

New Light on Handel's Woodwind Sonatas

David Lasocki

Introduction

How many woodwind sonatas did Handel write? If you had gone into a music shop fifty years ago and asked for all his flute sonatas, you would probably have been given one or two volumes containing a total of seven or eight sonatas—two in E minor, and one each in G minor, A minor, G major, C major, B minor, and F major. If the shop assistant had been unusually well versed in woodwind musicology for the time, he might have pointed out to you that four of these—in G minor, A minor, C major, and F major—were really intended for the recorder, not the transverse flute. As for his oboe sonatas, you would probably have received two—in G minor and C minor. If you had tried to discover the best edition of all these sonatas, you would have ended up consulting vol. xxvii of Friedrich Chrysander's great *Händel-Gesellschaft* edition of the composer's works, published as long ago as 1879. There you would have read that the eight flute sonatas and two oboe sonatas came from a volume entitled *XV Solos for a German Flute, Hoboy, or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin, Opera Prima*, the first edition of which "was published about 1724 at Amsterdam, and was soon copied by John Walsh in London, but 'more correct,' as the title says." Chrysander gave the flute sonatas the numbers 1a, 1b, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11 in this set, and the oboe sonatas 6 and 8. You might also have been able to find three other flute sonatas in A minor, E minor, and B minor, known as the Hallenser Sonatas because they were thought to date from Handel's period in Halle early in his life.

If you had gone into the same shop twenty-five years later, you would have found several changes in this situation. First, there were now at least two editions of the four recorder sonatas actually for the recorder (Moeck, Schott). Sec-

ond, Thurston Dart had published an edition (Edition Schott 10062, 1948) of three more recorder sonatas, one in B^b major and two in D minor, which he called the Fitzwilliam Sonatas, since the manuscript from which they were taken belonged to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the third of these was a transposed version of the B minor flute sonata shorn of its last two movements. Third, Dart and Walter Bergmann had published an edition (Edition Schott 10403, 1948) of another oboe sonata, in B^b major, also from a Fitzwilliam Museum manuscript. Fourth, Hans-Peter Schmitz had edited the eleven "flute" sonatas for the new Handel complete edition (Bärenreiter-Ausgabe 4003, 1955). Schmitz' preface states, astonishingly, that although he had consulted the two of Handel's autograph manuscripts that were known to Chrysander, he had otherwise based his edition not even on the eighteenth-century prints, but on the old Chrysander edition. Also, he only mentions the Fitzwilliam Sonatas in a footnote. Nevertheless, Bärenreiter's beautiful engraving and presentation might well have lulled you into thinking that this edition represented the last word in Handel flute/recorder sonata editions.

In the last few years, however, the accepted ideas about Handel's woodwind sonatas have been radically altered by the work of several scholars, including the English musicologist Terence Best and myself. The challenge has been on two fronts. First, Handel's autograph manuscripts for most of the sonatas have been unearthed, as well as a number of important manuscripts by copyists both within and outside Handel's circle. These have proved to be different in many significant details, including instrumentation and key, from the text in the early prints. Second, the early prints themselves have been re-examined, leading to an amazing tale of

misrepresentation by Handel's main publisher and casting considerable doubt on the reliability of the published text. This recent research is summarized in the remainder of this article.

The Early Prints

Contrary to Chrysander, who obviously never saw a copy, the first edition of Handel's sonatas for a melody instrument and basso continuo appeared under the title *Sonates pour un Traversière, un Violon ou Hautbois con Basso Continuo Composées par G.F. Handel. A Amsterdam chez Jeanne Roger. No. 534*. This edition (hereafter referred to as R) contained not fifteen but twelve sonatas. The instrumentation given on the title page is in fact collective, the instrument for which each sonata is intended being given at the bottom of the first page in each case: *flauto, traversa, hoboy, or violino* (recorder, flute, oboe, or violin), as shown in Example 1:

Example 1.

(No.)	Key	Instrument
1	e	flute
2	g	recorder
3	A	violin
4	a	recorder
5	G	flute
6	g	oboe
7	C	recorder
8	c	oboe
9	b	flute
10	A	violin (probably not by Handel)
11	F	recorder
12	E	violin (probably not by Handel)

(Uppercase letters represent major keys and lowercase letters minor keys.)

