THE ORGAN CONCERTOS OF
GEORGE FRIDERIC HANDEL

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State College in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF MUSIC

By

William Henderson Martin, B.A., B. Mus.

Denton, Texas
August, 1955
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. RESTORATION ENGLAND TO 1710</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH TO 1735</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE CONCERTOS: MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE CONCERTOS: A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

RESTORATION ENGLAND TO 1710

With the Restoration of 1660, the era of the Puritan Commonwealth and of Cromwell's Protectorate came to an end, effecting a spirited change in social conditions in England. Charles II was recalled from Europe to occupy the throne left vacant since the beheading of his father, Charles I, in 1649. This restoration of royalty to its traditional position in England brought back a system of government which, though not always a happy one in the past, had provided centuries of relatively stable existence for Britons, at times quite free from the despotism they had just known under Cromwell. Yet, a complete restoration was impossible (even undesirable). The bloodless revolution of 1688 was only one of the events which followed in an order which would seem almost to have been predestined, were it not that these developments reflected the growth of a nation in a time of swift international growth.

Charles II returned from the Continent full of personal convictions of his divinely ordained right to reign; he resolved to maintain a court patterned after those in which he had passed his years of exile; he further resolved that he would never suffer the deposition and death which had
been his father's end. Charles believed that he, as British monarch, was accountable only to himself, therefore the highest power in the land, higher even than the parliament which had executed his father and which, years later, had recalled him from France to the newly restored British throne.

That the nobility and royalists should have welcomed the king's return is understandable; that the commoners should seem equally glad on this occasion may also be understood when one recalls the relentless universality of Cromwell's dictatorial rule and the fanaticism of the "Blue Laws," which attacked the stage, dancing, card-playing, fashionable dress, and many kinds of sports. Plays, bear-baiting and cockfighting were prohibited early in the career of the Long Parliament. Games were forbidden on Sunday. When Christmas fell on a weekly day of fast appointed by parliament, the fast was enforced. In 1647 parliament prohibited the observance of Christmas and saints' days. To have a hole bored through their tongues was a penalty inflicted on many who were convicted of swearing.1

Cromwell's death in 1658 deprived the Protectorate of its unifying force, and the inevitable weakening and decay which followed moved swiftly to a climax in a reconvening of the Rump Parliament, its dissolution and the parliamentary convention of 1660 which sought to end military despotism by recalling Charles Stuart from France.

The violence of public reaction to the overthrow of the "democratic" Puritan government was vividly described by contemporary observers.

I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-general Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there were great shouts of joy. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the blood of the King at Charing Cross.  

This morning Mr. Carew was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross; but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up.

This afternoon, going through London, and calling at Crowe's the upholster's, in Saint Bartholomew's, I saw the limbs of some of our new traitors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn, and quartered.

John Evelyn, another journal-keeper of the period, has recorded the events which took place at Tyburn on January 30, 1661. His narrative, although written in a less informal style than that of Pepys' Diary, gains in emotional impact.

"This day" was the first solemn fast and day of humiliation to deplore the sins which so long had provoked God against this afflicted church and people, ordered by Parliament to be annually celebrated to

---


3 Ibid., pp. 255-256.

4 Ibid., p. 258.
expiate the guilt of the execrable murder of the late King.

This day (Oh, the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcases of those arch rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw, the judge who condemned his Majesty, and Ireton, son-in-law to the Usurper, dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from 9 in the morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators. Look back at October 22, 1658 (Oliver's funeral) and be astonished! and fear God and honor the King; but meddle not with them who are given to change!

The crowning of Charles II symbolized a return to the halcyon days which all England tried to believe had blessed their lives before 1649. The new king's court was thoroughly dedicated to a way of life which was the antithesis of the Puritan's lofty ideals and austerity. Charles sought amusement in his court and took an active part in politics only toward the end of his reign, preferring instead to devote his energies to the pursuit of his personal fancies. The awareness of the division of society into classes was strong, gentlemen being quite apart from those who were not "born well," while the nobility ranked higher still. The rising middle class, which constituted the economic foundation of the nation and whose importance had been recognized and considered during the Puritan regime, sought to achieve some degree of identity with the

gentry and nobles by indulging in amusements and activities typical of those at court. Thus the influence of the Cavalier tastes and behavior of Charles II were soon reflected in the lives of almost the whole of London, and even the country squire outside the environs of the capital.

In placing a member of the Stuart family once again upon the throne of England, Parliament acted with greater unanimity and with the support of a greater portion of the people than had been the case when Charles I was executed. However, these two steps marked the beginning of the steady rise in power of parliament and, more specifically, of the House of Commons. The new king left the affairs of the kingdom largely to the legislative body and offered opposition on few occasions until the final years of his reign. His attempts, and those of his brother James II, to return Roman Catholicism to a paramount place in England were firmly counteracted by the parliament. During the reigns of William and Mary of Orange and of Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts, it became clear that a monarch may inherit his right to the throne but he must depend on the parliament's consent for his right to take any hand in the ruling of the kingdom and for the money necessary to finance his reign.

With the establishment of the Hanoverian line in England, the power of parliament became even greater.
George I knew little of the affairs of state outside his native Hanover, and he spoke only German; his cabinet and parliament had little interference from him. George II attempted to overcome this encroachment onto powers which he felt to be his own by dismissing Sir Robert Walpole, who had been prime minister to George I, as one of his first official acts on the throne; his error was apparent almost immediately and the new king was quick to rectify it since Walpole was the only English statesman capable of controlling the all-important lower house. Walpole and William Pitt strengthened England's position as a colonial power, subordinating both France and Spain in the process.

Industry made some important advances during the Puritan interregnum, but the perfecting of smelting and mining techniques during the Restoration brought about an increased production and prosperity. Agricultural methods underwent drastic changes, including new ways of fertilizing and caring for the soil, with a consequent increase in productivity and an increase in the amount of soil which could be tilled profitably. The advances in domestic production were so great that economists conceived of the mercantile system of foreign trade as a means of utilizing surplus production and of increasing the amount of revenue entering the country. Parallel with this economic growth was the further rise of the middle class; during the stormy
days of the Protectorate many land-holding nobles had been forced to divide and sell their estates. These properties, now in new hands, spread the economic gains over a greater portion of the population with a resultant increase in economic stability throughout England.

This increased prosperity brought about a unique cultural development in the form of an avid public who were in a position to pay well for diversions which won their favor. Literary activity reached an unprecedented peak since it was an unquestioned fact that anyone who was well born could write well. There flourished a period of amateur letter writers, diarists and essayists such as England had never known, and for this reason the period has come to be known as the Age of Prose. Music was equally open to the gentry who paid large sums for printed music and all types of instruments for their private collections, including harpsichords, viols and recorders, among others. Books of airs from favorite operas arranged for flute or violin and harpsichord were extremely popular, as were also books of "lessons" and "suites" for harpsichord.

The new period was soon dubbed by its prominent writers as the Augustan Age in emulation of that golden era in Latin letters when Caesar Augustus patronized such writers as Ovid, Horace and Virgil. In many ways the
title was an apt one, for the outstanding characteristics of
the literature of this period are close to those of the
Roman era: acute awareness of style, form, balance of
phrase and a great fondness for satire. But the debt did
not stop with mere stylistics; the love of antiquity caused
Restoration writers to employ endless allusions to Greek
and Roman authors and to utilize myths and legends as bases
for their plots. One of the chief metrical forms to be
used was the rhymed couplet which was known also as the
"closed" or heroic couplet. This rather arbitrary device
emphasized form and balance by its monotonous insistence on
rhyme and on a closing of the thought at the end of each
couplet. This insistence on the mechanics of poetry was
the result of that highly analytical frame of mind which
also produced the Satire and Rationalism.

During this period, which extends from 1649 until (for
our purposes) 1759, perhaps the greatest changes made were
those which affected the Church and the clergy. Before the
civil wars the established church had become corrupt and
was badly in need of reformation; Puritan Presbyterianism
and threats of Roman Catholicism as a state religion failed
to accomplish this end. During the century that followed
Charles II's return, the philosophy of Rationalism resulted
in Deism, a type of religious thought which explained God
as only a cosmic power from which were derived all universal
laws. No allowance was made for faith in such a concept; the divinity of Christ was not an essential aspect of God; only rational acceptance of a Something greater than ourselves, a Something which is infinitely good and infinitely powerful. It would be unthinkable to expect that this sort of god would take a personal interest in any part of creation, even in that part which was "created in His image," since anthropomorphism presumes some sort of limited entity instead of the infinity of the Giver of Laws. This concept was an example of the skeptical state of mind which prevailed during the early eighteenth century. Through the work of John and Charles Wesley an element of faith was reinjected into religious teaching. This simple, but radical, change was accepted at first only by the middle and lower classes but the Church of England profited by the example and instituted an evangelical movement within itself. By the end of the eighteenth century Deistic thought had lost its hold and a more stable religious concept had taken its place.

