Son gelsomino" shifts within more closely related keys from G major to C minor (with inflections in E-flat major), and "Ho fuggito" shifts similarly from A minor to D major. Of the established English cantatas, only "Deh! lasciate" carries a key signature in the recitative, and it is in flat keys throughout. None of the English cantatas begins and ends in the same key.[41]

The change in style between Handel's Italian and English cantatas, including song-like versus declaimed recitative and harmonic continuity versus harmonic disjunction, may certainly have influenced Handel's practice of using key signatures in recitative. Without doubt, a more song-like recitative joining arias of similar keys is better suited to the use of a specific key signature than is a fast-paced declamation joining two arias in widely divergent keys. On the other hand, the change in the use of key signatures in simple recitative may not be due to style change but may rather have driven the style changes. That is, the notational change could have presented Handel with an opportunity he might not have previously considered.

Handel's typical method of composing a score, at least in his maturity, was first to compose (or, in the oratorios, to write out the bass and treble parts of) the set pieces—the arias, duets, choruses, and instrumental parts—but for the recitatives simply to write out the words between the staves. It was in the next compositional stage that he composed the recitatives (and, if necessary, filled in the orchestral parts). This compositional sequence is obvious in the operas and oratorios, and it is evident in the cantatas as early as the unfinished soprano version of "L'aure grate," which survives in

[41]See Ellen T. Harris, "Handel's Harmonic Patterns," in *Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice: Essays in Honor of Alfred Mann*, ed. Mary Ann Parker (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, forthcoming) for a detailed discussion. As in Handel's cantatas, so also in Handel's early operas there is a strong preference for flat keys and for the repeated use of a single key.

autograph. The first aria is written in full, the recitative text is entered into the manuscript but not set, and the second aria is composed up through measure 9. The most famous example, however, is the autograph of *Giulio Cesare*, which survives without settings for most of the simple recitative.[42] It is also clear from manuscript studies that Handel normally wrote his overtures last.

The compositional practice of J. S. Bach, according to Robert Marshall, was quite different.

> The appearance of the Bach autographs, then, suggests strongly that, with perhaps a few exceptions, Bach began at the beginning—with the notation of the first measures of the first movement—and proceeded to compose the movements of a vocal work in the order in which they were to be performed.[43]

Before Bach moved to Leipzig, he wrote his recitatives as he wrote his arias, copying the text and composing the score simultaneously (as is evidenced by the odd spacings and line breaks). Afterwards, he wrote out the complete text before composing the recitative, but he still seems to have composed the recitative before moving on to the next aria.[44] In the light of this practice, it is important to note that Bach's simple recitatives are composed with key signatures.

It would seem from its autograph that Handel began *Rodrigo*, which includes key signatures in a significant number of recitatives, at the beginning with the overture and continued to the end, much as Bach wrote out his vocal pieces. Further, the recitatives, whether or not the text was written out before composition, may have been

[42]See C. Steven LaRue, "The Composer's Choice: Aspects of Compositional Context and Creative Process in Selected Operas from Handel's Royal Academy Period" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1990) 13–14 and *passim* for Handel's compositional practice in the operas (a published version is forthcoming from Oxford University Press); Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959) 88, for the general practice in the oratorios; and Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 508, on *Giulio Cesare*.

[43]Robert Lewis Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972) I:66.

[44]Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach*, I:96.

composed in place before the following set piece.[45] Perhaps, following a German tradition, this was Handel's typical practice before arriving in Italy, but a shift occurred during his Italian years, and the change is largely completed by his arrival in London.

These two different compositional procedures—composing from beginning to end or composing set pieces and filling in the recitatives later—imply two very different conceptions of the musical work, each of which would affect the overall fabric of the composition, the role of recitative, and the harmonic continuity in particular. Regardless, then, of whether the change in composing practice drove the stylistic changes or the changes in stylistic practice necessitated the notational change, the notational change coincides with changes in Handel's harmonic practices that afterwards held fast over his lifetime.

Large-scale movement structure and key signatures in the recitatives are two of the stylistic traits that separate the Italian and English cantatas in Handel's oeuvre. With such gross measures, in addition to the more detailed stylistic changes, distinguishing between Italian and English cantatas should become a simple matter on this basis and apart from textual studies. Among the sixteen alto continuo cantatas of the Oxford manuscripts, there are only two that

