THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN-BORN OBOISTS ON ENGLISH MUSICAL LIFE, 1695-1737: PERFORMERS, COMPOSERS, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OBOE REPERTOIRE

A THESIS IN Musicology

Presented to the Faculty of the University of Missouri-Kansas City in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Music

by Timothy Blake Johnson

MM, University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2019 BM, Morehead State University, 2017

> Kansas City, Missouri 2023

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ABSTRACT

After making its way from France in the late seventeenth century, the oboe played a large role in London's musical life. As the oboe was at this time a fairly new instrument, performers and composers alike were still questioning the instrument's potential and exploring varying facets of its character. While previous studies have chronicled the arrival of the instrument and the stages of its assimilation into English music, they have largely overlooked the music. This thesis looks closely at the music written for the oboe between 1695 and 1737, tracking its acceptance by London composers, the evolution of how it was viewed and utilized in this music, and the influence of the foreign performers who brought the instrument to the city and largely held the monopoly on top positions throughout the city.

The thesis first establishes the three principal types of performances in which oboists took part: those at court, in public and private concerts, and in the theaters. Tracking the tension between the use of the oboe's ability to function as both martial and lyrical, chapter 2

analyzes music written between 1695 and 1725. Because of the massive influence of opera during the period covered, the focus is then narrowed to three performers for whom George Frideric Handel wrote solo parts in his operas: Johann Ernst Galliard, Jean Christian Kytch, and Giuseppe Sammartini. Through analyses of the parts written for these performers along with comparisons with their own compositions for the oboe, chapters 3-5 explore the ways in which Handel catered his writing to the performer at hand, expanding existing understanding of both Handel's instrumental writing and performer-composer collaborations in the eighteenth century.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the University of Missouri-Kansas City Conservatory, have examined a thesis titled "The Influence of Foreign-Born Oboists on English Musical Life, 1695-1737: Performers, Composers, and the Development of the Oboe Repertoire," presented by Timothy Blake Johnson, candidate for the Master of Music degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For the success of this thesis and of my research around eighteenth-century London thus far I am greatly indebted to the support of my advisor, Dr. Alison DeSimone. Dr. DeSimone has been a source of endless enthusiasm for both this project and my various research endeavors from the moment I expressed interest in applying to the musicology program.

For fostering my love for the oboe and its repertoire, I thank my oboe teachers: Celeste Johnson, Thomas Pappas, Mary Lindsey Bailey, and John Viton. I am especially grateful to Professor Johnson for her tireless support of me throughout my six years at UMKC; I would not be the oboist I am today without her guidance.

I thank the musicology faculty (current and former) for their encouragement of my work and this project, particularly Dr. William Everett for supporting my pursuing the MM and Dr. Andrew Granade for serving on my MM committee.

I am grateful to the American Handel Society for their support of this thesis through awarding me the 2022 J. Merrill Knapp Research Fellowship to make possible a research trip to London in Summer 2022 which greatly benefited my research.

Finally, I am grateful to my family, friends, and loved ones for their support and encouragement during the long road to finishing this thesis.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

One would wonder the French Hautboy should obtain so great an esteem in all the courts of Christendom as to have the preference to any other single instrument. Indeed it looks strange at first sight: But on the other hand, if a man considers the Excellency and use of it, this wonder will soon vanish...For besides its inimitable charming sweetness of sound (when well play'd upon) it is also majestical and stately, and not much inferior to the Trumpet; and for that reason the greatest Heroes of the Age (who sometimes despise Strung-Instruments) are infinitely pleased with This for its brave and Sprightly Tone.¹

In this excerpt from *The Sprightly Companion* (1695), England's first treatise on oboe playing, John Banister reflected upon the public reception of the fairly recently imported French oboe. As his account describes, this unlikely instrument, with its distinct tone and inherent challenges to the performer, had become an integral part of the country's musical life. Central to this integration of the instrument into the city were the performers who introduced it to London, became the first oboists to participate in the city's ensembles, and taught English-born musicians to play the new instrument. In the early eighteenth century, writers on music such as Roger North and Charles Avison mentioned the oboe in ways similar to the introduction of *The Sprightly Companion*, providing descriptions of the instrument's physical and tonal characteristics.² Works from this time did not usually evaluate specific performers, but made evaluative statements on how the instrument would best be utilized. Avison, for instance, noted that, "...the *hautboy* will best express the *cantabile*, or singing style, and may be used in all movements whatever under this

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¹ John Banister, *The Sprightly Companion* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1695), 1.

² John Wilson, ed., *Roger North On Music: Transcribed From His Essays of c. 1695-1728*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello and Company, 1959), 13, 218, 230; Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, third ed. (London: 1752), 98-99.

denomination, especially those movements which tend to be gay and cheerful."³ Such statements were often influenced by the sources which informed the author's perspective of the instrument. North, for instance, is thought to have been familiar with Johann Ernst Galliard (1687-1749), a German-born oboist who was active as a performer early in the eighteenth century, particularly at the opera and was later best known as a composer.⁴

Later in the century, London's major writers on music wrote extensively about the oboe, largely in the form of short biographies of major performers of the time. In his General History of Music (1776) and a series of entries in Rees's Cyclopaedia (1819), Charles Burney mentioned a number of performers, with entries varying in length according to an individual performer's popularity.⁵ Sir John Hawkins, in his own General History of the Science and Practice of Music (1776), similarly mentions a number of individual performers.⁶ For performers active in the first half of the eighteenth century, both writers focus primarily on those who emigrated from abroad. This is a reflection of the fact that until the middle of the century, these foreign-born performers largely held a monopoly on the top positions at court and in the operas. Both writers place specific emphasis on one performer in particular: Giuseppe Sammartini (1695-1750). This focus on Sammartini continues to be present in contemporary scholarship. Some aspects of Burney and Hawkins's descriptions of oboists like Sammartini must be treated with caution, as neither would have been old enough at the beginning of Sammartini's career in London (1729) to recall aspects of oboe playing which they discuss, particularly the quality of oboe playing which preceded Sammartini's arrival.

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³ Avison, *Essay*, 98-99.

⁴ North referred to Galliard as a "...great master..." in his What is Ayre. See North, On Music, 87.

⁵ Charles Burney, A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period, ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), II: 989, 994, 997; Abraham Rees, ed., Rees's Cyclopaedia (London: 1819), LXVII: 695.

⁶ John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: J. Alfred Novello, 1853), II: 782, 823, 827-28, 894.

Their discussion of performers and oboe playing in the last decade of Sammartini's career, however, is more reliable and provides valuable insights.

While performers like Sammartini were widely hailed in their time, as recorded by contemporary writers like Burney and Hawkins, they have largely been forgotten outside of the writings which will be discussed later in this chapter. Through their varied activities as performers, composers, and teachers, these musicians exerted significant influence upon the musical activities of their adopted city and took part in many of the major musical events of the eighteenth century. Through a study of several oboists, this thesis will explore how those who took up residence in London between 1700 and 1750 influenced London's musical life through the instruments, musical styles, and compositions they brought with them.

Music in Eighteenth-Century London

While the bulk of this study will focus on the foreign-born oboists who emigrated to London in the first half of the eighteenth century and the music written by and for them, this music was not created in a vacuum. Rather, it was a product of the varied and often tumultuous culture of the city around them. It was because of the unique landscape of music making in the city that London was home in the eighteenth century to many of the finest musicians from throughout Europe. With varied settings in which to find employment and the freedom to both accept work within each of these settings and to travel beyond London, the city was seen as an ideal location for musicians looking to build careers. While this thesis is focused entirely upon London, cities in the German-speaking lands such as Hamburg and Dresden held similar financial incentives for musicians and future research could center a similar study around these cities.

The period covered saw the reign of five monarchs who engaged with the arts in varying ways. In situating the music within this context, I will draw from general works of history around London and these monarchs. Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward's London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750 tracks the rise of London as a cultural and economic center from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and explores the varying relationships each monarch within this period had with the city's artists. Anne, George I, and George II reigned for the majority of the time covered and so I make use of focused studies which address their work as patrons and the ways in which they made use of their courts and musicians. James Anderson Winn's Queen Anne: Patroness of the Arts repositions Anne as an involved patron who used her support of the arts in part as a political tool. 8 John M. Beattie's *The English Court in the Reign of George I* and Hannah Smith's *Georgian* Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760 likewise look at the two Georges through the culture of their courts and the ways in which they interacted with their courtiers and subjects at large. Beattie's work provides insight into the finances of George I's court while Smith takes a similar approach to Winn in her discussion of how these two kings used their patronage strategically, often to improve their image during times of diminishing support from their subjects.

The music histories by Charles Burney and Sir John Hawkins are also crucial to understanding music in eighteenth-century London. Although composers and performers active at the beginning of the century predate the historians, both authors possessed a much

⁷ Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History*, *1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁸ James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of the Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁹ John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

closer vantage point than is available to us today and were able to reference sources and witnesses which have been lost to time. 10 With biographic entries on specific performers and assessments of eighteenth-century music, these two writers provide insight to contemporary perceptions of the music discussed and important biographical information often not found elsewhere. In secondary sources, lesser-known composers such as those who will be covered in later chapters are often seen, as Robert Rawson writes, as "...falling between the perceived historical cracks in musical life between Purcell and Handel."11 As such, many writings on music in London in the early eighteenth century center the narrative around these two famous composers, with lesser-known composers being related to them in some way. In the sole chapter on London in George Buelow's *The Late Baroque Era*, Donald Burrows opens with the death of Purcell and while tracking the musical developments between Purcell's death and Handel's arrival, clearly seems to be building to the latter event as the major musical development of the period. 12 H. Diack Johnstone takes a similar approach in *The Cambridge* Companion to Handel, opening with Purcell and exploring the musicians and musical practices which set the stage for Handel and impacted his career in the city. 13 The work of Judith C. Milhous and Robert D. Hume, which will later be discussed in more detail, informs much of what we know about the careers of performers in eighteenth-century London and

¹⁰ Burney, A General History; Hawkins, A General History.

¹¹ Robert Rawson, "'After the Italian Manner': Finger, Pepusch and the First Concertos in England" in *Musical Exchange Between Britain and Europe*, *1500-1800*, ed. John Cunningham and Bryan White (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2020), 136.

¹² Donald Burrows, "London: Commercial Wealth and Cultural Expansion" in *The Late Baroque Era: From the* 1680s to 1740, George Buelow, ed. (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 355-92.

¹³ H. Diack Johnstone, "Handel's London—British musicians and London concert life" in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, Donald Burrows, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 64-77.

while they have written around Handel and the Royal Academy, they have long focused as extensively on the musicians around him.¹⁴

Recent scholarship takes a more nuanced look at music in London during the eighteenth century, looking closely at composers and performers who have long been overlooked and acknowledging the extensive contemporary influence which they exerted on the city's musical life. In addition to Rawson's chapter on Gottfried Finger and Johann Christoph Pepusch, *Musical Exchange Between Britain and Europe, 1500-1800* includes several chapters which explore musical practices through the careers and contributions of lesser-known composers. The collection's focus on foreign performers and composers shines a light on individuals often overlooked by more mainstream studies. Alison DeSimone and Matthew Gardner's *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain* similarly includes several chapters which look at the careers of performers and the ways in which they shaped the practice of the benefit concert in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These scholarly works on music in London provide a foundation for my own study of the city's musical life and provide context around the makeup of a career in music during the time covered.

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 ¹⁴ Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, ed., *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, 1706-1715
 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982); Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, ed., *A Register of English Theatrical Documents*, 1660-1737, 2 vols (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991).
 ¹⁴ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720" *Theatre Journal* 35, No. 2 (May 1983): 149-67.

¹⁵ John Cunningham and Bryan White, ed., *Musical Exchange Between Britain and Europe*, *1500-1800* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2020).

¹⁶ Matthew Gardner and Alison DeSimone, *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Histories of the Oboe

In the mid-twentieth century, musicologists began documenting a broad history of the oboe which covered its development from the middle of the seventeenth century to the present. The first of these, Philip Bate's *The Oboe*, gave a history of the oboe in each century of its existence, described each member of the oboe family, and included short biographies of major performers.¹⁷ Bate's primary focus was on improvements made to the oboe's design in the nineteenth century and the lineage of professors at the Paris Conservatoire. He does cover some oboists who were active in eighteenth-century London, but these short entries lack citation and suggest no sources for further research.

One year after the first edition of Bate's books was published, Anthony Baines released his thorough *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (1957).¹⁸ A founding member of the Galpin Society, Baines focused largely on the construction and evolution of the oboe's design.¹⁹ Across four chapters, he covered the design of the members of the oboe family, their reeds, and their evolution over time. He discussed a number of eighteenth-century oboists, largely through the lens of the type of oboe they might have used. In a similar vein to Baines's work, writer Eric Halfpenny studied the evolution of the oboe's design in England and assigned letters to each successive model to differentiate the many models which were used during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁰ Related to these works which track the development of the oboe's design in the eighteenth century are studies of Giovanni Maria Anciuti (1674-1744), an Italian oboe maker whose oboe design, typical of

¹⁷ Philip Bate, The Oboe, third ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1975), 44-58, 100-18, 189-210.

¹⁸ Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, third ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1967), 91-116, 277-85, 325-29.

¹⁹ Founded in 1946, the Galpin Society is an organization devoted to the study of organology and publishes an annual journal dedicated to the topic.

²⁰ Eric Halfpenny, "The English 2- and 3-keyed Hautboy," *The Galpin Society Journal* 2 (March 1949): 10-26.

the type C oboe, was brought to London by Sammartini and likely inspired the English straight-top oboe which would come to be widely used in the middle of the century.²¹ While less focused on performers and music than other works, these writings provide valuable insight into the instrument itself.

While not focused on the oboists discussed, John Buttrey's article "New Light on Robert Cambert in London, and His 'Ballet et Musique'" provides valuable insights into Cambert's trip to London and how the musicians he brought with him, including four oboists, became part of London's musical life.²² In 1988, Early Music published two articles that considered the use of the oboe in eighteenth-century London. In "The French Hautboy in England, 1673-1730," David Lasocki looks at the integration of the oboe into English musical life in four phases: arrival (1673-89), assimilation (1689-1705), Italian style takes over (1705-17), and Italian oboists arrive (1717-30).²³ Lasocki tracks the types of performances in which oboists took part during these decades and includes short biographies of all the major oboists who were active in the city during this time. Janet K. Page's "The Hautboy in London's Musical Life, 1730-1770" similarly focuses on the types of ensembles which utilized oboes, but also discusses the impact of Sammartini's arrival and suggests a school of playing inspired by his style which would later conflict with that of Johan Christian Fischer (1733-1800), who would arrive in London in 1768.²⁴ As some of the earliest scholarly writings on the oboe's place in eighteenth-century London, these articles are

²¹ Alfredo Bernardini, "The Oboe in the Venetian Republic, 1692-1797" *Early Music 16, No. 3* (August 1988): 372-87; Francesco Carreras, Cinzia Meroni, and Elizabeth Giansiracusa, "Giovanni Maria Anciuti: A Craftsman at Work in Milan and Venice" *Recercare* 20, No. 1/2 (2008): 181-215.

²² John Buttrey, "New Light on Robert Cambert in London, and His 'Ballet et Musique'" *Early Music* 23, No. 2 (May 1995): 198-202, 205-206, 208-10, 212-14, 217-20.

²³ David Lasocki, "The French Hautboy in England, 1673-1730" Early Music 16, No. 3 (Aug 1988): 339-57.

²⁴ Janet K. Page, "The Hautboy in London's Musical Life, 1730-1770" *Early Music* 16, No 3 (Aug 1988): 358-71.

necessarily focused on tracking the process of the instrument's integration into the city's musical life. In this thesis I focus on individual performers and explore the influences of their individual collaborations, particularly in the case of those oboists who performed for Handel. As many of the early oboists discussed in these articles found employment at court, I draw heavily from the collections of court records compiled by Henry Cart De Lafontaine and Andrew Ashbee as these records serve as the only mentions of some of the lesser-known performers I discuss.²⁵

Musicologist and oboist Bruce Haynes was one of the first twentieth-century performers to specialize in performing on the hautboy (Baroque oboe). After turning to musicology in the 1990s, Haynes largely focused on studying the history of the oboe, particularly in the Baroque period. The culmination of this research was his *The Eloquent Oboe*, in which he focused on the history of the instrument from 1640-1760. Haynes covered the origins of the instrument and practical issues of playing it in addition to following its development throughout Europe. Three chapters include sections on oboe playing in London, from the instrument's arrival during the reign of Charles II to just after the death of Sammartini in 1750. Particularly valuable is the insight Haynes brought from his perspective as a performer of the instrument, which consistently informs his evaluation of the music he discusses. Covering more than a century and spanning several countries, Haynes's discussion of London in this book is limited in scope and while he discussed some of the oboists who performed for Handel and were active elsewhere in the city, he included only

²⁵ Henry Cart De Lafontaine, ed., *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians, 1460-1700* (London: Novello and Co., 1909); Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music* (New York: Ashgate, 1987), II.

²⁶ Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy From 1640 to 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 145-51, 340-51, 436-44.

limited analysis of the music written by and for them. I focus on this repertoire extensively to both discern between the skill sets of foreign and English-born performers and to study the varied ways in which composers like Handel approached writing for them.

Studies of Individual Performers

Some scholars have studied the careers of individual performers, but these writings are few, likely owing to the general lack of information about these oboists. Evelyn B. Lance wrote the most extensive study of Sammartini's life: "The London Sammartini." The article largely focuses on an examination of Sammartini's compositional style and a catalogue of his works. Lance also included a valuable discussion of Sammartini's tenure in the household of the Prince of Wales based upon the account book of his wife, Princess Augusta, which provides specific dates for Sammartini's employment in their household. In primary sources, Sammartini's life and career are by far the most well documented of the oboists in London during this time period, with extensive entries in both Burney and Hawkins's writings. 28 Apart from Sammartini, a number of articles center on Jean Baptiste Loeillet (1680-1730) which have sought to distinguish him from his more famous cousin, Jean Baptiste Loeillet of Ghent (1688-1720). Each article establishes definite dates for the lives and careers of the two composers and include catalogues of their works.²⁹ Largely in response to the broad focus of these articles, Lasocki published a more detailed look at Loeillet's career in London, with discussion of the types of performances in which he took part and the various influences he

²⁷ Evelyn B. Lance, "The London Sammartini" *The Music Review* 38, No. 1 (1977): 1-14.

²⁸ Burney, A General History, 997, 1013; Hawkins, A General History, 894-95.

²⁹ Alec Skempton, "The Instrumental Sonatas of the Loeillets" *Music & Letters* 43 No. 3 (July 1962): 206-17; Rose-Marie Janzen, "The Loeillet Enigma" *Consort* 39 (1983): 502-6; Morag Deane, "Compositions by Members of the Loeillet Family" *Recorder & Music* 6, No. 11 (1980): 318-23.

had on the musical life of the city. 30 Lasocki's dissertation, "Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740," also contains biographies of many eighteenth-century oboists who doubled on the recorder and is a valuable source for studying these performers.³¹ While not concerned with the oboe, Pippa Drummond and Betty Matthews's studies of the Royal Society of Musicians and its eighteenth-century origins provides context around the final years of one of Handel's longtime oboists, Jean Christian Kytch (d. 1738).³² Kytch is often mentioned in reference to his prolific performances in public concerts, as in DeSimone and Gardner's Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain.³³ Chapters like those by Olive Baldwin, Thelma Wilson, and Robert Rawson discuss Kytch's performances in benefit concerts.³⁴ Like Kytch, the oboists to be discussed in subsequent chapters are often referenced only briefly and often only in regard to a single aspect of their life or career. This limited focus has largely kept these performers from receiving in-depth treatments which consider the full range of their activities. This thesis will include three chapters which focus on a single performer, using each as a case study for how they built a career in London and how composers made use of their distinct skills.

 ³⁰ David Lasocki, "A New Look at the Life of John Loeillet" *The Recorder & Music* 8, No. 2 (June 1984): 42-6.
 ³¹ David Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1983).

³² Pippa Drummond, "The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century" *Music & Letters* 59, No. 3 (July 1978): 268-89; Betty Matthews, "Handel and the Royal Society of Musicians" *The Musical Times* 125, No. 1692 (Feb 1984): 79-82.

³³ Gardner and DeSimone, Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain.

³⁴ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "With Several Entertainments of Singing and Dancing: London Theatre Benefits, 1700-1725," in Gardner and DeSimone, *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century England*, 50; Robert Rawson, "Concertos 'upon the stage' in Early Hanoverian London: The Instrumental Counterpart to Opera Seria," in Gardner and DeSimone, *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century England*, 69, 72, 77-81. Kytch is the focus of another of DeSimone's articles, see Alison DeSimone, "Handel's Greatest Hits: The Composer's Music in Eighteenth-Century Benefit Concerts," *Newsletter of The American Handel Society* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 1-3.

Handel, Opera, and the Oboe

Opera was a major musical institution in eighteenth-century London and during the first half of the century, it was largely dominated by the works of Handel. Handel used the oboe frequently as a solo instrument in his operas and this writing constitutes a significant portion of the solo music for the oboe from the time. This thesis will pay particular attention to the collaborations between Handel and his oboists, especially in terms of how their individual styles impacted the way in which Handel wrote for the oboe. The significance of the oboe parts of Handel's operas, particularly the number of (or lack of) solo obbligatos, seems to have been directly tied to the performers available to him. When provided with a capable soloist, Handel could include several solo obbligato parts, as in *Teseo* (1713), which includes six. When lacking a star soloist, Handel could go several years without a solo oboe part, relegating the instrument to doubling the violin lines, as he did from 1724-37 when Kytch was first oboe at the opera.

While Handel's collaborations with his singers have received scholarly attention, his collaborations with his oboists have received far less. ³⁵ The most significant example of this type of analysis is found in C. Steven LaRue's *Handel and His* Singers. ³⁶ LaRue looks at individual singers in each chapter, analyzing arias written for them in one or more operas. As evidence for the ways in which Handel tailored his writing to a specific singer, LaRue relies upon fragments and sketches of Handel's manuscripts, tracking the evolution of an aria as

³⁵ C. Steven LaRue, *Handel and His Singers: The Creation of the Royal Academy Operas*, 1720-1728 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). For other studies of Handel's writing for individual singers, see Barbara M. Doscher, "He Wrote for Specific Voices" *Journal of Singing* 52, No. 1 (Sep 1995): 33-36; Heidi Owen, "Faustina's Farewell" *Opera Journal* 34, No. 3 (Sep 2001): 3-42; Suzanne Aspden, "The 'Rival Queens' and the Play of Identity in Handel's Admeto" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 18, No. 3 (Nov 2006): 301-31; and Lisabeth M. Kettledon, "A Lyric Soprano in Handel's London: A Vocal Portrait of Francesca Cuzzoni" (DMA diss., University of Connecticut, 2017).

³⁶ LaRue, Handel and His Singers.

Handel presumably moved from a generic structure to focusing on the singer for whom he was writing. LaRue also examines singers who were frequently used in specific contexts and those whose public personas played a part in their use within the operas in which they sang. Subsequent studies of Handel's writing for his singers have taken similar approaches, using a body of repertoire written for a specific singer to reconstruct their abilities as a performer. Heidi Owen's "Faustina's Farewell" largely focuses on arias written for Faustina by Hasse, but compares these with earlier arias for her by Handel to demonstrate the shift in her abilities as she aged.³⁷ Similarly, Lisabeth M. Kettledon's dissertation looks at arias written for Francesca Cuzzoni to discern recurrent practices which point to her strengths as a singer.³⁸ These studies of Handel's writing for his singers, particularly that by C. Steven LaRue, provide a framework for my analysis of Handel's writing for his oboists. In contrast with the majority of Handel's singers, his oboists were nearly all composers themselves. Much of their writing for the oboe would have been written for themselves to perform and so provides insight to their distinct skills as they saw them. My analysis compares each oboist's own writing with Handel's writing for them to reveal common elements.

Winton Dean's books on Handel's operas and oratorios, while primarily detailing the events surrounding the premiere of each work and analyzing some specific arias, include a number of mentions of Handel's oboists, particularly in reference to the obbligatos written for Sammartini.³⁹ Handel's significant output of obbligato oboe parts has also been discussed in academic studies which attempt to catalogue them. Sarah Funkhouser created a

³⁷ Owen, "Faustina's Farewell."

³⁸ Kettledon, "A Lyric Soprano in Handel's London."

³⁹ Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas: 1704-1726* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Winton Dean, *Handel's Operas: 1726-1741* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006).

comprehensive list of all instrumental obbligatos by Handel which is organized by instrumentation. Funkhouser suggests common features of each of Handel's four types of oboe obbligatos, including solo oboe, two oboes, unison oboes, and unison oboes and strings. 40 Stephen Hiramoto specifically studied Handel's solo obbligato parts for oboe. Hiramoto categorized each according to the way the oboe and vocal parts interact and the writing in specific arias. 41 My analysis of Handel's arias focuses on how Handel altered his approach to writing for the oboe based upon the performer he was writing for. I compare this to each performer's own writing for themselves to identify their particular strengths as performers.

