

ORNAMENTATION AND THE AFFECTIONS IN THE OPERA ARIAS OF GEORGE  
FRIDERIC HANDEL

by

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## ABSTRACT

The performance of opera arias composed by George Frideric Handel in our modern day is complicated by the necessity of including improvised embellishments, which were a standard component of the eighteenth-century genre of *opera seria*. Furthermore, discussions concerning the concepts of historical authenticity and performance practice muddle the issue of preparing Handel's music for presentation. In recent years scholars have prepared ornamented versions of select Handel arias in consultation with eighteenth-century performance practice treatises and other contemporary materials that provide considerable insight into the purpose and execution of ornamentation in performances Handel himself oversaw. What remains relatively unexplored, however, is the relationship between eighteenth-century embellishments and the Baroque affections, or passions. The affections, or passions, were rationalized emotional states derived from the Greek and Latin doctrines of rhetoric and oratory which Baroque composers sought to evoke and express in their music. This study explores the correlation of Baroque affections with ornaments as a legitimate approach to the composition of embellishments for Handel's opera arias. The tradition of rhetoric, the conventions of late Baroque Italian *opera seria* as a form, and the practice of ornamentation as an integral part of these conventions are examined. The study also provides a survey of eighteenth-century literature concerning the relationship of the musical representation of affects and ornamentation. Lastly, a review of Handel's operatic career and of the plots of the *Agrippina*, *Rinaldo* and *Rodelinda* will provide a context for the preparation of "affective" ornamented versions of six arias from these operas. In closing, a brief discussion of the early music movement and of the debates surrounding the use of the term "authentic" in relation to historic performance practices will illuminate the relevance of the relationship between affect and ornament to twenty-first century performances.

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CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION  
Literature Review

Over the past fifty years many of the world's major opera companies have begun to include one or more of George Frideric Handel's (1685-1759) operas in their repertoire, and the return of these works to the stage raises a number of important practical, historical, theoretical, and aesthetic issues. From the perspective of the singer, one of the most significant practical issues concerns the preparation of ornamentation for the arias. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was expected that in performance both singers and instrumentalists would improvise appropriate ornamentation which did not appear in the score. Many sources add that in the first half of the eighteenth century, the period from which Handel's operatic compositions date, both the technical prowess and the artistry of singers attained a degree of superiority unheard of previously. While there are a number of reputable eighteenth-century treatises concerning instrumental performance, similar documents which provide contemporary insight into singing style are sadly few and far between. Those that do exist can be combined with more recent scholarship on this topic to offer invaluable insight into a historically informed performance of Handel's opera literature, and, more specifically, the ornamentation of this repertoire. Yet the more recent scholarly resources fall short in one respect: they fail to emphasize the connection between appropriate embellishments for the arias and the aesthetic issues that were of primary significance to the musicians of the eighteenth century. Specifically, none of these works stresses the importance of the affections and the affective connotations of ornamental figures in the eighteenth century.

We understand today that one of the features which defined the music of the Baroque period was its obligation to move the affections.<sup>1</sup> The affections, often referred to as the passions, were rationalized emotional states that Baroque composers sought to evoke and express in their music. Furthermore, twentieth-century historians have discovered a link between the affections and ornamentation in eighteenth-century writings that relate specifically to singing. For example, a description of encores demanded of a castrato soloist at the Teatro San Carlo in Naples in 1758 recounts that “the singer aims to surpass himself at each repetition by the variety of gradations which he introduces into the trills, modulations and whatever belongs to the expression.”<sup>2</sup> Improvised embellishment is clearly connected here with expression, suggesting that vocal ornamentation in the eighteenth-century tradition had a communicative power which extended beyond the display of vocal agility. Despite this, a survey of the extant scholarly literature relating to Handel’s arias reveals a lack of emphasis on these aesthetic considerations.

One might expect the most valuable insight into this topic to come from the autograph sources of Handel’s own ornamentation, of which there are only four that survive from the eighteenth century. They include three arias from Handel’s opera *Ottone* of 1723 and the aria “O caro mio tesoro,” the only surviving fragment from the opera *Amadigi di Gaula* of 1715.<sup>3</sup> In reference to the latter, Winton Dean comments that “the manuscript deserves to be published in a critical edition; the vocal line could then serve as a model for singers and conductors who wish to recreate the correct style of embellishment in Handel’s operas.”<sup>4</sup> My principal objection to this suggestion is that “O caro mio tesoro” is a love song sung by the heroine Oriana

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<sup>1</sup> Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey Gall, “Wer nicht sprechen kann, der kann noch viel weniger singen: Prosodic Structure and Free Ornamentation in Handel’s Italian *Da capo* Arias,” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 26 (2002): 93.

<sup>3</sup> Winton Dean, ed., *Three Ornamented Arias* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); and Winton Dean, “Vocal Embellishment in a Handel Aria,” in *Essays on Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 22-29.

<sup>4</sup> Dean, “Vocal Embellishment in a Handel Aria,” 29.

to Amadigi in Act I of the opera, and therefore represents a unique emotional situation that evolves in this particular plot. While the score may provide some clues as to musical characteristics Handel associated with amorous sentiments, it does not provide the modern conductor or singer with a broader perspective on the aesthetic preoccupations of Handel's era which would have motivated his selection of musical features when composing opera arias representing other emotions or moods. Furthermore, Dean himself points out that "a part so embellished by Handel suggests exceptional circumstances, such as a projected performance by an artist with little experience of the Italian operatic style."<sup>5</sup> This remark is significant because it reveals that Handel generally left the ornamentation of the arias to his singers. Frederick Neumann concurs, writing "in matters of the trill as well as all other ornaments, small and large, Handel in true Italian manner showed his indifference to matters of detail by delegating most of the executive authority to the performer."<sup>6</sup> Neumann also adds

A performer who is worried about the right way of rendering Handel's trills (or any of his other ornaments) can take comfort from the thought that Handel in his grand manner most likely did not greatly care one way or the other, provided the result was musical and not pedantic, affected, or otherwise in bad taste. Had he greatly cared, he would have been more specific.<sup>7</sup>

This commentary suggests that an understanding of the Italian operatic style and the aesthetic preoccupations of early eighteenth-century performers is arguably more central to a study of Handelian performance practice than the dissection of his extant scores. Thus the ornamented arias from Handel's *Ottone* also provide only limited insight in this area of research.

Another contemporary score which should be mentioned is the aria "Vil trofeo d'un alma imbelli," from Handel's *Porro*, found in one of many manuscripts in the late Gerald

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<sup>5</sup> Dean, "Vocal Embellishment in a Handel Aria," 23.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music: with Special Emphasis on J.S. Bach* (Princeton, NJ: University Press, 1978), 358.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



Coke's Handel collection.<sup>8</sup> Although it is not an autograph Handel manuscript, the watermark proves that it dates from the mid 1730s and the primary copyist has been identified as one of Handel's own. This score contains two small cadenzas for the final cadence of the A section and two optional cadenzas for the end of the B section. However, the cadenzas were added to the manuscript by another hand, and it is not known how much later they were penned.

Although H. Diack Johnstone argues that these cadenzas appear genuinely Baroque, there is no way of guaranteeing their authenticity.<sup>9</sup> Another ornamented score is the aria "Sciolta dal lido" from Alessandro Scarlatti's opera *La Griselda*, containing embellishments sung by one of Handel's own soloists.<sup>10</sup> George Buelow has determined that this score is the only extant example of Faustina Bordoni's vocal improvisation that is recorded exactly as she sang it.

Apart from this, only a few ornamented vocal scores survive from the eighteenth century, and most of these have been edited and printed in Franz Haböck's *Die Gesangkunst der Kastraten* and in Hellmuth Christian Wolff's *Originale Gesangs improvisationen des 16 bis 18 Jahrhunderts*.<sup>11</sup> Two further sets of notated cadenzas dating from the first half of the eighteenth century complete the list of primary source material containing contemporary examples of ornamentation.<sup>12</sup> As with the embellishments of the autograph Handel arias, however, all these examples of ornamentation are only relevant in specific dramatic contexts, and cannot be presumed to provide a broader perspective on the aesthetic preoccupations of Handel's era which would have guided a musician's choices in performance.

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<sup>8</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, "A flourish for Handel," *Early Music* 29 (November 2001): 619-621.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 623.

<sup>10</sup> George Buelow, "A Lesson in Operatic Performance by Madame Faustina Bordoni," in *A Musical Offering: Essays in Honor of Martin Bernstein*, eds. Edward H. Clinkscale and Claire Brooks (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), 81-82.

<sup>11</sup> Franz Haböck, *Die Gesangkunst der Kastraten* (Vienna: Wien Universal-Edition, 1923); Hellmuth Christian Wolff, *Originale Gesangs improvisationen des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Verlagsdruckerei Hans Gerig, 1972).

<sup>12</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, "Embellishing Eighteenth-Century Arias: On Cadenzas," in *Opera and Vivaldi*, ed. Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1984), 260.

In light of this, eighteenth-century keyboard transcriptions of Handel opera arias that display ornamented melodies are of even less significance in the current study. One of these is a recently discovered transcription of the aria “Cara sposa” from Handel’s *Radamisto*.<sup>13</sup> This arrangement of the aria contains sections of written-out continuo realization and ornamentation that are attributed to Handel. Others include the virtuoso harpsichord arrangements of Handel arias prepared by the London harpsichordist, organist and composer William Babell (c.1690–1723), that appeared in the first collected edition of Handel works published by Friedrich Chrysander and his successor Max Seiffert.<sup>14</sup> Yet, the ornaments in these transcriptions are no less context-based than those of the other arias, with the added disadvantage that they were never intended to be sung.

Of greater assistance are the anecdotes relating to Handel’s own singers, especially those written by individuals who witnessed one or more of their performances, for they provide insight into the styles of vocal embellishment that Handel, presumably, deemed acceptable. In his autobiography, the German flautist Johann Joachim Quantz includes candid commentary on the vocal talents of three of Handel’s most famous singers, the alto castrato Francesco Bernardi, called Senesino, and the sopranos Francesca Cuzzoni and Faustina Bordoni.<sup>15</sup> The Italian castrato and teacher of singing, Giovanni Battista Mancini (1714-1800) also provides personal accounts of the technical skills of these same singers in his *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (Vienna, 1774).<sup>16</sup> Since Charles Burney (1789) we have enjoyed detailed

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<sup>13</sup> Patrick J. Rogers, “A Neglected Source of Ornamentation and Continuo Realization in a Handel Aria,” *Early Music* 18 (February 1990): 83-89.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick J. Rogers reports that “William Babell published several virtuoso [keyboard] arrangements” of Handel arias which were included in Friedrich Chrysander’s complete edition of Handel’s works (73: 210ff). See Rogers, “A Neglected Source of Ornamentation,” 83 and 89.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Nettl, “The Life of Herr Johann Joachim Quantz, as Sketched by Himself,” in *Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 292, and 312-13. The original is in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 1 (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützens, 1755; facs. edn. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970).

<sup>16</sup> Giambattista Mancini, *Practical Reflections on Figured Singing*, trans. and ed. Edward Foreman (Champaign, IL: Pro Musica Press, 1967), 8, 10-11.

information on Handel's London casts.<sup>17</sup> This may be complemented by a more recent account of the abilities of some of Handel's leading soloists by C. Steven Larue, based on his analysis of the scores composed for them. His text focuses on the soprano Margherita Durastanti in addition to the three soloists mentioned above.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, an essay by Winton Dean reprints a portion of a letter by a Monsieur Pierre Jacques Fougereux, who traveled to London in 1728, heard three performances of Handel operas at the King's Theatre, and recorded his opinion of Senesino, Faustina, and Cuzzoni.<sup>19</sup> By all accounts Handel did not permit excesses of embellishment, and was renowned for enforcing his own directions.<sup>20</sup> The most famous illustration of this is the story of Handel's response to Cuzzoni when she initially refused to sing the aria "False imagine" that he had written for her:

Having one day some words with Cuzzoni on her refusing to sing *Falsa imagine* in OTTONE; Oh! Madame, (said he) je sçais bien que Vous êtes une veritable Diablesse: mais je Vous ferai sçavoir, moi, que je suis Beelzebub le *Chéf* des Diables. With this he took her up by the waist, and, if she made any more words, swore that he would fling her out of the window. It is to be noted, that this was formerly one of the methods of executing criminals in some parts of Germany; a process not unlike that of the Tarpeian rock, and probably derived from it.<sup>21</sup>

Among the more recent scholarly works which aim to assist the modern singer in the preparation of embellishments for Handel arias is a 1996 thesis by Karen Brittain, who attempts to define stylistically appropriate Handelian singing.<sup>22</sup> She guides her reader through a review

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<sup>17</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), 673-838.

<sup>18</sup> C. Steven Larue, *Handel and His Singers: The Creation of the Royal Academy Operas, 1720-1728* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 83, 115, 160-64.

<sup>19</sup> Winton Dean, "A French Traveller's View of Handel's Operas," in *Essays on Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 38-44.

<sup>20</sup> "We know from Burney that [Handel] ruled his establishment with a strong hand and rehearsed his singers individually and carefully at the keyboard. It is likely that on these occasions he let them know what they could and what they could not do. Also, we have a few documents which point to Handel's preference for, or at least to his satisfaction with, a very modest vocal embellishment style." Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 555.

<sup>21</sup> John Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1760), 110-11.

<sup>22</sup> Karen Anne Greunke Brittain, "A Performer's Guide to Baroque Vocal Ornamentation as Applied to Selected Works of George Frideric Handel" (D.M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1996).

of scholarly resources and offers her own embellished readings of arias from Handel's cantata, opera, and oratorio literature. However, Brittain's discourse on eighteenth-century aesthetics principally consists of a brief description of "The Doctrine of the Affections," which heads her discussion of eighteenth-century Italian Baroque vocal ornamentation. Although she does comment that "through ornamentation, singers could enhance the *Affekt* of arias and particular words," Brittain fails to reference any contemporary sources in support of this point. In fact, the only source she acknowledges for these few paragraphs on the affections is an essay titled "The 'Authentic' Performance of Baroque Music," by Putnam Aldrich from a collection of essays published in 1957.<sup>23</sup> Far from an authoritative explanation of the affections and the place they held within eighteenth-century aesthetics, Aldrich's essay is a survey of the most significant issues that must be confronted by a modern musician seeking to perform Baroque music. In some of Brittain's subsequent definitions of the most standard Baroque ornaments she makes reference to their affective connotations, yet here again only a few sources are cited in support of her claims. Mancini is referenced for his definition of the affective potential of the appoggiatura, and no affective connotation is presented for the trill or the mordent. A quotation from the late eighteenth-century German composer and writer on music, Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804), serves as Brittain's only authority on the mood to which *passaggi* are suited, an unusual choice of reference given that Hiller was a proponent of the *galant* style. Moreover, Brittain identifies the primary affect of the arias she has chosen to embellish, yet she does not outline her criteria for their selection, nor refer to the affective terms which would have been employed and recognized by eighteenth-century musicians. The affects, then, do not play a significant role in Brittain's discussion of appropriate ornamentation for Handel's vocal music, nor are they treated comprehensively at any point in her study.

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<sup>23</sup> Putnam Aldrich, "The 'Authentic' Performance of Baroque Music," in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison by His Associates* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Music, 1957), 169-71, cited in Brittain, "A Performer's Guide," 21.

A work that focusses on the relationship between music and the affections in the eighteenth century is the 1956 thesis of Frederick T. Wessel titled “Affektenlehre in the Eighteenth Century.” Wessel surveys many of the famous music treatises and essays on musical criticism from the eighteenth century and summarizes their revelations about the connections between music and the affections. In this discussion he devotes considerable space to ornamentation as one of the more significant elements of eighteenth-century melody, and concludes from the treatises that in the 1700s the reigning affect of a composition could direct the choice of embellishments, and the embellishments in turn helped to create the affect.<sup>24</sup> In addition Wessel compiles tables summarizing the affective purposes of individual ornaments and other compositional elements such as tonality, meter, and instrumentation as they are set out in the eighteenth-century literature.<sup>25</sup> Although he includes a section on vocal music, Wessel fails to reference the treatise considered to be the standard on singing for much of the eighteenth century, *Opinioni de cantori antichi, e moderni* (*Opinions of Singers Ancient and Modern*, Bologna, 1723), written by the castrato and teacher of singing, Pierfrancesco Tosi (1653-1732). Instead his discussion consists mainly of quotations from other eighteenth-century authors who agreed that vocal music had a greater potential to move the affections because of the addition of text. Perhaps in response to this, Wessel analyzes the compositional components of an aria from the opera *Der Jahrmarkt* by Georg Benda (1722-1795) according to the rules of affective composition summarized in his tables. Although this material provides an overview of eighteenth-century theories regarding the affective connotations of music, Wessel’s research does not concern itself primarily with evidence associated with vocal performance issues.

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<sup>24</sup> Frederick T. Wessel "Affektenlehre in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1956), 91.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 51-207.

In summary, it is clear that comprehensive insight into the aesthetic motivations behind early eighteenth-century ornamentation practices cannot be gleaned from the autograph scores of Handel arias, or from the other extant contemporary scores. Furthermore, the existing research which has been conducted on the ornamentation of Handel's opera arias and the relationship between music and the affections in the eighteenth century fails to explain these incentives. Hence I undertook a study focusing on the manifestation of the affections in ornamental figures of the period and the significance of affective embellishment for the musicians of Handel's era that will provide a notable contribution to the literature. In addition, a performance practice that stresses the primary importance of the affections in the determination of embellishment is arguably one that is historically sound. Therefore a performer wishing to offer a historically-informed performance of Handel's music may find that this perspective facilitates the task of composing ornaments for the performance of his opera arias in our modern day. My original ornamentations of Handel arias from the operas *Agrippina*, *Rinaldo* and *Rodelinda* will provide examples of the practical application of this knowledge. Lastly, the contemporary presentation of this repertoire will be discussed in light of recent discourse surrounding the concept of historically-informed performance practice. Insight from historians and twenty-first-century performers in the field will elucidate the relevance of the affections to ornamentation in modern performances.

## Rhetoric, Music, and the Affections

The aesthetic concept of the affections in music is related to the literature on oratory and rhetoric by ancient Greek and Roman writers, principally Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian.<sup>26</sup> The principal tool of the orator was rhetoric, or the discipline of persuasion, and from the second century BC rhetoric was taught as part of a comprehensive instruction in the art of public speaking.<sup>27</sup> A discourse that follows the principles of rhetorical structure comprises five steps: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *actio* or *pronunciatio*. *Inventio* deals with the determination of subject areas, or *loci topici*, and the gathering of relevant information. *Dispositio* concentrates on the logical arrangement of that material into six parts: *exordium* (introduction), *narratio* (factual account), *propositio* (the proposed argument or point to be made), *confirmatio* (supporting arguments), *confutatio* (rebuttals), and *peroratio* or *conclusio* (concluding comments). The third step, *elocutio*, transforms the concepts into words and sentences whose expression is related to four virtues: correct syntax (*puritas*, *latinitas*), clarity (*perspicuitas*), figurative language (*ornatus*), and suitability of form to content (*aptum*, *decorum*). The final two structural steps, *memoria* and *actio* or *pronunciatio*, involve the memorization of the speech, but also its refinement, including the addition of appropriate gestures and inflections.<sup>28</sup>

The musical adaptation of rhetorical terminology and processes that emerged in music treatises after the Renaissance was not an imitation of rhetoric so much as an acknowledgment of the fact that since antiquity both disciplines had shared the common purpose of expressing

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<sup>26</sup> Blake Wilson, "Rhetoric and music [§1, 1]," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 18 August 2007).

<sup>27</sup> Lesley and Roy A. Adkins, *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome* (New York: Facts on File, 1994), 211.

<sup>28</sup> Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 66-67.

the affections.<sup>29</sup> The word “affection” is derived from the Greek term *pathos*, which was understood to mean “an ailment or malady resulting in a passive condition of the person.” The Latin equivalent of *pathos* is *affectus*, whose definition “is rooted in the verb *adficere*, meaning to work upon, influence, affect.”<sup>30</sup> Ancient physiology had determined that the affections were derived from various combinations of the four principal humors of the body (blood, phlegm, bile, and black bile), which corresponded to the four temperaments (sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic), the four elements (air, water, fire, and earth), and the four primary qualities (hot and moist, cold and moist, hot and dry, and cold and dry).<sup>31</sup> Hence in his *Orationi e discorsi* (1597), Lorenzo Giacomini (1552-1598) defined an affection as “a spiritual movement or operation of the mind in which it is attracted or repelled by an object it has come to know” which he believed resulted from an imbalance in the vapors, or humors, that flow continually throughout the body.<sup>32</sup> He referred to changes in condition as a movement of the affections, and added that once a shift had been triggered, the body and mind generally remained in the same affection until some new stimulus caused an alteration in the combination of humors.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, in his *Passions de l’âme* (1649), René Descartes proposed that the site of the passions, or affections, was the meeting point of the physical body and soul, and he defined the passions as “perceptions or sensations [*sentimens*] or emotions of the soul which are referred [*rapporte*] particularly to it, and which are caused, maintained and strengthened by some movement of the spirits.”<sup>34</sup> Deborah Brown and Calvin Normore comment that “the

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<sup>29</sup> Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 139.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>31</sup> Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), 51-2.

<sup>32</sup> Lorenzo Giacomini, “De la purgatione de la tragedia,” in *Orationi e discorsi* (Florence: ne le case de Samartelli, 1597), 38; quoted in Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 3-4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>34</sup> “Des perceptions, ou des sentimens, ou des émotions de l’ame, qu’on raporte particulièrement à elle, & qui sont causées, entretenues et fortifiées par quelque mouvement des esprits.” René Descartes, *Les Passions de L’Ame*, with an introduction by Geneviève Rodis-Lewis (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1955), 86; Deborah Brown and Calvin Normore, “Traces of the Body: Cartesian Passions,” in *Passion and Virtue in*



physiological account Descartes [gives] of how the passions are generated is testimony to the state of medicine in the seventeenth century.” They offer the following summary of his explanations:

A typical aetiology of a passion starts with the objects of the external senses moving the filaments of the nerve endings (for example, the optic nerve) causing the animal spirits (the most rarefied bits of matter the body manufactures from blood through the beat of the heart) to travel along the nerve pathways to the brain where they cause further movements. The motions thus caused in the brain are as diversified as the objects which cause them. These bodily processes can also send the animal spirits to the muscles of the heart causing changes which affect the circulation of the blood and give rise to some of the physiological symptoms of the passions. For example, the pallor and trembling of someone afraid is caused by the constriction of the arteries when the animal spirits gather in and swell the heart muscles.<sup>35</sup>

Convinced of the persuasive power of music, the theorists of the seventeenth century believed that the compositional traits of a musical work could influence the flow of the animal spirits within an individual, resulting in feelings and sensations that correspond to given emotions.<sup>36</sup> Consequently the representation of affections became the aesthetic goal of the majority of composers of all nationalities, and alongside rhetoric, was widely discussed in the treatises of the time.<sup>37</sup> In the preface to *Le nuove musiche* (1601), for example, Giulio Caccini wrote that the harmony of a solo voice, accompanied by a simple stringed instrument, had as much force to move the affect of the soul as madrigals.<sup>38</sup> The English writer Charles Butler, in

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Descartes, ed. Byron Williston and André Gombay, with an introduction by Byron Williston (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2003), 101.

<sup>35</sup> “Concevons donc icy que l’ame a son siege principal dans la petite glande qui est au milieu du cerveau, d’où elle rayonne en tout le reste du corps par l’entremise des esprits, des nerfs, & mesme du sang, qui participant aux impressions des esprits, les peut porter par les arteres en tous les members. Et nous souvenant de ce qui a esté dit cy-dessus de la machine de nostre corps, à sçavoir que les petits filets de nos nerfs sont tellement distribuez en toutes ses parties, qu’à l’occasion des divers mouvemens qui y sont excitez par les objets sensibles, ils ouvrent diversement les pores du cerveau. Ce qui fait que les esprits animaux contenus en ses cavitez entrent diversement dans les muscles, au moyen de quoy ils peuvent mouvoir les members en toutes les diverses façons qu’ils sont capables d’estre meus; & aussi que toutes les autres causes, qui peuvent diversement mouvoir les esprits, suffisent pour les conduire en divers muscles.” Descartes, *Passions de L’Ame*, 91-2; Deborah Brown and Calvin Normore, “Traces of the Body: Cartesian Passions,” in *Passion and Virtue in Descartes*, 95-6.

<sup>36</sup> Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 52.

<sup>37</sup> George J. Buelow, “Affects, theory of the,” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 18 August 2007).

<sup>38</sup> “armonia d’una voce sola, sopra un semplice strumento di corde, che havesse havuto tanta forza di muovere l’affetto dell’animo quanto quei madrigali.” Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (Firenze: Appresso I mare scotti, 1601), 1-2.

*The Principles of Musik* (1636), asserted “Musik is the Art of modulating Notes in voice or instrument. The wich, having a great power over the affections of the minde, by its various Moodes produceth in the hearers various effects.”<sup>39</sup> Later in his text Butler added that

Good Voices alone, sounding onely the Notes, ar sufficient, by their Melodi and Harmoni, to delight the ear: but beeing furnished with soom laudable *Ditti* (Musik), they becom yet more excellent... This numerous *Ditti*, or Rhyme applyed to the Note, the Philosopher equalizes to the *Melodi* it self, for Resembling and Moving manners and affections.<sup>40</sup>

German musicians were the most systematic in their codification of musical-rhetorical theories, writing music tutorials that related rhetorical principles to the art of musical composition, a practice referred to as *musica poetica*. This term was first used as a title for a compositional treatise by Gallus Dressler in 1563.<sup>41</sup> However Joachim Burmeister (1564-1629) is credited with compiling the most comprehensive list of musical-rhetorical figures in his treatises *Musica autoschediastike* (1601) and *Musica poetica* (1606).<sup>42</sup> For more than a century a number of German writers, following Burmeister, borrowed rhetorical terminology for musical figures and also invented new musical gestures comparable, but unrelated, to the rhetorical principles. This use of musical figures was therefore largely a German phenomenon, yet the many conflicts in terminology among the various authors indicates that there was no single “theory of musical figures” for Baroque and later music. Furthermore, though they may not have recorded their practice as conscientiously as the Germans, composers in other countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made use of similar figurative techniques.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting: with the two-fold Use thereof, [Ecclesiastical and Civil]* (London: John Haviland, 1636), 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>41</sup> Gallus Dressler, *Praecepta musicae poetica* (Magdeburg, 1563), referenced in Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 20.

<sup>42</sup> Wilson, “Rhetoric and music.”

<sup>43</sup> George J. Buelow, “Rhetoric and music [§1, 2-4],” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 18 August 2007).