Louis Cazamian\(^6\) considers that the Renaissance lasted until 1649 in British culture; following this date came upheavals on such a broad scale and producing such radical changes in the political, social, cultural and religious life of England that the modern era may be said to have

---

begun by 1660. Henceforth suffrage was extended to increasing percentages of the population who were thus given a voice via the House of Commons. Colonialism, begun under the Tudors, became a major issue under the Stuarts and Hanovers, placing England in the front rank of nations with colonial empires. Commerce was extended through the mercantile system to cover a greater part of the globe by means of the vast maritime system which England had built. Skepticism bred new philosophies which questioned the classical systems of thought. A radical shift in the economic balance occurred with the rise of the middle class. All these changes indicate a nation which was rejuvenated by the bloodshed and turmoil which had accompanied the civil wars and the Commonwealth. Prosperity flourished in England on a greater scale than had ever been known, producing a population who eagerly sought the New while enjoying the Old. It was into this scene that George Frideric Handel stepped as a brilliant young musician, well-known and sought-after on the Continent, in the autumn of 1710.
CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH TO 1735

George Frideric Handel's\(^1\) career in London was shaped to an astounding degree by factors in his childhood and early training. Certain salient facts relating to his growth, both as a musician and as a man, need to be stated at this point.\(^2\)

The composer was born in Halle, Upper-Saxony, on February 23, 1685. His father, George Händel, a barber-surgeon and valet to the Elector of Brandenburg, desired that his son train for a career in law and was loath to

\(^1\)While living in Italy, and later in England, the composer adjusted the spelling of his name in order to preserve an approximation of its original pronunciation. Thus, before leaving Hamburg he used the form recorded on the Baptismal Record, George Friederich Händel. On the manuscript of a Trio which he wrote in Naples in 1708 he wrote his "Italian" form, G. F. Hendell. From 1716 until he signed the final codicil to his will, three days before his death, he used the "English" spelling almost exclusively, George Frideric Handel. Throughout the present study the composer is indicated by means of the English form; confusion is avoided in Chapter II by restricting the use of the German form to references made to his father.

consider the pursuit of music instead. Mainwaring,\(^3\) Handel's first biographer, preserved an account of an interview between the father and the Duke of Saxe-Weisenfels during which the nobleman forced a promise from the elder Georg not to prevent his son's study of music even if it served only as an avocation while training for the career in jurisprudence. Be the truth of this story what it may, in 1694 young George was placed under Friederich Wilhelm Zachau, organist at the cathedral church, Halle, and from this master received strict instruction in harmony and counterpoint, and in organ and harpsichord. Three years later, on the occasion of his father's death, February 11, 1697, George showed strong evidence of Pietistic influences in a poem he wrote in his father's memory.\(^4\) The young Handel must have appreciated the depth of his father's feelings on the subject of music study for he entered the University of Halle, reading in jurisprudence, on February 10, 1702, four years after his father's death. This training was of incalculable value in Handel's business dealings during some of the difficult later years in London.


\(^4\)For the original German text and an English translation, see Deutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.
One month after matriculating at the University Handel received the appointment of organist at Halle's cathedral, a position he held from March 13, 1702 until the spring of 1703. The family's economic status had become a matter of serious concern in the five years since Georg Händel's death, which fact may have influenced young George in deciding to leave Halle in search of increased outlets for his musical skills as well as greater opportunities for broadening his own knowledge of the art. In Hamburg the young musician acquired some students needing music instruction and a position as violinist in the Hamburg opera house which at that time was directed by Reinhard Keiser, the composer. The influence of Keiser is evident in the numerous thematic borrowings and in the French and Italian operatic styles which Handel evidenced shortly thereafter in his compositions.5

The quality of training which Handel had received from Zachau may be surmised from contemporary accounts of those who heard him in his early days at Hamburg and later in Italy.

At first he played the second violin in the Opera Orchestra, and behaved as if he did not know how to count five; for he was, by nature, full of dry humor.

But once, when the Harpsichord-player was absent, he yielded to persuasion, and supplied his place, acquitting himself like a man.6

As Domenico Scarlatti7 was an exquisite player on the harpsichord, the Cardinal Ottoboni8 was resolved to bring him and Handel together for a trial of skill. The issue of the trial on the Harpsichord hath been differently reported. It has been said that some gave the trial to Scarlatti. However, when they came to the organ there was not the least pretence for doubting to which of them it belonged. Scarlatti himself declared the superiority of his antagonist, and owned ingenuously, that till he had heard him upon this instrument, he had no conception of its powers.7

In the autumn of 1704 Handel was made cembalist at the Hamburg opera, and shortly before the end of the year was given a libretto to set to music. This work, Almira, his first essay in the field of Italian opera, was given its premier performance on January 8, 1705, with enough success to warrant a second such work. Nero, performed on the twenty-fifth of February, was a failure and was perhaps instrumental in Handel's decision to abandon the opera house for the time being and to live by music teaching alone.

If we may accept Bukofzer's evaluation of the stylistic traits of Almira,8 Handel had borrowed heavily and directly from Keiser in this work and, in all likelihood, may have

---


7Mainwaring, after Deutsch, op. cit., p. 18.

done so in *Nero* as well, in the hope of repeating the earlier easily-achieved success. The principal weakness one finds in these works is the young composer's apparent inability to write idiomatically for the voice.

The lack of melodic suppleness and the overemphasis on rhythmic crispness in Handel's early concerto style (*i.e.* his manner of writing arias with instrumental obbligatos) imply that he learned it from a German, not an Italian master.\(^9\)

Handel did no more vocal writing until his first year in Italy during which time he composed more than one hundred chamber cantatas, seventy-five of which were written with only a continuo as accompaniment.\(^10\) This preoccupation with vocal problems would seem to verify the assumption that Handel recognized his earlier inadequacy in producing a good *bel-canto* line and preferred to learn the essentially Italian art at its source before chancing another such fiasco as that which accompanied the production of *Nero*.

The dates of Handel's departure for, and arrival in Italy are not known except that the journey must have taken place some time in 1706. In any case, according to Mainwaring, "he had resolved to go to Italy on his own bottom, as soon as he could make a purse for that occasion."\(^11\)

"Il caro Sassone," as he was called by the Italians, was acclaimed as a performer in Rome, Naples, Venice and Florence, and enjoyed sumptuous presentations of his choral compositions. Two works in particular should be noted here since their presence among his list of compositions produced during the "Italian period" have a direct bearing on his musical activities in London: the serenata, "Il Trionfo del Tempo e della Verità," produced in Rome in 1707, and the opera, *Agrippina*, written for Venetian presentation on December 26, 1709. The effect of *Agrippina* on the opera-loving Venetians was so electrifying "that a stranger who should have seen the manner in which they were affected, would have imagined they had all been distracted."12 The serenata foreshadowed the organ concertos of the later London years since it contained a sonata in which "a concerto of violins and oboes alternates with the solo organ."13

Important also to Handel's future successes were the friendships he formed in Italy with Johann Adolph Baron Kielmansegg and the composer, Agostino Steffani. As a result of the efforts of these two influential men, Handel journeyed from Italy, early in 1710, to Hanover where


Kielmansegg presented him to the Elector, who was later to become George I of England. From Steffani Handel is said to have received his final instructions in the writing of belcanto.\textsuperscript{14}

On June 16, 1710, Handel accepted the appointment of Kapellmeister to the Hanoverian court on the condition that he be allowed to complete his travels before settling down to fulfilling his duties. These travels lasted a year, during which time he created a furor in London with his opera, \textit{Rinaldo}, and with his stunning performances on the organ and the harpsichord.

\textit{Handel's} playing was thought as extraordinary as his Music. One of the principal performers here used to speak of it with astonishment, as far transcending that of any person he had ever known, and as quite peculiar to himself. Another, who had affected to disbelieve the reports of his abilities before he came, was heard to say, from a too great confidence in his own, 'Let him come! we'll Handle him, I warrant ye!' There could be no excuse for recording so poor a pun, if any words could be found, capable of conveying the character of the speaker with equal force and clearness. But the moment he heard Handel on the organ, this great man in his own eye shrunk into nothing.\textsuperscript{15}

Behind these earliest successes in London, one must keep in view two important sets of facts: the training, experience and natural genius of the mature artist who came to England late in 1710; and the nature of the

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 324.

\textsuperscript{15} Mainwaring, after Deutsch, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 34-35.
British public who had been seeking (consciously or not) just such a figure as Handel.

In the preceding chapter are traced the conditions leading to the eager reception which the Londoner's gave to Rinaldo; only brief remarks need be added to complete the picture.