Schmitz gives the date of this edition as c. 1722, presumably because Jeanne Roger died in that year, although in the absence of evidence that this was a late publication of hers, he should have said

more accurately c. 1716–22, the years in which she was in business. John Walsh in London sold copies of this edition with his own label pasted over the Roger imprint.

Around 1732, Walsh issued a new edition with his own title page, entitled *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord [sic] or Bass Violin, Compos'd by Mr Handel . . . Note: This is more Corect [sic] than the former Edition*. This edition (hereafter referred to as W) was mostly reprinted from the plates of R. But the figuring was corrected in places, and a few movements were added or moved to their rightful positions. Sonatas 10 and 12 were replaced by two others, in G minor and F major, also for violin, and also probably not by Handel. The twelve sonatas in R, plus the two new violin sonatas, plus the violin sonata in D major that Chrysander called No. 13 but which never appeared in an early print, make up the fictitious XV Solos of Chrysander. Opus 1, the title by which these sonatas are known nowadays, does not appear on either of these title pages, but was first used in a Walsh advertisement of 1734.

The curious thing about R is that, on closer inspection, it turns out not to have been published by Jeanne Roger at all, but by Walsh. This conclusion is supported by several pieces of evidence. First, Jeanne Roger's father, Estienne, published his editions without any plate number on the title page. Then just before he died in 1716, he gave plate numbers to all his leftover stock in an arbitrary manner. From then on, his last editions and the editions of his successors in business, Jeanne and his son-in-law Michel-Charles Le Cène (1723–43), were given plate numbers in chronological order, making it possible to date them. The plate number for the edition of Handel's sonatas is erroneous: it would correspond to a Le Cène edition of 1727 and turns out to belong to the second volume of Vivaldi's Opus 9, published at that time.

Secondly, R was engraved by two of Walsh's engravers, who worked from 1724 and 1726 onwards, respectively, the bulk of their handiwork clustering around 1730. Clearly, if the style of part of the engraving did not appear until at least 1726, Jeanne Roger, who died in 1722, could not have published R.

Thirdly, the watermark on the title page of one of the surviving copies of W is identical to that on the title page of R. Fourthly, the R title page itself, al-

Example 2.

First Edition			Autograph			
Opus 1	Instr.	Key	Ms location	Instr.	Key	Date
1a	---	---	BL	flute	e	c.1720
1b	flute	e	FM	violin	d	1712–20
2	recorder	g	FM	recorder	g	c.1712
4	recorder	a	BL	recorder	a	c.1712
6	oboe	g	FM	violin	g	1712–20
7	recorder	C	FM	(recorder)	C	c.1712
8	oboe	c	FM	oboe	c	c.1712
9	flute	b	FM	(recorder)	d	c.1712
11	recorder	F	FM	recorder	F	c.1712
---	---	---	FM	oboe	B ^b	c.1706
---	---	---	FM	(recorder)	B ^b	c.1712

(BL = British Library; FM = Fitzwilliam Museum)

though very similar to those of Jeanne Roger in lettering and layout, is not identical. In other words, the title page is a fake. Fifthly, W and a slightly later re-edition of it survive in more Continental than British libraries, whereas R, ostensibly published on the Continent, is found in more British libraries than Continental.

All this evidence suggests very strongly that Walsh was solely responsible for the production of R, and that it was issued somewhere between 1726 and 1732. Furthermore, the label that Walsh stuck over the false Roger imprint seems to date from 1732 itself, suggesting that R may have appeared rather closer to 1732 than to 1726. But why should Walsh go to all this trouble? This question will be dealt with later in this article.

The Manuscripts

Chrysander knew the autograph manuscripts of the E minor flute sonata he called No. 1a and the A minor recorder sonata in the library of the British Museum (now British Library). And as long ago as 1893, the catalogue of the music in the library of the Fitzwilliam Museum drew attention to the presence there of the autographs of most of the remaining woodwind

sonatas, although not all are in the same keys or for the same instruments as the well-known versions. Yet until my recent editions of the sonatas, the modern editions of them were based almost entirely on the early prints, not on the manuscripts. As we shall see, this practice produced misattributions of instruments and poor texts. The surviving autographs are listed in Example 2.

