

HANDEL'S ORGAN CONCERTOS (HWV 290-93) AND OPERATIC RIVALRY

Introduction

Handel's six organ concertos published by John Walsh in 1738 as the composer's Op. 4¹, are, through frequent live performances and recordings, amongst the most familiar of his instrumental works. The basic facts concerning the concertos are not in dispute and are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Op. 4 Organ Concertos arranged in probable order of composition.

	Autograph Source	Date/period of composition	Comments
HWV 290: Op. 4 No. 2 in B \flat major	Lbl. King's Ms. 317 ff. 1 ^r -10 ^r	early 1735	First performed in a revised version of <i>Esther</i> at Covent Garden (5.3.1735). Became known as the 'Concerto in Esther', or the 'First Concerto in the Oratorio of Esther'.
HWV 291: Op. 4 No. 3 in G minor ²	Lbl. King's Ms. 317 ff. 11 ^r -20 ^r	early 1735	First performed in revised version of <i>Esther</i> (5.3.1735)
HWV 293: Op. 4 No. 5 in F major	Lost ³	early 1735	First performed in <i>Deborah</i> at Covent Garden (26.3.1735) 'With a new Concerto on the Organ; Also the First Concerto in the Oratorio of Esther...' ⁴
HWV 292: Op. 4 No. 4 in F major	Lbl. King's Ms. 317 ff. 21 ^r -33 ^r	completed 25.3.1735 ⁵	First performed in a revised version of <i>Athalia</i> at Covent Garden (1.4.1735) 'With a new Concerto on the Organ; Also the First Concerto in the Oratorio of Esther, and the last in <i>Deborah</i> '. ⁶
HWV 289: Op. 4 No. 1 in G minor	Lbl. RM 20.g.12 ff. 1-5 ^v [fragment, only mvt. 1]	early 1736	First performed in <i>Alexander's Feast</i> at Covent Garden (19.2.1736)
HWV 294: Op. 4 No. 6 in B \flat major	Lbl. RM 20.g.12 ff. 8 ^r -13 ^v ⁷	early 1736	First performed in <i>Alexander's Feast</i> at Covent Garden (19.2.1736) The Walsh publication (Op. 4, 1738) specified solo organ.

Of these six concertos, four (HWV 290-93) were composed for Handel himself to play during the intervals of his oratorio performances in March-April 1735, and the remaining two (HWV 289, 294) for performance during his Dryden ode, *Alexander's Feast or the Power of Music* (HWV 75), in February-March 1736.

Although there has been much published description and discussion of these works,⁸ one important question regarding HWV 290-93 in particular, has not yet received a satisfactory answer: why did Handel, in the middle of a busy theatre season (1734-5), devoted to his own Italian operas and English oratorios, decide to compose and perform organ concertos? It is this central question that forms the focus of this paper.

My investigation will be structured in four related sections. Firstly, an examination of the evidence concerning a new concerto organ for the Covent Garden theatre in 1735;

secondly, by way of context, a discussion of the ‘climate’ of theatrical competition in London between 1729 and 1734; thirdly, a detailed examination of the rivalry between London’s two opera companies (Handel’s company, and the so-called ‘Opera of the Nobility’) in the 1734-5 season; and lastly, Handel’s musical reaction to the presence in London of, arguably, Italy’s greatest castrato, Farinelli. Collectively, it is hoped that evidence from these four sections will provide a convincing answer to my central question.

Handel’s Oratorio and Concerto Organs 1732-37

Any detailed information concerning the organs that Handel employed in his oratorio performances, firstly at the King’s Theatre and later at Covent Garden, is scarce. Donald Burrows has observed:

From the instrumental designations that Handel added to the bass lines of his scores, it is apparent that the organ entered his theatre orchestra with the oratorios in 1732..... its main task was to support the voices in the chorus.⁹

This was particularly true of the extensively revised *Esther* (HWV 50b : 2 May 1732) and *Deborah* (HWV 51 : 17 March 1733), into which Handel had introduced sections of his four *Coronation Anthems* (HWV 258-61) of 1727.¹⁰ *Deborah*, in particular, was scored for a large orchestra that included two harpsichords and two organs, with one organ being used to support each choir in the double choruses. Altogether six choruses in this oratorio have the designation ‘organi’.¹¹ In the oratorio airs the organ was replaced by the harpsichord except where Handel required a particular tone colour. Two numbers in *Esther* (Nos, 1, 2a) and four in *Athalia* (HWV 52 : Nos. 4, 21a, 33, 34) include the organ in the bass line, marked ‘soft’ or / and ‘tasto solo’. However in two airs in *Deborah* the organ contributes something more individual : in No. 24 (Barak : ‘In the battle, fame pursuing’) Handel included a fully written-out concertante organ part, with a ‘Traversa’ doubling the right hand of the organ part, exclusively in the ritornellos. In No. 32 (Abinoam : ‘Tears such as tender fathers shed’) Handel employed the special tonal colour of ‘Organi soft [and] Traversa I’ doubling the same line, which would suggest that the organs concerned had a gentle tone.

It is likely that the organs that Handel used at the King’s Theatre in 1732 and 1733 were of ‘a portable “bureau”..... type [later] marketed by John Snetzler’, although Snetzler is not known to have built an organ of any type or size specifically for Handel.¹² The specification of these continuo organs was possibly :

Stopped Diapason	8'
Flute	4'
Fifteenth	2' ¹³

The first two stops would have combined well with the transverse flute indicated in the *Deborah* airs, and, because of its relatively small size, it is understandable that Handel should have required two such instruments in the double choruses in the same work. When Handel moved to the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in Autumn 1734 he may have taken the two continuo organs with him, depending on their ownership. Barnes and Renshaw, commenting on the hazards that could befall such instruments, observe that :

organs that are carried around have a limited life: they might be roughly carted in wagons or portered through rubbish-strewn streets, and they were in danger of damage and fire in candle-lit theatres.¹⁴

Handel certainly would have required two organs if he was to replicate the oratorio performances of 1733 in 1735. That there were two organs at Covent Garden by early November 1734 is indicated by a very specific instrumental direction in one number in *Terpsicore* (HWV 8b), the ballet-prologue that preceded the performances of *Il pastor fido* (HWV 8c) in that month. Winton Dean observes that the duet for Erato and Apollo, ‘Tuoi passi son dardi’, is :

most sumptuously scored, with a layout typical of Handel in sensuous mood: recorders (unison), muted violins and violas, pizzicato cellos, and a part on two staves marked *Les Orgues doucement, e la Teorbe*, of which the treble doubles the recorders and the bass the cellos.¹⁵

Dean adds that ‘this is the only mention of the organ in connection with any of the Handel operas’.¹⁶

Early in Spring, 1735, there appeared a notice in the newspaper the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, (dated 27 March), referring to the second of three performances of *Deborah* (26, 28, 31 March) :

We hear..... that to perfect the Performance, Mr Handel designs to introduce, tomorrow Night (in the oratorio of Deborah) a large new Organ, which is remarkable for the Variety of curious Stops; being a new Invention, and a great Improvement of that Instrument.¹⁷

This notice is somewhat of a puzzle. Is it possible that, having decided to introduce organ concertos into his oratorio performances, Handel also decided that the small ‘bureau’ organs which he may have used in the past, were not impressive enough in terms of volume of sound, variety of stops, or indeed, visually, so he commissioned a ‘large new Organ’? If so, then the unidentified organ builder must have both disappointed and frustrated Handel, since the instrument clearly was not ready for the first organ concerto performances in *Esther* on 5 March. There is no further direct information regarding this ‘large Organ’; not even confirmation that the instrument was actually delivered to the theatre.

However, there is some contributory evidence in three British Library music manuscript sources that lend support to the idea of a new ‘concerto organ’ in 1735. These are:

- (i) King's Ms. 317 ff. 21^r-33^v : the autograph score of HWV 292
 - (ii) RM 19.a.1 ff. 90-110
 - (iii) RM 19.a.10
-] : two organ part books for *Alexander's Feast*

Source (i) contains the only specific organ registration direction in Handel's hand in the Op. 4 concertos. This precedes the opening organ solo passage to Op. 4 No. 4 / ii (Andante) and is marked:

‘Organo. Open Diapason, stopt Diapason & Flute’.

Sources (ii) and (iii) are identical except for the inclusion in RM 19.a.1 of two of the three concertos intended for performance with *Alexander's Feast* (HWV 294, 318). Barry Cooper has concluded that:

Handel himself wrote out a detailed organ part [for the performances in 1736 or 1737] so that someone else could play precisely what he wanted while he directed from the first harpsichord; and that [Charles] Jennens was subsequently sent two copies of this part as it stood in March-April 1737, prepared for him by the copyist S2.¹⁸

The detailed organ registrations in the sources (ii) and (iii), listed below in Table 2, are presumed to come from the lost autograph organ part, and can thus be considered to have direct authority from the composer:

Table 2: Organ registrations for *Alexander's Feast*.¹⁹

<i>Alexander's Feast</i>	Organ Registration
Nos. 1, 7, 9, 14, 24, 25, 27, Concerto (HWV 318)	Open Diapason, Principal Stopt. Diapason, Flute ‘Soft’ indication in Nos. 7, 9
Nos. 5, 11, Concerto (HWV 294)	Stopt. Diapason, Flute only ‘Soft’ indication
Nos. 21, 23	Stopt. Diapason, Open Diapason ‘Soft’ indication
Nos. 3, 6, 18, 20, add. chorus ‘Your voices tune’	Registration indication - ‘Loud’

For the registration marked ‘Loud’ it is likely that to the four stops indicated, there would be added two more, a Twelfth ($2\frac{2}{3}$) and Fifteenth (2'). Collectively these three sources suggest an organ with a specification of:

Open Diapason	8'
Stopped Diapason	8'
Principal	4'
Flute	4'
Twelfth	$2\frac{2}{3}$ '
Fifteenth	2'

This was clearly an instrument that was larger than a small ‘bureau’ organ, particularly since the chorus was based on an Open Diapason.

