



THE HANDEL INSTITUTE

NEWSLETTER

This issue opens with an appreciation by Donald Burrows of the life and work of Keiichiro Watanabe, the leading exponent of Handelian musicology in Japan, who died toward the end of last year. This is followed by two articles shedding new light on contrasting aspects of Handel's life: Ellen Harris, who has been digging in the archives of the Bank of England, offers new

information about the composer's sometimes convoluted financial affairs, while Thomas McGeary presents new documents from the British Library relating to Handel's participation in the Oxford 'Act' of 1733. Anthony Hicks reviews a new edition of *Giulio Cesare*, and there is an update on the Handel Institute conference planned for November.

Colin Timms

## KEIICHIRO WATANABE (1932-2001)

With the death of Keiichiro Watanabe on 11 December 2001, at the age of sixty-nine, the world has lost the foremost Japanese Handelian scholar of modern times. In the general revival of Handel studies in the second half of the twentieth century, Keiichiro has a permanent place for his work on musical sources from Handel's 'Italian period'. An article (in German) on the music copyists in the Handel manuscripts in the Santini Collection at Münster, published in 1970 in *Ongaku Gaku* (the *Journal of the Japanese Musicological Society*) was followed by a more comprehensive, and fully illustrated, review (with Hans Joachim Marx) as 'Händels italienische Kopisten' in *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, iii (1987). A further article in *Ongaku Gaku* (in English) in 1981 concerned 'The Paper used by Handel and his Copyists during the Time of 1706-1709'. This provided useful foundation work on the watermarks in the manuscripts of Italian origin, though his classifications were superseded in Burrows and Ronish, *A Catalogue of Handel's Musical Autographs* (1994). His subsequent work on the interpretation of evidence from features of paper and handwriting bore fruit in a thoughtful and comprehensive paper at the Handel Institute's first conference in 1990, which was published as 'The Music Paper used by Handel and his Copyists in Italy, 1706-1710', in *Handel Collections and their History*, ed. Terence Best (1993). His publications on paper studies and

music copyists, however, give little hint of the sensitive musicianship that informed much of his work.

Keiichiro Watanabe graduated in 1956 at Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, where he subsequently became Assistant in the Faculty of Musicology. With a fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung he undertook research in Germany and Great Britain in 1967-9, when he particularly developed his interest in Handel sources at Münster and Hamburg. His first experience of Britain was not encouraging: he arrived at Harwich by boat from Hamburg late in the day on a cold Christmas Eve, and found to his consternation that there would be no train to London for two days. Since at that stage he had only a limited command of the English language (which he approached from Japanese via German), his situation may easily be imagined; nevertheless, his retelling of the more frightening elements of the story was always softened by his engagingly puckish sense of humour. On his return to Japan he taught at Kyoto University of Education, and then from 1972 at the Toho College of Music in Tokyo, where he spent the remainder of his career, gaining a Professorship in 1977.

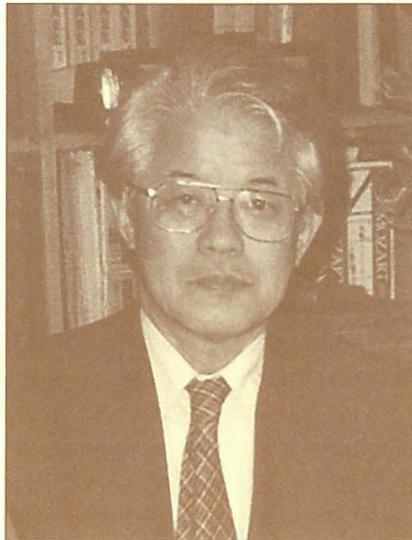
His interest in Handel and his music was first signalled formally by a biography, *Handel: The Man and his Works* (in Japanese), published at Tokyo in 1966. His situation at



the Toho College enabled him both to pursue his own scholarship (while also undertaking teaching duties) and to develop some influence over the performance of Handel's music in Japan. From 1995 he was adviser to the annual productions of Handel's oratorios by the Telemann Society of Japan. The programme-text (in English and Japanese) for a performance of *Belshazzar* by Musica Poetica at the Ishibashi Memorial Hall, Ueno, in 1996 credits him with the staging; in 1994 he had collaborated on the staged presentation of an extract from *Flavio* at the Kunitachi College of Music, Tokyo. In 1998 he founded the Handel Institute of Japan, and at the time of his death he was looking forward to a performance of *Rinaldo* that the Institute planned to present in April 2002.