Opera in England had its beginnings in the English masques, out of which grew Sir William D'Avenant's The Siege of Rhodes in 1656. This piece, presented during the Puritan ban on drama, evaded official censure by emphasizing the music in its performance, thus drawing attention away from the presentation of a story "in perspective." John Blow's Venus and Adonis (1685) and Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas (1689 or 1690), in addition to The Siege of Rhodes, represent the extent of England's attempts to found a school of opera within its shores. French music was favored at court and composers from Paris were imported to supply this demand which was understandably limited. After Charles II's death in 1685, and James II's flight three years later, the "royal smiles" on things French came to an end. The power of Italian influences was soon felt and "Purcell's death in 1695 put an end to all hope for the future of English musical drama."16

---

16 Grout, op. cit., p. 144.
Attempts at anglicizing operas by translating the texts served to popularize the music but English singers were incapable of negotiating the fantastically difficult vocal parts written for the *castrati*. These artificial sopranos and altos, who flourished only in Italy, were imported to sing the troublesome roles. Thus was produced the curious spectacle of operas sung in two languages since the majority of English singers knew no Italian and the Italians failed to see the need for singing their own roles in another tongue.

These operatic anomalies prevailed until the presentation, in January, 1710, of *Almabide* (for which no composer is known), sung throughout in Italian. The beauty of a fully integrated performance, sung as it had been conceived by the composer, won the support of the London opera-goers. Handel's arrival during the height of the following season could not have been better timed. His success was assured by his command of the form and by his wise decision to limit recitative to an absolute minimum giving greater emphasis to the arias and to their brilliant interpreters.

It is easy to understand how London might tire, eventually, of an entertainment medium in which the principal interest lay in the brilliance of the singer, and of his bravura aria rather than in the development of a fine plot
accompanied by music which expressed the dramatic elements of the piece. Bitter rivalry sprang up between singers. The effects of this jealousy spread beyond the footlights and divided the audiences into factions, each of which acclaimed the superior attributes of one singer above those of any other. Rival opera companies took advantage of this situation but failed to realize that they were thereby weakening the position of Italian opera as a whole in London.

John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* appeared in 1728 with music by John Christopher Pepusch. This clever piece had a powerful effect on public taste because of its English text and settings of popular tunes, its bawdy plot, its characters drawn from London's riff-raff and its occasional bits of satire based on the excesses of Italian opera. The English loved it and gave it their hearty support. Italian opera had passed its zenith in the London music halls.

As early as 1704 Handel had written choral settings of narrative texts, both sacred and secular. In 1713 he had celebrated Queen Anne's birthday with an *Ode* which was also his first attempt at setting English words. Later in the same year he provided the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* for the solemn celebration of the Peace of Utrecht in St. Paul's Cathedral. While living at Cannons, Handel had written the "Chandos Anthems" and the masque, *Haman and Mordecai* (1720),
all on English texts. With the onset of difficulties which resulted from the operatic rivalry and the popularity of the various ballad operas, Handel sought some means of regaining the support of his public.

On Handel's forty-seventh birthday, the 23rd of February, 1732, the Children of the Chapel Royal gave a private performance of the first English Oratorio, *Esther*, with scenery, dresses, and action, at the house of their master, Mr. Bernard Gates, in James Street, Westminster.\(^1\)

This "first English Oratorio" was simply a revival of the masque, *Haman and Mordecai*, which Handel had composed in 1720 while living at Cannons, the palatial residence of Lord Brydges, the Duke of Chandos. The text, prepared by Pope from the Bible story of Queen Esther, had provided Handel with few really dramatic scenes but had allowed for participation by a chorus. The demands of opera had not been satisfied completely, but that fact was of small importance to those who heard the revival honoring Handel's birthday. Additional performances were necessary to answer the demands of those who had not been among the invited guests on February 23rd. Handel, much impressed by the public's interest, proposed a stage performance complete with scenery, dresses and action but found this type of presentation to be forbidden by the Bishop of London; the

\(^1\)Rockstro, *Life of Handel*, p. 169.
sacred source of the story did not permit such display on a stage.

Loath to allow such avid public interest to go unappeased, Handel designed a style of presentation which not only was acceptable to the Bishop but which has become the traditional manner for performing oratorio; in his advertisement of the first such performance Handel stated,

N.B. There will be no Action on the Stage, but the House will be fitted up in a decent manner, for the Audience. The Musick to be disposed after the same Manner of the Coronation Service.\textsuperscript{18}

The British found in oratorio a continuation of their national tradition of choral singing. Handel found oratorio far less costly to present than opera and he produced at least one new oratorio each season, with the exception of the five-year period between 1733 and 1738 during which time he wrote no new works of this kind.

Since his earliest days at Hamburg, Handel had been recognized by those who heard him as a genius at improvisation. His fine technique allowed his fertile wit complete freedom, with the result that his performances, \textit{extempore}, left his audiences astonished. This provided Handel with the key to a new means of entertaining those who attended the performances of his oratorios: during each intermission he would play an organ concerto with the oratorio orchestra,

\textsuperscript{18}Deutsch, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 289.
the part for organ being improvised by Handel in the style of the concertino which plays its own "solo" passages between the tutti ritornellos which it plays in company with the ripieno, as in a concerto grosso. According to Burney, "Handel started to play organ concertos in the intervals in 1733: on 17th March (Deborah) and on 14th April (Esther)." However, the first definite notice of this is an advertisement for March 5, 1735, "At the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden, this present Wednesday . . . will be performed an Oratorio, called AESTHER [sic7. With several New Additional Songs; likewise two new Concerto's on the Organ." The fact that all subsequent advertisements of oratorio performances emphasized the addition of concertos on the organ indicates that the audiences must have welcomed these new features with ovations, and that Handel must have recognized his own astute reasoning in planning such divertissements.

19Ibid., p. 314.

20Ibid., p. 383.
CHAPTER III

THE CONCERTOS: MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

Before discussing the problems of manuscripts and editions it is advisable to understand the facts leading to the confusion which has surrounded some of the concertos since Handel's death in 1759.

Although a copyright permit was in effect during the reign of Elizabeth I, this protection to composers was revoked under Charles I in 1636. Under Queen Anne a fourteen-year privilege of publication was issued to composers or to their publishers. It was seldom, however, that a work of exceptional popularity was not issued also in an unauthorized, or "pirated," reprint. Handel received his first Privilege of Publication from George I on June 14, 1720, and engaged Richard Meares as publisher for Radamisto.\(^1\)

John Walsh, the elder, although known to be the most unscrupulous "pirate" in London, was at the same time an enterprising and capable publisher. Handel probably realized that cooperation with Walsh would ultimately be more profitable than to try to prevent his unauthorized

\(^1\)Deutsch, Handel, A Documentary Biography, pp. 105-106.
releases. Thus, it was Walsh (with his companion, John Hare) who was Handel's first publisher, and later Walsh, alone, who published almost all of Handel's music in England.

The organ concerto was unknown in London before Handel introduced it to his oratorio audience in 1735 (or in 1733, if Burney is correct). The concertos were written as show pieces in which the composer could exhibit his own powers as well as those of his instrument. Nor should we forget that they represented one feature which could not be successfully pirated by a rival company of performers, for there was not another organist in London who could equal the composer at playing extempore; since the performance-copies of the concertos contained only brief hints as to what the organist should play, a facility at improvising was essential to their performance. This fact also explains why any attempt to offer an unauthorized printing of these works would justify its description as mangled and incorrect, Handel alone being capable of supplying the passages which were to be played on the organ. Mattheson, Handel's youthful rival at Hamburg, stated in Der Volkommene Capellmeister (Hamburg, 1739) that "Händel, in particular, is not

2 The songs from Rinaldo, issued on April 24, 1711, Deutsch, Handel, A Documentary Biography, p. 38.

3 Deutsch, op. cit., p. 314.
easily surpassed by anyone in organ-playing; unless it should be by Bach in Leipzig.⁴

Any compositions which were so esteemed by the public, as were Handel's concertos, stood in imminent danger of appearing in an unauthorized version. Walsh, an expert in such matters, must have urged Handel to let him prepare the concertos for publication, but to no avail. Therefore, no one should have been taken completely by surprise when, early in September, 1738, an unauthorized volume appeared under the title Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ by Mr. Handel. Sold at the Musick Shops. On September 25, 1738, there appeared in the London Daily Post an advertisement by the indignant Walsh, who now was the object of tactics such as he had been wont to use in the past:

To all Lovers of Musick.
Whereas there is a spurious and incorrect Edition of Six Conerto's of Mr. Handel's for the Harpsicord and Organ, publish'd without the Knowledge or Consent of the Author,
This is to give Notice
(That the Publick may not be imposed on with a mangled Edition)
That there are now printing from Mr. Handel's original Manuscript, and corrected by himself, the same Six Concerto's, which will be published in a few days. Price 3s.
Printed for John Walsh. . . . ⁵

On the fourth of October the same newspaper carried Walsh's announcement that the concertos were ready for purchase;

⁴Deutsch, op. cit., p. 485.
⁵Ibid., p. 467.
in reality this referred to the organ or harpsichord part only since the orchestral parts did not appear until December 2, on which date the work was first labeled as Opus 4. Later Walsh issued a second set of six concertos, in 1740, and also a third set of six, Opus 7, in 1760.