The oboists with whom Handel worked also appear in works of general Handel scholarship, including all of the major biographies of Handel. In most of these works, the oboists simply appear intermittently like supporting characters interweaved throughout Handel's story. For instance, in biographies by Christopher Hogwood, Ellen T. Harris, David Hunter, and Jane Glover, the oboists are mentioned in regard to works of Handel's which they performed or as they moved in and out of Handel's circle. Donald Burrows looked more closely at the oboists who most frequently worked with Handel, particularly Kytch. Burrows places particular emphasis on Kytch's relationship with Handel and suggests that Kytch possessed a special oboe which allowed him to play in a different key than the rest of the Handel's ensemble while sounding at the same pitch, an issue pertaining to arias which

⁴⁰ Sarah Funkhouser, "An Evaluation of G. F. Handel's Use of the Oboe in His Arias" (MM thesis, University of Missouri – Kansas City, 1972), 2, 14-16.

⁴¹ Stephen Hiramoto, "Soloistic Writing for the Oboe in the Arias of Handel's Operas" (DMA diss., university of North Texas, 1996), 14-15.

⁴² Christopher Hogwood, *Handel* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984; Ellen T. Harris, *George Frideric Handel* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2014); David Hunter, *The Lives of George Frideric* Handel (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2015); Jane Glover, *Handel in London: The Making of a Genius* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2018).

⁴³ Donald Burrows, *Handel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 157.

will be discussed later in this thesis. Burrows has also written on the makeup of Handel's orchestra for the Royal Academy operas, including reproductions of some of the only extant rosters of Handel's musicians. Henry Lang's biography of Handel does not specifically discuss Handel's collaborations with his oboists, but does look closely at Handel's obbligato writing and the ways in which his solo instruments interacted with the voice. This existing scholarship provides the foundation for a deeper look into the collaborations between Handel and his oboists.

While not directly about Handel, DeSimone's *The Power of Pastiche* includes considerable analysis of obbligatos written for Galliard in *Teseo* (1713).⁴⁶ DeSimone discusses the way in which musicians like Galliard and Loeillet used their skills as performers to establish contacts and open up other sources of income. The work of Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume is especially valuable for research around Handel and his performers. Milhous and Hume have compiled a number of documents relating to the London theaters in the first half of the eighteenth century which provide valuable insight into the performers who were employed in the theaters and also the amount of income which they earned from their performances.⁴⁷ An article by Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720," includes references from valuable primary sources surrounding the makeup of Handel's orchestra in 1720, a point at which the identity of his principal oboist is still in doubt.⁴⁸ A number of articles by Hume alone examine culture in seventeenth and eighteenth-century London through the lenses of both politics and

⁴⁴ Donald Burrows, "Handel's London Theatre Orchestra" Early Music 13, No. 3 (Aug 1985): 349-57.

⁴⁵ Paul Henry Lang, George Frideric Handel (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1966), 617-20.

⁴⁶ Alison DeSimone, *The Power of Pastiche: Musical Miscellany and Cultural Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century London* (Clemson: Clemson University Press, 2021), 179-90.

⁴⁷ Milhous and Hume, Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers; Milhous and Hume, A Register of English Theatrical Documents.

⁴⁸ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720," 149-67.

economics, providing context for the financial situations of performers in the city. ⁴⁹ Studies such as these provide a valuable reference for how performers entered London's musical life and the varied ways in which they could piece together a living.

Primary Sources

Conducting studies around the performance activities of musicians in eighteenthcentury London would be difficult without the valuable primary source material found in the myriad London newspapers which chronicled upcoming performances throughout the city. For this thesis I am greatly indebted to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection comprised of pamphlets, newsbooks, and newspapers and in chapters 3-5, I quote frequently from several of these newspapers. The advertisements found in these newspapers provide valuable insights into the types of performances in which particular performers took part, the frequency with which a performer found work, and in some cases specific repertoire which was performed on individual concerts.

I have made use of several manuscript scores, particularly in cases where the work does not exist in modern edition. From the British Library I have discussed works by Galliard and Gottfried Finger (1660-1730). Galliard's masque, Pan and Syrinx (1718) is largely unknown and has been recorded only once.⁵⁰ As one of only two surviving works by Galliard which utilize the oboe, this work is a valuable source for studying his abilities as a performer.

⁴⁹ Robert D. Hume, "The Politics of Opera in Late Seventeenth-Century London" Cambridge Opera Journal 10, No. 1 (Mar 1998): 15-43; Robert D. Hume, "The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740" Huntington Library Quarterly 69, No. 4 (Dec 2006): 487-533; and Robert D. Hume, "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power—and Some Problems in Cultural Economics" Huntington Library Quarterly 77, No. 4 (Dec 2014): 373-416.

⁵⁰ Operas by John Galliard Add MS 31588, British Library, London, England.

A set of partbooks which were likely used by Queen Anne's oboe band reveals the repertoire of this ensemble and the works being written for them by composers like Finger and others.⁵¹

Before Handel's first London opera in 1711, no arias with obbligato oboe had been written for the London stage since Purcell's death. Some pasticcio operas did include arias with obbligato oboe and I cite two manuscripts of Alessandro Scarlatti's Pirro e Demetrio to determine if this combination was used in the original opera one such aria is drawn from.⁵² In analyzing Sammartini's skill as a performer in chapter 5, I make use of the manuscript of his first sonata collection held by the Sibley Music Library at the University of Rochester.⁵³ Sammartini's sonatas provide insight into not only his own abilities, but to the state of oboe playing in the 1720s and the high level of technical ability cultivated in this decade by virtuosos like Sammartini. With the general lack of sources which shed light on the income of freelance performers in London at this time, legal documents like wills and property inventories reveal the possessions and wealth of musicians. In chapters 3 and 5, I cite the will of John Loeillet and the inventory of Sammartini's property following his death.⁵⁴ This thesis draws together a wide range of primary and secondary sources. Beyond examining the impact of the styles, instruments, and compositions they brought with them, my analysis builds upon extant scholarship to examine the collaborations between Handel and his oboists. Drawing from previous studies of Handel's writing for his singers, my analysis identifies the

⁵¹ Incidental Music, Sonatas, etc., arranged in sets or suites for wind instruments (chiefly flutes) and strings, in parts, by Paisible, Colasse, Tollett, Morgan, Purcell, Finger, Corelli, and Clerke Add MS 59565-59567, British Library, London, England.

⁵² Pirro e Demetrio Del Sigr. Alessandro Scarlatti Rari 7.1.11, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella, Naples, Italy; Pirro, e Demetrio Del Sigr. Alessandro Scarlatti, Napoli, 1697 MS II 3963, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium.

⁵³ Sonatas by Giuseppe Sammartini M.241.S189, Sibley Music library, Rochester, New York.

⁵⁴ Will of John Loeillet of Saint George, Middlesex PROB 11/640/33, National Archives, Kew; Joseph San Martini of Golden Square, St. James Westminster, Middlesex. Probate Inventory, or Declaration, of the Estate of the Same, Deceased PROB 31/328/26, National Archives, Kew.

particular strengths of his individual soloists and study the impact of these skills upon Handel's writing for the oboe.

Chapter Overviews

Each chapter of this thesis will explore ways in which foreign-born oboists influenced London's musical life. Chapter 2 tracks the development of music written specifically for the oboe by looking at its use in three contexts: the court, public concerts, and in the theaters. While the instrument's assimilation into the music being performed in the city has been covered extensively in works by Lasocki and Haynes, their writings leave one stone largely unturned: a thorough analysis of the music these oboists would have performed.

Beginning with works for unspecified combinations of instruments and building to music written to be performed on the oboe, my analysis will examine the ways in which this music reflects the gradual acceptance of the instrument by composers, the skills of particular performers, and the increase of technical demands for the instrument from around 1695 to 1750.

Chapters 3-5 each focus on a specific performer for whom Handel wrote solo obbligatos in his operas. Chapter 3 centers on Galliard and the obbligatos he performed in *Teseo*. A fellow German-born performer and composer, Galliard was likely known to Handel before both took up residence in London. The extent to which Handel features the oboe in this opera, including six solo obbligatos, speaks to his admiration of Galliard's playing. While no solo works for the instrument survive in Galliard's output, he wrote for it in his theatrical works and I analyze the oboe writing in his opera *Calypso and Telemachus* (1712)

and masque *Pan and Syrinx* to establish an idea of what his particular skills as a performer may have been and to explore how Handel made use of them in his writing.

Chapter 4, centered on Kytch, takes a different approach. While chapters 3 and 5 explore the ways in which Handel made use of a performer's skills, chapter 4 questions why he largely avoided writing for the instrument in a solo capacity for the lengthy time during which Kytch was serving as first oboe at the opera. With no known compositions of his own, Kytch is the outlier among the three oboists studied in these chapters as being only a performer and not a composer. As such, my analysis centers on his performances in public concerts and on the obbligatos likely written for him in the Chandos Anthems (1717-18), *Acis and Galatea* (1718), and *Admeto* (1727).

Chapter 5 looks at Handel's writing for Sammartini in three operas premiered in 1737. Growing more extensive with each appearance of the guest soloist, these obbligatos comprise some of Handel's most extensive and virtuosic writing for the instrument. In this chapter I also explore the issue of Sammartini's first visit to London and his first interactions with Handel, which have long puzzled scholars. Sammartini is survived by a large output of solo works for the oboe and my analysis of these works will establish an idea of his skills which I relate to Handel's writing for him. With the benefit of the context established by the previous scholarship discussed, this thesis explores the oboe's place in eighteenth-century London through the music written for it and the foreign-born performers who would have inspired, composed, and performed these works.

CHAPTER 2

FOREIGN-BORN OBOISTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OBOE REPERTOIRE IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

After making its way to England from France, the oboe came to play a large role in England's musical life. England was the first country to receive the new instrument as it began to spread throughout Europe, a circumstance Bruce Haynes described as the result of political intrigue between the two countries. It is important to understand that the instrument discussed throughout this thesis differs greatly from the modern oboe. Subsequent centuries of development have combined narrowing of the bore to focus the tone and the upper register, undercutting of the tone holes to even the scale and response throughout the instrument's range, and refined keywork to facilitate increasingly complex music. The instrument as it existed in the eighteenth century was never truly settled into one form, but always continuing to develop. Throughout the Baroque period, however, it was in general less piercing than the modern oboe and with only two keys and none of the modern instrument's undercutting, featured distinct differences in timbre throughout its range. Rather than a hindrance, this was seen as a strength and composers would choose specific keys to make use of these differences in tone.

The new instrument arrived at a fortuitous time in the early 1670s during the reign of Charles II, a time during which French culture was highly prized at court. As Roger North noted, Charles II was fond of French music, maintaining an ensemble of twenty-four violins

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¹ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 145.

at court and encouraging music in the French style, a practice which became increasingly common throughout his reign.² Louis XIV of France exploited this preference for French culture as a means for realizing his goal of extending French influence on the English court. The French king had a convenient agent for seeing to his interests in England in his sister-in-law Henriette, Duchess of Orleans (1644-70), who also happened to be Charles's sister. Following Henriette's death in 1670, Louis XIV turned to her former maid of honour, Louise de Queroualle (1649-1734).³ While in the employ of Henriette, Louise had attracted the attention of Charles II, leading Louis XIV to arrange for her to enter the English court as a maid of honour to Queen Catherine.⁴ This scheme produced the French King's desired outcome: Charles soon took Louise as his mistress, even ennobling her as the Duchess of Portsmouth and setting her up in her own household in Whitehall.⁵

Fearing that Louise had begun to lose the King's interest, Louis XIV sent Robert Cambert (1628-77) to England in 1673 as 'maître de musique' in the Duchess's household along with a group of leading French singers and instrumentalists. Among these musicians were four oboists: Maxant de Bresmes, Pierre Guiton, Jacques Paisible, and a mysterious individual with the surname Boutet. These four oboists were the first to perform in London. After performing a series of concerts with Cambert, which according to the French ambassador succeeded at impressing the English king, the four oboists remained in England, becoming part of the musical life of the city. Because of the court's financial situation after

² Wilson, Roger North on Music, 349-51.

³ Buttrey, "New Light on Robert Cambert," 201.

⁴ Buttrey, "New Light on Robert Cambert," 201.

⁵ Buttrey, "New Light on Robert Cambert," 201.

⁶ Haynes, *The Eloquent* Oboe, 145-46.

⁷ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 339.

⁸ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 340.

the Restoration, their musical activities involved a variety of pursuits as they took part in varying types of performances and began to train the first generation of English oboists.

As Banister's introduction to *The Sprightly Companion* alluded, the oboe was prized after its arrival for its flexibility which allowed it to be utilized in several types of performances, opening up many avenues of employment for the city's new oboists.⁹ According to Haynes, oboists in London could find employment in four basic areas, including, "... the court, the churches, the theatres, and military bands." This chapter will focus on the court and the theatres, in addition to an important additional category, public concerts. 11 The details of the oboe's gradual entry into London's musical life over the next twenty years and beyond has been well documented by Lasocki and Haynes; I will not seek here to retread the ground they have previously covered. 12 Instead, this chapter focuses on the one gap which their studies have left unfilled: a thorough analysis of the music written by and for the foreign-born oboists who performed throughout the city. It took some time for works written specifically for the oboe to begin to appear more steadily and so we will move ahead to the turn of the eighteenth century. Through an analysis of music written for the court, the theatres, and public concerts, this chapter examines the ways in which this music reflects the gradual acceptance of the instrument by composers, the skills of particular performers, and the increase of technical demands for the instrument from 1695 to 1725.

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⁹ Banister, *The Sprightly Companion*, 1.

¹⁰ Havnes, The Eloquent Oboe, 349.

¹¹ There was for the most part a separation between the oboists who played in military bands (of which there were many) and those who played at court and in the theaters (of which there were far fewer). The latter were soloists, virtuosos who were pushing the boundaries of the instrument's technical and expressive capabilities and inspiring composers to do the same and so they will be the focus of this thesis. For more discussion of oboists in military bands, see Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 342; Page, "The Hautboy in London's Musical Life." 359-60.

¹² For detailed looks at the musical activities of oboists between 1673 and 1694, see Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 339-57 and Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 145-52.

Oboists at Court: The Oboe Band

Whereas a musician working at court before the exile of Charles II may have been able to earn the bulk of their living in the monarch's employ, musicians working in the post-Restoration era navigated a different musical and financial landscape which would shape music careers in London for decades. As Robert D. Hume notes, Charles II possessed extremely limited funds in the wake of the Restoration. As such, he was unable to operate as a patron on the same level as his father had, due to the limited nature of his discretionary funds. Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward suggest that he tried, at least in the beginning, by restoring the Chapel Royal and reopening the theatres. Has Hume points out, these actions would likely have led onlookers to expect a return to normalcy, but they were quickly proven wrong. The limitations of the king's finances soon became evident and by 1662, he was forced to suspend payments for an entire year and eliminate the long-standing tradition of providing free meals to courtiers. James II oversaw further cutbacks at court and while

While the post-Restoration monarchs oversaw a pared-down court, they continued to employ musicians and still expected to retain the best performers; at the same time, they allowed their musicians the freedom to pursue work beyond the court. The musical activities of oboists outside of the court will be covered in later sections, after examining the music-making in which they took part at court, starting with French oboist turned violinist, recorder

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¹³ Robert D. Hume, "The Economics of Culture," 526.

¹⁴ Bucholz and Ward, London, 150.

¹⁵ Hume, "The Economics of Culture," 526.

¹⁶ Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 152.

¹⁷ Hume, "The Economics of Culture," 526.

player, and composer Jacques Paisible (1656-1721). After completing his service with Cambert and entering London's musical life, Paisible quickly began to accept employment at court. Paisible first appears in court records as a recorder player in 1674, but as an oboist only once, in 1675.¹⁸

As Lasocki notes, Paisible and some of his fellow French oboists were involved in performances in the household of French exile Hortensia Mancini between 1676 and 1686. ¹⁹ Likely owing to Paisible's obligations in Mancini's household, his appearances at court over the next several years were infrequent. However, in 1685, the year before the end of his involvement in Mancini's performances, Paisible was sworn in as a musician for James II's private musick with salary. ²⁰ A later entry lists Paisible as receiving a salary of £30, a salary which Hume notes would have placed Paisible in line with around 83% of England's population in receiving less than £50 per year, an income level which allowed for little to no discretionary income. ²¹ After only three years in the king's service, James II was forced to flee court for France as William of Orange began his invasion of England and the Catholic Paisible followed him in 1689 as a member of his court at St. Germain. ²²

Lasocki and Edward T. Corp disagree on the date of Paisible's return to England, with Lasocki indicating the year as 1693 and Corp as 1698.²³ Lasocki suggests that Paisible entered the household of Princess Anne and her husband Prince George as a composer, a role which he continued upon her ascension to the throne in 1702.²⁴ A composition of Paisible's

¹⁸ Lafontaine, The King's Musick, 281, 290.

¹⁹ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 340.

²⁰ Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, 371.

²¹ Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, 391; Robert D. Hume, "The Value of Money," 375-79.

²² Edward T. Corp, "The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689-1712" *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120, No. 2 (1995): 220.

²³ David Lasocki, "Paisible [Peasable], James" *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 4, 2022; Corp, "The Exiled Court," 220.

²⁴ Lasocki, "Paisible [Peasable], James."

included at the end of *The Sprightly Companion* supports Lasocki's assertion.²⁵ Titled *The Queen's Farewell*, the work is scored for two treble instruments, one tenor, and one bass. *The Sprightly Companion* was published the year after the death of Queen Mary II and the same year as her funeral and indicates in its title that it includes "...Two Farewells at the Funeral of the Late Queen..." Lasocki, Haynes, and Anthony Baines argue that *The Queen's Farewell* was not simply written in honor of the queen upon her death, but as *The Sprightly Companion* suggests, performed at her funeral with some assortment of oboes and a bassoon.²⁷

The court records for Mary's funeral mention payments for a number of musicians, including six oboists. Records from William III's trip to Holland in 1691 and his birthday celebrations throughout the 1690s provide an example of how an oboe band would have been acquired for the court. Five oboists were compensated £20 each for accompanying the king during his foreign travels in 1691. Six oboists were employed to perform for the King's birthday from 1692-1695 and in 1699. The entry from 1699 identifies the oboists listed as "...musicians to her Royall Highness the Princess Ann of Denmark..." With this long-standing precedent of hiring Anne's oboe band for court events, it is likely that the same arrangement would have been made for Mary II's funeral in March 1695. The use of the

²⁵ Banister, *The Sprightly Companion*, 16-17.

²⁶ Banister, *The Sprightly Companion*.

²⁷ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy in London," 344; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 151-52; Baines, *Woodwind Instruments*, 283-84.

²⁸ Lafontaine, The King's Musick, 418.

²⁹ Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, 402-4044.

³⁰ Ashbee, Records of English Court, II: 47, 52, 55, 140; Lafontaine, The King's Musick, 434.

³¹ Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, 434. The oboists listed are John Colmack, Stephen le Fevre, Thomas Chevalier, John Paulain, John Aubert, and Peter la Tour (d. 1738). The first six are foreign oboists, most likely all emigrated from France. Lasocki notes that the first five oboists remain completely unknown, but Peter la Tour would later become a well-known performer in London's theatres. See Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 344.

oboe band for five of the king's birthday celebrations so close together required the hiring of an outside ensemble; this suggests a fondness for the oboe on William's part. Peter Holman has argued that William did in fact favor martial instruments like the oboe and trumpet, leading composers including Purcell to rely heavily on these instruments in their compositions.³² Holman goes on to suggest that a line from Banister's *Sprightly Companion* which describes the oboe as, "... Majestical and Stately, and not much Inferiour to the Trumpet; and for that reason the greatest Heroes of the Age (who sometimes despise Strung-Instruments) are infinitely pleased with This for its brave and sprightly Tone," was a direct reference to William.³³ A Dutch hero who swept into England as a defender of Protestantism, Holman notes that William promoted the oboe and trumpet in stark contrast to the previous prominence of string instruments, like Charles's twenty-four violins.³⁴ Given Paisible's likely employment in Anne's household, *The Queen's Farewell* may well have been written for this ensemble to perform at the funeral, perhaps with two oboes on each treble part, a tenor oboe playing the tenor line, and a bassoon on the bass as Lasocki suggests.³⁵ David Whitwell notes that at the time a band of six oboes could often refer to four oboes and two bassoons, making Lasocki's suggestion entirely possible.³⁶

Written in the style of a funeral march in cut time, *The Queen's Farewell* is well suited to a funeral service (ex. 2.1). Like much of the oboe band music of the time, the treble

³² Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 177-78; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 432-34.
³³ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 177-78.

³⁴ Holman, Henry Purcell, 177-78; Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers, 432-34.

³⁵ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 344.

³⁶ David Whitwell, *The Baroque Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northridge, CA: Winds, 1983), 140. There is precedent for oboists being proficient performers on the bassoon. Jean Christian Kytch first performed in the opera orchestra in the 1710-11 season as a bassoonist, even receiving an obbligato in Handel's *Rinaldo* before becoming better known as an oboist and earning the first oboe chair at the opera. See Milhous and Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical*, 151.

parts use a fairly narrow range, making it suitable for any treble instrument.³⁷ With its Cminor tonality, frequent use of half steps, and chains of suspensions in the second half, it is quite affective, with a solemn character. The use of a key with three flats would have necessitated the use of cross-fingerings which would create strong contrast with the notes around them and produce a more covered tone on those notes.³⁸ Haynes suggested that the use of mutes would have intensified the affect of the work and enabled an expressive use of the flattement or finger vibrato, a practice for funerals the use of which Baines noted was extended to oboe bands and made "...the oboe whimper most pathetically." ³⁹ Baines also made note of the work's "...rich, almost Purcellian harmony..." and it is indeed reminiscent of another work performed for the Queen's funeral: Purcell's Music For the Funeral of Queen Mary (1695), which opens and closes with a funeral march. 40 With trumpets in the Purcell and oboes in Paisible's work, the two performances would have showcased both of the leading military instruments of the time. In their 2022 recording of *The Queen's* Farewell, La Petite Écurie, a modern oboe band performing on period instruments, provides an idea of how the work may have been performed.⁴¹ The use of drums in particular emphasizes the notion of the work being a funeral march, adding a sense of intensity. Drums could well have been used in the original performance, as the entry for the funeral makes mention of 25 "...drumms...and a kettle-drummer."42

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³⁷ This would have served two purposes: it both avoids the more troublesome pitches of the upper and lo wer range of the oboe which had not yet been worked out in the instrument's design and also accommodates the practice, which continued throughout the eighteenth century, of advertising published works for a variety of instruments in order to make them more marketable.

³⁸ Cross-fingerings are fingerings which include open tone holes between closed tone holes. On open-holed instruments like the Baroque oboe, these fingerings create distinct tone qualities which composers were aware of and made use of in their writing for the instrument.

³⁹ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 151; Baines, *Woodwind Instruments*, 284-85.

⁴⁰ Baines, Woodwind Instruments, 284.

⁴¹ La Petite Écurie, *The Queen's Favourites*, Arcana A527, CD, 2022.

⁴² Lafontaine, *The King's Musick*, 418.

While Charles II began his reign in 1660 with a court strongly influenced by the French culture he had come to admire during his exile, the ensuing years saw a strong public rejection of his Francophile tendencies and increasingly prevalent anti-French sentiments. A number of factors played into this, including the widely unpopular Third Anglo-Dutch War; widespread concerns about Louis XIV's desire to expand his power throughout Europe and beyond the continent, building a universal monarchy (concerns strengthened by Charles's sympathy toward French interests and the sway held by the French in his court); and growing fears of Catholicism which began during the reign of Charles and were worsened by the ascension of his brother James II.⁴³ Tim Harris argues that English anxiety over the leanings of the court toward Catholicism and absolutism led to widespread Franophobia, a hatred of France (including its religion, tyranny, and system of government) which entailed a degree of hatred for the French people.⁴⁴ While it would seem likely that a French instrument largely played before 1700 by French performers would have declined in popularity by the ascension of William and Mary in 1689, when such sentiments had become rampant, such was not the case.

As Samantha Owens notes, the oboe bands formed in France before the instrument began to make its way throughout Europe inspired similar ensembles across the continent, like the *Hautboistenbanden* or *Hautboisten* of the German-speaking lands and the oboe band of Queen Anne.⁴⁵ Owens argues that these ensembles became a status symbol throughout Europe, maintained by military regiments, courts, and even minor nobles and wealthy

⁴³ Steven C. A. Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s," *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 2 (June 1995): 333-61.

⁴⁴ Tim Harris, "Hibernophobia and Francophobia in Restoration England," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture*, 1660-1700 41, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 14-16.

⁴⁵ Samantha Owens, "'Seven young Men on Hautboys": The Oboe Band in England, c.1680-1740," in Cunningham and White, *Musical Exchange Between Britain and Europe*, 283.

commoners. This notion of the oboe band as a status symbol, allowing the English court to compete with European courts with similar ensembles, provides one possible explanation for why the ensemble and the instrument itself continued to flourish in England as anti-French sentiment increased. The same is true of the French musicians who played the instrument; while oboists of other nationalities emigrated to England and native-born musicians took up the instrument, French performers continued to be active in London. Louis Rousselet is shown to have been in London by his inclusion on a tentative roster for the opera in the 1707-08 season, along with Peter La Tour (d. 1738). La Tour's own career in London spanned decades; the notice of his death confirms that his employment in the oboe band had continued to his death under the direction of the Lord Chamberlain, through which he and the band continued to perform for "...Occasions at Court..."