Thus through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, rhetorical terminology influenced every aspect of music composition and performance practice, and the authors of this era spilled much ink in the discussion of this relationship. For example, in volume three of his *Syntagma musicum* (1618) the German theorist Michael Praetorius wrote in his “Instruction for Choirboys” that

The orator’s job is not just to decorate his speech with beautiful, pleasing, and lively words and marvelous figures, but also to articulate clearly and to move the affections by speaking now with a rising voice, now a falling one, now more loudly, now more softly, now with fullness of voice. In the same manner, the singer cannot merely sing, but must sing artfully and engagingly, so that the heart of the listener is touched and his affections are moved, thus allowing the piece to achieve its intended purpose.<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, the French mathematician, philosopher and theorist Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) wrote in his *Harmonie universelle* (1636-7) that composers must be like orators who use everything at their disposal to please and to influence their audience.<sup>45</sup> Mersenne added that a musician must imitate the figures of rhetoric in the presentation of a musical subject.<sup>46</sup> A few years later the German Jesuit theologian, music theorist, and mathematician, Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680), compiled an encyclopedia on the theory and practice of music called *Musurgia Universalis* (1650) and titled one of its sub-sections “Musurgia Rhetorica.”<sup>47</sup> In this part of his compendium Kircher related the three structural steps of

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<sup>44</sup> “Gleich wie eines *Oratoris* Ampt ist, nicht allein eine *Oration* mit schönen anmutigen lebhaftigen Worten unnd [sic] herrlichen *Figuris* zu zieren, sondern auch recht zu *pronunciiren*[sic], und die *affectus* zu *moviren*: In dem er bald die Stimmen erhebet, bald sincken lesset, bald mit mächtiger und sanffter [sic], bald mit ganzer und voller Stimme redet: Also ist eines Musicanten nicht allein singen, sondern Künstlich und anmütig singen: Damit das Herz der Zuhörer gerühet, und die *affectus* bewegt werden, und also der Gesang seine Endschaft, dazu er gemacht, und dahin er gerichtet, erreichen möge.” Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), 3: 229; translated by Jeffrey Kite-Powell in Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III* (Oxford: University Press, 2004), 214.

<sup>45</sup> “*Theoreme XXII: Declarer ce doit faire le Compositeur quand il veut composer quelque piece de Musique. Il faut premierement qu’il s’imagine qu’il est comme un Orateur qui n’oublie rien en son oraison de tout ce qu’il croit luy pouvoir servir pour plaire à ses auditeurs, & pour les émouvoir à ce qu’il veut.*” Marin Mersenne, *Traité de L’Harmonie Universelle* (Paris: Guillaume Baudry, 1636-7), 181.

<sup>46</sup> “La Retorique [sic] enseigne comme il faut disposer le sujet pour le mettre en Musique, & apprend au Musicien comme il faut imiter les figures de Retorique [sic], en faisant divers passages, diminutions, fugues consequences, &c.” Mersenne, *L’Harmonie Universelle*, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis siue Ars Magna Consoni et Dissoni in X Libros Digesta* (Rome:

rhetoric, *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*, to musical composition.<sup>48</sup> He also discussed *ornatus*, a virtue of *elocutio*, from a musical perspective, relating it to the musical-rhetorical figures:

Our musical figures are and function like the embellishments, tropes, and the varied manners of speech in rhetoric. For just as the orator moves the listener through an artful arrangement of tropes, now to laughter, now to tears, then suddenly to pity, at times indignation and rage, occasionally to love, piety, and righteousness, or to other such contrasting affections, so too music [moves the listener] through an artful combination of the musical phrases and passages.<sup>49</sup>

Much like Kircher, the German Baroque musician and theorist Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) explained compositional method through rhetorical procedures and terminology in his treatise *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739). In the second part of this work Mattheson encouraged the musician to approach composition like an orator, following the process of *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elaboratio*, and *decoratio*.<sup>50</sup> In his discussion of the *decoratio* he further stated

If we finally say yet a word on embellishment, then it will be most important to mention that such depends more on the skillfulness and sound judgment of a singer or player than on the actual prescription of the composer of melody. One must add some ornamentation to one's melodies, and the abundant figures or tropes from rhetoric can really do good service here, if they are well arranged.<sup>51</sup>

While all of the above quotations are useful for their illustration of a tradition relating rhetorical structures to musical composition, the remarks from Kircher and Mattheson are particularly significant because they highlight a connection between verbal ornamentation (*ornatus* and *decoratio*) and musical embellishment. This is solid evidence in support of a

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ex Typographia Haeredum Francisci Corbeletti, 1650), 141.

<sup>48</sup> Buelow, "Rhetoric and music."

<sup>49</sup> Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 107.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>51</sup> "Wenn wir endlich noch ein Wort von der Ausschmückung machen müssen, so wird hauptsächlich zu erinnern nöthig seyn, dass solche mehr auf die Geschicklichkeit und das gesunde Urtheil eines Sängers oder Spielers, als auf die eigentliche Vorschrift des melodischen Setzers ankömmt. Etwas Zierath muss man seinen Melodien beilegen, und dazu können die häuffigen Figuren oder Verblümungen aus der Redekunst, wenn sie wol angeordnet werden, vornehmlich gute Dienste leisten." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 356-57; trans. in *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 480.

modern performance practice that takes into account the rhetorical, or affective, connotations of individual ornaments as outlined by the eighteenth-century authors. However, in order to fully comprehend the significance of such commentary, one must first understand how the emergence of *opera seria* as the pre-eminent genre of the Baroque period resulted in an unprecedented focus on ornamentation. An explanation of the *opera seria* form and of the performance practices associated with it is consequently integral to the current study.

## CHAPTER 2

### OPERA SERIA AND LATE BAROQUE ORNAMENTATION

Though Italian in origin, the *opera seria* form was international in its scope and style, and operas of this type were performed with enormous success throughout the Baroque period not only in Venice, Rome, and Naples, but also in other European centers of opera, such as Vienna, Dresden, and London.<sup>52</sup> Spectacle was a significant component of *opera seria* and productions frequently involved the use of machinery and special effects. On occasion even open flame and live animals were included, though not always to great success.<sup>53</sup> Set changes were made in full view of the audience, and the curtain was not lowered until the end of the performance.<sup>54</sup>

The most significant element of *opera seria*, however, was its emphasis on virtuoso solo singing, as evidenced by the predominance of the recitative-aria form within the genre. The plot of each opera was driven by extended passages of text set as secco recitative, and at moments of tension in the plot the recitative accompaniment was sometimes enhanced by the addition of strings and continuo instruments. These recitatives would introduce and follow the arias, wherein the characters would give voice to the emotions aroused by the actions of the plot. Scenes generally began with several characters, each of whom would sing a recitative and

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<sup>52</sup> Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era, from Monteverdi to Bach* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1947), 243.

<sup>53</sup> On March 16, 1711, the *Spectator* published a critical review of Handel's *Rinaldo* by Sir Richard Steele in which the author commented on the use of pyrotechnics and the release of a flock of sparrows into the theatre during the performance: "I cannot in this Place omit doing Justice to the Boy who had the Direction of the Two painted Dragons, and made them spit Fire and Smoke: He flash'd out his Rasin in such just Proportions and in such due Time, that I could not forbear conceiving Hopes of his being one Day a most excellent Player. I saw indeed but Two things wanting to render his whole Action compleat, I mean the keeping his Head a little lower, and hiding his Candle...The Sparrows and Chaffinches at the Hay-Market fly as yet very irregularly over the Stage; and instead of perching on the Trees and performing their Parts, these young Actors either get into the Galleries or put out the Candles." Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1955), 37.

<sup>54</sup> Anthony Hicks, "Handel," *Grove Music Online*, <http://grovemusic.com> (accessed 28 September 2007).

aria and then leave the stage, which led to the expression “exit” arias. This process would repeat itself throughout the opera, culminating in a *coro*, which, unlike the nineteenth-century opera chorus, was a choral number sung by all the soloists at the very end of the opera.<sup>55</sup> The basic form of *opera seria* did not vary much from composer to composer in the eighteenth-century, and neither did the libretti, which were frequently recycled from earlier stage productions. Handel obtained many of his texts from works he had heard performed in Italy, and they often underwent considerable revision in order to accommodate the *opera seria* form and the demands of his particular cast at the time of writing. Consequently, the *opera seria* genre was sometimes criticized for its illogical plots, as proven by a letter dated 1725 in which a Signor Riva writes that “the operas performed in England, fine though they are as regards the music and the voices, are so much hackwork as regards the verses.”<sup>56</sup> Despite his critical tone, Riva’s commentary provides a first-hand description of the *opera seria* form as it existed in London in the second decade of the eighteenth century:

If your friend wishes to send some [librettos], he must know that in England they want few recitatives, but thirty arias and one duet at least, distributed over the three acts. The subject-matter must be straightforward, tender, heroic, Roman, Greek, or even Persian, and never Gothic or Longobard.<sup>57</sup>

With strict conventions limiting the artistic scope of the eighteenth-century opera composer, Handel’s operas stood out from those of his contemporaries because of the quality of the music and its ability to capture the emotional states of the characters in the context of a highly schematic form.<sup>58</sup>

As mentioned above, in *opera seria* the characters primarily gave voice to their emotions in the arias. These were almost entirely cast in *da capo* form, a two-part form in which the first part is in the tonic key and the second in a contrasting key, followed by a return

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, 185.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>58</sup> Hicks, “Handel.”

to the opening section which is generally not written out.<sup>59</sup> Johann Mattheson, in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* of 1739, provides a useful contemporary definition of this aria form:

The aria is otherwise correctly described as a well-arranged song, which has its own particular key and meter, is usually divided into two parts, and concisely expresses a great affection. Occasionally it closes with a repetition of the first part, occasionally without it. In the first instance it is called *Da capo*, i.e., from the top, or actually from the head.<sup>60</sup>

It was in the “repetition of the first part” that the singers were given the opportunity to display their technical skills and inventiveness by adding ornaments to the written melodic line. In this genre the *da capo* aria became the vehicle for vocal bravura which vied with the interpolated divisions of the contemporary instrumental concerto.<sup>61</sup> Florid ornamentation was facilitated by the fact that the words of the arias were repetitive and concentrated, as Mattheson indicates, on a single emotion or affection.

This emphasis on embellishment was typical in the eighteenth century and was integral to the very definition of Baroque music:

In all the fields of baroque art, ornamentation played a conspicuous role. In architecture, sculpture, and painting ‘baroque exuberance’ – a combination of passionate expression, luxuriant design, and abundant decorative elements – became the antithesis of classical balance, restraint, and simplicity...The musical baroque received, in part at least, its designation because its creations were animated by a similar anticlassical fervor, and because the rich melismas of their meandering melodies and the wealth of their decorative figurations formed a fitting counterpart to the prevailing style in the visual arts.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), 8.

<sup>60</sup> “Es ist sonst die Arie, damit wir sie ordentlich beschreiben, ein woleingerichteter [sic] Gesang, der seine gewisse Ton-Art und Zeitmaasse [sic] hat, sich gemeinlich in zween Theile scheidet, und in einem kurtzen Begriff eine grosse Gemüths-Bewegung ausdrückt. Bisweilen wird mit Wiederholung des ersten Theils, bisweilen auch ohne dieselbe geschlossen. Im ersten Fall heisst es *Da capo*, d. i. von vorn, oder eigentlich vom Kopffe.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 317; translated by Ernest C. Harriss in Johann Mattheson’s *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 432.

<sup>61</sup> Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, 243.

<sup>62</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 3.



These so called “decorative figurations” consisted of fixed ornaments (also called graces or *agréments*), and less-prescribed melodic material which was added to the original melody.<sup>63</sup>

The treatises of the eighteenth-century frequently recognize the division of embellishment into these two principal categories. In Johann Joachim Quantz’s *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* (1752), for example, he refers to essential graces (*wesentliche Manieren*) and to arbitrary variation (*willkürliche [sic] Veränderungen*).<sup>64</sup> However, the methods and notation of ornamentation differed considerably depending on which national school a composer belonged to.

In the course of the seventeenth century the three leading national styles developed three different methods of ornamentation: the Italian notated hardly any embellishments at all, leaving them to the performer; the French devised a system of symbols as a sort of shorthand for the *agréments*; the Germans, finally, tended to write out the ornaments in full and availed themselves also of some of the French symbols. The French and German methods both curtailed the improvisatory additions of the performer, typical of Italian practice.<sup>65</sup>

While the question of what the scholar Frederick Neumann calls “Handel’s musical citizenship” is a complicated one, Neumann acknowledges the “unmistakable Italian vintage of Handel’s ornamentation.”<sup>66</sup> Consequently,

Like the Italians, Handel left to the performer both the freedom and the responsibility of adorning slow movements and *da capo* arias with diminutions and cadential improvisations. This freedom extends of course to small ornaments as well.<sup>67</sup>

In the category of fixed or “small” ornaments, those most commonly used by Handel’s soloists and other eighteenth-century vocalists were appoggiaturas and trills. The term

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<sup>63</sup> David Lasocki, “Late Baroque Ornamentation: Philosophy and Guidelines,” *American Recorder* 29 (1988), 7.

<sup>64</sup> “Das VIII Hauptstück: Von den Vorschlägen, und den dazu gehörigen kleinen wesentlichen Manieren; Das XIII Hauptstück: Von den willkürlichen Veränderungen über die simplen Intervalle,” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voss, 1752), 77 and 118; see Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 91.

<sup>65</sup> Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, 375.

<sup>66</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 171.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

appoggiatura comes from the Italian *appoggiare* (to lean), and designates a dissonant auxiliary note which resolves to a consonant harmony. Around 1710 Italian composers began to employ the French unmetrical little notes to indicate one-note graces, such as the appoggiatura, in their scores.<sup>68</sup> The denominations of these little notes varied from composer to composer, and were not meant to be interpreted literally.<sup>69</sup> Therefore the actual length of the appoggiatura may vary, but as a general rule it borrows half the length of the note to which it resolves in duple time, or two thirds in triple time. Its duration can also be influenced by whether it is performed as a pre-beat or main note appoggiatura, the choice of which Handel appears to have left to the discretion of the performer, except in a few cases of main note cadential appoggiatura-trill combinations (for a musical example of this ornament, see Appendix 1).<sup>70</sup> Appoggiaturas most frequently fill in the interval of a descending third at cadence points.<sup>71</sup>

The trill is an ornament used principally to decorate dominant harmony at cadences, and is defined as a more or less quick and unmeasured alternation between a main note and an upper auxiliary a tone or semitone above.<sup>72</sup> As one of the most common ornaments, trills were rarely marked in eighteenth-century scores, but are indicated in our modern day by the symbol *tr* written above the staff over the note to be trilled. Given that there has been much debate in our modern era as to whether the trill should begin on the main note or on the upper auxiliary, it seems pertinent at this point to refer to Pierfrancesco Tosi's *Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni* as it is the only Italian vocal pedagogy text which survives from Handel's day. In his chapter on the trill Tosi defines eight different versions of this ornament, but a careful reading reveals that there are in fact two principal types.<sup>73</sup> The first of these is the prepared trill,

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>71</sup> Robert Donington, *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 181-82, and 187.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 195.

<sup>73</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 346.

referred to above as the cadential appoggiatura-trill combination because it is most often employed at final cadences. The second is the unprepared trill which begins on the main note and is dynamically emphasized (for musical examples of these two types of trills, see Appendix 1).<sup>74</sup> While some may question the veracity of these rules as applied to Handel's vocal music, Neumann remarks that "whether Handel's trills start mostly with the main note is uncertain but probable in view of his Italianate practices; that they often did can be considered certain."<sup>75</sup>

"Free" embellishment generally refers to diminutions, or *passaggi* in Italian, which consist of passing notes and smaller note values that fill in the gaps of an original melody.<sup>76</sup>

Tosi devotes an entire chapter to *passaggi* writing

Although a *Passaggio* does not in itself possess the power to produce that sweetness which penetrates [the soul], it should be carefully considered as that thing which can help us admire the felicity of a flexible voice in a singer, and thus it is of the highest urgency that the master teach it to the scholar, so that he may possess it with facile velocity and just intonation, so that when it is well executed in its proper place it brings forth applause and renders the singer universal, that is, able to sing in every style.<sup>77</sup>

It is interesting that Tosi begins this section with a remark as to the ineffectiveness of *passaggi* in moving the soul of the listener. Eliciting an emotional response from one's audience is clearly a priority, yet at the same time Tosi believes that *passaggi* can not be counted amongst the most affective ornamental devices. Nevertheless, he also makes the point that *passaggi* form an essential component of the singer's art. As to their correct execution, Tosi writes

The master should teach the scholar that lightest movement of the voice in which the notes which make it up [the *passaggio*] are all articulated with equal

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 356.

<sup>76</sup> Martha Elliott, *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 75.

<sup>77</sup> "Benchè il Passaggio non abbia in se forza, che basti al produrre quella soavità, che s'interna, nè sia considerato per lo più, che per ammirar in un Cantante la felicità d'una voce flessibile, nondimeno è di somma urgenza, che il Maestro nè instruisca lo Scolaro, acciò con facile velocità, e giusta intonazione lo possegga, che quando in sito proprio è ben eseguito esige il suo applauso, e fa il Cantore universale, cioè capace di cantare in ogni stile." Pierfrancesco Tosi, *Opinions of Singers Ancient, and Modern or Observations on Figured Singing*, trans. Edward Foreman (Minneapolis, MN: Pro Musica Press, 1986), 30.

proportion and moderate detachment, so that the *passaggio* is neither too tied nor excessively beaten [too legato nor excessively marcato].<sup>78</sup>

He also warns against the excessive use of *passaggi* for vain display, writing that “their too great quantity generates annoyance; and the annoyance, displeasure and hatred in the end.”<sup>79</sup>

At this point it should perhaps be noted that this is but one of many such remarks which pepper Tosi’s treatise, a fact which has led historians to comment that Tosi, aged seventy at the time that he was writing, belonged to an older school of singing that favoured a more conservative approach to ornamentation.<sup>80</sup> The twenty-first century student of Baroque performance practice should bear in mind that much of the literature inherited from the eighteenth-century was written in a similarly prescriptive tone, in reaction to the actual performance style of the day. The historically informed modern embellishment of *opera seria* literature might therefore arguably combine the techniques described in the prescriptive and descriptive comments from Tosi and other eighteenth-century authors.

Vocal cadenzas also fall in the category of free ornamentation, and are generally sung at cadence points on the syllable preceding a trill. They afford a singer the opportunity to show off their strengths, provided the rules of good voice leading and composition are maintained.<sup>81</sup> Tosi writes that, “every aria has (at least) three cadenzas, all three final.”<sup>82</sup> He intimates that these are to be sung at the end of the first part, second part, and following the final interpolation, or ornamented repeat of the first part of a *da capo* aria. Tosi again cautions that

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<sup>78</sup> “il Maestro deve insegnar allo Scolaro quel moto leggierrissimo della voce in cui le note, che lo compongono sieno tutte articolate con equal proporzione, e moderato distaccamento, affinchè il Passaggio non sia, nè troppo attaccato, nè battuto soverchio.” Ibid., 31.

<sup>79</sup> “la troppo quantità genera noja, e la noja disprezzo, & odio al fine.” Ibid., 35.

<sup>80</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 553.

<sup>81</sup> Elliott, *Singing in Style*, 77.

<sup>82</sup> “Ogni Aria (per lo meno) ha tre Cadenze, che sono tutte e tre finali.” Tosi, *Opinions of Singers Ancient, and Modern*, trans. Foreman, 81.

in the performance of cadenzas, “good taste does not reside in the continual velocity of a voice running without guidance and without cantabile.”<sup>83</sup> He suggests instead that it is to be found

In the cantabile, in the sweetness of the portamento, in appoggiaturas, in art, and in the intelligence of runs, going from one note to another with singular and unexpected stratagems, with tempo rubato, and on the movement of the bass, which are the principal qualities indispensably most essential for good singing.<sup>84</sup>

Neumann translates “cantabile” as “songfulness,” and explains “the movement of the bass” as the “unexpected deceptive play with note values within the strict movement of the bass.”<sup>85</sup>

Tosi’s advice may be bolstered by that found in the treatise on singing titled *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (Vienna, 1774) by the castrato Giovanni Battista Mancini. Although dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, Mancini draws on his experience performing through the first half of the eighteenth century. As to those elements which form a perfect cadenza, Mancini writes:

First: it must be free and secure in modulation; without this freedom one runs risk of beginning the trill in another key. Second: it is necessary to know how to rule and measure the breath. Third: it would be a great advantage to be gifted with a creative mind.<sup>86</sup>

His first point relates to the common practice of concluding a cadenza with a trill, as mentioned above, while the second refers to the necessity of good breath control in the execution of a cadenza. As to the third point, Mancini adds that those who are lacking in imagination should

Choose a motive from the cantilena of the music of the aria, and words which are in the same style of tenderness, love, or whatever they should be, and not betray them with a cadenza which belongs to an agitated aria.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> “il buon gusto non risiede nella velocità continua d’una voce errante senza guida, e senza fondamento,” Ibid., 81-82.

<sup>84</sup> “ma nel cantabile, nella dolcezza del Portamento, nelle Appoggiature, nell’Arte, e nell’Intelligenza de Passi, andando da una nota all’altra con singolari, e inaspettati inganni con rubamento di Tempo, e sul MOTO de’ Bassi, che sono le qualità principali indispensabilmente essenzialissime per cantar bene,” Ibid., 82.

<sup>85</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 552.

<sup>86</sup> Giambattista Mancini, *Practical Reflections on Figured Singing*, trans. and ed. Edward Foreman (Champaign, IL: Pro Musica Press, 1967), 54.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 55.

Thus Mancini encourages the singer to connect the material of their cadenza with the emotions expressed in the aria.

Finally, it must be noted that ornamentation was also required in the recitatives which preceded the *da capo* arias. This primarily involved the use of the *appoggiatura*, which was considered obligatory, especially at cadences. It generally assumed one of two forms depending on the circumstances; the repeat of the tonic where the voice dropped a fourth to the dominant, or the raising of the penultimate note by a tone where the voice dropped a second or third to the tonic. The *appoggiatura* served an expressive purpose, which was to articulate the sense of the verbal phrases and to add variety to the typical stresses of Italian verse.<sup>88</sup>

Given that Baroque singers were expected to complete the written score through the appropriate use of these ornaments in performance, it is easy to gauge the influential position that they held in operatic circles of the day. The particular vocal strengths of the soloists of that era had a considerable impact not only on the music that Handel and his colleagues wrote for them, but also on the genre of opera seria as a whole. Contemporary accounts of the abilities and performance practices of eighteenth-century singers consequently provide insight into the compositional choices of composers writing during this period. Although such anecdotes relate to both male and female soloists, many concern the castrati, who first emerged in Italy in the sixteenth century.

Records documenting the presence of castrati in Western Europe first appear in the late 1550s, when two Spanish castrati were hired to sing in the chapel of the Duke of Ferrara.<sup>89</sup> Castrati were singing in the Sistine Chapel choir as early as 1562, but they were not formally identified as such until 1599. By the beginning of the seventeenth century there were castrati

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<sup>88</sup> Winton Dean, "The Performance of Recitative in Late Baroque Opera," in *Essays on Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 80-81.

<sup>89</sup> John Rosselli (Brighton), "The Castrati as a Professional Group and a Social Phenomenon, 1550-1850," *Acta Musicologica* 60 (May-Aug. 1988): 146.

working in the courts of ruling princes all over Italy, and from about 1610 in courts in Germany and Austria. By all accounts these male singers were predominantly Italian, and the act of castration for artistic purposes remained an almost exclusively Italian practice. While the popularity of this voice type may seem surprising, the phenomenon of the castrati can be explained by a number of factors. Firstly, at this point in history women were not permitted to sing in church and boy sopranos and falsettists sang the uppermost parts in all performances of sacred music. However the voices of boy choristers frequently broke as soon as they were trained and the falsettists often produced a rather weak soprano sound. The clarity and strength of the soprano castrato voice soon found favour as a replacement for both. The early seventeenth century was also a period of severe economic crisis in Europe, and in Italy this began with general deindustrialization starting around 1620, followed by war and plague. Decisions about a child's future were therefore a matter of family strategy, and well-to-do families would often send a son into the clergy since it cost less than setting him up in an official career. For poorer families the same procedure offered financial assistance for the child and their relatives in changeable times. When a monk also became a castrato there was an even greater likelihood of securing an income, even a fortune, for his family.<sup>90</sup>

The development most frequently linked with the emergence of the castrato, however, was the birth of opera at the turn of the seventeenth century. Along with the emerging genres of the monodic cantata and the oratorio, opera called for a degree of vocal strength and agility that were best met by this new male voice type. Castration produced an enlarged thoracic cavity and a slowing down of the development of the larynx, which resulted in unusual vocal power and range.<sup>91</sup> Referred to as *voci bianche* (white voices), the castrato voices “were more

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 146-50.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 149 and 145.

powerful and flexible, if less sweet and expressive, than those of women.”<sup>92</sup> Consequently castrati were quickly integrated into the world of opera where they became renowned for their feats of vocal acrobatics. At the peak of their popularity, the castrati were among the most famous and highly paid musicians in Europe.<sup>93</sup> In Italy between 1720 and 1740, for example, a castrato’s fee for a production was roughly three times that of the composer of the opera, and up to ten times as much as the librettist or singers of the least important parts.<sup>94</sup> Yet, while the history of the castrato is undeniably a fascinating one, the modern performer of opera seria should not seek to reproduce the examples of fantastically florid vocal lines sung by the castrati. The vocal fireworks of which these men were capable represent the height of interpolated embellishment, but castrati do not exist today, and the characteristics for which their voices were renowned were unique to them. Regarding this issue the historian George Buelow comments:

It was, to be sure, an extraordinary, indeed fantastic vocal phenomenon made possible by unnatural physical capabilities which cannot be imitated today. We should not forget, however, that these same superhuman gifts of incredible vocal range, power, and a vocal agility best described as gymnastic, could not be imitated even by the greatest female singers of the eighteenth century.<sup>95</sup>

Given Buelow’s remark, reviews of the vocal talents of *opera seria*’s most famous female interpreters are perhaps of greater relevance to the modern singer. The Italian sopranos Francesca Cuzzoni and Faustina Bordoni, for example, were among the most skilled female soloists of first half of the eighteenth century, and were hired to sing for several seasons with Handel’s company at the Royal Academy in London. In March of 1727, Quantz made a trip to

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<sup>92</sup> Donald Jay Grout and Hermine Weigel Williams, eds. *A Short History of Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 221.

<sup>93</sup> John Rosselli, “Castrato,” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 28 September 2007).

<sup>94</sup> Reinhard Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 98.

<sup>95</sup> George J. Buelow, “A Lesson in Operatic Performance Practice by Madame Faustina Bordoni,” in *Musical Offering: Essays in Honor of Martin Bernstein*, eds. Edward H. Clinkscale and Claire Brooks (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977), 95.



England and attended performances of Handel's latest operas that featured these two singers.

He subsequently recorded the following thoughts regarding their performances:

Cuzzoni had a very agreeable and clear soprano voice, a pure intonation and beautiful *trillo*. Her range extended from middle "c" to the "c" above the staff. Her ornamentation did not seem to be artificial due to her nice, pleasant, and light style of delivery, and with its tenderness she won the hearts of her listeners. The *passagien* in the allegros were not done with the greatest facility, but she sang them very fully and pleasantly. Her acting was somewhat cold, and her figure was not too favorable for the theatre.