I first met Keiichiro in London in 1987, during one of his research visits, and it was the beginning of a friendship that I both valued and enjoyed. Happily we managed to meet during research visits to Hamburg soon afterwards. Here he took me to a Japanese restaurant where he demonstrated a new (Japanese) photocopying device that reproduced images on thin strips of paper, as the copier was rubbed over the original. He hoped that this would be an ideal way of taking immediate samples of music copyists' hands: what librarians thought of the idea is not recorded (the copier had to be shaken, to mix the chemicals, before each attempt), but Keiichiro's demonstration with the restaurant menu attracted the suspicious attention of the other diners. For me, that copier remains an example of the inquisitive and whole-hearted dedication that Keiichiro brought to his research; another is the piece of handmade paper (with a 'Wat' watermark) that he presented to me, a product of his one-man domestic 'fabrik'.

In 1995 Keiichiro acted as an attentive (and indispensable) host when I visited Japan. The primary



Keiichiro Watanabe

object of my visit, to gain access to items in the Okhi Collection, was attended by only moderate success, because of the difficult situation of the Collection at the time. (Fortunately, during a period when the materials had been more freely available, Keiichiro had reported on the Handelian manuscripts in *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, ii (1987).) Nevertheless, thanks to him I was invited to give a public lecture at Toho College and able to learn something of other (non-Handelian) musical sources in Tokyo. Keiichiro, his family and his students made me most welcome, and in our spare time he and I made a short trip to Kyoto, where he was delighted that our visit coincided with one of the rare periods in which the old royal palace was open to the public. It is much to my regret that I never had an opportunity to reciprocate his hospitality in Britain.

The final decline in Keiichiro's health was disconcertingly rapid, and his death came at a time when the Handel Institute in Japan had hardly had enough time to establish a secure succession. For thirty years he was virtually the sole contact between Europe and Japanese Handel studies: it is much to be hoped that the Japanese Institute will be able to continue the connection.

Donald Burrows

## HANDEL IN CITIES AND HOUSES

### Handel Institute Conference

23-24 November 2002

The next Handel Institute conference, announced in the last issue of this *Newsletter*, is now beginning to take shape. The date and venue have been fixed – 23-24 November at King's College London – and the list of speakers is gradually firming up. The conference will open with a keynote address by Stanley Sadie, on aspects of composers in society, and include a paper on 'Handel and his London Audiences' by an 18th-century historian (not a music historian), Leonard Schwarz (University of Birmingham), author of the chapter on London in the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ii (2000). Among other speakers scheduled to appear are Graydon Beeks (Pomona College, California), David Hunter (University of Texas), Annette Landgraf (*HHA*, Halle), Thomas McGeary (Illinois), Konstanze Musketa (Händel-Haus Museum, Halle), John Roberts (University of California at Berkeley), Dorothea Schröder (University of Hamburg) and Carlo Vitali (Bologna). Offers of further papers (lasting about 25 minutes), whether on the theme or not, should be sent as soon as possible to the Hon. Secretary at the address given below.



## HANDEL'S ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH

Handel's accounts at the Bank of England were first discussed and partially published by Percy M. Young in his *Handel* (1947), 228-32. A more complete depiction appeared in Otto Erich Deutsch's *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (1955), 835-41; this representation, republished in the *Händel-Handbuch*, iv (1985), 548-52, has for half a century offered the largely unrealized potential for understanding more about Handel's financial circumstances and personal contacts. My recent research in the Bank of England Archive clarifies the state of the documents and sheds light on what kinds of information they offer.

The stock ledgers and cash journals in the archive are very large bound volumes organized in chronological runs; when a ledger was full up, the balances were all transferred to a new volume. In Handel's lifetime, the cash journals typically spanned a year or two, the stock ledgers about five. The internal organization of the volumes was either vaguely alphabetical, with blank pages left for later entries, or basically chronological, with separate bound indices or 'alphabets'. The volumes typically measure about 20 x 15 inches, contain hundreds of pages and include the accounts of three or four thousand customers; some volumes are more than six inches thick.

Although some runs have been destroyed or de-accessioned,<sup>1</sup> the holdings remain extensive. The cash journals alone comprise 8,078 volumes from 1694 to 1946. The stock ledgers consist of multiple series for different types of investment, including bank annuities, South Sea stock and navy

stock, all of which were varieties of government debt. That is, 'by the middle of the eighteenth century the Bank of England, East India Company, and the South Sea Company had lent some £42.8m to the government', meaning that all of these issues were 'valued by investors not so much for their banking or trading success and prospects but simply as a variety of government debt'. In 1749 the 'government consolidated most of its remaining borrowings into one single loan, paying a fixed rate of interest of 3 per cent per annum, known as 3 per cent consols'.<sup>2</sup>

Handel's own stock accounts illustrate this history. From 1728 until his death he owned sequentially various issues of 3% and 4% annuities and South Sea stock; however, on 2 January 1753 his balance of £12,000 was transferred permanently into a consolidated 3% account. There is also a trace of this shift in his will, where in his bequest to his niece and residuary legatee, Johanna Friderica Floerken, he crossed out South Sea Annuities (as originally written in 1751) and substituted Bank Annuities.