It seems that Paisible continued to write more music for the ensemble through his position at court. John Walsh published a work by Paisible in 1704 titled *Musick Perform'd Before Her Majesty and the New King of Spain.* ⁴⁸ Scored for two treble instruments, tenor, bass, and trumpet, the work is a dance suite consisting of nine short movements. Movement six, one of three with trumpet, is titled "Trumpett Aire" (ex. 2.2). Like *The Queen's Farewell*, the range of the four likely oboe parts is fairly narrow. Paisible's writing shows off each instrument type and makes use of the oboe and trumpet's martial associations. After two repetitions of the first treble and trumpet's shared opening melody, the five instruments begin to pass around a modified version of the melody with a new sixteenth-note motive. Each instrument takes a turn with the melody and with the trumpet taking part in the imitation only

⁴⁶ Owens, "'Seven young Men on Hautboys," 283.

⁴⁷ London Evening Post, January 19-21, 1738.

⁴⁸ James Paisible, *Musick Perform'd Before Her Majesty and the New King of Spain* (London: J. Walsh and J. Hare, 1704).

twice and then resting for five measures, the oboes and bassoon take the lead in this movement supposedly intended to feature the trumpet. Written for a consort in a court which favored the oboe, both of these works by Paisible would almost certainly have been performed on that instrument. As such, they reveal two things; first, works played by the oboe in this time were nearly all "one size fits all" types of compositions which could be performed on any treble instrument. Second, both William and Mary and Anne favored the oboe for musical performances at important events.⁴⁹

Paisible and the royal oboe band remained a presence at court after the ascension of Anne as queen. Their repertoire would have included sonatas for varying combinations of oboes, recorders, violins, and occasionally trumpet, by a variety of composers including Gottfried Keller (1650-1704) and Gottfried Finger (1660-1730). Lasocki notes that two such works were dedicated to Anne in 1700 by Keller. 50 Both Lasocki and Haynes suggest that partbooks in the British Library in an unknown hand may well have been part of the ensemble's repertoire.⁵¹ The partbooks, MS 39565-39567 and MS 30839, contain works by Paisible, Purcell, Finger, and Keller.⁵² The overwhelming majority of these works are by Paisible and the spelling throughout suggests a foreign hand, likely of French origin.⁵³ It is

⁴⁹ While the works analyzed thus far account for only two works performed at court events, the birthday celebrations for William which included Anne's oboe band and his decision to showcase the ensemble during his travel to Holland suggest a royal preference for the instrument and the possibility of their use at many events not covered here and perhaps not recorded at all. Holman argues that William's preference for martial instruments left the royal band "superseded at court by oboe bands..." See Holman, Four and Twenty Fiddlers, 432-34. For more discussion of the use of the oboe for festive or ceremonial occasions, see Owens, "Seven young Men on Hautboys," 285, 291-93. ⁵⁰ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 345.

⁵¹ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 345; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 151. Both scholars are building off a theory originally proposed by Michael Tilmouth, see Michael Tilmouth, "Chamber Music in England, 1675 -1720" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1959), 383-84.

⁵² MS 39565-39567 is a set of three partbooks, with one book for two treble parts, one for tenor, and one for

⁵³ Lasocki also describes the partbooks as being written in a French hand. See Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 345. The spelling throughout points to the hand of a non-native English speaker (most likely French), due to the mix of French spellings (ouverture instead of overture) and phonetic spellings (Finguer instead of Finger).

possible that part of Paisible's position in Anne's household was the overseeing of her oboe band, providing it with a repertoire of both his own works and those by other leading composers of the time. These two manuscript collections provided the repertoire of the earlier mentioned CD by La Petite Écurie and are indeed well-suited to oboe band.⁵⁴

One work included in MS 39565-7 is an Ouverture by Mr. Finguer in E Minor with treble, tenor, and bass parts (ex. 2.3).⁵⁵ Written in G Major, the work consists of an overture followed by six short movements of varying styles. Like another work by Finger contained in the manuscript, this work conveys a stately character which suggests a ceremonial function.⁵⁶ As with the two works by Paisible which were previously analyzed, Finger's writing is martial and sprightly, replete with dotted rhythms and flourishes. Like Paisible's two works, this example demonstrates that the oboe was a popular choice for functions at court, likely in part because the royal family enjoyed displaying the virtuoso oboists in their employ. Throughout these early years of the eighteenth century, the oboe continued to be utilized as the "...majestical and stately..." instrument Banister had described in 1695.⁵⁷ An influential composer in London though he resided in the city for only around sixteen years, Finger continued this association in works like this overture from MS 39565-7. He was also a leading force in exploring the oboe's capabilities as a more lyrical instrument outside of the court. His efforts in this area set the stage for the arrival of Handel and his own use of the instrument in his compositions.

⁵⁴ La Petite Écurie, *The Queen's Favourites*.

⁵⁵ Gottfried Finger, *Ouverture by Mr. Finguer*, Add MS 39565-39567. F. 57b, British Library, London, England.

⁵⁶ Robert Rawson notes the "triadic and fanfare character" of the other Finger work in the collection. See Rawson, "After the Italian Manner," 115.

⁵⁷ Banister, The Sprightly Companion, 1.

The membership of the oboe band shifted, but some members remained for long periods of time. Lasocki notes that both John Aubert (fl. 1692-1708) and La Tour were still members in 1708.⁵⁸ By 1714/1715, only La Tour remained, joined by William Smith (fl. 1703-55), Humphrey Denby (fl. 1708-42), and James Graves (1672-1731).⁵⁹ Little is known about Smith, Denby, and Graves aside from their various appearances in court, theater, and public concert records, but their appearance on this list confirms that some English oboists had attained a sufficient level of skill to secure court appointments by 1714.⁶⁰ Smith was considered as a potential second oboist at the Queen's Theatre in 1707, but was ultimately passed over for La Tour. 61 It is unclear how or when he would have been trained as an oboist, but it could have been that he learned from another member of the queen's hautboy band, like La Tour. Smith himself would later work as an oboe teacher, accepting a request from a Colonel Harrison to procure five oboists and train them.⁶² Smith was one of the first Englishborn oboists not only to find success as a performer at court (although foreign-born performers would continue to hold the monopoly on top positions in the theaters), but to train others. The lack of information on these English-born oboists is representative of the fact that foreign-born oboists, even lesser-known ones like La Tour, generally led more prominent careers than their English counterparts in the first half of the century. With access to the top ensembles and institutions throughout London, their careers were simply better documented.

⁵⁸ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 348.

⁵⁹ Joseph Reddington, ed., Calendar of Treasury Papers (London, 1883), V: 54.

⁶⁰ Lasocki includes Smith, Denby, and Graves in his list of oboe band members for 1708, but without citation of his source. See Lasocki, "The French Hautboy in England," 348.

⁶¹ Milhous and Hume, Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 33.

⁶² This is known only from a court document contained in the Coke papers describing the Colonel's refusal to pay Smith the money he was owed, see Milhous and Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, 241-43.

As the membership of the oboe band shifted, music at court and indeed throughout the city was impacted greatly by the arrival of George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) during the final years of Anne's reign. Having premiered his *Rinaldo* while visiting London in 1711 and two subsequent operas in 1712 and 1713, Handel went on to compose three works for performance at court in the first half of 1713. While Handel's *Ode For the Birthday of Queen Anne* has been somewhat overlooked by his modern biographers due to the question of its having received a contemporary performance, it is nonetheless a significant work which contains some of Handel's earliest solo writing for the oboe in England outside of his operas.⁶³ The sixth movement of the work, "Kind Health Descends on Downy Wings," makes extensive use of the oboe as an obbligato instrument and the way in which Handel writes for the instrument and the context of the movement's text are significant for a work intended for performance at court.

Pairing the solo oboe with two voices, "Kind Health" imagines an end to the queen's health troubles:

Kind Health descends on downy wings,

Angels conduct her on the way.

To our glorious Queen new life she brings,

And swells our joys upon this day.⁶⁴

⁶³ George Frideric Handel, *Ode For the Birthday of Queen* Anne (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1887); Hogwood, 68-69; Burrows, *Handel*, 71; Harris, *George Frideric Handel*, 48-51. Harris breaks with other scholars in indicting that the work was performed at a celebration of the queen's birthday on February 6 at St. James Palace, even referencing uncited documents which describe the queen being carried into the room for the event. James A. Winn argues the same point and supports the queen's presence at St. James. See James A. Winn, "Style and Politics in the Philipps-Handel Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday, 1713," *Music & Letters* 89,

No. 4 (Nov 2008), 547.

64 Handel, *Ode For the Birthday of Queen Anne*, 4.

After the oboe's four-measure introduction of the melody, Handel avoided using it to either double or imitate the melody as is typical in his operatic writing for the instrument (ex. 2.4). Instead, the oboe presents short statements of its opening melody and later shifts to short two note motives which occur immediately after lines of text and set up the next vocal entrance. In this way, the oboe serves to move along the vocal lines through their rhythmic interplay, much like the angel of the text which conducts kind health to the ailing queen. At the end of the vocal lines in measure 19, the oboe leads into the only unison statement of the melody, with both voices and oboe in rhythmic unison up to the end of the A section in m. 24. Handel's writing for the oboe is melodic throughout, casting it as a lyrical instrument rather than utilizing the martial character favored by previous court composers. This use of the instrument corresponds with Handel's writing for the oboe in his operas both in London and before and while similar treatments had been used in works for the theater by composers like Henry Purcell (1659-95) and Finger, such an approach was new for music at the court, signaling a shift in the use of the instrument in this setting.⁶⁵

The oboe band was still was in existence at court after the 1714 ascension of George I. While Handel remained in want of royal commissions immediately after his former employer's arrival in England, such an offer came his way in 1717 for music to be performed during a royal party on the Thames, resulting in Handel's *Water Music*. As Hannah Smith notes, many of Handel's most well-known works are associated with the Georgian monarchy (both the *Water Music* (1717) and the *Music for the Royal Fireworks* (1749) were

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⁶⁵ Purcell's "Seek not to Know" from *The Indian Queen* (1695) and Finger's "Air" from his incidental music for William Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* (1697) both utilize the more lyrical qualities of the oboe.

commissioned by Georgian kings).⁶⁶ While George I had initially avoided the use of German composers like Handel, he turned to Handel for this display of royal grandeur which Christopher Hogwood described as "...a modest display of public mollification."⁶⁷ The oboe appears in nearly each movement of the work, in parts which would likely have been performed by members of the oboe band. Most significantly, Handel chose to write what is essentially an aria with the oboe taking the place of the singer in the third movement of the Suite in F Major, "Adagio e staccato."

Reminiscent of Handel's operatic arias with obbligato oboe, the movement opens with dramatic repetitions of a dominant seventh chord in the strings (ex. 2.5).⁶⁸ Over this sparse but intense accompaniment, the oboe's writing is similarly simple for the first half of the movement. The descending quarter-note figures like that seen in measure five often occur between string statements, allowing the oboist the freedom to ornament freely, which would likely have been done throughout in light of Handel's largely unadorned writing. Giving the instrument the same standing as a vocal soloist, this movement elevated the oboe beyond simply functioning as a lyrical instrument to being able to take the place of the voice. As the only movement which utilizes a single solo instrument for its entirety, it also speaks to the standing of the instrument both at court and with Handel himself.

The ninth movement of the same suite, "Andante," utilizes two oboes and bassoon as the primary melodic instruments, evoking the sound of an oboe band. This is reinforced by the opening, in which the three parts play alone for the first eight measures, after which the strings respond to them. Handel's writing for the oboes is somewhere between lyrical and

⁶⁶ Smith, Georgian Monarchy, 233.

⁶⁷ Hogwood, *Handel*, 71.

⁶⁸ This is similar to the opening of "Geloso tormento" from *Almira* (1705).

martial, combining elements of both styles and both facets of the instrument's character (ex. 2.6). The opening leans more toward the martial side of the spectrum, utilizing lively rhythms and dotted figures. As the strings enter, the oboes switch to a more lyrical style, sustaining A-naturals for more than two measures as the strings restate the opening melody. This alternation continues throughout the movement, with increased rhythmic vitality in the martial sections. This melding of the instrument's two characters indicates the state of court writing for the oboe throughout the first half of the century. It is found as late as 1749 in Handel's *Music For the Royal Fireworks*, in which the oboe is again featured prominently.

Oboists in Public and Private Concerts

For those musicians skilled (and fortunate) enough to receive one, court positions provided a steady source of income. However, the financial limitations of the crown following the Restoration necessitated that this steady source of employment be limited in pay and as Kathryn Lowerre notes, payment could at times be irregular.⁶⁹ This led to the rather unique landscape of professional music making in London during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which the absence of a state monopoly on music making granted musicians license to pursue work outside of court without endangering their positions.⁷⁰ This freedom, which was in stark contrast with the situation throughout much of Europe, played a large part in making England a popular destination for many of the continent's most skilled performers. Beginning in the 1670s, performers began putting on benefit performances: self-funded performances in which the organizer assumed the risk of the event and reaped the

⁶⁹ Kathryn Lowerre, "Risks and Rewards: Benefits and Their Financial Impact on Actors, Authors, Singers, and Other Musicians in London, c. 1690-1730" in Gardner and DeSimone, *Music and the Benefit Performance*, 23. ⁷⁰ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 149.

financial reward if successful.⁷¹ This further allowed performers a level of freedom not found at court or in the theaters, to control all aspects of the performance through selecting the performers and the music to be performed.⁷²

The performer organizing a benefit had the freedom to assemble any assortment of other musicians who were free to perform for the evening. These musicians would likely have received a small payment for their time or have done so in exchange for the organizer agreeing to perform on their next benefit. The from a reliance on any one ensemble, these concerts could feature distinct combinations of instruments and performers not heard elsewhere. As advertisements for these benefits were often vague in their descriptions of the evening's entertainment, mostly lacking a list of works to be performed, it is difficult to identify specific works which would have been performed. Keller and Finger both composed works involving unusual combinations of oboes and other instruments, as in their six sonatas (four by Finger and two by Keller) published in Amsterdam in 1698. Written for two flutes, two oboes, and continuo, Robert Rawson has described these works as "...sonata-cumconcerto sonatas..." and notes that this type of sonata was pioneered in England by the two composers and soon inspired imitation from others. Such works which paired oboes and flutes (often recorder) were common on benefit concerts, as in one advertised for December

⁷¹ DeSimone, *The Power of Pastiche*, 25.

⁷² Alison DeSimone, "Strategies of Performance: Benefits, Professional Singers, and Itlaian Opera in the Early Eighteenth Century" in Gardner and DeSimone, *Music and the Benefit* Performance, 162.

⁷³ DeSimone, "Handel's Greatest Hits," 3.

⁷⁴ Rawson, "Concertos 'upon the stage", 76-77.

⁷⁵ Gottfried Finger and Gottfried Keller, Six Sonates à 2 Flustes et 2 Hautbois ou Violons et 1 Basse Continue, don't les 4 premiers sont composes par Mr. Finger et les 2 dernieres par Mr. Keller (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1698).

⁷⁶ Rawson, "'After the Italian manner," 108-109.

11, 1703 featuring "...a Consort of Musick intirely new, composed by Mr. *Keller*..." performed by musicians including Paisible (on recorder) and oboist William Smith.⁷⁷

Those sonatas written by Finger display writing similar to that found in the overture analyzed previously. Each sonata is written as a single movement with three short, contrasting sections which alternate slow, fast, slow. Unlike the overture from MS 39565-7, these sonatas specifically indicate the instruments to be used, including two oboes, rather than including generic parts for varying ranges. Sonata No. 2 is representative of the style of the four works Finger contributed to the collection (ex. 2.7). As Rawson notes, Finger utilized the two types of treble instruments as separate pairs, alternating phrases from one pair with a subsequent phrase from the other which dovetails with the first and is generally of half or double length, as happens in measure 8.78 Though marked adagio, the rhythms are fairly active and contrast with the subsequent vivace section only in tempo. Like the earlier overture, the writing is still largely martial in quality and includes many trumpet-like figures. With the alternating phrases between instrument types, Finger keeps the oboes largely separate from the flutes rather than integrating them as one whole.

Keller's sonatas are slightly longer than those by Finger and alternate fast, slow, fast. Example 2.8, beginning toward the end of the first section of the first of Keller's two sonatas, seemingly begins with writing comparable to Finger's. The oboes finish their line before giving way to a short statement from the flutes before Keller joins all parts together, using this type of alternation to lead into the cadence which ends the vivace. In the adagio section which follows, Keller utilizes all voices together throughout the movement, but confines the

⁷⁷ Daily Courant, December 11, 1703.

⁷⁸ Rawson, "'After the Italian manner," 115.

⁷⁹ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 345. Lasocki is describing the writing found in a sonata by Keller, but his description may also be applied to the sonatas by Finger in this collection.

melody to the flute lines. The oboes serve a purely accompanimental role, filling in the harmony underneath the flutes and the same is true of a later adagio in the same sonata. By utilizing the oboes heavily as melodic instruments in the fast sections and depriving them of a melody in slow sections, Keller confirmed the same view of the instrument seen in the works by Paisible and Finger in the previous section, that of a martial instrument suited to lively melodies as described in *The Sprightly Companion*.⁸⁰

Outside of public benefit concerts, some musicians took the initiative of arranging their own private concert series, sometimes out of their own homes. As Alison DeSimone notes, Banister frequently hosted performances out of his home beginning in the 1670s.⁸¹ With the connections to assemble the type of musicians who could draw a crowd and the ability to adequately advertise such performances, the organizer could make a sizable profit from this sort of endeavor. One such performer who monopolized upon his connections throughout the city to run his own concert series was oboist Jean Baptiste Loeillet (1680-1730), a Flemish-born performer and composer who arrived in London around 1705.82 While he seems to have never secured an appointment at court, Loeillet quickly became the leading oboist in the theaters, topping the list of prospective oboists for the opera compiled for the 1707-08 season. 83 With a pay of 15 schillings per night, Loeillet's salary was topped only by the harpsichordist il Bolonese. He also published widely, with many works appearing in publications by John Walsh for a variety of instrumentations ranging from introductory lessons for the harpsichord to more challenging works such as his trio sonatas. It was through these varied musical activities that Loeillet established himself in the city, using his initial

⁸⁰ Banister, The Sprightly Companion, 1.

⁸¹ DeSimone, The Power of Pastiche, 25.

⁸² Lasocki, "A New Look," 42.

⁸³ Milhouse and Hume, Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 31.

position at the opera as a steady source of income which gave him the freedom to pursue other interests. Establishing his reputation as a renowned performer was also a means of entering the city's musical life and creating the connections necessary to establish his private concert series, which he did in 1711 after four years of consistent solo work at the opera and additional performance opportunities outside of the theater.⁸⁴

John Hawkins wrote that Loeillet's home on Hart Street contained a large room out of which he ran his concert series. Hawkins noted that Loeillet's series was "...frequented by gentleman performers, who gratified him handsomely for his assistance in conducting it" to the extent that by his death Loeillet had accumulated a wealth of £16,000. He legacies included in his will add up to roughly £1,700 in addition to an entire year of wages for all of his domestic servants. Among Loeillet's most well-known compositions is a collection of twelve trio sonatas published by Walsh in 1725. With sonatas for varying instrumentations, such a collection would have been well-suited for his series and he could well have performed sonatas 2, 4, and 6 which utilize an oboe for the second part himself. Sonata No. 2 opens with a largo and unlike the prior two examples, the oboe is actively involved in the slow section of the sonata (ex. 2.9). Loeillet's writing for the oboe includes frequent ascending and descending leaps, half steps, and suspensions. The oboe and flute lines are

⁸⁴ In her discussion of freelance performers like Charles Dieupart, Nicola Haym, and Galliard, DeSimone argues that performers such as these used instrumental performance strategically, leveraging their reputations as performers to open the door to other eclectic pursuits. See DeSimone, *The Power of Pastiche*, 181.

⁸⁵ Hawkins, A General History, II: 823.

⁸⁶ Hawkins, A General History, II: 823.

⁸⁷ Will of John Loeillet of Saint George, Middlesex, 09 September 1730, PROB 11/640/33, The National Archives, Kew, UK. Loeillet's will notes stocks, bonds, and a number of possessions in addition to his numerous legacies, but includes no figure for his total wealth to confirm or deny Hawkins's assertion.

⁸⁸ John Loeillet, 12 Trio Sonatas (London: John Walsh and Joseph Hare, 1725).

⁸⁹ Lasocki further notes that the instruments included in the collection: oboe, flute, recorder, and harpsichord utilize each of the instruments Loeillet is known to have played and suggests the works could have been his contributions to the series. See Lasocki, "A New Look," 45.

closely integrated, engaging in imitation, rhythmic interplay, and occasional rhythmic unison. The allegro section utilizes the same type of writing, but with more continuous strings of sixteenth notes which are largely scalar with occasional leaps of a third or fifth. An accomplished performer best known for his performances of obbligato parts at the opera, Loeillet clearly possessed the ability to realize both the lyrical and virtuosic capabilities of the oboe's character and wrote for both in his compositions for the instrument.

In the same year as Loeillet's Op. 2 collection, Walsh published a collection of twelve sonatas for oboe and basso continuo by William Babell (c. 1690-1723) which are remarkable for the elaborate ornamentations Babell supplied for the slow movements. 90 The opening movement of Sonata No. 3 includes particularly extravagant ornamentation, moving beyond simply utilizing the oboe as a lyrical instrument to placing it upon the same level as a virtuosic vocalist (ex. 2.10). Marked adagio, the movement includes virtuosic and lyrical writing throughout. Ascending scalar sweeps occur frequently, interspersed with shorter groupings of notes which include irregular breaking up of their stepwise motion. Babell's writing is a far cry from the largely technical use of the instrument utilized by Finger and Keller in their sonatas, demonstrating that in the twenty seven years separating the two collections the oboe came to be seen as an instrument which was capable of both lyrical and virtuosic playing and even of imitating the human voice. In the theaters, the oboe was even more frequently used in this way, as will be seen in the following section.

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⁹⁰ William Babell, 12 Solos for a Violin or Hautboy with a Bass Figured for the Harpsichord (London: John Walsh, 1725).

Oboists in the Theaters Before Handel

By the 1690s, the oboe began to find a place in London's theaters. In 1692, Purcell's The *Fairy Queen* included an aria for soprano, "O Let Me Weep," which is commonly published with violin obbligato as in Novello's 1903 edition. However, the aria contains many similarities to Purcell's later writing for the oboe and as Haynes noted, the slurring of the part is better suited to the oboe than the violin. Haynes cited personal correspondence between himself and Bruce Wood in which Wood stated that a manuscript of the aria had been discovered at the Royal College of Music around the turn of the twentieth century which has now been lost but indicated the oboe as the solo instrument. Wood further speculates that the use of the violin was simply the best guess of the editor of the earliest source for the work. Wood and Andrew Pinnock note that should the aria have been originally performed with oboe, it would have been "...the very first song of this uniquely colorful and expressive kind in English musical history." While this aria would be a significant example of the oboe's use as a lyrical instrument in seventeenth-century London, Purcell did utilize the instrument in his final semi-opera in a similar manner.

The act III aria "Seek Ye Not to Know What Must Not be Revealed" from Purcell's unfinished *The Indian Queen* (1695) is a much shorter aria than "O Let Me Weep," but includes more significant interaction between the voice and oboe (ex. 2.11). Like Purcell's other two arias with obbligato oboe, the voice opens the aria and sets up the melody before being joined in imitation by the oboe. This is a fairly notable aspect of Purcell's writing for

⁹¹ Henry Purcell, The Fairy Queen (London: Novello and Co., 1903).

⁹² Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 149.

⁹³ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 149.

⁹⁴ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 149. Wood and Andrew Pinnock also pose this theory in their 1993 article on *The Fairy Queen*. See Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, "'The Fairy Queen': A Fresh Look at the Issues" *Early Music 21*, No. 1 (Feb 1993), 62.

⁹⁵ Wood and Pinnock, "The Fairy Queen," 55.

the instrument, as it is in direct contrast with much of the operatic use of the oboe taking place at the same time. It also differs from the way in which Handel later structured his arias with oboe, in which the oboe nearly always opens the aria without the voice. Another important element of Purcell's writing is the nearly constant interaction between oboe and voice. Much of the writing for the oboe in operas from this time period takes one of two approaches: separating the two and presenting statements which dovetail with one another or keeping the two largely in rhythmic unison wherein the oboe is in harmony with the voice, often in thirds. ⁹⁶ Most often the voice and oboe are engaged in imitation, but occasionally the two parts come together on the same melody, with the oboe ornamenting the vocal line. This use of the instrument again anticipates Handel's writing for the oboe, wherein he used it as an extension of the voice, serving not simply to provide additional rhythmic and harmonic interest, but to present a heightened version of the vocal line as happens in measure 19 of this example.