The most important contemporary manuscript copy of the sonatas is in the Aylesford Collection in the Manchester Central Library. This collection originally belonged to Handel's friend and librettist Charles Jennens, for whom it was supplied by the group of copyists working under Handel's principal amanuensis, John Christopher Smith the elder. It contains nine of the sonatas in the hand of the reliable Handel copyist known as S2 (see Larsen's book on *Messiah*), without indication of instrumentation. Internal evidence suggests that it was copied, not from the autographs, but from a manuscript similar to that used for the early prints.

Four of the sonatas occur in the manuscript of another copyist, though not one from Handel's circle, in a private collection in London (the owner of which has requested that he remain anonymous). Two sonatas are to be

Example 3.

Opus 1	Key	S2	London	Brussels	Tenbury
1b	d	x			
2	g	x			
4	a	x			
5	F	x	x (G; flute)	x (oboe)	x
6	g	x			
7	C	x	x (recorder)		
8	c	x		x	
9	d	x	x (recorder)		
11	F	x	x (recorder)		

found in a large early-eighteenth-century German manuscript of woodwind and violin sonatas in the Brussels Conservatoire library. Finally, one of the sonatas is found in a copyist's manuscript from St. Michael's College, Tenbury Wells, now on deposit in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. All these manuscripts are summarized in Example 3.

The Manuscripts and Prints Compared

Opus 1/1 in e

Chrysander printed two Handel flute sonatas in E minor, which he labelled 1a and 1b. Only 1b is to be found in the early prints, as the first sonata in both R and W, marked *Traversa Solo*. But, as every flutist must have noticed, this sonata contains a *b* in the second movement (m. 34), whereas the flutes of Handel's day usually went down only to *d'*. It also goes higher (to *f''*) than his other flute sonatas, which reach only to *d'''*. In the autograph and S2 manuscripts, however, the sonata is in D minor, which produces an *a* in the second movement. Neither manuscript indicates instrumentation, although in the autograph the sonata begins in the middle of a page, immediately following a violin sonata. These two pieces of evidence suggest that Handel originally intended this sonata for the violin.

What Chrysander called 1a is the only flute sonata found in Handel's autograph (*Sonata a Travers. e Basso*). It dates from around 1720, a little later than the other woodwind sonatas seem to have been written. It has every appearance of having been put together in a hurry, presumably for a specific performance. The first movement is that of 1b, altered to avoid *e'''* and *f'''* (m. 15–17). The second and fifth movements are transposed versions of the second and fourth movements of the G minor recorder sonata. The fourth movement is again from 1b, rewritten to suit the flute. Even the sole newly-composed movement, the third, in G major, begins with the first three measures or so of the first movement of the D major flute sonata, altered to avoid *e'''*, and contains reminiscences of phrases from the F major and C major recorder sonatas.

I think I may have traced the occasion for which the sonata was put together. Jean Christian Kytch was a Dutch woodwind player who came to London around 1707. He quickly joined the orchestra of the Queen's (later King's) Theatre in the Haymarket, the opera house of the day, where Handel wrote

Example 4.

Autograph

R, W, S2

Flute sonata

an obbligato bassoon part for him in *Rinaldo* (1711). In 1719–20, Kytch was in the service of the Duke of Chandos at Cannons, just outside London, in the famous musical establishment of which Pepusch was musical director and for which Handel wrote his masque *Acis and Galatea* and his Chandos Anthems. Thus the connection between Kytch and Handel was obviously close. Between 1719 and 1723, Kytch — sometimes with other Cannons musicians — supplemented his income by playing in a large number of public concerts in London, details of which have come down to us in newspaper advertisements. He usually played a concerto and/or sonata for the oboe, but twice he played a concerto for the “little flute” (small recorder). In one, and only one, of these concerts he played the transverse flute: on 23 February 1720—in the very year from which Handel's autograph of this sonata seems to date—he is advertised to play “a solo... on the German flute.” Was Kytch's desire to play the flute in a concert, then, perhaps the stimulus for Handel to put together this sonata for him?

Opus 1/2 in g, 4 in a, 7 in C, and 11 in F

There is no doubt that these four sonatas were intended for the recorder. The autographs of the G minor, A minor, and F major sonatas are clearly marked *Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo*. The title page of the autograph of the C major sonata is missing, but the London copyist's manuscript is marked *a Flauto e Cembalo*, and all four sonatas are marked *Flauto Solo* in the early prints.