The published record of Handel's accounts is largely but not wholly correct or complete, and it sometimes fails to represent accurately the state of the documents. For example, most of the accounts depicted are spread over multiple volumes; however, the folio references in the published transcriptions usually represent the page number from the first volume only, with no indication that the account is not complete on that page.<sup>3</sup> In the accounts themselves, some years have been changed (some silently, some not) to reflect the

transition of the new year, after 1752, from March 25 to January 1, but some have been left in Old Style. More significantly, my research has revealed one new stock account (South Sea Annuities 1) stretching over two volumes, and discovered that his 4% Annuities 1746 account was opened in 1747 (not 1750).<sup>4</sup>

In addition to their obvious financial data, the bank accounts also offer the possibility of new biographical information. The cash journals are generally uninformative, as they most often present only cash deposits and withdrawals by Handel himself. By contrast, transactions in the stock accounts are typically attached 'to names that do not otherwise feature in Handel's biography, a reminder', as Donald Burrows writes (*Handel* (1994), 300), 'that very little is known of his circles of acquaintance beyond his professional colleagues and a few letter-writing patrons and supporters'.

Indeed, of the seventy-two names that appear in Handel's stock account transactions, only five are immediately recognizable, and four of these appear only as recipients of legacies after his death: John Du Burk, his serving man, Johanna Friderica Floerken (Floercke), his niece, [John] Christopher Smith, his amanuensis, and James Smith, the Bond Street perfumer who was with Handel at his death and wrote of it to Handel's friend Bernard Granville. The only other familiar name is that of Joseph Goupy, a painter and a close friend of Handel until the early 1740s, from whom a £100 deposit is credited on 4 July 1730.

The remaining sixty-seven names in the stock accounts provide less information than might have been

1 Few of the Dividend books survive, and most of the Transfer volumes, which preserve signatures of both parties to a transaction on pre-printed forms, have been destroyed; the surviving Registers of Will Extracts have been given to the Society of Genealogists.

2 Ranald C. Michie, *The London Stock Exchange: A History* (1999), 18. Terminology differs in British and American usage: equity is referred to in British usage as 'share', in American as 'stock'; debt in British usage is 'stock', in American 'bond'. Thus, Handel's 'stock' accounts are, in American usage, bond holdings.

3 Furthermore, a new classification system was introduced in 1978. The published reference for Handel's South Sea Annuities 1751 is 'fo. 7/124', which today is AC 27/6443, p. 124; in the middle of 1728 this account is transferred to AC 27/6456, p. 86. The reference given for Handel's 3% Annuities 1743 is 'fo. D.1468', which today is AC 27/149, p. 1468.

4 The first transaction in this account bears the date 2 February 1749 (i.e., 1750 New Style).



hoped for, since most, as can be shown, turn out to be brokers simply making transactions on Handel's behalf. Identification of these individuals begins in the Bank of England ledgers themselves. The annuities provide, for each transaction, the address and, sometimes, profession, of the person named in the account; the South Sea stock ledgers do not include any personal information in the entries, but each transaction (as in all types of accounts) is cross-referenced to that individual's account, where such information is provided. The identification of licensed brokers can be confirmed by consulting the Index to Brokers' Bonds (1697-1870) and the Registers of Brokers Admitted (1708-1869) in the Corporation of London Record Office, as well as *A List of Brokers of the City of London at M[ichaelmas] 1748*, a broadside preserved in the Guildhall Library. Further professional information can be found in contemporary London trade directories: *Kent's Directory* of 1736, *The Compleat/Complete Guides* of 1740, 1744, 1749 and 1758, and *The Universal Pocket Companion* of 1760. Although the total number of sworn brokers was relatively small, their ranks were swollen by clerks from the Bank, the South Sea Company or other houses, and by merchants of all types who combined stockbroking 'with the other tasks that they conducted for wealthy customers';<sup>5</sup> occupations such as goldsmith, banker or, even, merchant are common for these 'unofficial' brokers. A few such individuals mentioned in Handel's accounts are identified as active brokers in P. G. M. Dickson's *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit 1688-1756* (1967; reprint 1993).

