Judas Maccabaeus, Handel’s victory oratorio of 1747, and its development in London performances until 1744

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12. Chart 9. The Composer's First and Last Performances of \textit{Judas Maccabaeus}


1. The Earliest Published Word-book of Judas Maccabaeus

Movement numbers have been superimposed

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS.

A SACRED DRAMA.

PART I.

Chorus of Israelites, Men and Women, lamenting the Death of Mattathias, Father of Judas Maccabaeus.

OURN, ye afflicted Children, the Remains
Of captive Judah, mourn in solemn Strains;
Your sanguine Hopes of Liberty give o'er;
Your Father, Friend, and Hero is no more.

RECITATIVE.

Israelitish Man.

Well, Brethren, may your Sorrows flow
In all th' expressive Signs of Woe;
Your sober Garments tear,
And squalid Sackcloth wear;
Your drooping Heads with Ashes strew,
And with the flowing Tear your Checks bedew.
2 Judas Macchabæus.

Recitative.

Israelitish Woman.

Daughters, let your distressful Cries,
And loud Lament ascend the Skies;
Your tender Bosoms beat, and tear
With Hands remorseless your dishevell'd Hair.
For pale and breathless Mattathias lies:
Sad Emblem of his Country's Miseries!

Duet.

From this dread Scene, these adverse Pow'rs,
Ah! whither shall we fly?

Chorus.

For Sion Lamentation make,
With Words that weep, and Tears that speak.

Recitative.

Simon.

Not vain is all this Storm of Grief,
To vent our Sorrows gives Relief.
Wretched indeed! But let not Judah's Race
Their Ruin with desponding Arms embrace.

Distraught Doubt and Desperation,
Ill become the chosen Nation,
Chosen by the great I AM,
The Lord of Hosts, who, still the same,
We trust, will give attentive Ear
To the Sincerity of Pray'r.

Air.
Pious Orgies, pious Airs,
Decent Sorrow, decent Pray'rs,
Will to the Lord ascend, and move
His Pity, and regain his Love.

CHORUS.

O Father, whose almighty Pow'r
The Heav'ns, and Earth, and Seas adore!
The Hearts of Judah, thy Delight,
In one defensive Band unite.
Grant us a Leader bold, and brave,
If not to conquer, born to save.

RECITATIVE.

Simon.

I feel, I feel the Deity within,
Who, the bright Cherubim between,
His radiant Glory erst display'd:
To Israel's distressful Pray'r,
He hath vouchsaf'd a gracious Ear,
And points out Macchabeus to their Aid.
Judas shall set the Captive free,
And lead us on to Victory.

AIR.

Arm, arm, ye Brave; a noble Cause,
The Cause of Heav'n your Zeal demands;
In defence of your Nation, Religion, and Laws,
The Almighty Jehovah will strengthen your Hands.
Judas Macchabæus.

Chorus.

We come, we come, in bright Array,
Juda, thy Scepter to obey.

Recitative.

Judas.

'Tis well, my Friends; with Transport I behold
The Spirit of our Fathers, fam'd of old,
For their Exploits in War. — Oh may their Fire
With active Courage you their Sons inspire:
As when the mighty Joshua fought,
And those amazing Wonders wrought;
Stood still, obedient to his Voice, the Sun,
'Till Kings he had destroy'd, and Kingdoms won.

Air.

Call forth thy Pow'rs, my Soul, and dare
The Conflitt of unequal War:
Great is the Glory of the conquering Sword,
That triumphs in sweet Liberty restored.

Recitative.

Israelitish Woman.

To Heav'n's almighty King we kneel,
For Blessings on this exemplary Zeal.
Bless him, Jehovah, bless him, and once more
To thine own Israel Liberty restore.

Air.
JUDAS MACCHABÆUS.

16/16/10

AIR.

Come, ever-smiling Liberty,
And with thee bring thy jocund Train;
For thee we pant, and sigh for thee,
With whom eternal Pleasures reign.*

17/17/

RECITATIVE.

Israelites Man.

These noble Views, O Judas, shall inspire
Our eager Souls with thy heroic Fire.

18/18/11

AIR.

'Tis Liberty, dear Liberty alone,
That gives fresh Beauty to the Sun;
That makes all Nature look more gay,
And lovely Life with Pleasure fled away.

20/20/13

CHORUS.

Lead on, lead on, Judah disdains
The galling Load of hostile Chains.

21/21/14

RECITATIVE.

Judas.

So will'd my zealous Father, now at rest,
In the eternal Mansions of the Blest;
"Can ye behold, said he, the Miseries
"In which the long-influlted Judah lies?"

The following Air was design'd, and wrote, for this Place, but it got, I
know not how, into the Occasional Oratorio, and was there incomparably Set,
and as finely executed,

O Liberty, thou choicest Treasure,
S.it of Virtue, Source of Pleasure;
Life without thee knows no Blessing,
No Endearment worth caring for.

"Can
JUDAS MACCHABÆUS.

"Can ye behold their dire Distress,
"And not, at least, attempt Redress?----
Then faintly, with expiring Breath----
"Resolve, my Sons, on Liberty, or Death.

RECITATIVE accompany'd.

We come; Oh see, thy Sons prepare
The rough Habiliments of War;
With Hearts intrepid, and revengeful Hands,
To execute, O Sire, thy dread Commands.

SEMI-CORUS.

Disdainful of Danger, we'll rush on the Foe,
That thy Pow'r, O Jehovah, all Nations may know.

Judas.

Ambition! if e'er Honour was thine Aim,
Challenge it here: ----
The glorious Cause gives Sanction to thy Claim.

AIR.

No unhallow'd Desire
Our Breasts shall inspire;
Nor Lust of unbounded Pow'r;
But Peace to obtain;
Free Peace let us gain,
And Conquest shall ask no more.

CHORUS.

Hear us, O Lord, on Thee thy Servants call,
Resolved on Conquest, or a glorious Fall.
JUDAS MACCHABÆUS.

PART II.

33/27/18

CHORUS.

A L’N is the Foe.----So fall thy Foes, O Lord,
Where warlike Judas wields his righteous Sword.

35/26/-

RECITATIVE.

Israelitish Man.

Victorious Hero! Fame shall tell
With her last Breath, how Apollonius fell,
And all Samaria fled; by thee pursued,
Through Hills of Carnage, and a Sea of Blood,
While thy resistless Power dealt around,
With their own Leader’s Sword, the deathful Wound.
Thus too the haughty Seron, Syria’s Boa;
Before thee fell, with his unnumber’d Host.

36/29/19

AIR.

So rapid thy Course is,
Not numberless Forces
Withstand thy all-conqu’ring Sword;
Tho’ Nations surround thee,
No Pow’r shall confound thee,
’Till Freedom again be restor’d.

RECİ-
JUDAS MACCHABÆUS.

42/33/—

RECITATIVE.

Israelitish Woman.

O let eternal Honours crown his Name;
Judas! first Worthy in the Rolls of Fame.
Say "He put on the Breast-plate as a Giant,
"And girt his warlike Harnes about him.
"In his Acts he was like a Lion,
"And like a Lion's Whelp roaring for his Prey °.

43/34/21

AIR.

From mighty Kings he took the Spoil,
And with his Acts made Judah smile;
Judah rejoiceth in his Name,
And triumphs in her Hero's Fame.

44/35/22

CHORUS.

Hail, hail Judea, happy Land!
Salvation prospers in his Hand.

45/37/—

RECITATIVE.

Judas:
Thanks to my Brethren.----But look up to Heav'n;
To Heav'n let Glory, and all Praise be giv'n;
To Heav'n give your Applause,
Nor add the second Cause,
As once your Fathers did in Midian,
Saying, The Sword of God, and Gideon.
It is the Lord, who for his Israel fought,
And this our wonderful Salvation wrought.

1 Maccab. iii. 3, &c.

AIR.
JUDAS MACCABAEUS.

46/38/23

AIR.

How vain is Man, who boasts in Fight,
The Valour of Gigantic Might;
And dreams not that a Hand unseen
Guides and directs this weak Machine!

51/39/-

RECITATIVE.

Israel's Messenger.

O Judas, O my Brethren!
New Scenes of bloody War
In all their Horrors rise.
Prepare, prepare,
Or soon we fall a Sacrifice
To great Antiochus; from the Egyptian Coast,
(Where Ptolomy hath Memphis and Pelusium lost,)
He sends the valiant Gorgias, and commands
His proud victorious Bands
To root out Israel's Strength, and to erase
Ev'ry Memorial of the Sacred Place.

52/40/24

AIR and CHORUS.

Ah! wretched, wretched Israel! fall'n how low,
From joyous Transport to desponding Woe.

53/42/-

RECITATIVE.

Simón.

Be comforted.---Nor think these Plagues are sent
For your Destruction, but for Chastisement.
Heav'n oft' in Mercy punisheth; that Sin
May feel its own Demerits, from within,

And
And urge not utter Ruin.---Turn to God,
And draw a Blessing from his Iron Rod.

The Lord worketh Wonders
His Glory to raise,
And still as he thunders
Is fearful in Praise.

Judas.

My Arms! --- Against this Gorgias will I go---
The Idumean Governor shall know;
How vain, how ineffective his Design,
While Rage his Leader, and Jehovah mine.

Sound an Alarm.---Your silver Trumpets sound,
And call the Brave, and only Brave, around.---
Who listeth, follow; --- To the Field again. ---
Justice with Courage is a thousand Men.

We hear, we hear the pleasing dreadful Call;
And follow thee to Conquest; --- If, to fall; ---
For Laws, Religion, Liberty, we fall.

Enough. --- To Heav'n we leave the Rest. ---
Such generous Ardour firing ev'ry Breast,
JUDAS MACCHABAEUS.

We may divide our Cares. --- The Field be thine,  
O Judas, and the Sanctuary mine.  
Lo Sion, holy Sion, Seat of God,  
In ruinous Heaps is by the Heathen trod;  
Such Profanation calls for swift Redress,  
If e'er in Battel Israel hopes Success.

58/49/27a A I R.

With pious Hearts, and brave as pious,  
O Sion, we thy Call attend:  
Nor dread the Nations that defy us,  
God our Defender, God our Friend.

59/49/8 RECITATIVE.

ISRAELITISH MAN.

Ye Worshippers of God!  
Down, down with the polluted Altars, down;  
Hurl Jupiter Olympus from his Throne,  
Nor rev'rence Bacchus with his Ivy Crown,  
And ivy-wreathed Rod.  
Our Fathers never knew  
Him, or his beastly Crew,  
Or knowing, scorn'd such idol Vanities.

RECITATIVE.

ISRAELITISH WOMAN.

No more in Sion, let the Virgin Throng,  
Wild with Delusion pay their nightly Song  
To Ashtoreth, yclep'd the Queen of Heav'n:  
Hence, to Phoenicia be the Goddess driv'n;  

Or
JUDAS MACCHABÆUS.

Or be she; with her Priests, and Pageants, hurl'd
To the remotest Corner of the World;
Ne'er to delude us more with pious Lies.

41/51/28 D U E T.

O never, never bow we down,
To the rude Stock, or sculptur'd Stone:
But ever worship Israel's God,
Ne'er obedient to his Nod. Da Capo.

-62/- C H O R U S.

We never, never will bow down
To the rude Stock or sculptur'd Stone.----
We worship God, and God alone.
PART III.

Israelitish Priest. [Having recovered the Sanctuary, &c.]

AIR.

ATH E R of Heav'n, from thy eternal Throne,

Look with an Eye of Blessing down;

While we prepare with holy Rites,

To solemnize the Feast of Lights.

And thus our grateful Hearts employ,

And in thy Praise,

This Altar raise,

With Carols of triumphant Joy.

RECITATIVE.

Israelitish Man.

See, see, yon Flames that from the Altar broke,

In spry Streams pursue the trailing Smoke;

The fragrant Incense mounts the yielding Air;

Sure Praise, that the Lord hath heard our Pray'r.

RECITATIVE.

Israelitish Woman.

O grant it; Heav'n, that our long Woes may cease,

And Judah's Daughters taste the Calm of Peace;

Sons, Brothers, Husbands to bewail no more,

Tortur'd at Home, or havock'd in the War.

AIR.
JUDAS MACCHABÆUS.

AIR.

So shall the Lute, and Harp awake,
And sprightlie Voice sweet Descant run;
Seraphic Melody to make,
In the sweet Strains of Jellé's Son.

Israel's Messenger.

From Caphar-selama, on Eagle Wings I fly,
With Tidings of impetuous Joy.
Came Lyfias, with his Host, array'd
In Coat of Mail; their massive Shields
Of Gold, and Brass, flash'd Lightning through the Fields.
While the huge Tow'r-back'd Elephants display'd
A horrid Front; but Judas, undismay'd,
Met, fought, and vanquish'd all the rageful Train.
Nor could the bold Arabians save
Their Chief, Timotheus, from a Coward's Grave.
Yet more; Nicanor is with Thousands slain;
The blaspheinous Nicanor, who defy'd
The living God, and in his wanton Pride,
A Monument ordain'd
Of Victories yet ungain'd.

But lo! the Conqueror comes, and on his Spear
To dissipate all Fear,
He bears the Vaunter's Head, and Hand,
That threaten'd Desolation to the Land.

CHORUS.

Sing unto God, and high Affections raise,
To crown this Conquest with unmeasur'd Praise.