An examination of the autographs reveals a very significant fact: they are written in a large, bold, neat hand with practically no corrections. This writing was used by Handel around 1712, which dating is confirmed by the paper. R was published c. 1726–32, long after Handel made the fair copy of these four sonatas. Nevertheless, some details in the prints and S2 manuscript of them show that they must have been based on earlier versions of the music. Two illustrations will clarify this point. First, the fourth movement of the G minor sonata begins in the prints and S2 as shown in Example 4, line 2. The autograph, on the other hand, has the reading shown in line 1. When Handel borrowed the movement for inclusion in later works (flute sonata in E minor Opus 1/1a of c. 1720, organ concerto Opus 4/3 of c. 1735–36, and organ concerto Opus 7/5 of c. 1750), he moved the barline so that the movement begins on the half-bar, but otherwise followed the autograph of the recorder sonata (line 3).

Second, Handel changed the entire F major sonata into an organ concerto (Opus 4/5) around 1735. In six significant instances, the prints and S2 on the one hand have readings different from the autograph and organ concerto on the other hand. That the autograph is not only different from but later than the prints and S2 is suggested in one of these instances on musical grounds: the slides in the autograph and organ concerto at m. 14 of the fourth movement are an ornamented version of the

Example 5.

Autograph, Organ concerto

R, W, S2

passage found in the prints and S2 (Example 5).

Throughout these four sonatas, the manuscripts and prints differ on small points of bass figures, rhythms, ornaments, articulations, tempo markings, time signatures, and even notes. S2 sometimes follows the autograph and sometimes one of the prints; occasionally it has still another reading. Generally the autograph is better endowed with articulation marks and appoggiaturas, whereas the prints tend to be marked with more trills (cadential and passing), the only other ornaments indicated. Such trills could easily have been included by Handel in his first version and neglected when he made the fair copies; in any case he almost never indicated obvious cadential trills.

The chronology of the sources of these four sonatas therefore seems to be as follows. First, Handel composed the original version (Q1) around 1712. At about the same time he made a fair copy of the sonatas and in the process recomposed a number of passages. Around 1730 Walsh engraved the sonatas, either from Q1 itself or a source very like it, but making errors. In the early 1730s, probably by 1732, S2 copied the sonatas, apparently from still another source which incorporated some but not all of the changes Handel made for his fair copy. Finally, in 1732, Walsh printed a corrected version of the sonatas, either from the same source as previously but more carefully, or from a different but similar source.

Opus 1/5 in G

Handel's autograph of this sonata is missing. In both R and W it is found in G major and marked *Traversa Solo*. R lacks the fifth movement, and the third movement is replaced by the sixth movement of the B minor flute sonata; these errors are corrected in W. There are no fewer than four copyists' manuscripts: S2 in F major, Brussels in F major marked *Hautb. solo*, Tenbury in F major, and London in G major marked *Traversa*. The question is, what were the original instrumentation and key? Handel used the fifth movement of the sonata in three other places, twice in F major and once in D major. Moreover, S2 presents the versions of 1b and 9 in their original keys, and is of course close to the composer. Thus the original version of this sonata was presumably in F major for the oboe, which attribution is corroborated by the key and range (c' to c''').

What is the origin of the two G major versions for the flute? At first sight the London version seems to have been copied from R, since they both lack the fifth movement. But other features of the two sources suggest that this similarity is merely fortuitous, and that the manuscript was copied from a source other than the prints. Whether it emanated from Handel is another matter. Walsh's desire to publish sonatas for the newly-fashionable flute makes it possible that he, rather than Handel, was responsible for the transposition and new attribution of this sonata. Nevertheless, it fits the flute well, and there is no reason why flutists should not continue to enjoy it.

Opus 1/6 in g

This has previously been considered an oboe sonata, since both R and W marked it *Hoboy Solo*. The autograph, however, has *Violino Solo*, and the compass (down to a) confirms it. In three places in the finale there are pencilled alternatives in Handel's hand, altering to a higher pitch all notes below d', and two of these alternatives relate to the use of the movement in the Overture to his opera *Siroe*, where oboes double the violins. Chrysander incorporated part of two of these alterations into his text in small print, making the sonata playable on the oboe. But there is no doubt that Handel intended it for the violin.