Faustina had a not very clear, but well-carrying mezzo-soprano voice which at the time did not range much more than from the "b flat" below middle "c" to the "g" above the staff, but in time increased several tones in depth. Her way of singing was expressive and brilliant (*un cantar granito*), and she had a light tongue, being able to pronounce words rapidly but plainly in succession. She had a facile throat and a beautiful and very polished *trillo* which she could apply with the greatest of ease wherever and whenever she pleased. The *passagien* could be either running or leaping, or could consist of many fast notes in succession on one tone. She knew how to thrust these out skillfully, with the greatest possible rapidity, as they can be performed only on an instrument. She is unquestionably the first who has used these *passagien* consisting of many notes on one tone in singing, and with the best possible success. She sang an adagio with much emotion and expression, provided no extremely sad emotion dominated the movement, which can be expressed only by a double appoggiatura (*Schleifer*) or a steady flow of the voice. She had a good memory for arbitrary changes and an excellent judgment in giving the proper stress to the words which she delivered with great clarity. She was especially strong in acting, because she had such a high degree of ability in the dramatic art (or, to use Herr Matheson's expression, 'the hypocritic') and could assume any expression she pleased. She was equally well suited for a serious, amorous, or tender role. In one word, she was born for singing and acting.<sup>96</sup>

The fact that Quantz makes several references to the practice of vocal ornamentation throughout his report is proof of the prominence of embellishment in the art of eighteenth-century singing. More importantly, however, in this passage Quantz hints at the connection between the "double appoggiatura" and a sad emotion, providing further evidence for the contemporary association between specific ornaments and the affections. The term *Schleifer* translates in English to "drag," so by "double appoggiatura" Quantz likely means passing

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<sup>96</sup> Paul Nettl, *Forgotten Musicians* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), 312-313.

appoggiaturas (*durchgehenden Vorschläge*), also sometimes referred to as a slide, which can be employed when several notes of the same value descend in leaps of thirds.<sup>97</sup>

In reviewing the treatises on singing by Tosi and Mancini, as well as complementary anecdotal information dating from the period during which Italian opera enjoyed its greatest popularity in London, it is clear that ornamentation figured prominently in the art of the solo singer in the eighteenth century and thus in the genre of *opera seria*. In Handel's case, the ornamentation practices that were favored were almost certainly those of the Italian school, as shown by the detailed research of Frederick Neumann. The remarks made by Quantz, Tosi and Mancini regarding the affective qualities of ornaments also provide insight into the aesthetic preoccupations which motivated decisions about embellishment, yet they are limited in their scope. Further discussion is clearly required to convey in a more comprehensive fashion what these men, and other authorities of the era, dictated regarding the expressive uses of all types of fixed and free ornaments.

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<sup>97</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 78; "In the English translation of Hotteterre's *Principes*, the passing appoggiatura is called a 'slide'." See Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly, 93.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF ORNAMENTATION AND THE AFFECTIONS

The most valuable insight into the historical relationship between the affections and performance practice can be gleaned from the dictionaries, treatises, encyclopedias, and essays that were published over the course of the eighteenth century. Many of these works were the most comprehensive of their day in their treatment of various musical topics. Consequently, their influence spanned several decades and crossed national borders. For the purposes of this discussion, a selection of these documents will be reviewed in the following pages. The treatises are categorized according to national schools, and treated in chronological order within each group. While some works only make general comments regarding music and the affections, others elucidate specific connections between ornaments and the affections.

It seems pertinent to begin with the French school because it boasts one of the earliest documents of the eighteenth century that is relevant to the current discussion, namely the *Dictionnaire de Musique* (*Dictionary of Music* [Paris, 1701]) of Sébastien de Brossard (1655-1730).<sup>98</sup> This was the first dictionary of musical terms to be published in France, and the author's description of the text on the cover page states that it provides explanations of the Greek, Latin, Italian, and French words most often used in music.<sup>99</sup> De Brossard's definitions of the terms *Affetto* and *Pathetico*, words which appear regularly in the music literature of the eighteenth-century, connect these terms to specific musical features and compositional choices. In the entry for the term *Affetto*, for example, an association is made between the mood of a piece and its tempo. Specifically, the definition reads "it is the same as *affetuoso* or

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<sup>98</sup> Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de la Musique* (Paris: Etienne Roger, 1701; 3d ed., Amsterdam: Etienne Roger, 1708); modern ed. in Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de la Musique* (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1992). See also Yolande de Brossard, "Brossard, Sébastien de," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 31 August 2007).

<sup>99</sup> "Contenant Une Explication Des termes Grecs, Latins, Italiens & François les plus usitez dans la Musique." Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, 1708.

*affettuosamente*, which means tenderly and in consequence almost always slowly.”<sup>100</sup> In a subsequent entry de Brossard defines the term *Pathetico* or *Pathetique* as that which is “touching, expressive, passionate, capable of moving (i.e. stirring) pity, compassion, anger, and all the other passions that agitate the heart of man.” This explanation is also extended by compositional suggestions which state that “chromaticism, with its major and minor semitones descending and ascending, is very suitable for this style, as are dissonances by way of sharps or flats.” The text further adds that, “a variety of tempi, now brisk, now languid, now slow, now fast also contribute a great deal.”<sup>101</sup> By these two definitions, the link between the aesthetic concept of the passions and expressive composition is highlighted.

Another *Dictionnaire de musique* (*Dictionary of Music* [Paris, 1768]) of the Swiss philosopher, theorist and composer Jean Jacques Rousseau also makes a noteworthy contribution to the literature. It contains the following definition of opera:

OPERA. A dramatic and lyric spectacle, where we use our endeavours to reunite all the charms of the fine arts, in the representation of a passionate action, to excite, by the assistance of agreeable sensations; the interest and illusion.

The consecutive parts of an opera are the poem, the music, and the decorations. By poetry we speak to the mind; by music to the ear; and by painting to the eyes; and the whole ought to be reunited to move the heart, and convey to it, at the same time, the same impression through different organs.<sup>102</sup>

Here the idea that the various components of opera combine to “move the heart” of the listener recalls de Brossard’s explanation of the term *Pathetico* as that which is capable of “moving [the] passions that agitate the heart of man.”<sup>103</sup> Rousseau’s definition then continues

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<sup>100</sup> “*AFFETTO*, ou con affetto. C’est le même que *Affettuoso* ou *Affettuosamente*, qui veut dire, *AFFECTUEUSEMENT*, tendrement & par consequent presque toujours *Lentement*.” Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique*, 8.

<sup>101</sup> “*PATHETICO*. Veut dire, *PATHETIQUE*, *Touchant*, *Expressif*, *Passionné*, capable d’émouvoir, la pitié, la compassion, la colere, & toutes les autres passions qui agitent le coeur de l’homme...Le genre *Chromatique* avec ses *Sémitons majeurs & mineurs* tant en descendant qu’en montant est fort proper à cela, comme aussi le bon menagement des *dissonances* sur tout des *Superflus* et des *diminuées*; la variété des *mouvements* tantôt *vifs*, tantôt *languissants*, tantôt *lents*, tantôt *vites*, y contribuent aussi beaucoup.” Ibid., 91.

<sup>102</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique*, 2d ed., trans. William Waring (London: J. French and Fielding and Walker, 1779), 289.

<sup>103</sup> In his writings Rousseau defined opera as “la musique qui parle au coeur,” establishing its role as

The art of combining the sounds agreeably may be viewed under two different aspects. Considered as an institution of nature, music bounds its effect by the sensation and physical pleasure which results from it, by the melody, and rhyme. Such is ordinarily the church-music; such are the tunes for dancing, and those of songs. But as an essential part of the lyric scene, whose principal object is the imitation, music becomes one of the fine arts, capable of painting every picture, of exciting every sentiment, of harmonizing with poetry, giving it a new strength, embellishing it with new charms, and triumphing by its means at the time that it crowns it.<sup>104</sup>

With the reference to music as “one of the fine arts,” this passage hearkens back to the ancient associations with rhetoric and highlights music’s persuasive power.

Representing the English school is the composer, organist and writer Charles Avison (1709-1770), who is recognized as the most important English concerto composer of his century as well as the author of the *Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1752).<sup>105</sup> The *Essay* is divided into three parts, the first of which Avison devotes to a discourse on how music effects the emotions and the character of an individual. The second part is a critique of some contemporary composers, and part three discusses instrumental performance.<sup>106</sup> In the first part, Avison includes remarks concerning the passions that paint a revealing picture of the aesthetic environment in London in the first half of the eighteenth century. For example, in the introduction he writes “if we view [music] in its foundations we shall find, that by the constitution of man it is of mighty efficacy in working both on his imagination and his passions.”<sup>107</sup> He adds that it is the property of musical sounds “to divest the soul of every unquiet passion,” and that when they are combined with expression “they assume the power of exciting all the most agreeable passions of the soul.”<sup>108</sup> Later in the document Avison gives

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“évocatrice non pas du paysage physique mais de l’intériorité de l’auditeur.” Claude Dauphin, “opéra,” in *Dictionnaire de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, ed. Raymond Trousson and Frédéric S. Eigeldinger (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1996), 662.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 290.

<sup>105</sup> Norris L. Stephens, “Avison, Charles,” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 14 September 2007).

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: Lockyer Davis, 1752), 2.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

some indication as to the link between musical expression and the components of a composition when he writes

What then is the composer, who would aim at true musical expression, to perform? I answer, he is to blend such an happy mixture of air and harmony, as will affect us most strongly with the passions or affections which the poet intends to raise.<sup>109</sup>

This is shortly followed by Avison's musings on the means of achieving expressive compositions:

There is no doubt but many rules may be deduced, both from the compositions of the best masters, and from experience, in observing the effects which various sounds have upon the imagination and affections. And I don't know, whether the same propriety, in regard to the part of expression in *poetry*, may not as well be applied to *musical expression*; since there are discordant and harmonious inflections of musical sounds when united, and various modes or keys (besides the various instruments themselves), which, like particular words, or sentences in writing, are very expressive of the different passions, which are so powerfully excited by the numbers in poetry. Thus the *sharp* or *flat key*; slow or lively movements; the *staccato*; the *sostenute*, or smooth-drawn bow; the striking *diesis* [quarter tone or less], all the variety of intervals, from a semitone to a tenth, etc; the various mixtures of harmonies, the preparation of discords, and their resolution into concords, the sweet succession of melodies; and several other circumstances besides these, do all tend to give that variety of expression which elevates the soul to joy or courage, melts it into tenderness or pity, fixes it in a rational serenity, or raises it to the raptures of devotion.<sup>110</sup>

By drawing a connection between poetry and musical expression Avison, like several of the other authors, evokes the Classical association of oratory with music. Avison also underlines the expressive potential of the keys, tempi, intervals, harmonies and melodies of a composition. Although he does not specifically mention embellishment in this list, given that many ornaments involve brief expressive dissonances, they may fall under the category of "various mixtures of harmonies," or "the preparation of discords and their resolution into concords," or at the very least, the "several other circumstances besides these" that Avison claims also contribute to expression. Furthermore, in much the same way that de Brossard believed that

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 62-65.

the elements of a composition serve to “move the heart of man” Avison claims that they have the power to “excite the passions of the soul.” Taken all together, these remarks reveal the significance of the passions in Avison’s cultural milieu.

Eighteenth-century German musician-scholars produced a number of the most widely-read treatises of that era, many of which are still frequently consulted today. One such individual is Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729), a German composer and theorist who, like Handel, devoted the greater part of his career to Italian opera. His initial foray into the field consisted of the performance of minor roles in productions at the Leipzig opera while attending university in that city. Then in 1710 Heinichen traveled to Italy to pursue further studies and achieved great fame through the performance of two of his operas, *Mario* and *Le passioni per troppo amore*, during the Venetian carnival season of 1713.<sup>111</sup> His success in Venice eventually resulted in his appointment as Capellmeister at the electoral court of Augustus I in Dresden in 1717.<sup>112</sup> There he continued to compose opera, as well as cantatas and sacred music until his early death in 1729. Eclipsed by his more famous contemporaries, Bach and Handel, Heinichen is best remembered today, however, as the author of *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (*Thorough-Bass in Composition* [Dresden, 1728]), the first treatise containing a detailed treatment of the topic of thorough-bass accompaniment.<sup>113</sup> The insight contained in this treatise is of considerable value in the present study because it was penned by a composer who practiced the art of accompanying in the opera houses of Italy and Germany.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986), 6-9.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.

In Heinichen's introduction to his *General-Bass* he comments that a composer's aim, or *finis musices*, should be "to stir the affections and to delight the ear."<sup>115</sup> He suggests that much of this is dependent on a composer's possession of "good taste":

One could say good taste was in itself the soul of music, which so to speak it doubly enlivens and brings pleasure to the senses. The *proprium 4ti modi*<sup>116</sup> of a composer with good taste is contained solely in the skill with which he makes his music pleasing to and beloved by the general, educated public, or which in the same way pleases our ear by experienced artifices and moves the senses (the internal senses, the physical senses of sight, smell, hearing that are not concerned here). In general, this can be brought about through a good, well-cultivated, and natural invention or through the beautiful expression of words. In particular, [this is achieved] through an ever dominating *cantabile*, through suitable and affecting accompaniments, through a change of harmonies recommended for the sake of the ears, and through other methods gained from experience and frequently looking poor on paper, which in our times we only label with the obscure name of "rules of experience." In summary, everything is good taste or stems from it that contributes to the real progress of the true *Finis musices*.<sup>117</sup>

Heinichen's reference to the "internal senses" in this passage is like those made in other eighteenth-century literature to the "animal spirits," and is in recognition of the individual's physical-emotional response to music. Also, his theory that the internal senses may be moved

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<sup>115</sup> "Da wie nun einhellig gestehen müssen, dass unser finis Musices sey, die Affecten zu bewegen, und das Gehöre." Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, Johann David Heinichen, 1728), 4; Buelow, trans., *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen*, 311.

<sup>116</sup> Here Heinichen is referring to an older theory of the "properties of the modes," in which each key is assigned a particular affection. Heinichen disagreed with this theory, writing that "all keys or musical modes without distinction are suited to expressing many opposing affections." He added that the choice of key depended primarily on four basic conditions: (1) The preference of the composer; (2) The need to change the key from the one used to express the same affection in the past; (3) The requirements of the instruments for which one was composing; and (4) The singer's range. Heinichen concludes that "these four principles prove sufficiently that the choice of musical modes depends partly on our will and preference, partly on the circumstances of the moment." Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen*, 283-4.

<sup>117</sup> "man wolte denn sagen, dass der Gout selbst die Seele der Music sey, welcher sie gleichsam doppelt belebet, und denen Sinnen angenehm machet. Das *proprium 4ti modi* aber eines Componisten von Gout, bestehet einzig und allein in der Kunst, seine Music der verständigen Welt *all'ordinaire* beliebt und gefällig zu machen, oder welches einerley: das Gehöre durch erfahrene Kunstgriffe zu vergnügen, und die *Sensus* zu moviren. (Die *Sensus internos*, nicht das Gesichte, als welches hier nichts zu thun hat.) Solches aber kan geschehen erstlich *generaliter*: durch gute und wohl cultivirte natürliche *Invention*, oder durch schöne Expression der Worte: specialiter: durch ein überall dominirendes *Cantabile*, durch vortheilhaftige und *touchante Accompagnemens*, durch eine denen Ohren so sehr *recommandable* Abwechselung der *Harmonie*, und durch andere, auff dem Pappiere oft schlecht aussehende Vortheile, welche uns die Erfahrung an die Hand giebet, und die wir zu unserer Zeit nur noch mit dem obskuren Nahmen der Erfahrungs Regeln tauffen. In summa alles heisset Gout, oder alles leitet sich vom Gout her, was zur würcklichen Beförderung des wahren *finis Musices* contribuiert." Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition*, 22-3; Johann David Heinichen, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen*, 324-25.



“through the beautiful expression of words” hints at the particular power of vocal music to stir the affections. Elsewhere Heinichen provides additional commentary within this theme:

What a bottomless ocean we still have before us merely in the expression of words and the affects in music. And how delighted is our ear, if we perceive in a well-written church composition or other music how a skilled composer has attempted here and there to move the emotions of an audience through his refined and text-related musical expression, and in this way successfully finds the true purpose of music.<sup>118</sup>

The only direct reference to the affective nature of ornamentation comes later in *Der General-Bass* when Heinichen draws attention to the expressive potential of the *acciaccatura*. Frederick Neumann writes that the *acciaccatura* was used in thoroughbass accompaniment, and that the term appears to designate an arpeggiated cadential chord whose performance involved the simultaneous striking but quick release of a pitch one step below that of the principal tone.<sup>119</sup> Heinichen writes that this ornament is especially useful for “expressing the affective meaning of words in recitatives as well as pathetic and other vocal music” and can be used to “great effect” on the keyboard.<sup>120</sup>

Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) was another leading eighteenth-century music theorist, as well as a distinguished composer, philosopher and singer whose career largely revolved around Italian opera. A contemporary of Handel’s, the two men met in Hamburg in 1703 where Mattheson may have helped Handel to obtain a position in the Hamburg opera orchestra as second violinist and harpsichordist. In addition to his legacy of compositions, Mattheson

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<sup>118</sup> “Wir nicht vor ein noch zur Zeit unergründliches Meer vor uns an der einzigen Expression der Worte und Affekten in der Music; und o wie schön vergnüget es die Ohren wenn wir in einer delicates Kirchen oder andern Music wahrnehmen wie sich ein verständiger Virtuose hier und da bemühet hat durch seine Galanten und dem Text ähnlichen expressiones die Gemüther der Zuhörer zu bewegen und hierdurch den wahren Entzweck der Music glücklich zu finden.” Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition*, 24-25; see also George J. Buelow, “The Loci Topici and Affect in late baroque Music: Heinichen’s practical Demonstration,” *The Music Review* 27 (1966): 162.

<sup>119</sup> Frederick Neumann, *New Essays on Performance Practice* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989), 218.

<sup>120</sup> “Unser Autor aber, der Gasparini traktiret die *Mordente*, insonderheit im *Recitativ* und pathetischen Sachen, ganz anders. Und weil seine Arth besonders auff dem *Clavicimball* von grossen *Effekt* ist.” Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition*, 533-34; Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen*, 182.

also left to posterity more than a dozen larger theoretical works and a number of smaller publications which include statements about musical issues, and provide insight into contemporary performance practice.<sup>121</sup> One of his most famous treatises, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (*The Complete Musical Director* [Hamburg, 1739]), yields a plethora of references to the passions and affections, particularly in those sections related to melody and its relationship with text.

Throughout this paper the words affection and passion have been used interchangeably, but Mattheson makes a distinction between the two concepts in his treatise. This may reflect a contemporary association between the term “affection” and resulting sensations in the body, while “passion” was used to indicate alterations in an individual’s state of mind.<sup>122</sup> In the section titled “On the Art of Creating a Good Melody,” for example, Mattheson writes

The greatest expressiveness, the most powerful ideas, and the most precise performance of the words, i.e. of the meaning that is in the words, indeed stems from the affections and passions, and without these they can no more stand than a carriage without wheels: if these are not present, then it is no more than a sledge or a dray.<sup>123</sup>

Here again, as in Heinichen, the affections and passions are connected with the expression of the text. Mattheson reiterates the point that music can augment the emotional weight of the poetry in his chapter, “On the Meters Appropriate for Melody,” where he states

The poets have a proverb: *Metra parent animos*, i.e., the emotions are animated through verse. They say quite rightly: for nothing penetrates the heart as much as a well-arranged rhyme scheme, especially when it is animated through an agreeable melody.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Grout, and Williams, eds., *A Short History of Opera*, 184.

<sup>122</sup> Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 4.

<sup>123</sup> “Der grösste Nachdruck, starcke Gedancken, und die genaueste Beobachtung der Worte, d.i. des in den Worten steckenden Verstandes rühren ja ursprünglich von den Gemüths-Bewegungen und Leidenschafften her, und können eben so wenig ohne dieselbe bestehen, als ein Wagen ohne Räder: hat er diese nicht, so ist ein Schlitten oder eine Schleufe.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 235; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 319.

<sup>124</sup> “Die Dichter haben ein Sprichwort: *Metra parent animos*, d.i. durch Verse werden die Gemüther ermuntert. Solches sagen sie mit gutem Recht: denn es dringt doch nichts so sehr ins Hertz, als ein wol eingerichtetes Reim-Gebäude, zumahl wenn es durch eine angenehme Melodie begeistert wird.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 297; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 405.

His philosophy regarding the potential of melody is then further clarified by a passage which states that “the stirring of the affections and passions of the soul depends on something quite different, namely upon the skillful composition of an intelligible, clear and expressive melody.”<sup>125</sup> He employs a similar language in the section titled “On the difference between Vocal and Instrumental Melodies” where he comments that one who wishes to move his audience must know “how without the words to express sincerely all the emotions of the heart through selected sounds and their skillful combination.”<sup>126</sup> It is interesting that Mattheson identifies music’s power to move the listener even in the absence of text. He later suggests that much of music’s ability to do this is related to clarity in melodic construction, which is also connected with the passions: “One also never really attains such clarity if the following guiding principle is not observed, through which we must set as our primary goal one affection (where not more than one) with each melody.”<sup>127</sup> Mattheson couples this statement with a simile that serves to illustrate his point:

Just as a clever painter always provides only the one or the other of his figures (where there are many of them) with especially prominent colors, so that it would stand out among the other images; thus the composer must also set his sights perpetually and primarily toward one or another passion in his melodic

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<sup>125</sup> “Wenn nun gleichwol die Bewegung der Gemüther und Leidenschafften der Seele von gantz was anders, nemlich von der geschickten Einrichtung einer verständlichen, deutlichen und nachdrücklichen Melodie abhänget.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 184; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 256.

<sup>126</sup> “Weil inzwischen das rechte Ziel aller Melodie nichts anders seyn kan, als eine solche Vergnügung des Gehörs, dadurch die Leidenschafften der Seele rege werden: so wird mir ja niemand dieses Ziel treffen, der keine Absicht darauf hat, selber keine Bewegung spüret, ja kaum irgend an eine Leidenschaft gedenckt; wenn es nicht etwa eine solche ist, die sich wieder seinen Willen im Beutel hervorthut. Wird er aber auf eine edlere Art gerühret, und will auch andre mit der Harmonie rühren, so muss er wahrhaftig alle Neigungen des Hertzens, durch blosse ausgesuchte Klänge und deren geschickte Zusammenfügung, ohne Worte dergestalt auszudrucken wissen, dass der Zuhörer daraus, als ob es eine wirkliche Rede wäre, den Trieb, den Sinn, die Meinung und den Nachdruck, mit allen dazu gehörigen Ein- und Abschnitten, völlig begreifen und deutlich verstehen möge. Alsdenn ist es eine Lust! dazu gehöret viel mehr Kunst und eine stärkere Einbildungs-Krafft, wenns einer ohne Worte, als mit derselben Hülffe, zu Wege bringen soll.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 312; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 425.

<sup>127</sup> “Zu solcher Deutlichkeit gelanget man auch nimmermehr recht, wenn nicht die folgende Richtschnur beobachtet wird, mittelst welcher wir uns bey einer jeden Melodie eine Gemüths-Bewegung (wo nicht mehr als eine) zum Haupt-Zweck setzen müssen.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 234; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 318.

phrases, and so arrange or express it that it would have far more significance than all the other secondary details.<sup>128</sup>

This passage and the preceding quote raise a critical issue, namely that a melody should aim to induce a single emotion. This was a distinguishing characteristic of Baroque composition, and one which set this period apart from the *galant* movement that followed.

Mattheson's treatment of melody eventually evolves into a discussion of opera, and in his chapter titled "On the Categories of Melodies and their Special Characteristics," he advises

Thus he who wants to furnish an opera with melodies has to direct his aim toward nothing so much as the most spirited expression of the prevailing passions: for though, as stated, intense love is almost always the principal affect, it invariably excites a large amount of disquiet and emotionalism with jealousy, sadness, hope, pleasure, vengeance, rage, fury, etc.<sup>129</sup>

The "expression of the prevailing passions" is eventually connected with ornamentation in the section titled "On the Art of Singing and Playing with Graces." He begins "thus we turn primarily to the actual and proper discipline of a skilled singer which shows how one is to conduct his voice with graces and in the most agreeable way."<sup>130</sup> Mattheson argues that a singer must know "how to perform a precomposed melody not only without the slightest offence against directions but especially with much grace, ornament, and artistry: the first is bad reading; the second is reading with expression and good style."<sup>131</sup> These quotations assert

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<sup>128</sup> "Gleichwie ein gescheuter [sic] Mahler allzeit nur die eine oder andre seiner Figuren (wo deren viele vorkommen) mit besonders erhabenen Farben versiehet, damit sie unter den übrigen Bildern mercklich hervorrage; also muss auch der Componist in seinen melodischen Sätzen unaussetzlich und vernehmlich auf eine oder andre Leidenschaft seine Absicht richten, und dieselbe so bemercken oder ausdrucken, dass sie weit mehr zu bedeuten habe, als alle übrige Neben-Umstände." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 235; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 318.

<sup>129</sup> "Es hat also derjenige, welcher eine Oper mit Melodien versehen will, auf nichts so sehr sein Augenmerck zu richten, als auf die lebhafteste Ausdrückung der vorkommenden Leidenschaften: denn obgleich, wie gesagt, die gewaltige Liebe fast immer der Haupt-Affect ist, so erregt sie doch unfehlbar einen Hauffen Unruhe und Bewegungen mit der Eifersucht, Traurigkeit, Hoffnung, Vergnügung, Rache, Wut, Raserey, etc." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 327; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 444.

<sup>130</sup> "Wir wenden uns also vorzüglich zu der eigentlichen und rechten Wissenschaft eines geschickten Sängers, welche lehret, wie man seine Stimme zierlich und auf das angenehmste führen soll." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 190; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 264-65.

<sup>131</sup> "sondern dass er eine bereits verfertigte Melodie sowol ohne den geringsten Anstoss nach der Vorschrift,

that ornamentation was associated both with a singer's skill and with their talent for expression.

However, such things as skill and talent are difficult to measure, especially since, as Mattheson points out,

Ornaments are not only for the most part subject to many a modification, fashion and innovation; but also to this or that local style in the great differences in the voices and their management. Perhaps this biased proverb, doubtless invented by a self-praising Gaul, originated hence; The Germans bellow; the Italians bleat; the Spaniards scream; the French alone sing.<sup>132</sup>

As mentioned earlier in this paper, national styles were clearly delineated in the Baroque period, and ornamentation was not exempt from this. Consequently, Mattheson adds,

Nothing very specific can be said on the actual ornaments in singing and playing. For just as was said very truthfully long ago, the thing is not merely determined by rules but more so by usage, long practice, and experience: it is yet this way to this hour; besides, one should generally follow the clever Italians before others in this, yet without slavishness.<sup>133</sup>

Thus like Handel, Mattheson advocates a style of embellishment which is primarily Italian, notwithstanding the notion that the Italians "bleat."

Despite his lack of specificity with respect to ornamentation, Mattheson makes statements about the most appropriate uses for a couple of embellishments. The first of these concerns the leaping appoggiatura, most frequently used in recitatives:

The newest and nowadays very common use of this accent is however that it must serve, in playing as well as in singing, leaping from the fourth to the

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als insonderheit dass er dieselbe anmuthig, geschmückt und künstlich herauszubringen wisse: das erste ist schlecht lesen, das andre mit Nachdruck und guter Art lesen." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 191; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 265.

<sup>132</sup> "Es sind dergleichen Zierrathen nicht nur grössesten Theils mancher Veränderung, Mode und Neuerung unterworfen; sondern auch, nach dieser oder jener Landes-Art, so wie die Stimmen und deren Führung, an sich selbst sehr verschieden. Daher vielleicht das partheyische und ohne Zweifel von einem eigenlobenden Gallier erfundene Sprichwort entstanden; die Deutschen böcken; die Welschen blecken; die Spanier heulen; nur die Frantzen allein singen." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 191; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 265.