* Several Incidents were introduced here by way of Messenger, and Chorus, in order to make the Story more compleat, but it was thought they would make the Performance too long, and therefore were not Set, and therefore not printed; this being design'd, not as a finish'd Poem, but merely as an Oratorio.
JUDAS MACCHABEUS.

Recitative.

Judas.

Sweet flow the Strains, that strike my feasted Ear.
   Angels might stoop from Heav’n, to hear
   The comely Songs ye sing,
   To Israel’s Lord and King.

But pause awhile, — due Obsequies prepare,
   To those who bravely fell in War.
   To Eleazar special Tribute pay.
   Through slaughter’d Troops he cut his way
   To the distinguish’d Elephant, and, whelm’d beneath
   The deep-stabb’d Monster, triumph’d in a glorious Death.

AIR.

With Honour let Desert be crown’d;
   The Trumpet ne’er in vain shall sound;
   But all attentive to Alarms,
   The willing Nations fly to Arms:
   And conquering, or conquer’d, claim the Prize,
   Of happy Earth, or far more happy Skies.

Eupolemus. [The Jewish Embassador to Rome.]

Peace to my Countrymen; — Peace, and Liberty.
   From the great Senate of imperial Rome,
   With a firm League of Amity, I come.
   Rome, whate’er Nation dare insult us more,
   Will rouse, in our Defence, her Veteran Pow’r;
   And stretch her vengeful Arm, by Land, or Sea,
   “To curb the Proud, and set the Injur’d free.

CHORUS.
JUDAS MACCHABAEUS

CHORUS.

To our great God, be all the Honour given,
That grateful Hearts can send from Earth to Heav'n.

RECITATIVE.

Israelites Woman.

Again to Earth let Gratitude descend.
Praise-worthy is our Hero, and our Friend.
Come, my fair Daughters, choicest Art bestow,
To weave a Chaplet for the Victor's Brow;
And in your Songs for ever be confess'd,
"The Valour that preserv'd, the Pow'r that bless'd,
Bless'd you with Hours, that scatter, as they fly,
Soft Quiet, gentle Love; and boundless Joy.

AIR.

O lovely Peace, with Plenty crown'd,
Come, spread thy Blessings all around;
Let sheeple Flocks the Hills adorn,
And Vallies smile with wavy Corn;
Let the shrill Trumpet cease, nor other Sound,
But Nature's Songsters, wake the cheerful Morn.

AIR and CHORUS.

Simon.

Rejoice, O Judah, and in Songs divine,
With Cherubin, and Seraphin, harmonious join,
Hallelujah, &c.

FINIS.
2. The Larpent Manuscript of the Libretto

- in the hand of J.C. Smith the older,

with the composer's signature under the title.

The Script

i. reduced to 85% of its original size

ii. with movement numbers superimposed.
The Messiah: a Choral Oratorio, 1766. 

As it is to be performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden.

Composed by

George Frederick Handel

Ode! O God of hosts,

Association of Israelites: men and women lamenting the death of Obediah, father of Judas.

Ours are afflicted children, the remainder of captive Israel, now in solemn strains,
your sanguine hopes of liberty are over;
your her's, friend, and father is no more.

Israel, man. Recit:

Weep over your forsaken brethren, bow
In all their griefs, and by the hand of God.
your drooping head with ashes new
And with the flowing tear your cheeks bedew.

Israel! A woman receiv'd
Daughters let your distressful cries
And loud lament ascend the skies;
your infancy, your home, seal and rent
With hands remote, by your desecrd' seat.

For hence & bleakest Andathias lies,
Sad Emblem of his Country's Poetries.

Recit.

From this dread scene, these adverse Powers
All! whether shall we fly?
O my Lord, thy God, and Zion:
In Smyth Ruins lie,
And Lion holy Lion seal of God
In apple heaps is by the heathen God:
Whither shall we fly?

Chorus.

For Zion lamentation make
Wild words and wail to speak, that speak.
Simon, brother to Judas, Recit.

6/6/86:

A new is all this Host of Grief
To vent out, sorrow give a relief
Arrested indeed! but let not Deceit
Their Ruin with despending arm's embrace
Exhale to Doubt, & Desperation
He become the chosen Nation
Closer to this Great I AM
The Lord of Hosts, who but the same
We shall all give attentive ear

At the University of Gray.
Act I

Proud Orises, proud hero,
Decent Romans, decent Britons,
With to the Lord ascend, and bow
His feet, and regain His love.

Chorus

O Father, whose almighty Rod,
The Heavens & Earth and seas adore
The heart of God my delight,
In one defensive band unite,
And great a leader bold and brave
If not to conquer, born to save.

Recit

As on I feel, I feel the Deity within
Who, the bright Orison between,
His radiant glory cool display
To Israel, his treasured Gray,
He hail would pass a gracious Ear
And points out, Ocracke Kings, to their Aid
Justice shall set the Captive free,
And lead us on to Victory.

Act II

Arm, arm ye Brave! a noble Cause
The cause of Heaven, your last Demand
In defence of your Altar, Religion, Laws
The Almighty Jehovah will strengthen your Hands.

Chorus

Away, Come, Come, in bright array,
Praise, thy Sceptre to obey.
12/10/1-
"Art and Science, and as a Cog for the Ship's Wheel.  The Great Tides of the Earth, with a Port.  Behold, the
Spirit of the Fathers, and of the Old,
for Their Exploits in War,  I may their Fire
with alacrity inspire!  As when the Knight, Joshua fought,
and when The Amazing Conquest Brought;
and The Lord, and to His Price The Sun,
The Kings He Had Destroyed, and Kingdoms Bin,
Air.

13/12/6
Call to the Bois of the Soul, to dare,
The Conflict of the Soul, and Base;
Great is the Story of the Captivating Sword,
That Princes in Israel Served, for God.

14/14/7
Israel's Choice, Recall,
To Head:  Immoral King are kneel
For Blessing on this exemplary Land,
One, and Shout, and once more.
To the own Israel Liberty restore.

16/16/10
Come, ere you bring a God,
And the Lord the Third Train.
For He is God, and yield for Thee;
With no eternal, Majestic reign.
Israel's Choice, Recall.

17/17-
O Lord, may these notes inspire
The Biblical and Holy Fire!
This liberty dear sister and I
That gives for us but to the shore
That did all others but give me
And lovely life with pleasant healing
Died

Come even flowing sister of love
Comes

Head on following Mad in Degree
The gathering hand of the Light Obain

In sad Nachelle I will
Is called our father last,
In the eternal chastises of the GHST.
"Can ye behold this the Annunciation," In which the long in jubilant basis;
"Can ye behold their pillar stood," And not af least a heavy bed
Then instantly with the great Godhead;
"Reform my tone, or the bed of Death."
Recit: accomp

-|-
Are come, are come, the sky tons prepare
The rough Habiments of war
With hearts in Atip and revengeful hands.
To execute a fire, My Grand Commands.

20/15

Dr. Dam full of Danger, we both on the foe;
That my best o. schoolside picture may be
Nigh.

And the Levee,
Ambush! Yee:-- Honor in a line arm.
Challenge it here -
The glorious Cause gives Sanction to thy Claim.

24/24/16
No unhallov'd desire,
Our Griefs shall inspire
Nor Lust of an bounded Lust
But Peace to obtain.
Free Peace let us gain
And Conquest shall ask no more.

32/26/17
Great Glories!
Hear us, 0 Lord, on thee we call
Hear us, 0 Lord, on conquest for a glorious Fall.

End of the First Act.
Act 2.

Chorus.

(Enter the Gods.)

Triumph! Triumphant, God! In thy power, thou art strong. When Charon like Jupiter wieldeth his righteous sword.

[Recit.]

Triumph! Triumphant, God! In thy power, thou art strong. When Charon like Jupiter wieldeth his righteous sword. So rapid thy course is, with all the fruits of thy sword, this nation surround thee.

Till freedom again be restored.

Israel, Hemen, Recit.

O tell eternal honours Crown his name! Zedes, first brother, in the realm of tames. Say, he put on the breast-plate as a giant. And girt his Charis like harpoons about him. In his acts, he was like a lion. And like a lion's strength, roaring for his prey.
(From mighty kings he took the spoil,
And with his acts made Judah smile.
Judah rejoiceth in his name
And triumphs in her Hero's fame.

Chorus.
Hail, hail, Jueda, Happy land!
Salvation prosperous in his hand.

Judas Maccabaeus: Recit.
Thanks to my brethren—let look up to heav'n.
To heav'n in all glory and all praise be given.
To heav'n give your applause
Or add the Second Cause
As your fathers did in Chisdian.
Singing in the sword of God, & Gideon.
It was the Lord that for his Israel fought
And this was wonderfull salvation brought.

Air.
How dauntless man, who fights in sight
The valour of gigantic might!
And deemed not that a hand unseen
Directs & guideth this dread machine.

Israel, at Hebengter, Recit.
O David, is my brethren!
(No scenes of bloody war.
In all their Horror's strife.
Prepare, prepare.)
or soon we fall a sacrifice

To great Assyrias: from the Egyptian coast,
Where Egypt, both Memphis and Babylon fall.

He sent: The valiant Gorgias & Commanders,
His grand Archonious Banda
To rout Israel's strength, and to erase
Every memorial of the sacred place.

Chorus

52/40/24

Ah! are fallen, stretched Israel! fallen how low!
From joys was transport to despairing woe!
Simon. Recit.

52/41

Be comforted – in thine heart these Plagues are for
For your destruction, but for chastisements.
Heav'n off: in mercy you yield; that Sin
May feel its own demerit, from within.
And urge not Utes Rezin – Turn to God
And draw a life long from his iron rod.

53/42/25

The Lord worketh wonders
His glory to raise
And still as He thundereth
Is fearfully praised.

55/44 - Gidea. Recit.

Any arms! against this Gorgias will I go.
The Duncan, governor shall know.
How vain! how in effective his design!
While Rage his Leader & Schooled mine.

Air,

Sound an alarm—your silver trumpets sound,
And call the brave, the only brave, around,
Who list th'o' follow, in the field again
Justice with courage, is a thousand men.

Recit:

Chorus,

We hear, we hear the pleasing loud full call,
And follow thee to conquest— if to fall.
For love, Religion, Liberty we fall.

Simon

Enough!—To Heaven we leave the rest—
Such generous terrors firing every breast,
As may divide our ages— the field be thine
Of Judas, and the sanctuary mine,
For Lion holy Lion seal of God.

In ruinous heaps is by the heathen trod,
Such preparation calls for swift redress—
For ever in that evil Israel hopes success.

58/48/27a.

Air

With pious hearts, and brave as pious
A lion we thy call attend,
Not dread the nations that defy us;
God, our Defender, God our Friend.
Israelitish Woman

Recit:

And joy - Israel, and out our fathers never knew;
Hymn, or his faithful crew,
or, knowing, formed each of their families.

Israelitish Woman

Recit.

As more in Zion cell the Virgins Throng,
And with delusion pay the Mighty Song,
To Ashlorth, ejaculating, 'Our Queen of Heaven, Hence to Heaven be the voices gion,
or she, with her Bishops and Levants, hark! to the remotest corner of the world, we've to declare us more, with greater lies:"

Duet.

Ah never, never bow we down
To the false Stone, or sculptured stone,
But ever worship Israel's God,
Ere we obedient to his awe full nod.

Chorus.

We never, never will bow down
To the false Stone, or sculptured Stone.
We worship God, if God alone.

End of the Second Act.
Israel: man - Recit.

Father of Heaven, from Thy eternal throne,
Look with an eye of blessing down,
while we prepare with holy rites,
To solemnize the Feast of Lights:
And show our grateful hearts employ,
And in thy praise
This a bright rape,
With Carols of triumphant joy.

Israel: man - Recit.

See, see, you flames that from the Altar broke,
In fiery streams ye see the trailing smoke,
The fragrant Incense mounts, the yielding air.
Sure, Prepare, shall the Lord in His ear Pray.

Israel: woman - Recit.

O grant a heart that our long woes may cease,
And speed in Daughter's task, the Calm of Peace.
Let, Brother, Husbands be not to more,
Tortured at home, or stricken in the war.

Alf:
To make the Tune & Harp awake,
And brightly voice sweet descant run,
Seraphic Melody to enate,
In the pure strains of Jesse's Son.
Messengers:

(From Caphar'alama,) on Eagle wings fly,
with tidings of impending war,
Come let us with his horses crowd,
In coat of mail—Their warlike shields
of gold and griss' flash'd lightning on the field.
While the sage Tow'r's backed Elephants displayed
A horrid front:—but Judas undismayed
used, fought, and vanquish'd at the sage fieldrawn
and more: (Acanor flies, with hoop and plain—
The splendid Acanor who desired
The living God for his worship's guide
A public monument ordained,
Of victories yet unga'd.

And lo: the conqueror comes, from his spear,
To dispel all fear
He bears the vanquish'd head & hand
That threatned Deception to the land.

Chorics:

Sing unto God, and high aspire raise
To crown this Conquest with unmeasur'd praise.

Yonker's:

Accnt:

Sweet flow the Thames shall hide my death
Angels might Stoop from Heaven to hear,
The Conqu'ry SONG ye sing
To Judah's Lord & King

But pause a while:—The obsequies prepare,
To those who bravely fell in war,
To collect Special Tribute pay
(Through slaughter) Troops he call his own
To the distinguished Elephant's shield beneath
The slabb'd monster, triumph in a glorious death.
Add:

With Honour let a Peal be Crown'd
The Trumpet's notes in war shall sound
But all attentive to Alarm
The Wailing Child's faints arms,
And Conquering, or Conquer'd claim the Prize
Of happy Earth, or free more happy Skies

Cyprielus. (The Jewish Embassador to Rome.)