Opus 1/8 in c

The autograph is clearly Handel's original draft, for it contains numerous corrections. It is lacking the fourth movement, which is present in the S2 and Brussels manuscripts. At one point in the second movement Handel wrote half a bar at the end of a line, then forgot to write only half a bar at the beginning of the next line; thus the barring is incorrect for the remainder of the movement. This error is corrected in the other sources. With one small exception, the autograph also lacks bass figures. But the fact that the S2 manuscript has figures, which are generally the same as those in the prints, suggests that Handel may have added figures to a later copy of the sonata (now lost).

Opus 1/9 in b

In R and W this sonata is in B minor and marked *Traversa Solo*. However, the autograph, S2, and London manuscripts are in D minor (range f to d'''), and the London manuscript is marked a *Flauto e Cembalo*. Thus the

sonata was obviously originally intended for the recorder. It has in fact become well known as the third of Dart's so-called Fitzwilliam Sonatas, although for some unaccountable reason he did not print the sixth and seventh movements, claiming, wrongly, that the manuscript "omits the last two movements of what is already an immensely long sonata." Klaus Hofmann has since published an edition of the full seven-movement form (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hanssler, 1974. H.E. 11.224), and of course it occurs in this form in my own complete edition of the recorder sonatas.

This sonata presents the most complex problems in establishing the chronology of the sources and the definitive text. The sources are: an autograph manuscript (M*) in D minor of the sixth and seventh movements only; the autograph manuscript (M) in D minor of the complete sonata, which contains corrections; the S2 manuscript in D minor; the London manuscript (L) in D minor; and the two prints, R and W, transposed into B minor for the transverse flute.

Both M and M* date from around 1712. On musical grounds, M* seems to be the earliest source of all. Its version of the 6/8 seventh movement was written first in 3/8; the time signature still reads 3/8, although every second barline has been crossed out. All the other sources have this movement in 6/8.

The sixth movement provides a fascinating glimpse of the composer's mind at work. The M* version opens with a gesture that is omitted completely from the other versions. There are many repetitions of the figure marked A in Example 6, and there is a rather uninspired episode in the second half of the movement that again utilizes figures A (see Example 7[i]). In writing M, Handel changed one occurrence of figure A towards the beginning of the movement (m. 5; Example 6, line 2) and replaced the episode in the second half with a much shorter and more effective one based on a chromatic scale (Example 7[ii]). He then crossed out all the figures in m. 2-5, substituting for two of them figure B, which is a partly ornamented and partly de-ornamented version of figure A (Example 6, line 3). The movement as found in S2, L, R, and W seems to represent the final stage in the process of composition. In m. 2-5 Handel reinstated figure A but retained figure B, producing the order BABA, which to my ear is the most satisfying solution

Example 6.

(Example 6, line 4). The autograph reading of the parallel passage in the second half of the movement (m. 13-14) has figures BA, which is changed in the other sources to AA, here sounding quite satisfactory because the figures

are in sequence not at the same pitch (Example 8).

Apart from demonstrating Handel's compositional skill with somewhat unpromising material, this detective work suggests that the autograph manuscripts

Example 7.

Example 8.

present only his first thoughts on the sonata. This conclusion is confirmed by other details. L, S2, and especially R and W have better bass figures than M, and also more articulation marks and fewer trills than the autograph, the reverse of the situation with the prints and fair copies of the four recorder sonatas discussed above.

R and W have identical texts for all movements except the sixth. This movement was omitted from the sonata in R and placed instead in the G major flute sonata. For W, therefore, a new plate had to be engraved. In the process some changes crept in, and except in one case R seems to have the better text. Throughout the sonata, apart from minor details, S2 is close to R.




The chronology of the sources of this sonata therefore seems to be as follows. First, Handel composed versions of the sixth and seventh movements (M*) around 1712. Soon afterwards he composed the whole sonata (M), making a number of alterations in the sixth and seventh movements. Around 1730 Walsh engraved the sonata (R), not from M but from a source not extant (P1), which incorporated further alterations by the composer and may have omitted the sixth movement. The transposition to B minor for the flute may also have been found in P1 or may have been made by Walsh. In the early 1730s, probably by 1732, S2 copied the sonata from P1 or a similar source in D minor. Finally, in 1732, Walsh printed an allegedly corrected version of the sonata (W), again from a source similar to P1, restoring the sixth movement omitted in R but making a number of mistakes in re-engraving the plate.

Obviously one has to take into account all the sources in establishing the definitive text of this sonata, yet the primary sources are not the autographs or the later print but S2 and R.