[45]The overture of *Rodrigo* is written on triple crescent paper that can be associated with early spring 1707 by comparison to "Dixit Dominus" dated April 1707; the remainder of the opera is on paper that is associated with the later Roman cantatas of the same year (Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 110–11). The chronological progression of composition is also evident in Handel's self-borrowing in the opera, which shifts from the German *Almira* in the overture and first act, to works dated from spring 1707 in Act II, to a single borrowing from a work dated autumn 1707 in Act III (Harris, "Händel in Florenz," 57, n. 33). The question whether the recitatives were composed in place or after the composition of the set pieces, however, cannot be answered definitively. In at least one suggestive instance, the text of the recitative before the aria "Pugneran con noi le stelle" was clearly written into the score before the composition of the aria, as indicated by the conclusion of the text on one staff with the clefs for the aria following. In the composition of the recitative, however, the final cadence (and half of the final word "peccato") has been moved down to the next set of staffs, necessitating the crossing out and rewriting of the aria clefs lower down on the page. In this case, therefore, the evidence would seem to indicate that not only the recitative text but also the composition of the recitative was written out before the following aria was begun.

do not survive in autograph and do not appear in the Ruspoli documents or the Santini collection. These are "Qualor crudele" and "Figli del mesto cor." Both cantatas have key signatures in their recitatives. "Figli del mesto cor" follows the pattern RARAR, thus ending with a recitative; it is all in flat keys and begins and ends in D minor. "Qualor crudele" follows the pattern RARA, where the second recitative concludes with a repeated melodic phrase; it is all in flat keys and begins and ends in G minor.

"Figli del mesto cor" survives in seven sources, one of which is Italian in origin (London, British Library [**GB** Lbl] R.M. 19.e.7); the others are all English. "Qualor crudele" survives in twelve sources, all of which are of English origin with the Oxford manuscript the earliest. On the basis of this source information, Baselt identifies the provenance of "Figli del mesto cor" as Italian. He writes:

> Da das Autograph der Kantate verschollen ist, lassen sich aus dem Quellenbefund keine sicheren Rückschlüsse auf Ort und Zeit der Komposition ziehen. Lediglich die Kopie in GB Lbm (R.M. 19. e.7.), die italienischer Herkunft ist, deutet auf eine Entstehung des Werkes in Italien hin.[46]

This agrees with the style evidence. On the other hand, Baselt gives the provenance of "Qualor crudele" as English (as I once did as well).[47] One can only assume that the lack of a surviving Italian source played a key role in Baselt's conclusion.[48] Here, however, the "facts" of style analysis are far more potent, I believe, than the "facts" of source studies. There is no reason to presuppose that an Italian cantata must have a surviving Italian source.

Looking at this potpourri of alto works in Ob MS Mus. d. 61–62, some written in England, some in Italy, some originally for soprano, and some that had been transposed for soprano in the meantime, one is naturally drawn to ask why this collection was

[46]Baselt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*, II:514.

[47]See Harris, "Handel's London Cantatas," where I discuss my change of interpretation.

[48]Baselt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis*, II:574, writes that the style points to about 1710.

compiled. The manuscripts themselves are part of a very important collection of copies made beginning in 1715 for Elizabeth Legh. It has been argued that the volumes were returned to Handel upon her death in 1734 and then passed on to James Harris, the first Earl of Malmesbury, perhaps through his brother Thomas Harris, "who was both adviser and friend of the composer."[49] Of the thirty-eight volumes, thirty-six, all in vertical quarto format, are now in the possession of the sixth Earl of Malmesbury. The two Oxford cantata volumes were probably separated early on from these on account of their format, which is oblong, rather than vertical, quarto.

As a collection of cantatas, these volumes have rather special characteristics. They represent the only collection of Handel's cantatas to contain so many works for alto; indeed, some of the alto versions in these manuscripts are *unica*, and no later collection contains this same group of alto works in any range. In addition, a significant use of ornamentation is also special to these manuscripts, and it is this characteristic that may ultimately explain the collection.

The Oxford scores derive from the middle of a period in Handel's life that stretches from about 1716 to 1725, during which time most of the few examples of autograph ornamentation can be dated. One of the arias previously thought to belong to this group of autograph ornamented works, "S'estinto è l'idol mio," exists in the copy of Handel's opera *Amadigi* written for Elizabeth Legh and signed and dated by her "1716."[50] The hand adding the ornaments to "S'estinto é l'idol mio" and a supplementary bass line to a later aria in the same volume, "Ch'io mai lasci," is no longer, however, considered Handel's but rather that of Elizabeth Legh herself.[51] Other

[49]H. Watkins Shaw, "The Earl of Malmesbury's Handel Collection," (Unpublished typescript, 1974) [1–2]. See also Donald Burrows and Terence Best, "A Guide to the Volumes of the Malmesbury Collection of Handel Manuscripts" (unpublished typescript, 1991) 3: "After Elizabeth Legh's death it seems probable that the collection was returned to Handel, who subsequently presented these 36 volumes to Thomas Harris, a personal friend ...."