I. Swinyard fails to document his assertion (otherwise a valuable piece of information) that Walsh issued the first two concertos of the second set on a date (this, too, Swinyard fails to give) before the publication of the complete second set of six, on November 8, 1740. This information may, perhaps, be valid since manuscripts do exist for the first two concertos, the first of which is dated April 2, 1739. On the other hand, no manuscripts exist for numbers three through six for these are arrangements made by Walsh to make the second set conform in number to the six concertos of Opus 4.

In the decade 1740 to 1750 Handel wrote numerous concertos and concerto-movements. Walsh procured a new privilege of publication after the composer's death, and

6 Ibid., p. 468. Although Handel had written many operas, and selections from these were published, it is a curious fact that Handel applied opus numbers only to his instrumental works, never to his operas or oratorios.

7 "Handel's Organ Concertos," in Musical Times, LXXVI (1935), 924-925.

8 Deutsch, op. cit., p. 844.
published, in 1761, a third set of six concertos on the anniversary of Handel's birthday under the Opus number 7. For each of these works, except the first and fifth, there are at least two manuscripts; numbers one and five have only one manuscript each, while number six has no fewer than four! The music contained in these six concertos is considered by all the biographers to be some of the composer's finest.

It is from the second set issued by Walsh that confusion has resulted in the numbering of the complete collection of concertos. Only the first two, in F major and A major, may be regarded as legitimate compositions by Handel for organ and orchestra. The other four are simply arrangements in the form of organ concertos derived from the *Concerti Grossi* for String Orchestra, Opus 6, as follows: Organ Concertos Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 are transcriptions of *Concerti Grossi* Nos. 10 in D minor, 1 in G, 5 in D and 6 in G minor, respectively.9

When Samuel Arnold10 published his edition of the collected works of Handel (which unfortunately he was


10Born August 10, 1740, in London; he was an organist, composer and musical editor; educated in the Chapel Royal, he was made organist and composer there in 1783; in 1793 he was appointed organist at Westminster Abbey; he died in London, October 22, 1802.
unable to complete), he made his own first set of the organ
concertos a duplicate of the Opus 4 as published by Walsh
(Walsh's first set of 6). In Arnold's edition, Opus 7 was
issued as "Set Two" as opposed to Walsh's designation, "Set
Three," for the same music. Aside from this juggling of
"set" numbers, which should have caused no great difficulty,
there is one rather striking difference between the two
versions of Opus 7: Walsh's Concerto No. 6 was listed as a
work in G minor, while Arnold listed one in the key of
B-flat under that number. All subsequent editions of the
concertos have adopted Arnold's choice of B-flat as the
proper key with such persistence that the question arises:
Was Walsh's use of "G minor" a result of careless haste in
preparing the works for publication, or is it possible that
there actually was such a work? It is less likely that a
concerto would have been lost than that a key signature
would have been misinterpreted by Walsh if he was anxious
to be the first printer to place the works before the
public.

In 1797 Arnold published another volume containing
three concertos by Handel. This was the third set in his
particular edition but was, for all practical purposes,
set four when added to the volumes already published by
Walsh.11 This new volume contained two fine organ concertos (one in D minor for organ and strings, the other in F major for organ, strings, horns, bassoons and oboes), neither of which had been published before. Included in the set was an orchestral concerto in B-flat, of which more will be said below.

It is possible that Arnold would have obtained other manuscripts of organ concertos for publication had he been able to finish his Gesamtausgabe (the first attempt ever made to publish the collected works of a great composer),12 but the series was discontinued on September 22, 1797, ten years after its inaugural issue on May 26, 1787.13

It remained for Friedrich Chrysander, who edited the complete works for the Deutsche Händel-gesellschaft (Vols. 1-18, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1859-1864; Vols. 18-100, Hamburg, F. Chrysander, 1864-1901), to reprint all of those concertos already issued by Walsh and Arnold, and to publish from the manuscript an unusual work which had not been available in any form prior to that time. This concerto (a single movement) in D minor, is

11It might be mentioned that Arnold never published the two concertos found in Walsh's "Set Two."


13Ibid., p. 109.
scored for two organs and strings and is similar to the opening *adagio* of the *D minor concerto*, Opus 7, No. 4.

Thus, Chrysander's edition made accessible twenty-one concertos: sixteen were presented in the form intended by the composer (i.e. for organ with orchestra); the four arrangements made by Walsh from the *Concerti Grossi* for *String Orchestra*; and, lastly, the work in *D minor* for two organs originally published by Arnold which apparently had been written as an experiment in sonorities. Of the numerous editions released in Europe and America since Arnold discontinued his series at the end of the eighteenth century, only two others need to be noted here.\textsuperscript{14}

Marcel Dupré published, in three volumes, the sixteen concertos\textsuperscript{15} which he had arranged for organ solo (with his fingerings and annotations added), bound as follows: Volume I contained the six concertos in Opus 4, Volume II those of Opus 7, and Volume III the two valid concertos from Walsh's "Set Two" and the two organ concertos from Arnold's "Set Three." In passing, one should notice that Dupré has written skillful reductions of the orchestral

\textsuperscript{14}A listing of editions, based on the holdings of the British Museum, the Library of Congress, and the survey by L. Swinyard, ante in footnote 7, is given in Appendix II.

\textsuperscript{15}Published by S. Bornemann, Paris, 1937-1942.
tutti passages, employing the organ pedals only where Handel has scored for the double bass. All passages for the organ are printed as they appear in the manuscripts (consequently, the same as in Chrysander's edition), with any added harmonies printed in notes with smaller heads. Thus the student may distinguish the original from the editorial additions.

Helmut Walcha, the blind concert organist, produced two editions each of the concertos Opus 4 and Opus 7, published in Mainz by B. Schott's Söhne between 1940 and 1943. These editions are of particular interest to groups who wish to perform the works in concert. One version gives the complete instrumentation printed in score while the other version presents the organ part with the orchestral accompaniment arranged for piano or organ. In either version each concerto is bound separately making it possible to obtain only those works desired, and in volumes which are less bulky than the Bände of the Händel-Gesellschaft.

In the manuscript collections one finds other concertos which have not been published, even in the Chrysander edition. In Volume XVII of the King's Music Library (R.M. 19. a. 1.)¹⁶ one finds two concertos for

---

organ in the manuscript of *Alexander's Feast* (fol. 90ff.). Chrysander did not include these two works in the *Händel-Gesellschaft* volume (XII) which contains the cantata. The first concerto is scored for lute, harp and organ with other instruments, and is placed just after the recitative, "Timotheus plac'd on high." The second concerto introduces part two of the cantata. After the chorus, "Let old Timotheus," is an indication, "Concerto per l'Organo," but no music is given. This absence of any music after so specific a direction would perhaps indicate that any concerto might be used so long as key relationships were not violated. It is also worth noting that *Alexander's Feast* was introduced in 1736 without any additional concertos being mentioned in any of the advertisements or in any of the diary entries regarding the performances of the first season. Its revival, in 1737, was widely advertised with emphasis given to the addition of "several new concertos for organ."¹⁷

In Additional Manuscript No. 31577 (ff. 37b-41b) is found a work which Hughes-Hughes¹⁸ describes as an "Arrangement--apparently for Organ--of no. 2 of Handel's

---


Concerti Grossi, Op. 3 \cite{19} published in 1734.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}} A glance at the score of the source\footnote{Friedrich Chrysander, editor, \textit{Deutsche Händel-Gesellschaft} (Leipzig, 1859-1864; Hamburg, 1864-1901), XXI, 15-26.} finds a concerto in Bb in five movements for oboes and strings with instrumentation as follows: violins 1 and 2 (concertino), violins 1 and 2 (ripieno), oboes 1 and 2, viola and basso continuo. In the course of the five movements Handel writes for these instruments in a variety of different groupings. In the first movement (a spirited \textit{Vivace} in $3/4$ meter) the oboes and the ripieno violins play in unison in the tutti ritornellos. The second movement (\textit{Largo}) in G minor finds all the strings playing together to provide a homophonic accompaniment for the solo oboe. The third movement, once again in B-flat major, is an \textit{Allegro} in which the first and second oboes join their respective groups of concerted violins, thus producing the thin texture appropriate to the fugal writing. In the following movement all voices are freed to weave their ways independently; even the cello, which in all the other movements plays just the line given to the basso continuo, is given a melody of its own. In the fifth movement the concerto closes with a simpler texture, the oboes now having independent parts, while the concertino
and ripieno strings unite to oppose. This work contains some examples of imaginative use of tone colors, as well as some fine thematic material. Well transcribed, it could provide the organist with an impressive concerto to add to the collection.