The professional histories of the persons named in Handel's accounts

differ greatly; a few examples are given here. John Rice, who transfers £200 into Handel's South Sea stock account on 23 January 1729, can be identified as a dealer from the cross-references in the South Sea stock ledgers. He officially registers as a broker in 1745, and his name appears on the brokers list of 1748. Benjamin Webb, who transfers money into Handel's accounts on 11 May 1732 and 2 May 1743, is more elusive. Although he published a 'fool-proof' method for investing, entitled *Tables of Buying and Selling Stock* (London, 1759), he is identified on the title-page of his book as 'Writing Master and Accountant, and Master of the Grammar School belonging to the Worshipful Company of HABERDASHERS in *Bunhill-Row*', from which one would hardly guess that he was one of the major dealers in London. Although he never registered as a broker, Webb can be identified as such from his accounts in the Bank of England; he is described by Dickson as 'of the South Sea House'.

In contrast, Henry Carington, who appears in Handel's accounts in 1731 and 1748, is described by Dickson as a professional dealer, but is identified by cross-reference in the Bank's ledgers only as a gentleman from Hoxton and in the Bank stock indices as a tailor in Bell Alley, Coleman Street. John Castell is simply named a London gentleman in his 1750 stock transactions with Handel, but in the 1760 trade directory, 'John Castell and son' are identified as bankers, providing more telling information. William Whitmore, who transacted business with Handel in 1730, formally registered as a broker in 1729; the Brokers' Index identifies him as a draper.

Aside from a painstaking identification of each individual named in the accounts, the clearest indication

that most of the entries in Handel's accounts are brokers' transactions comes from a close examination of the accounts themselves. This analysis also illustrates that Handel ultimately used the cash accounts as safekeeping for income in excess of daily expenditure, regularly accumulating cash to transfer as lump sums into less liquid stock accounts. That is, the cash accounts and stock accounts do not document personal or professional expenses in Handel's life so much as depict his growing capital after 1744 and his accumulation of wealth.

Handel's first known account at the Bank of England is a South Sea annuities stock account opened on 4 June 1728 with a £700 transfer from Maurice Birchfield of Piccadilly, gent., probably a broker.<sup>6</sup> The account is closed on 22 June 1732 with payments of £1400 to William Adams and £1000 to Melchior van Susteren, a total of £2400. Van Susteren is a known agent for the South Sea Company,<sup>7</sup> and Adams is probably a broker as well.

Handel thereafter opens his first drawing account on 2 August 1732 with a deposit of £2300, which probably represents the value of his South Sea stock minus the fees of Adams and van Susteren and other expenses. The closure of the stock account implies a need for cash to meet expenditure, and the financial drain continues as this account dwindles to nothing by 28 March 1739. During this period (1732-9) no new account is opened, and there follow four years (1739-43) with no known account of any kind; during this time Handel's income must only just have met his expenditure.

Then suddenly, in 1743-4, Handel's finances benefit from a large infusion of capital. On 2 and 4 May 1743 he opens a new South Sea annuity account (previously unknown)

<sup>5</sup> Michie, *London Stock Exchange*, 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> On 13 March and 29 June 1716 Handel signed requests for dividends from £500 that he had invested in the South Sea Company (Deutsch, *Handel*, 70-71). I have not investigated this further.

<sup>7</sup> Van Susteren's title is given in the accounts as Sr not Dr (as in the published versions).



with deposits totalling £1600 from Benjamin Webb and John Carr. Webb is a known broker of the South Sea house, and Carr was a director of African House, making it probable that he too was a broker. Without closing this account or any activity in it, Handel opens a 3% annuity account on 10 April 1744 with £1300 in certificates, and meanwhile (on 14 February 1744) reopens his drawing account with a cash deposit of £650. The opening deposits in these three accounts total £3550 (which by one measure is equivalent to more than £200,000 today<sup>8</sup>).

On 19 March 1746 Handel adds £200 to his annuity account, bringing it up to £1500. Then, between 27 February and 15 March 1748, he makes five deposits into his cash account, totalling £990; he withdraws exactly this amount on 19 March, and on the same day £1500 (of which £990 probably corresponds to the cash withdrawal) is transferred into the annuity account by Thomas Holmes of Threadneedle Street and John Eames, goldsmith, both probably brokers.<sup>9</sup>

Between 4 and 6 May Handel closes both the South Sea and the 3% annuity stock accounts, the former with transfers totalling £1500 to six individuals and the latter with transfers of £3000 to two individuals, a total of £4500. On 6 May he also opens a new 4% Annuity with a £4500 subscription. Although only one of the six persons named in these transfers, James Hickman, can readily be identified as a broker, the exact transfer of capital proves that none of them was receiving or paying funds as a creditor or debtor but that each was acting as a broker on Handel's behalf.