[50]See Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 292.

[51]These manuscripts have only recently been made available in a single microfilm copy in the Hampshire Record Office. I am indebted to the Earl of Malmesbury for making these films available to scholars and to the librarians at the Hampshire Record Office for their generous assistance. See Burrows and Best, "Guide to the Volumes of the Malmesbury Collection," available at the

ornamentation from this period includes the cantatas "Fra pensieri" and "Dolc'è pur amor" in Cfm 30. H. 2. Mu MS 252; the first has also been thought to be by Handel but this is now debated, and the second, dated by Burrows to 1717/18, has, as mentioned above, been theorized by John Mayo to be a transcription by Handel of an earlier copy in the same manuscript in which an unknown singer added ornamentation. That Handel corrected this ornamentation and transposed the cantata down a half step tells us that the singer may well have been an amateur without strong high notes, and perhaps the fact that this corrected version was used as a basis for the copy made for Elizabeth Legh may tell us who that singer might have been.

The Legh volumes in the Malmesbury collection also include some transpositions.[52] In *Teseo* (dated 1717), one aria and a duet are transposed for alto.[53] The aria, "Deh! v'aprite," also contains ornamentation, and both the transpositions and the ornamentation may have been added with Elizabeth Legh in mind; Winton Dean and J. Merrill Knapp write that the ornamentation "may well derive from Handel."[54] Even more tantalizing, however, is yet another Oxford manuscript (MS Don. c. 69) that contains six arias, five from *Ottone* and one from *Floridante* all transposed down a fourth. To two of these arias is added extensive ornamentation, and to two others partial ornamentation. In 1957 J. S. and M. V. Hall argued that Handel had written these ornaments late in life for the famed alto castrato Gaetano Guadagni.[55] Dean and Knapp have recently said about this: "Their suggestion that the ornaments were composed for Guadagni in 1751 is untenable, apart from the fact that no Italian

---

Hampshire Record Office, for the revised interpretation of the scribal hands in these sources. I am grateful to Donald Burrows for a copy of this typescript.

[52]See Burrows and Best, "Guide to the Volumes of the Malmesbury Collection."

[53]"Deh! v'aprite" in C and "Cara ti dono" for two altos in F.

[54]Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 256.

[55]J. S. Hall and M. V. Hall, "Handel's Graces," *Händel Jahrbuch* III (1957) 25–43. The three *Ottone* arias with the most extensive ornamentation are available in modern editions: Winton Dean, ed. *Three Ornamented Arias* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); and Hellmuth Christian Wolff, ed. *Originale gesangs-improvisationen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1972).

singer would require them."[56] Indeed, the paper and primary scribal hand of John Christopher Smith point to a date very near to the original performances of *Ottone* and *Floridante* (1722–23), and there is no obvious reason to assume that the ornamentation was added much after the time of the manuscript's origin. Dean writes, "The paper and the handwriting, both of Smith and Handel, in the Bodleian manuscript are consistent with a date in the 1720s."[57]

The relationships among these examples of ornamentation—beyond their musical style and their temporal proximity—offer the possibility of considering them as a group. The ornamented aria from *Amadigi* in the Malmesbury collection, with the ornamentation once thought to be by Handel now attributed to the hand of Elizabeth Legh herself, was surely intended for Legh, undoubtedly for her private performance. The ornamented "Dolc'è pur d'amor," with ornamentation written, according to Mayo, by an anonymous English singer, is the copy text for the version used in the Oxford volumes of cantatas written for Elizabeth Legh. The ornamented "Deh! v'aprite" from the Malmesbury *Teseo* is scored only for singer and continuo, and changes from the orchestral version make the two versions incompatible; it too was probably written for Legh's private enjoyment. An autograph ornamented aria from *Amadigi* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, "O caro mio tesor," includes changes to the bass line that, as in "Deh! v'aprite," would make it impossible to perform with the original instrumental parts, which leads to the conclusion that it was written "for some singer who was to be accompanied only by continuo."[58] It is interesting to compare this example with "Ch'io mai lasci" from the Malmesbury score of *Amadigi*, which has added bass notes (once thought to be by Handel but now considered to be written by Legh) that are incompatible with the upper parts and could only be intended for continuo performance of the aria. Further, some of the ornamentation in Oxford Don. c. 69 also clashes with the instrumental parts in such a way that it has been considered by some as compatible only with

[56]Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 447, n. 47.

[57]Dean, *Three Ornamented Arias*, ii.