Finally, in Additional Manuscript, No. 30310, there is, according to Rockstro, an organ concerto which he describes in these words:

**Ouverture.** (Inserted, in a strange handwriting, 'Concerto made from Choruses.') The Subjects employed are those of *See, from his post Euphrates flies* /Belshazzar/; and, *And the glory of the Lord /Messiah*. (In B-flat.)

Rockstro adds that this is one of the two concertos for organ which Arnold issued in his "Set Three". Turning to this publication we find that the organ concerto in question is solidly in the key of D minor, not B-flat. Next we consult the description of Additional Manuscript 30310 given by Hughes-Hughes, and find no trace of such a concerto. Where is the error? Perhaps Hughes-Hughes neglected to record the work, for his descriptions are occasionally somewhat "sketchy." Perhaps Rockstro transferred the tonality of the orchestral concerto in B-flat,

---

22*Ibid*.
23Hughes-Hughes, *op. cit.*, III, 7.
which did appear in Arnold's "Set Three," to the organ concerto in D minor. However, there is still the question of the thematic material which Rockstro attributes to the concerto for organ. By no stretch of the imagination can one discover in either of the movements of Arnold's D minor concerto either one of these themes. Although it may seem ungallant, one must conclude that one or the other of these deceased scholars must be in error.

Of the manuscripts containing the concertos, there remain seven which have not been discussed. Only one of these warrants particular mention as it contains no less than ten of the concertos: Instrumental Music, Vol. II, R.M. 20. g. 12. This manuscript of seventy-four leaves, 19 1/4 x 11 1/2 inches, dates from the period 1738-1751. It contains the following works, arranged in this order: Opus 4, Nos. 1 and 6; "Set Two" (Walsh), Nos. 1 and 2; and all six of the concertos, Opus 7.24

24 Squire, op. cit., pp. 42-44.
CHAPTER IV

THE CONCERTOS: A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS

The organ concertos which can be considered a personal innovation of Handel combine the German predilection for the organ and the Italian vogue for the concerto grosso.¹

The Solo Concerto, which rose with such rapidity during the late Baroque, had its roots firmly imbedded in the concerto grosso. The principal of musical interplay between two groups, the concertino and ripieno, had been firmly established in the works of Corelli and Geminiani, but it remained for Antonio Vivaldi to conceive of the concerto grosso as a homophonic form and therefore quite different from its forebear, the concerto canzona.² Vivaldi made of the concerto grosso a means of expression which was highly dramatic, a quality which is evident even when his works are transcribed for completely different media such as the organ or harpsichord. The flaming


temperament of *le prêtre rouge* is evident also in the importance which he attached to the concertino, thus requiring a high level of virtuosity; from this point it was a simple matter to arrive at the solo concerto.

The concerto grosso was most often written in four movements of which the tempi were slow, fast, slow and fast. It was customary for the first Allegro to be built on a ritornello which supplied the thematic material from which the entire movement was built. Often, however, the concertino was given contrasting subjects by means of which the return to the driving, rhythmic surge of the ritornello was rendered more effective. The link between this Allegro and the final movement (customarily a stunning tour de force) was a quiet movement often patterned after one of the abstract dance forms, i.e. siciliano, sarabanda or pastorale. The opening movement was usually an Adagio which might be only a few bars in length or, perhaps, even omitted, as was the case in Vivaldi's concertos.

Handel adopted the concerto grosso of four movements as the basic form for his organ concerto and of the sixteen concertos published from his own manuscripts, ten conform to this "norm" (in four of these the sequence of slow, fast, slow and fast has been changed by Handel as he saw fit). There are three of the concertos which have three movements, two works containing two movements and only one concerto.
which exceeds the "norm" of four movements, i.e. the last concerto in the set, No. 16 in F, which contains six movements, the first of which is in two parts.

The Concerto in F major, No. 13 (No. 1 in Walsh's "Set Two," popularly known by the title, "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale") is an excellent example of Handel's use of the style and form of the concerto grosso in four movements. One of the two manuscripts containing this concerto is dated "Fine. April 2, 1739." The work has been transcribed by Handel from two of his own works; the first and fourth movements are taken from the Trio Sonata, Opus 5, No. 6, movements one and four; the second and third movements are transcriptions of movements two and three of the Concerto Grosso for String Orchestra, Opus 6, No. 9. The elusive motif of the cuckoo was borrowed from Johann Kaspar Kerll's "Capriccio Cucu." The concerto is scored for organ, string orchestra and oboes, with a harpsichord added to the cellos and string bass to provide the basso continuo.

3 Dupré III, 1-14. Although the Deutsche Händel-Gesellschaft is unquestionably the authoritative text, its scarcity suggests the use (in this chapter) of references to an edition which is more readily available. Therefore, when a reference to the score is necessary, the edition of Marcel Dupré will be cited in this manner: (Dupré /Vol./ I; /page/ 19; /System/ 3; /Measure on that system/ 5). When consecutive references are made to music in a single concerto, the volume number will be omitted unless such an omission would impair the clarity of the reference.

The first movement, marked **Larghetto**, is in F major and is a quiet dialogue between the organ and orchestra on a single short theme (1;1;1-3). Simplicity and repose pervade the twenty-six measures of this movement, with a countermelody comprised of chain suspensions (1;2;5ff. and 2;2;2-3) providing the only tension. A good example of the "Handelian cadence" begins on the third beat of measure 23 (2;3;2) with a fermata suspending the progress of the harmony on a $\frac{1}{2}$ inversion of the dominant-seventh. The resolution leads quickly to another formula (2;3;4-5) that Handel used quite often to join two movements which are in the same key: a first inversion of the dominant moving to the first inversion of the subdominant with a raised root, ending on the dominant in root position. It may be noted at this point that the same cadential formula obtains between two movements when the first is in the relative minor of the movement which follows; the formula occurs, in this case, on the dominant of the relative minor, not of the major key to which it leads.

The second movement is an Allegro in F major built on a ritornello which is six and one-half measures in length. This "theme" can serve as a model for most of the ritornellos in these concertos; it is divided into two phrases, each of which is subdivided into two component parts. The second part of the first phrase, and both of the parts of
phrase two are the thematic bits out of which Handel constructs the development sections in the episodes. One's interest centers in the rhythmic repetition which characterizes the theme and which, coupled with the melodic outline, produces a distinct feeling of buoyance and joviality punctuated by strong accents. The orchestra states the ritornello in its entirety and is answered immediately by the organ which makes a quick modulation, in the second phrase, to key of C. The orchestra affirms the key change and development ensues (beginning in measure 18) leading to the first episode of the solo instrument.

This episode \(4;2;2\) opens with a note-for-note appropriation of the subject and first answer of the fugal "Capriccio Cucu" by Kerll, mentioned above. It is possible that this imitative bit was one of Handel's "oldest" musical acquaintances for it is known that works by Kerll were preserved in one of the composer's copybooks which Zachow had him compile during the early years of study at Halle. This copybook, preserved for many years, was lost during the early nineteenth century by Lady Rivers.\(^5\)

A brief return of the ritornello \(4;4;3\) leads to the second episode for the organ, the "Nightingale" sequence.

It is interesting to observe here Handel's ingenuity in preserving the interval of the minor third so essential to the cuckoo-call (dominant to mediant) by means of the obliging "nightingale" which thoughtfully modulates from its first key of G minor to E-flat, F, G minor and D minor to preserve a semblance of tonal order in the aviary. This episode and the one discussed earlier represent two of Handel's few attempts at imitating bird-calls in the concertos. After the return of the ritornello and a brief development, the movement closes.