Handel continues to increase the capital in the 4% annuity account with deposits, frequently tied to

withdrawals from his growing cash accounts. On 7 April 1749 he withdraws £2012 10s. from his cash account, and on that day John Hale of London, broker, transfers £2000 to the annuity. On 9 November Handel withdraws £157 10s. from the cash account, and on the same day Joseph Jones of London, broker, transfers £200 into the annuity.

Without closing the 4% Annuity 1748 account, Handel opens a 4% Annuity 1746 account (previously unknown) on 29 April 1747 with £1000. Then, in early 1750, there is a flurry of activity to consolidate his holdings. He closes the 4% 1748 account on 22 January 1750 with a series of seven transfers (to seven individuals) totalling £7750, and the same day temporarily deposits £8000 into his cash account. He withdraws this £8000 on 22 February and transfers £7700 to the open 4% 1746 account through six individuals, five of whom differ from those involved in the closing of the 4% 1748 annuity. On the same day, 22 February, this balance of £7700 is shifted into a new ledger by subscription (as shown in the published accounts).<sup>10</sup> Because the capital remained in Handel's ownership through all these transactions, all twelve individuals involved in these transfers must also be considered brokers.

This account continues to grow, largely through same-day transfers from his cash account. On 19 April Handel withdraws £950 from the cash accounts and £1100 is transferred to the annuity. On 28 March 1751 he withdraws £1790 9s. from his cash account and £1350 is transferred to the annuity. On 12 May 1752 he withdraws £2140 2s. from his cash account and transfers £2000 to the annuity. Handel closes this 4% annuity

on 2 January 1753 by transferring the balance of £12,000 to the reduced 3% consolidated stock that he held until his death. On 19 May 1758 he closes his cash account by withdrawing the balance of £2169 18s. and on the same day makes his final deposit into the consol account of £2500. At his death, this account contained £17,500 (about £1.1 million today).

The close financial links between all Handel's accounts and the continued growth of the stock accounts after 1743 indicate that neither the cash accounts nor the stock accounts were typically used to cover the expenses of daily living. The deposits into the stock accounts most likely represent either the application of dividends to the account by Handel's representatives (even the £100 deposited by Goupy to the South Sea account in 1730 could be a dividend) or the purchase of additional stock with cash from Handel's drawing account through brokers or dealers, not payments for work. With rare exceptions, debits in the stock accounts arise only on closing an account, and these seem to represent sales to brokers for cash in order to purchase stock in a new account (through still other brokers), not payments to creditors.

If this information and analysis largely eliminate the names in the stock accounts as a source of further biographical information, they also provide a new image of Handel, making his way to Exchange Alley or Jonathan's Coffee House and joining in the vibrant atmosphere of stock traders as he manages his portfolio. That he did so well in this free-wheeling company is an important aspect in the story of his life.<sup>11</sup>

Ellen Harris

8 Cf. 'English Consumer Prices 1264-1998' in *Global Financial Data* ([www.globalfindata.com](http://www.globalfindata.com)).

9 In the published transcription of the 3% annuity, the years of the March transactions are given in Old Style.

10 In the published transcriptions, the year for the 22 January and 22 February transactions in the 4% annuity accounts is given as 1749; the year in the cash accounts is given as [1750].

11 I am grateful to Sarah Millard and Henry Gillett, archivists at the Bank of England, for their support and generosity over years of research. A preliminary version of this essay was read at the American Handel Society meeting at the University of Maryland in May 2001. I anticipate that a more detailed presentation of the material discussed here, including new transcriptions of all Handel's accounts, complete references and a biographical list of all the names included therein, will be published in the *Gedenkschrift* for Howard Serwer, to whom this research is dedicated.



## NEW ACCOUNTS OF HANDEL AND THE OXFORD ACT

In July 1733 George Frideric Handel took what remained of his opera company to Oxford to participate in the end-of-term Act of Convocation. He had been invited by the university vice-chancellor, Rev. Dr William Holmes, who was apparently hoping to revive the Act on a grand scale by including music, which had traditionally formed part of the ceremonies.<sup>1</sup> Between Thursday 5 and Thursday 12 July Handel would present two performances of both *Esther* and *Athalia* and one each of *Acis and Galatea* and *Deborah*. A Sunday concert at St Mary's church would include the 'Utrecht' *Te Deum* and two coronation anthems.<sup>2</sup>

Handel's departure for Oxford caught London's attention. *The Bee Revived* reported on 23 June:

Great Preparations are making for Mr. Handel's Journey to Oxford ... The Musick from the Opera is to attend Mr. Handel; and we are informed, that the principal Parts in his Oratorio's etc. are to be by Signora Strada, Mrs. Wright, Mr. Salway, Mr. Rochetti, and Mr. Wartzs [Waltz].