Rec'd

Peace to my Countrymen, Peace and Liberty,
From the great States of imperial Rome,
With a firm League of Anxiety, I come,
Rome, whateer Caligula in jollies more,
Caius Rousack, in our defence, her devoted Part,
And stretch her strongest Arm, by Tandor's Art,
To curb the Proud, that her enemies fears.

Chorus

To the Great God be all the Honour given,
That grace full heart can send from Earth
To Heavn.
Israel! lift up the man, Recall!

Again to Earth let gratitude descend—
E'en as worthy is our Hero, your friend—
Come then, my Daughters, choice and fair,
To weep a Chaplet for the Victor's blow.

And in your Songs for ever be entwined,
"The armor that ye fought, the Coat that Stood;
Bless'd you with honor, that fearless as they fle;</s
Song: Quiet, gentle Love, is boundless joy.

82/- 7/60

A lovely Peace, with Plenty Round,
Come spread thy blessings, all around,
Let fleecy Flocks the Hills adorn;
And Walkers smile, with wavy Corn,
Let the shrill Trumpet cease, no other sound,
But Nature's Song, clear, write the Clearfield Home.

Chorus:
Rejoice o Judah, in Songs Divine,
With Cherubim, as Sragalum Harmonious Join.
Hallelujah.

(Trumpet)
CHART 1. ITEMS IN THE PRIMARY SOURCES

Explanatory Note

Introduction

The primary musical sources are set out below. The following list gives their present locations, their current call marks, and additional information concerning them. Chart 1 shows the movements concerned in these sources.

The Autograph Score

Lb1, RM 20.e.12 was the composer's draft composition score: ff.1-56 = Part one; ff.57-98v. = Part two; ff.99-133v. = Part three. Each page measures approximately 9½" x 11¾" (24cms x 30cms).

Erasures in some places show revisions made in the process of composition. Other early revisions were made on music manuscript paper which was then inserted into the autograph score. Donald Burrows has shown that folios 4-5, 18, 23, 49, 52 - 55, 126 - 127, and 128 are such insertions. Certain folios (e.g. 34 and 48) were originally in this score, but they were removed. In accordance with his usual practice during composition, Handel used 'NB' as a shorthand sign to indicate his wishes to his amanuensis. Examples can be found on f.22v-f.23, f.51-f.52, f.128 and f.130v.

The autograph score now contains a total of 268 unnumbered pages. Folio numbers were later recorded throughout in a neat hand. Handel himself wrote a partial record of quires (i.e. gatherings of four folios). Numbers 1 - 11 occur in Act One. Act Two consists of gatherings...
- 22 (but only 3 pages of the latter). Act Three consists of gatherings 22 (4 pages only)- 29. There are then 19 more pages without quire numbers.

As noted in Chapter 1, p.17, Handel was careful to date his work on the oratorio in this score, using the operatic term 'Act' rather than 'Part', to distinguish the three main sections of the oratorio. The following details are based on Handel's notes, including his use of astrological signs for Monday, Tuesday, Friday and Saturday, in the following places:

f.1: At the beginning of this folio Handel wrote 'Ouverture Oratorio Judas Maccabaeus. - angefangen den 9 July (= Tuesday) 1746/od den 8 (= Monday)/dieses'.

f.56v: At the bottom of the folio Handel wrote 'Fine dell Atto primo G.F.H. July. (=Monday) 1746/22 (=Tuesday). völling.'

f.57: At the bottom of this folio Handel wrote ' (=Friday) 25 July. 17(46)'

f.98v: At the bottom of the folio Handel wrote 'Fine dell' atto 2d. G.F.H. (= Saturday). Agost 2. 1746./völlig'(i.e.finished).

f.99: There is no note indicating when Act 3 was begun.

f131v: At the bottom of the folio Handel wrote S.D.G./Fine dell Oratorio G.F.H. Agost 11 (= Monday). 1746 völlig geendiget' (i.e.fully finished).

Handel's estimates of the timing of each Act, in minutes, are indicated at the bottom of the following folios:
At a recent performance of Judas Maccabaeus which I organised and conducted\textsuperscript{8} using the same items performed at Covent Garden on 1 April, 1747, the timings were:

- Part 1 = 51 minutes;
- Part 2 = 50 minutes;
- Part 3 = 32 minutes.

One might conjecture that the timings recorded by Handel were the result of his playing the music over on his harpsichord during, or soon after, its composition. Whether or not his calculations included breaks between each item, as would be inevitable at a performance, we shall never know. What Handel's timings do suggest is that he envisaged Judas Maccabaeus being taken at a brisk pace overall.

The Conducting Score

D-Hs, MA/1026.\textsuperscript{9} was the conducting or performing score. Initially it was copied out from the autograph score by the older J.C. Smith for Handel to use whilst directing the work, and from which, presumably, the performing parts were copied. It became Handel's working score, and insertions were made by the composer\textsuperscript{10} to suit his performance conditions. It also has items used for later revivals written by others.\textsuperscript{11} Throughout the score the amanuensis used the word 'Part', to describe each of the three main sections of the work, not 'Act', as used by Handel in the autograph score. Each Part now consists of folios numbered from f.1.
ff.1 - 77v. = Part One, ff.1 - 75 = Part Two,  
ff.1 - 50 = Part Three.

The folio numbers are written throughout in blue ink. The present modern binding was done by Aug. Schweir of Hamburg.

In its original form:

Part One consisted of ff.1-21, 23-45, 48-67 and 70-77. Later additions were ff. 46-47 and 68-69, whilst f.22 was a pasted slip. My own examination of the score revealed that f.22, although once stuck over f.23, is now a loose sheet. It contains a later version of the recitative, 'Not vain is all this Storm of Grief' on f.23; f.22v is blank. Ff. 46, 47 and 48 are also loose sheets; f.47 (the end of 'O liberty') is stuck over f.48.

Part Two originally consisted of ff. 1-14, 19-52 and 61-75. Later additions were ff. 15-16, 17, 18, 53, 54-59 and 60.

Part Three originally consisted of ff.1-3, 4-11, 17-35 and 40-50. Later additions were ff.12-14, 15-16 and 36-39.

At various places in the conducting score the names of singers have been written in ink or pencil, either in full, or in a shortened form. Sometimes the name of one singer has been replaced by another, showing that the score was used for a number of performances. This information also provides clues to revivals of the work.
The Composer's Manuscripts and Sketches

There are miscellaneous volumes of Handel's autographs in Cfm:

1. MU.MS.259. [30.H.9.]

On pp. 53 and 54 of this collection of 78 pages there is a version of the air, 'O Liberty'. It is noted by Dr Mann in his section of the Fuller-Maitland and Mann catalogue.14

2. MU.MS.260. [30.H.10.]

On p. 26 of this collection of 72 pages there is a copy of The March used in Judas Maccabaeus as item 11A/-/-. It is in G major, and was intended for oboes, horn and bassoon.15

3. MU.MS.263. [30.H.13.]

P.77 of this collection of 94 pages has lines 1-4 of the part for the second horn in G of the March in Judas Maccabaeus (11A/-/-). Dr Mann noted that 'this piece is written by Smith evidently for use in performance.'16

4. MU.MS.265. [30.H.15.]

This volume contains music that probably came from J.C.Smith the younger, but does not include anything in Handel's autograph. Pp. 105-108 have part of a soprano air in the hand of Smith, setting the words:

Future times record thy story
And with wonder sing thy name:
Great in wisdom, great in glory,
Thee all nations shall proclaim:

This was used as a basis for the air, 'Great in Wisdom',

---

Future times record thy story
And with wonder sing thy name:
Great in wisdom, great in glory,
Thee all nations shall proclaim:
one of the insertions found in the printed word-book of 1758, that I have designated '7b'\(^{17}\). This sketch contains many amendments and corrections suggestive of a composition autograph.\(^{18}\) The music was eventually used to set the words:

Great in Wisdom, great in Glory,
Thee all Nations shall proclaim;
Future Time record thy Story,
And with Wonder sing thy Name.

The First Printed Edition

The title page of the earliest printed edition states:
JUDAS MACCHABAEUS/ an /Oratorio/ Set to Musick by/
MR. HANDEL/ London. Printed for I. Walsh, in Catherine Street, in the Strand./of whom may be had,/The Works of Mr. Handel, Geminiani, Corelli, and all the most/
Eminent Authors of Musick.\(^{19}\)

The collation of this edition is:
Tp/Privilege;Contents/pp.1-72/ Marche (unpaginated).
Following the title-page came a copy of the Royal Privilege and Licence granted to Walsh to publish the works of George Frederick Handel for fourteen years. It was given 'By His Majesty's Command' at the Court of St James on 31 October, 1739 'in the Thirteenth Year of Our Reign' by Holles Newcastle, Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department in Sir Robert Walpole's Administration. After this, 'A Table of Songs in the Oratorio of Judas Macchabaeus' (i.e. a List of Contents) followed. Details are given in Chapter 3, pp.72-75.
Exemplars are in BENcoke (there are two, one of which was formerly in the Smith Collection); and in PRu (that copy, part of the Hall Collection, has the recitative, 'From Capharsalama' in the hand of the older J.C.Smith inserted after page 7).

Walsh announced the publication of his edition for the first time in The General Advertiser on Monday 27 April 1747 as:

New Music/ On Friday next will be Publish'd/ JUDAS MACCABAEUS, an Oratorio./Compos'd by MR HANDEL/ Printed for J.Walsh, in Catherine Street, in the Strand.

This was the first time that the title had appeared in this newspaper in the 'English translation' form (see Chapter 6, p.271). The price of the new publication was not announced, although it was stated that works by Avison, Stanley, Hasse and Handel had just been published, priced 3s., with his Majesty's Royal Licence. A similar advertisement appeared in the same newspaper on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, 28, 29 and 30 April. In the edition of Friday 1 May 1747, came the announcement that the Walsh edition was 'this day published at 10s.6d.' Similar advertisements appeared regularly throughout May that year in The General Advertiser. The final advertisement for the Walsh edition of Judas Maccabaeus that season appeared in The General Advertiser (No. 3938) on Tuesday 9 June.
CHART 1.

Footnotes to Explanatory Note:

1. Squire, Catalogue of the King's Library, p. 50, states that there are 138 folios. This is a misreading of the last figure of an entry at the end of the score, put there by an official with the initials 'E.J.D', noting that there were 133 folios.

2. For example on f. 30v, f. 32v. f. 33 and f. 50-f. 50v.


4. King, Handel and his Autographs, p. 27, states, wrongly, that there are 276 pages.


6. This ending was revised, presumably by 11 August 1746. It was then completed on f. 55v, where no completion date or timing was written.

7. The last figure was obliterated when the edge of this folio was trimmed during binding.

8. The original 1747 version was performed in Eye Church, Suffolk on 16 May 1992.

9. Victor Schoelcher bought a large number of contemporary copies of Handel's works from a Bristol bookshop in 1856. They had been the property of Lady Rivers who had inherited them from her father-in-law, J.C. Smith the younger. After Schoelcher's offer to sell the manuscripts (which included a large collection of conducting scores) to the British Museum had been refused, the collection was sold, at the suggestion of Friedrich Chrysander, to a consortium of Hamburg
businessmen. The collection was later presented to the Hamburg City Library. See Clausen, 'The Hamburg Collection', Best (ed.), Handel Collections, p.23.

10. For example f.46-47 in Part One.

11. For example f.54-59 in Part Two.


13. Clausen, Ibid.


15. Fuller-Maitland and Mann, op.cit., p.192.


17. The matter is reviewed in Chapter 5.


19. This was a new variety of title-page, used here for the first time. See Smith, *Concerning Handel*, p.70.


22. No.3905.
# Chart 1. Items in the Primary Sources

Reference: L. Larpent; A. Autograph score; B. Conducting score

P. Published word-book, Watts's first issue;

W. Walsh's 1747 edition;

+ included; - omitted.

## Part 1.

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<th>C/N/H (see Preface p.iii)</th>
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<td>2/2/1 Chorus: Mourn, ye</td>
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<td>Daughters, let</td>
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<td>4/4/2 Duet: From this dr. Sc</td>
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<td>8/8/5 Chorus: O Father</td>
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<td>9/9/6 Recit: I feel, I feel</td>
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<td>10/10/7 Air: Arm, arm</td>
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<td>- /11/- Chorus: We come</td>
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<td>13/13/8 Air: Call forth</td>
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<td>15/15/9 Air: O Liberty</td>
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<td>27/-/- Recit: O Judas</td>
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<td>30/-/(16b) Air: Far brighter</td>
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Part 2.

| 33/27/18 Chorus: Fal'n is the Foe+ | +  | +  | +  | -  |
| 11B/-/- The March 1 | -  | +  | -  | -  |
| 34/-/- Air: In Jeh's awful St | -  | -  | -  | -  |
| 35/28/- Recit: Victorious Hero! | +  | +  | +  | -  |
| 36/29/19 Air: So r'd thy Course | +  | +  | +  | +  |
| 37/30/A Recit: Well may we hope- | - | +4 | -  | -  |
| 38/-/20a Air: Flowing Joys | -  | -  | +4 | -  |
| 39/31/20b Duet: Sion now | -  | -  | +5 | -  |
| -/32/- Chorus: Tune your H'ps | -  | -  | +5 | -  |
| 40/-/B Recit: Well may we hope- | -  | -  | -  | -  |
Part 2. contd.