As a point of comparison, the recommendations that Handel set out for a proposed new organ at Gopsall, Charles Jennens’ country house near Coventry, are interesting. These are listed in a letter that Handel sent to Jennens, dated 30 September, 1749 :

Sir,

Yesterday I received Your Letter, in answer to which I here under specify my Opinion of an Organ which I think will answer the Ends You propose, being every thing that is necessary for a good and grand Organ, without Reed Stops, which I have omitted, because they are continually wanting to be tuned, which in the Country is very inconvenient....²⁰

Handel then listed the specification for this ‘good and grand Organ’, including an ‘Open Diapason - of Metal throughout to be in Front’. This specification is, in all respects, the same as the one proposed above for Covent Garden, except for the addition of a Tierce ($1\frac{3}{5}$) stop. Could Handel, in his advice to Jennens, have been reflecting on the organ on which he had performed his first concertos?

Some further confusion has arisen concerning the conjectured 1735 Covent Garden organ that probably stems from an article by W. L. Sumner, published in 1959.²¹

Sumner cites details of an organ built by Abraham Jordan (II) for the Covent Garden Theatre²² :

One sett of Keys GG (long octaves) to D
One manual (7 stops)

Open Diapason....	55 pipes
Stopped Diapason....	55 pipes
Principal....	55 pipes
Twelfth....	55 pipes
Fifteenth....	55 pipes
Tierce....	55 pipes
Trumpet....	55 pipes

Sumner does not stipulate a date for this instrument and he does not say that this was the specific instrument on which Handel played his first concertos in 1735. His comments, instead, are more general:

Handel owned the organ in the theatre and played his organ concerti.... in the intervals of his larger works. He bequeathed the organ to the manager of the theatre.²³

Since this specification does not contain a Flute 4', then it cannot be an accurate reflection of Handel’s possible new concerto organ in 1735. However, certain other documents support two of the details in Sumner’s statement, namely, the question of ownership and the bequest. A letter from Charles Jennens to his friend Edward Holdsworth, dated

21 February 1745, mentions Handel buying a new organ for himself:

..... [Handel] takes the Opera-house in the Hay-market for this Season [1745] at the rent of £400, buys him a new organ, & instead of an Oratorio produces an English Opera call'd Hercules....²⁴

Corroborative evidence in the form of an entry in Handel's Drawing Account at the Bank of England records a cash payment to 'Jordan' of £140 on 13 May 1745.²⁵ Thus we have confirmation of Handel's ownership of the organ, of the name of the organ builder, and the instrument's possible cost. More importantly, it is now clear that the instrument detailed by Sumner dates from 1745 and not 1735. Finally, concerning the bequest: this instrument by Jordan is likely to be the one referred to in the third codicil of Handel's will, dated 4 August 1757:

I give to John Rich Esquire my Great Organ that stands at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden.²⁶

These three organ specifications, the possible one of 1735, the Jordan organ of 1745, and the recommended one for the Gopsall organ in 1749,²⁷ are remarkably consistent in their essential details. They are each of one manual, with six or seven stops, with the only variants being the presence or absence of a Flute 4', a Tierce, or a Trumpet stop. From the evidence that I have presented, I think it highly probable that there was a new 'concerto organ' for Covent Garden in 1735, of the size and specification that I have proposed. However, it is also clear that the organ builder, who remains unidentified, failed to complete and deliver the new instrument prior to the first organ concerto performances on 5 March. But it is also apparent that the decision to compose organ concertos for performances in March-April 1735 probably pre-dated the acquisition of the new organ by some three or four months. The probable new organ should therefore be viewed as a product, a consequence, of this decision, and not as the catalyst which stimulated such composition.

Theatre Competition 1729-34

For Handel the 1730s were years of musical challenges and changes. As a composer and music director he had to respond to a London theatre public that became increasingly fickle and unpredictable in its musical tastes and loyalties, and erratic in its support during the five opera seasons (1729-34) when Handel was in partnership with John Jacob Heidegger, the manager of the King's Theatre. Handel's audiences had become seekers of novelty, who wanted not merely to be entertained, but amazed and astonished by fresh experiences of musical virtuosity.

This relatively small potential theatre-going public had many different types of entertainments from which to choose, apart from Handel's Italian opera company, entertainments that included one of the richest varieties of spoken drama (tragic, heroic, farcical, ironic) to be presented in any capital city in Europe. In a popular vein there were the English ballad operas, a musical-theatrical genre that had been a runaway success since the first performances of *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728,²⁸ and the elaborate

pantomimes and burlesques which John Rich presented at his two theatres in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden.²⁹ As a direct alternative to Italian opera seria, there was for a short period of some 15 months (March 1732-June 1733) an English opera company led by J. F. Lampe and the two Thomas Arnes (father and son) which presented seven full-length, all-sung, operas in English at the Little Haymarket Theatre, and the Theatre Royal, Lincoln's Inn Fields.³⁰

Of all these types of theatrical entertainments, Italian opera was by far the most costly. Indeed:

given [its] fantastic expense..... the wonder is that the public supported, as long and as well as it did, this entertainment in a language few of its members understood.³¹

Judith Milhouse and Robert D. Hume have observed 'how ruinous a financial bind faced the producer of opera in London. Even before the ferocious competition of 1733-34, the situation verged on the impossible'.³² They conclude that 'opera has seldom been a paying proposition, and never for long'.³³

If this was true whilst London had only one Italian opera company, then it was going to be even more true during the years 1733-7 when the city had two such companies locked in vicious and destructive competition for the same audience. The new company, the so-called 'Opera of the Nobility'³⁴ was formed by a caucus of former directors and subscribers of the Royal Academy of Music, 'which, though in abeyance, had not been officially wound up'.³⁵ These members of the nobility, who were opposed to what they perceived as Handel's high-handedness and hegemony in matters of opera, wanted a new and different operatic repertoire. They did not hesitate to capitalise on the various tensions that had developed within Handel's company between that composer and some of his leading singers, particularly Senesino and Antonio Montagnana.³⁶

As a consequence, at the end of the 1732-3 season, all Handel's singers, except the *prima donna*, Anna Strada, deserted to the rival company. It was these 'deserters', including the *primo uomo*, Senesino, Celeste Hempson, Francesca Bertolli and Montagnana, that formed the core of the new company, with Nicola Porpora appointed as composer and musical director of the Nobility Opera. During the four opera seasons of head-to-head rivalry, Handel's company performed at the King's Theatre in 1733-4, and then moved to Covent Garden for the seasons of 1734-5, 1736, and 1736-7. The Opera of the Nobility began at the Theatre Royal, Lincoln's Inn Fields (1733-4), before moving to the vacated King's Theatre for the remaining three seasons.

The rivalry between the two opera companies also had a royal dimension in the form of partisan patronage. Donald Burrows comments that:

the [1733-4] opera season coincided with a growing unease in the relationship between Frederick [Prince of Wales] and his parents, and there is no doubt that these difficulties were partly demonstrated in public through their patronage of the rival companies.... [In] general the King and the Prince did not attend the same opera on the same nights, and the Prince favoured the Nobility while the King and Queen supported Handel.³⁷

This observation is supported by the details of royal attendance of the two companies in Table 3.

Table 3.³⁸ Attendance by the King and Queen, and Frederick, Prince of Wales, at the Rival Opera Companies.

Season	Handel	Opera of the Nobility
<u>King and Queen</u>		
1733-4	19	3
1734-5	19	3
1735-6	3	2
1736-7	2	2
<u>Frederick</u>		
1733-4	10 or 11	6
1734-5	0	3 or 4
1735-6	[1 - 2] ³⁹	8
1736-7	5	0

The 1734-5 Opera Season

I have chosen to concentrate on the second of the four seasons of operatic competition, since this, the 1734-5 season, was the one in which Handel first introduced organ concertos into his oratorio performances. In this section I will detail the rivalry that pertained between the two companies with specific reference to the repertoire that each company performed.