Other brief items in newspapers kept Londoners informed about both the Act ceremonies and Handel's concerts, but the most extensive accounts of these events are the diary entries of Thomas Hearne. Hearne was decidedly hostile to the composer's participation, grumbling about his

being a Hanoverian, his 'lowsy Crew' of foreign musicians, the high prices of the tickets and wordbooks, and the number of concerts given for Handel's own benefit.<sup>3</sup>

Further information about Handel and the Oxford Act in the summer of 1733 is provided by several new archival sources – letters written to Britons abroad on the continent. The Earl of Essex, then British diplomatic representative at the Sardinian court in Turin, was informed by his dutiful agent John Corry on 4 July 1733:<sup>4</sup>

I suppose you'll gett as much of Musick as you can while you are on the other side [of] the Mountains, it seems to be at [an] end here. Senesino[,] Handle, & waggon Lo[ads] of performers are this week gon to Oxford to Sta[rt] at the oratorios, to divert y<sup>e</sup> Country folk, there will be sweat enough for 8 or 10 days.

Corry is mistaken on one point: Senesino had broken with Handel in June and did not travel with his company to Oxford. But the phrase 'waggon Loads of performers' invites us to imagine the scene in Brook Street as Handel, probably assisted by John Christopher Smith and other servants, loaded sets of parts, printed wordbooks of oratorios, instruments, musicians, singers, and their luggage for the trip to Oxford.

Also on the continent to receive a report of the Act was Thomas

Osborne, fourth duke of Leeds, who was then at the beginning of his Grand Tour. While he was in Paris, his friend Robert Marsham, second Baron Romney, sent him news about their common interest in music. Romney and Leeds had been mates at Christ Church College, Oxford, both having matriculated in July 1731. At Oxford, Leeds had been kept informed of London opera news by his step-mother, the dowager duchess; her letter of 1 December 1731 gave him details of the cast of *Poro*.<sup>5</sup> He and Romney had been such regulars at Handel's 1732/33 season that the latter could jokingly refer to their 'Christ Church box' at the Haymarket theatre,<sup>6</sup> and Leeds, like Essex, would later befriend Farinelli in Italy.<sup>7</sup>

Leeds left London for his tour on 22 May, arriving in Paris on 8 June; Romney remained in Oxford for the convocation ceremonies, and sent his friend the following report:<sup>8</sup>

July 26 [OS] 1733

My Lord

If I had not the pleasure of hearing from your Grace I beleive [sic] I should [not] have sent you an account of [the] Act; but now I have your word that you shall like it, I do it with a great deal more pleasure. It began on the thursday night [5 July] with the Oratorio of *Esther*, not perform'd as we have heard it in the Christ Church box, as you will easily beleive when I tell you that Powell, Mrs Wright

1 Susan Wollenberg, 'Music in 18th-Century Oxford', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, cviii (1981-2), 79-81, and id., 'Music and Musicians', in *The History of the University of Oxford, v: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. L. S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell (Oxford, 1986), 870-71.

2 *The Bee Revived*, ii/17 (16-23 June 1733), 749-50. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (New York, 1955), 317, implies that the item was reprinted from *The Craftsman*, but it seems rather to have been an original report or reprinted from another source.

3 Cf. Deutsch, *Handel*, 319-29.

4 GB-Lbl, Add. MS 27,738, f. 220v.

5 Add. MS 28,050, ff. 213-14.

6 I am grateful to Anthony Hicks for suggesting this interpretation of the phrase.

7 See my 'Farinelli and the Duke of Leeds: "tanto mio amico e patrone particolare"', *Early Music* (forthcoming).

8 Add. MS 28,051, ff. 306-7.



& Mr. Salway sang instead of Senesini[,] Bertoldi, & scelestini, & that the Musicians were few, where of which Mr Mattis was one, who by the way I hear is going to leave Oxford in order to be in the Orchestre next winter at Senesini[']s Passo Tempo (the new name for an opera). there was a great deal of Company, tho not near so many as there were the next day [Friday, 6 July] at the Exercises when the Theatre was full[,] there being about three thousand people ... Saturday [7 July] ... at night we had Esther for the second time when it was much better perform'd than before. Sunday [8 July] we had Handels Te Deum & two exceeding good Sermon[s.] ... The next day [Tuesday, 10 July] ... at night the new Oratorio of Athaliah was perform[']d[,] which by what I could hear of it (for we were very much crowded) seem'd to be very pretty but I must defer [g]iving you a better a[cc]ount of that till Winter. ...