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Part 3.

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<td>62/53/29</td>
<td>Air: Father of Hv'n</td>
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<tr>
<td>63/54/30</td>
<td>Recit: See yon Flames</td>
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<td>64/55/-</td>
<td>Recit: O grant it, H'vn</td>
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<td>65/56/31</td>
<td>Air: So shall the Lte+</td>
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<td>From Caph'lama</td>
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<td>67/- /A</td>
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<td>68/- /B</td>
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<td>+13</td>
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<td>69/-/(A.B)Recit:</td>
<td>Yet more; 10, 14</td>
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<td>+13</td>
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<td>70/-/-</td>
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<td>71/-/(B)Recit:</td>
<td>But lo!</td>
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<td>73/60/33</td>
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<td>75/62/34</td>
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<tr>
<td>76/-/-</td>
<td>Recit: And may this</td>
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<td>77/-/-</td>
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<td>78/63/-</td>
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<td>79/-/-</td>
<td>Air: Oh! had I Jubal's</td>
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<td>80/64/35</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>81/65/-</td>
<td>Recit: Again to Earth</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>82/- /36a</td>
<td>Air: O lovely Peace,</td>
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<td>+16</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>83/66/36b</td>
<td>Duet: O lovely Peace,</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>84/67/37</td>
<td>Air: Rejoice</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>/68/-</td>
<td>Chorus: Hall'jah, Amen</td>
<td>+</td>
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Footnotes:

1. The March is considered in Chapter 4, pp. 161-6.
3. 'O Judas, may these noble views inspire? / All Israel with thy true heroic Fire!' are the words Handel set. See Chapter 2, pp. 44-5.
6. This includes 'No more in Sion'.
7. Presented as two separate recitatives.
8. Set as a combined item.
10. John Beard sang the part of the Israelitish Man, designed for Sigra Galli. See Chapter 3, pp. 100, 102.
11. Cuts, not shown in A, were made before the first performance. See Chapter 3, p. 91.
12. In its entirety.
14. Before 'Yet more:' in the published word-book came two lines of text beginning, 'Nor could the bold Arabians', which Handel did not set. See Chapter 2, p. 58.
15. A later insertion: written instruction only. 'Sacred' omitted in B, Part 3, f. 29. See Chapter 4, pp. 146-7.
16. Handel intended this setting to be an alternative option to the duet version, but the latter proved to be more popular. See Chapter 3, pp. 104-5.
CHART 2. ITEMS IN THE SECONDARY SOURCES

Explanatory Note

Introduction

Secondary sources of Judas Maccabaeus consist of early manuscript and published copies of the oratorio. They were derived from the primary sources at various stages of the latter's evolution. A number of manuscript copies were transcribed by the older J.C. Smith, or by one of his team of copyists, to enhance private libraries. Other copies were made for performing purposes. Movements introduced later into revivals of the oratorio were copied into some of these secondary scores. The date of copying the score can sometimes be deduced from these items, but only if they were originally copied in the main text in their correct revival sequence. Sometimes revival movements were inserted later, or added at the end of the original copy. In the following notes I have listed the secondary scores in what I believe to be their chronological order.

1. The Stanley Score,

Lbl, RM 18.f.10.

This copy is in the hand of the older J.C. Smith. It consists of 109 folios, paginated 1-218. Since it has John Stanley's name written on a book plate on the inside of the front cover, I have designated it the 'Stanley Score'. This is a much earlier copy than the Smith Collection Score, also in Lbl., and described below. Except that 'O lovely Peace' only appears in its later form as a duet, this is a fair copy of B in its original
form. As B has suffered many alterations, additions and subtractions to suit revival performances, the Stanley Score is, in a sense, a 'frozen' piece of the history of Judas Maccabaeus. It is invaluable for supplying information which is no longer in B. It could well have been the master copy from which other copies, and possibly the original orchestral and vocal parts, were made.

2. The Aylesford Score,

Mp, Newman Flower Collection, MS 130 Hd4, v.173.

This copy was transcribed for the library of Charles Jennens. On his death in 1773, it passed by inheritance to his cousin, the third Earl of Aylesford (1715-1777). It remained in the family until 1918, when it was sold at Sotheby's. It was acquired by Sir Newman Flower. In 1965 it became the property of the Henry Watson Library, and is now housed in Mp.²

The score was copied on to 484 pages by S2, one of the Smith scriptorium. Pp.1-185 = Part One; pp. 187-346 = Part Two; pp 347-484 = Part Three. The compositional dating, as written by Handel in A, was copied into this score. So too, on pp.18-20, was the incomplete Dead March which followed the Ouverture, which is not in any primary source except A. There are no insertions relating to later revivals. It is, therefore, a copy of the oratorio in its early state. Possibly Jennens ordered it for his library soon after the first performance of Judas Maccabaeus in 1747.

No doubt this copy was made with Handel's approval.
The copyist clearly had access to A, but it is unlikely that he would have made his own fair copy from it. So either the Aylesford copy was copied from B, or from another secondary copy, such as the Stanley Score. As well as the score, Charles Jennens had a set of orchestral and vocal parts of *Judas Maccabaeus* copied.⁴ These parts, like the Aylesford Score, show the state the oratorio had reached at an early stage. They were probably copied from the Aylesford Score or from the Stanley Score. Similar performing material of items later introduced into the work can also be seen in the Aylesford manuscripts of other Handel oratorios such as *Esther*, *Deborah*, *Joshua* and *Alexander Balus*.⁴ The Aylesford copies of the full scores of these oratorios are also in Mp.,⁵ (except *Deborah*, which is in BENcoeke).

These 'Aylesford' parts were never used for performance. But, as Handel's own instrumental and vocal parts of this oratorio were lost (probably in one of the fires that later destroyed the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden) and because such parts were not printed independently in the eighteenth-century, this material is significant. It shows what contemporary instrumental and vocal parts contained.⁶

The Aylesford Collection also houses a library score and orchestral parts of both 'The Concerto in Judas Maccabaeus' and the F major March later added to it.⁷
3. The Shaftesbury Score,

St Giles House Library, reference, A3.

The fourth Earl of Shaftesbury (1711-1771), Handel's patron, had many of the composer's works copied for his library. This is one of the two library copies of Handel's works still remaining at St Giles House, Wimbourne St Giles, Dorset, the seat of the Earls of Shaftesbury. 8

Like the Stanley Score, this is the work of the older J.C. Smith. It occupies 354 pages. In addition, Smith compiled an index and placed it at the beginning of this copy. The Shaftesbury Score has 'March' scrawled in at the end of the Chorus, 'Fal'n is the Foe', on p. 166; but no music for it was copied. As noted in Chapter 4, The March was placed there in Part Two of the oratorio in the 1748 revivals. But the word 'March' was obviously added sometime after the score had been copied. It would seem, therefore, that the Shaftesbury Score is also another example of an early copy.

4. The Annesley Score,

Lcm, MS.250.

The three volumes of this library copy are bound and paginated separately. Pp.1-184 = Part One; pp.1-160 = Part Two; pp. 1-138 = Part Three. There are far more figurings under the bass part in this copy than there are in the conducting score. Larsen conjectured that the copyist was S5.9 This copyist used more Italian terms in making this copy than Handel or Smith had used in A or B. For example, 'L'aria' is frequently used instead of 'Air'; and
before the entry of the orchestra in 'Sound an alarm' he wrote 'Segue con tutti gli instrumenti'. It appears that he was versed in Italian operatic expressions; he could well have been involved with that media.

Charlotte Anne Annesley\(^{10}\) of Bletchingdon Park/ 1 August 1801', is on the fly leaf; hence the designation 'Annesley Score'. Above this name and address, but crossed out, is what appears to be 'Mr H. Alysham S....?'

From the evidence of the manuscript paper's watermark used in this library copy, Larsen maintains that this copy dates from 1760, or even later.\(^{11}\) It is clear, however, that S5 made some use of the Aylesford Score (see footnote 16, p.A77), but that he copied movements introduced after the initial 1747 performances (The March (11A/-/-) and 'O Liberty' (15/15/9)) from other sources.

5. The Fussell Winton Score,

_BENcoke, (Harvester Ms. 216)_.

This is an eighteenth-century manuscript full score of 179 folios: there is no pagination. The first and third parts, described here as Acts, are in one hand; the second part in another. 'The Oratorio of Judas Maccabaeus by Mr.Handel' appears on a label pasted on the cover. On the end paper is the signature of P.Fussell Winton, hence my designation. The fly leaf has the stamp of T.G.Minns, and the following manuscript list:
Song  O Liberty thou choicest treasure
Recit  Well may we hope
Duett Sion now her head
Chorus Tune your harps
Air  Wise men flattering
Semi Chorus See the conquering

To the right of this list is written, 'Not in this volume'.
The music for those additions to the oratorio was not
 copied into the main text of this score. But the following
additions were made:

  f.57: the recitative, 'Haste we' (of 1750),
       written in by another hand
  f.77: the 'March with the Side Drum' in G major,
       copied out after 'Fall'n is the Foe' at the end
       of the first chorus of Part Two, in
       its 1748 position.
  ff.149v.-150: the recitative, 'From Capharsalama',
       copied in its entirety. At the bottom of f.150,
       the older Smith wrote, 'See the Con:/ and March'.
       These 1750 items, copied on a separate sheet,
       were then inserted between the two original
       folios. On this sheet was written:
       Recitative ends 'desolation to the land'
       Chorus of Youths ends 'Songs of triumph to
       him sing' Chorus of Virgins ends 'to deck the
       Hero's brow divine'.
       Then, in a another hand, the bass part for
       the Chorus, 'See the conqu'ring Hero', was
       copied, with the words underneath.
ff. 169-173: the duet version of 'O lovely Peace'.
The final chorus is written on ff. 173v.-179v.
The score has a decorative ending; double bar lines ruled twenty-four times and a bold 'Finis'. This score was obviously copied from a source, such as the Stanley Score, which did not include the revival movements.

6. The Barrett-Lennard Score,
Cfm, MU. MS. 809 (=30 H 1).
This is one of a set of sixty-seven volumes of beautifully-bound copies of Handel's works. In outward appearance these are very like those in the Smith Collection score in Lbl. They were once owned by Thomas Greatorex, Joah Bate's successor as the conductor of the Concerts of Ancient Music from 1793, and organist of Westminster Abbey in 1819. These volumes were sold in 1832. Sometime later they were acquired by Henry Barrett-Lennard. In 1902 his son, Francis Barrett Lennard, presented his father's collection, including this score of Judas Maccabaeus to Cfm. The Fitzwilliam coat of arms, and underneath it the arms of Henry Barrett-Lennard are on a separate sheet at the front of the score. A catalogue mark of K/3 is below that.

This score, in the hand of the copyist S9, originally consisted of 178 pages. Among the items included in the main text (on p. 43) was the air, 'O Liberty', with its short ending, as in the 1748 insertion in B.
Added to the end of the original copy was:

i. p. 179: The March in F major, scored for two horns and strings. This version was later added to the 'Concerto in Judas Maccabaeus'.

ii. pp. 180-181: blank staves

iii. p. 182: the recitative, 'Well may we hope' (an addition inserted into B in 1750).

iv. pp. 183-197: the duet and chorus, 'Sion now' ('from Esther; added to B in 1758')

Above the first entry of the vocal part in this duet, 'Sigra Frasi' has been added. 'Mrs Scott' is written above the second entry.

Isabella Young was married in December 1757. So her new name here would not have been used until 1758 at the earliest.

v. pp. 185-197: 'Tune your harps'

vi. p. 198: blank staves

vii. p. 199: the recitative, 'Sweet are the words', with a single unfigured bass line below it. This addition to the oratorio dates from 1758.

viii. p. 200: blank staves

ix. p. 201: two recitatives, 'O Judas, may these just persuits' and 'Haste we my Brethren', each with an unfigured bass line below them. These were both 1750 insertions in B.

Written lower on this page is 'right to coro on p. 62' (ie. the chorus, 'Hear us, O Lord', which begins there in this copy).
The additional recitatives are in the hand of the older J.C. Smith. The March, on p. 179, was the work of copyist, S9. But the duet and chorus, 'Sion now', on pp. 183-197, was copied by S5. This score, like that of the library score of Alexander Balus, Cfm, MU MS 790, has pencilled ornaments in some of the vocal parts; probably written in after Handel's death. It is not known exactly when the main part of the Barrett-Lennard score was copied, but it could not have been before 1748, when 'O Liberty' was inserted into B; the additions at the end of this copy suggest that these were placed there sometime between 1759 and 1763. Larsen has pointed out that this library copy could not have been made until about 1760, from the evidence of the paper water marks.

7. The Shaw-Hellier Score,

Bu, Shaw Hellier Collection, 75-77.

Whilst up at Exeter College, Oxford in the late 1750s, Sir Samuel Hellier (1736-1784) of The Woodhouse, Wombourne, near Wolverhampton, began to collect copies of works by Handel and other composers. His time at Oxford coincided with that of the enthusiastic Handelian, Dr William Hayes.

This collection, as part of the Hellier estate, was bequeathed to Hellier's heir, Thomas Shaw of Dudley, who had been at school with him. On inheriting the estate, Shaw added Hellier's name to his own. He was ordained, and, as the Rev'd Thomas Shaw-Hellier, was vicar of St John's, Wolverhampton from 1768 until his death in 1812. Shaw-Hellier not only preserved the collection, but added to it.
The present owners of the Woodhouse estate, Mr and Mrs J.W. Phillips, have placed the collection on permanent loan in the Music Library of the University of Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts.  