The Opera of the Nobility at the King's Theatre, Haymarket

Table 4: 1734-5 Season: 29 Oct., 1734 - 7 June, 1735

Title	Composer	No. of perfs.	Comments
<i>Artaserse</i>	Hasse, with arias by Porpora, R. Broschi	33	opera: pasticcio
<i>Ottone</i>	Handel	5	opera: revival
<i>Polifemo</i>	Porpora	14	opera: new
<i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i>	Porpora	5	opera: new
<i>Issipile</i>	Sandoni	4	opera: new
<i>Davide e Bersabea</i>	Porpora	3	oratorio: revival

Total no. performances 64

Once Handel and Heidegger's agreement with the Royal Academy had expired, 'the Opera of the Nobility, functioning as the rump of the Royal Academy of Music',⁴⁰ lost little time in moving to London's principal opera house. With the arrival of Francesca Cuzzoni in April 1734, replacing Maria Segatti as the company's *prima donna*,⁴¹ together with that of the most celebrated castrato of the period, Carlo Broschi *detto* Farinelli as *primo uomo*, sometime in early Autumn 1734, the Nobility company had the most glittering cast of Italian singers ever to be assembled in London during the first half of the eighteenth century. The complete cast was:

primo uomo :	Farinelli	(soprano castrato)
prima donna :	Francesca Cuzzoni	(soprano)
	Senesino	(alto castrato)
	Antonio Montagnana	(bass)
	Francesca Bertolli	(contralto)
	Maria Segatti	(soprano)

Both Farinelli and Montagnana were former pupils of Nicola Porpora; it must have been a particular pleasure for him to have two such celebrated singers, with whom he had had such an extended professional relationship, now performing in the company that he was directing. There was no change to the weekly opera nights; with a small number of exceptions, they performed twice per week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The company did not revive any operas from their previous season. Instead, there would appear to have been a determined emphasis placed on the new, for Farinelli's first London season.

(i) 29 October - 31 December 1734

The Nobility company opened twelve days ahead of Handel and with a new work, whose choice was something of a masterstroke. Having successfully engaged both Farinelli and Cuzzoni, they began with Hasse's setting of Metastasio's libretto *Artaserse*, in which both singers had 'starred' as Arbace and Mandane, respectively, in Venice in February 1730. The work was presented in London as a new opera, although in reality it was a pasticcio since it also contained arias by Riccardo Broschi (Farinelli's brother), and Porpora. It was to prove the greatest success of the season with twelve consecutive performances between 29 October and 3 December, and 33 in the season as a whole,⁴² an unprecedented number of repeat performances compared to any other London season of this period. Whenever the Nobility company's season appeared to be flagging, repeat performances of *Artaserse* were introduced to revive its financial fortunes. A notice in the *Daily Advertiser* (30 October) emphasised the success of the first performance:

All the Royal Family were at the Opera, when Signior Farinelli perform'd... with prodigious Applause. The Theatre was exceedingly crowded.⁴³

Lord Hervey, who attended the second performance of *Artaserse* observed the same packed theatre:

No place is full but the Opera; and Farinelli is so universally liked, that the crowds there are immense. By way of public spectacles this winter, there are no less than two Italian Operas, one French playhouse, and three English ones. Heidegger has computed the expense of these shows, and proves in black & white that the undertakers must receive seventy-six thousand odd pounds to bear their charges, before they begin to become gainers.⁴⁴

Artaserse's success was partly due to Hasse's music and Metastasio's libretto, but as much to the singing of both Farinelli, in his début London operatic role, and Cuzzoni. Burney noted that:

.... the airs of greatest favour were 'Palido il solo' set by Hasse, and sung by Senesino; 'Per questo dolce amplesso' by the same; and 'Son qual nave' by Broschi; all performed by Farinelli.⁴⁵

The Nobility company's decision to perform Handel's *Ottone* (9-23 December) was a direct artistic strike against their rival, especially since Handel had already performed a revised version of his opera in the previous season (November, 1733), with Carestini singing the title role. One wonders if the aggrieved Senesino was responsible for the inclusion of *Ottone* again in the 1734-5 season. Both Senesino (*Ottone*) and Cuzzoni (*Teofane*) sang the roles that they had created in January 1723, but this time not under Handel's direction. Undoubtedly the biggest audience draw was Farinelli, singing his only Handel role, that of Adelberto. However, as Winton Dean observes, 'although [Farinelli] had seven arias, not one belonged to the [original] part.'⁴⁶ This version of *Ottone* played for only five performances before two more of *Artaserse* (28, 31 Dec.) closed 1734.

(ii) 4 January - 29 March 1735

The New Year opened with eight further performances of *Artaserse* (4-28 January) before Porpora presented his first new opera of the season, *Polifemo* (lib. P. Rolli) on Saturday 1 February before 'Their Majesties.... the Prince of Wales, and the Princesses Amelia and Caroline', together with 'one of the greatest Audiences that has been known this Season'.⁴⁷ Farinelli sang 'Acis', Cuzzoni 'Galatea' and Montagnana 'Polyphemous'. Its 14 performances suggest that *Polifemo* had a greater audience support than Handel's *Ariodante* (11 performances) but this number fell short of the 23 performances enjoyed by Porpora's *Arianna in Nasso* in the 1733-4 season.

The Nobility company's single response to the period of Lent was their only revival from the previous season, Porpora's Italian oratorio *Davide e Bersabea*, advertised as 'with several additions', presumably to accommodate Farinelli and Cuzzoni. There were only three performances, the last two being during Holy Week (1, 3, April). The most glittering event for the Nobility company was the Farinelli Benefit performance of *Artaserse* on 15 March, advertised as 'with several Alterations and Additions....'.

The notice in the *Daily Advertiser* on 13 March enthused, saying:

‘Tis expected that Signor Farinelli will have the greatest Appearance on Saturday [15 March] that has been known. We hear that a Contrivance will be made to accommodate 2000 People. His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales has been pleas’d to give him 200 Guineas, the Spanish Ambassador 100, the Emperor’s Ambassador 50, his Grace the Duke of Leeds 50, the Countess of Portmore 50, Lord Burlington 50, his Grace the Duke of Richmond 50, the Hon. Col. Paget 30, Lady Rich 20, and most of the other Nobility 50, 30, or 20 Guineas each; so that ‘tis believ’d his Benefit will be worth to him upwards of £2000.⁴⁸

(iii) 8 April - 7 June 1735

In the final period of their season, the Nobility company introduced two new operas *Issipile* (lib. A. Cori, after Metastasio) by Cuzzoni’s husband, Pietro Giuseppe Sandoni, and Porpora’s *Ifigenia in Aulide* (lib. Rolli, after Zeno), but neither enjoyed any real success, being taken off after only four and five performances respectively. Lord Egmont, however, was more generous towards Porpora’s opera: he considered that it had been unjustly condemned:

I went to the opera called Iphegenia, composed by Porpora and I think the town does not justice in condemning it.⁴⁹

Issipile played against Handel’s *Athalia* on 12 April and *Alcina* on 19 April, and *Ifigenia* against *Alcina* on 3 May and 10 May. Clearly Handel’s fortunes were in the ascendant. The Nobility’s season had to be rescued with eight further performances of *Artaserse*, but with only two (26 April, 17 May) playing on the same Saturday nights as *Alcina*. A single performance of Porpora’s *Polifemo*, commanded by the Queen, closed the Nobility’s season on Saturday 7 June. The high points of their season of 64 performances, insofar as audience attendance and response were concerned, were clearly the early performances of *Artaserse* (October-November 1734), the first performance of *Polifemo* (1 February 1735), and the benefit performance for Farinelli (15 March). However, after Easter, without the resuscitating effect of revivals of *Artaserse*, the Nobility’s season might well have collapsed.

Handel’s move to the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden

It must have been clear to Handel that with so many former directors of the Royal Academy opposed to him, that there was no possibility of him remaining at the King’s Theatre after the 1733-4 season closed, which for Handel’s company was 6 July 1734. In considering the alternative theatres, John Rich’s Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, must have immediately been his preferred choice. As Winton Dean has observed:

It was London’s newest theatre, open for less than two years, perhaps larger than Lincoln’s Inn Fields and the Little Haymarket and better equipped for staging opera, especially the sort of opera Handel was about to present.⁵⁰

A notice in the *London Evening Post* for 11-13 July indicated that Handel's discussions with John Rich, if not finalised, were at an advanced stage:

We hear that the Town will be entertained next Season with an Opera at the Haymarket and with another under the direction of Mr. Handel (twice a week) at the New Theatre in Covent-Garden....
... We hear also that Mademoiselle Sallé is to dance in the said Opera at Covent-Garden.⁵¹

Sarah McCleave considers that Handel's move to Covent Garden was both well-planned and deliberate, offering, as it did, new possibilities for the presentation of Italian opera:

Perhaps, rather than being ungraciously abandoned by Heidegger, Handel had planned in advance to join Rich at Covent Garden in order to avail himself of the dancers and chorus which Rich could provide.⁵²

McCleave further suggests that the Duchess of Richmond,⁵³ Sallé's principal London patroness, had an 'acknowledged interest in seeing her protégée dance at the opera [and that this] may well hold the key to the arrangement between Handel and Rich'.⁵⁴ However, there is a degree of speculation here. The detailed terms of Handel's 'arrangement' or 'engagement' with John Rich are not known, except that Handel's company was to perform 'twice a week'. That there was some kind of contractual arrangement that appertained throughout Handel's three seasons at Covent Garden is strongly suggested in a letter from Rich to his landlord, the Duke of Bedford (dated 9 March, 1737) where he claims that he is unable to pay the ground-rent due to the Duke because of the 'severe Losses [caused] by the Opera's etc carry'd on by Mr. Handel & myself.... for these three years last past'.⁵⁵

Handel's aims and plans

Table 5: 1734-5 Season: 9 Nov., 1734 - 2 July, 1735

Title	Composer	No. of perfs.	Comments
<i>Terpsicore</i>	Handel	[5]	1 act ballet prologue: new
<i>Il pastor fido</i>	Handel	5	opera: revival
<i>Arianna in Creta</i>	Handel	5	opera: revival
<i>Oreste</i>	Handel	3	opera: self-pasticcio
<i>Ariodante</i>	Handel	11	opera: new
<i>Esther</i>	Handel	6	oratorio: revival, with organ concertos
<i>Deborah</i>	Handel	3	oratorio: revival, with organ concertos
<i>Athalia</i>	Handel	5	oratorio: new to London, with organ concertos
<i>Alcina</i>	Handel	18	opera: new

Total no. performances 56

One can deduce a great deal about Handel's aims and plans from the programme details of the 1734-5 season. Clearly, the primary emphasis was to be on Handel, with the intention that only his music was to be performed. This was very much a contrasting strategy to that of the first season of operatic rivalry (1733-4), where Handel had decided that:

pasticci were to provide the answers to his rivals. He [had] wanted to confront Porpora with superior examples of Porpora's own kind of music.⁵⁶

But as Reinhard Strohm has observed:

Handel's strategical use of pasticcis failed to take into account the polarisation of taste - his own supporters united in wanting only his compositions, while the public he hoped to attract by the works of more recent Italian composers were swayed by party-spirit and deserted the Haymarket for that reason.⁵⁷

Therefore Handel's intention in the programming of the 1734-5 season was, in some part, to respond to the wishes of his declared supporters.