Yours sincerely Romney

The singers mentioned by Romney – Mr. Walter Powell (tenor), Mrs. Wright (soprano) and Mr. Thomas Salway (tenor) – apparently were replacements for Senesino (alto), Francesca Bertolli (mezzo-soprano) and Celeste Gismondi (soprano), who sang in Handel's London performances of *Esther* but then defected to

what is usually called the Opera of the Nobility. The identity of 'Mr Mattis' remains tentative. He cannot be the violinist Nicola Matteis the Younger (c. 1667-1737), who was still in Vienna at the time;<sup>9</sup> nor is he likely to be James Mat(t)hies, the gentleman amateur who sang in Lord Egmont's private London concerts and at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in 1734.<sup>10</sup> Most likely he is John-Nicola Matteis, mentioned by Burney as teaching violin and French at Shrewsbury from as early as 1737 to about 1749.<sup>11</sup>

Romney's statement that Mr Mattis was 'going to leave Oxford in order to be in the Orchestre next winter at Senesini[']s Passo Tempo (the new name for an opera)' suggests that planning for the Opera of the Nobility was well advanced. On 9 June 1733, the last night of the 1732/33 season, Senesino had announced from the stage that he was 'discharg'd from any Engagement' in Handel's company.<sup>12</sup> A meeting of the 'Subscribers to the Opera in which Signor Senesino and Signora Cuzzoni are to perform' was held on 15 June,<sup>13</sup> when directors were selected. The following day Earl Delawarr described to the Duke of Richmond the 'Spirit got up against the Dominion of Mr Handel', the plans to set 'Operas once more on a A good foot' and the invitations sent to Cuzzoni, Farinelli and Porpora.<sup>14</sup> On 4 July 1733 the dowager duchess of Leeds reported almost gleefully to her step-son:<sup>15</sup>

I am at Present in top spirits with y<sup>e</sup> certainty [sic] of having a very good opera here next winter, in opposition to Handell. ... [The] subscription for this is full, & Handel has not got 20 subscribers yet, so most people think he will drop his opera.

Romney's description of the 'Passo Tempo' as 'Senesini[']s' also helps to confirm that the impetus behind the Opera of the Nobility was a desire to instal the castrato at the head of a new company to satisfy London audiences, rather than an attempt by Frederick, prince of Wales, to spite his sister Anne, the Princess Royal.<sup>16</sup>

These new letters about the Oxford Act and from the Duchess of Leeds indicate the interest and partisanship of London's aristocracy in musical and operatic matters during the pivotal summer of 1733, before Handel became engaged in a ruinous rivalry with the Opera of the Nobility.<sup>17</sup>

Thomas McGeary

<sup>9</sup> Andrew D. McCredie, 'Nicola Matteis, the Younger: Caldara's Collaborator and Ballet Composer in the Service of the Emperor, Charles VI', in *Antonio Caldara: Essays on His Life and Times*, ed. Brian W. Pritchard (Aldershot, 1987), 153-182; Simon Jones, 'The Legacy of the "Stupendious" Nicola Matteis', *Early Music*, xxix (2001), 563.

<sup>10</sup> *Diary of Viscount Percival afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, 3 vols. (London, 1920-23), ii, 30, 50, 77, 135. The Mathies reported by Egmont is probably the James Mat(t)hies who subscribed to numerous musical publications in the 1730s, including Handel's *Atalanta* (1736) and *Alexander's Feast* (1738), as well as Henry Holcombe, *Six Solos for a Violin and Thorough Bass* (1745), Musgrave Heighington, *Six Select Odes of Anacreon in Greek and Three of Horace in Latin* (1744), and William de Fesch, *X. Sonata's, for Two German Flutes or, Two Violins* (1733).

<sup>11</sup> Jones, 'Legacy', 563, definitively corrects Burney (and his numerous followers), who confused his teacher in Shrewsbury with Nicola Matteis the Younger; cf. *A General History of Music*, ed. Frank Mercer (New York, 1957), ii, 410, and note, and *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726-1769*, ed. Slava Klima, Garry Bowers and Kerry D. Grant (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1988), 34-5.

<sup>12</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, 11 June 1733, quoted in Donald Burrows, *Handel* (New York, 1994), 175.

<sup>13</sup> *Daily Post*, 13 June 1733.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Deutsch, *Handel*, 303-4, where the letter is misdated 'January'.

<sup>15</sup> Add. MS 28,050, ff. 217-18.