Among this collection is a 'performance' score and a set of vocal and instrumental parts of Judas Maccabaeus in volumes 194-224. The score was devised by using Walsh's printed editions, supplementing them with manuscript copies of recitatives, choruses and other music not supplied by Walsh. The copyist was John Lambourne. 

This copy has a book plate marked 'Ex: Coll: Oxon', dated 1762. The score, which is dated 1761, is in three volumes. Vol. 1. = pp. 1-154; this begins with a Title Page and a Table of Songs. Vol. 2. = pp. 1-130, and Vol. 3. = pp. 1-73. The 'additional items' in this score were:


Vol. 2, pp. 26-28: the G major March, a mss. copy; it follows the opening chorus, 'Fall'n is the Foe', a 1748 placing (see Chapter 4, pp. 161-5).

pp. 53-55: the air, 'Great in Wisdom', introduced into B in 1758. For this, a printed copy (pp. 33-35, with 'Sung by Miss Friderick' on p. 33) was used.
pp. 98-104: the air 'Wise men, flatt'ring'.

A printed copy (pp. 2-6, with 'Sung by Sigra Frasi' on p. 2), supplemented by a mss. copy for pp. 102-104, was used. This air was also inserted into B in 1758.

Vol. 3, p. 15: following the recit, 'From Capharsalama', the words, 'Chorus of Youths etc' were written: the music was added at the end of the score.

Addenda, pp. 1-6: the sequence of choruses associated with 'See the conqu'ring Hero comes' (a 1750 insertion), but not The March.

This score and the orchestral and vocal parts associated with it were used for local performances, which were initiated by Sir Samuel Hellier. Evidence for this use is shown by extra dynamic markings made in pencil, and by deletions.

8. The Smith Collection Score, Lbl, RM 18.f.1.

This copy, one of a set of folio volumes, was once part of what Squire designated the 'Smith Collection'. It was included in a number of Handel manuscripts that Smith the younger presented to George III sometime between 1772 and 1774. The score of 217 folios, was later paginated 1-431. On the last page is written 'End of the
Oratorio R:S: 1766'. The copyist has been identified by Jens Peter Larsen as S.10.23

This handsome score, dating from 1766, is written on paper manufactured by the Dutch firm of Lubertus van Gerrevink. The upper part of the passe-partout title page has the Bartolozzi copy of Cipriani's group of cherubs and a young female holding what today would be described as a post horn: they surround a portrait of the composer. Although dated 1766, the additional items in the main text include some used for the 1750 and 1758 revivals. It also includes the longer Bb ending for the air, 'O Liberty', as used in the Occasional Oratorio.

The Italian Copy

Alcuni Cori / Dell' Oratorio intitolato/ Giuda Maccabeo / Messo in Musica/ Dal SigF•Heandel, BENCoke, (Harvester Ms.70).

In addition to the secondary copies described above, there exists this eighteenth-century manuscript copy of five choruses, with some of the libretto in Italian. It has thirty-two pages of an open vocal score above a figured bass. The following choruses were transcribed:

O Father whose almighty power
Hear us O Lord
We worship God
To our great God
Hallelujah. Amen.
Italian words were only supplied for a part of the first and last choruses; there are no English words. It might be conjectured that this was an abandoned project to produce a translation of these choruses for Italians living in London.

Other Early Published Editions

Introduction

Four more printed editions of Judas Maccabaeus were issued before 1774. Since Walsh and his successor, William Randall, did not date their editions, it is not always possible to state exactly when they were published. The matter is further complicated because Walsh reused the same undated title pages for several editions. He advertised well, but his methods were cavalier. He sometimes advertised Judas Maccabaeus as 'just published', or as a 'new edition', when it was neither. However, some idea of the date of Walsh's editions may be conjectured by reference to his advertisements.

Printed Edition No. 2 [1748]

Exemplars: Lbl, Hirsch iv.772, and G.160.c.;

En, BH.121

There are printing variations in these exemplars to that in the First Printed Edition. On the Privilege page,
the Royal Coat of Arms is larger, and 'G II' and 'R' are placed above it. The En. example has two identical copies of the G major March. The first is unpaginated, as in Hirsch, but the second has '48' on the top left hand side of the final page. It would seem this was a version used in the next edition which has been inserted here. This item is missing in Lbl., G.160.c. Notices placed by Walsh in The General Advertiser of Friday 26 February, and Friday 4 March 1748 26 probably apply to this edition.

Printed Edition No.3 [? 1750]

Exemplars: Lbl, RM 7.g.16(1); Inglefield Collection (unclassified)27;
Mp, B.R.f530 Hd 6496;, BENcoke (unclassified); US, Maryland University, M20000. H13 J8.

Printed Edition No.3 is similar to its predecessor, but the pagination of the final page is 48. It was that number when it was published in vol.vi, part ii. of the Sonatas or Chamber Airs of 1747.28 Some copies lack the Privilege page. W.C. Smith suggests c.1749 as the date for this publication, but, as there was no London performance of this oratorio that season, it is more likely that the 'new music', as announced in The General Advertiser of Thursday 15 March 1750,29 applies to this edition.
Printed Edition No. 4 [1769]
Exemplars: Lbl, RM 7.g.4., R.M. 7.g.5,
Hirsch. iv.773, and I.114.b ;
En, BH.278 ; PRu, SA/M2000.HI7JB.
The British Union Catalogue lists copies in Cfm., Ckc.,
Dam., Ltc., Lu., Ob. and Ouf.

This was the first published edition to be printed on
large folio, instead of folio size paper. It was the first
edition of Judas Maccabaeus to be printed by Randall. He
deleted the names of the original soloists, so far printed
at the beginning of each item in the Walsh editions. This
edition was first announced as being 'now ready' for sale
on 16 January 1769 in The Public Advertiser. 31

The contents are described in Chapter 6, pp.253-6.

Printed Edition No.5 [c.1769 or later]
Exemplar: Inglefield Collection, (unclassified).

This edition was also issued by Randall, but he used
Walsh's title page. It is very similar to Edition 3. But
there is no Privilege page, and the additional top centre
pagination of 36-39 on pp.8-11; 52 on p.36; 40-43 on pp.
66-69, are taken from Twelve English Duets....from the
late Oratorios, Book 1 of 1764. From the same publication,
pages 8, 36 and 66 have the title of the oratorio either
with the first name spelt in full, or with its initial 'J'.
The March is designated as No.484, as it was in a late
edition of the Sonatas or Chamber Aires, vol.vi, pt.ii of
c.1761.
An examination of the three Walsh printed editions show that they vary only in the details described above. The musical content remained the same as in his First Printed Edition. But in 1769, the Randall edition included recitatives and choruses, as well as some of the later additions (see Chapter 6, pp. 253-6).

Other Eighteenth-Century Editions

As well as those mentioned above, a number of other editions containing material from Judas Maccabaeus were printed before 1774. In chronological order these were:

i. Sonatas, or Chamber Aires for a German Flute, Violin, or Harpsichord, Vol. VI, Part 2. London. Printed for I. Walsh, &c. [1747]

Exemplar: En, BH. 243.

It contains eleven items from Judas Maccabaeus, printed on two staves; the lower has a figured bass part. It was advertised in The London Evening Post from 28-30 May 1747.32

ii. Sixty Overtures/ from all his Operas and Oratorios/ Set for the/ Harpsichord or Organ, Printed for I. Walsh, 1749.

Exemplars: En, BH. 265(5); Inglefield Collection (unclassified).

On 8 March 1749, the publication of sixty Overtures was advertised.33 In this two-stave edition, the Ouverture from Judas Maccabaeus was No. LIX. This edition also contains The March in F major.
iii. Six Overtures for Violins &c. in Seven Parts from the Oratorios ....Composed by Mr Handel.

Tenth Collection. London. Printed for I. Walsh, &c. [1749]

Exemplar: En, BH.183.

This edition was advertised as 'Just published' in The General Advertiser on 25 October 1749. It contained the two oboe, bassoon and string parts of the overture to Judas Maccabaeus. They correspond with ii. above.

iv. Handel's Songs Selected from His Latest Oratorios for The Harpsichord, Voice, Hoboy, or German Flute.

Volumes 1-5. Printed by Walsh. [c.1755-9]35

Exemplars: Cfm, MU.MS. 1239-43; and Inglefield Collection, (unclassified).

Volume 1 contains seven items from Judas Maccabaeus, Volume 2 has two, Volume 3 has one, Volume 4 has four, and Volume 5 (of 1759) has three items. No names of singers were printed with the airs in this edition.

v. Six Overtures set for the Harpsichord or Organ

...Judas Maccabaeus ... ...Composed by Mr Handel. Tenth Collection. London. Printed for I. Walsh, &c. [c.1760]

Exemplar: BENcokke, (unclassified).

This edition was printed from the same plates as No. ii. above, but with additional top centre pagination on pages 229-254. W.C.Smith suggests a date of 1760.
vi. 'Wise men flatt'ring'. **An Additional Favourite Song in Judas Macchabaeus.** Sung by Sig[ra] Frasi. [c.1760]


Not only is 'Frasi' incorrectly spelt as 'Trazi', but this item is also dated wrongly in The British-Union Catalogue as c.1750,\(^3\) since it was not added to this oratorio until 1758. W.C. Smith suggests that this publication dates from c.1760.\(^3\)

vii. **A Fourth Set of Favourite Bass Songs Collected from the Late Oratorios Composed by Mr Handel.** [c1769]


This edition was published by Randall, using Walsh's title page. It was first advertised in The Public Advertiser on 5 August 1769,\(^4\) and it contains the items 'Arm, arm ye brave', 'The Lord worketh wonders', and 'With pious hearts' from Judas Maccabaeus. No singers are named with these airs.

viii. **A Collection of Songs printed in London.** [c.1770]

Advertised as:

Printed and sold by R. Falkener, at his house, No 45, Salisbury-court, Fleet Street, where may be had a Choice Collection of the most celebrated Overtures, Songs, &c. at a Penny a-page.'


This collection of sheet music contains popular songs and drinking songs, some by Purcell, Arne and Handel.
The Lbl, exemplar is a private collection, with a handwritten index. A number of these songs were sung at Vauxhall or Marylebone Gardens. Some have additional music for the guitar written, as was customary, in the key of C major. The items from *Judas Maccabaeus* with the following numbers were:

- **No. 107:** the G major version of the 'March in Judas Maccabaeus',
- **No. 115:** 'Wise Men Flatt'ring', in G major, with the solo part written in the treble clef, and having the comment 'Sung by Sigra Frasi'.
- **No. 125:** 'Liberty, a song in Judas Maccabaeus' i.e. '"Tis Liberty, dear Liberty alone'.
- **No. 163:** the G major air, 'Pious Orgies'.

The last two items have neither the name of the original singer, nor a guitar accompaniment.

No date is printed on these sheets, but Robert Falkener, successor to Henric Fougts, probably bought Fougts's equipment when he returned to Sweden in 1770. Thereafter, Falkener improved the equipment and produced songsheets.41
Footnotes to Explanatory Note:

3. Mp, MS 130 Hd4, vols. 174(1)-186(1), 247(9), 248(1) and 353(8).
4. Mp, MS 130 Hd4, vols. 59 (6,7,9-12), 60(5-9), 62(3-5).
5. Call mark, MS 130 Hd4, vols. 93, 167-169, 27, respectively.
7. Call marks, MS 130 Hd4, v. 300(2-3) and MS 130 Hd4, vols. 354(5-6), 356(3), 357(2), 358(4), 359(4-5), 360(3), 361-3 (3-4), 364-5 (2-3), 366-367(2).
8. In 1987, all but this copy and a volume containing the 1740 and 1741 versions of *L'Allegro* with *Comus* were bought for the Coke Handel Collection where they are now housed. That library has a photocopy of these two scores. The *Judas Maccabaeus* score has been microfilmed by Harvester Microfilm (Manuscript No. 70). See Coke, 'Collecting Handel', Best (ed), *Handel Collections*, pp. 8-9.
10. A member of the younger branch of the noble house of Annesley. The older branch were the families of the Earls of Annersley and Mountmorris: both had Irish peerages. See Burke, *Encyclopaedia of Heraldry*, (unpaginated).
12. See Burrows, 'The Barrett Lennard Collection',
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. See Chapter 4, p. 148.
17. See Dean, HDOM, p. 116n.
19. See Young, 'The Shaw-Hellier Collection',
20. I am indebted to Percy Young for this information.
    John Lambourne's name appears in Matthews (ed),
    Members of the Royal Society of Musicians
    1738-1984, p. 88. See also 'The Shaw-Hellier
21. Squire, Catalogue of the King's Music Library,
    Part 1, The Handel Manuscripts Introduction.
22. Following the death of his mother, the Dowager
    Princess of Wales, in 1772, the King arranged for the
    annual payment of £200 to Smith to continue as a
    pension. Previously he had received this amount for
    giving the Princess music lessons. The presentation
    of the manuscripts was made in appreciation of this
    kindness (see Coxe, Anecdotes of John Christopher
    Smith, Da Capo Press, pp. 54-5).
24. See Smith, Handel. A Descriptive
    Catalogue of the Early Editions, pp. 113-4,
25. Part of the Balfour-Handel Collection, originally formed by Julian Marshall (1836-1903) and acquired by the Earl of Balfour, the former Prime Minister. It was bought by En. in 1938 with help from the Lauriston Castle Fund.