His second aim appears to have been to react positively to the presence of Marie Sallé and her French dancers at Covent Garden by incorporating dance as a significant additional element into both the new and revived operas in this season.⁵⁸ Sallé, a leading ballerina of the Paris Opéra, had been visiting and dancing in London since 1716.⁵⁹ She had already established a certain popular following and support, particularly through her appearances during the seasons of 1725-7 and 1730-1. It would appear that Handel was rather pinning his hopes on Sallé being the necessary counter-attraction to Farinelli. Handel's third aim was to capitalise on the success his oratorios had enjoyed in the previous seasons, and to present a more extended period of some six weeks (during Lent-Easter, 1735) devoted to his biblical oratorios, including *Athalia*, a work new to London.⁶⁰

Collectively, all three would give this season a strong and individual character, and please his supporters. In addition, the inclusion of dance and dance episodes in his operas and the definitive English oratorio 'season' would provide significant features not to be found in the competing company's season. It is unlikely, however, that the decision to introduce organ concertos as an additional entertainment in his oratorio performances formed part of Handel's pre-season plans. I consider that this decision was possibly made later in 1734, once the season had begun.

Handel's regular opera nights at Covent Garden were, with some exceptions, to be Wednesdays and Saturdays. This change may have been influenced as much by the wishes of John Rich, that Handel's company should work around the resident company of actors, as by the desire to avoid the head-to-head clash with the opposition that had been so financially disastrous in the previous season.

‘By His Majesty’s Command’

Every one of the 56 performances that Handel presented at Covent Garden during the 1734-5 season was advertised in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* or in the *Daily Advertiser* as ‘By His Majesty’s Command’ (from 9 Nov., 1734 to 21 May, 1735) or ‘By Her Majesty’s Command’ (from 28 May to 2 July, 1735), after the King had left London for Hanover.⁶¹ This encompassing royal imprimatur is unique to this season. It did not imply that the King and/or the Queen attended every performance, since this was certainly not the case. But it might have been interpreted as being a visible gesture of the King and Queen’s support for Handel’s company.

Donald Burrows comments that:

the regular notices of command.... may have been used to demonstrate the legitimacy of Handel’s opera performances when they took place at venue other than the King’s Theatre.⁶²

The royal partisan support for each company during the 1734-5 season was demonstrated by the King and Queen attending 19 of Handel’s performances, but only three of those of the Nobility company. Whereas Frederick, Prince of Wales, attended three or four of the Nobility company’s performances, but none of Handel’s.⁶³ The Royal Bounty of £1000, ‘the annual subvention of the King’⁶⁴ for this season was paid, as it had been since 1719, to those who undertook the performances of operas at the King’s Theatre, which for this season was the Opera of the Nobility. Frederick, Prince of Wales, also awarded his bounty of £250 to the same company.⁶⁵ Thus for the 1734-5 season Handel received no financial support from either royal figure.⁶⁶

Handel’s cast for the 1734-5 season

At the end of the 1733-4 season, two of Handel’s principal singers, the soprano castrato Carlo Scalzi, and the composer’s long-time friend, the soprano Margherita Durastanti, had left London to return to Italy. Handel, either because there was too little time or because he had other plans, including six weeks of English oratorio, replaced them, not with Italians, but with two young English singers, the 17 year-old John Beard, singing in his first opera season, and the 22 year-old Cecilia Young. Both were to become prominent members of Handel’s opera and oratorio casts in the following seasons.⁶⁷

The complete cast list consisted of four Italians, two English, and two German singers:

primo uomo :	Carestini	(mezzo soprano castrato)
prima donna :	Anna Strada del Pò	(soprano)
	: Cecilia Young	(soprano)
	: Maria Caterina Negri	(contralto)
	: Rosa Negri	(contralto)
	: John Beard	(tenor)
	: Gustavus Waltz	(bass)
	: Stoppelaer	(tenor)

The programme of Handel's company

(i) 9 November - 28 December 1734

Handel's counter to the Nobility company's very successful opening weeks was to present two revivals of operas that had both proved popular in the previous season, *Il pastor fido* and *Arianna in Creta*, and, as a stopgap, the self-pasticcio, *Oreste*. All of Handel's operas in this season were to benefit from the inclusion or insertion of dances, or longer dance episodes for the remarkable Marie Sallé and her French dance troupe.

Almost as if to signal his intentions, Handel opened his season on Saturday 9 November with '*Terpsicore*, a one-act *opéra-ballet* after the French manner - his sole venture into that territory - as a prologue to a third version of *Il pastor fido*'.⁶⁸ With Strada as 'Erato, President of Music', Carestini as 'Apollo', Sallé as the eponymous muse, together with the new resources at Rich's theatre, including the dancers and a small chorus, these collectively should have guaranteed a generous audience response. But despite the attractions of this ballet-prologue, and the additions of dances and dance suites to the ends of each act of both *Il pastor fido* and *Arianna*, this combination of opera seria with dance did not produce the success that Handel wanted. Each of these operas played for only five performances⁶⁹ against the ecstatic audience responses to the Nobility's *Artaserse*. It must have also been galling for Handel to witness his own *Ottone*, with Farinelli in the cast, being presented by his rivals, and playing against his quickly assembled *Oreste*. This self-pasticcio drew on arias from thirteen of his preceding operas from as early as 1707 up to 1734, not to mention two Italian cantatas.⁷⁰ Amongst these were, significantly, three arias from *Ottone*.⁷¹ It also contained dances, but taken from the two preceding operas. However, none of these factors ensured its success, and it only survived for three performances.

(ii) 8 January - 3 March 1735

Ariodante, Handel's first new opera for Rich's theatre, hardly fared any better than the pre-Christmas revivals, despite outstanding arias for both Carestini (*Ariodante*) and Strada (*Ginevra*), and significant dance episodes for Sallé. Although the Royal Family were present in force on the opening night, Wednesday 8 January, and the King and Queen on three further occasions, the audiences appear to have been so thin that in six of its eight weeks, there was only one performance rather than the customary two. Burney, in his comments on this dire situation, concisely summed up the forces that appeared to be set against Handel:

Nothing but the intrinsic and sterling worth of the composition could have enabled Handel at this time to make head, not only against four of the greatest singers that ever trod the opera stage, but against party prejudice, and the resentment, power, and spleen of the principal patrons of Music among the nobility and gentry of this kingdom.⁷²

(iii) 5 March - 12 April 1735

Handel, indeed, made determined headway, by suspending his opera performances and presenting instead a six-week Lent-Easter season of his Biblical oratorios, with the most significant innovation of his season, his own playing in four organ concertos.

Table 6 lists the details of all performances at Covent Garden during this period, together with operas and the single Italian oratorio at other theatres:

Table 6. March- early April, 1735: the context for Handel's music at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.⁷³