Recorder Sonata in B^b

This, the first of Dart's so-called Fitzwilliam Sonatas, has survived only in Handel's autograph. There is no indication of instrumentation, but Dart's attribution to the recorder makes sense on the evidence of the key and range (f' to e'''). Moreover, when Handel used the third movement again in his A major violin sonata, he changed the key to A major, which would seem to eliminate the possibility that the B^b major version is for the violin. The other possibilities are the flute and the oboe. The key would be suitable for the oboe, but less so for the flute. The range is too high for

the oboe, and all of Handel's genuine flute and oboe sonatas go significantly below *f* (flute sonatas to *d'*, oboe sonatas to *c'* or *d'*).

The autograph is not a fair copy but rather a first draft, upon which a number of minor corrections are visible. One in the third movement is worth mentioning. The two sections of the movement both begin with the rhythm  but thereafter mostly have . Presumably thinking that what he first wrote at m. 23 would make too many eighth-notes in succession, Handel crossed it out and changed it to the  rhythm. Later he reinstated the three eighth-notes on the fourth beat. Because the autograph is not a fair copy, the fact that Handel borrowed all three movements for use in other pieces (first = second allegro in Overture to *Scipione*, 1726; second = third movement of organ concerto Opus 4/4, 1735) is helpful for clearing up some puzzling passages.

Oboe Sonata in B^b

Again the autograph is the only extant source and, as it contains numerous corrections, is clearly Handel's original draft. As in the C minor oboe sonata, there is one place (third movement, m. 11) where he wrote half a bar at the end of a line and forgot to write only half a bar at the beginning of the next line.

Flute Sonata in D

In the same Brussels manuscript that contains copies of Handel's C minor and F major oboe sonatas are two flute sonatas, in G major and D major, attributed to him. On stylistic grounds they are clearly not by Handel, and the G major sonata in particular is of extremely poor quality. However, the manuscript also contains a flute sonata in D major attributed to a "S[igno]r Weisse." The composer in question is no doubt Johann Sigismund Weiss (c. 1690–1737), the brother of the famous lutenist Sylvius Leopold Weiss, since one of the other "Weisse" pieces in the manuscript is ascribed to "Jean Sigm. Weisse." Yet it is highly unlikely that Weiss had anything to do with this sonata. Its first movement begins with a de-ornamented version of the first six measures of Handel's D major violin sonata, known as Opus 1/13 after Chrysander but in fact written around 1749–51 (autograph in British Library). Its second movement begins with the same theme as the first movement of Handel's newly rediscovered early trio sonata (c. 1707) for two alto recorders

and basso continuo in F major, and its fourth movement begins with the same theme as the third movement of that trio sonata (which in turn was obviously the inspiration for the fourth movement of the F major recorder sonata). Its third movement is a rather chromatic recitative-like bridge, typical of the experiments Handel was making in his early Italian period (1706–07) — compare the slow movement of the G major violin sonata, for example. The writing throughout is entirely in Handel's early style.

Thus, although the manuscript is neither attributed to Handel nor in the hand of a copyist from his circle, it is almost certainly a previously unknown flute sonata by him. Its existence would certainly help to explain one puzzle concerning these sonatas. The third movement of the E minor flute sonata, Opus 1/1a, in G major, written c. 1720, begins with the first three measures or so of the D major violin sonata, written 1749–51. Yet the violin version is apparently earlier, since notes 5–10 of m. 2 of the flute version have been taken down an octave to avoid the *e'''* on the flute. It would now appear that Handel first wrote these measures in the D major flute sonata around 1706–07. When he needed a flute sonata in a hurry around 1720, he gained inspiration for its third movement from the opening of the first movement of the D major flute sonata, not to mention bits of the F major and C major recorder sonatas. When he wanted to compose a violin sonata around 1750, he again sought inspira-

tion in the early D major flute sonata, which he still had lying around in a drawer, this time retaining more of its opening theme but ornamenting it slightly (see Example 9).