<sup>133</sup> "Von den eigentlichen Manieren im Singen und Spielen lässt sich eben nicht sehr viel gewisses sagen. Denn gleichwie es vor Alters schon heiss, und zwar mit Wahrheits-Grunde, dass die Sache nicht bloss auf Regeln, sondern vielmehr auf den Gebrauch, auf grosse Uebung und Erfahrung ankomme: so heisst es noch bis diese Stunde; ausser dass man überhaupt den gescheuesten Welschen, doch ohne Zwang und Uebermasse, von Zeit zu Zeit, am meisten und vor andern hierin zu folgen Ursache findet." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 193; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 267.

octave, upwards and downwards: especially since something sarcastic, obstinate, audacious and arrogant can be expressed very naturally thereby; when such is required.<sup>134</sup>

(For a musical illustration of the leaping appoggiatura, please see Appendix 2). Mattheson also provides commentary on the vocal ornaments known as *groppi* (extended turn figures) which he says “produce not inconsiderable harmoniousness in the event the passion which one wants to express permits such twisting and turning.”<sup>135</sup>

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795) was a German critic, journalist, theorist and composer who divided his career between writing or editing books and periodicals about music, and composing or editing lieder and works for keyboard. He was the editor and principal author of *Des Critischen Musicus an der Spree* (*The Critical Musician on the River Spree* [Berlin, 1749-50]), a periodical dedicated to the discussion of significant musical topics of his time. Although a proponent of the *galant* style, Marpurg’s writings from the first half of the eighteenth century are nonetheless valuable for the insight they provide into the relationship between music and the affections. For example, in an issue of this periodical dated 2 September 1749, Marpurg writes

The rapidity with which emotions change is common knowledge, for they are nothing but motion and restlessness. All musical expression has as its basis an affect or feeling. A philosopher who explains or demonstrates seeks to bring to light our understanding, to bring clarity and order to it. But the orator, poet, musician seek more to inflame than enlighten...To what unusual undertakings the passions lead us! He who is fortunate, in any respect, to capture the enthusiasm that makes great people of poets, orators, artists will know how precipitately and variously our soul reacts when it is abandoned to the emotions. A musician must therefore possess the greatest sensitivity and the happiest

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<sup>134</sup> “Der neueste, und heutiges Tages starck eingeführte Gebrauch dieses Accents aber ist, dass er sowol im Spielen als im Singen oft springend, von der Quart an bis die Octav, auf und unterwärts Dienste thun muss: als wodurch insonderheit etwas spöttisches, sprödes, freches und hochmüthiges sehr natürlich ausgedruckt werden kan; wenn solches erfordert wird.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 194; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 268.

<sup>135</sup> “welche keinen geringen Wol-Laut mit sich führen, falls die Leidenschaft, so man ausdrücken will, dergleichen Dreh- und Wendungen vergönnet.” Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 198; trans. in *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 273.

powers of divination to execute correctly every piece that is placed before him.<sup>136</sup>

Although Marpurg's opening comment regarding the changeability of the emotions is in opposition to the Baroque theory of more static emotional states, his language concerning the affections is clear and very direct: "all musical expression has as its basis an affect or feeling." Furthermore, like Mattheson's reference to the "figures or tropes from rhetoric," Marpurg's comparison of the musician with the orator recalls the origin of the affections.

Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) was a German flautist, composer, flute maker, and the author of *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* (*Essay on the Art of Playing the Transverse Flute* [Berlin, 1752]), one of the most important and frequently cited performance-practice treatises of the eighteenth century. As a young man he held a post as an oboist in the Polish chapel of Augustus II, but soon took up the transverse flute in the hope of finding more opportunities for advancement.<sup>137</sup> Beginning in 1719 Quantz trained on this instrument for four years with the Frenchman Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin, who was in the service of Augustus II in Dresden.<sup>138</sup> However, Quantz credited the court violinist Johann Georg Pisendel, an advocate of the "mixed taste" (French and Italian), with having the most significant impact on his development as a composer and performer. His formal instruction in

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<sup>136</sup> "Man weiss, wie geschwinde alles in den Leidenschaften abwechselt, da sie selbst nichts als Bewegung und Unruhe sind. Aller Ausdruck in der Music hat entweder einen Affect oder doch eine Empfindung zum Grunde. Ein Philosoph, der was erkläret und demonstriret, sucht dem Verstande Licht zu geben, und Deutlichkeit und Ordnung darein zu bringen. Der Redner, der Poet, der Musicus suchen mehr zu erhitzen, als zu erheitern...Zu welchen uns sonst ganz ungewöhnlichen Unternehmungen können uns die Leidenschaften nicht bringen? Und wer so glücklich ist, es sey auch in was es wolle, diejenige Begeisterung zu fühlen, welche Poeten, Redner, Mahler, zu grossen Leuten macht, der wird wissen, wie so gar geschwind und verschieden unsere Seele würcket, wenn sie sich bloss den Empfindungen überlässet. Ein Musicus muss also die gröste Empfindlichkeit und die glücklichste Errathungskraft haben, wenn er jedes ihm vorgelegtes Stück recht executiren soll." Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Des Critischen Musicus an der Spree* (Berlin: Academie den Wissenschaften, 1750), 215-16; Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree*, quoted in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell (London: Cassell and Company, 1951), 81.

<sup>137</sup> Edward R. Reilly and Andreas Giger, "Quantz, Johann Joachim," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 22 January, 2008).

<sup>138</sup> Edward R. Reilly, "Buffardin, Pierre-Gabriel," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 22 January, 2008).

the court was complemented by a period of study in Italy from 1724 to 1727, and shorter trips to France and England during which he heard a great deal of music and met several of the most revered composers of his day, including Handel. Not only was this a seminal period for Quantz in the development of his personal style, it was also critical in the establishment of Quantz's reputation outside of Germany. Consequently in later years both Quantz's music and his theoretical works received attention from an international audience.<sup>139</sup>

Early in his treatise Quantz makes a remark about the relationship between music and the liberal arts in the eighteenth century that highlights the historical link between the study of rhetoric and the study of music:

Whoever is aware of how much influence mathematics and the other related sciences, such as philosophy, poetry, and oratory, have upon music, will have to own not only that music has a greater compass than many imagine, but also that the evident lack of knowledge about the above-mentioned sciences among the majority of professional musicians is a great obstacle to their future advancement, and the reason why music has not yet been brought to a more perfect state.<sup>140</sup>

This passage recalls Heinichen and Mattheson's faith in rhetorical principles, and Marpurg's identification with oration. Specific references to the passions follow shortly when Quantz enumerates "the Qualities Required of Those Who Would Dedicate Themselves to Music."

The second item in this list states that the individual "must express the different passions of the soul properly," confirming the significance of the passions in discussions of performance practice at that time.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Reilly and Giger, "Quantz, Johann Joachim."

<sup>140</sup> "Denn wer da weis, wie viel Einfluss die Mathematik, sammt denen unter ihrem Bezirke stehenden Wissenschaften, die Weltweisheit, die Dichtkunst, und die Redekunst, in die Musik haben; der wird gestehen müssen, dass die Musik nicht nur einen grössern Umfang habe, als viele glauben: sondern auch, dass der bey den meisten Musikverständigen verspürte Mangel obenbemeldeter Wissenschaften, die grösste Hinderniss an weiterem Fortkommen, und die Ursache sey, warum die Musik noch nicht zu einer grössern Vollkommenheit gebracht worden ist." Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 19; trans. in Edward R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 25.

<sup>141</sup> "die Gemüthsbewegungen gehörig auszudrücken," Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 17; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 23.



A number of chapters on the proper playing technique for the transverse flute follow the introduction, one of which is titled “Of the Appoggiaturas, and the Little Essential Graces Related to Them.” Here Quantz states that the trill, mordent and turn “serve in accordance with the temper of the piece, to excite cheer and gaiety,” while “the simple appoggiaturas arouse tenderness and melancholy.”<sup>142</sup> It should be noted that Quantz’s “mixed taste” is apparent here since the mordent and turn are primarily French graces, while the trill and appoggiatura were common in Italian practice. Quantz later adds that “since music should now rouse the passions, now still them again, the utility and necessity of these graces in a plain and unadorned melody is self-evident.”<sup>143</sup> With this statement Quantz echoes the adage of earlier authors that ornamentation is a necessary component of performance. In the next chapter Quantz goes into further detail regarding the trill and writes that “in melancholy pieces the trill must be struck more slowly, in gay ones, more quickly.”<sup>144</sup> By this remark Quantz connects both the inherent properties of ornaments and their execution with the affections.

Quantz’s tenth chapter is titled “What a Beginner Must Observe in His Independent Practice” and includes the following advice:

A beginner must therefore be constantly attentive when he plays, and must take care that he hears each note as he sees it with his eyes, and as its value and expression require. Inner feeling – the singing of the soul – yields a great advantage in this regard. The beginner must therefore seek gradually to arouse this feeling in himself. For if he is not himself moved by what he plays, he cannot hope for any profit from his efforts, and he will never move others through his playing, which should be his real aim.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> “nach Beschaffenheit eines Stückes zur Aufmunterung und Frölichkeit: die simplen Vorschläge hingegen, zur Erweichung und Traurigkeit.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 81; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 98.

<sup>143</sup> “Weil nun die Musik die Leidenschaften bald erregen, bald wieder stillen soll; so erhellet daraus der Nutzen und der Nothwendigkeit dieser Manieren, bey einem natürlichen simplen Gesange.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 81; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 98.

<sup>144</sup> “In traurigen Stücken muss der Triller langsamer; in lustigen aber geschwinder geschlagen werden.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 84; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 101.

<sup>145</sup> “Deswegen muss ein Anfänger sein Spielen mit einer beständigen Aufmerksamkeit verknüpfen, und Acht haben, ob er auch jede Note so höre, wie er sie mit den Augen sieht, und wie ihre Geltung und Ausdruck erfordert. Das Singen der Seele, oder die innerliche Empfindung, giebt hierbey einen grossen Vortheil. Ein Anfänger muss demnach suchen, nach und nach diese Empfindung bey sich zu erwecken. Denn sofern er von dem was er spielt

Quantz's choice of words in this passage, and the concept of moving others through one's playing is again directly in line with the principles of the ancient rhetoricians. Quantz justifies his theory with another reference to oratory and rhetoric at the opening of the chapter titled "Of Good Execution in General in Singing and Playing":

Musical execution may be compared with the delivery of an orator. The orator and the musician have, at bottom, the same aim in regard to both the preparation and the final execution of their productions, namely to make themselves masters of the hearts of their listeners, to arouse or still their passions, and to transport them now to this sentiment, now to that.<sup>146</sup>

In itemizing those qualities that define musical execution Quantz also writes

Finally, good execution must be expressive, and appropriate to each passion that one encounters. In the Allegro, and in all the gay pieces of this type, liveliness must rule, but in the Adagio, and pieces of this character, delicacy must prevail, and the notes must be drawn out or sustained in an agreeable manner. The performer of a piece must seek to enter into the principal and related passions that he is to express. And since in the majority of pieces one passion constantly alternates with another, the performer must know how to judge the nature of the passion that each idea contains, and constantly make his execution conform to it. Only in this manner will he do justice to the intentions of the composer, and to the ideas that he had in mind when he wrote the piece. There are even various degrees of liveliness and melancholy. For example, where a furious emotion prevails, the execution must have much more fire than in jocular pieces, although it must be lively in both; and the situation is the same in the opposite kind of music. The addition of embellishments with which you seek to adorn, and to further enhance, the prescribed air or plain melody must also be adjusted accordingly. These embellishments, whether essential or extempore, must never contradict the prevailing sentiments in the principal melody; and thus the sustained and drawn-out melody must not be confused with the playful, pleasing, half-gay, and lively one, the bold with the flattering, etc. The appoggiaturas connect the melody and augment the harmony; the trills and the other little embellishments such as half-trills, mordents, turns, and *battemens* enliven it.<sup>147</sup>

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nicht selbst gerühret wird; so hat er nicht allein von seiner Bemühung keinen Nutzen zu hoffen; sondern er wird auch niemals jemand andern durch sein Spielen bewegen; welches doch eigentlich der Entzweck seyn soll." Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 99; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 117.

<sup>146</sup> "Der musikalische Vortrag kann mit dem Vortrage eines Redners verglichen werden. Ein Redner und ein Musiker haben sowohl in Ansehung der Ausarbeitung der vorzutragenden Sachen, als des Vortrages selbst, einerley Absicht zum Grunde, nämlich: sich der Herzen zu bemeistern, die Leidenschaften zu erregen oder zu stillen, und die Zuhörer bald in diesen, bald in jenen Affect zu versetzen." Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 100; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 119.

<sup>147</sup> "Der gute Vortrag muss endlich: ausdrückend, und jeder vorkommenden Leidenschaft gemäss seyn. Im

Here Quantz makes it very clear that all aspects of a composition must be in service to the dominant affection, not the least of which is the embellishment. However his remark “that in the majority of pieces one passion constantly alternates with another” is in direct contrast to the Baroque tendency to highlight a single passion as discussed by Mattheson. This is because Quantz was a proponent of the pre-classical *galant* style, which saw the composer adopting, as Quantz puts it, “a new sentiment at each bar.”<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, Quantz speaks in equal measure throughout his treatise of determining “the dominant sentiment of a piece,” and it seems imprudent to dismiss his insight into Baroque performance practice altogether.<sup>149</sup> The composers of the mid- and late eighteenth-century principally objected to the static quality of the passions as they were expressed by the musicians of the earlier part of the century. Yet the relationships between particular compositional features and the passions they evoke would not vary depending on the number of affections being aroused at any given time. Furthermore, Quantz’s proposed means of arousing and directing the passions must surely reflect his

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Allegro, und allen dahin gehörigen muntern Stücken muss Lebhaftigkeit; im Adagio, und denen ihm gleichenden Stücken aber, Zärtlichkeit, und ein angenehmes Ziehen oder Tragen der Stimme herrschen. Der Ausführender eines Stückes muss sich selbst in die Haupt und Nebenleidenschaften, die er ausdrücken soll, zu versetzen suchen. Und weil in den meisten Stücken immer eine Leidenschaft mit der andern abwechselt; so muss auch der Ausführender jeden Gedanken zu beurtheilen wissen, was für eine Leidenschaft er in sich enthalte, und seinen Vortrag immer derselben gleichförmig machen. Auf diese Art nur wird er den Absichten des Componisten, und den Vorstellungen so sich dieser bey Verfertigung des Stückes gemacht hat, eine Gnüge leisten. Es giebt selbst verschiedene Grade der Lebhaftigkeit oder der Traurigkeit. Wo ein wütender Affect herrschet, da muss der Vortrag weit mehr Feuer haben, als bey scherzenden Stücken, ob er gleich bey beyden lebhaft seyn muss: und so auch bey dem Gegentheile. Man muss sich auch mit dem Zusatze der Auszierungen, mit denen man den vorgeschriebenen Gesang, oder eine simple Melodie, zu bereichern, und noch mehr zu erheben suchet, darnach richten. Diese Auszierungen, sie mögen nothwendig oder willkürlich seyn, müssen niemals dem in der Hauptmelodie herrschenden Affecte widersprechen; und folglich muss das Unterhaltene und Bezogene, mit dem Tändelnden, Gefälligen, Halblustigen und Lebhaften, das Freche mit dem Schmeichelnden, u.s.w. nicht verwirret werden. Die Vorschläge machen die Melodie an einander hangend, und vermehren die Harmonie; die Triller und übrigen kleinen Auszierungen, als: halbe Triller, Mordanten, Doppelschläge und *battemens*, muntern auf.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 107; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 124-25.

<sup>148</sup> “bey jedem Tacte in einen andern Affect setzen muss,” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 108; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 126.

<sup>149</sup> “Was für ein Affect herrsche,” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 107; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 125.

experience working as a composer and performer throughout the early decades of the eighteenth century.

In Quantz's fifteenth chapter he discusses the relationship between cadenzas and the affections, writing

Cadenzas must stem from the principal sentiment of the piece, and include a short repetition or imitation of the most pleasing phrases contained in it...In this manner you not only can make up for any lack of inventiveness, but can always confirm the prevailing passion of the piece as well.<sup>150</sup>

While this advice seems logical, in a footnote to the passage the editor remarks that the early twentieth-century German musicologist Arnold Schering argued against the practice of borrowing thematic material for the cadenza. According to Schering, in Quantz's day many cadenzas consisted entirely of embellished scale figures and arpeggios.<sup>151</sup> Sadly, the source from whence Schering got his information is not referenced, and consequently it is difficult to know how authoritative his contradictory statement is. Nevertheless these conflicting opinions serve to remind the reader that much of what Quantz wrote in his treatise may be prescriptive rather than descriptive in nature. The part of Quantz's statement which is more likely to represent common practice, however, is that which suggests that the cadenza should "confirm the prevailing passion of the piece." Howard Mayer Brown, who has surveyed the major treatises of the eighteenth century, also writes that cadenzas should be "appropriate to the main affect of the aria: florid for fast arias, more languid for slow arias."<sup>152</sup> In keeping with this idea, Quantz writes,

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<sup>150</sup> "Die Cadenzen müssen aus dem Hauptaffecte des Stückes fließen, und eine kurze Wiederholung oder Nachahmung der gefälligsten Clauseln die in dem Stücke enthalten sind, in sich fassen...Hierdurch kann man nicht nur zu allen Zeiten den Mangel der Erfindung ersetzen; sondern man wird auch jederzeit der herrschenden Leidenschaft des Stückes eine Gnüge thun." Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 154; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 181-82.

<sup>151</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly, 182, n1.

<sup>152</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, "Embellishing Eighteenth-Century Arias: On Cadenzas," in *Opera and Vivaldi*, ed. Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 265.

Just as a gay cadenza is formed from extended leaps and gay phrases interspersed with triplets and trills, etc., a melancholy one, on the other hand, consists almost entirely of small intervals mingled with dissonances.<sup>153</sup>

By “dissonances” Quantz is most likely referring here to appoggiaturas and suspensions, which sound as dissonances on the beat before they are resolved. All in all, he is suggesting that the cadenza, itself an extended extempore embellishment, is meant to contain smaller interpolated ornaments, not just *passaggi*, which also contribute to its mood. Although Quantz’s advice is once more in opposition to Schering’s, the lack of supporting evidence for either case means that neither should be dismissed from the realm of possibility.

A primary reference which relates embellishment to the expression of individual affections is the treatise by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788) titled *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen* (*Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* [Berlin, 1753 and 1762]). Bach begins his text with the following statement:

The true art of playing keyboard instruments depends on three factors so closely related that no one of them can, nor indeed dare, exist without the others. They are: correct fingering, good embellishments, and good performance.<sup>154</sup>

This opening statement yet again confirms the prominent place that ornamentation held in eighteenth-century performance practice. The supremacy of vocal literature in the Baroque period is also evidenced by Bach’s subsequent suggestion that “the whole approach to performance will be greatly aided and simplified by the supplementary study of voice wherever

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<sup>153</sup> “Wie eine lustige Cadenz aus weitläufigen Sprüngen, lustigen Clauseln, untermischten Triolen und Trillern u. d. gl. gebildet wird; so besteht hingegen eine traurige fast aus lauter nahe an einander liegenden, mit Dissonanzen vermischten Intervallen.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 156; trans. in Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 184.

<sup>154</sup> “Zur wahren Art das Clavier zu spielen, gehören hauptsächlich drey Stücke, welche so genau mit einander verbunden sind, dass eines ohne das andere weder seyn kan, noch darf; nemlich die rechte finger-Setzung, die guten Manieren, und der gute Vortrag.” Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen* (Berlin, Christian Friedrich Henning, 1753), 1; ed. and trans. by William J. Mitchell in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (London: Cassell and Company, 1951), 30.

possible and by listening closely to good singers.”<sup>155</sup> Bach shortly enters into a discussion of embellishment, which opens with the following passage:

No one disputes the need for embellishments. This is evident from the great numbers of them everywhere to be found. They are, in fact, indispensable. Consider their many uses: They connect and enliven tones and impart stress and accent; they make music pleasing and awaken our close attention. Expression is heightened by them; let a piece be sad, joyful, or otherwise, and they will lend a fitting assistance.<sup>156</sup>

Bach’s comments regarding the necessity of ornaments and their ability to heighten expression are by now very familiar from the earlier treatises. He then adds another general remark regarding embellishments which states

Care must be taken to use them sparingly, at the correct places, and without disturbing the affect of a piece. It is understood, for example, that the portrayal of simplicity of sadness suffers fewer ornaments than other emotions.<sup>157</sup>

He cautions, however, that “it is difficult to prescribe the correct context for every embellishment, for all composers are free to introduce their favorites where they will, so long as good taste is not thereby assailed.”<sup>158</sup> Here again is a reference to “good taste,” and, like Heinichen, Bach connects ornamentation introduced by the musician with its achievement.

As with Mattheson, Bach does not allow his disclaimer that “it is difficult to prescribe the correct context for every embellishment” to prevent him from providing his readers with

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<sup>155</sup> “Einen grossen Nutzen und Erleichterung in die ganze Spiel-Art wird derjenige spüren, welcher zu gleicher Zeit Gelegenheit hat, die Singe-Kunst zu lernen, und gute Sänger fleissig zu hören.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 13; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 39.

<sup>156</sup> “Es hat wohl niemand an der Nothwendigkeit der Manieren gezweifelt. Man kan es daher mercken, weil man sie überall in reichlicher Menge antrifft. Indessen sind sie allerdings unentbehrlich, wenn man ihren Nutzen betrachtet. Sie hängen die Noten zusammen; sie beleben sie; sie geben ihnen, wenn es nöthig ist, einen besondern Nachdruck und Gewicht; sie machen sie gefällig und erwecken folglich eine besondere Aufmercksamkeit; sie helfen ihren Inhalt erklären; es mag dieser traurig oder frölich oder sonst beschaffen seyn wie er will, so tragen sie allezeit das ihrige darzu bey.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, 51; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 79.

<sup>157</sup> “Nur brauche man hierbey die Vorsicht, dass dieses selten, an dem rechten Orte und ohne dem Affecte des Stückes Gewalt zu thun geschehe.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 53; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 80-81.

<sup>158</sup> “Es ist schwer, den Sitz jeder Manier so gar genau zu bestimmen, indem jeder Componist bey seinen Erfindungen, ohne dass er dem guten Geschmacke Gewalt thut, die Freyheit hat, an den meisten Oertern eine ihm beliebige Manier darbey zu setzen.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 55; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 82.

certain guidelines regarding embellishment. For example, he writes “embellishments are better suited to slow or moderate than to rapid tempos, and to long rather than short notes.”<sup>159</sup> He later comments that “a profusion of appoggiaturas with their releases is particularly good in affettuoso passages since the releases usually expire pianissimo.”<sup>160</sup> By this Bach meant that the appoggiatura should always be played stronger than the following note, hence the following note sounds more softly, and gives the effect of dying away.<sup>161</sup> He then makes an additional comment concerning the execution of the appoggiatura and the resulting affection, writing “in an Adagio their expression is more tender when they are played as the first eighth of a triplet rather than as sixteenths” (for a musical example of this ornament, please see Appendix 2).<sup>162</sup> This statement also seems to highlight a performance practice wherein the appoggiatura is played stronger than the following notes. Bach later repeats himself in his description of the dotted compound appoggiatura (see Appendix 2): “It never appears in rapid movements but is well used in affettuoso passages.”<sup>163</sup> In contrast, he asserts that trills, which are inherently quick, “enliven melodies.”<sup>164</sup> Consequently he adds “it is strongly recommended that the trill be employed circumspectly, especially in affettuoso passages.”<sup>165</sup> Bach also stresses the usual

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<sup>159</sup> “die Manieren mehr bey langsamer und mässiger als geschwinder Zeit-Maass, mehr bey langen als kurtzen Noten gebraucht werden.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 58-9; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 84.

<sup>160</sup> “Alle diese Vorschläge, nebst ihren Abzügen, wenn sie zumahl häufig vorkommen, thun besonders bey sehr affectuösen Stellen gut, indem der letztere oft mit einem Pianissimo gliedsam verlöscht.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 68; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 95.

<sup>161</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 184.

<sup>162</sup> “Bey dem Adagio aber ist der Ausdruck schmeichelder, wenn die Vorschläge bey diesem Crempel aus Achttheile von einer Triole, und nicht als Sechzehnteile gespielt werden.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 66; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 92.

<sup>163</sup> “Dieser Anschlag kommt in geschwinden Sachen niemahls vor. Er wird mit Nutzen bey affectuösen Stellen gebraucht.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 105; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 135.

<sup>164</sup> “Die Triller beleben den Gesang.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 71; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 99-100.

<sup>165</sup> “Dem ohngeacht ist sehr nothwendig, dass man, zumahl bey affectuösen Stellen, mit dieser Manier besonders rathsam umgehe.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 71; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 99-100.

fast execution of the turn (for musical examples of this ornament and those following in this paragraph see Appendix 2), stating

In most cases the turn serves to add brilliance to notes. Hence, passages which must be played undecorated and sustained are ruined by those who insert a turn because of the length of the notes, in ignorance of style and touch.<sup>166</sup>

Later he mentions an exception to this, however, writing “the turn occasionally lays aside its brilliance for a purposely broad execution in slow, expressive movements.”<sup>167</sup> Brilliance is again mentioned in reference to the mordent, described as “an essential ornament which connects notes, fills them out, and makes them brilliant.”<sup>168</sup> Bach also discusses two and three-toned slides, which are notes struck before the principal tone that fill in a leap in the melody or embellish a repeated note in a way similar to a turn. He writes “because the emotions are more stirred by dissonance than consonance the slide is most frequently found over the former.”<sup>169</sup> He suggests that “the three-toned slide is equally at home in very rapid and very slow tempos, in flowing as well as highly expressive movements.”<sup>170</sup> He adds “it is well fitted for the expression of sadness in languid, adagio movements,” while “the dotted two-toned slide is equally effective in awakening more pleasurable feelings.”<sup>171</sup> Finally, Bach’s closing remarks for this chapter on embellishment concern cadenzas:

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<sup>166</sup> “Da diese Manier in den mehresten Fällen gebraucht wird, um die Noten glänzend zu machen, so werden gemeinlich die, so wegen des Affekts unterhalten und simpel vorgetragen werden müssen, und wobey denen, so den wahren Vortrag und Druck nicht verstehen, die Zeit insgemein zu lang wird, dadurch verdorben.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 86-87; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 114.

<sup>167</sup> “zweytens dadurch, dass er zuweilen seinen Schimmer ablegt, und bey langsamen Stücken voller Affeckt mit Fleiss matt gemacht wird.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 90; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 118.

<sup>168</sup> “Der mordent ist eine nöthige Manier, welche die Noten zusammen hängt, ausfüllet und ihnen einen Glantz giebt.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 80; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 127.

<sup>169</sup> “Weil die Dissonantzen geschickter sind, Leidenschaften zu erregeren als die Consonantzen, so trifft man diese Manier auch am öftersten über jenen an.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 109; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 138.

<sup>170</sup> “Diese Manier, liebt das sehr geschwinde und das sehr langsame, das gleichgültige und das alleraffektuöseste.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 108; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 137.