Date	Main Piece	Afterpiece, additional entertainment	Music at other theatres
March M/3	Opera: <i>Ariodante</i>		GF: <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> YB: <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> KT: <i>Polifemo</i>
T/4 W/5 Th/6	Play: <i>The Rival Widows</i> Oratorio: <i>Esther</i> Play: <i>The Rival Widows</i>	<i>The Rape of Proserpine</i> (pantomime) Two organ concertos <i>The Toy Shop</i> : Dancing: <i>The Faithful Shepherd</i>	
F/7 S/8	Oratorio: <i>Esther</i> Play: <i>Duke and No Duke</i>	Two organ concertos <i>Perseus and Andromeda</i> (pantomime)	KT: <i>Polifemo</i>
M/10	Play: <i>She Wou'd if She Cou'd</i> : - by Sir George Etheridge	<i>Perseus and Andromeda</i>	
T/11	Play: <i>Abramule, or Love & Empire</i> : - Dr. Joseph Trapp	Ballad Opera: <i>Macheath in the Shades</i>	KT: <i>Polifemo</i>
W/12 Th/13	Oratorio: <i>Esther</i> Play: <i>Marianne</i>	Two organ concertos <i>The Toy Shop</i> : Dancing. <i>Pigmalion</i> - Marie Sallé	
F/14 S/15	Oratorio: <i>Esther</i> Play: <i>Sophonisba</i>	Two organ concertos <i>The Toy Shop</i> : Dancing. <i>La Coquette Francoise</i> - Marie Sallé Music: Handel's <i>Water Music</i>	KT: <i>Artaserse</i> : Farinelli's Benefit
M/17 T/18 W/19 Th/20 F/21 S/22	Play: <i>Love's Last Shift</i> Play: <i>The Stratagem</i> Oratorio: <i>Esther</i> Play: <i>The Provok'd Husband</i> Oratorio: <i>Esther</i> Play: <i>The Provok'd Wife</i> : - by Sir John Vanbrugh	<i>Perseus and Andromeda</i> <i>The Toy Shop</i> ; Singing, Dancing Two organ concertos Dancing: <i>La Coquette Francoise</i> - Sallé Two organ concertos <i>Flora</i> : Dancing: <i>Pigmalion</i> - Sallé	KT: <i>Artaserse</i> KT: <i>Artaserse</i>
M/24 T/25	Play: <i>The Busy Body</i> Play: <i>The Way of the World</i> : - Congreve	<i>The Toy Shop</i> : Dancing; Solo on the violin <i>The Toy Shop</i> : Dancing. <i>La Coquette Francoise</i> - Sallé	KT: <i>Polifemo</i>
W/26 Th/27 F/28 S/29	Oratorio: <i>Deborah</i> Play: <i>The Amorous Wife</i> Oratorio: <i>Deborah</i> Play: <i>The Gamester</i>	Two organ concertos <i>The Rape of Proserpine</i> New Organ (?) : Three organ concertos <i>The Toy Shop</i> : Dancing. <i>Shepherd and Shepherdess</i> - Sallé	KT: <i>Polifemo</i>
M/31 April T/1 W/2 Th/3 F/4 S/5 Sun/6	Holy Week: 31 March-5 April Oratorio: <i>Deborah</i> Oratorio: <i>Athalia</i> Oratorio: <i>Athalia</i> Oratorio: <i>Athalia</i> Good Friday: no performances No performances Easter Day	Three organ concertos Three organ concertos Three organ concertos Three organ concertos	KT: <i>Davide e Bersabea</i> KT: <i>Davide e Bersabea</i>
M/7 T/8 W/9 Th/10 F/11 S/12	Play: <i>The Fond Husband</i> Play: <i>King Richard III</i> : [Shakespeare] Oratorio: <i>Athalia</i> Play: <i>King Lear</i> : [Shakespeare] Play: <i>The Constant Couple</i> Oratorio: <i>Athalia</i>	<i>Perseus and Andromeda</i> <i>The What D'ye Call it</i> Dancing. <i>Pigmalion</i> - Sallé Three organ concertos <i>The Toy Shop</i> : Dancing. - Sallé <i>The Lottery</i> : Dancing. <i>La Coquette Francoise</i> - Sallé Three organ concertos	GF: <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> KT: <i>Issipile</i> KT: <i>Issipile</i>

Abbreviations: KT : King's Theatre
 GF : Theatre in Goodman Fields
 YB : York Buildings in Villiers St. (Strand)

The details in Table 6 emphasise particularly the busy conditions in which Handel worked at Covent Garden. It should be noted that:

- the theatre presented performances on six nights each week, so that rehearsal time in the theatre, particularly for operas, was much more limited than that which was available to Handel at the King's Theatre.
- in most weeks Rich's company of actors presented three or four different plays. The mainpiece and afterpiece would have had different casts, to which were often added dancers, singers and instrumentalists for the advertised additional entertainments.
- in weeks 1-4 and 6, the two opera companies performed on different, but consistent, nights; Handel's company on Wednesday and Friday, and the Nobility's company on Tuesday and Saturday. The exception was in week 5 (Holy Week), when there were no plays, but instead, four oratorio evenings from Handel and two from the Nobility.
- Rich was particularly noted for his pantomimes, and two were presented as afterpieces during this period: *The Rape of Proserpine* twice, and *Perseus and Andromeda* four times.⁷⁴
- after the final performance of *Ariodante* on 3 March, Sallé and her troupe were exempt from Handel's works until the first performance of *Alcina* on 6 April. however, Rich required her to dance on two or three evenings each week, with her troupe, as part of the 'additional entertainments', either performing complete ballets including *Pigmalion*⁷⁵ and *La Coquette Francoise*, or individual dances.
- within the period of six weeks there were three performances of *The Beggar's Opera*, two of them simultaneous ones in different theatres, backed against the final performance of *Ariodante*. Note also that on 11 March, Rich contrasted the tragedy *Abramule*, with an afterpiece consisting of a two-act ballad opera, *Macheath in the Shades*.

Within this context, Handel's four organ concertos should be viewed as 'additional entertainments' when the mainpiece was an oratorio.

For the oratorio performances the newspapers simply announced the event, and singled out the organ concertos as a particular attraction. For example:

London Daily Post : 5 March 1735

At the Theatre-Royal in Covent Garden, this present Wednesday will be perform'd an Oratorio, call'd Aesther. With several New Additional Songs; likewise two new Concertos on the Organ.⁷⁶

Newspaper comment on the audience response to any of the oratorios or to the comparative novelty of Handel's playing in his organ concertos, is remarkably absent. It is left to his great supporter and friend, Mrs. Mary Pendarves, to provide a positive assessment:

We [Mrs. Pendarves and her sister, Ann Granville] were together

at Mr. Handel's oratorio Esther.... My sister gave you an account of Mr. Handel's playing here for three hours together; I did wish for you, for no entertainment in music could exceed it, except for his playing on the organ in Esther, where he performs a part in two concertos, that are the finest things I ever heard in my life.⁷⁷

The correspondent in the *Old Whig: or The Consistent Protestant*, in an issue dated 20 March 1735, whilst remarking on the unique nature of the organ concertos, also provided comment that swings from the positive to the caustic:

.... In the flourishing state of the Opera [Nobility company], 'tis no wonder that the other theatres decline. Handel, whose excellent Compositions have often pleased our Ears, and touched our Hearts, has this Winter sometimes performed to an almost empty Pitt. He has lately reviv'd his fine Oratorio of Esther, in which he has introduced two concerto's on the Organ that are inimitable. But so strong is the Disgust taken against him, that even this has been far from bringing him crowded Audiences: tho' there were no other publick Entertainments on those Evenings. His Loss is computed for these two seasons at a great Sum....⁷⁸

(iv) 16 April - 2 July 1735

Handel resumed his opera performances on Wednesday, 16 April, with his second new opera of the season, *Alcina*. this was to prove his season's greatest success with its 18 performances being matched only by *Siroe* (1728) and surpassed only by *Admeto* (1727: 19 perfs.). *Alcina* played for two performances per week for its first five weeks, for one performance in weeks 6-10, for two in week 11, and one in week 12 (Wed., 2 July, the final performance of the season). Handel seemed to be consciously stretching out the number of performances so that his season would outlast that of his rivals, which it did by some four weeks.

Even before the first performance, Mary Pendarves, in a letter to her mother, Mary Granville, expressed her unrestrained approval of the new opera:

Yesterday morning my sister [Ann Granville] and I went with Mrs. Donellan to Mr. Handel's house [in Brook Street] to hear the first rehearsal of the new opera *Alcina*. I think it the best he ever made, but *I have thought so of so many*, that I will not say positively 'tis the finest, but 'tis so fine I have not words to describe it. Strada has a whole scene of charming recitative - there are a thousand beauties. Whilst Mr. Handel was playing his part, I could not help thinking him a necromancer, in the midst of his own enchantments.⁷⁹

Others amongst Handel's supporters were probably responsible for the promotional notice that appeared in the *London Daily Post* on the day of the first performance of *Alcina* (16 April):

Their Majesties intend being at the Opera in Covent Garden

To-night; and we hear the new Opera will exceed any Composition of Mr. Handel's hitherto performed.⁸⁰

The King and Queen displayed their approval by being present again at *Alcina* on 15 May, when the performance was reported as having met 'with great Applause'.⁸¹ Queen Charlotte and other members of the Royal Family also attended *Alcina*'s final performance.