The Larghetto which follows is scored for organ and strings alone. It is in the key of D minor and has the familiar 8 meter of the siciliano. The writing, characterized by the utmost simplicity, seems almost vacant by comparison with the two Allegros which surround it. The orchestral parts are written in three voices while the organ has only two, the melody and the bass. Here is an example of the "skeletal fulness" of the organ part which Handel used during his performances, although there are some

6Other examples: See the brief "cucu" sequence in the Concerto in G Minor, Op. 4, No. 1 (Dupré I; 6;1;1-2 and 6;2;3ff.), in which the scoring makes the imitation manifestly evident. There are two other nightingale imitations which are superior to that of the "Cuckoo and Nightingale" concerto. The first occurs in the Concerto in F Major, Op. 4, No. 4 (Dupré I; 40;1;6ff.), and in Concerto in F Major, Breitkopf No. 14 (Dupré III; 16;3;1ff., 17;3;1ff. and 18;2;1ff.).
passages in the other concertos which the composer left blank in the middle of a phrase (e.g. Concerto in B-flat, Op. 7, No. 6, last movement). There is a curious sense of unrest permeating the underlying rhythm of this quiet piece which is evident in the first three measures and confirmed in measures four through six; it is somewhat similar to that ambiguity of rhythm one often encounters in Brahms. The source of this peculiar quality lies in the irregularity with which Handel has grouped the ternary components into which each half-measure is divided. By the end of the first measure this feeling has been suggested by reversing the order of the quarter-note followed by an eighth in the first half of the measure to an eighth followed by a quarter in the last half. Add to this (in the soprano voice) the dotted rhythm which occurs in the first half of measures one and two, and which shifts to the second half in measure three. This inversion of the order of the customary note values had been used by Purcell in the seventeenth century. It is conceivable that this rhythmic device was an application of the "Scotch snap" (known also as "Lombarde taste") to ternary values. The entire movement is an extension of the theme which is stated in the first six measures.

The final movement is another example of Handel's ability to amplify a short ritornello into a surging
Allegro. This movement is more closely-knit, less openly homophonic than the first Allegro since this one was conceived originally as part of the Trio Sonata, Op. 5, No. 6, in which the voices were quite independent. The coordination problems for the organist are considerably greater here, as a glance at the six-measure ritornello will show. On the other hand, the music stimulates greater interest because of the independent beauty and individuality of each voice. Indicative of this difference is the bass line which is very nearly as active as either of the "solo" voices above, in contrast to the drumming repetitiousness of the bass in the first Allegro.

The episodes for the solo instrument form a striking contrast to the ritornello's finely wrought counterpoint; here we find some perfunctory embellishing of broken chords, the "showy" character of which constitutes a frank and open bid for public favor on the part of Handel, the performer.

As was stated earlier, ten of the sixteen concertos conform to the basic four movement structure which we have just described in the Concerto No. 13. Certain individual points not common to the entire group need to be pointed out.

In the Concerto in G minor, Op. 4, No. 1 (Dupré I, 1-16), one finds an unusual sequence of keys among the four movements: G minor, G major, E minor and G major; this
use of the tonic minor and the relative minor in the same work is unique to this concerto. The last movement is a minuet borrowed from the Sonata Op. 5, No. 6, and elaborated by means of variations and coda.

The Concerto in B-flat, Op. 4, No. 2 (Dupré I, 17-27), contains in its brief third movement, an arioso with gorgia, typical of the ornamentation applied to operatic recitations and cantabile arias of the Baroque opera. The first movement of this concerto is borrowed from a Latin motet written by Handel either during his sojourn in Rome or during his very early English period; the movement is drawn from the Pomposo section of the opening Sinfonia in the motet, Silete Venti for soprano, oboe and strings (H-G, XXXVIII, 147).

An odd fact is observed in two movements of the Concerto in G Minor, Op. 4, No. 3 (Dupré I, 28-37); the two adagios contain no solo passages for the organ, these being given to the violin and cello. And the last movement is a Gavotte, of which Handel must have been very fond for he used it in the opera, Agrippina (1709), in the Sonata Op. 1, No. 2, in this concerto and again in the Concerto in G Minor, Op. 7, No. 5.

The sequence of tempi is rearranged in the Concerto in F Major, Op. 4, No. 4 (Dupré I, 38-52): Allegro, Andante, Adagio and Allegro. Also, one observes an interesting shift to the key of the subdominant in the
Andante, a stately movement which, when played as an organ solo, might sound extremely well with a broadly conceived registration of a heavier volume of tone than Handel's specific injunction seems to indicate. His own registration for this movement, when played with orchestra, has been preserved (Dupré I; 43;3): Diapason 8', Bourdon 8' and Stopped Diapason 8'. These ranks of pipes on his organ doubtless balanced with the string orchestra which played (pianissimo!) the accompaniment in this movement, a valuable hint as to the type of voicing used in the organ on which these concertos were performed. The manuscript showing this concerto appends a "Hallelujah" chorus which is constructed on the subject of the fugue which forms the final movement of this concerto; this chorus was performed, together with the concerto, at the revival of his oratorio, The Triumph of Time and Truth in 1737.7

The most familiar concerto of the entire set (with the possible exception of the "Cuckoo and Nightingale") is the Concerto in F Major, Op. 4, No. 5 (Dupré I, 53-59). This work was borrowed intact from the Sonata Op. 1, No. 11 for Flute (H-G, XXVII, 40-41), which had been published in an unauthorized edition in Amsterdam about 1719. Only one small addition was made: the two-measure introduction to

7See the description of the manuscript in Appendix I.
the final movement, an exuberant Gigue. Minute changes are to be found in some phrases given to the flute in the original, but these are few.

The Concerto in A Major, No. 14 (No. 2 in Walsh's "Set Two") (Dupré III, 15-29), is a transcription of movements from the Concerto Grosso for String Orchestra, Op. 6, No. 11. All four movements of this work are in the key of A major; only one other concerto in four movements is written thus, the Concerto in B-flat, Op. 7, No. 3.

Of unusual interest is the Concerto in B-flat, Op. 7, No. 1 (Dupré II, 1-16). Each of the first two movements is a set of variations on a ground. It will be noticed that the two grounds are the same through the first four notes, i.e. the two downward skips, each a perfect fifth; the remaining portions have similar contours but are not identical. The opening bars of the first movement are composed of brief antiphonal statements in which the organ and orchestra exchange passages based on fragments of the ground. The third movement, in the 3/2 meter and dignified style of the Sarabanda, is written on a quasi-ground which appears first in the pedal and later (II; 11; 13; 5) on the manuals. The last movement is a profane little Bourrée in a style which is fully as capricious as the preceding movements are stately and exalted. This work was first performed on February 27, 1740, and was used to introduce part III of
L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato (the ode on moderation being supplied to Handel by Charles Jennens who compiled the Messiah text).\(^8\) Also, it must be mentioned that this is the only concerto which contains an obbligato pedal part; from this work one may gather some idea as to the pedal technique of the composer.

The Concerto in B-flat, Op. 7, No. 3 (Dupré II, 28-43), already mentioned above with reference to the fact that all of its movements are in the same key, is comprised of an Allegro, a Fugue, marked Spiritoso, and two Minuets. Basil Lam\(^9\) states that the second minuet is very likely the work of some other composer.

The last work in this group of concertos in four movements is the Concerto in G minor, Op. 7, No. 5 (Dupré II, 55-64). The arrangement of the movements gives an indication of Handel's increasing freedom in planning his concertos: Allegro staccato, Andante Larghetto e staccato (another set of variations on a ground), Minuet and Gavotte. Ernest Walker\(^10\) commented on the marked shift from the sonata to the dance suite in works of the

---

\(^8\)Deutsch, *Handel*, p. 496.


composer written as early as 1739. This concerto, which bears the date of January 31, 1750, retains little of the original concerto grosso form noted in the works written fifteen years earlier. The Allegro, based on a lively ritornello, is placed at the beginning in studied contrast to the stately, declamatory Pomposos and subdued Adagios of the earlier works.

There are three of the concertos which have only three movements, although the manuscripts of two of them contain directions which show that Handel improvised an additional movement in each work, making it fit the regular concerto grosso form.

The first of these is the Concerto Op. 7, No. 2 (Dupré II, 17-27), all three movements of which are written in the key of A major. Of particular interest is the second movement which is a fugue. One might wonder if this movement did not first appear in a version for orchestra alone since the major portion is written for the orchestra in company with the organ. Also, not one of the Six Fugues or "Voluntaries" can compare with the structure of this piece. The solo passages for organ (episodes of the fugue; 20;2;4ff., 21;3;4ff. and 22;3;4) are of a distinctly different character, are marked ad libitum and avoid any use of the fugue subject, employing instead a motif out of the orchestral counterpoint (19;1;1). The Bourrée which
follows the Fugue contains a peculiar use of the drone bass (24;2;4ff., 25;4;2ff., 26;2;3ff. and 27;2;6ff.) as an accompaniment for the quasi-canonic figurations for the organ.