<sup>171</sup> “Im andern Falle wird dieser Schleiffer, als eine traurige Manier, bey matten Stellen, besonders im Adagio,



Fermate over rests occur most frequently in allegro movements and are not embellished. The two other kinds are usually found in slow, affettuoso movements and must be embellished if only to avoid artlessness. In any event elaborate decoration is more necessary here than in other parts of movements.<sup>172</sup>

He continues “since such elaborations must be related to the affect of a movement, they can be successfully employed only when close attention is paid to a composition’s expressive aim.”<sup>173</sup>

Though his terminology is slightly different, Bach’s advice is in keeping with Quantz’s suggestion that a cadenza should maintain the prevailing affection of the aria.<sup>174</sup>

As pointed out earlier in this paper, although the question of Handel’s compositional citizenship in a complex one, Handel’s use of single-note graces places him in the Italian school.<sup>175</sup> Amongst the most influential musicians of eighteenth-century Italy was Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727), an Italian composer credited with writing more than fifty operas over the course of his lifetime, many of which served as models for Handel.<sup>176</sup> Gasparini spent the majority of his career based in Rome and Venice, and was an esteemed colleague of Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725). In his autobiography, the German flautist Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) mentions receiving instruction from “the famous Francesco Gasparini, a 72 year-old kind and honest man, who was not only a learned contrapuntist but also an agreeable and lucid opera composer of his time.”<sup>177</sup> Clearly impressed, Quantz also recounts that “twenty-

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mit Nutzen gebraucht.” “so viel Gefälligkeit erregt der Schleiffer aus zweyen Nötgen mit einem darzwischen stehenden Puncte.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 108 and 110; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 138-39.

<sup>172</sup> “Die Fermaten über Pausen kommen mehrentheils im Allegro vor, und werden gantz simple vorgetragen. Die andern zwey Arten findet man gemeinlich in langsamen und affectuösen Stücken, und müssen verziert werden, oder man fällt in den Fehler der Einfalt. Es können also allenfalls bey den übrigen Stellen eines Stückes eher weitläufigere Manieren gewisset werden als hier.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 113; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 143.

<sup>173</sup> “Da diese Verzierungen allezeit ein Verhältniss mit dem Affecte des Stückes haben müssen, so kan man sie mit Nutzen brauchen, wenn man auf diesen Affect genaue Achtung giebt.” Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, 113-114; trans. by Mitchell in *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, 144.

<sup>174</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 154; trans. by Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 181-82.

<sup>175</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 171.

<sup>176</sup> Harris S. Saunders, “Gasparini, Francesco,” *Grove Music Online* <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 13 September 2007).

<sup>177</sup> Paul Nettl, *Forgotten Musicians*, 300.

five operas by him have been performed on the Venetian stage alone.”<sup>178</sup> Gasparini’s most lasting contribution to the literature, however, was his *L’armonico pratico al cimbalo* (*The Practical Harmonist at the Harpsichord* [Venice, 1708]), a significant treatise on the art of continuo playing. It is a very straightforward text, rarely lapsing into philosophical discussion, or remarks on the rhetorical potential of music. Nevertheless, when writing about the *acciaccatura* Gasparini says “these and similar dissonances, or harsh harmonies, would seem to allow the good singer scope for better expression of the affections and spirit of compositions.”<sup>179</sup> In another chapter he writes that the diminution of the bass line (into divisions or *passaggi*), is sometimes suitable “for the expression of bizarre sentiments.”<sup>180</sup> Though they are brief, these two comments still constitute evidence of a performance practice that places the expression of the affections at the fore and relates them to specific ornaments.

The only treatise on Italian vocal performance practice which dates from the early eighteenth century is that of Pierfrancesco Tosi (1653-1732) titled *Opinioni de cantori antichi, e moderni* (*Opinions of Singers Ancient, and Modern* [Bologna, 1723]). During his career Tosi enjoyed success both as a castrato, and as a teacher of singing, and his treatise was praised during his lifetime and following his death.<sup>181</sup> Considered by musicians to be the standard treatise on singing for much of the eighteenth century, this text was translated into Dutch,

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 301.

<sup>179</sup> “Queste, e simili false, o durezza pare, che diano campo al buon Cantore di meglio esprimere gli affetti, e il buon gusto delle Composizioni.” Francesco Gasparini, *L’Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo* (Venice: Antonio Bortoli, 1708), 97; Francesco Gasparini, *The Practical Harmonist at the Harpsichord*, trans. Frank S. Stillings, ed. David L. Burrows (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963), 84. The reader will recall that the *acciaccatura* was used in thoroughbass accompaniment and more specifically in recitative. The term appears to designate an arpeggiated cadential chord into which a dissonant note is introduced and then released. See Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 479-82.

<sup>180</sup> “a qualche umor bizzarro dimostrerò,” Gasparini, *L’Armonico Pratico al Cimbalo*, 105; Gasparini, *The Practical Harmonist at the Harpsichord*, 90.

<sup>181</sup> Pierfrancesco Tosi, *Opinions of Singers Ancient, and Modern*, trans. Edward Foreman (Minneapolis, MN: Pro Musica Press, 1986), xxi.

English, French, and German, and was referred to by various writers of the time, such as Quantz, Mancini, and Johann Adam Hiller.<sup>182</sup>

When discussing *da capo* arias, Tosi makes strong recommendations regarding the necessity of embellishment, which have frequently been cited:

In the first [part] they require nothing but simple ornaments, tasteful and few, so that the composition remains intact. In the second it is ordered that to this ingenuous purity a singular artifice be joined, that the listener hear that the ability of the singer is great: that is to say that in the arias da capo, one who does not vary, improving everything he sings, is not a great man.<sup>183</sup>

According to Tosi, ornamentation is therefore an element by which the skill of the singer is measured and also a means by which the music is improved. He shortly makes the purpose of ornaments all the more clear by writing that each one should “be equally executed with regard to the expression of the words and to art [...] that it be produced more from the heart than the voice, in order to insinuate itself more easily to the interior [of the listener].”<sup>184</sup> Again, as in Quantz’s treatise and many of the other volumes examined above, the designated aim of performance is to move the heart of the listener, and even the ornaments contribute to this objective. However, although Tosi devotes chapters to the *appoggiatura*, the trill and *passaggi*, he makes no further remarks as to the potential of ornaments to sway the emotions of the listener.

Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762) was an Italian composer, violinist and theorist who lived and worked in London during much the same period as Handel, specifically from 1714 until 1732. Believed to have been the pupil of Arcangelo Corelli and Alessandro Scarlatti, Geminiani was highly regarded as a performer and teacher, and spent much of the last fourteen

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<sup>182</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, “Embellishing Eighteenth-Century Arias,” in *Opera and Vivaldi*, 259.

<sup>183</sup> “Nella prima non chieggono, che ornamenti semplici, gustosi, e pochi, affinché la composizione resti intatta: Nella seconda comandano, che a quella purità ingegnosa un artificio singolare si aggiunga, acciò chi se n’intende senta, che l’abilità di chi canta è maggiore: Nel dir poi le Arie da capo, chi non varia migliorando tutto quello, che cantò, non è grand’ Uomo.” Tosi, *Opinions of Singers Ancient, and Modern*, trans. Foreman, 59-60.

<sup>184</sup> “Che sia egualmente eseguito dall’ espressiva delle parole, che dall’ arte”; “Che sia prodotto più dal cuore, che dalla voce per insinuarsi più facilmente nell’interno.” Tosi, *Opinions of Singers Ancient, and Modern*, trans. Foreman, 112-13.

years of his life writing theoretical manuals.<sup>185</sup> One of these is titled *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (London, 1749), in which he defines playing or singing “in good taste” as “expressing with strength and delicacy the intention of the composer.”<sup>186</sup> While Heinichen wrote about good taste from the perspective of the composer, Geminiani assumes that of the performer, advocating the study and practice of the “ornaments of expression,” which he lists and defines principally according to the affections they evoke. Of the fourteen definitions, seven contain specific references to a passion or passions, and for the interest of the reader they are reproduced below. Let it be noted that in these definitions the term “shake” refers to the trill.

1. The turn’d shake being made quick and long is fit to express gaiety; but if you make it short, and continue the length of the note plain and soft, it may then express some of more tender passions.
2. The superior apogiatura is supposed to express love, affection, pleasure, etc. It should be made pretty long, giving it more than half the length or time of the note it belongs to, observing to swell the sound by degrees, and towards the end to force the bow a little: if it be made short, it will lose much of the aforesaid qualities; but will always have a pleasing effect, and it may be added to any note you will.
3. The inferior apogiatura has the same qualities with the preceding, except that it is much more confin’d, as it can only be made when the melody rises the interval of a second or third, observing to make a beat on the following note.
4. The staccato expresses rest, taking breath, or changing a word; and for this reason singers should be careful to take breath in a place where it may not interrupt the sense.
5. The separation is only designed to give a variety to the melody, and takes place most properly when the note rises a second or third; as also when it descends a second, and then it will not be amiss to add a beat, and to swell the note, and then make the apogiatura to the following note. By this tenderness is expressed.
6. The beat is proper to express several passions; as for example, if it be perform’d with strength, and continued long, it expresses fury, anger, resolution, etc. If it be play’d less strong and shorter, it expresses mirth, satisfaction, etc. But if you play it quite soft, and swell the note, it may then

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<sup>185</sup> Enrico Careri, “Geminiani, Francesco,” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 3 September 2007).

<sup>186</sup> Francesco Geminiani, *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick*, with an introduction by Robert Donington (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 2.

denote horror, fear, grief, lamentation, etc. By making it short and swelling the note gently, it may express affection and pleasure.

7. The close shake cannot possibly be described by notes as in former examples. To perform it, you must press the finger strongly upon the string of the instrument, and move the wrist in and out slowly and equally, when it is long continued swelling the sound by degrees, drawing the bow nearer to the bridge, and ending it very strong it may express majesty, dignity, etc. But making it shorter, lower and softer, it may denote affliction, fear, etc. and when it is made on short notes, it only contributes to make their sound more agreeable; and for this reason it should be made use of as often as possible.<sup>187</sup>

Although Geminiani directs his advice principally toward string players, he does speak to singers as well (“singers should be careful to take breath in a place where it may not interrupt the sense.”) Furthermore, his comments regarding the specific uses of these ornaments provide some of the most concrete proof of the connection between embellishment and individual affections in the first half of the eighteenth century. Interestingly, Geminiani’s definitions also indicate that not only the ornament itself, but also the way in which it was performed, was thought to determine the resulting passion.

The Italian philosopher and art critic Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764) also made an important contribution to the literature of the eighteenth century in the form of an essay on opera titled *Saggio sopra l’opera in musica* (*Essay on Opera*, 1755). Algarotti became intimately acquainted with opera while working in the courts of Frederick the Great and Augustus III, the Elector of Saxony, where he assisted in the arrangement and versification of Italian libretti.<sup>188</sup> His essay was written in response to the abuses he felt Italian opera was suffering in his day, and it was widely read both in Italian and in translation.<sup>189</sup> Algarotti’s principal argument is that all the components of opera should support a unifying poetic idea,

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

<sup>188</sup> Daniel Heartz, “Algarotti, Francesco,” *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 11 September 2007).

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

and throughout the document he draws attention to the affections. His first remark of this sort concerns the general purpose of music:

[Music's] chief business is to pre-dispose the minds of the audience for receiving the impressions to be excited by the poet's verse; to infuse such a general tendency in their affections, as to make them analogous with those particular ideas, which the poet means to inspire. In *fine*, its genuine office is to communicate a more animating energy to the language of the muses.<sup>190</sup>

Once again, the sentiments expressed here recall those of other theorists, such as Antoniotto, Heinichen and Mattheson, who also argued that music's principal role was to enhance the expression of the text by evoking the affections. However, Algarotti adds to his argument by writing

It is an undeniable fact, that, in the earliest ages, the poets were all musical proficient; the vocal part, then, ranked as it should, which was to render the thoughts of the mind, and affections of the heart, with more forcible, more lively, and more kindling expression.<sup>191</sup>

Much like Quantz, Algarotti draws on the connection between music and the ancient art of oration to convey music's influential role in evoking the affections. Sadly, Algarotti does not delve very deeply into the relationship between the elements of musical composition and specific affections. His only remark linking the passions with ornamentation is a very general comment about *passaggi*:

In regard to brilliant passages, common sense forbids the introduction of them, excepting where the words are expressive of passion or movement, otherwise they deserve no milder an appellation, then being so many impertinent interruptions of the musical sense.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> "Proprio suo uffizio è il dispor l'animo a ricevere le impressioni dei versi, muovere così generalmente quegli affetti, che abbiano analogia colle idee particolari, che hanno da essere eccitate dal Poeta; dare in una parola al linguaggio delle Muse maggior vigore e maggiore energia." Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio Sopra L'Opera in Musica*, ed. Annalisa Bini (Bologna: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1989), 24; Francesco Algarotti, *An essay on the opera written in Italian by Count Algarotti* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1767), 27-28.

<sup>191</sup> "Ad ognuno è noto, che anticamente gli stessi Poeti erano musici. E così la Musica vocale era quale pur esser dee secondo la vera istituzione sua: una espressione più forte, più viva, più calda dei concetti, e degli affetti dell'animo." Algarotti, *Saggio Sopra L'Opera in Musica*, 25; *An essay on the opera*, 28-29.

<sup>192</sup> "Quanto ai passaggi, prescrive la sana ragione, che non convenga usargli, salvochè nelle parole esprimenti passione, o moto. Altrimenti non si hanno da dire, a propriamente chiamargli, se non se interruzioni del senso musicale." Algarotti, *Saggio Sopra L'Opera in Musica*, 34; *An essay on the opera*, 41.

Tosi's vehement rant against the excessive use of *passaggi* comes to mind here.

The Italian theorist and composer Giorgio Antoniotto (1692-1776) was a contemporary of Handel's who similarly spent more than two decades living in London. His theoretical treatise *L'Arte Armonica: or, A Treatise on the Composition of Musick* was published in an anonymous English translation in 1760 and was subsequently critiqued in London's *Monthly Review*. Although the work was "found lacking in purity and elegance of style" it was still deemed "intelligible and valuable for advanced students of music."<sup>193</sup> In the introduction, Antoniotto writes that the purpose of singing

Is to chear the Mind, and to relieve it, not only from the Irksomeness of Idleness, the Gloom of Care, and the Fatigue of domestic Employment; but likewise from the Power and Tyranny of our boisterous Passions, and many other Evils, which do but too often invade both the Mind and the Body, as the History of Mankind most plainly shews.<sup>194</sup>

Thus within the first page of his treatise, Antoniotto connects singing with the movement of the passions, and specifically with their control. Antoniotto begins his first chapter with a definition of music in a similar vein:

The Word MUSIC has been applied to many and various Subjects but, in this Treatise, it signifies no more than a Succession of Sounds in themselves agreeable and properly expressed, which alone, or differently combined, in changing from low to high, or from slow to quick Movement, or *vice versa*, delights and gives Pleasure; consequently the Sounds are the Matter of Music; the Disposition of those Sounds, either alone, or combined in a pleasing Succession, is the Art and the End to affect the Passions with agreeable Sensations, which become more or less so, not only from the Degree of Perfection the Art is arrived at, but also from the different Constitutions and Habits of the Auditors, as remarked in the Introduction.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> 'L'arte armonica', *Monthly Review*, xxiv (1761), 293-9 [review]. Sven Hansell and Emilia Zanetti, "Antoniotto, Giorgio," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 5 September 2007).

<sup>194</sup> Giorgio Antoniotto, *L'Arte Armonica or A Treatise on the Composition of Musick* (London: John Johnson, 1760), 1.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

As Avison did in his essay for the London public, Antoniotto associates music with the “agreeable” passions and similarly identifies tempo, harmony, and melody as some of the principal tools for expressive musical composition.

Later in the text Antoniotto argues for the superiority of vocal music:

The music produced by a good and proper voice for music, is infinitely superior to all music that may be produced by any instrument whatsoever; because the best instrument can only produce sounds, but a voice may join his musical sounds to the discourse; and when it is properly adapted, both together acquiring an extraordinary power, becomes absolute arbitrator of the human passions, and made wonder and miracles as it is reported by so many old and modern historians.<sup>196</sup>

Antoniotto is clearly adamant regarding the dominance of vocal music, and he continues

This power falls very short when music is not well, and properly applied to the expression and sense of the words; and notwithstanding that the music may be composed by an excellent artist, but indifferently adapted to the words, may be only considered as simple instrumental music, fit for pleasure, but not for affecting and moving the human passions, because the excellence and superiority of the vocal music consists only in giving weight to the speech, which cannot be done without the excellence of the harmonic art being properly joined to the expression of the words.<sup>197</sup>

Antoniotto thereby asserts that only vocal music has the power to sway the affections, and specifically vocal works whose features are fitted to the sense of the words. To this end, Antoniotto suggests that “it is necessary not only to possess perfectly all rules of combinations and progressions harmonic, but all the different impressions which may be done to sensation by the various motions, combinations, and progressions gradually, or by skips.”<sup>198</sup> This is Antoniotto’s first remark associating specific compositional devices with emotions. He then goes on to relate different voice types to different moods, and to outline the kinds of melodic motion to which they are best suited:

The Sopranos being of the acute voice, are the more proper for the quick movements, and these for the expressions, merry and agreeable. The Contraltos

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.



having their voices less acute, and of sweet tone, may be employed in the pathetic and amorous stile, and other slow movements. The Tenor partaking of all particularity of other voices, may serve in all gay, brisk, grave, and resolute movements, and particularly in simple narratives which are done under the terme, or moto andante, by the *Italians* called *arie parlanti*; which in English signifies a manner of speaking. The Bass being a more grave voice, is not proper for quick movements, nor in the very adagio pathetic, but in the middle of those two extremes, as largo, andante, risoluto, and staccato; the properest motions of melody for basses are skips, also by their gradual divisions, or diminutions of notes. To the tenor voice all motions are proper. To the contraltos it is the sostenuto and firm notes, also some few skips, but not too much distant in acuteness or gravity; on the contrary, the sostenuto, and firm notes, are not proper for the soprano voice, but the moving and diminished notes are more proper.<sup>199</sup>

The reader should note that Antoniotto's remarks represent stereotypes concerning voice types that many composers, including Handel, did not heed.<sup>200</sup> This passage is useful, however, in that it reveals how extensively theories regarding the affective potential of musical elements were implemented. Antoniotto even goes so far as to suggest that

The composer should put himself into the same passion into which he would move his auditors by his compositions; this may serve for a general rule to be depended on, because the enumeration of all observations in the divers applications of sounds in melody, and combined in harmony to the just expression of words, is of so much extension, and subject to an infinity of distinctions, all which cannot be compassed in a moderate space.<sup>201</sup>

The idea that a composer "should put himself into the same passion into which he would move his auditors" is in fact familiar from Quantz who similarly stated "the beginner must therefore seek gradually to arouse this feeling in himself." All in all, though many of his comments should be taken with a grain of salt, Antoniotto's treatise nevertheless remains valuable for its emphasis on vocal music.

Giovanni Battista Mancini (1714-1800), mentioned earlier in this paper, was an Italian castrato who performed professionally in Italy and Germany from about 1730, and worked in

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 102-3.

<sup>200</sup> Handel's scores contain many examples of pathetic airs for soprano ("Lascia ch'io pianga," from *Rinaldo*), and moving arias for bass ("I rage, I melt, I burn!" from *Acis and Galatea*), and so on.

<sup>201</sup> Antoniotto, *L'Arte Armonica*, 102-3.

the Imperial court in Vienna from 1757 as the singing master of the daughters of the Empress Maria Theresa.<sup>202</sup> He is best known today for his treatise on singing titled *Pensieri, e riflessioni pratiche sopra il canto figurato* (*Thoughts and Practical Reflections on Figured Singing* [Vienna, 1774]) (also referenced earlier), which, together with Pierfrancesco Tosi's *Opinioni de cantori antichi, e moderni*, constitutes the only record of the pedagogical methods of singing teachers of the eighteenth century.<sup>203</sup> Though it dates from the second half of the century, Mancini's treatise draws on experience gained during a career that began in the first half. Furthermore, Mancini references Tosi's text in his work, and advocates a similar approach to singing. Like Tosi, Mancini also expresses distaste for a contemporary style of singing that he believed to be overly decadent.<sup>204</sup>

In his treatise Mancini identifies "the graces of singing, which are those ornaments without which every song remains weak and tasteless."<sup>205</sup> They are the *appoggiatura*, the *messa di voce*, the trill and the mordent. Though his descriptions of both the *appoggiatura* and *messa di voce* (swelling of the voice) are restricted to technical instruction on their execution and references to their necessity in singing, he waxes eloquent in his chapter on the trill:

Among the most necessary qualities, and beautiful embellishments of the art, with which every singer should be furnished, there is, it seems to me, no quality more interesting, nor embellishment sweeter than that which is commonly called the trill: when done this produces in the ears and in the souls of the audience the increase and the summit of tenderness, of pleasure and of love. Let a singer have a beautiful voice, let him have facile execution, and let him have good taste; nonetheless his singing, if not united to the sweet grace of a trill, will ever be imperfect, arid and dry.<sup>206</sup>

In this passage the common references to leaving an impression "on the souls of the audience" and to the employment of "good taste" emerge yet again. Mancini continues, writing that the

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<sup>202</sup> John Rosselli, "Mancini, Giovanni Battista," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 19 September 2007).

<sup>203</sup> Mancini, *Practical Reflections on Figured Singing*, trans. and ed. Foreman, v.

<sup>204</sup> Rosselli, "Mancini, Giovanni Battista," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>205</sup> Mancini, *Practical Reflections on Figured Singing*, trans. and ed. Foreman, 44.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

mordent “is born from the trill,” and “has the singular advantage of being able to blend anywhere in the art, and is apt for any style of singing.”<sup>207</sup> Finally, his guidelines concerning the performance of recitative invoke oration in a way that is reminiscent of Quantz and Algarotti. He advises:

Listen to the discourse of a good orator, and hear what pauses, what variety of voice, what diverse strength he adopts to express his ideas; now he raises the voice, now drops it, now he quickens the voice, now harshens, now makes it sweet, according to the diverse passions which he intends to arouse in the listeners.<sup>208</sup>

Thus Mancini pays homage to rhetoric, and thereby to the art of persuasion, that so strongly influenced eighteenth-century musical aesthetics.

Clearly much of the material uncovered in these treatises speaks for itself, yet it is worthwhile commenting on the sheer volume of evidence in support of the prominent place the affections held in the minds of the composers, theorists and performers of the eighteenth century. A deliberate intention to move the hearts or souls of their audience was evidently at the forefront of the aesthetic choices made by musicians of this era, and the language they employed to describe this process is strikingly similar throughout the century, despite belonging to different national schools. It is also undeniable that composers and performers of the period connected individual ornaments with specific affections, even though they may not always have agreed on the pairings. While the treatises reviewed here are by no means the only works of substance to come out of the eighteenth century, they do represent a fair cross-section of published commentary from this period; musicians representing France, England, Germany and Italy have all been included. Furthermore, while Handel may not have penned his own treatise on performance practice, his career coincided or overlapped with those of a number of

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 65.

the authors referenced in this chapter, and his preferences regarding ornamentation, and those of his singers, would likely have been in line with the opinions expressed by his contemporaries. Finally, although many of the documents have a prescriptive rather than a descriptive tone when explaining the affective uses of embellishment, much can also be gleaned from the many comments made in reproof of contemporary indulgences.

Consequently, one might conclude that a historically informed ornamentation of Handel's arias would strike a balance between the "rules" outlined in the eighteenth-century treatises, and the decadence described in their anecdotal passages. What remains to be determined, therefore, are the affections to be augmented through ornamentation in each of the six arias associated with the present study. This information can only come from an understanding of the emotional context of each excerpt within the plots of *Arippina* (1709), *Rinaldo* (1711), and *Rodelinda* (1725). Furthermore, the motivation behind the selection of these operas, which represent three of the most successful periods of Handel's career as a composer of this genre, will only become clear if the operas themselves are also placed within the context of Handel's training and experience in *opera seria*.

## CHAPTER 4

### HANDEL'S OPERATIC CAREER: **AGRIPPINA, RINALDO AND RODELINDA** IN CONTEXT

Although he is perhaps best known today for his choral and instrumental compositions, Handel contributed over forty works to the genre of opera over the course of his thirty-six-year-long operatic career. Although his first appointment as a professional musician was as organist at the Calvinist Domkirche (Cathedral Church) of Halle in 1702, Handel may have been introduced to the genre of opera as early as 1698 on a trip to Berlin, an important operatic centre at the time.<sup>209</sup> Whatever the impetus, Handel made his first major venture into the world of opera in 1703 when, shortly after the death of his father, he moved to Hamburg and took up a position playing violin, and later continuo harpsichord, in the orchestra of the city opera house under the direction of Reinhard Keiser.<sup>210</sup> At that time Hamburg was home to the only opera company in Germany which ran independently from the courts, and the centre drew many aspiring singers, librettists and composers.<sup>211</sup> One such individual was the German composer, singer and theorist Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) (introduced in the third chapter of this paper) with whom Handel became friends. Immersed in this vibrant community, Handel was soon given the opportunity to compose for the stage, and on 8 January 1705, Handel's first opera, *Almira*, was heard in a successful première. Interestingly, Mattheson sang the lead role in this production.<sup>212</sup> It was succeeded by two additional operas (*Nero*, and *Florindo and Daphne*) which were heavily influenced by Keiser, not least in terms of their musical borrowings from Keiser's own operas, but also in their imitation of his tendency to blend

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<sup>209</sup> Anthony Hicks, "Handel," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ellen T. Harris, *The Librettos of Handel's Operas* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), xxxi.

<sup>212</sup> George J. Buelow, "Mattheson, Johann," *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 18 August 2007).

national styles.<sup>213</sup> Handel's use of French forms for overtures and dance music, as well as his adoption of typically German orchestral coloring, were compositional traits that remained with him throughout his career.<sup>214</sup> Several of Handel's later stage works, cantatas, and two of his operas similarly provide evidence of Mattheson's compositional influence on his younger colleague, and in two cases even include excerpts from Mattheson's own operas.

While Handel was in the employ of the Hamburg opera, Ferdinando de Medici paid a visit to the city and personally sought out meetings with the young composer.<sup>215</sup> It seems that the prince counseled Handel to visit Italy to become better acquainted with current Italian styles of composition, and his advice was heeded when Handel followed Ferdinando to Florence late in 1706. It is presumed that Handel's first opera for Italy, *Rodrigo*, was also commissioned by the prince, and the work is said to demonstrate improvement in Handel's vocal writing and increased confidence in his setting of the Italian language. By 1707 Handel had made his way to Rome and become acquainted with the influential cardinals Carlo Colonna, Benedetto Pamphili and likely also Pietro Ottoboni, for whom he composed some of his early church compositions.<sup>216</sup> The following years were presumably spent in further absorption of the Italian style, and also in the fulfillment of various commissions Handel received from wealthy patrons not only in Rome but also in Naples, and likely Florence and Venice as well. It was in this last city that his opera *Agrippina* was premiered at the Teatro S Giovanni Grisostomo on 26 December 1709 to open the carnival season.<sup>217</sup> Performed twenty-seven consecutive times, *Agrippina* is said to have demonstrated Handel's mastery of the Italian lyric and dramatic styles. Not an entirely original work, it contains an aria from Mattheson's *Porsenna* (1702) in

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<sup>213</sup> Hicks, "Handel," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 128-9.

its entirety, a borrowing which was acknowledged by Mattheson in his *Critica musica*.<sup>218</sup> More importantly, however, *Agrippina* proved to the international audience gathered in Venice that Handel had become a noteworthy European composer, the equal of such contemporaries as Alessandro Scarlatti and Nicolo Porpora.<sup>219</sup>

The success of *Agrippina* marked the final phase of Handel's Italian journey, and may also have led to his appointment as *Kapellmeister* (music director) in the household of the elector of Hanover on 16 June 1710.<sup>220</sup> Almost immediately upon taking up this position, however, Handel was awarded a year's leave to travel to England, a voyage he undertook in the autumn of that same year. Italian-style opera had been introduced to the London public some five years earlier, and the English had developed an appetite for Italian singers, particularly castrati, singing opera in their native tongue. In response, the Queen's theatre in the Haymarket had become London's opera house, and it fell to Handel to compose the first Italian opera for London, employing the all-Italian cast that had been hired for the 1710-11 season by the theatre's manager, Aaron Hill.<sup>221</sup> Although this might seem a surprising privilege to award to a newcomer and a foreigner, some of Handel's music had preceded him to the capital and had already been favorably received by the London audiences. Therefore when Hill learned of Handel's presence in the city, he commissioned the composer for a new Italian opera and prepared a prose scenario for *Rinaldo*. Handel was apparently enthusiastic about the project, and *Rinaldo* was premièred on 24 February 1711. It was an undeniable success and was performed an additional fifteen times, with four revivals in the years immediately following.