The London newspapers do not mention the singers or the dancers, but it would appear that Marie Sallé personally came in for some criticism. According to Prévost :

Mademoiselle Sallé, who had at first been as favourably received by the English as Farinelli (however, in due proportion to her talents), found herself afterwards bitterly attacked both in verse and in prose, without anyone knowing the reasons which might justify this charge.... The opera *Alcina* was given.... Mlle Sallé had composed a ballet, in which she cast herself for the role of Cupid and took upon herself to dance in male attire. This, it is said, suits her very ill and was apparently the cause of her disgrace.⁸²

Burney, although more restrained in his language than Mrs. Pendarves, was also enthusiastic about the musical quality of this work :

.... few of [Handel's] productions have been more frequently performed, or more generally and deservedly admired, than this opera.⁸³

To those who imagined that Handel's success with *Alcina* was the result of his adopting the new style of Vinci, Porpora and Hasse, Burney observed that :

.... though several airs might be pointed out in which the more modern dramatic style seems to have been followed, yet the best and most favourite airs of the opera were certainly composed by Handel in his own manner, without leaning to that of others, either by accident or design. Indeed, the airs of this opera may be numbered and classed in the following manner: *arie all' antiche*, or in Handel's own style, twenty-one; *alla moderna*, eight; *antica e moderna*, or of a mixed style, three.⁸⁴

By the end of the season 'both companies were in low water'.⁸⁵ In terms of audience support, the Opera of the Nobility would appear to have been leading until Easter 1735, but they were heavily reliant on the drawing power of Farinelli and the popularity of *Artaserse*. Again, until Easter, Handel was clearly the loser; even his own performances in his organ concertos do not seem to have redressed the imbalance in audience numbers. It was only through the 18 performances of *Alcina* that Handel managed to 'regain some ground'.⁸⁶ Mrs Pendarves in a letter to Dean Swift, dated 16 May 1735, expressed her views on the absurdity of the competition between Handel and the rival company:

Our Operas have given much cause of dissension; men and women

have been deeply engaged; and no debate in the House of Commons has been urged with more warmth; the dispute of the merits of the composers and singers is carried to so great a height, that it is much feared, by all true lovers of music, that operas will be quite overturned. I own I think we make a very silly figure about it.⁸⁷

The Farinelli Phenomenon and Handel's Reaction

London's opera audiences had lionised Italian singers in the past, particularly the castrato Senesino, and the two 'rival queens', Francesca Cuzzoni and Faustina Bordoni, each of whom had vociferous supporting 'cliques' during the seasons 1726-8. However, throughout the 1734-5 season, the level of generous comment on Farinelli's astonishing voice from fellow professional musicians, coupled with the wild enthusiasm that bordered on adulation, even hysteria, from some in his audiences, was without precedence. The apocryphal and somewhat blasphemous cry of 'One God, One Farinelli', said to have been shouted by Lady Rich during one of the singer's last performances of the season, may have not been untypical of the ecstatic audience reactions to Farinelli's singing.⁸⁸ Without any doubt, although the Opera of the Nobility had three other star singers in Cuzzoni, Senesino and Montagnana, the singing sensation of this season was Farinelli.

Handel had seen this singer perform in Venice in 1729 in Leo's *Catone in Utica*⁸⁹ and had been so impressed by the castrato's outstanding voice that he had attempted to engage Farinelli for his London company, but without success. Even with this knowledge, Handel could not have foreseen the strength of the fickle audience's response to this extraordinary singer. Just when he decided, or was persuaded, to consider appearing as a solo performer himself is not clear, as there is no direct evidence. However, the following suggested time-scale corresponds to the known facts.

By the end of December, 1734, *Artaserse* had had 14 highly successful performances with ecstatic receptions for Farinelli in particular. During the same period Handel's own operas, which had been revised to include dances for Marie Sallé and her troupe (including the addition of a 'one-act *opéra-ballet* in the French style',⁹⁰ *Terpsicore*), had not enjoyed the reception for which Handel had hoped. He must have been less than pleased when the Nobility company performed his *Ottone*, revised to suit their cast, and with Farinelli singing his only Handel role, but not for that composer. Handel's counter to this artistic affront, the self-pasticcio *Oreste*, survived for only three performances. Handel had pinned his hopes on Sallé being a strong counter attraction to Farinelli, but by the end of 1734 it must have been clear that, although Sallé had a strong London following, it was not great enough to match that of the new castrato.

Since the beginning of the 1733-4 season Handel had employed every operatic and oratorio option to retain or to lure back the novelty-seeking audience. Only one further option remained, to appear himself as a solo performer, and on the instrument for which he already had a reputation as a great improviser, namely the organ. If that instrument was to be promoted in a theatrical situation, it would have to be through concertos offered as additional entertainments in his planned oratorio performances. I suggest then that Handel probably made this decision in December, 1734, and that it is also probable that he commissioned a new 'concerto' organ at the same time.

Handel presented *Ariodante*, the first of his two new operas, in 11 performances, between 8 January and 3 March 1735.⁹¹ During this period it is likely that he also began the composition of *Alcina*, his second new opera, which was completed on 8 April.⁹² Before 5 March, Handel needed also to have completed any changes to *Esther* (advertised as ‘with several New Additional Songs’⁹³), and by 1 April the extensive revisions to the Oxford version of *Athalia*.⁹⁴ However, I suggest that the four organ concertos Op. 4 nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 (HWV 290-293) were also composed during these early months of 1735. In terms of their composition this would not have been an arduous task. That Handel was working at speed and under some pressure is suggested by the fact that of the 16 movements in these four concertos, ten are reworkings of his own music, whilst only six are mostly new.⁹⁵ The most substantial of the four concertos, and the one containing the most newly-composed music, is Op. 4 no. 4 in F major (HWV 292). However, even here, there is one prominent borrowing. The ritornello of this concerto’s first movement reuses material from the rejected coro ‘Questo è il cielo di contenti’ in F major (HWV 34 no. 2b) from Act 1, ii, of *Alcina*, composed during the same months.⁹⁶ HWV 292 is also the only one to contain a completion date in its autograph score,⁹⁷ namely, 25 March 1735, which was only one week before its intended use in the London premiere of *Athalia* on 1 April. If the other three concertos were completed similarly, in order of their required use, this would suggest that HWV 290 and 291 (Op. 4 nos. 2 and 3) were possibly composed/prepared in late February, before their first performance in *Esther* on 5 March, and HWV 293 (Op. 4 no. 5) possibly in March (shortly before HWV 292), before its first performance in *Deborah* on 26 March.

Conclusion

Despite the innovatory nature of these ‘additional entertainments’ in the intervals of his oratorios, neither these concertos nor Handel’s keyboard prowess appear to have produced the audience response for which he probably hoped. In this financially ruinous rivalry there could be no overall winners. Indeed, it is very likely that both companies were in severe financial deficit after two such seasons of ‘cut-throat’ competition. But without records of box office receipts, subscription lists and expenses, it is impossible ‘to make a reliable estimate of the fiscal outcome of either Covent Garden or the Haymarket’.⁹⁸ Two newspaper reports, however, do offer a little insight into the financial position. The first is from the *Ipswich Gazette* (9 Nov., 1734):

We hear that both Operas (occasion’d by their dividing) are at a vast expense to entertain the Nobility & Gentry for the ensuing Season [1734-5]; the Opera House in the Haymarket are reckon’d to stand near £12,000, and Mr Handel at near £9,000 for the Season.⁹⁹

The second is later, from the *Old Whig* (20 March, 1735):

[Handel's] loss is computed for these two seasons [1733-4, 1734-5] at a great Sum.....¹⁰⁰

Judith Milhous, commenting on the finances of the two seasons 1733-5 has observed that:

competition not only hurt daily ticket sales but dangerously eroded the subscription and subsidy base that had produced close to 50% of the income for 1732-33.¹⁰¹

Commenting on the report above in the *Ipswich Gazette* she says:

Dangerous as it is to believe newspaper reports about such matters, these figures sound plausible. The former [£12,000] is very close to my estimate of Handel's budget in 1729-30.¹⁰² The latter [£9,000] might be achieved if singers cost £3,000 and some savings were effected by the availability of John Rich's musicians, house staff, scenery and costumes..... Such economies notwithstanding, the venture apparently lost a lot of money.¹⁰³

Even without detailed financial records, it is possible to observe that the 1734-5 season represents the peak of the financially disastrous rivalry between the two companies, each attempting to outdo the other in terms of novelty or individuality of its productions. With the exception of Handel's and possibly Marie Sallé's most ardent supporters, it would appear that for much of the season the greater number of London's opera-going public, ever changeable in their loyalties, were drawn to the 'glitterati' at the King's Theatre, and to the charismatic Farinelli in particular.

To return to the question on page 1 that prompted this paper: why did Handel, in the middle of a busy theatre season (1734-5), devoted to his own Italian operas and oratorios, decide to compose and perform organ concertos? The answer clearly lies in the nature of the 1734-5 season itself. Faced with such aggressive competition for a limited audience from a company that had four such celebrated virtuosi, Handel must have felt that he was running out of additional attractions with which to reverse his waning audience numbers. Backed into this musical corner with few options left to him, he took the decision to appear himself as both composer and performer. This decision resulted in the introduction of organ concertos as 'additional entertainments' in his oratorios in March-April 1735. They are then very much a product of this competitive situation. Handel was presenting himself as a rival performing personality to Farinelli, but even this was not enough to ensure the financial and artistic advantage which he desired.

ENDNOTES AND REFERENCES

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Deutsch, <i>Handel</i>	Otto Erich Deutsch, <i>Handel: A Documentary Biography</i> (London, 1955; repr. New York, 1974)
Hawkins, <i>History</i>	Sir John Hawkins, <i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i> (5 vols., London, 1776). References are to the edition in 2 vols., published by J. Alfred Novello (London, 1853; repr. New York, 1963)
HHB	Walter Eisen and Margret Eisen, <i>Händel-Handbuch</i> (4 vols., Leipzig, 1978, 1984-6). Vols. I-III contain the <i>Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis</i> to Handel's works, the thematic catalogue prepared by Bernd Baselt, which is the source for the 'HWV' numbers. Vol. IV, <i>Dokumente zu Leben und Schaffen</i> , is a revised version of Deutsch, <i>Handel</i> .
<i>London Stage</i>	<i>The London Stage Part 3: 1729-47</i> ed. Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale, Ill., 1961)
Strohm, <i>Essays</i>	Reinhard Strohm, <i>Essays on Handel and Italian Opera</i> (Cambridge, 1985)
Journals and Periodicals	
EM	<i>Early Music</i>
GHB	<i>Göttinger Händel-Beiträge</i>

HJb	<i>Händel-Jahrbuch</i>
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
ML	<i>Music & Letters</i>
MT	<i>The Musical Times</i>
TN	<i>Theatre Notebook</i>

¹ Donald Burrows, 'Walsh's Editions of Handel's Opera 1-5: the Texts and Sources', in Hogwood and Lucket (eds.), *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (Cambridge, 1983), 94-7.