All three of Purcell's arias with obbligato oboe include extensive use of the instrument and utilize it as decidedly lyrical and expressive, rather than as the sprightly, martial instrument that the instrumental works previously analyzed cast it. Two years later, Finger included the oboe in an extensive "Air" in his incidental music for William Congreve's play *The Mourning Bride* (1697) which treats the oboe as vocal soloist, spinning out long flowing lines over gentle chordal accompaniment from the strings. As Lasocki notes, the oboe continued to be included in plays over the next few years both in martial ensembles and chamber groups. ⁹⁷ Act 5, scene 1 of Thomas d'Urfey's *Famous History of the*

⁹⁶ Several examples of this can be found in operas of this time period from Hamburg, particularly in the operas of Johann Sigismund Kusser (1660-1727) and the early obbligatos of Reinhard Keiser (1674-1739) as well as in many of his later arias with oboe.

⁹⁷ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 343.

Rise and Fall of Massaniello (1699) includes the direction "Enter Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, and Hautboys, a Martial Symphony..." through which d'Urfey made use of the three most well-known military instruments of the time. 98 In Act 1, scene 1 of Susanna Centlivre's The Beau's Duel, Sir William asks if musicians have arrived to provide entertainment and is informed that "...de Fi•le, de H•uthois, de Cou•tel, and de Base Vial, dey be all despose for to receive your Command" after which he instructs them to "play some soft air..." Unlike Finger's incidental scores, these plays and the many others from the time with similar directions for the use of oboes would have likely required the musicians participating to provide music for their brief appearances, likely coming from extant works they had performed previously.

In the final years of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century, interest in Italian music and culture began to grow in London, though it took time for this interest to become widespread. In music for public concerts and the theater, Rawson states that no other composer after Purcell was "...more influential in bringing Italian style to London than Finger." Under the patronage of Charles Montagu (1662-1722), Finger traveled to Italy between 1697 and 1699, collecting an assortment of Italian compositions which he brought back with him to London, serving to promulgate the Italian style which had come to influence his own. ¹⁰¹ In 1705, Italian opera finally arrived in London, though it would be some time before the staging of complete operas would become common. Rather, pasticcio operas became a frequent presence in London theaters. Pasticcio operas were

⁹⁸ Thomas d'Urfey, Famous History of the Rise and Fall of Massaniello (London: 1700), 43.

⁹⁹ Susanna Centlivre, *The Beau's Duel: or a Soldier for the Ladies* (London, 1702), 5-6.

¹⁰⁰ Rawson, "Concertos 'Upon the Stage," 63.101 Rawson, "After the Italian manner," 111-14; Peter Holman, "The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger's Music Library: New Light on London Concert Life in the 1690s" Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle 43 (2010), 27.

pieced together with arias from multiple extant operas which were joined with a new text.

DeSimone notes that fourteen such operas were staged in London between 1707 and 1717. 102

The first six of these, beginning with *Thomyris, Queen of Scythia* (1707, music by

Alessandro Scarlatti and Giovanni Bononcini) and ending with *Etearco* (1711, music by

Bononcini and Antonio Lotti) would have been performed while Loeillet was playing first oboe at the opera and include a number of obbligato parts for the oboe.

Antonio Caldara) includes a particularly extensive obbligato for oboe by Scarlatti which would have been performed by Loeillet and the famous soprano Catherine Tofts, "Thus in a Solitary Grove." The oboe opens the aria alone with near-continuous strings of eighth notes which continue throughout much of the aria (ex. 2.12). At the very slow tempo which is indicated, the cross fingerings required by the key signature and accidentals impose no significant challenge for a performer of Loeillet's skill and the tempo would have provided him the opportunity to emphasize the distinct tone of these notes for the effect which Scarlatti would have likely intended them to add. When the voice enters, the two initially remain separate, with the oboe briefly restating its opening melody before finally joining the voice in rhythmic unison. After this, Scarlatti's writing jumps back and forth between these two approaches, using the oboe to comment briefly between statements from the voice and then joining them together on the same rhythm, occasionally using the oboe to embellish the

¹⁰² DeSimone, *The Power of Pastiche*, 60-61.

¹⁰³ Nicola Haym, *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* (London: John Cullen, 1708). Two manuscripts for Scarlatti's original opera, *Pirro e Demetrio* (1694), lack any indication of the solo instrument for this aria. Haym's aria uses the same music without transposition and Scarlatti's writing is well suited to the oboe. See Alessandro Scarlatti, *Pirro e Demetrio*, MS II 3963, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium; Alessandro Scarlatti, *Pirro e Demetrio*, Rari 7.1.11, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella, Naples, Italy.

vocal line as in Purcell's writing analyzed previously (m. 12). Throughout, the two parts are integrated closely and interact frequently. Scarlatti was not bound to the near-constant interaction Purcell utilized, which provided him the freedom to use the oboe both as an extension of the voice and as a commentator between statements. This parallels what Handel did in his own writing which I will analyze in the next three chapters. Using the oboe in much the same way as Purcell, but with a slightly more varied approach to balancing the relationship between oboe and voice, Scarlatti's writing served as a middle ground to Handel's writing for the combination, which would be prove to be even more varied and extensive, setting the stage for the premiere of Handel's *Rinaldo* only three years later.

While this chapter has covered only a portion of the vast repertoire of music with oboes from the first half of the eighteenth century in London, these examples show that the ways in which the instrument were utilized were extremely varied and occupied multiple contexts. The foreign-born oboists who first brought the instrument to England and those who followed them from other countries throughout Europe wrote and inspired the composition of a number of significant works, many of which are largely unknown today. The oboe, as demonstrated through these works and the writings and plays which came to mention and include it, quickly became a valued part of London's musical life and the skilled performers of the instrument who flocked to the city were widely sought after at court, in public and private concerts, and in the theaters.

CHAPTER 3

"A FAVOURITE PERFORMER":

JOHANN ERNST GALLIARD AND OBBLIGATOS FOR THE OBOE IN HANDEL'S TESEO~(1713)

His Fate soft G[a]ll[i][a]rd with care attends,

In Sounds and Praise they still prov'd equal Friends;

Shewing his Hautboy and an *Op'ra* air,

He gently whisper'd in his Godship's Ear;

So oft he was distinguish'd by the Town,

That without Vanity he claim'd the Crown:

The God reply'd, — your Musick's not to blame,

But far beneath the daring Height of Fame;

Who wins the Prize, must all the rest out-strip;

Indeed you may---a Conjurer equip;

I think your Airs are sometimes very pretty,

And give you leave to sing 'em in the City.¹

In Thomas Tickell's satirical poem *The Session of Musicians*, the leading musicians in London come before the Greek god Apollo one at a time to be judged on their merits and determine the best among them. The second to come before Apollo, Johann Ernst Galliard (1666/1687-1747), receives only lukewarm praise from Tickell's Apollo. Despite this,

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¹ Thomas Tickell, *The Session of Musician's: In Imitation of the Session of Poet's* (London, 1724), 6.

Tickell's poem suggests a number of important details about Galliard and relates to descriptions of him found in contemporary writings. Galliard hailed from Celle in the German-speaking lands and was the son of a French wig maker.² As Tickell's poem suggests with its image of Galliard with "...his Hautboy and an *Op'ra* air," his musical pursuits were varied, but seem to have begun with the oboe.³ Beginning in 1693, Galliard was a student of Pierre Maréchal (fl. 1650-98), one of the first oboists to learn the new instrument and take it abroad.⁴ Galliard joined the Celle orchestra in 1698, remaining there until 1705.⁵

Hawkins suggested that by 1702, Galliard was studying composition in nearby

Hanover with Jean Baptiste Farinelli (1655-1720) and Agostino Steffani (1654-1728).⁶ The

manuscript which Hawkins cites for this claim states that Galliard was fifteen or sixteen at

the time, supporting Hawkins's indication of 1687 as the year of Galliard's birth.⁷ As *The Biographical Dictionary of Actors and Actresses* notes, Galliard's birthyear has been the

source of much confusion.⁸ The information needed to draw a definitive conclusion on the

matter does not seem to exist, but based on the dates given by Haynes and Hawkins, both

1666 and 1687 offer their own reasons for doubt. If Galliard was indeed fifteen or sixteen in

1702, then he would have been only seven or eight years old when beginning lessons with

Maréchal. Had he been born in 1666, he would have been twenty-seven when beginning his

² Hawkins, A General History, II: 828; Burney, A General History, II: 989.

³ Tickell, *The Session of Musicians*, 6.

⁴ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 139. Haynes notes that Maréchal was paid 100 Reichsthaler annually by the court for instructing Galliard. Based on the start of Galliard's professional activities as an oboist in 1698, it seems that he was a student of Maréchal for five years.

⁵ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 139.

⁶ Hawkins, A General History, II: 828-29.

⁷ Hawkins, A General History, II: 829.

⁸ Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), V: 440.

study of the oboe, which would have been quite a late start. Of the two years, 1687, cited by both Hawkins and Burney, seems more likely.⁹

In addition to performing and composing, Galliard became a competent translator. Both Burney and Hawkins state that Galliard immediately committed himself to the careful study of English upon his arrival in England. Galliard is best known today for his translation of Pier Francesco Tosi's *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* (1723) and for his translation of François Raguenet's *Paralèle des Italiens et des Français enc e qui regarde la musique et operas* (1702), which DeSimone describes as essential for understanding English musical aesthetics of the time. While modern scholars of the oboe focus on Galliard's work as an oboist, this is the area of his multi-faceted career to which Burney and Hawkins apply the least amount of attention in their accounts, with their focus being given to his work as a composer, which occupied the majority of his time in London after the 1710s. Like Tickell's Apollo, their evaluations of Galliard's compositions, particularly Burney's, are mixed. What all can agree on is that Galliard was a prominent musician in London, active at the court, in public concerts, and in the theaters.

As a performer, Galliard's most significant activity was perhaps performing in the orchestra for Handel's *Teseo* (1713). While *Rinaldo* (1711) and *Il Pastor Fido* (1712) include

⁹ Burney, *A General* History, II: 989. For the principal source for the dating of Galliard's birth in 1666, see Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 352.

¹⁰ Burney, A General History, II: 989; Hawkins, A General History, II: 829.

¹¹ Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song*, tr. John Ernst Galliard (London: 1742); François Raguenet, *A Comparison Between the French and Italian Musick*, tr. John Ernst Galliard (London: 1709); DeSimone, *The Power of Pastiche*, 183. Hawkins was the first to suggest Galliard as the translator of Raguenet's text, while Burney argued that he would not have attained sufficient command of the language by 1709 to undertake such a project. See Hawkins, *A General History*, II: 829; Burney, *A General History*, II: 989. ¹² Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 348, 352; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 342.

¹³ Burney suggests that Galliard was competent but lacked originality as a composer. See Burney, *A General History*, 930.

¹⁴ Galliard is known from advertisements to have held two benefit performances of his own. *Daily Post*, February 27, 1722; *Daily Advertiser*, December 5, 1744.

obbligatos for oboe, they are fewer in number and significantly less involved than was Handel's general practice in his first operas. ¹⁵ Handel's use of the oboe varied greatly depending upon the oboist for whom he was writing and it seems that Galliard's skill as a performer inspired him to make extensive use of the oboe in this opera. While none of his solo repertoire for the oboe has survived, Galliard did include extensive writing for the instrument in his opera *Calypso and Telemachus* (1712) and his masque *Pan and Syrinx* (1718) which provides some insight to how he may have composed solo works. Through an analysis of Galliard's writing for the oboe, I will determine the distinct skills he may have possessed as a performer and examine the ways in which Handel made use of these skills in his writing for Galliard in *Teseo* while also considering the relationship of these obbligatos to the rest of Handel's output.

As this and the following two chapters will show, Handel's use of the oboe was entirely dependent upon the performer available to him. Had a performer of Galliard's abilities not been available for *Teseo*, there would likely have been significantly fewer solo arias, if indeed the instrument had not been entirely relegated to doubling the violins. Through his superior skills as a performer, Galliard shaped the role of the oboe in *Teseo* by inspiring Handel's use of the instrument just as he influenced many other facets of London's musical life through his varied activities in performance, composition, and translation.

Galliard as a Performer

Both Burney and Hawkins indicated that Galliard came to London in the service of Prince George of Denmark (1653-1708), Prince Consort of Queen Anne, as one of many

¹⁵ Almira (1705) includes four substantial solo obbligatos.

from the German-speaking lands to flock to England following the Act of Settlement in 1701. 16 Burney's indication of the year of Galliard's arrival as c. 1706 has been generally accepted among scholars, though it is seldom cited directly. 17 Lasocki suggests that Galliard came to England upon the disbandment of the Celle orchestra in 1706, while Haynes indicated that he left the orchestra in 1705. 18 In any case, Galliard remained an active performer at court well after the death of his employer. David Hunter cites pension lists which indicate that Galliard was provided with an annual pension of £56 in 1714 which had increased to £100 by 1716 and was still being collected in 1742. 19 Galliard's appointment at court provided him with steady work and a generally reliable (if limited) source of income. Hawkins notes that Galliard was additionally appointed to the position of chapel master at Somerset House upon the death of Giovanni Battista Draghi (1640-1708). 20 Given Hawkins's description of this position as requiring little work, it would have added to the financial security provided by Galliard's position at court, giving him the freedom to pursue the occupation which would consume much of the rest of his career: composing for the theater.

¹⁶ Burney, A General History, II: 989; Hawkins, A General History of Music, II: 829. The Act of Settlement named the Protestant Sophia of Hanover (1630-1714) heir to the English throne.

¹⁷ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 348, 352; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 341. Haynes largely cites Lasocki's article for background information on Galliard, which provides no sources for the dates listed.

¹⁸ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 348; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 139. Hawkins suggested that Galliard was employed by Prince George before his marriage to the future queen and followed him to England, but their wedding took place in 1683, long before Galliard stepped foot in England and perhaps before he was born. See Hawkins, *A General History*, II: 829.

¹⁹ Miscellaneous historical papers of Sir Edward Nicholas and of his son and grandson, largely consisting of drafts and copies of warrants and other official documents; 1588-1722, Eg.2543.f.386, The British library, London, UK; Lists, reports, etc., relating to pensions administered by Walter Chetwynd, paymaster of the King's pensions and bounties, and Jacob de la Motte Blagny, mostly for the new establishment of 1718; 1717-1720, n.d, Add.MS 61604.f.2, The British Library, London, UK. Cited in Hunter, *The Lives of George Frideric Handel*, 183, 189.

²⁰ Hawkins, *A General History*, II: 829. Other scholars describe the position as organist and indicate the date of Galliard's appointment as 1711, though Hawkins notes that it was made upon Draghi's death which occurred three years previously. See Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 352; Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary*, V: 440.

Before the masques and pantomimes for which Galliard would be best known, he tried his hand at writing an opera in 1712.²¹ With a text by John Hughes (1677-1720), Calypso and Telemachus (1712) was an attempt to pair the Italian-style opera which had come to dominate the English stage with an English text.²² For various reasons, the opera was not a success but provides the best surviving example of Galliard's skill as a composer, showcasing his writing for both voice and instruments and his command of the English language.²³ While Galliard made one more attempt at opera composition in the 1710's (Circe, 1719) and another in his final years (The Happy Captive, 1741), Calypso and Telemachus is the work to which Tickell likely referred in mentioning Galliard's airs and for which writers from Burney and Hawkins to the present have remembered him. The most significant aspect of the opera is in how it succeeds in its aim to adapt Italian-style opera to the English language without the awkwardness of earlier attempts.²⁴ Were it not for the circumstances of its premier, which Hawkins attributed to the machinations of the proponents of Italian opera, this hybrid form of English-Italian opera may well have succeeded.²⁵ Galliard's efforts in attempting to pioneer a new type of English opera is indicative of his future theatrical pursuits which saw him undertaking similar efforts in his masques and pantomimes.

²¹ For the best overview of Galliard's complete output as a composer, see Roger Fiske, "Galliard, John Ernest [Johan Ernst]," rev. Richard G. King, *Grove Music Online*, accessed September 19, 2022.

²² Johann Ernst Galliard, *Calypso and Telemachus* (London: J. Walsh and J. Hare, 1712); For an in-depth discussion of *Calypso and Telemachus* and the context of its composition and premier, see J. Merrill Knapp, "A Forgotten Chapter in English Eighteenth-Century Opera," *Music & Letters* 42, no. 1 (Jan 1961): 4-16.

²³ Knapp stated that "in general, Galliard proves to be a more capable composer in this work than he does elsewhere." See Knapp, "A Forgotten Chapter," 15.

²⁴ Knapp brings together writings from Hughes and Joseph Addison (1672-1719) which discuss the challenges posed by pairing English language libretti with recitatives. See Knapp, "A Forgotten Chapter," 4-13. ²⁵ Hawkins, *A General History*, II: 829.

The opera includes five arias with solo parts for the oboe. Four of these utilize the oboe as a member of the ripieno which is occasionally provided with a solo line between unison passages, but it also receives one solo obbligato. The identity of the soloist for these arias is unfortunately not known, but it may well have been that Galliard himself performed in the orchestra. The opera was premiered at the Queen's Theater, where Loeillet's departure the previous year had left the first oboe chair vacant. When Handel's *Teseo* (1713) was staged, Galliard had taken on the role, making it possible that in the absence of a full-time replacement for Loeillet, Galliard stepped in to perform the extensive oboe parts in his opera.²⁶

The first aria with oboe, "How shall I speak my secret pain," is a solo obbligato and includes a similar relationship between oboe and voice as found in Handel's arias (ex. 3.1). Handel primarily relied upon two types of solo obbligato parts in his operas: the concerted aria and the prelude-ritornel.²⁷ The concerted aria places oboe and voice in direct interplay, often engaging in imitation in thirds. The prelude-ritornel keeps the two separate, with the oboe opening and closing the aria and filling in the rests between vocal lines. "How shall I speak my secret pain" is an example of a combination of the two types which Handel sometimes used.²⁸ With Handel writing no solo obbligatos for the oboe until the premier of *Teseo* the following year, this aria was the first of its type to be written for the London stage since Purcell's "Seek Not to Know" eighteen years previously and is closer to the style of writing for the instrument found in the German-speaking lands. The similarities to this style,

²⁶ Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans have also suggested that Galliard may have begun his employment at the Queen's Theater prior to the premier of *Teseo*. See Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary*, V: 441.

²⁷ Lang, George Frideric Handel, 617–20.

²⁸ This obbligato type is even more common in the operas of Reinhard Keiser (1674-1739) with which Handel would have become familiar during his time in Hamburg and borrowed from throughout his career.

particularly in the combination of elements of both concerted aria and prelude-ritornel writing, beg the question of whether Galliard may have been exposed to the operas of Reinhard Keiser, possibly during Keiser's 1704 residency in Brunswick which would have brought him much closer to Celle than Hamburg.²⁹ In any case, he and not Handel was the first to introduce this style of oboe obbligato for which Handel is now better known to London.

The oboe opens the aria, with the voice making its first entrance over the resolution of the oboe's cadence. The two parts trade off once more, remaining separate aside from a brief overlap as the next enters. In general, Galliard allows the oboe to take center stage alongside the vocalist in this aria, matching the virtuosity and expression of Signora Manina as they traded off lines.³⁰ The oboe both opens and closes the aria with a melody of its own, rather than sharing that of the voice throughout, though it frequently shares the voice's melody in rhythmic unison around the middle of the aria. Assuming that Galliard was the soloist for this aria, this writing demonstrates that he saw himself as possessing a sufficiently dynamic performance style as to match that of the virtuosic Italian singers who were becoming commonplace in the city.

As example 3.1 illustrates, Galliard utilized a wide range for the oboe in this aria. While in general the tessitura sits in the instrument's upper range, the soloist must traverse a twelfth overall throughout the aria. With the tessitura centered on the top of the oboe's range, this obbligato part suggests that Galliard possessed a solid control of this register. He made

²⁹ Burrows, *Handel*, 17.

³⁰ Burney indicated Manina's name as Margarita and described her as a "...a new and obscure singer." See Burney, A General History, II: 681. Manina's Grove Music Online entry suggests that she was the sister of the more famous Margherita de l'Epine (1680-1746) and later sang in a number of Handel's operas. See Winton Dean, "Manina [Fletcher, Seedo], Maria," rev. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, Grove Music Online, accessed October 3, 2022.

repeated use of G₅, A-Flat₄, and B-Flat₅, further demonstrating a reliable command of cross fingerings. Measures 11-13 place the oboe in this register while the voice is simultaneously singing on repeated pitches an octave below. This section frequently places the oboe and voice in thirds and in measure 13 even a second displaced by an octave, showcasing this control of the upper register (including control of pitch) and Galliard's surety in it.

Later in the aria, Galliard demonstrated his command of articulation (Ex. 3.2). The B section opens with the oboe much lower in its range, with dotted rhythms largely devoid of slurs. This is heightened between measures 24 and 25, wherein the performer must navigate a downward leap of a minor seventh within the space of a sixteenth note, a far more challenging interval than the thirds and fourths found thus far. While the two parts have again separated at the beginning of this example, they are more closely linked than at the aria's beginning, with the voice imitating the oboe's rhythms as it reenters. The prominence of the oboe is reiterated in the final measures of the B section, as the oboe introduces a figure which is then imitated between the two parts in measures 26 and 27 and then reinforces the voice's words through imitation in the following measure, serving as the type of extension of the voice for which Handel often utilized the instrument. This aria bears many similarities to Handel's writing for Galliard and suggests many of the same skills as a performer on Galliard's part. Most significantly, the writing in this aria suggests that Galliard possessed a particular skill for emulating the voice and performing obbligato parts.³¹

Following the failure of *Calypso and Telemachus*, Galliard turned to smaller-scale productions such as masques and pantomimes which would make up the bulk of his output throughout the rest of his career; these works carry the influence of Galliard's larger-scale

³¹ The advertisement for Galliard's 1722 benefit performance mentions a "...new cantata compos'd and accompany'd on the hautboy, by Mr. Galliard." See *Daily Post*, February 27, 1722.

theatrical works like Calypso and Telemachus.³² Galliard's first masque, Pan and Syrinx, was premiered in 1718 and Haynes noted that it "...included important hautboy work." 33 Like Calypso and Telemachus, this work utilizes the oboe on multiple occasions along with a single solo obbligato. The writing is less extensive and in terms of the obbligato, much less involved, but serves to confirm many of the skills suggested by the writing analyzed previously. The first appearance of the oboe is in a trio for two oboes and bassoon which is suggestive of Galliard's membership in the royal oboe band and may have been written to feature himself and other members of the band (ex. 3.3).³⁴ This example again utilizes an overall high tessitura for the first part, raising the upper limit one half step to B₅ and does not shy away from repeated articulations at the bottom of the second part's range. The bassoon line suggests a predominant pulse of two and a brisk tempo, making the sequencing patterns of eighth notes in the oboe parts fairly fast. The obbligato, "Let nature henceforward neglect too much Beauty on Men to bestow," takes a different approach in its use of the oboe. Rather than being either a full-fledged concerted aria or prelude-ritornel, the obbligato simply doubles the vocal line (ex. 3.4). The lower limit of the range is again the same, but the tessitura overall sits lower due to its relationship with the vocal line. While the writing for the oboe in this work is less substantial than in Calypso and Telemachus, it serves as a confirmation of the range generally utilized by Galliard and points to his technical abilities through the writing in the trio.

³² Richard Semmens noted that Galliard's pantomimes, especially those after 1723, were heavily operatic, drawing upon the same varied musical resources as his earlier operas. These works were extremely popular, and as Semmens has pointed out, were often appropriated for popular use. See Richard Semens, *Studies in the English Pantomime*, 1712-1733 (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2016), 76, 136.

³³ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 341.

³⁴ John Ernst Galliard, *Pan and Syrinx* Add MS 31588.F.13, British Library, London, England.

Handel's Writing for Galliard

Premiered the year after Galliard's *Calypso and Telemachus*, *Teseo* was a return to the spectacle and magical elements which had made *Rinaldo* (1711) a success and the absence of which made Handel's second London opera, *Il pastor fido* (1712), an overall failure with audiences. It is also the first of Handel's London operas to feature a true solo obbligato for the oboe, with the arias with oboe in *Rinaldo* having doubled the oboe line with strings and bassoon and those in *Il pastor fido* utilizing two oboes.³⁵ Handel's use of the oboe was often directly tied to the skill of his first oboist and he could go several years without utilizing the instrument as more than a unison instrument or in the occasional aria with two oboes.

Handel's earliest extant operas, *Almira* (1705) and *Agrippina* (1708), both utilize extensive solo obbligatos while the following two operas premiered in London do not, suggesting that the oboists available to him, first Loeillet and then another unknown performer, either did not meet his standards or he was unsure of their ability before writing the parts. With five solo obbligatos, *Teseo* constitutes Handel's most extensive use of the oboe thus far in his career, both in terms of the number of arias and the involvement of the instrument with the vocal line and would be surpassed only by *Amadigi di Gaula* (1715). While the lack of a more extensive example of Galliard's writing for the oboe precludes a definite conclusion as to the types of writing he frequently favored for himself, my previous analysis of his obbligato writing and his favoring of the combination of oboe and voice demonstrates his likely skill at performing alongside vocalists. I will argue through my

³⁵ "Molto voglio, molto spero" and "Ah! Crudel" from *Rinaldo* double the oboe lines, though it does emerge for brief solos in "Molto voglio." "Finte labra! Stelle ingrate!" and "Ritorno adesso Amor" from *Il pastor fido* both utilize two oboes.

analysis of Handel's writing in the five solo obbligatos of *Teseo* that this is the skill of Galliard's which Handel utilized in his writing, making use of Galliard's ability to emulate the voice to integrate the oboe into the opera as an extension of the emotions of the characters it accompanies.