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<sup>218</sup> Donald J. Grout, and Hermine Weigel Williams, eds., *A Short History of Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 184.

<sup>219</sup> Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1947), 322.

<sup>220</sup> Georg Friedrich Händel, *Agrippina*, ed. Hellmuth Christian Wolff (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950), x.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, xi.

*Rinaldo* thereby secured Handel's position in London and established a following for showy Italian opera and its virtuoso singers.<sup>222</sup>

Handel's post in Hanover necessitated a return to Germany at the close of the first London opera season in June 1711. However he soon sought permission to make a second voyage to England and toward the end of 1712 the Elector conceded on the condition that Handel return within a reasonable time.<sup>223</sup> Months passed, though, and Handel did not come back to Germany. Thus, whether in annoyance at his music director's tardiness or at his involvement in the celebration of the Treaty of Utrecht (which clashed with Hanoverian interests), the Elector dismissed Handel from his appointment at the beginning of June 1713.<sup>224</sup> By this time Handel had already produced his operas *Il pastor fido* and *Teseo* for London and had assisted in the first revival of *Rinaldo*. Thankfully Handel managed to make amends for his poor behavior, and when Queen Anne of England died and the Elector of Hanover became King George I on 1 August 1714, Handel resumed his service to his, now royal, patron. From 1713-1716 the composer produced a further two operas for London, *Silla* and *Amadigi*.

Shortly thereafter Handel entered his most successful period as a composer of opera, principally as a result of the founding of the Royal Academy of Music in 1719. Sustained by King George I along with subscriptions from the nobility and the landed gentry, the Academy's purpose was to support regular seasons of Italian opera at what was now the King's Theatre in the Haymarket. Handel was awarded a position as composer for the Academy, and was commissioned by the Lord Chamberlain to assemble a company of Europe's finest singers. On a subsequent trip to Dresden, Handel succeeded in engaging a company of singers including Senesino, a castrato of some renown, as well as the soprano Margherita Durastanti, the castrato Matteo Berselli, and the contralto Francesca Vanini-Boschi. Handel's first opera for the

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<sup>222</sup> Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), 29.

<sup>223</sup> Anthony Hicks, "Handel," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*



Academy followed shortly thereafter, and *Radamisto* opened on 27 April 1720 to much acclaim. In the next seven seasons he produced a series of operas for some of the finest singers of his day. These included *Floridante* (1721), *Flavio* (1723), *Giulio Cesare* (1724), *Tamerlano* (1724), *Rodelinda* (1725), *Scipione* (1726), *Admeto* (1727), *Riccardo primo* (1727), *Siroe* (1728), and *Tolomeo* (1728). Two other operas from this period are *Ottone* (1723), which featured the soprano Francesca Cuzzoni, and *Alessandro* (1726), which cast Cuzzoni opposite a soprano who had recently joined the Academy's roster, Faustina Bordoni. Sadly a jealous rivalry between these leading ladies led to internal strife that eventually contributed to the downfall of the organization. From the moment of Bordoni's arrival in London, she and Cuzzoni made no effort to hide a shared hostility that finally resulted in the two coming to blows on stage during a performance of Bononcini's *Astianatte* on 6 June 1727. That opera season was consequently cut short, and the rivalry was mocked in the satirical *Beggar's Opera*, produced by John Gay at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 29 January 1728. The success of Gay's production, combined with the sensational events at the King's Theatre, did much to undermine the production of Italian opera in London.<sup>225</sup>

Rallying, Handel made another trip to the continent to round up fresh vocal talent, and with considerable financial support from the King, the first season of the Second Academy opened on 2 December 1729 with Handel's *Lotario*. Handel was now in partnership with the Swiss impresario Johann Jakob Heidegger (1666-1749), and together they produced a further six new operas over the course of the next four years (*Partenope*, *Poro*, *Ezio*, *Sosarme*, *Orlando* and *Arianna in Creta*), as well as pasticcios of works from other companies, revivals of *Scipione*, *Ottone* and *Il pastor fido*, an expanded version of Handel's masque *Acis and Galatea*, and the English oratorios *Esther* and *Deborah*.<sup>226</sup> However, during the 1732-33

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria*, 31-2.

season political trouble was brewing, and plots to undermine Handel's position in the London operatic scene manifested in the formation of a rival company, the Opera of the Nobility, with Nicola Porpora as music director. When Handel's five-year contract with Heidegger ended in 1734, the Opera of the Nobility took over the King's Theatre, and Handel was invited to the new theatre at Covent Garden under the direction of John Rich.<sup>227</sup> A fierce competition between the two companies ensued, prompting the Opera of the Nobility to lure away some of Handel's best singers, including Senesino and the bass Montagnana, and to hire the most famous castrato of the eighteenth-century, Farinelli.<sup>228</sup> Luckily Handel had his own ammunition in the form of the French dancer Marie Sallé and her ensemble who had also been engaged by Rich for that season's productions. She and her dancers were featured in Handel's two new operas of 1735, *Ariodante* and *Alcina*.<sup>229</sup> However, when Sallé did not return the following season, Handel gave up the fight and only produced one new opera, *Atalanta*, in honor of the wedding of the Prince of Wales on 27 April 1736. The following year brought three operas, *Arminio*, *Giustino*, and *Berenice*, but by this time the stress and strain of the past few years had taken their toll on Handel, and he spent the remainder of the season recovering from a spell of ill health.<sup>230</sup>

As evidence of the rapidly changing tastes of London's audiences, the 1736-1737 season was the last for Opera of the Nobility. Handel then moved back to the King's Theatre and produced his final four operas (*Faramondo*, *Serse*, *Imeneo* and *Deidamia*) over the next four years, only the first of which achieved any kind of acclaim. Thankfully Handel's favor with London audiences did not wane due to the popularity of his English oratorios, which had rapidly become his most lucrative source of income. By 1741 it seemed that Handel's

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<sup>227</sup> Hicks, "Handel," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>228</sup> Dean, *Handel and the Opera Series*, 32.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

compositional focus had shifted away from Italian opera once and for all.<sup>231</sup> Nevertheless it is clear that socio-political factors, and not the artistic integrity of Handel's operatic compositions, ultimately put an end to the composer's opera career.<sup>232</sup>

The operas *Agrippina*, *Rinaldo*, and *Rodelinda* therefore respectively represent Handel's Italian period, his arrival on the London opera scene, and the height of his success during the first Academy. For their part, the six arias extracted from these three works highlight a variety of affections, which I labelled after reference to Johann Mattheson's classification of the affections in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*.<sup>233</sup> In his treatise Mattheson devotes several pages to a systematic identification of affections, which he suggests are "expressed with their special colors in notes and sounds."<sup>234</sup> These include: love, lust (which comprises yearning, longing, wishing, striving, and craving), sadness, joy, pride, haughtiness, arrogance, humility, patience, stubbornness, anger, ardour, vengeance, rage, fury, jealousy (which incorporates ardent love, mistrust, desire, revenge, sadness, fear, and shame), hope, fear, dejection, failure, fright, horror, despair, pity, and composure.<sup>235</sup> While these words clearly held meaning for Mattheson's eighteenth-century readers, they still resonate today.

Bearing in mind that the Baroque aesthetic dictates that each section of a *da capo* aria is meant to represent a single, static emotion, I identified the affections of the arias from *Agrippina*, *Rinaldo* and *Rodelinda* according to the position of each aria within the context of

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<sup>231</sup> Hicks, "Handel," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>232</sup> Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, 331.

<sup>233</sup> Although another early eighteenth-century composer's taxonomy might well be considered equally useful in this task, Mattheson was arguably Handel's closest colleague both in terms of age and of shared experience in the genre of *opera seria*, and unlike many of the other contemporary authors, was an opera singer himself.

<sup>234</sup> "pflegen auch mit eigenen Farben in Noten und Klängen abgemahlet oder ausgedruckt zu werden." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 70; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 107.

<sup>235</sup> "Die Liebe, die Begierde (Senhsucht, Verlangen, Wünschen, Trachten und Begehren), die Traurigkeit, die Freude, der Stoltz, der Hochmuth, die Hoffart, der Demuth, die Geduld, die Hartnäckigkeit, den Zorn, den Eifer, die Rache, die Wut, den Grimm, der Eifersucht (die brennende Liebe, Mistrauen, Begierde, Rache, Traurigkeit, Furcht und Schaam), die Hoffnung, die Furcht, Kleinmüthigkeit, das verzagtes Wesen, das Schrecken, das Entsetzen, die Verzweiflung, das Mitleid, der Gelassenheit." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 67-71; trans. in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 105-109.

the opera's plot, and by examining the text of the aria itself. This is clearly a subjective procedure, and another singer would undoubtedly discern different affections for the same music. Furthermore, the notion of being able to pinpoint discreet affections seems somewhat far-fetched. However, the reader may take comfort in the fact that Mattheson himself alluded that each emotion has many facets when he wrote, for example, that lust comprises yearning, longing, wishing, striving, and craving. Hence the modern singer should perhaps aim, as I did, to identify a main emotion for each section of a *da capo* aria, with the understanding that other shades of these emotions will likely emerge in the actual performance of the music.

As mentioned above, *Agrippina* was premièred at the Teatro S Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice on 26 December 1709, and helped to secure Handel's reputation as a composer of international stature. The score re-used music from Handel's earlier *Rodrigo*, his oratorio *La Resurrezione*, and cantatas, as well as themes borrowed from his first mentor, Reinhard Keiser.<sup>236</sup> The plot was the work of Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani, and is one of the few librettos Handel was the first to set to music.<sup>237</sup> The story takes place in Rome and, though fictional, is based on actual events from around A.D. 50. All of the characters except Lesbo are historical.<sup>238</sup>

At the opening of the opera the Emperor Claudio is on a voyage to Britain, and the mistaken news of his death is delivered at court. His wife, Agrippina, schemes to have her son by an earlier marriage, Nerone, replace him on the throne, and she is assisted in her plot by her would-be lovers Pallante and Narciso. However Claudio returns very much alive, and reveals that his life was saved by Ottone, whom Claudio has named successor in reward for his bravery. Temporarily thwarted, Agrippina then uses Claudio's love for Poppea, who is also

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<sup>236</sup> Anthony Hicks, "Agrippina," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 27 August 2007).

<sup>237</sup> Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 117.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

pursued by Ottone and Nerone, to turn the jealous Claudio against Ottone. Agrippina also succeeds in convincing Poppea, who returns Ottone's feelings, that Ottone's ambition for the throne has supplanted his affection for her. Ottone, however, reassures Poppea that he is faithful to her, while Agrippina, ever scheming, attempts to fool Pallante and Narciso into murdering Ottone and then each other. Poppea, for her part, tries to assist Ottone by arranging for her three suitors to come to her apartment one after the other, each man hiding as the next one arrives, in the hope of persuading Claudio that it is Nerone who is his rival. Meanwhile Pallante and Narciso turn on Agrippina, and report her machinations to Claudio. Nevertheless, when he confronts her she manages to convince the Emperor that all her efforts were in his best interest. Claudio finally tries to make peace by awarding the throne to Ottone, and Poppea to Nerone. Nerone objects, however, and the men trade prizes. The opera ends with the goddess Juno descending to bless the marriage of Poppea and Ottone.<sup>239</sup>

The two arias selected from this score are "Vaghe perle" and "Fà quanto vuoi," both taken from Act I, and sung by Poppea. This character is the same as Monteverdi's from his *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* (1643), although Poppea is more innocently flirtatious here than in Monteverdi's opera. In "Vaghe perle," Poppea's first aria in the opera, she is admiring her reflection in the mirror while completing her toilette:

A-section: Vaghe perle, eletti fiori, adornatemi la fronte!

B-section: Accrescete a mia bellezza la vaghezza, che a svegliar nei petti amori,  
ho nel cor le voglie pronte.

*A-section: Lovely pearls, choice flowers, adorn my brow!*

*B-section: Add to my beauty the attractiveness, for to awaken in (men's) hearts  
love(s), for my heart is ready to awaken passions in the hearts of  
men.*<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Hicks, "Agrippina," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>240</sup> Nico Castel, *Handel Opera Libretti*, ed. Hemdi Kfir (Geneseo, NY: Leyerle Publications, 2005), 163.

This text relates to the fact that Claudio, Ottone and Nerone are all pursuing Poppea, and here we see her relishing the thought of toying with their emotions. Borrowing terms from Mattheson's list of affections, joy seems to be the most appropriate word to describe the light-hearted and playful mood of the A-section, whereas the text of the B-section seem more indicative of lust.

Though clearly a fickle character, Poppea is somewhat redeemed by her genuine love for Ottone. Thus when Agrippina tricks Poppea into believing that Ottone has forsworn his love for her in favor of the throne, Poppea first becomes distraught, and then angry. Left alone, she sings

A-section: *Fà quanto vuoi, li scherni tuoi non soffrirò!*

B-section: *Dentro al mio petto sdegno e vendetta sveglierò.*

*A-section: Do what you will, your mockery I shall not suffer!*

*B-section: Within my breast anger and vengeance I shall arouse.*<sup>241</sup>

In this aria the affection presented in the text of the A-section is perhaps best labeled as fury.

In the B-section Poppea herself identifies her passions as anger and vengeance.

The reader will recall that Handel's *Rinaldo* opened the very first season of full-scale Italian opera in London on 24 February 1711. The libretto is loosely based on Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*), which was published in 1581 in Parma, Italy, and later translated into English. Tasso's text told the story of the First Crusade (1096-9) during which forces headed by Godfrey of Bouillon (Goffredo) captured Jerusalem from the Saracens. Aaron Hill, the impresario of the Queen's Theatre, provided the initial outline for the libretto, and it was later completed by Giacomo Rossi.<sup>242</sup> Handel reportedly set the libretto in haste, and the overture, final *coro*, and two-thirds of the arias were borrowed from earlier

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 171-72.

<sup>242</sup> Anthony Hicks, "Rinaldo," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 28 August 2007).

Italian compositions.<sup>243</sup> Nevertheless it was a hit with the London public, and was heard fifteen times before the end of that season.<sup>244</sup>

The opera opens outside the walls of the city of Jerusalem, which is under siege by the Christian armies. Goffredo, captain of these armies, has agreed to give his daughter Almirena's hand in marriage to the knight Rinaldo if Jerusalem is captured. The Saracen king, Argante, emerges from the city to request a three day truce, to which Goffredo consents. Argante's next act is to enlist the help of the sorceress Armida, who abducts Almirena and then lures Rinaldo away from his companions during their search for his kidnapped beloved. Meanwhile, Almirena, who is being held captive in Armida's enchanted castle, rejects the attentions of Argante. Armida, for her part, attempts to seduce Rinaldo, first in her own form and then in the guise of Almirena. She is unsuccessful, and when Argante returns to woo the woman he thinks is Almirena once more, Armida's deception is discovered. All the while Goffredo and his brother Eustazio have been planning Almirena's rescue, and with the help of magic wands they received from a Christian magician, they eventually make their way to the enchanted garden of Armida's castle. They arrive just in time to save Almirena from Armida's fatal stroke, and the sorceress vanishes, leaving Rinaldo and Almirena to be reunited with the brothers. By magic they then return to the walls outside of Jerusalem and the battle resumes. Rinaldo successfully leads an assault, and Armida and Argante are taken prisoner. Rinaldo and Almirena are reunited following the attack, Armida breaks her wand and vows to become a Christian, and she and Argante are released by Goffredo.<sup>245</sup>

The two arias chosen for examination in this work are two sung by Almirena, "Combatti da forte," and "Lascia ch'io pianga." The first of these falls early in Act I when

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<sup>243</sup> Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 173-4.

<sup>244</sup> Hicks, "Rinaldo," *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

Goffredo is reassuring Rinaldo that his victory in battle will be rewarded with Almirena's hand.

Anxious to see him succeed, Almirena offers Rinaldo some words of encouragement:

A-section: Combatti da forte, che fermo il mio sen piacer ti prepara, contenti  
d'ognor.

B-section: Con face di gloria bell'iri seren adesso risplenda nell'alto tuo cor.

*A-section: Fight with courage, for my faithful heart pleasures will grant you,  
happiness everlasting.*

*B-section: May the light of glory in your lovely, serene eyes, now also shine  
within your noble heart.<sup>246</sup>*

The affection most strongly evoked in the A-section of this aria is ardour as Almirena makes her case for a fearless return to battle. In the B-section the text expresses more of her love for Goffredo, indicated by her attention to his physical and moral attributes.

The aria "Lascia ch'io pianga" could hardly be more contrasting in mood and form. It falls in Act II when Almirena is being held prisoner within the garden of Armida's enchanted castle. Argante has approached Almirena and declared that he loves her. Almirena hopes to use his affection to buy her freedom, but he will not give in to her pleas to prove his love by helping her to escape. Almirena says that if he will not assist her, then he must leave her there to weep:

A-section: Lascia ch'io pianga mia cruda sorte, e che sospiri la libertà!

B-section: Il duolo infranga queste ritorte de' miei martiri, sol per pietà.

*A-section: Let me weep (over) my cruel fate, and that I might sigh for freedom.*

*B-section: Only for pity's sake let sorrow break these chains that torment me.<sup>247</sup>*

Here the affection of the A-section is clearly dejection, while the B-section evokes despair.

*Rodelinda, regina de' longobardi* opened at the King's Theatre on 13 February 1725. It was Handel's seventh full-length opera for the Academy, and was so well received that it lasted

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<sup>246</sup> Castel, *Handel Opera Libretti*, 347-48.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 372.



for fourteen performances.<sup>248</sup> The libretto was by Nicola Haym, drawn from Antonio Salvi's *Rodelinda, regina de' longobardi* (1710, Florence), after Pierre Corneille's play *Pertharite, roi des Lombards* (1651, Paris). The plot is set in Milan, where Bertarido's throne has been usurped by Grimoaldo, Duke of Benevento. This treasonous act has forced Bertarido to escape to Hungary, while his wife Rodelinda, young son Flavio and sister Eduige have remained behind. At the opening of the opera, however, Bertarido has succeeded in returning to Milan in disguise, having circulated a rumor of his own death. Meanwhile Grimoaldo, although promised to Eduige, is pursuing Rodelinda, knowing that marriage to her will secure his hold on Milan.

The opera opens in the royal palace, where Rodelinda is in mourning for her husband. She is approached by Grimoaldo, and rejects his hand in marriage. Hoping to make his offer more appealing, he breaks his commitment to Eduige, who vows to see Grimoaldo brought down. The scene then shifts to a cypress grove where the tombs of the Lombardic kings are laid, including the latest one for Bertarido. Rodelinda has brought Flavio to his father's memorial, and the disguised Bertarido and his confidant, Unulfo, watch from a hiding spot as Grimoaldo arrives and takes Flavio hostage. Grimoaldo threatens to murder the boy if Rodelinda will not agree to marry him, and in desperation, she consents, to Bertarido's horror. Later, in a hall of the palace, Grimoaldo confronts Rodelinda again and asks her to confirm that she will be his bride. Her reply is to demand one favor first; that her son should be murdered before her eyes by Grimoaldo himself, for she claims that she cannot be his wife and also the mother of the true heir to the throne. Grimoaldo shrinks from this horrid act, and Unulfo runs to reassure Bertarido that Rodelinda has remained faithful to him after all. Unulfo also arranges for the reunion of Rodelinda and Bertarido, which is immediately discovered by

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<sup>248</sup> Anthony Hicks, "Rodelinda," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 28 August 2007).

Grimoaldo. However, Grimoaldo has never seen Bertarido, and believing Rodelinda to have taken a lover, sentences Bertarido to death. Eduige is aware of Grimoaldo's mistake, and wishing to save her brother, she provides Unulfo with the key to the prison where Bertarido is held captive. Unulfo succeeds in helping Bertarido to escape through a secret passage, and they go in search of Grimoaldo. The villain is discovered asleep in the palace garden, about to be murdered by Garibaldo, the ambitious Duke of Turin. Bertarido comes to Grimoaldo's rescue, and kills Garibaldo. The grateful Grimoaldo returns the throne to its rightful king, and renews his promise to marry Eduige.<sup>249</sup>

From the eight arias assigned to Rodelinda in this score, "Ombre, piante," and "Spietati, io vi giurai," have been chosen for review. The first appears in Act I when the distraught Rodelinda pays a visit to Bertarido's memorial in the cemetery of the Lombardic kings:

A-Section: Ombre, piante, urne funeste! Voi sareste le delizie del mio sen;  
 B-Section: se trovassi in voi raccolto, come il volto anche il cener del mio ben.

*A-Section: Shades, plants, urns of grief, you could be the delight of my heart;  
 B-Section: if among you I could find the face as well as the ashes of my  
 beloved husband.*<sup>250</sup>

In this case the affection of the A-section is a vague sort of hope, while the B-section evokes deep sadness.

The aria "Spietati, io vi giurai" contrarily shows the title character in a moment of great strength. It is taken from Act II when Rodelinda presents her ultimatum to Grimoaldo, refusing to marry him unless he should kill her son:

A-section: Spietati, io vi giurai, se al mio figlio il cor donai di serbarvi e duolo e affanno.  
 B-section: Non potrebbe la mia mano stringer mai quell'inumano ch'è cagion d'ogni mio danno.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Castel, *Handel Opera Libretti*, 17.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 31-2.

*A-Section: Pitiless ones, I have sworn to store up as much grief and sorrow for you, as intense as my love for my son.*

*B-Section: I would never be able to clasp the hand of that inhuman man who is the reason for all my woes.*<sup>252</sup>

While the A-section of this aria projects stubbornness, the B-section highlights Rodelinda's pride.

To summarize, this review of Handel's operatic career, the plots of *Agrippina*, *Rinaldo* and *Rodelinda*, and the identification of the principal affections presented in each of the six arias together serve to establish a framework within which the affective ornamentation of the arias can be undertaken. Without all of the above, the exercise of preparing affective embellishments for these arias would have no context, and consequently, little meaning.

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 5

### EXPLANATIONS OF THE ORNAMENTED SCORES

In aiming to prepare embellishments for the arias from *Agrippina*, *Rinaldo* and *Rodelinda* that were at once historically appropriate and affective, I had to reconsider what the sources reviewed in this document revealed concerning Handel's preferences in vocal ornamentation, the standard vocal embellishment practices of the eighteenth century, and the affective uses of certain vocal ornaments. As to Handel's inclinations, the reader may recall that Frederick Neumann acknowledges "the unmistakable Italian vintage of Handel's ornamentation."<sup>253</sup> Neumann also highlights Handel's preference for a modest vocal embellishment style, as well as his apparent dissatisfaction with "the performer's insertion of overly luxuriant diminutions."<sup>254</sup> However, Handel's adherence to an Italianate style of vocal embellishment, combined with the fact that only a limited number of ornaments have survived in his hand, leads Neumann to comment at the same time that "in true Italian manner," Handel delegated most of the responsibility of ornamentation to the performer.<sup>255</sup> Neumann concludes, therefore, that a singer should not be overly concerned with ornamenting Handel's music "correctly" since "had he greatly cared, he would have been more specific."<sup>256</sup>

The reader may also recall that eighteenth-century ornaments can be divided into two categories: fixed, or "small," and extempore, or "free." Trills and appoggiaturas come under the heading of fixed ornaments, and diminutions, or *passaggi*, and cadenzas are considered "free" ornaments. Like Handel, Pierfrancesco Tosi, the foremost authority on singing of Handel's day, advocates a conservative approach to the practice of ornamenting *da capo*

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<sup>253</sup> Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music* (Princeton, NJ: University Press, 1978), 171.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 555.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 358.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*

arias.<sup>257</sup> Tosi is also equally adamant that *passaggi* should be used sparingly.<sup>258</sup> He endorses the use of trills and appoggiaturas, and comments on the necessity of interpolated cadenzas.<sup>259</sup> However, Tosi does not make any specific recommendations concerning the affective uses of particular vocal ornaments. Nevertheless this should not be taken as an indication that such associations did not exist in Tosi's day, especially given his remark that every ornament should "be equally executed with regard to the expression of the words and to art [...] that it be produced more from the heart than the voice, in order to insinuate itself more easily to the interior [of the listener]."<sup>260</sup> Furthermore, the current study has uncovered remarks connecting vocal ornaments with individual affections in the treatises of Mattheson (1739), Quantz (1752), C. P. E. Bach (1753) and Mancini (1774). While three of these works are not contemporary with Tosi's of 1723, to a certain degree their contents reflect performance practice experience gained by the authors during the first half of the century. Furthermore, given the tendency among Italian musicians, or those, like Handel, working in the Italian style, not to record any details of their performance practice, one can never be certain what was and was not done. Hence to suggest that from the publication of the treatises by Tosi and Mattheson (Handel's closest contemporary) to the appearance of those by Quantz, C. P. E. Bach and Mancini there existed a tradition of affective ornamentation, seems plausible.

The application of the insight into affective ornamentation gained from the above-listed authors will now be reviewed in the context of a discussion of each aria. Original, embellished versions of the aria scores can be found in Appendices 3 through 8, with all ornaments printed

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<sup>257</sup> "Nella prima non chieggono, che ornamenti semplici, gustosi, e pochi, affinché la composizione resti intatta: Nella seconda comandano, che a quella purità ingegnosa un artificio singolare si aggiunga, acciò chi se n'intende senta, che l'abilità di chi canta è maggiore: Nel dir poi le Arie da capo, chi non varia migliorando tutto quello, che canto, non è grand' Uomo." Pierfrancesco Tosi, *Opinions of Singers*, trans. Edward Foreman, 59-60.

<sup>258</sup> Pierfrancesco Tosi, *Opinions of Singers Ancient, and Modern or Observations on Figured Singing*, trans. Edward Foreman (Minneapolis, MN: Pro Musica Press, 1986), 35.

<sup>259</sup> "Ogni Aria (per lo meno) ha tre Cadenze, che sono tutte e tre finali." Ibid., 81.