² HWV 291 has solo parts for violin and 'cello in addition to organ.

³ HWV 293 is a transcription of Handel's recorder and continuo sonata in F major, Op. 1 No. 11 (HWV 369).

⁴ *London Daily Post*, 26 March 1735, as quoted in Deutsch, *Handel*, 384. For the repeat performance on 31 March, the notice was changed to include: 'Also the two Concerto's in the Oratorio of Esther'.

⁵ Lbl. King's MS 317, f. 37^r: 'S.D.G./GFH./March 25/1735': see Burrows and Ronish, *Handel's Autographs*, 297.

⁶ *London Daily Post*, 1 April 1735, as quoted in Deutsch, *Handel*, 385.

⁷ Lbl. RM 20.g.12, f. 8^r: 'Concerto per la Harpa'.

⁸ See:

- W. L. Sumner, 'George Frederick Handel and the Organ', *The Organ*, 38 (April, 1959), 171-79; 39 (July, 1959), 37-44.
- Stanley Sadie, *Handel's Concertos* (London, 1972), 20-36.
- William D. Gudger, 'Handel's Organ Concertos: A Guide to Performance Based on Primary Sources', *The Diapason*, 64/ii (Oct., 1973), 3-5.
- William D. Gudger, 'Handel and the Organ Concerto: What we know 250 years later', in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, eds. S. Sadie and A. Hicks (Basingstoke, 1987), 271-8.
- Pierre Dubois, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Organ and the Collective Psyche: A Vehicle for National Ideals', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 20 (1996), 100-15.
- Donald Burrows, 'Handel as a Concerto Composer', in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. D. Burrows (Cambridge, 1997), 203-4.
- Michael I. Wilson, *The Chamber Organ in Britain, 1600-1830* (Aldershot, 2001), 32-8.
- Peter Holman, 'Did Handel Invent the English Keyboard Concerto?' *MT*, 144 (Summer, 2003), 13-22.

⁹ Donald Burrows, *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, 277.

¹⁰ *Esther* (HWV 50b): Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 = 'My heart is inditing' (HWV 261);

No. 25 (i) (ii) = 'Zadok the Priest' (HWV 258) (i) (iii)

Deborah (HWV 51): Nos. 13, 14 = 'Let thy hand be strengthened' (HWV 259);

No. 29 = 'The King shall rejoice' (HWV 260) (i)

No. 30 (ii) (iii) = HWV 260 (iii), (iv)

- ¹¹ These are Nos. 1, 6, 7, 21, 33, 39 (Alleluia section). In addition, the final four bars of No. 33 'Doleful tidings' are for 'organi' only, with the part fully written out.
- ¹² Michael I. Wilson, op. cit., 38.
- ¹³ Alan Barnes and Martin Renshaw, *The Life and Work of John Snetzler* (Aldershot, 1994), 8, 60-4.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ¹⁵ Dean and Knapp, *Operas I*, 222.
- ¹⁶ Loc. cit.
- ¹⁷ *The London Stage*, 474.
- ¹⁸ Barry Cooper, 'The Organ Parts to Handel's *Alexander's Feast*', *ML*, 59 (April, 1978), 170.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 170-1.
- ²⁰ Deutsch, *Handel*, 675-6: see also William D. Gudger, 'George Frideric Handel's Letter to Charles Jennens', *Music History from Primary Sources. A Guide to the Moldenhauer Archives*, eds. John Newsom and Alfred Mann (Washington, 2000), 228-38.
- ²¹ W. L. Sumner, 'George Frederick Handel and the Organ', *The Organ*, 38 (April, 1959), 171-9; 39 (July, 1959), 37-44.
- ²² W. L. Sumner, *The Organ*, 39 (July, 1959), 39. Sumner cites as his source, Henry Leffler, with the fn. ref. *Notes on English Organs*, ed. C. W. Pearce (London, 1911). Peter F. Williams ['Three Nineteenth-Century Accounts of Organs', *MT*, 103 (August, 1962), 564-5] identified the original source as *An Account of Organs and Organ Builders collected by Henry Leffler, 1800*. He comments that 'this volume, still privately owned, has become well-known through the transcriptions *Notes on English Organs of the Period 1800-1810* (London, 1911) and *Notes on Old London City Churches* (London, 1911) edited by Pearce, who does not always say what information he himself has added or omitted.'
- ²³ Loc. cit.
- ²⁴ *HHB* 4, 386.
- ²⁵ Ellen T. Harris, 'Handel the Investor', *ML*, 85 (Nov., 2004), 566.
- ²⁶ Deutsch, *Handel*, 788-9.
- ²⁷ The Gopsall organ, which was probably built by Thomas Parker (1710-1785), was moved after Jennens' death to Packington Hall (the home of the 3rd Earl of Aylesford, to whose family Jennens was related). Late in the nineteenth century it was moved again to St. James' PC, Great Packington, Warwickshire, which stands within the grounds of the Aylesford estate. 'At some unknown time the organ acquired a second manual with three stops, perhaps by John Snetzler (1710-1785)'. Gudger, *Moldenhauer Archives*, 236.
- ²⁸ *The Beggar's Opera* was first performed at the Drury Lane Theatre on 29 Jan., 1728. It had many successful revivals during the 1730s. It also spawned a host of imitators, beginning in 1729 with *Love in a Riddle* (text: Colley Cibber), *The Village Opera* (text: Samuel Johnson) and *The Beggar's Wedding* (text: Charles Coffey).
- ²⁹ See: Paul Sawyer, 'The popularity of various types of entertainments at the Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden theatres, 1720-1733', *TN*, 24 (1970), 154-63.
- ³⁰ See: Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973, repr., 1986), 132-45; Judith Milhouse and Robert D. Hume, 'J. F. Lampe and English Opera at the Little Haymarket', *ML*, 78 (1997), 502-31; Dean, *Operas II*, 130-2.
- ³¹ Judith Milhouse and Robert D. Hume, 'Box Office Reports for Five Operas Mounted by Handel in London, 1732-4', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26 (1978), 259.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 264.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 265.
- ³⁴ At the time, the Opera of the Nobility was generally known as Senesino's Opera: Dean, *Operas II*, 133 fn. 32.
- ³⁵ Dean, op. cit., 133 'Of the thirteen directors named in [Lord] Delaware's letter [16 June, 1733], nine had been directors or subscribers to the Royal Academy' (loc. cit.). See also, Deutsch, *Handel*, 303-4 [incorrectly dated]; Thomas McGeary, 'Handel, Prince Frederick and the Opera of the Nobility Reconsidered', *GHB* 7 (1998), 174-6 [Table 1].
- ³⁶ D. Burrows, 'Handel and the London Opera Companies in the 1730s: Venues, Programmes, Patronage, and Performers', *GHB* 10 (2004), 151.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 154-5.