Agilea's Arias

Galliard's first solo obbligato appears in only the second aria of Act 1, during Agilea's "Deh serbate." Agilea, the ward of King Egeo of Athens, is in love with Teseo, the unknown son of the king. In "Deh serbate," Agilea fears for the safety of her beloved as he fights for Athens. As Agilea begs the gods to spare Teseo's life, she declares that should he die, she herself could no longer live. Taking place so near the beginning of the opera, "Deh serbate" is the first real exploration of Agilea's feelings for Teseo. This is a concerted aria, with a rolling motive from the strings opening before Agilea's entrance (ex. 3.5). Entering only one beat after the voice, the oboe often serves as an echo of Agilea's line throughout the aria. As in the oboe's first two entrances, Handel often utilizes imitation between the two lines to create a flowing chain of eighth notes which leads into each successive beat. With only one entrance independent of the voice apart from the four measures which close out the A section of the aria, the oboe's function is to reiterate Agilea's meaning through gestures drawn from the vocal line rather than a direct repetition of the vocal melody and by often placing the two lines in unison as in measures 5 and 6. By utilizing this simple style of obbligato rather than the extensive writing found later in the opera which often uses the oboe

³⁶ George Frideric Handel, *Teseo* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1874).

as a contrast to the vocal line, Handel stresses the sincerity of Agilea's words, utilizing Galliard's ability to match the voice to offer support to the vocalist.

Agilea closes out Act 1 with "M'adora l'idol mio," a concerted aria in which she rejoices in the peace she feels in her faithfulness to Teseo and determines to withstand the troubles and sorrows brought on by their separation. The oboe again joins Agilea as she expresses her love for Teseo, but is used in a different way. There are two oboe parts which double the first and second violin lines, with several oboe solos marked throughout the score. Galliard's first solo entrance appears in measure 5, in which the oboe plays completely unaccompanied for six measures in a spinning stream of sequencing sixteenth notes with a number of large leaps which regularly span as large as an octave (ex. 3.6).³⁷ Burney was impressed by Handel's writing for Galliard in this aria, writing that in light of this unaccompanied writing, "it seems that he had been now a favourite performer." 18 It is notable that this writing and the passing of it between oboe and voice bears resemblance to another aria from Galliard's Calypso and Telemachus, "See these golden beams how bright." In this aria, the oboe is also a member of the ripieno with solos denoted throughout, one of which includes four measures of a downward sequencing sixteenth-note figure not unlike Handel's which is then joined with the voice in thirds (ex. 3.7). Galliard may well have exceled at this type of virtuosic interplay, including it in *Calypso and Telemachus* as well as his other works with oboe and voice and inspiring Handel to make use of it here.³⁹

³⁷ This intervallic writing and the skill at navigating these large leaps which it suggests were demonstrated in Galliard's writing for "How shall I speak my secret pain."

³⁸ Burney, A General History, II: 686. Dean and Knapp agree with Burney's statement, writing that Galliard "...had exceptional opportunities to display his prowess." See Dean and Knapp, Handel's Operas: 1704-1726, 248.

³⁹ A well-known quote attributed to Handel concerning *Calypso and Telemachus* conveyed by the composer to Dr. Samuel Arnold (1740-1802) and later shared with William Kitchener (1775-1827) was likely exaggerated to some degree, but confirms that Handel was familiar with and impressed by *Calypso and Telemachus*. With Walsh's edition of the opera published in 1712, he could well have encountered it before beginning work on

When the voice enters, it is largely made up of steady eighth notes (ex. 3.8). While oboe and voice are initially in rhythmic unison in thirds, measures 15-20 show how the oboe begins to adorn the vocal melody with occasional sixteenth notes, suspensions, and ascending motives with sizable leaps which while still related to the vocal line add an additional energy to the joyful affect of Agilea's text. This is similar to Handel's earlier writing, as in "Geloso tormento" from Almira, in which the oboe presents the same affect as the voice, but in a contrasting way which hints at the more extreme dimensions of the character's inner state of mind. This continues to occur throughout the aria, interspersed with long stretches of shared sixteenth notes between the two parts which would have provided Galliard with the opportunity to demonstrate his ability to match the virtuosity of the acclaimed soprano Margherita de l'Epine. Handel utilized a different facet of Galliard's abilities in this aria, drawing on his capability for virtuosic playing to bring out the heights of Agilea's joy. Having the oboe function as a member of the ripieno between solo passages would only have heightened the impact of these long sections of brilliant technique, making his first unaccompanied solo a surprise to the audience.

Teseo's Aria

In Act 4, Medea whisks Teseo away to an enchanted island where she has convinced Agilea to prove herself unfaithful to Teseo in order to save his life. When he wakes, confused by his unfamiliar surroundings, Teseo sings "Chi ritorna alla mia mente." This aria sees

Teseo. Kitchener's rendition of the story relates that "Dr. Arnold told me that M^r. Handell had so high an opinion of Calypso and Telemachus as to have declared that he would sooner have composed it than any one of his own Operas." See Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera 1597-1940, 3rd ed. (London: John Calder, 1978), 127. Knapp felt that Kitchener's information was fairly reliable given Arnold's familiarity with Handel as a boy. See Knapp, "A Forgotten Chapter," 16.

Teseo express his confusion and love for Agilea. The oboe opens and closes this brief aria, but later begins to interact with the voice, making it a combination of prelude-ritornel and concerted aria writing (ex. 3.9). With only a sparse chordal string accompaniment, Handel's writing for oboe and voice is intimate, with the oboe weaving in and out of the vocal line. The melody which the oboe introduces includes a number of large, expressive leaps, drawing on Galliard's ability to navigate large intervals alongside the cross fingerings required throughout the aria. While the voice initially opens with an exact restatement of the oboe's melody, it quickly moves in its own direction. The oboe begins to interject, sometimes introducing a motive which the voice will then imitate or adding a vibrant embellishment to highlight a particular line of text (mm. 5-6). The oboe does the same in its final interaction with the voice, providing a cadence on the word "Speranza" (hope) as the voice continues on (m. 10). "Chi ritorna" is the shortest of the five solo obbligatos in Teseo, but demonstrates the sensitive and expressive playing Galliard was capable of and showcasing another facet of his virtuosity as a performer.

Medea's Arias

The oboe is a near-constant presence in Medea's arias, with obbligato parts (several for two oboes or oboes doubling the violin line) in all but one. In her first aria at the opening of Act II, "Dolce riposo," Medea reflects upon her unhappy history with love following Egeo's decision to wed Agilea rather than Medea. In the outer sections of the aria, she sings sweetly of the happiness of a soul in possession of sweet repose and innocent peace, longing for a contentment she knows she will never obtain. In the contrasting B section, a jarring move to recitative sees Medea bemoan her past heartbreaks before quickly returning to the

opening melody. True to its title, the aria presents from its opening a sense of calm repose from its plodding string line. Having previously appeared in Agilea's two love arias, the oboe's presence here establishes a connection to the love for which Medea longs.

The oboe enters first and it is only in the third vocal entrance that the two parts finally interact (ex. 3.10). For each of these entrances, the oboe first provides the melody which Medea will sing. Each melody is expanded upon in Medea's line, but the initial figure is presented by the oboe. More than in Agilea or Teseo's arias, the oboe serves here as a second incarnation of Medea, presenting her emotions directly through affect, without the aid or distraction of text. The oboe's brief melodies are akin to Medea's first thoughts which she then takes further in the vocalist's line having worked out the initial idea. When the two parts come together in measure 11, the vocalist is only two beats behind the oboe, but largely sings a simplified version of the melody while the oboe ornaments it slightly, presenting a contrasting delivery of the same affect. This aria ranks with the most involved of Handel's arias with obbligato oboe and demonstrates his faith in and respect for Galliard's abilities. The instrument moves far beyond simple contrast to take a leading role alongside the vocalist.

It is not until Medea's final aria in Act V, "Morirò mà vendicata," that the solo oboe returns. This aria finds her in a much different headspace than in "Dolce riposo," having been spurned by Teseo numerous times in the interim and coming to despise Agilea bitterly. In the A section which takes up the bulk of the aria, Medea accepts her death as inevitable, but proclaims she will die avenged. After an extensive and dramatic unison opening from the strings which sets up the defiant tone of the text, Medea enters on a descending sigh-like figure on "morirò" (I will die), which is immediately echoed by the oboe (ex. 3.11). Rather

than restate Medea's second statement, the oboe introduces a minor third over her final note, altering the harmony and building the tension which leads into Handel's setting of the second line of text. As Medea launches into a frenzied statement of "mà vendicata" (but avenged) set over a long melismatic string of sixteenth notes, the oboe presents a more restrained melody which continually ascends and descends in opposition to the direction of Medea's sixteenth notes (mm. 29-32). As Medea herself settles into a slower-moving melody between measures 33 and 38, the oboe moves to a descending sixteenth-note figure which is soon imitated by the strings as Medea continues on undeterred by the turmoil surrounding her until the oboe finally returns to echo her. As in "Dolce riposo," the oboe functions as a second incarnation of Medea, contrasting the delivery of the vocalist. Further, by continually varying the two parts rather than assigning one mood to each part (one calm and the other frantic), Handel uses the oboe to reflect Medea's tumultuous interior state of mind at this point of the opera and the conflicting emotions she feels, with both parts moving rapidly between them.⁴⁰ Requiring both lyrical and highly technical playing, this aria would have drawn upon the full range of Galliard's abilities.

Handel's writing for Galliard in these arias encompasses the full range of technical demands, requiring lyricism and virtuosic technique in equal measure. The oboe stands on equal footing with the voice, allowing Galliard to demonstrate that his artistry matched that of the singers he performed alongside. Moving between the contrasting emotional states depicted in each aria, Galliard would also have displayed his flexibility as a performer. More than this, these arias allow the oboist to share in the depiction of the aria's text and affect to a degree uncommon for many of the arias of this type being written at the time and largely

⁴⁰ DeSimone similarly notes the fluctuation of the aria's affect, writing that the aria "...vacillates between pathetic sadness and unchecked fury." See DeSimone, *The Power of Pastiche*, 179.

unseen on the London stage. For Handel and other German operatic composers around the turn of the eighteenth century, the oboe had come to serve as an ideal accompaniment to arias expressing love and heartbreak, likely due in part to its distinct timbre and ability to emulate the voice. In *Teseo*, he follows a common trend of his use of the instrument in setting up a precedent in associating the oboe with love in Agilea and Teseo's arias, before evolving its relationship with that emotion in Madea's arias. In her first entrance, it is somber echo of the pure emotions expressed by Agilea in Act 1, while by "Morirò" the affect the oboe expresses has been twisted like the love Madea claims to carry for Teseo. This use of the oboe continues with operas like *Amadigi di Gaula* (1715) and *Radamisto* (1720), though after this point the frequency of his oboe writing declines and when it reappears in his operas of 1737 is different.

Having employed a comparable usage of the oboe in *Calypso and Telemachus*,

Galliard demonstrated a similar understanding of the expressive capabilities of the oboe as an obbligato instrument and for instrumental obbligatos in general. As a skilled performer capable of performing these complex obbligato parts and a composer with a similar conception of utilizing obbligato instruments to portray a character's interior state of mind,

Galliard would have been an ideal recipient of these parts and it was likely due in part to these considerations that Handel chose to compose for Galliard some of the most extensive obbligato oboe parts of his career. One of many oboists to emigrate to London from abroad in the early eighteenth century, Galliard's career, from his compositions for the stage to his collaboration with Handel, is indicative of the level of influence he and oboists like him exerted on the musical life of their adopted city. Like many other musicians, he pieced together a living through various means both in and outside of performance, ultimately using

his skill as a composer to experiment in various theatrical genres and writing notable works in each. Beyond being one of Handel's oboists, Galliard was a significant performer and composer in his own right who has been largely overlooked.

CHAPTER 4

THE MYSTERIOUS MR. KYTCH:

THE DECLINING ROLE OF THE OBOE IN HANDEL'S OPERAS, 1724-1737

There was a marked decline in Handel's writing for the oboe after 1724. In fact, the vast majority of his obbligatos for the instrument were written by 1715, with only four additional operas featuring the oboe in a solo capacity before 1724. Haynes placed a great deal of importance on the fact that Handel ceased to write for the instrument in a solo capacity after 1724, but the existence of only three solo oboe obbligatos from the Royal Academy operas suggests a shift in Handel's relationship with the instrument as early as the academy's founding in 1720.² It is important to note that up to 1720, Handel was working with largely pre-existing ensembles, first in the Queen's theater and then at Cannons while working for the Duke of Chandos from 1717-19. In both settings, he could only make use of the ensemble before him, writing for performers he had taken no part in selecting. In the case of Galliard's employment at the opera in 1713, this resulted in a fruitful collaboration, but the high number of obbligatos for the oboe in this decade perhaps points to Handel's displeasure with other sections. The orchestra personnel for the Royal Academy were carefully selected, with multiple rosters as the organizers narrowed down the choices.³ While the composition of some sections share similarities with the last of the extant rosters from the Queen's theater in the 1710s, these rosters reflect many changes, particularly in the first chairs. 4 This revamping

¹ After 1715, only *Acis and Galatea* (1718), *Radamisto* (1720), *Flavio* (1723), and *Tamerlano* (1724) include solo obbligatos for the oboe.

² Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 347-48.

³ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel," 157-61.

⁴ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel," 159-60; Milhous and Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, 158, 192.

of the opera orchestra provided Handel with new opportunities for experimentation in his instrumental writing and new soloists for whom to write, as shown by the numerous obbligato parts written for violinist Pietro Castrucci (1679-1752) during his long tenure in the orchestra. About this time in Handel's career, Dean and Knapp remarked that Handel demonstrated in the operas of this period an awareness of developments in both musical styles and instrumental design.⁵ His desire to explore new styles and instrumental capabilities (including new instruments like the clarinet) likely further encouraged Handel's move away from the oboe and exploration of new instrumental timbres.

The transition between the 1723-24 and 1724-25 seasons saw further changes in Handel's position at the opera as Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747) departed from his role as a house composer, leaving Handel to share the opera with only Attilio Ariosti (c. 1666-1729). Following this, Handel largely dominated the final four seasons of the Royal Academy.⁶ Both Burney and Hawkins suggest a definite rivalry between Handel and Bononcini, with Hawkins indicating that Handel was supported by the Tories and Bononcini the Whigs.⁷ Burrows argues that Handel was likely favored by those who opposed Bononcini based upon his Catholicism and the dangers of enduring Jacobite sympathies.⁸ The political dominance of the Protestant Whigs during the 1720s and their opposition of Catholicism and France in general could also be interpreted as a source of motivation Handel and the other Royal

⁵ Dean and Knapp, Handel's Operas 1704-1726, 321.

⁶ Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726*, 320; Burrows, *Handel*, 114, 119. Bononcini would return to the academy only for *Astianatte* (1727).

⁷ Burney, A General History, II: 747; Hawkins, A General History, 861.

⁸ Burrows, Handel, 115.

Academy composers to lessen the role of the oboe (a French instrument) at the opera. This could well have been a factor given strengthening of the Whig's majority during the 1720s and their increasing support amongst the populace during this time, but Handel's own shifting interests and experimentation with the capabilities of his orchestra were likely the primary source of the changes in his instrumentation. 10

Between 1724 and 1737, the oboe was largely relegated to doubling the violin line, but did receive three obbligatos for two oboes in the operas. ¹¹ Dean's description of Handel's writing for the oboe in his oratorios (some of which fit within the operatic gap before 1737) is equally appropriate for the instrument's role in his operas: "much of Handel's scoring for oboes strikes us as unimaginative. Again and again they share the top line with the violins, in unison or alternation...Handel confines them so rigorously to these duties as to raise a suspicion that he had little confidence in the players or their instruments." ¹² Haynes echoed Dean's assessment, remarking that no players during this time "...seem to have been able to inspire Handel's muse." ¹³ Given these comments and the absence of the solo oboe in Handel's theatrical works during this period, one might assume that the performers available to him were of lesser skill than the oboists for whom he was accustomed to writing. Strangely, the period in question (1724-37) was the first during which Handel had a consistent first oboe player between productions, with the same performer in the position for

⁹ Such musical manifestations of partisan politics have been studied earlier in the century in the form of the Tory and Whig support of the Italian Margarita de l'Epine and English Catherine Tofts, respectively. See Alison DeSimone, "Equally Charming, Equally Too Great," *Early Modern Women* 12, no. 1 (Fall 2017): 73-102. The interest of the Whigs in promoting English performers (Like Tofts) and English music has been documented through the musical events they supported. See "The Subscription Musick of 1703-04," *The Musical Times* 153, no. 1921(Winter 2012): 29, 30, 33.

¹⁰ Christopher Dudley, "Party politics, political economy, and economic development in early eighteenth-century Britain," *The Economic History Review* 66, no. 4 (Nov 2013): 1084-1100.

¹¹ These obbligatos are in Admeto (1727), Ezio (1732), and Orlando (1733).

¹² Dean, Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, 76.

¹³ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 347.

the entirety of this time. This oboist was Jean Christian Kytch (d. 1738), a long-time acquaintance and collaborator of Handel's who by the second half of the 1720s was one of the best-known oboists in London. As will be elaborated upon later, it is important to note that the comments of both Haynes and Dean rely upon ignoring the existence of three solo obbligatos from the oratorios of the 1730s which would have been written for Kytch. While less was written for the oboe as a solo instrument during this time, it is simply untrue that Kytch was provided with no sol oopportunities.

Kytch is generally considered to have hailed from the Netherlands and had taken up residence in London by the fall of 1707. His signature is recorded in the Coke Papers alongside a number of other noted performers of the time who were petitioning for employment in the opera orchestra with statement of their desired pay; Kytch himself requested £1/5s per night. Subsequent entries reveal that while his later fame would come from his work as an oboist, his first employment in England was as a bassoonist. Kytch was initially earning 10s per night for the 1708-09 season which had increased to 11s/6p by the following season and while his pay is not indicated, he was still listed on the orchestra roster for the 1710-11 season. Records referring to Kytch can be difficult to identify due to a seemingly widespread misunderstanding regarding the spelling of his name. Contemporary records identify him by a number of names including Creitch, Kaite, Keitch, Keitsh, Kyber,

 $^{^{14} \} Lasocki, "The \ French \ Hautboy," \ 349; \ Highfill, Burnim, and \ Langhans, \textit{A Biographical Dictionary}, IX: 85.$

¹⁵ Milhous and Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, 30-31. This amount puts Kytch in the middle of the salary requests which ranged from £1 to £1/10s. Though his request was not met (he would receive only 10s per night) he did accept employment at the theater.

¹⁶ Milhous and Hume, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers*, 118-19, 133, 151, 179, 191-92. Lasocki suggests that this may have been because the oboe chairs were filled at the time Kytch arrived. It is true that his petition for employment did not specify an instrument. See, Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 349.

¹⁷ Milhous and Hume, Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 118-19, 179, 151.

Kytes, and Kytsch, undoubtedly creating as much confusion in Kytch's own time as it does today.¹⁸

Given the dichotomy of his close proximity to Handel and the noted decrease in solo writing for the oboe during Kytch's time at the opera, scholars have struggled to understand Kytch as a performer and the conditions which turned Handel from writing more for him. Scholars of the oboe's history acknowledge Kytch as the leading oboist in London during the 1720s, based largely upon his status as a prolific performer in public concerts. He receives only a brief mention in Bate's *The Oboe*, as an "...oboist of great repute in his day." Baines again mentioned Kytch only once but identified him as "...the chief of Handel's earlier oboists in London..."20 Lasocki writes that Kytch dominated the musical scene of London in the lead-up to the arrival of Italian oboists just before the 1720s.²¹ His discussion of Kytch's activities centers on his performances in public concerts, the same source from which Haynes drew his conclusions about Kytch's abilities as a performer.²² Haynes focused more attention on Kytch's theatrical work than other scholars, with mention of the works he would likely have performed for Handel at Cannons.²³ These disparate treatments of Kytch are representative of the limited scholarly attention he has received. Lasocki focuses upon Kytch's public performances while Haynes largely discusses his work with Handel, each to

¹⁸ Milhous and Hume, Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers, 265.

¹⁹ Bate, *The Oboe*, 195.

²⁰ Baines, Woodwind Instruments, 280.

²¹ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 349.

²² Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 438. In speculating about Handel's preference for oboists other than Kytch, Haynes concluded that Kytch's skills as a performer exemplified the more subtle style which preceded the flamboyance of the Italian performers who arrived throughout the 1720s.

²³ Haynes, *The Eloquent* Oboe, 344, 438.

the detriment of the other areas of Kytch's career and the full extent of his significance within London's musical life in the first decades of the eighteenth century.²⁴

Aside from Dean, who utilized Kytch's performances of Handel arias on the oboe as an example of the proliferation of these works outside the opera house, Handel scholars have largely focused solely upon his connection to Handel.²⁵ Kytch is often mentioned in reference to Handel's association with the Fund for Decay'd Musicians (known today as the Royal Society of Musicians), a charity founded in 1738 following Kytch's death and the resultant destitution of his family.²⁶ Handel's immediate and long-spanning financial involvement with the fund has been interpreted as implying a personal interest in the organization's mission, perhaps due to his long working relationship with Kytch.²⁷ Burrows and Harris have described Kytch as a central figure in the opera orchestra and therefore in the instrumental writing of Handel's operas; Harris describes him as "...important to the orchestral sound of Handel's operas..."²⁸ Burrows seems to view Kytch similarly, even questioning the fact that Handel failed to write solo works for him.²⁹

The combination of these conflicting interpretations of Kytch's career, the lack of an in-depth study of his musical activity, and the absence of any details of his life outside of his performances has imbued Kytch with an air of mystery. Kytch began to appear in public concerts as early as 1709 and by the 1720s became a consistent presence in various concerts

²⁴ Haynes's discussion of Kytch's performances in public concerts is largely used to speculate around his skillset as a performer.

²⁵ Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas* 1704-1726, 28, 102, 118.

²⁶ Hogwood, *Handel*, 156; Glover, *Handel in London*, 267-68; Matthews, "Handel and the Royal Society of Musicians," 79. Handel included a sizable gift of £1000 to the fund in the final codicil to his will, signed only three days before his death in 1759. See Donald Burrows, ed., *Handel's Will* (London: The Gerald Coke Handel Foundation, 2008), 43.

²⁷ Burrows, *Handel*, 200-201.

²⁸ Burrows, Handel, 157, 163; Harris, George Frideric Handel, 128.

²⁹ Burrows, *Handel*, 163.

throughout the city.³⁰ A close look at the advertisements for these concerts reveals a connection between this side of Kytch's career and his work at the opera, showing him to be not talented but overlooked as the extant literature suggests, but a savvy performer who used the status granted him by his connection to Handel and the prestige of the King's Theater to position himself as an imminent oboist and attract steady work outside of the opera. Through analysis of music likely written for Kytch while he and Handel were in the employment of the Duke of Chandos at his residence, Cannons; a consideration of Kytch's employment at the opera including the date of his hiring as an oboist and the obbligatos written for him; and his use of this position at the king's Theater to secure work in public concerts, this chapter will recenter the scholarly conversation around Kytch. In addition to illuminating Handel's working relationship with his longest-serving first oboist, this will offer insight on how performers navigated eighteenth-century London's precarious freelance market.

Handel and Kytch at Cannons, 1717-19

A gap of five years separated the premiers of Handel's *Amadigi di Gaula* (1715) and *Radamisto* (1720). While arias and other music by Handel was still performed in the Haymarket theater over the following two years, no more operas were premiered in London by the composer and the opera company finally collapsed in the summer of 1717 after several years of increasing financial difficulties.³¹ Shortly thereafter, Handel secured private patronage from James Brydges, first Duke of Chandos.³² Handel's employment was at the Duke's estate, Cannons, at which Graydon Beeks notes that the hiring of musicians had been

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³⁰ Daily Courant, June 16, 1709.

³¹ Burrows, Handel, 77-78.

³² John Mainwaring, Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frideric Handel (London, 1760), 95-96.

taking place since 1715.³³ Even with the impressive performing forces which had been assembled at Cannons, the hiring of Handel would have been quite a symbol of the Duke's status. In discussing the duke's decision to hire Handel when Johann Christian Pepusch was presently serving as music master at Cannons, Sir John Hawkins wrote that in light of "...the immense expence he had been at in in building such a house, and furnishing his chapel..." he would have seen it as unacceptable "...to have any other than the greatest musician in the kingdom for his chapel-master." Many of the works Handel composed for Cannons involve soloistic writing for the oboe, especially those with voice such as the Chandos Anthems (HWV 246-255, 1717-18) and *Acis and Galatea* (1718). Employment records from the estate are often lacking in detail and leave the identity of the recipient of these solos in question.