26. Nos. 4168 and 4174, respectively.

27. This collection was made by Sir Gilbert Inglefield, architect and former Lord Mayor of London. In 1992 I visited and catalogued this collection now housed in Earl's Court, West London.

28. The Marche which appeared here, was also published as The Duke's March (no composer given) in Bremner, A Collection of Airs and Marches, transcribed for two violins or German flutes, and bass. (Edinburgh and London, c.1756).

29. No. 4804.


31. No. 10676.

32. See Smith, op. cit., p.325.


34. Smith, op. cit., p.297.


36. On 19 November 1759 in The Public Advertiser, Walsh announced the issue of Volume V, containing 80 songs and in four instrumental parts, with an index to the 400 songs of the collection.


38. See Smith, op. cit., p.436.
CHART 2. ITEMS IN THE SECONDARY SOURCES


+ = Included; - = Omitted.

Part 1.
Secondary Sources 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

C/N/H (see Preface p. iii)

1/1/- Ouverture + + + + + + + +
2/2/1 Chorus: Mourn, ye + + + + + + + +
3/3/- Recits: Well, Brethren + + + + + + + +

Daughters, let + + + + + + + +
4/4/2 Duet: From this dr. Sc + + + + + + + +
5/5/3 Chorus: For Sion + + + + + + + +
6/6/ABC Recit: Not vain + + +1 + + + + + +
7/7/4abc Air: Pious Orgies + + + + + + + +
8/8/5 Chorus: O Father + + + + + + + +
9/9/6 Recit: I feel, I feel + + + + + + + +
10/10/7 Air: Arm, arm + + + + + + + +
- /11/- Chorus: We come + + + + + + + +
11A/-/- The March - - - + - - - -
12/12/- Recit: 'Tis well + + + + + + + +
13/13/8 Air: Call forth + + + + + + + +
14/14/- Recit: To Heav'n's + + + + + + + +
15/15/9 Air: O Liberty - - - +2 - +2 - +3
16/16/10 Air: Come, ever- + + + + + + + +
17/17/- Recit: These noble5 + + + + + + + -
18/18/11 Air: 'Tis Liberty, + + + + + + + +
19/19/12 Duet: Come, ever- + + + + + + + +
20/20/13 Chorus: Lead on + + + + + + + +
Part 1. contd.

Secondary Sources

| C/ N/ II |
|------------------|------------------|
| 21/21/14 Recit: So will'd | + + + + + + + + + |
| 22/22/15 Semi-Chorus: Dis. of D'r | + + + + + + + + + |
| 23/23/ - Recit: Ambition! if e'er | + + + + + + + + + |
| 24/24/16 Air: No unh'd Desire | + + + + + + + + + |
| 25/-/- Recit: By that adorable | - - - - - - - - - |
| 26/-/- Air: Choir of Angels | - - - - - - - - - |
| 27/-/- Recit: O Judas | - - - - - +6 - - |
| 28/-/- Air: Endless Fame | - - - - - - - - - |
| 29/-/(16a) Air: May balmy Peace | - - - - - - - - - |
| 30/-/(16b) Air: Far brighter | - - - - - - + - |
| 31/25/- Recit: Haste we, | - - - - +7 +6 - - |
| 32/26/17 Chorus: Hear us, O Lord | + + + + + + + + + |

Part 2.

| 33/27/18 Chorus: Fal'n is the Foe+ | + + + + + + + + |
| 11B/-/- The March | - - +8 - +9 - + - |
| 34/-/- Air: In Jeh's awful St | - - - - - - - - - |
| 35/28/- Recit: Victorious Hero! + | + + + + + + + + |
| 36/29/19 Air: So r'd thy Course | + + + + + + + + |
| 37/30/A Recit: Well may we hope- | - - - - +6 - - |
| 38/-/20a Air: Flowing Joys | - - - - - - - - - |
| 39/31/20b Duet: Sion now | - - - - +6 - - |
| - /32/- Chorus: Tune your H'ps | - - - - +6 - - |
| 40/-/B Recit: Well may we hope- | - - - - - - - - - |
Part 2. contd.

Secondary Sources

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<tr>
<td>41/-/-</td>
<td>Air: Flowing Joys</td>
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<td>42/33/-</td>
<td>Recit: O let eter. Hons</td>
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<tr>
<td>43/34/21</td>
<td>Air: From mighty Ks</td>
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<td>44/35/22</td>
<td>Duet: Hail, Judea</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>-/36/-</td>
<td>Chorus: Hail, Judea</td>
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<td>45/37/-</td>
<td>Recit: Thanks to my Bn</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>46/38/23</td>
<td>Air: How vain is Man</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>47/-/-</td>
<td>Recit: Sw't are thy Ws</td>
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<tr>
<td>48/-(23)</td>
<td>Air: Great in Wisdom</td>
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<td>49/-/-</td>
<td>Recit: Thus pleas'd</td>
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<td>50/-/-</td>
<td>Air: No more discons.</td>
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<tr>
<td>51/39/-</td>
<td>Recit: O Judas</td>
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<td>52/40/24</td>
<td>Air: Ah! wretched Is!+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-/41/-</td>
<td>Chorus: Ah! wretched Is!+</td>
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<tr>
<td>53/42/-</td>
<td>Recit: Be comforted</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>54/43/25</td>
<td>Air: The L'd w'th Ws</td>
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<tr>
<td>55/44/-</td>
<td>Recit: My Arms!</td>
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<td>56/45/26</td>
<td>Air: Sound an Alarm</td>
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<tr>
<td>-/46/-</td>
<td>Chorus: We hear</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>57/47/A</td>
<td>Recit: Enough. To H'vn</td>
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<td>58/48/27a</td>
<td>Air: With pious Hearts</td>
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<tr>
<td>59/49/B</td>
<td>Recit: Ye Worshippers</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>60/50/27b</td>
<td>Air: Wise men, fl'ring</td>
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<tr>
<td>61/51/28</td>
<td>Duet: O never,</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>-/52/-</td>
<td>Chorus: We never</td>
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### Part 3.

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<tr>
<td>62/53/29 Air: Father of Hv'n</td>
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<td>63/54/30 Recit: See yon Flames</td>
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<tr>
<td>64/55/- Recit: O grant it, Hv'n</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>65/56/31 Air: So shall the Lte+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>66/57/AB/Recit: From Caph'lama</td>
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<td>67/- /A Air: Pow'rful G'ds</td>
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<td>68/- /B Air: All his Mercies</td>
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<tr>
<td>69/-/(AB) Recit: Yet more;</td>
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<td>70/-/- Air: Happy, Oh</td>
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<td>71/-/(B) Recit: But lo!</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>72/58/A Chorus: See, the conq.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>+15</td>
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<tr>
<td>-/-/ B Chorus: See the Godlike</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>+15</td>
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<tr>
<td>-/- C Chorus: See, the conq.</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>+15</td>
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<tr>
<td>11C/59-/-32a The March</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>+14</td>
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<tr>
<td>73/60/33 Chorus: S'g unto God,</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>74/61/- Recit: Sweet flow</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>75/62/34 Air: With Honour</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>76/-/- Recit: And may this</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>77/-/- Air: All his Mercies</td>
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<tr>
<td>78/63/- Recit: P'ce to my C'men</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>79/-/- Air: Oh! had I Jubal's</td>
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<tr>
<td>80/64/35 Chorus: To our g't God</td>
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<tr>
<td>81/65/- Recit: Again to Earth</td>
<td>+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Part 3. contd.

Secondary Sources

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

C / N / II

82/- /36a Air: O lovely Peace, - + - + - - - -

83/66/36b Duet: O lovely Peace, + 16 + 16 + + + +

84/67/37 Air: Rejoice + + + + + + + +

- /68/- Chorus: Hall'jah, Amen + + + + + + + +
Footnotes:

1. 'Simon. Brother to Judas' written above the stave.
2. With the short A major ending.
3. With the longer Bb ending, as in the *Occasional Oratorio*. See Chapter 4, p.153-160.
4. With ornaments added in the vocal line.
5. The Larpent text, 'O Judas, may these views', appears in these sources.
6. Added at the end of the score.
7. A later insertion; vocal part with figured bass line.
8. 'March' written later at the end of the previous chorus as a cue.
9. March in G notated.
10. 'Miss Frederick' printed here (i.e. a later Walsh edition was used for this item).
11. 'Im Basso' written above the top vocal line.
12. 'In Basso' written above the top vocal line.
13. Written out in its entirety in all copies initially, except in the Smith Collection score.
14. Written instructions inserted later, followed by the vocal line of 'See the conqu'ring Hero', and then The March. See p. A54.
15. A later addition
16. 'The same song turned into a Duetto' was written by the respective copyists above the beginning of the duet version in the Aylesford Score (on p.449), and in the Annesley Score (vol. 3, p.103).
CHART 3. THE ORATORIO AS FIRST PERFORMED

Characters/roles are indicated by initials: J (Judas Maccabaeus), S (Simon), E (Eupolemus), IW (Israelite Woman), IM (Israelite Man), IP (Israelite Priest), IMs (Israelite Messenger), IMW (Israelitish Men and Women). Voices are indicated as shown in the Preface. Additionally, S1 differentiates the first soprano from the second soprano (S2). Minor keys are indicated in lower-case lettering. Chart 2 shows the full list of movements used between 1747-1774.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part 1.</th>
<th>ROLE</th>
<th>VOICE</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1/1/-</td>
<td>a. Ouverture</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Allegro</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c. Lentement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/2/1</td>
<td>Chorus: Mourn, ye</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/3/-</td>
<td>Recits: Well, Brethren Daughters, let</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IW</td>
<td>S1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/4/2</td>
<td>Duet: From this dr. Sc</td>
<td>IW, IM</td>
<td>S1, S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/5/3</td>
<td>Chorus: For Sion</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/6/ABC</td>
<td>Recit: Not vain</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/7/4abc</td>
<td>Air: Pious Orgies</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/8/5</td>
<td>Chorus: O Father</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/9/6</td>
<td>Recit: I feel,</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/10/7</td>
<td>Air: Arm, arm</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chorus: We come</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/12/-</td>
<td>Recit: 'Tis well</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/13/8</td>
<td>Air: Call forth</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>T</td>
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Part 1. contd.

<table>
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<th>VOICE</th>
<th>KEY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14/14/-</td>
<td>Recit: To Heav'n's</td>
<td>IW</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<tr>
<td>16/16/10</td>
<td>Air: Come, ever-</td>
<td>IW</td>
<td>S1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/17/-</td>
<td>Recit: These noble</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<tr>
<td>18/18/11</td>
<td>Air: 'Tis Liberty,</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/19/12</td>
<td>Duet: Come, ever-smil'g</td>
<td>IW, IM</td>
<td>S1, S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20/20/13</td>
<td>Chorus: Lead on</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
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<tr>
<td>21/21/14</td>
<td>Recit: So will'd We come</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/22/15</td>
<td>Semi-Chorus: Dis. of D'r</td>
<td>IMW*</td>
<td>S2, T, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23/23/-</td>
<td>Recit: Ambition! if e'er</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>T</td>
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<tr>
<td>24/24/16</td>
<td>Air: No unh'd Desire</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>T</td>
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<tr>
<td>32/26/17</td>
<td>Chorus: Hear us, O Lord</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
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Part 2.

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>33/27/18</td>
<td>Chorus: Fal'n is the Foe</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
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<td>35/28/-</td>
<td>Recit: Victor. Hero!</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<tr>
<td>36/29/19</td>
<td>Air: So r'd thy C'se</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42/33/-</td>
<td>Recit: O let eter. Hons</td>
<td>IW</td>
<td>S1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43/34/21</td>
<td>Air: From mighty Ks</td>
<td>IW</td>
<td>S1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Judah rejoiceth</td>
<td>IW</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>E-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44/35/22</td>
<td>Duet: Hail Judea</td>
<td>IW, IM</td>
<td>S1, S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/36/-</td>
<td>Chorus: Hail Judea</td>
<td>IMW</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45/37/-</td>
<td>Recit: Thanks to my Bn</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46/38/23</td>
<td>Air: How vain is Man</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51/39/-</td>
<td>Recit: 0 Judas</td>
<td>IMs</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52/40/24</td>
<td>Air: Ah! wretched Is!</td>
<td>IW</td>
<td>S1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Sung by the soloists (see Chapter 3, p. 75).
Part 2. contd.

- /41/- Chorus: Ah!wretched Is! IMW S,A,T,B c
53/42/- Recit: Be comforted S B C-E
54/43/25 Air: The L'd w'th Ws S B a
55/44/- Recit: My Arms! J T D-f♯
56/45/26 Air: Sound an Alarm J T D
- /46/- Chorus: We hear IMW S,A,T,B D
57/47/A Recit: Enough. To H'vn S B G-D
58/48/27a Air: With pious H'rts S B g
59/49/B Recit: Ye Worshippers IM S2 Eb-g
   No more in Sion IW S1 A-Eb
61/51/28 Duet: Oh never, IW,IM S1,S2 c
- /52/- Chorus: We never IMW S,A,T,B c

Part 3.