<sup>16</sup> See my 'Handel, Prince Frederick, and the Opera of the Nobility Reconsidered', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge*, vii (1998), 156-78.

<sup>17</sup> I am grateful to The Handel Institute and the Newberry Library/British Academy for grants that facilitated research for this article.



**HANDEL'S  
GIULIO CESARE IN EGITTO**  
Edited by Winton Dean and Sarah Fuller

Oxford, 1998. £95.  
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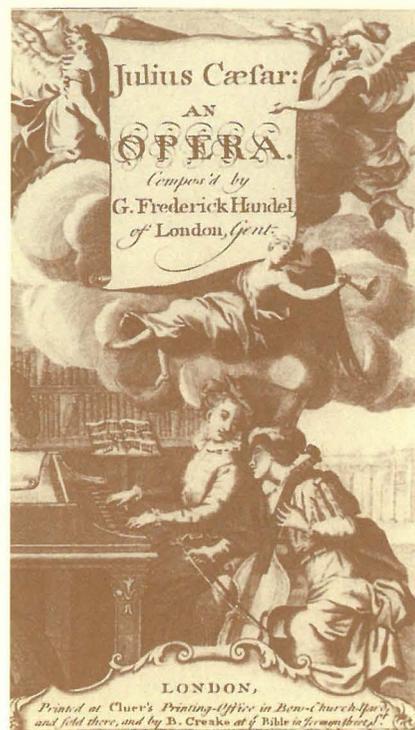
This edition of Handel's most popular opera by Winton Dean and Sarah Fuller has been a long time in preparation, some thirty years having passed between conception and publication (the delay is entirely the responsibility of the publisher). In that time, techniques of music engraving and attitudes toward the performance of early music have undergone revolutionary change, with unfortunate consequences for the visual image of the edition. Its content, however, is very sound and very welcome.

The version of the first production of 1724 is presented as the main text, and all the other music connected with the opera is added in a series of appendices (occupying 135 of the 365 music pages), much of it appearing in print for the first time. A preface clearly and succinctly summarises the history of the work and discusses points of performing practice, and there is a detailed list of sources – over fifty manuscripts have been consulted, in addition to printed material – and a critical report. Appendices 1-5 cover the changes Handel made for the three revivals, two of which underwent further alteration during their runs. Appendices 6-8 deal with the early drafts, and Appendix 9 is Handel's own keyboard arrangement of the overture and opening *coro*. The editors have therefore produced an exemplary reference score of the opera, important in its own right and valuably supplementing the corresponding chapter in Dean and

Knapp's *Handel's Operas 1704-1726*. So far as I can tell, the text is extremely accurate, though in bar 10 of Tolomeo's 'Si, spietata' (p. 131) the last notes for voice and bass are missing.

Alas, wider use of the score, especially for performance, will surely be inhibited by its visual appearance, which reflects the era when the edition was first prepared but is now outmoded in two significant respects. The first is the inclusion of written-out embellishments and appoggiaturas, added in small notes above the vocal lines of the main text (sometimes with more than one version). Before 'historically informed performance' with period instruments arrived, this was thought to be a helpful practice, and the editors' claim to have kept their suggestions within the known limits of period style is amply justified. Nevertheless, performers nowadays expect to generate their own embellishments and much prefer an unadorned score to work from (the results are sometimes pretty wild, but that is not because singers are unaware of period style but because they do not wish to be confined by it).

The presence of the embellishments makes the score look very cluttered, and the effect is compounded by the engraving style, the other outdated feature. In the 1970s music publishers abandoned formerly cherished house printing styles and often resorted to cheap engraving facilities in Eastern Europe. Oxford would appear to have used this resource for the present volume, but with more than usual emphasis on economy at the expense of quality. In the main text the note-heads are too heavy for the size of stave, making the music type uncomfortably garish, and a policy is



Title-page of the first edition of *Giulio Cesare*, published in 1724 by Cluer and Creaque

adopted of forcing as many systems as possible on to each page. Empty staves are avoided (except in the opening and closing *cori*), so that the number of staves in a system can vary as one scans down a page. Printing of more comfortable density can be found in the appendices, but these display eccentricities of their own, being engraved in a variety of styles and with variant forms of clefs.

Having allowed the project to languish, Oxford could have rescued it for a new generation of users by ditching the embellishments and getting the score reset with a modern processing package – a month's work? – but presumably their final decision was to get the thing off their hands at minimal expense. Both Handel's music for *Giulio Cesare*, and the achievement of Dean and Fuller in setting out all of it so splendidly, deserved better.

Anthony Hicks