The earliest record of an oboist at Cannons indicates a start date in 1718.³⁵ The oboist in question, a Signor Biancardi, has long puzzled scholars due to the near-complete lack of information surrounding him and his career.³⁶ Records from Cannons indicate that he was employed there from 1718-20 with his pay recorded at £7/10s.³⁷ Kytch is recorded as being employed from 1719-21 with a pay of £12/10s, suggesting a higher standing and likely status as first oboe.³⁸ However, a letter from Brydges to Dr. John Arbuthnot on September 25, 1717 makes it clear that four of the Chandos Anthems had been performed by that time, necessitating the presence of an oboist before Biancardi's supposed hire the following year.³⁹

³³ Graydon Beeks, "Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon," in Peter Williams, ed., *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3.

³⁴ Hawkins, 859.

³⁵ Beeks, "Handel and Music," 8.

³⁶ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 352. Lasocki notes that Biancardi seems to have been active in England for only two years from 1718-20.

³⁷ Beeks, "Handel and Music," 8.

³⁸ Beeks, "Handel and Music," 17.

³⁹ Beeks, "A Club of Composers': Handel, Pepusch, and Arbuthnot at Cannons," in Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks, eds., *Handel Tercentenary Collection* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1987), 210.

Written in 1718, Acis and Galatea requires two oboes, demonstrating that an additional performer must have been available at the time. 40 Assuming that this discrepancy makes possible that the employment dates recorded in the documents from Cannons do not accurately reflect the dates during which Brydges's musicians were in his employ, it is plausible that not only Biancardi, but Kytch as well were at Cannons as early as 1717. Given the extensive writing for the oboe in the Chandos Anthems and Kytch's higher pay, it is unlikely that such writing would have been dedicated to an oboist who would later be demoted and about whom so little is known. There is a gap in Kytch's activity in London as reflected by his appearance in concert advertisements, with no mentions of him between 1716 and 1719 and only two each in 1719 and 1720, with a clear increase in his presence following the end of his employment at Cannons at the beginning of 1721.⁴¹ This gap in Kytch's work in London serves to support the possibility of his presence in Cannons in 1717 and his being the recipient of Handel's writing in the Chandos Anthems and Acis and Galatea. The writing for Kytch in these parts draws upon both his lyrical and technical skills, painting a different picture of Kytch as a performer than has been traditionally accepted.

While the oboe is a frequent presence throughout the Chandos Anthems, it is not always utilized for extensive solo passages, often performing instead in unison with the violins. In those anthems in which Handel included solo obbligatos for the instrument, particularly in anthems 4, 11A, and 7 (HWV 249b, HWV 256a, and HWV 252), the writing speaks to the skill of the performer for whom they were written. In anthem 4, the oboe opens

⁴⁰ Haynes also suggested that Kytch may have been at Cannons earlier than 1719 and speculated that the obbligatos in *Acis and Galatea* were likely written for him. See Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 344, 438.

⁴¹ *Daily Courant*, June 4, 1716; *Daily Courant*, February 9, 1719; *Daily Courant*, February 16, *1719*; *Daily Courant*, February 23, 1720; *Daily Post*, April 1, 1720. Each advertisement is for a public concert (apart from the 1716 advertisement for which Kytch performed a concerto between acts of a play) in which Kytch played some type of solo piece, typically a concerto.

"O sing, O sing unto the Lord" alone with only chordal support from the basso continuo (ex. 4.1).⁴² Over the first four measures, the oboe introduces the vocal melody, though it is slightly veiled by Handel's ornamentations. As the voice enters with a pickup to measure 6, it seems as if the two parts are unrelated, with a highly simplified part in the vocal line while the oboe continues on with its flourishes and leaps. As the voice begins to introduce snippets of the oboe's opening, the two parts move into imitation, with frequent trading off of motives (m. 8). By measure 11, the vocal line has moved to the more rhythmically active writing of the oboe line while the oboe line has simplified, with only occasional sixteenths. Handel's use of the oboe recalls his operatic obbligato writing by using the oboe as a stylistic contrast to the vocal line to emphasize the vocalist's delivery of the text. As the voice returns to the opening text in measure 15, the oboe underscores the voice's more rhythmically-active delivery with sustained pitches which ascend to a G₅, intensifying the affect without obscuring the text. The two parts then move into rhythmic imitation which builds to the entrance of the chorus. Given Handel's high standards for the oboists for whom he wrote obbligato parts, solo writing like that found in the Chandos Anthems speaks to the presence of a performer at Cannons who met these standards and inspired Handel to include the same type of obbligato writing he used in his operas.

In anthem 11A, the oboe opens "Like as the smoke vanisheth" with a lengthy 16-measure solo (ex. 4.2).⁴³ Made up largely of stepwise movement with only occasional leaps, it sets up a relaxed affect, with the oboe line and its long opening notes seeming to rise like the smoke, nearly lost within the rolling eighth notes of the ripieno. As the second line of text, "so shalt thou drive them away," begins, the ritornello introduces a descending sequence

⁴² George Frideric Handel, O Sing unto the Lord a New Song (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1871).

⁴³ George Frideric Handel, *Let God Arise* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1871).

of sixteenth notes over which the oboe restates its opening melody. This interplay between these two contrasting motives drives the majority of the anthem, with oboe and voice trading the two back and forth (ex. 4.3). The oboe line often lacks rests between the two melodies, immediately shifting from the restraint of the opening and the brilliance of the sixteenth passage. When the voice has the sequencing sixteenths, the oboe often provides suspensions which add tension and further interest to the long melismas of the vocal line. While further relating to Handel's operatic obbligatos, this oboe part also requires a degree of technical skill in the execution of the sequencing sixteenth notes which is generally considered to be absent from the writing known to have been for Kytch and suggests that had he been the recipient of this obbligato, he possessed a degree of technical ability which Handel was aware of and wrote for at Cannons.

"God is very greatly to be fear'd" from anthem 7 again provides the oboist with an extensive 10-measure opening solo (ex. 4.4). 44 Here Handel drew upon the martial character of the oboe through frequent dotted rhythms both in the oboe line and in the ripieno. With suspensions and sustained pitches over the ripieno's jagged rhythms, this is a dramatic passage for the oboe. It is clear that the performer for whom Handel was writing in these anthems possessed a wide expressive and stylistic range and could switch between contrasting affects quickly. As the voice enters on the opening melody, the oboe immediately switches to a series of long sustained pitches which complement the vocal line as the voice moves in and out of its own long notes. While there are opportunities for a quick breath throughout the oboe line, it is not until measure 25 that the performer is provided with more than a sixteenth rest. With no real opportunity to fully replenish the breath, this demonstrates

⁴⁴ George Frideric Handel, My Song Shall be Alway (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1871).

efficient breath control on the part of the performer. As the voice ends its line on a long B-natural in measure 26, the oboe moves to a dotted rhythm made up of fast-moving leaps which suggest that the performer was adept at navigating large intervals quickly (ex. 4.5). Perhaps more than either of the other two anthems, this work points to the expressive and technical abilities of Handel's oboist.

Handel's most significant obbligato writing for the oboe from his time at Cannons is found in Acis and Galatea. Galatea's aria "Must I my Acis still bemoan?" occurs near the end of Act II and the end of the work overall.⁴⁵ An aria which sees Galatea mourn the loss of Acis after he is murdered by the giant Polyphemus is ideally suited to the obbligato oboe and Handel's use of it. The oboe is given a lengthy twenty-four measure introduction in which it provides a somber presentation of the vocal melody over a light chordal accompaniment from the basso continuo (ex. 4.6). As in the previous example, opportunities for breathing in this introduction are limited, with no written rests until measure 25 when the performer is given two measures in which to replenish the breath. This is a highly expressive obbligato part, with several sustained pitches like the ascending sequence beginning in measure six which suspends across bar lines and provides a capable performer with the opportunity to incorporate a dramatic messa di voce. There are also a number of large leaps, as in between measures 4 and 5 and 15 and 16 which again attest to the performer's ability to navigate these large intervals. After the voice enters in measure 24, the oboe at first echoes her first line, before beginning to alternate descending quarter notes and sustained dotted quarter notes (ex. 4.7). This passing off of these two rhythms creates a sense of building tension which peaks in measure 36 as the oboe enters a whole step above the voice, seeming to

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⁴⁵ George Frideric Handel, *Acis and Galatea* (London: John Walsh, 1743).

rearticulate her last word, "crush'd," which highlights her contemplation of Acis's violent death. As the two lines cadence together in measure 38, the chorus enters to admonish Galatea to cease her mourning. At risk of being overwhelmed by their greater numbers, Galatea is joined by the oboe on a sustained unison C₅, in the first extended unison between the two parts. Here Handel treats the oboe as an extension of Galatea, a contrasting presentation of her words which relies solely on affect and joins her against the chorus as she continues to grieve. This extremely close association of oboe and voice hearkens back to the oboe's relationship to Medea in Teseo. For writing as involved as this, Handel would have required an extremely accomplished performer, one whom he would later see as capable of being his first oboist, such as Kytch.

It is clear from these examples and from further writing found in the Sonata for Oboe, Two Violins, and Continuo (HWV 404, c. 1717) and *Esther* (1718) that Handel was provided with skilled oboists at Cannons. Both before and after his time there, Handel demonstrated that while he clearly favored the oboe as a solo instrument, he was more than capable of avoiding its use if the performers available to him did not meet his standards. The recipient of these solo parts must have been skilled indeed to have inspired such writing and would clearly have been capable of building a successful career as an oboist afterward, something which the unknown Biancardi seems not to have done. As the next section will discuss, he is mentioned in only one further document, after which no record of him exists, making it unlikely that he would have been the oboist for whom Handel was writing these obbligatos. Rather, it is likely that Kytch himself was the recipient of this music, which would support the success he later found in building a successful career as a performer in public concerts and at the opera.

Kytch and Handel's Operas, c. 1722-37

As John Mainwaring noted, preparations for the return of Italian opera to the London stage began during Handel's final year at Cannons (1719) with the foundation of the Royal Academy of Music, with financial backing from prominent subscribers and George I.⁴⁶ Production of academy operas began the following year, though the oboists of Handel's opera orchestra remain largely unknown. The only source for the makeup of the orchestra at this time is found in the Duke of Portland's papers, which have been examined in Milhous and Hume's "New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720." Three manuscripts from this collection (PwB 94, 98, and 97) concern potential musicians from the orchestra and reflect the evolving discussions around this hiring process throughout 1719 and 1720.⁴⁸ For the second oboe chair, only one performer is listed across all three lists at a salary rank 3 (the second highest rank for the oboe section) with a prospective salary of £50: Kytch.⁴⁹ However, PwB 97 confuses the issue by striking out Kytch's name and adding Biancardi beside it.⁵⁰ Lasocki questions Biancardi's presence in the orchestra and his having been hired is simply unlikely given the complete lack of information about him.⁵¹ Further, Biancardi was absent from the Lord Mayor's Day performances in 1727 while Kytch was

⁴⁶ Mainwaring, *Memoirs*, 96-7.

⁴⁷ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel," 149-67.

⁴⁸ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel," 158-61.

⁴⁹ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel," 158, 160-61. PwB 94 lists Kytch as Keitch while PwB 98 and 97 list him as Ketch. Salary rankings range from 1-5, with lower numbers receiving higher pay.

⁵⁰ Milhous and Hume, "New Light on Handel," 161.

⁵¹ Lasocki suggests that Biancardi did not join the orchestra and suggests another Italian oboist who may have joined in his place. See Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 350. It is important to note that this is the last document to refer to Biancardi.

listed.⁵² Nonetheless, PwB 97 is generally taken as the final word on the Royal Academy's oboe section and it is assumed that Kytch was not hired in 1720.⁵³

In determining the date at which Kytch joined the orchestra after 1720, only three primary sources have been cited so far to reach a conclusion on the matter. The roster from the 1727 Lord Mayor's Day festivities notes that all performers were from the opera and the other London theaters, indicating that by 1727, Kytch was among these performers.⁵⁴ The advertisement for Kytch's 1729 benefit describes him as "First Hautboy to the Opera," providing definitive proof from Kytch that he had secured the first oboe chair by this point.⁵⁵ In addition to these two sources, Lasocki argues that Kytch's performance on a 1724 benefit for a Mr. Johnson in which he performed "Three Favourite Songs out of the Opera of Julius Ceasar..." only one month after the premiere of Giulio Cesare (1724) indicates that he must have been a member of the orchestra by this time to have the proximity to Handel he would have required to obtain the scores to these arias.⁵⁶ However, two previously uncited concert advertisements from 1722 provide evidence that Kytch was a member of the orchestra at least two years earlier than has previously been assumed. The Daily Post advertised two concerts in the great room on the green which were to feature performances "...By the Masters from the Opera..." In both advertisements, Kytch is listed first and described as performing several pieces while the other performer is listed as performing only one, suggesting that he was indeed a member of the orchestra by 1722 and was well respected in

⁵² Donald Burrows, "Handel's London Theatre Orchestra," Early Music 13, no. 3 (Aug 1985): 355.

⁵³ Lasocki suggests that concert advertisements prove that Kytch was a member of the orchestra by 1724 while Haynes focuses more on the identity of the first oboe at this time, but notes the striking out of Kytch's name and cites Lasocki's assertion that Kytch had rejoined the orchestra by 1724. See Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 350; Haynes, *The Eloquent* Oboe, 345-48

⁵⁴ Burrows, "Handel's London Theatre Orchestra," 355.

⁵⁵ Daily Post, April 11, 1729.

⁵⁶ Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 350; Daily Courant, March 27, 1724.

the city as an oboist by this point.⁵⁷ Without further evidence, it is not possible to determine for certain when Kytch joined the orchestra's oboe section, but these advertisements provide credible evidence that the date was earlier than what has generally been accepted based upon the 1724 advertisement. However, the question remains as to whether he joined the orchestra in 1720 as second oboe or joined later in that position or as first oboe.

As shown in determining the timeline of Kytch's employment at the opera, much of what is known of him and his career comes from advertisements of concerts in which he performed. Kytch's position at the opera was vital to the establishment of his reputation as a soloist in public concerts. While he had certainly performed in such concerts before moving to the oboe section and largely focusing on that instrument, Kytch made use of his position at the opera and his relationship with Handel in the way he presented himself once he made this switch. Aside from those previously cited from 1722 and 1729, three advertisements from 1723 all mention Kytch's status as a performer at the opera. Shadditionally, the aforementioned 1724 concert, another from the same year, and the 1729 benefit all indicate that he planned to perform arias from Handel's operas.

In addition to these public concerts, Burney noted that Kytch was often "...engaged at two or three private parties of an evening to play opera songs, &c., which he executed with exquisite taste and feeling." From this it seems that this marketing tactic paid off and developed a reputation for Kytch as a skilled performer of Handel's vocal music on the oboe and secured for him frequent work outside of the opera. While his situation at the opera was not ideal, he was able to use his position there to obtain additional work. For his

⁵⁷ *Daily Post*, June 16, 1722; *Daily Post*, September 22, 1722.

⁵⁸ Daily Post, March 6, 1723; Daily Post, April 4, 1723; Daily Courant, October 24, 1723.

⁵⁹ Daily Post, May 8, 1724.

⁶⁰ William Thomas Parke, Musical Memoirs (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), II: 225-26.

performances of Handel's operas, Haynes speculated that Kytch may have utilized arrangements like those found in Peter Prelleur's *Instructions Uupon the Hautboy* (1731), which combine the tutti and solo lines into a single line, as in this arrangement of "Tu se il cor" from *Giulio Cesare* (ex. 4.8).⁶¹ Lasocki suggests that a criticism of opera arias performed instrumentally included by James Ralph in his *Taste of the Town* (1731) was directed toward Kytch specifically due to the frequency with which he performed this repertoire.⁶² Ralph (as A. Primcock) writes of "...that new method of filling the vacancies betwixt the acts with the choicest opera-songs improv'd by the additional excellencies of a hoarse hoat-boy, or a screaming flute, which by the strength of imagination, we are to believe S[enesi]no and C[uz]z[o]ni..."⁶³ It must be noted that Kytch included the names of the singers who had originally sung the arias he planned to perform on his 1729 benefit (only two years earlier), including three sung by Francesca Cuzzoni (1700-78) and one by Senesino (Francesco Bernardi, 1686-1758).⁶⁴

While Handel wrote some solo obbligatos for the oboe between 1720 and 1724, it would be pure speculation to attribute any of these to Kytch without certainty as to his position at the opera in 1722. Assuming that Kytch was first oboe by the time he performed arias from *Giulio Cesare* in the spring of 1724, there were no solo obbligatos for the oboe in the operas premiered during his tenure aside from one solo part added to an aria in

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⁶¹ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 350; Peter Prelleur, *Instructions Upon the Hautboy* (London, 1731), 30. If Kytch indeed performed arrangements such as this, arias like "Tu sei il cor" would have posed technical issues. The writing in the opening tutti section, while simple enough on violin, becomes considerably more difficult on the oboe in terms of articulation. Kytch's performances of such arrangements could have demonstrated impressive technical abilities on his part. Performing both tutti and vocal parts would also have required solid breath control as it would require near-constant playing with only occasional quick breaths.

⁶² Lasocki, "The French Hautboy," 351; A. Primcock, *The Taste of the Town* (London, 1731), 40.

⁶³ Primcock, The Taste of the Town, 40.

⁶⁴ Daily Post, April 11, 1729.

Tamerlano (1724).⁶⁵ As I will argue in chapter 5, this obbligato would likely have been performed by a visiting oboist rather than a regular member of the orchestra and so there are no solo obbligato oboe parts in the operas between 1724 and the three written in 1737. Instead, Handel's operas from this time include several obbligato parts for violin (likely written to feature Castrucci) and occasional obbligatos for flute and recorder. This coincides with a similar trend in Ariosti's operas of the 1720s, which include obbligato parts for other instruments to the exclusion of the oboe.⁶⁶ This suggests that both composers were simply exploring other instrumental possibilities and writing with specific performers in mind. Only one operatic aria from this time provides a contrasting example of how Handel might have utilized the abilities of his first oboe player in his operas: "Quanto godra" from Admeto (1727), which differs stylistically from much of the music discussed so far.⁶⁷ As in many of Handel's arias with oboe from this time, the instrument doubles the violin line but is occasionally provided with solo lines.

This particular aria utilizes the oboe more extensively than any others from this time and Handel shows it particular favor. The aria begins with a tutti opening and then alternates between this texture and sections with only two oboes. As the voice begins to repeat the first line of text in measure 15, the first oboe joins in the following measure to introduce the rolling sixteenth-note motive which it had shared previously with the second oboe (ex. 4.9). When the oboe next enters, it at first shares the vocal line in thirds before later sustaining a long B-flat which intensifies the repetitions of the vocal line without covering them (ex. 4.10). The oboe's final solo serves the same function, doubling the voice in thirds between

⁶⁵ This aria is the second version of "Sù la sponda del pigro."

⁶⁶ An excellent example of this is Ariosti's *Vespasiano* (1724), which includes obbligato parts for flute, recorder, bassoon, and violoncello.

⁶⁷ George Frideric Handel, *Admeto* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1877).

tutti statements. Aside from brief statements and overlapping lines, the oboe is the only instrument aside from the continuo which sounds over top of the vocal line. While it could seem that this was done to accommodate a particular singer and provide her with accompaniment without overpowering her, the singer in question was Faustina Bordoni (1697-1781), a singer whose contemporary renown makes this an unlikely consideration. Rather, the oboe functions on a smaller scale in the same way Handel used it in his more extensive obbligatos. As in example 4.9, the oboe and voice are often entirely unaccompanied when presenting the same rhythm and Handdl develops a clear connection between the voice and oboe throughout the aria, moving from two oboes largely removed from the vocal line to one which engages with the voice in nuanced ways. Beyond this, it requires the performer to switch between this style and more technical passages which demonstrate that Handel knew Kytch to be capable of this in addition to the subtle and expressive playing required elsewhere.

Haynes's conclusions around Kytch and his abilities relies upon his assertion that no solo parts were written for Kytch at all during this period; he goes so far as to suggest that two of the few solo parts included in the oratorios of the early 1730s were intended for another oboist.⁶⁹ Three oratorios were premiered during Kytch's time in the orchestra: *Esther* (1732), *Deborah* (1733), and *Athalia* (1733). The 1732 version of *Esther* includes three obbligatos for oboe, two of which were likely written for Kytch at Cannons in the original version.⁷⁰ "In Jehovah's awful sight" from *Deborah* and "What scenes of horror round me

⁶⁸ Burney noted Faustina's control of running divisions, ornamentations, and her ability to sustain pitches for long durations. He also quoted and endorsed an assessment from Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) which described her voice as "...penetrating..." See Burney, A General History, II: 738, 745.

⁶⁹ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 440-41.

⁷⁰ The arias are "tune your harps to cheerful strains," "Blessings descend on downy wings," and "How art thou fall'n from thy height!" Only "Blessings descend" was new to the 1732 version and is a reworking of "Kind health descend" from *Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne* (1713).

rise!" from *Athalia* would have been written for Kytch and include the same type of close relationship between oboe and voice as "Must I my Acis still bemoan" from *Acis and Galatea* (and in Handel's obbligatos for Galliard). As in Handel's earlier lyrical writing for the oboe in his operas, voice and oboe in these arias engage in frequent imitation. They trade off lines as well as anticipating and suspending each other's pitches (ex. 4.11).⁷¹ Their existence contradicts the previous assumption that Kytch was a lesser oboist whom Handel did not view favorably. It is not possible to say with certainty why Handel chose not to utilize Kytch more frequently as a soloist in his operas while providing him with a small number of solo obbligatos in the early oratorios, but the arias discussed demonstrate that he did see Kytch as a capable soloist. Given this, his infrequent use of the instrument during Kytch's tenure was less about any failing he saw in Kytch's ability than his own shifting preferences as a composer and his interest in exploring other instruments in his obbligato writing.

By 1737, both the success and production of Handel's operas were on the decline. With fewer productions, Kytch would have found his finances suffering from the decrease in what would have comprised the reliable portion of his income. Based upon the sharp decline he would experience over the next year, it is also likely that he was experiencing health issues as well, which perhaps diminished his ability to pursue additional concert appearances to make up the difference in income. Haynes speculated that Kytch was resistant to the change in pitch which the orchestra undertook around 1737 and left due to his unwillingness to make this switch. As chapter 5 will discuss, all three operas produced in 1737 featured Giuseppe Sammartini (1695-1750) in elaborate solo obbligatos with the rest of the oboe section in unison with the violins in a supporting role.

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⁷¹ George Frideric Handel, *Deborah* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1869).

⁷² Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 439.

In any case, Kytch seems to have left his position at the opera by 1738 as he began to decline. Burney wrote that "he neglected his family, then himself; consequently he became totally incapable of appearing before any respectable assembly, and at last he was found one morning breathless in St. James's Market, in a deplorable condition..."73 In the prime of his career, Kytch served as an example of the way in which a saavy performer could market oneself and find success through carving out a niche as he did with his interpretations of vocal arias. Unlike performers such as Galliard who pieced together an income through activities both in and outside of performance, Kytch was able to assemble his through an assortment of public and private concerts which supplemented his income from the opera, creating an income entirely from performance. The sudden end of his career reflects the tenuous nature of a career as a musician in eighteenth-century London. So precarious was London's freelance market that one could go from a celebrated performer to utter destitution in only a few years, as was the case for Kytch. Despite his tragic end, Kytch was a capable and astute performer; rather than being hindered by his lack of solo writing at the opera, he used his position there to enhance his career outside the opera house. It is in this light that he should be viewed, rather than as a performer of lesser ability who was overshadowed and supplanted by the more virtuosic Sammartini.

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⁷³ Parke, Musical Memoirs, II: 226.

CHAPTER 5

GIUSEPPE SAMMARTINI AND HANDEL'S LATE OPERATIC OBOE OBBLIGATOS

Of the many oboists with whom Handel worked during his time in London, none equaled the reputation of Giuseppe Sammartini (1695-1750). Sammartini's command of the oboe was so great that he stands out from the other skilled oboists who made London their home as the most significant and influential oboist in the first half of the eighteenth century. As Haynes put it, "from the time Sammartini moved to London in 1729, hautboy playing in England was never the same." Through his flamboyant, Italianate style of playing, Sammartini quickly established himself as the leading oboist in the city and his performances were both highly applauded and long remembered. More than two decades after Sammartini's death, Hawkins recalled that "before his time the tone of the instrument was rank, and, in the hands of the ablest proficients, harsh and grating to the ear... the performers on the hautboy at this time are greatly superior to any that can be remembered before the arrival of Martini in England." Hawkins's comment points to Sammartini's influence as a teacher and the continuation of his style through his students.

Describing Sammartini's dynamic style of performance and composition, Burney wrote that his works were "...full of fire, and new and elegant passages, in the true genious of the instrument; and the best judges who had often heard him at the opera and in private parties, would allow of no parallel in his tone and execution, with those of any other hautbois player upon Earth." As Page and Haynes note, both Hawkins and Burney's descriptions of

¹ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 437.

² Hawkins, A General History, II: 895.