62/53/29 Air: Father of Hv'n IP S2 F
63/54/30 Recit: See yon Flames IM S2 Bb-C
64/55/- Recit: O grant it, H'vn IW S1 C-F
65/56/31 Air: So shall the Lte IW S1 Bb
66/57/AB/Recit: From Caph'lama IM S2 C-A
73/60/33 Chorus: S'g unto God, IMW S,A,T,B D
74/61/- Recit: Sweet flow J T Bb
75/62/34 Air: With Honour J T a
78/63/- Recit: P'ce to my C'n E B F-D
80/64/35 Chorus: To our g't God IMW S,A,T,B g
81/65/- Recit: Again to Earth IW S1 C-D
83/66/36b Duet: O lovely Peace, IW,IM S,S2 G
84/67/37 Air: Rejoice S B D
- /68/- Chorus: Hall'jah,Amen IMW S,A,T,B D
All performances given in the Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden

1746
Friday 14 February  Occasional Oratorio
repeated on Wednesday 19 and Wednesday 26 February

1747
Friday 6 March  Occasional Oratorio
repeated on Wednesday 11 and Friday 13 March

Friday 20 March  Joseph and his Brethren
repeated on Wednesday 25 March

Wednesday 1 April  Judas Maccabaeus
repeated on Friday 3, Wednesday 8, Friday 10, Monday 13
and Wednesday 15 April

1748
Friday 26 February  Judas Maccabaeus
repeated on Wednesday 2, Friday 4 March,
Friday 14, Monday 4 and Thursday 7 April

Wednesday 9 March  Joshua
repeated on Friday 11, Wednesday 16 and Friday 18 March

Wednesday 23 March  Alexander Balus
repeated on Friday 25 and Wednesday 30 March
Friday 10 February Susanna
repeated on Wednesday 15, Friday 17, Wednesday 22 February

Friday 24 February Hercules
repeated on Wednesday 1 March

Friday 3 March Samson
repeated on Wednesday 8, Friday 10 and Wednesday 15 March

Friday 17 March Solomon
repeated on Monday 20 and Wednesday 22 March

Thursday 23 March Messiah

1750

Friday 2 March Saul
repeated on Wednesday 7 March

Friday 9 March Judas Maccabaeus
repeated on Wednesday 14, Wednesday 28 and Friday 30 March

Friday 16 March Theodora
repeated on Wednesday 21 and Friday 23 March

Wednesday 4 April Samson
repeated on Friday 6 April

Thursday 12 April Messiah
1751

Friday 22 February  Belshazzar
repeated on Wednesday 27 February

Friday 1 March  Alexander's Feast and
The Choice of Hercules
repeated on Wednesday 6, Friday 8 and Wednesday 13 March

Friday 15 March  Esther

Wednesday 20 March  Judas Maccabaeus

1752

Friday 14 February  Joshua
repeated on Wednesday 19 February

Friday 21 February  Hercules

Wednesday 26 February  Jeptha
repeated on Friday 28 February and Wednesday 4 March

Friday 6 March  Samson
repeated on Wednesday 11 and Friday 13 March

Wednesday 18 March  Judas Maccabaeus
repeated on Friday 20 March

Wednesday 25 March  Messiah
repeated on Thursday 26 March
1753

Friday 9 March *Alexander's Feast and The Choice*
repeated on Wednesday 14 March *Hercules*

Friday 16 March *Jeptha*
repeated on Wednesday 21 March

Friday 23 March *Judas Maccabaeus*
repeated on Wednesday 28 and Friday 30 March

Wednesday 4 April *Samson*
repeated on Friday 6 and Wednesday 11 April

Friday 13 April *Messiah*

1754

Friday 1 March *Alexander Balus*
repeated on Wednesday 6 March

Friday 8 March *Deborah*
repeated on Wednesday 13 March

Friday 15 March *Saul*
repeated on Wednesday 20 March

Friday 22 March *Joshua*

Wednesday 27 March *Judas Maccabaeus*
repeated on Wednesday 3 April
-A85-

Friday 29 March  Samson

Thursday 23 May  L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato and Ode for St Cecilia's Day

1755

Friday 14 February  Alexander's Feast and The Choice
repeated on Wednesday 19 February of Hercules

Friday 21 February  L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato and Ode for St Cecilia's Day

Wednesday 26 February  Samson
repeated on Friday 7 March

Friday 28 February  Joseph and his Brethren

Wednesday 5 March  Theodora

Wednesday 12 March  Judas Maccabaeus
repeated on Friday 14 March

Wednesday 19 March  Messiah
repeated on Friday 21 March

1756

Friday 5 March  Athalia
repeated on Wednesday 10 and Friday 12 March
Wednesday 17 March  **Israel in Egypt**
repeated on Wednesday 24 March

Friday 19 March  **Deborah**

Friday 26 March  **Judas Maccabaeus**
repeated on Wednesday 31 March

Friday 2 April  **Jeptha**

Wednesday 7 April  **Messiah**
repeated on Friday 9 April

1757

Friday 25 February**10**  **Esther**
repeated on Wednesday 2 March

Friday 4 March  **Israel in Egypt**

Wednesday 9 March  **Joseph and his Brethren**

Friday 11 March  **The Triumph of Time and Truth**
repeated on Wednesday 16, Friday 18 and Wednesday 23 March

Friday 25 March  **Judas Maccabaeus**

Wednesday 30 March  **Messiah**
repeated on Friday 1 April

1758

Friday 10 February  **The Triumph of Time and Truth**
repeated on Wednesday 15 February

Wednesday 22 February Belshazzar

Friday 24 February Israel in Egypt

Wednesday 1 March Jeptha

Friday 3 March Judas Maccabaeus
repeated on Wednesday 8 March

Friday 10 March Messiah
repeated on Wednesday 15 and Friday 17 March

1759

Friday 2 March Solomon
repeated on Wednesday 7 March

Friday 9 March Susanna

Wednesday 14 March Samson
repeated on Friday 16 and Wednesday 21 March

Friday 23 March Judas Maccabaeus
repeated on Wednesday 28 March

Friday 30 March Messiah
repeated on Wednesday 4 and Friday 6 April

[Handel died on 14 April 1759 at c. 8 a.m.]
Notes and References:


2. Performance planned for 18 March was cancelled due to the trial of Lord Lovat.

3. 'With Additions and a New Concerto'

4. 'With Additions and a Concerto'

5. Frederick, Prince of Wales, died that evening between 10 and 11p.m. This performance began at 6.30 p.m. *The London Stage* pt. 4, vol. 1, p. 244, wrongly states that it was 'probably cancelled'. It was the second performance, planned for 22 March, that was cancelled by order of the Lord Chamberlain.


7. A charity performance of *Judas Maccabaeus*, in aid of the building fund of the Lock Hospital, was given at the King's Theatre on Monday 7 May. This was not part of Handel's Lenten Oratorio Season.


10. 'With New Additions'. See Deutsch, Handel, p. 782.

11. 'With New Additions and Alterations'. See Deutsch, op. cit., p. 794.

12. 'With New Additions and Alterations'. See Chapter 5, pp. 205.
## Table 1. Textual Changes in the Libretto of Judas Maccabaeus

### Part 1.

<p>| | | |</p>
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<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>p.2.</td>
<td>Recit, 'Not vain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2.</td>
<td>original: 'Relief.'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>amendment: 'Relief,'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Larpent: 'relief -'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>p.2.</td>
<td>Recit, 'Not vain'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.9.</td>
<td>original: 'We trust,'</td>
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<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>p.5.</td>
<td>Air, 'O liberty'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>original: omitted from the main text. But the text is given in a footnote at the bottom of the page, preceded by Morell's note:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'The following Air was design'd, and wrote, for this Place, but it got, I know not how, into the Occasional Oratorio, and was there incomparably Set, and as finely executed,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O Liberty, thou choicest Treasure,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Seat of Virtue, Source of Pleasure;</td>
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<td>Life without thee knows no Blessing,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No Endearment worth caressing.'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amendment: printed in the main text on p.4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Larpent: omitted</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv.</td>
<td>p.5.</td>
<td>Air, 'Come, ever-smiling Liberty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>original: 'Air'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amendment: 'Air and Duet'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Larpent: 'Air' and 'Duett'</td>
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PART 2.

v. p. 7. Recit, 'Victorious Hero!'  
1.5. original: 'Power'  
amendment: 'Prowess'  
Larpent: 'Prowess'

vi. p. 7. Air, 'So rapid thy course is'  
1.3. original: 'all- conqu'ring Sword;'  
amendment: 'all conqu'ring Sword;'  
Larpent: 'all-Conquering Sword:'

vii. p. 9. Air, 'How vain is Man'  
1.4. original: 'Guides and directs'  
amendment: 'Directs, and guides'  
Larpent: 'directs & guides'

viii. p. 9. Recit, 'O Judas'  
1.5. original: 'Sacrifice'  
amendment: 'Sacrifice.'  
Larpent: 'Sacrifice'

ix. p. 10. Recit, 'Enough. - To Heav'n'  
1.1. original: 'Rest.'  
amendment: 'rest.'  
Larpent: 'Rest-

x. p. 11. Recit, 'Ye Worshippers of God'  
1.8. original: 'knowing,'  
amendment: 'knowing'  
Larpent: 'knowing,'

1.4. original: 'Nod.'  
amendment: 'awful Nod'  
Larpent: 'awefull nod,'
PART 3.

xii. p.13. Recit, 'See, see yon Flames'
   1.2. original: 'Smoke;'
         amendment: 'Smoke?'
         Larpent: 'Smoke;'

xiii. p.14. Air, 'So shall the Lute'
   1.4. original: 'sweet strains'
         amendment: 'pure Strains'
         Larpent: 'pure strains'

   1.3. original: 'long, '
         amendment: 'long'
         Larpent: no footnote

xv. p.15. [Recit,3] 'Peace to my Countrymen'
   1.2. original: 'imperial'
         amendment: 'Imperial'
         Larpent: 'imperial'

xvi. p.16. Air, 'O lovely Peace'
   original: 'Air.'
   amendment: 'Air and Duet'1
   Larpent: 'Air:'2

Footnotes:
1. Described as such in Issue 1b footnote.
2. Title only described.
3. Not printed as such.
# CHAPTER 4.

## TABLE 2.  TEXTUAL CHANGES IN THE 1747 ISSUES

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<th>Issues:</th>
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<th>1b.</th>
<th>1c.</th>
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<td>i.</td>
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<td>iii.</td>
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<td>iv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>v.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Reference:** - = Table 1 original. + = Table 1 amendment printed.

**Footnote:**

1. Shown in a footnote to the addenda sheet. Where later issues continue the amendments, they do so in the main text.
## TABLE 3. SOME TYPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AND THEIR CHANGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues:</th>
<th>1a.</th>
<th>1b.</th>
<th>1c.</th>
<th>1d.</th>
<th>ie.</th>
<th>1f.</th>
<th>1g.</th>
<th>1h.</th>
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<td>9. 'Egyptian'⁶</td>
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<td>12. Motive³</td>
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<td>14. Asterisk⁷</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**
- = as first printed: + = first change: ++ = second change

**Footnotes:**
1. Title page.
2. Dramatis personae.
3. Decorated motive.
4. Three types of decorated capital letter.
5. Type of decorated capital letter.
6. With a gap between 'G' and 'Y'.
7. Two types of printed asterisk.
TABLE 4. THE STRUCTURAL EFFECT OF THE FIRST ADDITIONS OF ISSUE 1b.

Reference: + = known fact: ? = unknown: 
            +? = a conjecture: - = not applicable 
            First additions in bold type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>ITEM KEY</th>
<th>SOLOIST</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(see Preface p.iii)</td>
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**Part 1**

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<tr>
<td>24/24/16</td>
<td>Air: No unh'd Desire</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/- /-</td>
<td>Recit: By that ador. Decree</td>
<td>f-G</td>
<td>+?</td>
<td>+?</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>26/- /-</td>
<td>Air: Choir of Angels</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>+?</td>
<td>+?</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>32/26/17</td>
<td>Chorus: Hear us, 0 Lord</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

**Part 2**

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
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<tr>
<td>33/27/18</td>
<td>Chorus: Fal'n is the Foe</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>34/- /-</td>
<td>Air: In J's awf. Sight</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>+?</td>
<td>+?</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>35/28/-</td>
<td>Recit: Victorious hero!</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>36/29/19</td>
<td>Air: So rapid thy C'se</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>42/33/-</td>
<td>Recit: O let et'nal Hons.</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>43/34/21</td>
<td>Air: From mighty Kings</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>44/35/22</td>
<td>Duet: Hail, Judea</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>- /36/-</td>
<td>Chorus: Hail, Judea</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>45/37/-</td>
<td>Recit: Thanks to my Bn</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>46/38/23</td>
<td>Air: How vain is Man</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>49/- /-</td>
<td>Recit: Thus pleased</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>50/- /-</td>
<td>Air: No more disc'late</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>51/39/-</td>
<td>Recit: O Judas</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52/40/24</td>
<td>Air: Ah! wretched Is!</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- /41/-</td>
<td>Chorus: Ah! wretched Is!</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>
C /N /H  ITEM  KEY  SOLOIST

Part 3  S. A. T. B.

75/62/34 Air:  With Honour  a  -  -  +  -
76/-/- Recit:  And may this noble ?  ?  ?  ?
77/-/- Air:  All his Mercies 5  Eb  +7  +8  -  -
78/63/- Recit:  Peace to my c'trymnF  -  -  -  +

Footnotes and References:

1. As in Deborah, 1733.
2. Probably the same music as in the first section of the soprano air, 'Choirs of Angels' used in Deborah of 1733 and 1744, but now set to the words on the addenda sheet to word-book Issue 1b.
3. Probably a specially composed semplice recitative which was later discarded and is now lost.
4. C minor in Deborah, 1733; transposed to F minor for Deborah revival of 1744, when it was then allocated to Jael, and sung by Mrs Cibber, alto.
5. The middle section of 'Cease thy anguish' in Athalia, where it was allocated to Josabeth, soprano. Introduced into Deborah in 1744 to replace the G minor soprano air, 'Our fears are now forever fled' (see Clausen p.131). There it was allocated to Jael, and sung by Mrs Cibber, alto.
6. As in Athalia of 1733, and Deborah of 1744.
7. As in Athalia of 1733.
8. As in Deborah of 1744.
TABLE 5. THE PERFORMANCES TO WHICH THE 1747 ISSUES APPLY

Reference: ? = a conjecture.