<sup>260</sup> "Che sia egualmente eseguito dall' espressiva delle parole, che dall' arte"; "Che sia prodotto più dal cuore, che dalla voce per insinuarsi più facilmente nell'interno." Ibid., 112-13.

above the top staff lines.<sup>261</sup> These scores are based on the nineteenth-century editions of *Agrippina*, *Rinaldo* and *Rodelinda* edited by Friedrich Chrysander published in 1874 and 1876.<sup>262</sup> The first aria is “Vaghe, perle” (Lovely pearls) from *Agrippina*, and the principal affection of the A-section has been identified as joy. Bearing in mind Tosi’s remark that the first A-section of an aria only requires a few simple ornaments, as well as the active nature of Handel’s vocal line in this piece, the principal embellishments that are suggested for the first time through the A-section are trills in mm. 38, 45 and 63 (see Appendix 3).<sup>263</sup> The reader may recall that Quantz suggested the trill serves “in accordance with the temper of the piece, to excite cheer and gaiety,” and the joyous temper of “Vaghe, perle” seems to fit this prerequisite.<sup>264</sup> Concerning the performance of these trills, the reader may also remember Neumann’s statement that the majority of Handel’s trills were likely performed starting from the main note.<sup>265</sup> The only exception to this is where a trill is prepared by an appoggiatura, usually at a final cadence.<sup>266</sup> The trills suggested for the opening A-section of “Vaghe, perle” represent both types: those in mm. 38 and 45 should be sung from the main note, since they decorate inconclusive dominant harmony, while the trill in m. 63 is part of a final cadence and should be prepared. Handel even seems to hint at the appropriateness of a prepared trill in m. 63 because at this point the melody itself forms a kind of appoggiatura, i.e. the ‘a’ sets up the cadential ‘g’ on the word “fronte.” The only other suggested ornamentation for this opening a-

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<sup>261</sup> The scores were transcribed by Alfredo Santa Ana using a composition software program titled *Finale*. The ornaments are the original work of the current author, and were added to the scores by Mr. Santa Ana. All work was completed January-April 2008.

<sup>262</sup> I used Chrysander’s editions to avoid copyright laws, with the understanding that they vary widely in terms of their faithfulness to the autograph scores. However, my comparison of these scores to those contained in the more scholarly Hallische Händel-Ausgabe revealed only very minor differences in the six arias, principally in terms of small changes to the text underlay.

<sup>263</sup> Tosi, *Opinions of Singers*, 59-60.

<sup>264</sup> “dienen, nach Beschaffenheit eines Stückes zur Aufmunterung und Frölichkeit: die simplen Vorschläge hingegen, zur Erweichung und Traurigkeit.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 81; Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 98.

<sup>265</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 356.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, 346.

section is *mesa di voce* (crescendo and decrescendo) for the long note on the syllable “va” in mm. 28-29, as Mancini considered this to be one of the indispensable components of a singer’s art.<sup>267</sup>

The B-section of “Vaghe, perle” similarly requires minimal ornamentation, thanks to an active vocal line supplied by Handel himself. Furthermore, the affection identified here is lust, which does not suggest the need for the addition of busy ornaments. *Messa di voce* has again been indicated for the long note on the syllable “pron” in m. 77. Otherwise, only the final cadence in m. 92 leaves room for a prepared cadential trill plus a turn. In contrast, the repeat of the A-section of “Vaghe, perle” seems to necessitate an additional helping of joyful ornaments to confirm Poppea’s lighthearted mood. Consequently, a cadenza-like flourish has been added in mm. 16-17 to extend the opening exclamation of “Vaghe, perle.” The conspicuous lack of instrumental accompaniment at this point in the score suggests that Handel was giving his soprano permission to interpolate an extended embellishment to launch the *da capo*. The proposed ornament consists primarily of triplets that decorate a scalar descent, both because triplets dominate the vocal line of this aria, and because Quantz wrote that gay cadenzas include triplets.<sup>268</sup> Following this, brief *passaggi* are indicated to fill in the intervals of a fourth and a third in mm. 21 and 23, and an extended trill is suggested to decorate the tied note in m. 29. For variety’s sake, and to hint at Poppea’s liveliness, dotted triplets are proposed in m. 31, and the original melody is briefly diverted upward at the end of m. 33. Additional diminutions may fill in the descending vocal line in m. 37, and the trill in m. 38 should be repeated, with additional flutters, if possible. Similarly, the trill should be sung again in m. 45, and *passaggi* are shown to fill in mm. 49 and 51. The transference of the middle “c” in m. 58 up an octave gives this line a triumphant feel as the end of the aria approaches. Finally, a scalar run up to,

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<sup>267</sup> Giambattista Mancini, *Practical Reflections on Figured Singing*, trans. and ed. Edward Foreman (Champaign, IL: Pro Musica Press, 1967), 44.

<sup>268</sup> Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Reilly, 184.

and back down from, a high b-flat plus a cadential trill in mm. 62-63 would lend an appropriately showy finish to this aria for a character enthralled with her appearance.

The second aria from *Agrippina* is another for Poppea, titled “Fà quanto vuoi” (Do what you will). Here the main affection of the A-section is fury, and the running eighth and sixteenth notes in both the voice and continuo establish this emotion quite successfully (see Appendix 4). In fact, the activity in the vocal line is sufficiently challenging for the singer that ornamentation seems unnecessary at this point. The same can be said for the B-section, which employs chromaticism to paint the affections of anger and vengeance that Poppea attempts to arouse. Upon the return to the A-section, however, the addition of a few ornaments seems called for, as Poppea’s thoughts of vengeance lend increased gusto to her fury. *Passaggi* are suggested to fill in the descending thirds of m. 3, and an additional dotted rhythm has been indicated for the third beat of m. 6 on the word “tuoi” (your). More diminutions are proposed for the words “non” and “quanto” in mm. 8 and 11, in an effort to lend an air of defiance to Poppea’s fury. To add interest to the vocal line, dotted rhythms are recommended again in m. 14, and an alternate upward turn to the melody is indicated for the final beat of m. 17 (second ending) to provide a short cadenza-like finish to the aria. The reader may remember Quantz’s comment that “where a furious emotion prevails, the execution must have much more fire than in jocular pieces, although it must be lively in both.”<sup>269</sup> Since Handel chose diminutions and dotted rhythms to indicate Poppea’s fury, the current author has introduced more of the same as embellishments in the hope of encouraging a presentation of the da capo with “more fire.”

Almirena’s opening aria in *Rinaldo* is titled “Combatti da forte” (Fight with courage), and the principal affection of the A-section is ardour. The 4/4 time signature and steady eighth-note texture reflect the martial setting of this air, and prepare Almirena’s call to Rinaldo to take

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<sup>269</sup> “Wo ein wütender Affect herrschet, da muss der Vortrag weit mehr Feuer haben, als bey scherzenden Stücken, ob er gleich bey beyden lebhaft seyn muss.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 107; Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Reilly, 124-25.



arms (see Appendix 5). In keeping with this mood, the presentation of the opening A-section should be straightforward, with short trills at the cadences in mm. 18 and 37, and *messa di voce* in mm. 30-32. The text of the B-section is of a more personal nature, and the affection identified here is love. Consequently, the singer is encouraged to pay additional attention to the words and to colouring the voice in this section, especially given how highly Tosi spoke of his contemporaries who sang with “penetrating sweetness.”<sup>270</sup> Hence *messa di voce* is indicated over the words “adesso” (now) and “risplenda” (shine) in mm. 53 and 56-57. Otherwise, only a short cadential trill is called for in m. 63 to close the B-section.

In returning to the A-section, Almirena’s passion should be all the more apparent, and a few choice embellishments can assist with this. A descending run of diminutions on the word “forte” (courage) in m. 12, and a set of mordent-like divisions on the same word in m. 13, would lend emphasis to her rallying cry. Recall, too, the passage from Quantz stating that mordents excite cheer, making them appropriate for Almirena’s motivational speech. To add variety to the repetition of the words “piacer ti” in m. 15-17 the vocal line may be diverted upward at the beginning of m. 17, followed by the trill in m. 18. Two shorter mordents are also indicated in mm. 20 and 21, and another extended trill is recommended as an alternative to *messa di voce* on the sustained syllable “or” in mm. 31-32. Finally, without disrupting the steady meter of the piece, a cadenza-like flourish could extend the range of the vocal line in m. 36, and with the trill in m. 37, bring the aria to an enthusiastic finish.

Perhaps Almirena’s most famous aria from *Rinaldo* is her “Lascia ch’io pianga” (Let me weep). Here the simultaneous motion of voice and instruments in half-notes clearly evokes the affection identified earlier in this paper as dejection (see Appendix 6). Furthermore, Handel’s use of rests to interrupt the word “cruda” (cruel) in mm. 3 and 17 suggests the

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<sup>270</sup> “Che la Signora Lotti accompagnata dalle stesse regole, e da una soavità penetrante chiedea, cantando il cuore ne si potea negargli ciò ch’era suo.” Tosi, *Opinions of Singers*, 65-6.

hiccupping that comes with sobbing. In relation to the ornamentation of this aria, Frederick Neumann tells the following story:

William Babell, who was Handel's accompanist for the performance of *Rinaldo*, enjoyed a great reputation for his skill in impromptu ornamentation. He also transcribed many of Handel's overtures and arias for the harpsichord. Babell's version of the famous aria "Lascia ch'io pianga" from *Rinaldo* is reproduced in [Hans-Peter] Schmitz (*Die Kunst der Verzierung im 18. Jahrhundert* pp.104-105) and shows remarkable restraint for the melody proper, which is chiefly embellished only by small graces. We find coloratura runs only to fill in the gaps between phrases (which correspond most likely to the accompanist's rather than the singer's improvisation in actual operatic performance) and, understandably, a healthy flourish at the final cadence. From this document we might possibly derive an added suggestion that Handel did not favor the performer's insertion of overly luxuriant diminutions.<sup>271</sup>

In acknowledgement of this passage, and because the affections of the aria do not call out for excesses of *passaggi*, the ornaments suggested for this piece are conservative.

The first time through the A-section, trills should decorate the half-cadence in m. 13 and the final cadence in m. 21. The affection identified in the B-section is despair, and the very bare presentation of voice and continuo at this point reflects how little hope Almirena feels in this moment. In m. 37 a slow main note trill plus a turn is proposed on the word "pieta" (pity) to indicate her last effort to persuade Argante to grant her freedom. Then a final, prepared cadential trill plus anticipation is indicated in m. 41. I propose that the repeat of the A-section is also best kept simple, with even greater attention paid to filling the words with emotion. The clarity of the first line of the A-section has been preserved, but in m. 9 descending diminutions are indicated to complement the gesture of a sigh on the words "che sospiri" (that I might sigh). The rising interval of a fourth may be filled in with two eighth notes in m. 11, imitating Handel's motive from the last beat of m. 5, and the trill should be repeated in m. 13. To provide contrast and to emphasize the word "cruda" (cruel), an anticipatory flutter might finish

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<sup>271</sup> Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, 555.

m. 17. Finally, a repeated high “g” plus descending scalar passage on the last presentation of the word “sospiri” (sigh) in m. 20 could act as a brief cadenza to close this *da capo*.

The final two arias come from Handel’s *Rodelinda*, the first of which is titled “Ombre, piante” (Shades, plants). The affection identified in the A-section is vague hope as Rodelinda wanders through the royal cemetery, toying with the idea of coming upon the “shade” (spirit) of her husband whom she believes to be dead. Here the interplay of the strings and voice with the transverse flute makes for a haunting oral effect that contributes considerably to the mood of the piece (see Appendix 7). The echoes of the solo flute also seem to suggest that her husband’s spirit is present, and indeed at this point in the plot Bertarido himself is hiding amongst the shadows of the tombs, unable to reveal himself to Rodelinda.

This aria not only boasts unique orchestration, but is also the only aria from the six in this study for which Handel wrote out the *da capo*. A close examination reveals that in fact the repeat is not literal, with mm. 29-40 omitted in the return to the text of the A-section. Additionally, this score is the only one that has appoggiatura trills indicated in the edition from Chrysander. They form an integral part of the musical exchange between the string instruments and/or the soprano voice and the flute, such as in the opening in mm. 1-4, or the first line for the voice in mm. 19-22. For this reason they have been preserved in the current score and should be sung without exception.

Aside from the ornaments that already exist in the opening A-section of this aria, only a few are recommended. In m. 31 a slow, main note trill is indicated to add interest to the long note on the word “mio” (my), and in m. 50 another trill should be sung to complement the cadence. The final cadence at m. 58 should have a prepared trill. The B-section is short, consisting of only fourteen measures, and the affection evoked by the text is sadness as Rodelinda admits to the reality of seeking her husband’s ashes. Other than the key change to F-sharp minor, very little distinguishes this middle section from the preceeding one.

Furthermore, Handel has already built ornaments into the melody itself, such as the appoggiatura on the syllable “col” of “raccolto” (gathered) in m. 67. Hence only two interpolated ornaments are offered here; a short *messa di voce* to color the word “ben” (beloved) in m. 73, and a prepared cadential trill in m. 76.

Although of a completely different character, the return of the A-section in this aria is reminiscent of the *da capo* in “Vaghe perle,” in that it also calls for a cadenza-like flourish of some kind. As in the aria from *Agrippina*, the voice enters solo in m. 78, and the lack of orchestral accompaniment allows for the insertion of a slow descending scale on the word “Ombre,” which should be performed in a single breath. The affection does not support a more showy interpolation, and furthermore Quantz advised that “a melancholy [cadenza] [...] consists almost entirely of small intervals mingled with dissonances.”<sup>272</sup> Following this, the appoggiaturas from Chrysander’s edition should be sung again in mm. 80 and 82, along with trills that I have added to mimic the opening. Additional divisions are suggested to fill in the descending interval of a sixth in m. 83. A thirty-second note flutter is intended to enhance the word “delizie” (delight) in m. 90, and a cascade of sixteenths are proposed in m. 93 on the word “sen” (bosom) to suggest Rodelinda’s shattered heart. Prepared trills are suggested for the cadences in mm. 98 and 106, and short *passaggi* are meant to add interest to mm. 101 and 105 in lieu of a cadenza that might destroy the mood at the end of the piece.

The final aria selected for discussion is Rodelinda’s “Spietati, io vi giurai” (Pitiless men, I swore to you), and the affection presented in the A-section is stubbornness. Here Rodelinda is engaged in a confrontation with Grimoaldo, and the brisk dotted rhythms and leaping melodies bespeak Rodelinda’s determination as she presents her ultimatum (see

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<sup>272</sup> “Wie eine lustige Cadenz aus weitläufigen Sprüngen, lustigen Clauseln, untermischten Triolen und Trillern u. d. gl. gebildet wird; so besteht hingegen eine traurige fast aus lauter nahe an einander liegenden, mit Dissonanzen vermischten Intervallen.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 156; Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Reilly, 184.

Appendix 8). As with all the preceeding arias, the first time through the A-section requires the addition of only a few ornaments, such as *messa di voce* on the long note in mm. 21-22, and a main note trill for the half-cadence in m. 23. Another smaller *messa di voce* is suggested for the held note in mm. 41-42, and prepared cadential trills should be sung at mm. 45 and 50.

Insistent, repeated motives characterize the aria's B-section whose main affection is pride. Handel's compositional intelligence is once more apparent in his choice of jerky sixteenth notes for the word "inumano" (inhuman) in m. 62, and a rising melodic line with inherent tension, as in mm. 67-68. To this, little else need be added, save a prepared cadential trill in m. 74. The *da capo* is another matter, however, and immediately affords the opportunity for an extended solo cadenza on the unaccompanied word "Spietati" in m. 75. Snappy dotted rhythms and runs of sixteenth notes borrowed from the aria proper make up the proposed three-measure interpolation. Later in the *da capo*, an additional run of divisions in m. 19 and dotted rhythms in m. 22 are intended to add interest to the repeat, and the main note trill of m. 23 should be sung once more. A further flourish of descending sixteenth notes augment the word "giurai" (swore) in m. 28, and the proposed quick flutter on the first syllable of "donai" (gave) in m. 30 recalls Quantz's remark that "the appoggiaturas connect the melody and augment the harmony; the trills and the other little embellishments such as half-trills, mordents, turns, and *battemens* enliven it."<sup>273</sup> For consistency's sake, similar ornaments are indicated in mm. 40 and 42-43, along with the trill in m. 45. Finally, a short leap plus a descending scalar passage are suggested as a brief cadenza for the end of the aria in mm. 50-51.

In closing, let it be noted that while the ornaments discussed in this chapter have been prepared in consultation with the sources examined throughout this study, they have also been

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<sup>273</sup> "Die Vorschläge machen die Melodie an einander hangend, und vermehren die Harmonie; die Triller und übrigen kleinen Auszierungen, als: halbe Triller, Mordanten, Doppelschläge und *battemens*, muntern auf." Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen*, 107; Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Reilly, 124-25.

selected as musically logical and artistically sensible. In addition, consistent with the practice of the singers of the eighteenth century, I have incorporated embellishments that highlight personal vocal strengths. Hence it is hoped that the suggested interpolations reflect contemporary performance practice on a variety of levels.

## EPILOGUE

### ORNAMENTATION, THE AFFECTIONS, AND CONTEMPORARY PERFORMANCE

As stated in the introduction to this paper, the performance of Handel's operas in our modern day raises a number of important practical, historical, theoretical, and aesthetic issues. Up to this point the practical issue of ornamenting the arias from these scores in a manner which honors historical practices has taken precedence in the current discussion. I have worked from the premise that the reproduction of a contemporary style of embellishment is firstly a desirable, and secondly an achievable goal. If it is to have any validity, however, such a premise should be bolstered by a review of what is known as the early music movement, and of the debates surrounding the use of the term "authentic" in relation to historic performance practices. The "Early Music Movement" began with concerted efforts to revive the repertoires of earlier periods around the turn of the twentieth century, and resulted in the widespread rediscovery of the music, instruments and performing styles of the Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods. "Early Music" is therefore defined in the twenty-first century as both a body of repertoire composed before 1800 and a historically informed approach to the performance of this repertoire which often involves the use of period instruments.<sup>274</sup> The employment of the term "authentic" to describe historical performance may first have been borrowed from the field of musicology where it refers to the assignment of authorship to a historical work.<sup>275</sup> However, when the term "authenticity" was associated with a rendition of historical repertoire, it came to be seen as augmenting the aesthetic worth of that performance. The application of the term to historicism in performance has sparked debates between mainstream musicians and

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<sup>274</sup>Maria Coldwell, *Early Music in America: A Study of Early Music Performers, Listeners, and Organizations* (Seattle, WA: Early Music America, 2005), 2.

<sup>275</sup>Bernard D. Sherman, "Authenticity in Music," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 167.

early musicians that still flourish to this day. Consequently any twenty-first century musician engaging in the performance of repertoire written prior to 1800 must confront the questions concerning the significance of historical research to the performance of early music that were raised in these debates. A review of the history of the early music movement and the principal arguments surrounding the term “authentic” is critical to the determination of the relevance of the relationship between the affections and ornamentation in the performance of Handel’s opera arias in the twenty-first century.

Although there were landmarks in the renaissance of early music in the nineteenth century, such as Mendelssohn’s romanticized mounting of Bach’s *St Matthew Passion* at the Berlin Sing-Akademie in 1829, sustained efforts to revive the music and the performance practices of earlier times principally coincided with movements at the turn of the twentieth century. It was around this time that musicians and audiences grew weary of the indulgent emotionalism and secularism of the late Romantic period, and while some, such as Arnold Schönberg and his colleagues of the Second Viennese School, abandoned traditional tonality in what they considered to be the natural evolution of music, others sought renewal by turning back to the repertoires of earlier centuries. Not only did many of these older works belong to a sacred, rather than a secular, musical heritage, they also represented a tonal alternative to modern music that offered familiarity and a sense of stability.<sup>276</sup> Once sparked, interest in historical repertoire grew, and from the time of the First World War, early music activities were centered in Austria, the Low Countries, England and the United States. In Austria the movement was headed by the musicologist Josef Mertins, along with his colleagues and students at the Vienna Music Academy. Among them was Gustav Leonhardt (b.1928), a renowned Dutch harpsichordist and organist whose own protégés include a number of the most

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<sup>276</sup> Laurence Dreyfus, “Early Music Defended against its Devotees,” *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (Summer 1983): 305.



significant contributors to the early music movement in the twentieth century: Frans Brüggen, Jaap Schröder, Nikolaus Harnoncourt, Anner Bylsma, Ton Koopman, Alan Curtis, and Sigiswald and Wieland Kuijken to name a few.<sup>277</sup> Activities slowed during the Second World War, but then picked up immediately following as the concept of performing historical works according to the practice of their own period began to receive greater attention due to renewed scholarly activity.<sup>278</sup> The national radio network broadcast of the BBC Third Programme was inaugurated in 1946 to provide a showcase for British early music performers such as the countertenor Alfred Deller (1912-1979) and the harpsichordist and scholar Thurston Dart (1921-1971). Meanwhile, in the United States, Noah Greenberg (1919-1966) had broken new ground with his New York Pro Musica, an ensemble founded in 1952 for the performance and recording of Renaissance and Medieval music.<sup>279</sup> The revival of lesser-known compositions by famous composers, as well as the works of masters such as Schütz and Rameau that had disappeared from the repertory altogether, was an important goal for Greenberg and many others.<sup>280</sup>

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a renewed interest in early vocal music, and a number of choral groups such as the Monteverdi Choir (founded in 1964) and the Hilliard Ensemble (founded in 1974) were established at this time. David Munrow (1942-1976), an enthusiastic and virtuosic performer of historical wind instruments, also reached a broad audience with his BBC broadcasts of the radio series *Pied Piper* from 1971-1976.<sup>281</sup> *Early Music*, the first journal dedicated to the professional discussion of early music, was established in 1973.<sup>282</sup> Soon entire orchestras of period instruments such as the Academy of Ancient Music, founded

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<sup>277</sup> Harry Haskell, *The early music revival: a history* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 165.

<sup>278</sup> Dorothea Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975: A Comprehensive Review of Sound Recording and Literature* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 2.

<sup>279</sup> Michael Steinberger, "Greenberg, Noah," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 30 October, 2007).

<sup>280</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 3.

<sup>281</sup> Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 163.

<sup>282</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 3.

by Christopher Hogwood in 1973, and Les Arts Florissants (a vocal and instrumental ensemble), founded by William Christie in 1979, captured the attention of the public.<sup>283</sup>

Around this time, period ensembles also began to spring up in greater number in North America. For example, Canada's pre-eminent period instrument ensemble, the Tafelmusik Baroque Orchestra, was founded in 1978, followed by the Canadian Baroque opera ensemble, Opera Atelier, in 1985.

Baroque opera, and specifically Handel's operas, enjoyed their own revival alongside that of other Baroque, and earlier, repertoires. In 1878 the first full-scale production of Handel's *Almira* since his lifetime was given as part of a festival of German opera in Hamburg.<sup>284</sup> In Germany in the 1920s and 1930s a further flowering of Handel productions occurred in both academic and professional settings (such as Oskar Hagen's performances at Göttingen), most of which aimed at historical verisimilitude neither in terms of the production nor the preparation of the scores.<sup>285</sup> The post-war period, however, witnessed the emergence of a new generation of opera conductors attentive to historical scholarship, including figures such as Anthony Lewis, Newell Jenkins and Nikolaus Harnoncourt. Through their efforts, and those of similarly-minded musicians, historically informed stagings of Handel's operas were soon prepared by music festivals, academic institutions and smaller opera companies. In 1953, for example, Handel's *Agrippina* was given in his native city of Halle, and productions of his operas then became a significant part of the annual Handel festival there.<sup>286</sup> Shortly thereafter in 1955 the Handel Opera Society was formed in England for the advancement and performance of these little known operas.<sup>287</sup> Then during the 1960s mainstream productions of

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<sup>283</sup> Harry Haskell, "Early music," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 30 October 2007).

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Winton Dean, "Scholarship and the Handel Revival, 1935-85," in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987), 9.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 10.

Handel operas were mounted in the United States featuring some of the most famous voices in opera at the time: *Alcina* in Dallas with Joan Sutherland (1961), and *Giulio Cesare* at New York City Opera with Beverly Sills (1966).<sup>288</sup> Shortly thereafter, conductors knowledgeable about early music, such as Christie, Hogwood, John Eliot Gardiner, Alan Curtis, and Roger Norrington began to be invited to direct regular season productions of Baroque operas at some of the world's major opera houses.<sup>289</sup> In the United States, the early music conductor Nicholas McGegan was the director for a performance of Handel's *Orlando* given at Washington University in 1983 that was the first full American reconstruction staging of a Baroque opera, complete with stage machines modeled on period examples.<sup>290</sup> McGegan, also conductor of the San Francisco Philharmonia Baroque Orchestra since 1985, was named artistic director of the International Handel Festival in Göttingen in 1990. Thus over the course of the twentieth century all of Handel's operas returned to the stage, and today most major opera companies feature at least one or two of these works in their repertoire.

As with the pioneers of the Handel opera revival, the leaders of the early music movement were not initially concerned with reintroducing the historical performance practices associated with this literature. The well-known harpsichordist Wanda Landowska (1879-1959), for example, advocated the performance of older music on original instruments and fidelity to the spirit of the composer's intentions, yet she unabashedly admitted that

At no time in the course of my work have I ever tried to reproduce exactly what the old masters did. Instead, I study, I scrutinize, I love, and I recreate... I am sure that what I am doing in regard to sonority, registration, etc., is very far from the historical truth.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> Shulamit Kleinerman, "Staging Baroque Opera," *Early Music America* 12 (Winter 2006): 32.

<sup>289</sup> In 1973 John Eliot Gardiner made his first appearance at Covent Garden conducting Gluck's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, and in 1980 Alan Curtis made his debut at La Scala conducting Handel's *Ariodante*. Aryeh Oron, [www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio](http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio) (accessed 27 January 2008).

<sup>290</sup> Shulamit Kleinerman, "Making It Real: Baroque Opera Stage Directors Discuss Their Craft," *Early Music America* 12, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 32.

<sup>291</sup> Denise Restout, ed. and trans., *Landowska on music* (New York: Stein and Day, 1964), 355.

Decades later, influential musicians within the early music movement, such as David Munrow and his colleagues in the Early Music Consort, for example, still held to this philosophy. In parallel with these performers, however, other musicians, such as Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940), were attempting to reconstruct styles of performance for early music on the basis of surviving scores, treatises, instruments and other historical evidence.<sup>292</sup> Dolmetsch's text, *The Interpretation of the Music of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (London, 1915) broke new ground as the first publication to confront issues such as tempo, rhythm, and expression in consultation with the contemporary sources.<sup>293</sup> Referring to Dolmetsch, Frederick Neumann writes that "there is no denying that with his book...he became the true founder of the authenticity movement."<sup>294</sup> After Dolmetsch died in 1940, other scholars took up his quest. These included Thurston Dart, the harpsichordist and Cambridge professor mentioned above, and Dolmetsch's student, Robert Donington. Although recognized as a performer and scholar, Dart's fame principally came from his book *The Interpretation of Music* (London, 1954), which was published in several editions and translated into a number of languages.<sup>295</sup> Following in Dolmetsch's footsteps, the text treated the interpretation of music from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century and offered advice that was widely accepted as authoritative in the pursuit of "authentic" performance practices.<sup>296</sup> Donington's *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London,

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<sup>292</sup> Arnold Dolmetsch was a French-born scholar and historical instrument maker who spent much of his career in England. Among his many accomplishments, he wrote a scholarly text on seventeenth and eighteenth-century performance practice that was the first to seriously consider the contemporary treatises. Dolmetsch encouraged performers to study what the writers of the time had to say and then use this information as a jumping off point for creative performances of this repertoire in the modern day. Howard Mayer Brown, "Pedantry or Liberation? A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement," in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: University Press, 1988), 40-41.