Walsh and the Early Prints Reconsidered

Having examined all of the authentic woodwind sonatas by Handel in some detail, we can now return to the question of why the London publisher John Walsh went to the trouble of pretending that his first edition of some of them was in fact being published by Jeanne Roger in Amsterdam and selling copies with his own label pasted over the false imprint. First, let us examine the relations between Handel and Walsh at this period. Around 1720 Jeanne Roger did issue an edition of some music by Handel (keyboard suites) that had not previously been published, the engraving of which was actually done by Walsh. Soon afterwards, and perhaps because of this circumstance, Handel obtained from King George I a privilege of copyright to protect him against pirated publications. He then replied by publishing some of the keyboard suites himself, "to prevent the public being imposed upon by some surreptitious and incorrect copies of some of them that have got abroad," and Walsh sold this official edition with his label pasted over the imprint. In the early 1720s, most of Handel's new operas were engraved and printed by one John Cluer "for the Author." But Walsh must have been on good terms with Handel, for he too was allowed to issue some operas as

Example 9.



"Published by the Author" with Handel's privilege. Then in the mid-1720s Walsh started to issue pirated arrangements of and selections from Handel's operas. After one such publication, the authorized edition declared pointedly that "if J. Cluer's name is not in the title page of those works, they are spurious editions, and not those corrected and figured by Mr. Handel." From 1725 onwards, however, Handel did not bother to use his privilege any more, presumably aware of its worthlessness against Walsh and other publishing pirates. Finally, from 1730 onwards, Walsh settled down as Handel's regular official publisher. It was evidently a case of "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em."

The circumstances of publication of the woodwind sonatas were therefore probably as follows. Around 1730, Walsh obtained copies of ten sonatas by Handel without the "consent or approbation" (as the privilege calls it) of the composer. He wanted to publish works for the newly-popular transverse flute as well as the ever-popular violin and (to a lesser extent) oboe. Five of the sonatas he had obtained were for the recorder (four in early drafts which antedate the autograph fair copies of c.1712) but because of the keys and range could be played on the flute or violin as they stood. He left four of them alone but transposed the D minor sonata into B minor for the flute. (Alternatively, but less likely, Handel may already have transposed the sonata himself.) Three of the sonatas were for the violin (in D minor, A major, and G minor). He transposed the first into E minor for the flute, left the second alone, and labelled the third for the oboe. The remaining two sonatas were for the oboe (in F major and C minor). He transposed the first into G major for the flute and left the second alone. Presumably to round out the customary set of twelve sonatas, he added two violin sonatas by another composer in what he thought would pass for Handel's style.

Since he wanted to improve his relations with the composer, or to continue newly-won good relations, he was reluctant to assume full responsibility for perpetrating this motley collection and wondered how he could shift some of the blame elsewhere. He remembered the arrangement he had had with Jeanne Roger around 1720 whereby he engraved the music of Handel's keyboard suites and she issued the edi-

tion with her own title page, and he must have known that she had died in 1722. Since she was no longer around to protest, what better than to pretend that she had published this new edition, but then to put his own label over the imprint and sell the sonatas himself, as if he had merely imported them from Amsterdam (forbidden by Handel's royal privilege but more defensible)? He therefore drew up a title page in Jeanne Roger's style — and, since he was primarily interested in the flute, violin, and oboe market, he did not mention that four of the sonatas were for the recorder, but relegated the instrumentation to the bottom of the first page of each sonata — invented a plate number, and had the sonatas engraved by his current engravers. (He adopted the same plan for the trio sonatas, Opus 2.) A couple of years later, having established good relations with Handel for a while, he could own up to the edition. So he engraved a new Walsh title page and took the opportunity to correct some of the mistakes of the earlier edition. Handel had by then presumably given up hope of monitoring Walsh's activities and did not bother to insist that the remaining mistakes be corrected.

Spurious and Doubtful Sonatas

Dart's Second Fitzwilliam Sonata in d

Dart claimed that this sonata had been "assembled by the editor from widely scattered copies of its movements" in three of the Fitzwilliam Handel volumes. In fact it is no sonata at all. Its first two movements are the early versions of the seventh and sixth movements (in that order) of the proper D minor sonata. Its third movement is a minuet found, without indication of instrumentation, in another volume of the manuscripts, and which Dart changed from 6/8 to 3/4 meter, presumably in order to be able to write a *double* for it. This curious deception seems to have passed unnoticed until Hofmann's edition of the Fitzwilliam Sonatas.