³ Burney, "Martini, Giuseppe San," in Rees's Cyclopaedia, ed. Abraham Rees (London, 1819), LXVII: 675.

the state of oboe playing before Sammartini's move to London is unreliable due to their respective ages at the time of his arrival: Hawkins was ten while Burney was only three.⁴ However, they would have been well aware of the quality of oboe playing both later in Sammartini's life when they would have witnessed his performances and after his death as other performers began to gain prominence. What is clear is that this remarkable performer made a substantial impact on oboe performance in London after moving there which was remembered long after his death by oboists and non-oboists alike.

Sammartini was born in Milan to a family of oboists which included his father, Alessio S. Martino Francese, also referred to as Alexis Saint-Martin (d. 1724) and his brother, Giovanni Battista (1700-1775).⁵ He performed in opera pits in Milan, composed a number of solo works for oboe and recorder, and took part in public concerts alongside other composers before relocating to London in 1729.⁶ In addition to working as music master to Frederick, Prince of Wales and his wife, Princess Augusta from 1736/37 until his death, Sammartini performed frequently as an oboist.⁷ He performed not as a member of any ensemble, but as a featured soloist in both his own works and also those composed for him by others, including works by Handel and an aria by Nicolo Porpora (1686-1768) written to feature Sammartini and the castrato Farinelli (Carlo Broschi, 1705-82).⁸ Sammartini's virtuosity inspired Handel to compose the extensive and virtuosic obbligato oboe parts in *Arminio* (Jan. 1737), *Giustino* (Feb. 1737), and *Berenice* (May 1737). An analysis of Sammartini's writing for himself along with these obbligato parts by Handel will reveal

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⁴ Page, "The Hautboy," 362; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 437.

⁵ Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Players in England," 885-86.

⁶ Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Players," 886-87.

⁷ Lance, "The London Sammartini," 4.

⁸ The Porpora aria mentioned is "Lusingato dalla speme" from *Polifemo* (1735). See Burney, *A General History*, II: 797.

Handel's adoption of a style completely alien to his previous output for the instrument. These arias suggest a focus on showmanship which drew directly upon Sammartini's skills as a performer and forwent a nuanced depiction of the text through the oboe in favor of creating a virtuosic spectacle for the audience.

1723-24: Sammartini's First Visit to London

The dating of Sammartini's first performances in London is a point of contention among those who have written about his life. Even within contemporary accounts there are conflicting dates, with Burney citing Sammartini's first performance in London as one of the "... most memorable musical events of 1723..." while Hawkins noted the year of his arrival as 1729.9 No newspaper advertisements citing Sammartini by name seem to have been published during this time period, but a notice in the *Daily Courant* for April 3, 1723 advertises a concert,

for the benefit of Signor Piero. At the New Theatre, over against the opera house in the Haymarket, To-morrow being Thursday the 4th of April, will be performed a concert of vocal and instrumental musick. With several entertainments of singing and dancing by four persons who never performed in publick before. A solo on the hautboy by an Italian master lately arriv'd from Italy...¹⁰

While no name is given, Burney wrote that "the benefit concert at which Martini was first heard, was for a Signor Piero; in the advertisements for which, Martini is called 'an Italian master just arrived." David Lasocki suggests that the performer was actually Franceso Barsanti (1690-1775), who was active in the city as both an oboist and composer until

⁹ Burney, General History, II: 997; Hawkins, A General History, II: 894.

¹⁰ Daily Courant, April 3, 1723.

¹¹ Burney, "Martini, Giuseppe San," 675.

1735.¹² However, Hawkins indicated the year of Barsanti's arrival in London as 1714, making it improbable that he would have been described as a newly arrived performer.¹³ Sammartini's presence in London at this time would have been part of an exploratory trip to England similar to the one undertaken by Handel in 1710, intended to make contacts and establish himself as a performer before possibly relocating there in the future.

Had Sammartini been the oboist featured at Signor Piero's benefit concert, this would place him in London just over a month before the premiere of Handel's *Flavio* (1723), in which the aria "Amor, nel mio penar deggio sperar" utilizes an unusual key for the oboe part which differs from that of the rest of the ensemble. Haynes suggested that this aria serves as evidence that Sammartini not only visited London in 1723, but was also asked to join the opera orchestra to perform this obbligato part." Burney provided further evidence for this conclusion in his description of the reception of Sammartini's performance at the previously mentioned benefit concert: "but in this performance the applause he received was such, that he was immediately engaged as principal hautbois at the Royal Academy of Music, or Opera..."

Flavio includes two oboes which primarily appear in the overture and in two obbligato parts. The first obbligato, in "Rompo i lacci, e frango i dardi," is notated in the key of the aria, D minor, while the second, "Amor, nel mio penar" is notated in A minor, one half-step lower than the strings, which are in A-flat Minor (ex. 5.1). As Haynes noted, the pitch level in Northern Italy at this time was one half step higher than that in London, making

¹² Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Players," 846.

¹³ Hawkins, A General History, II: 896.

¹⁴ George Frideric Handel, *Flavio* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1875), 75.

¹⁵ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 346-47.

¹⁶ Burney, "Martini, Giuseppe San," 695.

it possible for an Italian oboist to play this obbligato in its lower notation while sounding a half-step higher, leaving the rest of the first oboe part to be played by a regular member of the orchestra at the normal pitch level.¹⁷ The second version of "Sù la sponda del pigro" in Tamerlano (1724) is similarly written in B-flat minor with an added oboe part in A Minor included below the score marked "Les Hautbois transposée in A." ¹⁸

With the same key as "Amor, nel mio," the existence of this aria suggests that Sammartini may have been in London as late as the premiere of Tamerlano on October 31, 1724. Lasocki argues that Sammartini's contribution of an aria and sinfonia to La Calunnia delusa, a pasticcio oratorio, confirms that he had returned to Italy by May of 1724.¹⁹ However, Sammartini's contribution to this work could well have been written before his departure for London and added in later or been lifted from an extant work of Sammartini's, as was common practice for pasticcio works. Further, the notation of the oboe part for "Amor, nel mio" and "Sù la sponda" in a lower key than the supporting strings and voice on two separate occasions more than a year apart strongly suggests that Sammartini was indeed in London during 1723 and stayed throughout most of 1724. These two obbligato parts were clearly written to be performed by an invited soloist, necessitating the presence of a visiting performer of Sammartini's reputation, skill, and make of instrument.

Sammartini as a Performer

Of Handel's oboists, Sammartini left behind the most extensive collection of solo writing. As a prolific performer in public and private concerts, he wrote a number of sonatas

¹⁷ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 347.

¹⁸ George Frideric Handel, *Tamerlano* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1876), 154.

¹⁹ Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Players," 886.

and concertos for himself to perform. Each work would have been tailored to his specific strengths and meant to show off what he saw as his most impressive abilities. Sonata No. 5 in G Major from Sammartini's first collection of sonatas for the oboe provides an overview of his writing and insight into his abilities as a performer.²⁰ As has previously been noted, Sammartini's works show a particular attention to the notation of articulations.²¹ Sammartini relied upon two primary types of articulation markings: a wavy line or slur over repeated notes and wedge markings over rapid descending scalar patterns (ex. 5.2). Janet K. Page cites a passage from Johann Joachim Quantz's *On Playing the Flute* to support her suggestion that Sammartini's wavy line might indicate a breath articulation.²² Haynes came to the same conclusion with more extensive references to Quantz, but gave the technique a name: the tremolo.²³ Writing in 1752, Quantz did not use this name or the symbol utilized by Sammartini, but simply instructed that repeated notes under a slur should be "...expressed by exhalation, with chest action."²⁴ By this description, the repeated pitches would be articulated with the air and not the tongue.

Both Stewart Carter and Geoffrey Burgess state that the use of the tremolo began as an attempt to imitate the tremulant stop of an organ.²⁵ Contemporary descriptions of the

²⁰ Giuseppe Sammartini, *Sonata Oboe con il Basso Del Sig* M.241.S189, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music Library, Rochester, New York, 43-51.

²¹ Page, "The Hautboy," 362; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 299-300, 441. Both Page and Haynes note the variety of articulation markings in Sammartini's works.

²² Page, "The Hautboy in London's Musical Life," 362.

²³ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 255, 300. The differing modern understanding of this term creates confusion when discussing its use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While in modern practice a tremolo moves between two pitches, a tremolo at this time indicated the repetition of a single pitch.

²⁴ Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, trans. Edward R. Reilly (New York: Schirmer Books, 1975), 75. Reilly notes that the French edition added "...without employing the tongue."

²⁵ Stewart Carter, "The String Tremolo in the 17th Century," *Early Music* 19, no. 1 (Feb 1991): 43; Bruce Haynes and Geoffrey Burgess, *The Pathetick Musician: Moving an Audience in the Age of Eloquence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 98-99. Stewart references markings from Biagio Marini's (1594-1663) *La Foscarina* (1617) which allude to this connection.

tremolo support Carter and Burgess's association of it with trembling, grief, death, and fear.²⁶ Sylvestro Gnassi (1492-1550) wrote that the tremolo should be used for "...melancholy and tormented music."²⁷ Burgess further suggested that the purpose of this effect was to emulate the tremble taken on by the human voice during heightened emotional states.²⁸ Such affects explain the frequent use of this technique in slow movements like Sammartini's andante.²⁹ This marking seems not to have been associated with the oboe outside of Sammartini's works until the first of Luigi Boccherini's (1743-1805) Six Quintets (1797), notably in an *allegretto* movement.³⁰ Carter cites a number of works which utilize the same marking, the earliest of which dates from 1666 and explains that it gradually became interchangeable with either slurs or the instruction *tremolo* printed in the music.³¹

As contemporary descriptions of the tremolo convey, the execution of this effect was similar to a metered version of modern vibrato and as such would have required excellent breath control to perform convincingly and without odd fluctuations of pitch.³² Sammartini's Sonata in G Major provides evidence that Sammartini indeed possessed such skill, with very

²⁶ Carter, "The String Tremolo," 56; Haynes and Burgess, *The Pathetick Musician*, 98.

²⁷ Sylvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (Venice, 1542), 6, translated in Carter, "The String Tremolo," 44. Carter describes this as the first mention of the instrumental application of this practice. Gnassi describes the use of the tremolo on string instruments, instructing the performer to shake both the bow and the left hand to create the effect.

²⁸ Haynes and Burgess, *The Pathetick Musician*, 99.

²⁹ Haynes cites numerous examples of tremolos in Bach's oboe parts, but other oboist composers like Sammartini also utilized the tremolo, as in the second movement of Sonata No. 3 (1754) in F Major by Joan Baptista (1720-73) and José Pla (c. 1728-62), though all of these examples utilize a slur over the repeated notes rather than a wavy line. See Haynes, *The Eloquent* Oboe, 255; Joan Baptista and José Pla, *Six Trio Sonatas* (London: J. Hardy, 1754).

³⁰ Luigi Boccherini, Six Quintets (Frankfurt: C.F. Peters, 1967).

³¹ Carter, "The String Tremolo," 51, 56. Sammartini's of the two notations back-to-back in example 2 illustrates that he was familiar with both. Haynes related this to the two types of related articulations discussed by Quantz, but without dots under the slur, both markings here indicate a normal tremolo. It is more likely that Sammartini wanted to differentiate the two C's. See Hyanes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 255. Elsewhere, as in the second movement of the Concerto in D Major, Sammartini uses the slurred marking exclusively. See Giuseppe Sammartini, *Concerto in D Major* Mus.2763-O-2,1, Sächische Landesbibliothek – Staats – und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, Germany.

³² Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 75; Charles De Lusse, *L'art de la flute traversiere* (Paris, 1760), 10. De Lusse describes producing successive notes through the gradation of the wind.

few written rests in the first and second movements. In the second movement in particular, there are no written rests throughout the 53-measure movement, requiring the performer to insert short breaths at their own discretion and make it through the entire movement without an opportunity to fully replenish the breath. In addition to slow movements like the *Andante* in example 5.2, Sammartini also employed the tremolo in fast movements like the *Allegro* third movement of the Sonata in G Major (ex. 5.3). A solid command of the breath is even more essential in a faster tempo to ensure that the rearticulations of the note are audible and sound intentional. Sammartini's inclusion of the tremolo in a movement like this suggests that breath control and execution of the tremolo were two skills on which Sammartini prided himself and sought to showcase in his works.

Rapid passages with wedge markings over them are common in both fast and slow movements by Sammartini. These markings appear over descending scalar patterns like those seen in example 5.2 and demonstrate that Sammartini possessed a skill for facile and rapid articulation. While the technical aspect of such writing is simplified by the scalar patterns, the *andante* marking necessitates that the thirty-second notes in example 5.2 be quite brisk. Haynes suggested that such markings might indicate a flexibility of tempo, but the eighth notes in the bass line make this unlikely.³³ Had this been Sammartini's intention, he would likely have written quarter notes in the bass line; as written, rubato would have been difficult to coordinate between the three performers. Outside of articulation, Sammartini frequently wrote broken trills which are punctuated with brief flourishes, as in measure 42 of example 5.2. As in this example, Sammartini gradually escalated the difficulty of these sections through repetition, as in the final version with its leap of a fifth.³⁴ With extremely frequent

³³ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 441.

³⁴ Similarly difficult trills are found in the sonatas of Sammartini's student, Thomas Vincent Jr. (c. 1720-83).

trills indicated throughout his works, Sammartini clearly excelled at executing trills within rapid passagework. Rapid figures like those between the trills are also common in Sammartini's compositions and speak to his technical command. Similarly, he included several long sequences in fast movements which are made up of continual leaps that vary in their size (ex. 5.4). Such writing poses great challenges in terms of both technical facility and embouchure, suggesting that Sammartini was skilled at negotiating large intervals very quickly. Sammartini's compositions for the oboe are extremely virtuosic works which reflect the technical ability of their composer. Written for his public performances, these sonatas speak to Sammartini's distinct skills and were written to emphasize the best of his abilities. Writing which requires such skills is prevalent in Handel's obbligatos for Sammartini.

January 1737: Arminio

In August of 1736, Handel began work on *Giustino*, finishing the drafts of all three acts by early September.³⁵ Rather than completing the work, he moved on to *Arminio*, working on this opera until the end of October before returning to *Giustino*.³⁶ Handel would go on to premier *Arminio* and compose *Berenice* before the premier of *Giustino*. In questioning the reasoning for this delay, Dean suggested that Sammartini's duties in the household of the Prince of Wales, where he had recently taken up employment, conflicted with Handel's original schedule, leading him to alter the order of the three operas he was preparing to compose.³⁷ As *Arminio* also includes a significant obbligato for Sammartini, it is perhaps more likely that Handel was accommodating the schedules of individual singers for

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³⁵ Dean, *Handel's Operas: 1726-1741*, 374.

³⁶ Dean, *Handel's Operas*, 374. Burney indicated that *Arminio* was finished on October 3, 1736. See Burney, *A General History*, 805.

³⁷ Dean, Handel's Operas, 374.

the operas than that of his solo oboist, although Sammartini's obligations in Wales must have made such performances a challenge. In any case, *Arminio* premiered on January 12, 1737 at Covent Garden, with Sammartini performing the extensive obbligato part in "Quella fiamma."

Given that eight years had passed since Samartini took up residence in London, it is notable that 1737 marked Sammartini's first collaboration with Handel since his likely appearances in 1723 and 1724. As noted, the two obbligatos found in *Flavio* and *Tamerlano* were Handel's final solo parts for the instruments until Sammartini's return to the opera in 1737. Haynes suggests that Handel was not interested in utilizing the oboe as a solo instrument without a performer of Sammartini's ability, noting that none of Handel's London oboists seemed "...to have been able to inspire Handel's muse." Dean noted the same lack of solo oboe writing during this period, writing that Handel's relegation of the oboes to doubling the violins serves "...to raise a suspicion that he had little confidence in the players or their instruments..." Were there truth to these assumptions, then Handel's decision to wait a further eight years after Sammartini's move to London is perplexing and brings in to question why he chose to write three substantial obbligatos for Sammartini in a single year.

Two years earlier Sammartini had been featured in Porpora's *Polifemo* (1735) in the previously mentioned aria "Lusingato dalla speme," a virtuosic showpiece written to highlight the skills of Sammartini and Farinelli.⁴⁰ This dazzling performance may well have motivated Handel to lure the renowned oboist back with equally prominent writing which could excite his audiences. With the competition between Handel and Porpora's Opera of the

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³⁸ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 347.

³⁹ Dean, *Handel's Operas*, 2726-1741, 76.

⁴⁰ Polifemo was premiered on February 1, 1735 at the King's Theater by the Opera of the Nobility.

Nobility, this was likely in part an attempt on Handel's part to match Porpora's impressive pairing of Sammartini and Farinelli by pairing the oboist with his own virtuoso castrato, Senesino (1686-1758) and soprano Anna Maria Strada (d. 1741). Each of Handel's arias includes a cadenza for Sammartini, hearkening back to Porpora's aria which includes frequent cadenzas for both oboist and singer. With three extensive parts which in many ways differ from Handel's earlier obbligato oboe writing, this seems the more likely motivation for Handel's sudden flurry of writing for the instrument. These arias do not emphasize the text in the same way as Handel's previous obbligatos, but rather highlight virtuosic spectacle. Especially in the first two arias, imitation between the two parts focuses on the direct interaction between oboe and voice. While the oboe matches the voice with equal expressiveness, it is also very much its own entity, rather than an extension of the character it accompanies, though the third aria moves more in the direction of his previous writing.⁴¹ Each aria also occurs later in the opera, appearing in Acts II or III and is in each case the first wind obbligato to appear, with only violin obbligatos occurring previously. Altogether, this suggests planning on Handel's part to maximize the impact of Sammartini's appearances, which is a departure from his earlier use of the instrument and reflects an altered approach to its use based upon the skills of his soloist.

"Quella fiamma" is the first extensive use of the oboe in *Arminio*, before which the oboes double the violins in the instrumental works but do not appear in the arias. 42

Interestingly, the oboes are given more freedom after "Quella fiamma," appearing with independent lines in arias such as "Mira il ciel, vendrai d'Alcide" in Act III. 43 This makes

⁴¹ It is possible that Handel was impressed by Sammartini's performances in the previous two operas and sought to provide him with an obbligato which drew upon more than his immense technical prowess.

⁴² George Frideric Handel, Arminio (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1882).

⁴³ Dean, Handel and The Opera Seria, 198.

"Quella fiamma" the first time the audience hears the oboe outside of unison lines with the violins, which Dean asserts makes the appearance of Sammartini a significant event, remarking that "it must have required some strength of mind to keep one of the most prominent instruments in the orchestra, and one of the finest players, so completely out of the picture until more than halfway through the opera. This restraint is abundantly justified in the event." It certainly seems as though Handel intended Sammartini's entrance to be a significant moment in the opera, as the ripieno includes two oboes doubling the violins, ensuring that even in tutti sections where the obbligato line is joined by the ripieno, the sound of the oboe always cuts through, which is a scoring largely uncommon to his writing for the instrument. The suspense around Sammartini's reveal, the full texture of the ripieno, and the dramatic writing for Sammartini's obbligato are warranted in this dramatic aria which serves as Sigismondo's expression of the inner conflict of his loyalty to both his lover Ramise and his father Segeste, who has imprisoned Ramise's brother Arminio.

In this aria, Handel gives the soloist a great deal of freedom, with sparse accompaniment generally made up simply of quarter-notes, particularly in instances of syncopation in the obbligato line. Outside of the ritornello sections, the ripieno serves an accompanimental role, providing support to the oboe and voice and occasionally echoing statements from the oboe. For solo sections in which the voice does not appear, the accompanying voices often leave the oboe largely unaccompanied, with occasional interjections underneath the solo line. Handel writes a great deal of interplay between the voice and oboe parts and the near-constant imitative writing between the two creates a sense

⁴⁴ Dean, Handel and The Opera Seria, 198.

⁴⁵ The aria in *Giustino* also include oboes doubling the violin lines, which is a departure from the majority of Handel's solo obbligatos for the instrument.

of competition in which the two virtuoso performers seem to be showing off their virtuosic abilities.⁴⁶

An extensive section which alternates between imitation and unison between the two parts provides a particularly strong example of this competitive element (ex. 5.5). As voice and oboe trade off sequencing sixteenth notes, the two give the impression of racing one another to and from the upper register. Handel provides an additional opportunity for Sammartini to exercise expressive freedom through the inclusion of a cadenza just before the end of the aria, marked to be played ad libitum and including a fermata on the final note, allowing Sammartini the opportunity to extend the cadenza as he pleased, just as vocalists often choose to do during measure 86 in modern performances (ex. 5.6).⁴⁷ An extreme example of the way in which two virtuoso performers could make use of these opportunities for improvisation is found in Samuel Mariño's 2020 recording of the aria in which he and oboist Thomas Ernert extend measure 86 with one minute and thirty seconds of improvisation.⁴⁸ Mariño opens with short motives which are imitated by Ernert, who then takes over and is imitated by Mariño. A shared cadenza of this type would have been thrilling to the audience and likely fulfilled Handel's intention of combining these two musicians. With little connection between text and music other than a representation of Sigismondo's turbulent emotions (as conveyed through the frantic rhythms), this aria provided Handel the opportunity to focus largely on making use of the capabilities of his performers.

⁴⁶ Sigismondo was played by the castrato Gizziello (Gioacchino Conti, 1714-61).

⁴⁷ Assuming Gizziello chose to do the same, these two cadenzas could have served as a final way for the two performers to outdo one another in their elaborations of Handel's writing.

⁴⁸ George Frideric Handel, "Quella fiamme, ch'il petto m'accende," Samuel Moreño, Thomas Ernert, and the Händelfestspielorchester Halle, conducted by Michael Hofstetter, recorded October 28-31, 2019, Orfeo C998201, 2020, CD.

The obbligato part itself perfectly encapsulates Sammartini's style of composition and performance. Scalar runs like those discussed previously in Sammartini's Sonata in G Major, both ascending and descending, are found throughout the aria (exx. 5.5 and 5.7). Given the aria's tempo marking of allegro, the sixteenth notes, none of which are marked with slurs, are quite fast. While added slurs could lessen the repetitive strain on the tongue from these runs, articulating them creates a brilliance which was likely Handel's intent in showcasing Sammartini's skill for fast articulation. Similar to Sammartini's part in *Berenice*, a recurring motive of sequencing repeated pitches indicates that Handel might also have been aware of Sammartini's use of the tremolo on repeated notes (ex. 5.7). Other examples are found throughout "Quella fiamma," but the passage shown in example 8 shows Handel highlighting this effect, as well as Sammartini's articulation, by leaving these short gestures without accompaniment. Measures 12 and 13 briefly move away from the aria's major tonality through the fully-diminished seventh chord in measure 12 and the oboe's outlining of an A-Minor arpeggio in measure 13, which would have increased the affective quality of Sammartini's use of the tremolo in this passage. This hints at the traditional use of the tremolo in slow movements while also acknowledging Sammartini's frequent use of the effect in fast movements. With several examples of writing tailored to Sammartini's distinct skills, the obbligato part in "Quella fiamma" is a concrete example of how Handel catered to his instrumental soloists in the same way he is known to have written for vocalists.

February 1737: Giustino

Just over a month after the premiere of *Arminio*, *Giustino* premiered at Covent Garden on February 16. Handel once again made no use of his star soloist until the final aria of Act II, "Quel torrente che s'innalza sulla sponda." Sammartini's obbligato is supported by

two additional oboists in the ripieno, reinforcing the sound of the oboe throughout the ritornello sections, which are more plentiful in this aria than the last. ⁴⁹ Accompaniment from the ripieno is nearly constant apart from solo statements from the voice or oboe, which are given light accompaniment or simply left unaccompanied. The aria is sung by Arianna, the newly wed Empress of Constantinople. Having been captured by Vitaliano and left to be devoured by a sea monster upon refusing his offer of marriage, Arianna refuses his pleas for a loving glance before he is sent away. "Quel torrente" is her expression of the disdain she feels for him; expressing that her scorn must run its course just as the mountain stream which eventually finds peace in the sea. This journey is depicted by the repeated ritornello, while Sammartini's solo statements of running sixteenth notes represent the more extreme dimensions of the stream as it swells around its banks and surges beyond them like Arianna's fury (ex. 5.8).

As in "Quella fiamma," the obbligato part is well-suited to Sammartini's flamboyant playing style, with each of the three solo statements consisting entirely of largely scalar sixteenth-notes. The first two statements are constantly growing through the repetition of ascending scalar patterns which with no indicated slurs would have showcased Sammartini's virtuosic articulation. With the solo sections confined to this type of writing, this is clearly the aspect of Sammartini's playing which Handel wished to showcase. Handel also provides Sammartini with an extensive cadenza for his final solo section which is written out but able to be ornamented freely in performance (ex. 5.9 70-79). Before this opera, Handel did not generally include cadenzas in his obbligato oboe parts. The first four bars of the cadenza include several leaps, with the first note of each beat shifting by large intervals; the distance

⁴⁹ George Frideric Handel, *Giustino* (Leipzig: Deutsche Händelgesellschaft, 1883).

between the first and second notes of each beat is often an octave, requiring excellent control of the embouchure and reed. Without accompaniment, Sammartini would have been free to vary the tempo as he desired and add ornamentations freely. It is likely that he might have added his own extension to the cadenza at the end before beginning the long E-natural which precedes the cadence into the final tutti. While less extensive than "Quella fiamma," this obbligato would have put Sammartini's immense virtuosity on display for the audience, exciting them through the long spans on uninterrupted sixteenth notes, rapid articulation, and large leaps.