<sup>293</sup> Frederick Neumann, *New Essays on Performance Practice* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989), 10.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

1963), was in much the same vein, quoting liberally from the treatises of the older theorists and suggesting the direct application of their rules towards creating “authentic” performances.<sup>297</sup>

It is interesting to note that although they were proponents of the authenticity movement, Dart readily admitted that “there can be no cut-and-dried set of answers to the questions raised in the performance of early music,” and Donington wrote that “there is no such thing as an exact interpretation.”<sup>298</sup> However, the cite-and-apply method (to borrow a term from Neumann) of “authentic” performance practice that they had inherited from Dolmetsch had nevertheless been under attack for some time. For example, in 1950 Putnam Aldrich criticized the acceptance of the composer’s manuscript as the final authority on issues of interpretation because of the difference between modern ideals of performance and those of the Baroque.<sup>299</sup> Referring to a popular catch-phrase of the time, Aldrich added

This is known as “letting the music speak for itself.” Unfortunately, however, the music of the Baroque period cannot be induced to speak for itself. At that time the division of labor which has separated composition and performance into two distinct fields of specialization had not yet come into effect. All composers were performers and all performers were composers, at least to the extent that they were called upon to collaborate with the actual composer in the re-creation of any given composition. Many details of execution were not indicated on paper at all, but supplied extemporaneously by the performer. It follows that the autograph score is not an authentic record of how the composer or anyone else performed the piece.<sup>300</sup>

Aldrich also raised the point that no matter how greatly musicians struggled to give authentic performances of Baroque music, they were still incapable of equipping their audiences with Baroque ears.<sup>301</sup> In 1957 Donald Jay Grout warned that striving for historical authenticity “could mislead one into regarding knowledge of the past as a substitute for imagination in the present,” even though he agreed that historical research into lost performance traditions and the

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>298</sup> Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (London: Hutchinson, 1967), 160; Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 27.

<sup>299</sup> Putnam Aldrich, *Ornamentation in J.S. Bach’s Organ Works* (New York: Coleman-Ross, 1950), 3.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> Putnam Aldrich, “The ‘Authentic’ Performance of Baroque Music,” in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), 161 and 169.

quest for authenticity generally leads to “performances of old music that are on the whole more satisfactory than those by interpreters who are still naïve or unpersuaded about historical styles.”<sup>302</sup> Not long after, in 1967, Ludwig Finscher proposed that knowledge of the historical circumstances of a particular work held little potential for determining a solution to its interpretation.<sup>303</sup>

Criticism of the authenticity movement only increased from the late 1960s and into the 1970s when record companies realized the market value of the word “authentic” and began to make indiscriminate use of the term on recording labels and promotional materials. Even as late as the mid-1980s the phrase “on authentic instruments” could be found prominently displayed on recording covers.<sup>304</sup> Critics similarly used the term rather loosely in their reviews of concerts and recordings.<sup>305</sup> This created a great deal of confusion surrounding the status of differing artistic activities in the field of early music, and helped to secure the mistaken notion that historically authentic performances could be achieved solely by the reconstruction of the physical aspects of a Baroque performance.<sup>306</sup> In relation to this, Michael Morrow commented in 1978 that the authentic performances proclaimed by the record companies and on concert handbills were in reality novel interpretations of repertoire based on rather unreliable historical sources, reflecting 1970s style as opposed to historic values.<sup>307</sup> He further argued that

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<sup>302</sup> Donald Jay Grout, “On historical authenticity,” in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison*, 346.

<sup>303</sup> Ludwig Finscher, “Historisch getreue Interpretation – Möglichkeiten und Probleme,” in *Alte Musik in unserer Zeit*, ed. Walter Wiora (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1968), 25; quoted in Dorottya Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and The Early Music Movement: A Historical Review,” *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music* 32 (December, 2001): 163.

<sup>304</sup> The cover of the 1984 Archiv Produktion LP recording of Bach’s *The Art of Fugue* advertises that it is “on authentic instruments.” Similarly, a 1985 Decca recording of Bach’s *Brandenburg Concertos 1-6* with Christopher Hogwood and The Academy of Ancient Music claims to be the “first version” performed on “authentic instruments.” Decca 414-187-2.

<sup>305</sup> For an example see Edward Greenfield’s review of Nikolaus Harnoncourt’s first recording of the *Brandenburg Concertos* in the June 1967 issue of *The Gramophone*; quoted in Dorottya Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and The Early Music Movement: A Historical Review,” 160.

<sup>306</sup> Dorottya Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and The Early Music Movement: A Historical Review,” *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music* 32 (2001): 162.

<sup>307</sup> Michael Morrow, “Musical Performance and Authenticity,” *Early Music* 6 (1978): 245.

performing style is something that can only be learned by imitation, so that where there is no surviving tradition of performance practice (such as is the case with Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque repertoires), numerous interpretations are possible and have equal potential to be historically correct, although there is no way of judging their veracity.<sup>308</sup>

In the 1980s a prominent voice in the debates over “authenticity” in early music performance was that of the scholar and musician Richard Taruskin. Much like Morrow, Taruskin proposed that discussions of historically authentic performance practice were based on false premises, because what was being labeled a “historical performance” was in fact a reflection of modern tastes and sensibilities, while a so-called “modern performance” instead represented a style inherited from the nineteenth century that was quickly becoming historical.<sup>309</sup> This particular comment dates from the height of the “authenticity” debates, when music conferences and journals were the battle grounds for scholars and musicians arguing over the familiar criticisms: for example, that recreating the sound world of an early music composition can detract from its emotional impact, and that many pieces dating from the Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods were composed for purposes other than concerts, and so to present them in concert is anachronistic and therefore inauthentic to begin with.<sup>310</sup> Writing in 1988, Nicholas Kenyon also cautioned musicians against accepting the performance practice instructions found in early music treatises at face value, reminding the modern reader to consider the background of performance style against which each treatise was written, and whether or not it was composed in reaction to some abuse of the time.<sup>311</sup> Half a decade or so later, Peter Kivy summarized the different definitions of “authenticity” that had emerged in the

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<sup>308</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>309</sup> Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 140.

<sup>310</sup> Peter Walls, *History, Imagination and the Performance of Music* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2003), 3.

<sup>311</sup> Nicholas Kenyon, “Authenticity and Early Music: Some Issues and Questions,” in *Authenticity and early music: a symposium*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: University Press, 1988), 13-14.

literature and related them to the goal of honouring the composer's intentions in modern performances. He concluded that

Any prima facie moral obligation we may have to honor the performance wishes and intentions of dead composers, in the way of respecting, so to say, their musical last will and testament is far weaker in any given instance than our moral obligation to realize what we deem to be the best performance possible, the latter obligation owing not merely to the composer but to his or her posterity.<sup>312</sup>

While these quotations constitute only a small number of those that have peppered the literature on early music over the past several decades, they nevertheless represent some of the key issues in the debates surrounding historically informed performance practice. In reviewing these arguments once more, their relevancy to the current discussion regarding the performance of Handel's operas in our modern day is clear. For example, the comment concerning the modern division between composers and performers that did not exist in the Baroque period reminds the reader that Handel not only composed his operas, he also conducted them from the keyboard and likely embellished them during performance. Indeed Winton Dean, one of the most knowledgeable Handel scholars attests that

[Handel] was the most practical of composers, never concerned with what the Germans call *Augenmusik*, that is, with what looks convincing on paper. His approach was always empirical rather than systematic. His music in consequence is more than usually dependent on the musicianship – one might almost say scholarship – of the performer. It does not play itself, as in a sense Bach's may be said to do. When sensitively played or sung it sounds much better than it reads, revealing a vitality not immediately deducible from the printed notes.<sup>313</sup>

Hence Handel's autograph scores cannot be considered the final authority on issues of interpretation in his operas, and must be complemented by research and the sensitive interpretation of the performer. Furthermore, it has already been said that Handel's singers would have received at least some training in the art of composition, and would have been

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<sup>312</sup> Peter Kivy, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 151.

<sup>313</sup> Winton Dean, "Scholarship and the Handel Revival, 1935-85," in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, 3-4.



expected either to prepare their own vocal embellishments in advance of each performance or to improvise them on the spot. One might therefore conclude that in the performance of Handel's operas

The creative element in performance is not something added on to the performance after accuracy has been achieved; rather, the artist's creativity is integral to the faithful realization of the work in performance. The act of transforming the notes-as-written into the notes-as-sound involves the performer's bringing more to the work than is (or could be) recorded in the score, so the faithful presentation of the score in performance involves the creative participation of the performer.<sup>314</sup>

The point raised during the authenticity debates concerning the futility of re-creating performance circumstances for the sake of determining a work's "authentic" interpretation is also relevant in the current study. Recreating all of the performance circumstances of Handel's opera productions would involve, among other things, reviving the voice type of the castrato, so it is clear that we shall never achieve complete historical authenticity. Besides, the reader has been reminded that twenty-first century audience members do not have Baroque ears with which to hear such "authentic" renditions in any case. Furthermore, with no surviving performance practice for Handel's opera literature, a performance reflecting twenty-first century tastes, rather than those of the Baroque period, is theoretically just as valid as any other.

Of particular relevance to this paper, however, are the comments concerning the subjective nature of the information contained within the contemporary documents associated with Baroque repertoire, and the fallacy of the cite-and-apply method of performance practice. Treatises and other eighteenth-century works have constituted the primary source of information in the current study of the relationship between the affections and ornamentation in Handel's opera arias, but it is perhaps wise to accept their guidelines as such and not as strict

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<sup>314</sup> Stephen Davies, "Transcription, Authenticity and Performance," *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 28 (1988): 224.

rules to be followed to the letter in modern performance. This is perhaps especially true of those treatises dating from the second half of the eighteenth-century when the theories of the high Baroque were in a state of evolution. In the end, therefore, it seems that an ideal performance of Handel's opera literature today would combine scholarship, musicianship, imagination and modern style to fulfill what Kivy refers to as our moral obligation to produce what we consider to be our best possible performance of this repertoire.

Although the above literature clearly relates to the performance of Handel's operas as Baroque music whose performance tradition has been lost, it does not shed light on the significance of the relationship between the affections and ornamentation for modern singers approaching this repertoire. In fact, a review of the publications related to the early music movement demonstrates that the aesthetic preoccupations of composers writing before 1800 have often been overlooked by early music scholars and performers. Since the 1960s only a few key members of the early music movement have commented on the need to consider the aesthetic philosophies of earlier periods or on the importance of the affections in Baroque music. In the 1960s Nikolaus Harnoncourt was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that music and its performance before the nineteenth century involved a different aesthetic perspective, one stressing the speech-like and rhetorical aspects of music.<sup>315</sup> In a scholarly essay dating from 1967, August Wenzinger similarly emphasized the importance of expression in his discussion of historical performance practice issues. By quoting authorities such as Leopold Mozart, C. P. E. Bach and Geminiani, and by stressing the importance of theatre in the Baroque period, Wenzinger argued that in the performance of Baroque repertoire the *Affekt* must be established first and everything else must flow from that.<sup>316</sup> Since the 1960s, however,

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<sup>315</sup> John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 4.

<sup>316</sup> August Wenzinger, "Der Ausdruck in der Barockmusik und seine Interpretation," in *Alte Musik in unserer*

little attention has been paid to eighteenth-century aesthetics, prompting the scholar Dorottya Fabian to comment

Ironically, when discussing the possible meaning of an “authentic performance” neither the representatives of the early music movement nor its critics seem to call on the basic paradigm of 18<sup>th</sup> century aesthetics, namely its emphasis on eliciting emotion in the audience. Yet an interpretation striving for historical authenticity would surely have to abide by the aesthetic requirements of the historical period of the artworks it aims to revive. Eighteenth century aesthetics focuses not on the artwork but on its beholder.<sup>317</sup>

In light of this remark, the current study of rhetoric and the relationship between ornamentation and the affections in Handel’s opera arias takes on an even greater significance. At the same time, however, the arguments to come out of the early music debates make it clear that while the study of eighteenth-century materials may inform twenty-first century performances of Handel’s opera literature, historical sensitivity does not necessarily translate into an improved experience for the modern listener. Handel could rely on the fact that the education of his audience members included some instruction in the art of rhetoric, and that they were expecting to be moved to experience a different emotion with each new aria, perhaps even taking note of the musical devices, such as ornamentation, that contributed to the affections of the music. This is simply not the case today. As a singer approaching Handel’s opera repertoire in the twenty-first century, the challenge is therefore not only to honor the eighteenth-century rhetorical approach to music making, but also to respond to the expectations of our modern audiences. While twenty-first century listeners may not anticipate being moved to feel any particular emotion when they attend a performance of a Baroque opera, they are hoping to be moved by the performance as a whole. The musical and theatrical devices that contribute to their experience will also likely vary from audience member to audience member. Thus it falls to the modern performer to engage all of the listener’s senses and to create as complete a

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*Zeit*, 35-46; quoted in Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and The Early Music Movement: A Historical Review,” 164.

<sup>317</sup> Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and The Early Music Movement: A Historical Review,” 162.

theatrical-musical experience as possible. Ornamentation that is inspired by a rich rhetorical heritage is therefore undeniably of value.

Returning to the premise set out at the beginning of this discussion that the reproduction of a contemporary style of embellishment is firstly a desirable, and secondly an achievable goal, some concluding remarks can now be offered. The effort to prepare embellishments for Handel's opera arias that reflect their role as an eighteenth-century rhetorical device is clearly worthwhile, considering the widespread global interest in early music performance practices, and the volume of literature devoted to discussions of the same. That affective ornaments can in fact be prepared, however, is still debatable. The current study has devoted a great deal of time to showing the connection between the affections and embellishments, and to demonstrating the significance of this relationship for eighteenth-century musicians. However, the arguments to come out of the early music debates over the past several decades highlight the fact that the historical treatises and other contemporary documents, as well as our knowledge of Handel's opera career and of the vocal abilities of his most famous singers, may all be colored by subjectivity on the part of the authors. The scholar Peter Williams even goes so far as to discredit the concept of Baroque literature and the theory of the affections altogether:

From the reading of such theorists as Walther or Mattheson grew another twentieth-century invention, *Affektenlehre*, which led to such astonishing assertions as that a piece of 'Baroque music', as it is so called, has only one *Affekt* throughout its course. No thinking performer ever gave such an idea more than a passing smile, however seductive the theory and however useful it might be in 'proving' some other theory.<sup>318</sup>

Yet while Williams's perspective is as valid as any other, it would almost certainly be a mistake to allow commentary of this nature to discourage musicians from embracing the

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<sup>318</sup> Peter Williams, "Figurae in the Keyboard Works of Scarlatti, Handel and Bach: An Introduction," in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 328.

historical materials that have been uncovered provided the quest for knowledge is maintained, particularly in the relatively virgin field of eighteenth-century aesthetics. For as the early music historian Howard Mayer Brown remarks,

To a good scholar, no question can ever be closed. All our most cherished notions should always remain open for discussion, debate, and correction...Intelligent performers, of course, will inform themselves about the possibilities open to them, and the playing of the most intelligent will almost certainly these days, be 'historically informed'.<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, "Pedantry or Liberation? A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement," in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, 54-55.

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## APPENDIX 1

### MUSICAL EXAMPLES OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ORNAMENTS

The musical examples below are adapted from the following sources:

George Frideric Handel, *Rinaldo*, ed. Friedrich Chrysander, The Works of George Frederic Handel 63 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1874), 61.

George Frideric Handel, *Rodelinda*, ed. Friedrich Chrysander, The Works of George Frederic Handel 65 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1876), 24 and 47.

#### 1.1 Main note appoggiatura-trill combination, from “Ombre, piante,” *Rodelinda*.

The musical notation for example 1.1 consists of two parts. The first part shows a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/8 time signature. The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and then a half note B4 with a trill ornament. The lyrics "Om - bre" are written below the notes. The second part, labeled "sounds as", shows the same melody but with the trill ornament replaced by a series of sixteenth notes: G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F#4, and E4. The lyrics "Om - bre" are also present here.

#### 1.2 Main note cadential trill, from “Lascia ch’io pianga,” *Rinaldo*.

The musical notation for example 1.2 consists of two parts. The first part shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and then a half note B4 with a trill ornament. The lyrics "li - - - ber - tà!" are written below the notes. The second part, labeled "sounds as", shows the same melody but with the trill ornament replaced by a series of sixteenth notes: G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F4, and E4. The lyrics "li - - - ber - tà!" are also present here.

#### 1.3 Prepared trill for a final cadence, from “Spietati, io vi giurai,” *Rodelinda*.

The musical notation for example 1.3 consists of two parts. The first part shows a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody starts with a quarter note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, and then a half note B4 with a trill ornament. The lyrics "bar - vi,e duo - lo,e,af-fan - no." are written below the notes. The second part, labeled "sounds as", shows the same melody but with the trill ornament replaced by a series of sixteenth notes: G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F4, and E4. The lyrics "bar - vi,e duo lo,e,af-fan - no." are also present here.

## APPENDIX 2

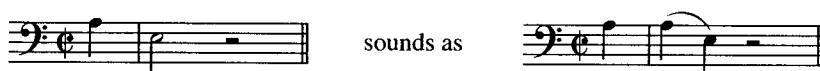
### ORNAMENTS MENTIONED IN THE TREATISES OF JOHANN MATTHESON AND C. P. E. BACH

The musical examples below are adapted from the following sources:

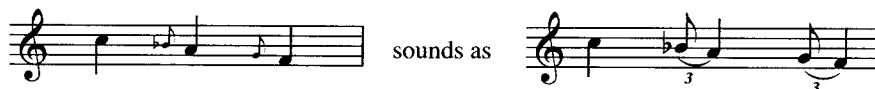
Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell (London: Cassell and Company, 1951), 93, 113, 127, 135, and 137.

Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music: with Special Emphasis on J.S. Bach* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 181.

#### 2.1 Leaping appoggiatura



#### 2.2 Appoggiatura as the first eighth note of a triplet



#### 2.3 Dotted compound appoggiatura



#### 2.4 Turn



sounds as



#### 2.5 Mordent



sounds as



#### 2.6 Two-toned slide



#### 2.7 Three-toned slide (inversion of the turn)



sounds as





# APPENDIX 3

## “VAGHE PERLE,” AGRIPPINA (1709)

POPPEA

VIOLINO I

VIOLINO II

VIOLA

CELLO & HARPSICHORD

This musical score block contains measures 1 through 6 of the piece. The instruments are arranged in five staves: POPPEA (soprano), VIOLINO I (treble), VIOLINO II (treble), VIOLA (alto), and CELLO & HARPSICHORD (bass). The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 8/8. POPPEA has whole rests in all six measures. VIOLINO I and VIOLINO II play eighth-note patterns, with triplets marked in measures 1, 2, and 3. VIOLA and CELLO & HARPSICHORD play a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, also featuring triplets in measures 3 and 4.

7

This musical score block contains measures 7 through 12 of the piece. The instruments are arranged in five staves: POPPEA (soprano), VIOLINO I (treble), VIOLINO II (treble), VIOLA (alto), and CELLO & HARPSICHORD (bass). The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 8/8. POPPEA has whole rests in all six measures. VIOLINO I and VIOLINO II play continuous eighth-note patterns. VIOLA and CELLO & HARPSICHORD play a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests in measures 7 and 8.



Va - - - - - ghe - - - - - per - le,

13



per - le e let - ti



fio - ri, a - dor

19

25

fron - te, va - - - - -

*messa di voce* (va)

le ti

31 ghe per - le e - let - ti fio - ri, a - dor - na - - - - -

(na) - - te - mi

37

te - mi la fron - te, a - - dor - na - - -

na - te - mi, va - ghe

43

te - mi la fron - te, a - dor - na - te - mi, va - ghe



a - dor - na - te - mi la fron - te,

50



te - mi,

55

60

(na) - te - mi - la fron - te!

va - ghe per - le e - let - ti fio - ri, a - dorna - - - te - mi - la fron - te!

65

FINE

70

A - ccre-sce - te\_a mia\_ bel - lez - za la va - ghez - za che\_a sve - gliar\_ nei pet - ti\_a -

75

mo - ri ho nel cor\_ le vo - glie pron - - - - te;

*messa di voce*

81

ac-cre-sce - te\_a mia\_ bel - lez - za la va - ghez - za che\_a sve - gliar nei petti\_a - mo - ri ho nel cor le voglie



(vo)-glie pron - - - te.

88

DA CAPO



# APPENDIX 4

## “FÀ QUANTO VUOI,” AGGRIPINA (1709)

POPPEA

CELLO & HARPSICHORD

Fà quan - to

Fà quan - to

tuoi

4

vuoi, li scher-ni tuoi non sof - fri rò; fà quan - to vuoi, li scher - ni tuoi non

non

7

sof - fri - rò, non sof - fri - rò, non sof - fri - rò, fà quan-to vuoi,

quan to

11

fà quan - to vuoi, li scher - ni tuoi non sof - fri - rò,

(rò,)

14

fà quan - to vuoi, li scher - ni tuoi non sof - fri - rò, nò,

(second time only)

sof fri

17

nò, nò, nò, non sof - fri - rò, non sof - fri - rò,

1.

20

Dentro al mio pet-to sde-gno e ven-det-ta ris-ve-glie-rò, - - -

24

- - - ris - ve - glie - rò, dentro al mio pet - to sde - gno e ven - det - ta ris - ve - glie -

27

rò, ris - ve - glie - rò.

2.

rò, non sof-fri-rò,

2.

rò, non sof-fri-rò.

(VIOLINO I)

(VIOLINO II)

(VIOLA)

35

Da Capo

# APPENDIX 5

## “COMBATTI DA FORTE,” RINALDO (1711)

ALMIRENA

VIOLINO I & OBOE I

VIOLINO II & OBOE II

VIOLA

CELLO & HARPSICHORD

6



11

Com-bat-ti da for - te, com-bat-ti da for - te, che fer-mo il mio sen pia-cer-ti prepa-ra, pia

cer - ti

17

cer - ti prepa - ra con-ten-ti d'ogn'or;

com - bat - ti da for - te, com-

23

bat - - - - - ti,

fer

cer

27

che fer - mo il mio se - no pia-cer - ti pre - pa - ra, con-ten - ti d'ogn' - or,

*messa di voce*

~~~~~

32

con - ten - ti d'ogn'or; com - bat - ti da for - te, che fer - mo il mio sen pia - cer - ti pre - pa - ra, con -

pia - cer - ti pre - pa - ra con -

tr

ten - ti d'ogn'or;

37

tr

ten - ti d'ogn'or.

42

con fa - ce di glo - ria, con

FINE

49

fa - ce di glo - ria, con fa - ce di glo - ria bell' i - ri se-ren' ad-es -

*messa di voce*



54

*messa di voce*

- - so ri-splen - da nell' al - to tuo cor, ad es - so ri-splen - - - da, con fa - ce di glo - ria bell'

59

*tr*

i - ri se-ren' ad es - so ri-splen - da nell' al - to tuo cor, ad es - so ri-splen - da nell' al - to tuo cor.

**Da Capo**

# APPENDIX 6

## “LASCIA CH’IO PIANGA,” RINALDO (1711)

ALMIRENA

La-scia ch’io pian-ga mia cru - da sor - te, e che so - spi - ri la

VIOLINO I

VIOLINO II

VIOLA

CELLO & HARPSICHORD

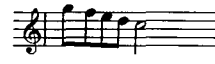
e che — so e — che so

7

li - ber - tà, e che so - spi - ri, e che so - spi - ri la li - ber - tà!



mia cru - da\_



spi - ri

15

23

FINE

sol per\_\_ pie - - -

31

Il duo - lo in - fran - ga que - ste ri - tor - te, de' miei\_\_ mar - ti - ri sol per\_\_ pie - -

sol per\_\_ pie - - - - ta.

38

tà, de' miei\_\_ mar - ti - ri sol per\_\_ pie - - - - tà.

DA CAPO

# APPENDIX 7

## “OMBRE, PIANTE,” **RODELINDA** (1725)

Musical score for the first system, measures 1-8. The score is in 3/8 time and D major. The instruments are RODELINDA (soprano), TRAVERSA, VIOLINO I & II, VIOLA, and CELLO & HARPSICHORD. The RODELINDA part is mostly rests. The TRAVERSA and VIOLINO I & II parts feature trills and sixteenth-note patterns. The VIOLA and CELLO & HARPSICHORD parts provide a harmonic foundation with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Musical score for the second system, measures 9-16. The score continues in 3/8 time and D major. The RODELINDA part is mostly rests. The TRAVERSA and VIOLINO I & II parts feature trills and sixteenth-note patterns. The VIOLA and CELLO & HARPSICHORD parts provide a harmonic foundation with eighth and sixteenth notes. The word *solo* appears above the TRAVERSA staff in measure 11, and *tutti* appears above the VIOLINO I & II staff in measure 13.

19

Om - bre, pian - te, ur - ne fu - ne - ste! voi sa - re - ste

29

le de - li - zie del mio sen; om-bre, pian-te, ur-ne fu-ne - ste!

39

voi sa - re - ste le de - li - zie del mio sen, voi sa - re - ste le de -

49

li - - zie del mio sen; om - bre, pian - te, voi sa - re - ste le de - li - -

58

3 *tr*

zie — del mio sen.

Se tro - vas - si in voi — rac - col-to,

68

*tr* *messa di voce*

co - me il vol - to, an - che il ce - ner del mio ben, an - che il



75

ce - - - ner - del mio ben. Om - - - bre, om - bre, pian - te,

83

ur - ne fu - ne ste! voi sa - re - ste le de - li - - zie del mio

92

(sen)

sen, voi sa - re - ste le de - li - - zie del mio

99

pian - te li

sen; om - bre, pian - te voi sa - re - ste le de - li - -

106

zie del mio sen.

112 \*

Om-bra del mio bel sol, che più d'in tor-no all' i

\* In my lecture-recital given on March 15, 2008, my performance concluded with a cadence in m. 112. In the full score the scene continues with a recitative for Rodelinda, Bertarido and Unulfo.

**“SPIETATI, IO VI GIURAI,” RODELINDA (1725)**

[illegible]

13

io vi giu-rai se al mio fi-glio il cor do-na - i, di ser-

duo

(bar) - - - - - vi

19

*messa di voce*

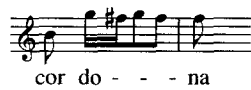
bar-vi e duo - lo e af-fan - no, di ser-bar - - - - - vi duo - lo e af-fan -



giu

24

no; spieta - ti, spieta-ti io vi giu-ra - i, io vi giu - rai, se al mio



cor do - - na

30

fi-glio il cor do - - na - i, se al mio fi-glio il cor do - na - i, di ser-bar-vi duolo\_e af-fan -

na - i,

35

no, di ser-bar-vi e duolo e af-fan - no, si, si, se al mio fi-glio il cor do-na - i, di ser

(bar) - - - - - vi e

41 *messa di voce*

bar - - - - - vi e duo - lo e af-fan - no, di ser-bar-vi duolo e af-fan -



46

no, se al mio fi-glio il cor do - na - i di ser-bar - vi\_e duo-lo\_e affan - - - no.

fan

52

FINE



59

Non po - - treb-be\_\_\_ la mia\_\_\_ ma - no strin-ger mai quell' in - u - ma - no,

63

ch'è ca-gion d'o-gni\_\_\_ mio\_\_\_ dan - no, ch'è ca-gion d'o-gni mio dan - no; non po - treb-be\_\_\_

68

la mia\_\_\_ ma-no strin-ger mai quell in - u-ma - no, ch'è ca-gion d'o-gni\_\_\_ mio\_\_\_ dan - no,\_\_\_

dan - no. Spieta - - - - - ti

73

\_\_\_ ch'è ca-gion d'o-gni mio dan - no. Spieta - - - - - ti

**DAL SEGNO**