Hofmann's Third Fitzwilliam Sonata in G

In his edition of the Fitzwilliam Sonatas for recorder, Hofmann included the B^b major and (proper) D minor sonatas, and also a third sonata, in G major, which had never previously been ascribed to the recorder. Fuller — Maitland and Mann had given it to the harpsichord, which, as Hofmann rightly points out, cannot be true, because there are bass figures in the second movement. Hofmann believes it to be in fact for alto

recorder, on two grounds. (1) The lowest note of the piece is g', whereas all Handel's sonatas for flute, oboe, and violin go below this note (and indeed below f'). (2) A passage at the end of the first movement makes a "surprising" move up to g' instead of going down to g', in order, so he believes, to avoid the low f'', which would have been difficult to play on the recorders of the time. He concedes that the sonata would make far greater technical demands on the performer than would Handel's other recorder sonatas — the writing is higher (e''' is common) and the first movement consists of an unbroken chain of sixteenth notes, causing breathing problems for a recorder player — but is still not deterred from making the attribution of the sonata to the recorder. What he cannot explain satisfactorily is a genuinely surprising passage in the third movement where the melody instrument has the notes b''' c''' d''' e'''. He suggests that Handel really meant to write a''' b''' c''' d''' or e''' f''' g''' a'', ignoring the fact that Handel deliberately changed clef to accommodate this unusually high passage. Besides, Hofmann's suggested alternatives are still unplayable or unthinkable on the alto recorder of the day. The English recorders of the period tended to be weak in the high register, and in fact Handel avoids e''' and f''' in his recorder sonatas (except for one instance in the A minor sonata). A few late Continental fingering charts went up to a'', b'', or even c'', but never to d''' or e'''. That a recorder sonata going up even to a''' would have been written in Italy c.1707 seems unlikely. The only melody instrument of the time that was capable of performing this very high passage is the violin, which could also have coped easily with the technical demands of the first movement. The sonata has been assigned to the violin by Terence Best for his forthcoming editions (Hällische-Händel-Ausgabe, Ser. IV, Vol. 18; Faber Music, London).

Hinmenthal's Flute Sonata in D

This sonata was published under Handel's name in Bärenreiter's *Hortus Musicus* series in 1935 (No. 3), following a manuscript in the Erzbischöfliche Bibliothek in Paderborn with the title *Traversiere Solo Sig. Hendel*. However, it was republished in 1961 as a sonata by Quantz after the discovery that it had been published as No. 5 of *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass*

Violin Compos'd by Sigr. Quantz [sic] by Walsh & Hare in London in 1730. Quantz indirectly confirms his authorship of the sonata. In his *Lebenslauf* (1755) he mentions that this Walsh edition is very inaccurate and contains one spurious sonata (No. 3). Thus, by implication, No. 5 is authentic. (The sonata is, incidentally, also ascribed to "Mr Aug. Stricker" in the Brussels manuscript mentioned above, a reflection of the unreliability of attributions in eighteenth-century manuscripts in general and this manuscript in particular.)

The Hallenser Flute Sonatas

These three sonatas, in A minor, E minor, and B minor, were published as Nos. 1-3 of a collection entitled *Six Solos, Four for a German Flute and a Bass and Two for a Violin with a Thorough Bass... Compos'd by Mr Handel, Sigr. Geminiani, Sigr. Somis, Sigr. Brivio by Walsh in London in 1730.* The second sonata opens with the first two movements of the C minor oboe sonata, which was composed c.

1712, and must be later than the oboe version since it presents Handel's final version of the text. Thus it cannot be a work that Handel composed in Halle. Its third movement is not found elsewhere. The last movement is a minuet, found elsewhere in G minor, which was later published in the second set of keyboard suites (1733). The arrangement is careless and presumably did not have Handel's authority. The other two sonatas exist in no other source and must, especially the first, be open to doubt on stylistic grounds.

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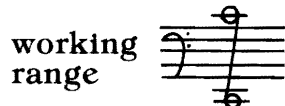
I should like to express my sincere appreciation for the enormous help given me during my work on the Handel woodwind sonatas by Dr. Walter Bergmann, Terence Best, The Hon. Gerald Coke, Tim Crawford, Prof. Edgar Hunt, Prof. Betty Bang Mather, Guy Oldham, and the staffs of the British Library, Brussels Conservatoire library, Central Library (Manchester), Fitzwilliam Museum, Library of Congress, and St. Michael's College (Tenbury Wells).

This article was published in German in Tibia, No. 3/80, pp. 166-76.

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