The Concerto in D minor, Op. 7, No. 4 (Dupré II, 44-54), opens with an adagio which is quite similar to the experimental work for two organs published by Chrysander (H-G, XLVIII, 51-56). As the version for two organs seems to have been an experiment in sonorities, it is of particular interest to observe the use which Handel made of his orchestra in this movement, which is scored for two oboes, two bassoons and two solo cellos in addition to the regular string ripieno. The imitative opening utilizes the solo cellos and bassoons divisi while the string basses play in unison with the organ. The melodic lines are written not only as contrapuntal voices, each related to the whole, but as tonal entities blending with one another. The composer's desire to blend voices of rich sonority and place them in contrast to the soprano voice in the organ and violins is seen nowhere else in Handel's concertos, as vividly expressed as in this bit of tone painting. Once started, the movement in D major, which follows, never pauses but rushes forward in the best concerto grosso style, as does the final movement.
The last example written in three movements is the
Concerto for Harp or Organ in B-flat, op. 4, No. 6
(Dupré I, 60-68). The principal point of interest in
this work is its orchestra of two flutes and strings; the
violins are muted and all the other strings play pizzicato!
This concerto was written for a harpist named Powell who
performed it in a presentation of Alexander's Feast.\textsuperscript{11}

The Concerto in B-flat, Op. 7, No. 6 (Dupré II, 65-72),
has only two movements, although its fragmentary state in
the score suggests that it served Handel rather as a
"prompter's book" than as a completed work. The Pomposo
movement gives the orchestra little to do except state the
ritornello at intervals between solo passages for the
organ. The last movement was left blank in three places
(71;3;5ff., 71;4,6ff. and 72;3;1) each of which occurs
during an organ solo. Handel left no indication here as
to the number of measures to be supplied by the performer.

The Concerto in D-Minor, No. 15 (Dupré III, 30-40),
which appeared first in Arnold's "Set Three" in 1797, is
scored for organ and strings and has only two movements.
The first is based on a ritornello and does not deviate
from the style of writing which we have found in the others
of this type. The second has a lively, jiggling movement in
\(\frac{9}{8}\) meter which is continuous from beginning to end. Handel's

\textsuperscript{11}Deutsch, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 512.
preference for the accented eighth note followed by a quarter note is well illustrated throughout this movement.

The last *Concerto, No. 16 in F Major* (Dupré III, 49-59), was included in Arnold's "Set Three" of 1797. The form of the work is out of the ordinary, there being six movements arranged as follows: Ouverture (Grave and Allegro), Allegro, Adagio, Andante, Allegro and March. The work is scored for strings, two oboes, two horns and two bassoons. Much of the writing was governed by the limitations of the horns, as may be seen in the second section of the overture, the fifth movement (Allegro) and passages in the second movement (Allegro). Three movements may be seen in their original form in a *Concerto Grosso in F Major* (H-G, XLVII (Supplement), 203-241). The sections of the concerto which are borrowed (and their exact locations in the source) are: the second section of the overture (H-G, XLVII, 222-231), the Andante (H-G, XLVII, 203-213) and the Allegro in 1/8 (H-G, XLVII, 214-219). The organ has no solo passages in either section of the overture, in the Adagio or in the March. In the second movement the tone qualities of the organ and wind instruments are contrasted antiphonally, while the strings
enter only briefly during the tuttis. The final movement, the March, is borrowed in toto from Judas Maccabeus.\textsuperscript{12}

From the body of information which we have covered in this study certain salient points stand out which, if reiterated here, provide an adequate summary.

The most basic and essential fact concerns the secular nature of the concertos, all of which were conceived, written and performed purely as secular music. We have seen that they were intended to provide a diversion for the audience during the intermission of an oratorio performance. This condition dictates per se one of the most important characteristics of the style in which the

\textsuperscript{12}This concerto (according to the tabulation of the composer's works found at the end of the article "Handel," in Groves' Dictionary, 5th ed., IV, 48), is printed on pages 68-100 in Vol. 48 of the Händel-Gesellschaft. In connection with this, it must be added that Squire describes a "Concerto for Trumpets and French Horns, etc.," in D major (King's Music Library, Vol. 18, R.M. 19. a. 2., folios 2-18, first item in the manuscript), the location of which, in the Händel-Gesellschaft, is (according to Squire) Vol. 48, p. 81. If this citation by Squire is correct, it is possible that the Concerto for Trumpets and French Horns was (after transposition to the proper key) incorporated into the Organ Concerto No. 16. However, it seems far more likely that the pagination in Groves' Dictionary is erroneous; only 39 pages of the Händel-Gesellschaft are required to print the entire first set of six concertos, Op. 4, while Groves assigns no less than 32 pages to this one concerto, alone! Volume 48 of the Händel-Gesellschaft was not available for study at the time this thesis was written; when deposited in the collection it will, of course, answer this question, and others like it, which arose in connection with this study.
concertos were written: the exuberant, pulsing rhythmic figures which appear so often in the Allegro movements.

The concertos seldom formed an integral part of the oratorios with which they were performed, although exceptions to this statement must be recognized: Alexander's Feast and The Triumph of Time and Truth. It should be noted that in each of these instances the oratorio is a secular work, not sacred.

The organ on which Handel performed these works was limited as to volume and tone colors and had no pedal clavier. The scores indicate that the instrument played as a part of the ensemble in the tutti between its own solo passages. The restrictions thus imposed on the composer must be counted as important albeit indirect characteristics of the style of the concertos.

The number and arrangement of movements varies considerably throughout the concertos. From the concerto grosso form Handel turned ultimately in the direction of the dance suite, from sonata movements to dance forms and sets of variations.

The use of borrowed material was characteristic of composers throughout Europe during this era. That Handel employed such material is of less significance than the manner in which he improved on it in his compositions.
The solo passages for the organ in most cases were to be improvised; in those which Handel wrote into the score, one observes considerable use of rather empty figuration not at all on a par with the substantial writing of the tutti passages.

We have observed also an increased use of instrumental timbres and sonorities in the later concertos, an additional factor of considerable importance in the style of these works.

This concludes the study of the organ concertos of Handel. Yet, one cannot consider the topic closed until musical scholarship has sought to produce an augmented text of the concertos in an effort to approximate that factor in the music which was its outstanding feature, i.e. the composer's own imaginative performance of his music. Various editions have produced versions of the concertos which have been arranged as organ solos, but the results have been unsatisfactory at best. Dupré, as an example, has made available all sixteen of the concertos in a version which contains his excellent arrangements of the orchestral passages as "connecting links" between passages for the solo instrument. But an odd bifurcation of reasoning offsets this boon, for something has impelled Dupré to give as an organ part only those scanty notes which Handel had set down as a guide for his own improvisation. Since
Dupré's edition is hardly likely ever to displace the Handel-Gesellschaft as a reference work for research purposes, its chief value would seem to be that of a performer's score. Unhappy the performer who must face an audience with only those notes given by Dupré with which to fortify himself. Dupré might have done an inestimable service by applying his own phenomenal skills as composer, organist and improviser to the task of approximating the style and fullness of Handel's performances. On the other hand, Guilmant and de Lange have produced fine sounding editions, but in each case the works were arranged for performance without an orchestra and included only a few of the total number of concertos.

There is a definite need for a complete edition of the organ concertos which would include those works (contained in the manuscripts) that have never been made available in printed form. Further, it would seem not only highly desirable but also entirely justifiable to complete the soloist's part with full harmonies, embellishments and cadenzas based on a careful study of Handel's style.
APPENDIX I

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ORGAN CONCERTOS

The manuscripts which contain the organ concertos of Handel are housed in the British Museum and are classified into two groups: first, those which constitute part of the collection of the Department of Manuscripts; and second, the King's Music Library which had its beginning in the manuscript collection of King George III. The King's Music Library has been placed on permanent deposit in the British Museum since 1911. Catalogues of these collections have been compiled by Augustus Hughes-Hughes (*Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 3 vols., London, 1909) and William Barclay Squire (*A Catalogue of the King's Music Library*, 3 vols., London, 1927).

In this appendix the descriptive data and manuscript numbers are those which appear in the catalogues of Hughes-Hughes and Squire. The concertos are here arranged in the order of their appearance in the Handel-Gesellschaft, i.e. Opus 4, Opus 7, followed by the concertos which have no opus numbers. Under each concerto is cited every manuscript which contains either the entire work or any part of it.
The description of each manuscript contains the name of the manuscript collection in abbreviated form (KML, KG3, Add.), followed by the catalogue numbers which are used to identify the manuscript, the date of the manuscript, the folios in the manuscript which contain the concerto in question and finally the order in which the particular item appears, i.e. 3rd item contained in the manuscript, etc. In each case there follows a reference to the location of the concerto in the Händel-Gesellschaft (cited as H-G throughout). The names of the manuscript collections are abbreviated as follows: KML (King's Music Library); KG3 (the collection of King George III, of particular interest since it denotes an early acquisition of the collection which has since become the nucleus for the King's Music Library); and Add. (British Museum manuscript collection—Additional Manuscripts; this ordinarily denotes a relatively recent addition to the established collection).