- ³⁸ The details are taken from McGeary, 'Handel, Prince Frederick', *GHB* 7 (1998), Table 2, 176. McGeary's source is Alan Yorke-Long, *The Opera of the Nobility* (Oxford University, a dissertation presented for the Osgood Memorial Prize, 1951), 102.
- ³⁹ McGeary, op. cit., 177, comments that 'Yorke-Long cites no attendance in [1735-36] from his sources; but since Frederick's attendance at *Atalanta*, the opera Handel composed in May 1736, for the Prince's wedding, is known from other sources, it is included here'.
- ⁴⁰ Dean, *Operas II*, 274.
- ⁴¹ Maria Segatti must always have been thought of as a 'stopgap' *prima donna* until Cuzzoni returned to London. Segatti remained in the Nobility company during the 1734-5 season as *terza donna*.
- ⁴² The number 33 has been calculated from the details listed in *The London Stage Pt 3: 1729-47*, ed. A. H. Scouten (Carbondale, Ill., 1961). Dean, *Operas II*, 276, lists 28.
- ⁴³ *The London Stage*, 426. The London audiences' ecstatic response to *Artaserse* in Autumn 1734 stands in marked contrast to the audience at the same theatre only twelve months before, also to Metastasio's *Artaserse* and to Hasse's music. Handel had begun his 1733-4 season with three pasticcios, interrupted by a revival of his own *Ottone*. These were *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Metastasio/Vinci; Rome, carnival 1729), *Caio Fabricio* (Zeno/Hasse; Rome, carnival 1732) and *Arbace* (= *Artaserse*, Metastasio/Vinci; Rome, carnival 1730). The first two achieved only four performances each, whilst *Arbace* was a little more successful with eight. Observing the fickleness of audiences, Reinhard Strohm comments that the above details throw 'an interesting light on London audiences with whom two dramas of Metastasio and an opera of Hasse's had proved virtual failures a year earlier under Handel's direction'. R. Strohm, *Essays*, 184.
- ⁴⁴ Lord Hervey to Henry Fox: 2 Nov., 1734: *Lord Hervey and his Friends 1726-38* ed. Earl of Ilchester (London, 1950), 211, in *The London Stage*, 428.
- ⁴⁵ Burney, vol. 2, bk. iv, 788. Robert L. Marshall maintains that 'Son quale nave agitata' is by Giovanni Antonio Giay (1690-1764) and was performed by Farinelli in *Mitridate* (Giay; Venice, 1730) as well as in *Artaserse* (Hasse/Broschi; London, 1734), in 'Farinello and his Repertory', *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel*, ed. R. L. Marshall (Kassel, 1974), 309.
- ⁴⁶ Dean and Knapp, *Operas I*, 441. 'Five [of the arias] were from other Handel operas [including *Riccardo primo*, *Lotario* and *Partenope*] [but] two have not been identified': loc. cit.
- ⁴⁷ *London Daily Post & General Advertiser*: 3 Feb., 1735; in *The London Stage*, 456-7.
- ⁴⁸ *The London Stage*, 469.
- ⁴⁹ Lord Egmont, *Diary*, vol. 2, 174 (London, 1920-23); in *The London Stage*, 488.
- ⁵⁰ Dean, *Operas II*, 274: Covent Garden opened on 7 December 1732.
- ⁵¹ As quoted in Sarah McCleave, 'Dancing at the English Opera: Marie Sallé's letter to the Duchess of Richmond', *Dance Research*, 17 (1999), 28.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 36-7.
- ⁵³ Sarah Lennox, wife of Charles, 2nd Duke of Richmond.
- ⁵⁴ McCleave, op. cit., 36.
- ⁵⁵ As quoted in Andrew Saint, 'The Three Covent Gardens', *MT*, 123 (1982), 827.
- ⁵⁶ Strohm, *Essays*, 183. between 30 October 1733, and 22 January 1734, Handel presented performances of three pasticcios: *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Metastasio/Vinci), *Caio Fabricio* (Zeno/Hasse), and *Arbace* (= *Artaserse*, Metastasio/Vinci).
- ⁵⁷ Strohm, *Essays*, 184.
- ⁵⁸ Dance in Handel's operas was not restricted to the works of the 1734-5 season. He introduced dances into some 16 of his stage works, including *Almira* (1704), *Radamisto* (1720), and *Admeto* (1727): see Sarah McCleave, 'Handel's unpublished dance music: a perspective on his approach to composition', *GHB* 6 (1996), 127-42.
- ⁵⁹ 'She danced in London in the seasons of 1716-19 (as a child)': Dean and Knapp, *Operas I*, 222. She also danced for John Rich in 'three of his seasons at Lincoln's Inn Fields (1725/26, 1726/27, 1730/31) and one at Covent Garden (1733/34)... [where she had] appeared in his popular productions of *Camilla* (1726/27) and *The Beggar's Opera* (1730/31)': Dean, *Operas II*, 275.
- ⁶⁰ *Athalia* had first been performed in Oxford (Sheldonian Theatre), on 10 July, 1733.
- ⁶¹ Donald Burrows, 'Handel and the London Opera Companies in the 1730s', *GHB* 10 (2004), 157.

- ⁶² Loc. cit. : see also Harry William Pedicord, “By Their Majesties Command”: *The House of Hanover at the London Theatre, 1714-1800*, The Society for Theatre Research (London, 1991).
- ⁶³ Thomas McGeary, ‘Handel, Prince Frederick, and the Opera of the Nobility Reconsidered’, *GHB* 7 (1998), 176 [Table 2].
- ⁶⁴ Deutsch, *Handel*, 370.
- ⁶⁵ See Carole Taylor, ‘Handel and Frederick, Prince of Wales’, *MT*, 125 (Feb., 1984), 89-92.
- ⁶⁶ Exceptionally, the Royal Bounty for the 1733-4 season, which was paid in October 1734, was addressed specifically to ‘Mr. Hendell and not to the Academy of Music’, and was intended ‘towards enabling the undertakers of the Opera to discharge their debts’. See entries in the Treasury Minute Book (23 Oct., 1734) and the King’s Warrant Book (29 Oct., 1734) in Deutsch, *Handel*, 370.
- ⁶⁷ John Beard had only recently left the Chapel Royal choir on 29 October 1734 [Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford, 2005), 575]. Cecilia Young was a pupil of Geminiani and had sung in the Arne/Lampe company at the Little Haymarket in 1732 [Burrows, *Handel*, 457].
- ⁶⁸ Dean, *Operas II*, 276-7
- ⁶⁹ *Terpsicore / Il pastor fido* (9-23 Nov., 1734), *Arianna in Creta* (27 Nov.-11 Dec., 1734)
- ⁷⁰ *Oreste* includes arias from *Rodrigo* (1707), *Agrippina* (1710), *Radamisto* (Dec., 1720), *Floridante* (1721), *Ottone* (1723), *Tamerlano* (1724), *Admeto* (1726), *Riccardo primo* (1727), *Siroe* (1728), *Lotario* (1729), *Partenope* (1730), *Sosarme* (1732), *Arianna in Creta* (1734), and the two Italian cantatas, HWV 96 and 162.
- ⁷¹ ‘Dopo l’orrore’; ‘S’io dir potessi’ = ‘Dirti vorrei non son crudele’; ‘Un disprezzato affetto’ = ‘Un interrotto affetto’: Dean and Knapp, *Operas I*, 441.
- ⁷² Burney, *History*, 791-2.
- ⁷³ Details in Table 6 have been compiled from *The London Stage*, 466-78.
- ⁷⁴ Paul Sawyer, ‘The Popularity of Various types of Entertainments at Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Covent Garden Theatres, 1720-1733’, *TN*, 24 (1970), 154-63.
- ⁷⁵ Sallé first performed *Pigmalion* at Covent Garden on 14 January 1734. It was a great success, being repeated 30 times in four months: Dean and Knapp, *Operas I*, 222.
- ⁷⁶ Deutsch, *Handel*, 383.
- ⁷⁷ Letter: Mary Pendarves to her mother, Mary Granville (15 March 1735): Lady Llanover (ed.) *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany*, vol. 1. 530, 532 : in Deutsch, *Handel*, 383-4.
- ⁷⁸ Deutsch, *Handel*, 384. Whilst there were no musical performances backed against the six performances of *Esther*, there were plays with afterpieces and dancing on the same nights. See *The London Stage*, 466-71.
- ⁷⁹ Letter: Mary Pendarves to her mother, Mary Granville (12 April 1735), *Delany*, I, 533f.: in Deutsch, *Handel*, 385-6.
- ⁸⁰ Deutsch, *Handel*, 386.
- ⁸¹ *London Daily Post*, 15 May 1735; in Deutsch, *Handel*, 389.
- ⁸² Prévost, *Le Pour et Contre* (Paris [May ?] 1735), trans. in Deutsch, *Handel*, 390. Sallé was hissed at one of the last perfs. of *Alcina*; she left the company at the end of the season.
- ⁸³ Burney, *History*, 796.
- ⁸⁴ Loc. cit. In fn. (c) Burney lists the arias that he considers belong to each style classification.
- ⁸⁵ Dean, *Operas II*, 278.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 277.
- ⁸⁷ Letter: Mary Pendarves to Dean Swift (16 May 1735): *Delany*, 1, 540: in Deutsch, *Handel*, 390.
- ⁸⁸ R. Paulson, *Hogarth’s Graphic Works* (New Haven, 1965), vol i, 162: ‘[the cry] is said to have been uttered by a lady at a public entertainment to express her rapture at Farinelli’s singing (*Daily Journal*, 6 June 1735, a sonnet “on a Raptur’d Lady”). According to Horace Walpole’s MS note in his copy of *Biographical Anecdotes* (Lewis Coll.), she was Lady Rich (née Elizabeth Griffeth, c.1692-1773) a well-known patroness of operas’. As quoted in Daniel Hertz, ‘Farinelli revisited’, *Early Music*, 18/3 (Aug., 1990), 438; fn. 18, 443.
- ⁸⁹ Lady Rich gave 20 guineas to Farinelli’s benefit performance on 15 March, 1735. Strohm, *Essays*, 170.

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- ⁹⁰ Dean and Knapp, *Operas I*, 221.
- ⁹¹ *Ariodante* was composed between 12 Aug., - 24 Oct., 1734, and completed before Handel's season began on 9 Nov.
- ⁹² The autograph score, Lbl RM 20.a.4, records only the completion date (f. 84^r): see Burrows and Ronish, *Handel's Autographs*, 12.
HHB 1, 410 includes a suggested composition period of 'Februar bis - 8. April 1735'.
- ⁹³ *London Daily Post*, 5 March 1735: in Deutsch, *Handel*, 383.
- ⁹⁴ Donald Burrows, 'Handel's 1735 (London) version of *Athalia*', *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Aldershot, 2000), 193-212.
- ⁹⁵ *HHB* 3 lists the sources of these reworked movements: HWV 290 (p. 25); HWV 291 (pp. 27-8); HWV 292 (p. 30); HWV 293 (p. 32).
- ⁹⁶ *HHB* 1, 410; *HHB* 3, 30.
- ⁹⁷ Lbl King's MS 317, f. 37^r: see Burrows and Ronish, *Handel's Autographs*, 296-7.
- ⁹⁸ Robert D. Hume, 'Handel and Opera Management in London in the 1730s', *ML*, 67 (1986), 356.
- ⁹⁹ Deutsch, *Handel*, 374.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 384.
- ¹⁰¹ Judith Milhous, 'Opera Finances in London, 1674-1738', *JAMS*, 37 (1984), 590.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 588.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 590.