May 1737: Berenice

Berenice had its premiere just over three months after *Giustino* on May 18, 1737.⁵⁰

This final collaboration between Handel and Sammartini features the most extensive and varied of the three obbligatos written for Sammartini this year. Burney described the aria as "...a very elaborate and fine composition" and "...the principal *aria d' abilità* of the heroine of the drama."⁵¹ In "Chi t'intende, o cieca, instabile," which occurs early in Act III, Handel again treats the soloist as a second vocalist, with an equal distribution of solo opportunities between the two.⁵² Nearly every melody the voice sings is introduced by, joined in imitative writing with or paired in thirds with the oboe. Unlike the previous two arias, which utilized additional oboes in the ripieno to reinforce the sound of the oboe, "Chi t'intende" largely utilizes only strings and basso continuo to support the oboe and vocalist, creating a lighter and more atmospheric texture.⁵³

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⁵⁰ Burney, A *General History*, 810.

⁵¹ Burney, A General History, 812.

⁵² John Ernst Galliard, *Berenice* R.M.20.a.10, British Library, London, England.

⁵³ The manuscript does include indications for oboes in the ripieno in select measures.

Berenice, Queen of Egypt, has discovered that her beloved Demetrio is in love with her sister, Selene and that they are plotting her downfall. Heartbroken, she has him imprisoned in the dungeon, resigning herself to the notion of wedding a man selected by the Roman emissary, Fabio. "Chi t'intende" sees the queen despair that no one will ever love her as to do so would deprive them of their own happiness. The sentiment of the text is expressed through three sections, each identified by a separate tempo marking. The first, marked Adagio, is a meditative reflection on the first line of the text and occurs twice in the oboe line and only once in the voice, with the oboe in imitation (ex. 5.10). It is in this section that Handel hearkens back to the writing of his earlier obbligatos, drawing now upon Sammartini's expressive abilities. The second, *Allegro*, has the oboe nearly constantly in imitative writing with the voice and is much closer to the virtuosic writing found in the previous two arias, focusing again on the first two lines of text (mm. 5-13). The final section before the dal segno, Andante larghetto, moves on to the final two lines of text, and places the oboe both in imitation with the voice and also with supportive melodic writing against the vocal line, with more dissonance than the previous sections (ex. 5.11, mm. 95-99).

In comparison with the previous two arias, "Chi t'intende" seems at first glance an odd fit for Sammartini. It is an extremely soloistic obbligato part, with ample opportunity for Sammartini to make his own expressive choices and ornament freely throughout. Handel again included a cadenza (ex. 5.12). While lacking a fermata, there is still room, particularly just before the cadence, in which Sammartini could have extended the cadenza. The opening *Adagio*, which returns in the oboe several times, is lightly scored, extremely lyrical, and serves to introduce a theme which will later appear in the voice. The relationship between oboe and voice in the *Adagio* and the *Allegro* was likely intended partly to showcase

Sammartini's tone, which Hawkins described as "... nearest to that of the human voice as any we know of..."⁵⁴ The relationship between oboe and voice is a mixture of the type of connection found in Handel's writing for Galliard and the trading off of lines found in "Quella fiamma," again evoking a sense of competition between the two (ex. 5.13). This example is representative of much of the aria, throughout which the two parts trade off unaccompanied lines which often dovetail with one another, present contrasting lines (often with more complex writing in the oboe line), and engage in imitation.

In addition to this lyrical writing, Handel includes in the *Allegro* short gestures which are suggestive of the martial music the oboe first performed in England (ex. 5.10, ex. 5.13). These are also reflective of the short figures found throughout Sammartini's sonatas and play into his flamboyant style of performance in ways similar to the writing in "Quella fiamma." The Allegro sections rely strongly on Sammartini's skill for articulation. With long-spanning lines which shift between scalar and chromatic writing with frequent interjected leaps, these sections (as seen in example 5.10) provide a skilled performer with the opportunity to heighten their effect through subtle variances of articulation. Sammartini would have been able to emphasize Handel's chromatic writing, bring out the brilliant qualities of the ascending runs, and neatly manage the sudden leaps with his superior command of articulation. Handel again leaves several scalar runs largely unaccompanied (with only continuo in example 5.10), bringing out of the effect of Sammartini's articulation. The Andante larghetto which precedes the dal segno would have allowed for a slower, more nuanced presentation of Sammartini's articulation, along with some opportunities for his use of the *tremolo* on repeated pitches (ex. 5.11).

⁵⁴ Hawkins, A General History, II: 895.

The previous two arias showcased the flamboyant style and virtuosic technique for which Sammartini was known. In "Chi t'intende," the oboe shifts frequently between lyrical writing; playful, lilting lines; and moments of spectacular virtuosity. This suggests an ability to convey a wide range of emotions and styles. This is generally considered to be in contrast with Kytch. Haynes stated that Sammartini's playing was likely more extroverted, reflecting a move in musical taste "... from intimate and delicate to energetic and exhibitionist..." It is certainly true that the level of technical ability on the oboe (and other instruments as well) had increased due to advances in the design of the instrument and virtuoso performers like Sammartini, who is known to have taught other oboists during his time in England. As shown in chapter 4 however, Kytch's abilities likely extended beyond the lyrical. Rather than providing any indication of how Handel felt about the abilities of his other oboists, these parts simply reflect how he chose to utilize the abilities of the performer available to him and the time in which they were written.

The three operatic obbligato parts which Sammartini premiered in 1737 serve as an account of his dynamic style of performance and of Handel's admiration of him. In Haynes's words, "what is striking about these arias is the role they give the hautboy as a true soloist; they offer as much latitude to ornament and 'grandstand' as is given to the vocal soloist..." In studying Handel's obbligato writing for the oboe, these obbligatos provide a clear example of how Handel shaped his writing to fit a particular performer, largely due to the sizable body of solo works which Sammartini left behind and the insight they provide to his abilities. With the partial exception of "Chi t'intende," these arias are in stark contrast with Handel's earlier

⁵⁵ Haynes, The Eloquent Oboe, 438.

⁵⁶ Haynes, *The Eloquent* Oboe, 438.

⁵⁷ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 439.

writing for the instrument. This is likely due in part to the time and stage of Handel's career in which they were written, as London theater-goers began to lose their taste for Italian opera and Handel sought ways to draw them back. Because of this, they are an excellent example of Handel writing toward the skills of a particular performer, in this case making use of Sammartini's extreme technical abilities to create a sense of virtuosic spectacle for his audiences. Unlike Galliard's obbligato parts in *Teseo*, which typify Handel's more conventional use of the oboe through their nuanced relationship between voice and oboe and the prominent role of the oboe in depicting the text, these arias give precedence to the virtuosic abilities of both soloists and Handel's exploration of their talents. In shaping these parts around Sammartini's abilities, he created three arias which are in complete contrast to the rest of his arias with obbligato oboe and serve as evidence of the tremendous technical skill of his renowned soloist.

Conclusion: The Oboe in London After Handel and Sammartini

"Chi t'intende" was the last of Handel's operatic obbligatos for the oboe before he abandoned opera entirely only four years later. His oratorios in the years after 1737 similarly avoid featuring the oboe as a solo instrument. The oratorios of the early 1740s largely confine the instrument to only choruses and instrumental works, without even the unison lines with the violins which were so common in his operas. No records exist from this period to provide insight into the makeup of the orchestra at this time, but it can be assumed from these oratorios that a suitable replacement for Kytch and Sammartini had not been located, leading Handel to largely ignore the instrument. This changed with *Belshazzar* (1745), which includes two arias featuring two oboes and concludes with a sizable solo obbligato in "I will

Magnify Thee." Handel's ensuing oratorios over the final years of his career saw more frequent inclusion of the oboes in doubling violin lines and solo parts are found in An Occasional Oratorio (1746), Solomon (1749), and The Triumph of Time and Truth (1759).⁵⁸ These obbligatos share many similarities with the examples discussed previously and suggest the presence of a skilled performer in the orchestra who motivated Handel to revisit the oboe as a solo instrument. With continued performances of *Messiah* (1741) throughout the eighteenth century (and beyond) and events like the Handel Commemoration of 1784, Handel's works maintained a continued presence in London's musical life and in the careers of the city's oboists. Through his extensive output of solo obbligatos for the oboe, Handel pioneered the integration of this practice into English theatrical music. This influence can be seen in the operas of Mattia Vento (1735-76), James Hook (1746-1827), Thomas Linley the Younger (1756-78), Joseph Mazzinghi (1765-1844), and William Shield (1748-1829).⁵⁹ Shield's departure from Covent Garden in 1797 largely marked the end of the oboe obbligato in England, just as the type of performer-composer collaborations which had given rise to Handel's obbligato output began to fade leading into the nineteenth century.⁶⁰

With the financial security provided by his household appointment for the Prince of Wales, Sammartini turned toward composition in his final years to the detriment of his

⁵⁸ The roster for the Foundling Hospital's 1754 and 1758 *Messiah* performances list Philip Peter Eiffert (d. 1793) as first oboe. Donald Burrows has suggested that these rosters (which share many names in common) represent the orchestra for Handel's late oratorios, though it is not clear when Eiffert would have taken up this post. See Otto Erich Deustch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), 751, 800; Burrows, "Handel's London Theatre Orchestra," 350; Donald Burrows, "Handel's Oratorio Performances," in Burrows, *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, 271.

⁵⁹ Significant obbligato parts can be found in Vento's *Sofonisba* (1766), Hook's *The Fair Peruvian* (1786), Linley's *A Shakespeare Ode* (1776) and *Music in the Tempest* (1777), Mazzinghi's *Magician No Conjuror* (1792) and *The Exile* (1808), and in numerous Shield operas including *Robin Hood or Sherwood Forest* (1784) and *The Mysteries of the Castle* (1795).

⁶⁰ In the nineteenth century, examples of operatic obbligatos for the oboe are rare, with only few examples from the operas of Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901), and Richard Wagner (1813-83).

performing career. In his absence, his student Thomas Vincent, Jr. (c. 1723-98) became one of the best-known oboists in the city over the next two decades. 61 For much of the period covered, foreign-born oboists held the monopoly on the city's top positions at court and in the theaters. An English native, Vincent was the one of the first English oboists to attain a level of professional success which matched that of foreigners like Sammartini. Hawkins spoke favorably of Vincent's abilities as a performer, writing that "it may be well supposed that he [Sammartini] was not backward in communicating the improvements he had made on this his favourite instrument, since a pupil of his, Mr. Thomas Vincent, is known to have possessed most of his excellencies in a very eminent degree..."62 Vincent's collection of sonatas published in 1748 demonstrate that he indeed possessed a technical facility comparable to that of his teacher.⁶³ A member of the King's Band of Music and The Queen's Band of Chamber Music, a prolific performer in public concerts, and a frequent concert manager, Vincent's career reflects both the rise of the English oboist and the continued legacy of the foreign-born performers who established the instrument's place in English musical life and trained English musicians to play it.

While English oboists like Vincent, his uncle Richard (1697-1783), and Redmond Simpson (d. 1786-87) became commonplace by the middle of the century, they were not without exception. Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800), a native of Freiburg in the

⁶¹ For more thorough studies of Vincent's life and career, see Michael Talbot, "Thomas Vincent (1723-1798): Oboist, Composer, and Entrepreneur," in *British Music, Musicians, and Institutions, c. 1630-1800: Essays in Honour of Harry Diack Johnstone*, eds. Peter Lynan and Julian Rushton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021), 54-71; Blake Johnson, "Performer, Composer, and Impresario: Thomas Vincent, Jr (c. 1723-1798) and the Oboe in London, 1748-1768," *Early Music* (2023), caadoo1, https://doi.org/10.1093/em/caadoo1.

⁶³ Thomas Vincent Jr, Six Solos for a Hautboy, German Flute, Violin, or Harpsichord with a Thorough Bass (London: John Cox, 1748).

German-speaking lands, was London's premier oboist from his 1768 arrival until his death.⁶⁴ Like Vincent, Fischer performed in ensembles at court, gave frequent intermission performances of concertos, and published his own solo works for the oboe. As a Germanborn musician, Fischer benefited from a wide network of other Germans, both musical and not, who had taken up residence in London around the Georgian court. As such, he was a major presence in the Bach-Abel concert series organized by Johann Christian Bach (1735-82) and Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-87).⁶⁵ He was held in high esteem by Burney, who utilized Fischer's abilities as a standard by which he evaluated the oboists he heard on his travels throughout Europe.⁶⁶

As with Sammartini, Fischer is known to have taken on students.⁶⁷ English oboist John Parke (1745-1829), is known to have altered his style of playing in order to emulate that of Fischer, which Burney noted he achieved admirably.⁶⁸ Parke and his younger brother William Thomas (1761-1847) served long tenures as the first oboes at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, respectively, and William Thomas in particular was the recipient of numerous obbligato parts.⁶⁹ As shown, the oboe became an important part of music in

⁶⁴ For studies of Fischer's life and career, see Blake Johnson, "Virtuosity and Taciturnity: Reconciling Conflicting Accounts of Johann Christian Fischer," *The Double Reed* 44, no. 1 (2021): 95-104; Johnson, "Performer, Composer, and Impresario."

⁶⁵ For discussion of this concert series, see Simon McVeigh, Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 120-28; Peter Holman, Life After Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 177-79.

⁶⁶ Charles Burney, Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy 1770 (London: The Folio Society, 1980), 12; Charles Burney, The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces, or, The Journal of a Tour Taken Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music (London, 1773), I: 169; Burney, The Present State of Music in Germany, II: 44-46. For further discussion of this, see Johnson, "Virtuosity and Taciturnity," 96-97.

⁶⁷ Queen Charlotte's Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe, Charlotte Louise Henrietta Papendiek (1765-1840), describes a performance by Fischer's student Charles Suck (fl. 1784-89) as "...masterly in the extreme." See Charlotte Louise Henrietta Papendiek, Court and Private life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: Being the Journals of Mrs. Papendiek, Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1887). I: 187.

⁶⁸ Charles Burney, "Fischer, John Christian," in Rees's Cyclopaedia, XIV: 493.

⁶⁹ The previously noted obbligatos by Hook, Mazzinghi, and Shield were all written for the younger Parke.

London during the eighteenth century. The dynamic performing styles of the oboists who made England their home in order to take part in the country's rich concert life inspired generations of composers to write for the instrument and performers to take it up themselves. The collaborations between Handel and his oboists and later collaborations like that between Shield and W.T. Parke provide insight into a period in which composers of theatrical works were writing for specific instrumental performers, shaping parts around their distinct abilities rather than generating parts in isolation to then be interpreted by the performer on hand.

Just as studies of Handel and his singers have moved the scholarly discourse around Handel's vocal music beyond the composer to consider the influence of an individual singer on a given aria, this thesis seeks to open the door to similarly expand the study of Handel's instrumental music.⁷⁰ Handel's operas and oratorios include numerous obbligatos for various instruments, providing several examples of his collaborations with instrumentalists. Longterm collaborations like that with Pietro Castrucci provide a contrast to Handel's relationships with his oboists, which apart from Kytch were generally short-lived and can provide insight into how his writing for a specific performer evolved over time. As noted above, the oboe remained in vogue as an obbligato instrument in London into the beginning of the nineteenth century. The obbligato parts written by composers like Vento, Hook, Linley, Mazzinghi, and Shield reflect the influence of Handel's use of the instrument on later operatic composers in the city. They also show the effect of shifting musical styles and developing instrumental designs on how the instrument was used after Handel's death, exploring the further extremities of the oboe's range and technical capacity while still remaining true to the lyrical conception of the instrument displayed in Handel's writing for it.

⁷⁰ Larue, *Handel and His Singers*. C. Steven Larue's research around the singers of the Royal Academy operas is largely responsible for this avenue of scholarship around Handel's operas.

The through line which connects these varied works is the influence of the performers for whom they were written and the way in which their command of the instrument shaped how these composers understood the oboe and its capabilities. As Haynes wrote, it was these performers "...who after all developed the techniques, ordered the instruments, inspired the music that has come down to us, and were the first to play these dusty 'old' instruments and 'early' music..." Without their role in the shaping of the repertoire discussed herein and the vast number of works beyond the scope of this thesis, this music would likely have been very different indeed. While eighteenth-century London was home to many of the most accomplished oboists of the time, the instrument was in use throughout Europe and received obbligato parts in operas from a variety of composers. This music provides several opportunities for similar studies of performer-composer collaborations and the varying ways in which the instrument was conceived in its various adopted countries throughout the eighteenth century.

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⁷¹ Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, x.

APPENDIX A



Example 2.1. Jacques Paisible, The Queen's Farewell, (mm. 1-16).







Example 2.2. Jacques Paisible, Musick Perform'd Before Her Majesty and the New King of Spain, "Trumpett Aire" (Mvt 6, mm. 1-22).









Example 2.3. Gottfried Finger, Ouverture by Mr. Finguer, "Ouverture" (Mvt 1, mm. 1-29).







Example 2.4. George Frideric Handel, *Ode for the Birthday of Queen Anne*, "Kind Health Descend on Downy WIngs" (Mvt 6, mm. 8-23).





Example 2.5. George Frideric Handel, Water Music Suite in F Major, "Adagio, e staccato" (Mvt 3, mm. 1-9).



Example 2.6. George Frideric Handel, Water Music Suite in F Major, "Andante" (Mvt 9, mm. 1-12).





Example 2.7. Gottfried Finger, Sonata in F Major (mm. 1-12).







Example 2.8. Gottfried Keller, Sonata in G Major (mm. 32-52).



Example 2.9. Jean Baptiste Loeillet, Trio Sonata in F Major (mm. 1-13).

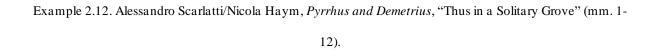


Example 2.10. William Babell, Sonata No. 3 in F Minor, "Adagio" (Mvt 1, mm. 7-9).



Example 2.11. Henry Purcell, *The Indian Queen*, "Seek Not to Know That Which Must Not be Revealed" (Act III, mm. 6-20).





APPENDIX B





Example 3.1. John Galliard. Calypso and Telemachus, "How shall I speak my secret pain" (Act II, mm. 1-15).



Example 3.2. John Galliard. Calypso and Telemachus, "How shall I speak my secret pain" (Act II, mm. 22-29).



Example 3.3. John Galliard. Pan and Syrinx, "Trio" (mm. 1-12).



Example 3.4. John Galliard. Pan and Syrinx, "Let nature henceforward neglect" (mm. 1-4).







Example 3.5. George Frideric Handel. Teseo, "Deh serbate" (Act I, Scene 3, mm. 5-16).



Example 3.6. George Frideric Handel. Teseo, "M'adora l'idol mio" (Act I, Scene 5, mm. 5-10).



Example 3.7. John Galliard. *Calypso and Telemachus*, "See these golden beams how bright" (Act III, mm. 55-62).







Example 3.8. George Frideric Handel. Teseo, "M'adora l'idol mio" (Act I, Scene 5, mm. 15-29).





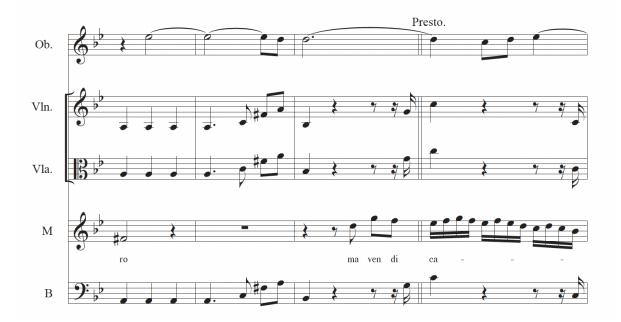
Example 3.9. George Frideric Handel. Teseo, "Chi ritorna" (Act IV, Scene 6, mm. 1-13).





Example 3.10. George Frideric Handel. Teseo, "Dolce riposo" (Act II, Scene 1, mm. 1-17).









Example 3.11. George Frideric Handel. Teseo, "Morirò mà vendicata" (Act V, Scene 1, mm. 20-44).



Example 4.1. George Frideric Handel. O Sing Unto the Lord a New Song, "O Sing Unto the Lord" (mm. 6-21).



Example 4.2. George Frideric Handel. Let God Arise, "Like as the Smoke Vanisheth" (mm. 1-5).



Example 4.3. George Frideric Handel. Let God Arise, "Like as the Smoke Vanisheth" (mm. 41-7).





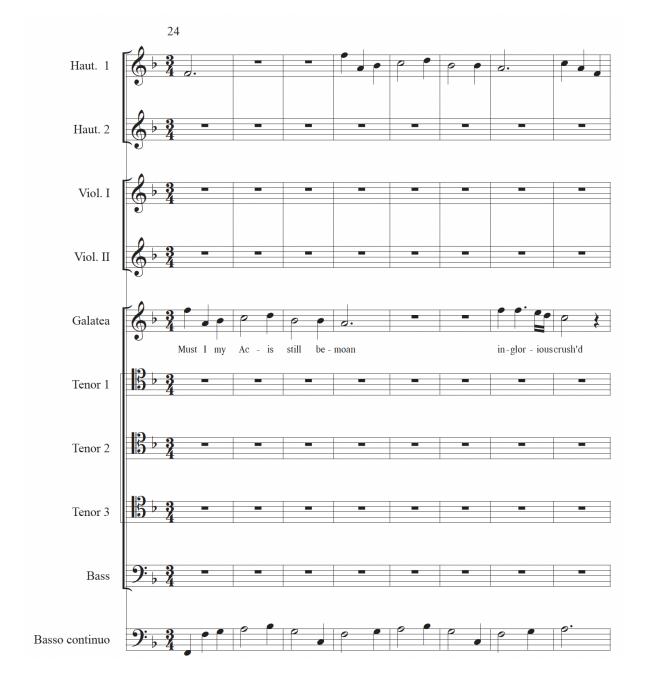
Example 4.4. George Frideric Handel. My Song Shall be Alway, "God is Very Greatly to be Feared" (mm. 1-19).



Example 4.5. George Frideric Handel. My Song Shall be Alway, "God is Very Greatly to be Feared" (mm. 26-30).



Example 4.6. George Frideric Handel. Acis and Galatea, "Must I My Acis Still Bemoan" (Act II, mm. 1-10).







Example 4.7. George Frideric Handel. Acis and Galatea, "Must I My Acis Still Bemoan" (Act II, mm. 24-42).



Example 4.8. George Frideric Handel. Arr. Peter Prelleur. Giulio Cesare, "Tu sei il cor" (Act I, mm. 1-22).



Example 4.9. George Frideric Handel. Admeto, "Quanto godra" (Act II, mm. 15-17).



Example 4.10. George Frideric Handel. Admeto, "Quanto godra" (Act II, mm. 28-34).





Example 4.11. George Frideric Handel. Deborah, "In Jehovah's Awful Sight" (Act II, mm. 1-9).

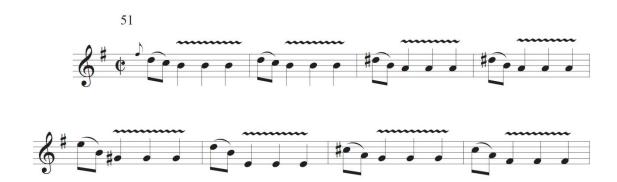
APPENDIX D



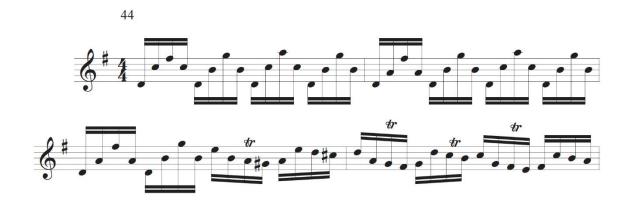
Example 5.1. Flavio, "Amor, nel mio" (Act III, Scene 4, mm. 1-3).



Example 5.2. Giuseppe Sammartini, Sonata in G Major, second movement (mm. 38-53), oboe part.



Example 5.3. Giuseppe Sammartini, Sonata in G Major, third movement (mm. 51-8), oboe part.



Example 5.4. Giuseppe Sammartini, Sonata in G Major, third movement (mm. 44-7), oboe part.



Example 5.5. George Frideric Handel, Arminio: "Quella fiamma" (Act II, mm. 71-83), oboe, voice, and bass parts.



. Example 5.6. George Frideric Handel, Arminio: "Quella fiamma" (Act II, mm. 93-6), oboe part.



Example 5.7. George Frideric Handel, Arminio: "Quella fiamma" (Act II, mm. 8-13).







Example 5.8. George Frideric Handel, Giustino, "Quella fiamma" (Act II, mm. 1-12).



Example 5.9. George Frideric Handel, Giustino, "Quella fiamma" (Act II, mm. 70-79).





Example 5.10. George Frideric Handel, Berenice, "Che t'intende" (Act III, mm. 1-15).



Example 5.11. George Frideric Handel, Berenice, "Che t'intende" (Act III, mm. 95-99).



Example 5.12. George Frideric Handel, Berenice, "Che t'intende" (Act III, mm. 84-90).





Example 5.13. George Frideric Handel, Berenice, "Che t'intende" (Act III, mm. 24-41).

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