**OPUS 4.**

**Concerto No. 1 in G Minor**
KML, Instr. Mus. II, R.M. 20.g.12. (c.1738), ff. 1-7 (Item 1). (H-G, XXVIII, 3-21) "Concerto per l'organo ed altri stromenti."

**Concerto No. 2 in B-flat**
KG3, MS 317 (autograph), in score (c. 1735), f.1 (Item 1). (H-G, XXVIII, 22-32)
Concerto No. 3 in G Minor
KG3, MS 317 (autograph), in score (c.1735), f.11 (Item 2). (H-G, XXVIII, 33-42) Contains an alternative version of the last movement.

Concerto No. 4 in F Major
KG3, MS 317 (autograph), in score (c.1735), f.33 (Item 3). (H-G, XXVIII, 43-57) Item 4, which is tacked on at the end of this concerto, is an "Alleluia" chorus which was performed together with the concerto at the revival of Handel's oratorio "Il trionfo del tempo e della verità" in 1737.

Concerto No. 5 in F Major
No manuscript; arrangement by Handel of his Sonata in F Major, Op. 1, No. 11, for flute. (Source in H-G, XXVII, 40-41; Concerto in H-G, XXVIII, 58-62)

Concerto No. 6 in B-flat

KML, Instr. Mus. IV, R.M. 20.g.13. (n.d.), f. 24v. (Item 9). (H-G, XXVIII, 63) "The harp or organ part, in a copyist's hand, but with the greater part of the Larghetto crossed out in pencil by Handel."

OPUS 2.

Concerto No. 1 in B-flat

Concerto No. 2 in A Major
KML, XVIII, R.M. 19.a.2. (c.1750), ff. 19-30 (Item 2). Full score. (H-G, XXVIII, 90-101) "Concerto per organo."


Concerto No. 3 in B-flat

Concerto No. 4 in D Minor
KML, VI, R.M. 18.c.6. (c. 1735), f. 5 (Item 2). Full score. (H-G, XXVIII, 115-125) "Final Allegro"


Concerto No. 5 in G Minor

Concerto No. 6 in B-flat
KML, XVIII, R.M. 19.a.2. (c. 1750), f. 31 (Item 3). Full score. (H-G, XXVIII, 135-140)


WALSH'S "SET TWO."

Concerto No. 1 in F Major (Breitkopf No. 13)
First and fourth movements are arranged from movements one and four, Trio Sonata, Opus 5, No. 6 (H-G, XXVII, 188;191); second and third movements arranged from movements two and three, Concerto Grosso in F Major, Op. 6, No. 9; "Cucu" theme borrowed from J. K. Kerll, "Capriccio cucu" (see bibliography, musical scores). KML, Instr. Mus. II, R.M. 20.g.12. (n.d.), ff. 14-22 (Item 3). Autograph. (H-G, XLVIII, 2-12)

KML, Instr. Mus. V, R.M. 20.g.14. (1739), f. 10 (Item 3). The end, only, of the final Allegro.


Concerto No. 2 in A Major (Breitkopf No. 14)
Concerto No. 3 in D Minor
An arrangement of movements from Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 10. No manuscript.

Concerto No. 4 in G Major
An arrangement of movements from Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 1. No manuscript.

Concerto No. 5 in D Major
An arrangement of movements from Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 5. No manuscript.

Concerto No. 6 in G Minor
An arrangement of movements from Concerto Grosso, Op. 6, No. 6. No manuscript.

ADDITIONAL CONCERTOS

Concerto in D Minor for 2 Organs, Strings and Bassoons (H-G, XLVIII, 51-56) This is the source of the first movement of the Organ Concerto, Op. 7, No. 4. Rockstro (Handel, p. 337) states that the manuscript is part of the collection housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England; it is unfortunate that Rockstro gives no more specific data since no other source available to this writer mentions the manuscript.


Concerto in F Major with Oboes, Strings, Horns and Bassoons (Breitkopf No. 16) Add. MSS., No. 30310 (n.d.), ff. 49-51b (Item number not given). (H-G, XLVIII, 68ff.)

Organ Concertos in "Alexander's Feast" (Not in H-G) KML, XVII, R.M. 19.a.1. (c.1740), f. 90 (Item 11). Full score. "Concerto per il Liuto e l'harpa" follows recitative, "Timotheus plac'd on high." "Concerto" introduces Part II of the oratorio.
Arrangement -- apparently for organ -- of *Concerto Grosso* Op. 3, No. 2 (See H-G, XXI, 15-26, for source material; organ arrangement is not included in H-G).
Add. MSS., No. 31577 (after 1734), ff. 37b-41b (No item number). Cited in Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue, III, 19.

Six Fugues or "Voluntaries" for Organ or Harpsichord /Solo/
KML, XV, R.M. 18.b.8. (18th Century) This manuscript contains a collection of works for harpsichord. The Six Fugues or "Voluntarys" are included but in a numerical sequence which differs from that observed in all of the published editions; the latter sequence is indicated here in brackets.

f. 38v.-39v. (Item 19.) "Fuga 1st" (H-G, II, 173)  
177
f. 40 -41 (Item 20.) "Fuga 2nd" (H-G, II, 161)  
177
f. 41v.-42v. (Item 21.) "Fuga 3rd" (H-G, II, 166)  
137
f. 45v.-47v. (Item 23.) "Fuga 5th" (H-G, II, 163)  
127
f. 48 -49 (Item 24.) "Fuga 6th" (H-G, II, 171)  
157
f. 53 -55v. (Item 27.) "Fuga 9th" (H-G, II, 168)  
147

KML, XIX, R.M. 19.a.3. (c. 1745), f. 49 (Item 11).
APPENDIX II

EDITIONS OF THE ORGAN CONCERTOS

William Barclay Squire (Catalogue of Printed Music Published Between 1487 and 1800 now in the British Museum, 2 vols., London, 1912) is the source for editions of the organ works issued during Handel's lifetime and the last half of the eighteenth century. English editions from 1800 until 1935 are reviewed by L. Swinyard ("Handel's Organ Concertos," in Musical Times, London, 1935), but the information is incomplete since no dates are given. The Library of Congress Author Catalogue; A Cumulative List of Works Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards, Ann Arbor, 1953, supplies information on American editions as well as on some European editions not covered by the collection of the British Museum.

Editions which Include Opus 4, Opus 7, and the Concertos without Opus Number

Arnold, Samuel, editor, The Works of Handel in Score (180 numbers or 40 volumes), London, Samuel Arnold, 1787-1797.

Chrysander, Friedrich, editor, Deutsche Händel-Gesellschaft (100 volumes), Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1859-1864, and Hamburg, F. Chrysander, 1864-1901.


Editions which Include Only Opus 4 and Opus 7


Loret, Clément, editor, *Six Concertos for Organ*, Opus 7, London, Novello, n.d. [These two volumes were reprinted in Mainz by Schott, n.d.]

Walcha, Helmut, editor, *Orgelkonzerte*, Partitur, 12 Bände, Mainz, B. Schott's Söhne, 1940-1943. [Contains the twelve concertos of Opus 4 and Opus 7, in score]

Walcha, Helmut, editor, *Orgelkonzerte*, 12 Bände, Mainz, B. Schott's Söhne, 1940-1943. [The organ part with the orchestral parts arranged for piano or second organ. This edition by Walcha is now available, with orchestra parts, from Associated Music Publishers, New York.]

Editions of Either Opus 4 or Opus 7, and of Individual Concertos Issued Separately

Best, W. T., arranger and editor, *Six Concertos*, etc., London, Boosey, 1879. Of twenty-two movements, only five are taken from the organ concertos.


Guilmant, Alexander, editor, "No. 15 in D Minor," London, Schott, n.d. (Cited by Swinyard, who states that this numeration follows that of the Breitkopf (Chrysander) publication.)


Randall, William, editor, *Six Concertos for the Organ and Harpsichord...*, Printed for William Randall; London (?1770?).

Roper, Stanley, editor, *Individual concerto movements*:
Opus 4, No. 2 (complete concerto); Opus 4, No. 3 (three movements); Opus 4, No. 4 (three movements); Opus 7, No. 4 (complete concerto), London, Oxford University Press, n.d.


Editions of Organ Works of Handel Other than Concertos


Walsh, John, editor, *Six Fugues or "Voluntarys" for the Organ or Harpsicord... Troisieme Ouvrage*. Printed for I. Walsh: London (?1735).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Page, Roy B., editor, English Literature, revised edition, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1927.


Squire, W. Barclay, Catalogue of Printed Music Published Between 1487 and 1800 Now in the British Museum (2 volumes), London, Printed by Order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1912.


**Articles**


Parts of Series


Dictionary and Encyclopedia Articles


Unpublished Materials


Music Scores