[58]Winton Dean, "Vocal Embellishment in a Handel Aria," in *Essays on Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) 29.

continuo performance.[59] Although Winton Dean concludes about these clashes that the ornamentation was never performed and that "Handel would no doubt have made adjustments at rehearsal,"[60] there is no compelling reason to assume a public and professional performance of any of this ornamentation was ever intended. Like the Cambridge *Amadigi* aria, the Oxford *Ottone* arias are clearly labeled "aria dell' Opera ...," implying separation from a staged, full performance. Further, the very act of writing out ornamentation implies an amateur singer. As Dean and Knapp write of the ornamented *Ottone* arias, "They must have been intended for an English singer (an Italian would not have required them) ...."[61]

The source history of these examples of ornamentation also points to the consideration of them as a group. It is striking, for example, how many of these examples are transposed into lower keys. This is true of the *Ottone* arias, of "Dolc'è pur d'amor," and of "Deh! v'aprite" from the Malmesbury *Teseo* score, which is transposed down a fifth and ornamented, surely for Legh. Further, the reinterpretation of the hands in these examples has shifted the attributions away from Handel and in some cases to Legh. "S'estinto l'idol" and "Ch'io mai lasci" from the Malmesbury *Amadigi*, both thought to include Handel's hand, have now been attributed to Legh; in addition, the Fitzwilliam ornamented "Fra pensieri" is no longer thought to be in Handel's hand. The ornamentation in the *Ottone* arias is still considered to be by Handel, but although some of it certainly is, it is also possible that at least one other hand is involved. While it is difficult at best to identify hands when the only evidence is note heads and stems, it is noticeable, for example, that in "Benchè mi sia crudele," the downward stems in the A section are all to the right but in the B section are predom-

[59]Hall and Hall, "Handel's Graces," 39: "Dr. Bernard Rose, of Oxford, ... writes to us as follows: 'There are some passages in "Benche mi sia" in which the added graces argue strongly with the obbligato part. Organised dissonance was, of course, a feature of the late Baroque, but I doubt if Handel, of all people, would have tolerated this arbitrary type of dissonance. This would suggest to me that the graces were added in this particular piece because it was intended to be sung as a solo without the obbligato ....'"

[60]Dean, *Three Ornamented Arias*, iii.

[61]Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, p. 29.

inantly to the left. Although single hands certainly contain irregularities, such would not be likely to occur so clearly between sections of a *da capo* aria. Could Handel have provided ornamentation in one part of the aria to which an "amateur singer" later added?

Perhaps all these ornaments in the Oxford Don. c. 69 arias (still thought to be in Handel's hand), the ornamented aria in the Legh volume of *Amadigi* (at first thought to be in Handel's hand but now attributed to Legh), "Deh! v'aprite" (in the Legh volume of *Teseo*), "Fra pensieri" (once thought to be in Handel's hand but now questioned), and "Dolc'è pur d'amor" (written out by Handel after the ornamentation was worked out by an anonymous hand and then used as the copy text for the Oxford volume copy) were all written for (and in some cases by) Elizabeth Legh. That is, perhaps these particular copies of arias and cantatas composed for professionals were later written out with ornamentation for the private use of an amateur singer who needed the assistance. This interpretation would help to explain the unique collection of alto cantatas in Ob MS Mus. d. 61–62—the patron in public was an amateur singer in private for whom the alto range was more compatible. As a hypothesis, however, this remains little more than speculation, for it is impossible to connect all these manuscripts directly to Elizabeth Legh. Nevertheless, if her manuscript collection was indeed returned to Handel at her death in 1734, then it is certainly possible that some unbound manuscripts or differently bound volumes, as happened with the Oxford volumes themselves, were separated from the main collection that was later given to James Harris, the first Earl of Malmesbury, and this could have resulted in the current scattered preservation of these sources today.

Like textual studies and musical analysis, speculation, too, is an important part of research. It exists side-by-side with more "factual" analyses of text and style and provides an opportunity for thinking through a problem on the basis of the information at hand. When examining any body of music, we benefit from both careful textual study and style analysis. Both approaches are equally subject to interpretation and bias; neither is inherently factual. In examining the sixteen alto continuo cantatas by Handel that are preserved in the Oxford manuscripts, it has been necessary to examine source

information, documentary evidence, and stylistic features and to ask in each case, "What does this mean?" Only when evidence of any type is interpreted does it become meaningful and allow us to formulate the next question. Only as we continually shift between factual information, interpretation, and speculation are we likely to find the truth.[62]

[62]Previous versions of this paper were presented at Yale University; King's College, London; and the Eastman School of Music. I am grateful for the discussions these engendered. In particular, I would like to thank the following scholars for their critical and informational correspondence and comments: Terence Best, Donald Burrows, Anthony Hicks, C. Steven LaRue, Ralph Locke, and Ellen Rosand.