Issue 1a dated 1747. Performed 1 and 3 April 1747.
Evidence: This issue was corrected by Issue 1b. Issue 1a, therefore, preceded 1b, and was the first Issue.

Issue 1b dated 1747. Performed 8, 10, 13, 15 April 1747.
Evidence: This issue corrected 1a, and added items from Deborah and Athalia. The performance on 8 April was advertised as 'with Additions and a New Concerto'.

Issue 1c dated 1747. Performed 26 February 1748.
Evidence: This issue incorporated footnote corrections in the addenda slip to 1b. 'O Liberty' was printed in the main text for the first time. Additional items in 1b were eliminated.

Issue 1d dated 1747. Performed 22 and 4 March 1748.
Evidence: The musical content is the same as in 1c, but the text and typography show changes suggesting that this was later than 1c.

Issue 1e dated 1747. Performed 1 April 1748.
Evidence: This issue incorporated items from Joshua and Alexander Balus; oratorios which had just received their first performances. The performances of Judas from 1 April were advertised as 'With Additions and a Concerto'.

-A97-
Issue 1f dated 1747. Performed 74 and 7 April 1748.
Evidence: The prescribed musical items were the same as in 1e, but textual and typographical changes suggests this is a later issue.

Issue 1g dated 1747. Performed 9, 14 March 1750.
Evidence: Additional items mentioned in the addenda slip to 1f were not included in addenda slip to 1g. But the latter had identical additions to those on the addenda slip to Edition 2 of 1750. As no performance of this oratorio was given in 1749, 1g would seem to apply to the early 1750 performances. See Chapter 4, pp.148-153.

Issue 1h dated 1747. Performed 28, 30 March 1750.
Evidence: The 1g word-book in Lcm. has a slip with the air, 'May balmy Peace' stuck over 'Endless Fame'. If this was not an insertion indicating a last-minute change before the first 1750 performance (which seems unlikely), then it must have been a change made for a subsequent performance, and is, therefore, a later issue than 1g. Since fourteen days separated the second and third performances in 1750, it might be conjectured that this issue applies to the third and fourth performances of 1750. See Chapter 4, p.152.
TABLE 6. THE LOCATION OF 'THE MARCH IN JUDAS MACCABAEUS' IN ITS G MAJOR VERSION

Reference: ? = a conjecture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oratorio Position</th>
<th>Oratorio Source</th>
<th>Orchestration</th>
<th>Commentary &amp; Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part 2.</td>
<td>Autograph following Score, Lbl, 'Fal'n RM 20.e.12, is the Foe'f.64 (32/27/18)</td>
<td>Shaftesbury Score, St Giles Hse, ref.A3,p.166.</td>
<td>Handel's cue ignored in conducting score.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                   | Fussell Winton Score, BENcoke, (doubling oboes) | 2 Hns, ?2 Vlns (Harverster bass (figured) Ms.216), ff.77-77v. | The word 'Marche' was written as a cue by an unknown hand. See p. A 52. Headed 'Marche with Side drum' by the copyist.
Oratorio Source Orchestration Commentary & Conclusion

Position

Part 2. contd.

| Shaw-Hellier Score, Bu, Collection vol.2, pp.6-8. | 2 Hns,?2 Vlns (doubling viola, oboes)¹ | bass (figured) |

| Orchestration | 'With the side side drum Ex G' written by copyist above the score on p.6. fragment of bass part stuck in. ² |

| Part 3. Conducting Score follows Score, D-Hs, 'See the MA/1026, Part 3, conqu'ring f.16,f.16a Hero' |

| (72/58/ABC)Smith Collection Score, Lbl, RM 18.f.1, ff.156-7,³ pp.308-310. | 2 Hns,2Vlns (oboes doubling), Violas (doubling Violin 1.) Bass (Not figured) |

| Orchestration | 'with the side-drum' was copied under Vln.1 stave. |

| Fussell Winton BENcoke, Harvester Ms.216,f.150 | - |

| Commentary & Conclusion | The words, 'See the Con: and March:' written at bottom of f.150.(Entry No.2. See ff. 77-77v.above.) |
Footnotes and References:

1. A figured bass part suggests this is not a wind-band version. Therefore it is likely that these undesignated staves are intended for violins, possibly doubled by oboes, as in the 'Smith Collection' score (Lbl, RM 18.f.1.)

2. The bass part of 'The March' is on ff.16 and 16a. On the latter are the words, 'This is the Bass part of the Judas March (R.L)'. It is likely that Rophino Lacy, Schoelcher's musical assistant, discovered a loose sheet with this part copied out by the older Smith in the conducting score. Probably it had previously been used in one or more of the earlier positions of 'The March' in the oratorio. Lacy placed it in its third position here, in Part 3.

3. Page numbers were added at a later date.
### TABLE 7  THE STRUCTURAL EFFECT OF 'THE MARCH' IN G MAJOR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Item</th>
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<td>C/N/H</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Part 1.</td>
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</table>

(see Preface p.iii)

| 10/10/7   | Air: Arm, arm ye Brave | C |
| -/11/-    | Chorus: We come in bright array | C |
| 11A/-/-   | The March | G |
| 12/12/-   | Recit: 'Tis well, my Friends | A |
| 13/13.8   | Air: Call forth thy Pow'rs | D |

---

### 2.2 Part 2.

| 33/27/18  | Chorus: Fal'n is the Foe | d |
| 11B/-/-   | The March | G |
| 34/-/-    | Recit: Victorious Hero! | Bb - D |
| 36/29/19  | Air: So rapid thy course is | G |

---

### 3.3 Part 3.

| 72/58/ABC | Chorus: See, the conqu'ring Hero comes | G |
| 11C/-/32a | The March | G |
| 73/60/33  | Chorus: Sing unto God | D |

---

Footnotes and References:

1. 1747 (for the later performances from 8 April)
2. 1748 (for all performances)
3. 1750 (for all performances).
CHART 5.

THE MUSICAL EVOLUTION OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1747-1750

Reference:  + = Performed; - = Omitted.

For Movement Titles see Chart 2, pp. A72-A76.

Roles are indicated by initials explained on Chart 3,
p. A78. Voices are indicated as shown in the Preface.
Additionally, S1 differentiates the first soprano from the second soprano (S2).

1747---'48------------- 50----

Word-books: Editions 1-------------------2-----

Issues    Ia  Ib  Ic  Id  Ie  If  Ig  Ih

Part 1  Roles

C/N/H (see Preface, p.iv.)   1750

Voices

1/1/-  Ouverture

2/2/1  Chorus: IMW

3/3/-  Recits: IM

4/4/2  Duet: IM, IW

5/5/3  Chorus: IMW

6/6/ABC  Recit: S

7/7/4abc  Air: IW

8/8/5  Chorus: IMW

9/9/6  Recit: S

10/10/7  Air: S

- /11/-  Chorus: IMW

11A/-/-  The March

12/12/-  Recit: J

13/13/8  Air: J
Word-books: Editions 1--2---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Ia</th>
<th>Ib</th>
<th>Ic</th>
<th>Id</th>
<th>Ie</th>
<th>If</th>
<th>Ig</th>
<th>Ih</th>
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<td>Part 1 contd. Roles</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| 14/14/- Recit: | IW | + | + | + | + | + | + | S1 |
| 15/15/9 Air:   | IW | - | - | +^3 | + | + | + | + | S1 |
| 16/16/10 Air:  | IW | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | S1 |
| 17/17/- Recit: | IM | + | + | + | + | + | -^5 | - | -   |
| 18/18/11 Air:  | IM | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | S2 |
| S219/19/12 Duet: | IW, IM+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | S1, S2 |
| 20/20/13 Chorus: | IMW | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | S, A, T, B |
| 21/21/14 Recits: | J | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | T   |
| J             | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | T   |
| 22/22/15 Semi-Chorus:*+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | A, T, B |
| 23/23/- Recit: | J | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | T   |
| 24/24/16 Air:  | J | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | T   |
| 25/- Recit:    | IM | - | +^7 | - | - | - | - | - | S2 |
| 26/- Air:      | IM | - | +^7 | - | - | - | - | - | S2 |
| 27/- Recit:    | IM | - | - | - | - | - | +^8 | + | S2 |
| 28/- Air:      | IM | - | - | - | - | - | +^9 | - | -   |
| 29/-(16a) Air: | IM | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | S2 |
| 30/-(16b) Air: | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | -   |
| 31/25/- Recit: | IM | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | S2 |
| 32/26/17 Chorus: | IMW | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | S, A, T, B |

* Designed to be sung by soloists (see Chapter 3, p. 75).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Voices</th>
</tr>
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<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11B/-/- The March</td>
<td>- - + + + + - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34/-/- Air: ?S</td>
<td>- +7 - - - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35/28/- Recit: IM</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36/29/19 Air: IM</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37/30/A Recit: IM</td>
<td>- - - - - - +9 +</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38/-/20a Air: IM</td>
<td>- - - - - - +9 +</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39/31/20b Duet:</td>
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<td>- /32/- Chorus:</td>
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<tr>
<td>40/-/B Recit:</td>
<td>- - - - - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41/-/- Air:</td>
<td>- - - - - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>42/33/- Recit: IW</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43/34/21 Air: IW</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<td>44/35/22 Duet: IM, IM+</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S1, S2</td>
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<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
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<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
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<tr>
<td>46/38/23 Air: J</td>
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<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47/-/- Recit:</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48/-/(23) Air:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>49/-/- Recit: ?S</td>
<td>- +7 - - - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50/-/- Air: ?S</td>
<td>- +7 - - - - -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51/39/- Recit: IM</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52/40/24 Air: IM</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S2</td>
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<tr>
<td>- /41/- Chorus: IMW</td>
<td>+ + + + + + +</td>
<td>S, A, T, B</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Part 2 contd.</td>
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<td>53/42/-</td>
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<td>54/43/25</td>
<td>Air: S</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55/44/-</td>
<td>Recit: J</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56/45/26</td>
<td>Air: J</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- /46/-</td>
<td>Chorus: IMW</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>57/47/A</td>
<td>Recit: S</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58/48/27a</td>
<td>Air: S</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59/49/B</td>
<td>Recits: IM +</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IW +</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60/50/27b</td>
<td>Air:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>61/51/28</td>
<td>Duet: IW, IM +</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- /52/-</td>
<td>Chorus: IMW</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>62/53/29</td>
<td>Air: IP +</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63/54/30</td>
<td>Recit: IM +</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64/55/-</td>
<td>Recit: IW +</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
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<td>65/56/31</td>
<td>Air: IW +</td>
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<td>66/57/AB/Recit: IMs +</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>67/- /A</td>
<td>Air: IMs -</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>68/- /B</td>
<td>Air: IMs -</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69/-/(A, B)</td>
<td>Recit: IMs -</td>
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<td>70/- /-</td>
<td>Air: IM -</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>71/-/(B)</td>
<td>Recit: IMs -</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>
-A107-

1747---'48----------- '50----

Word-books: Editions 1---------------------- 2_----

Issues Ia Ib Ic Id If Ig Ih 1750

Part 3 contd. Roles Voices

72/58/A Chorus: Yths - - - - - - + + S1, S2, S2
- /-/ B Chorus: Vgns - - - - - - + + S1, S2
- /- C Chorus: IMW- - - - - - + + S, A, T, B
11C/59-/32a The March - - - - - - + + -
73/60/33 Chorus: IMW + + + + + + + + + + + S, A, T, B
74/61/- Recit: J + + + + + + + + T
75/62/34 Air: J + + + + + + + + T
76/-/- Recit: ?S - +7 - - - - - - - - -
77/-/- Air: ?S - +7 - - - - - - - - -
78/63/- Recit: E + + + + + + + + B
79/-/- Air: - - - - + + - - - - -
80/64/35 Chorus: IMW + + + + + + + + S, A, T, B
81/65/- Recit: IW + + + + + + + + S1
82/- /36a Air: IM, IW+ + + + + + + + + + S1, S2
83/66/36b Duet: IM, IW+ + + + + + + S1, S2
84/67/37 Air: B + + + + + + + + + B
- /68/- Chorus: IMW + + + + + + + + + + S, A, T, B.

Notes:

The soloists in 1750 (see Chapter 4, p. 177) were:

[?] Frasi [S], Galli [S2], Guadagni [S2],
Lowe [T], Reinhold [B].

Some of the allocation of the S2 role (IM, IMs) can be surmised from the annotations in the conducting score which suggest that in 1750 Guadagni sang movements shown in Chart 16.
Footnotes and References:
1. 'Ouverture' does not appear in any of the word-books. But from the primary and secondary musical sources it is clear that it was a regular feature of the oratorio.
2. The recitative, ending in B minor, was originally sung by the bass soloist. It was followed by the G major air, 'Pious Orgies', sung by the soprano soloist (see Chapter 3, pp.94-98). In the conducting score this recitative was transcribed into the soprano clef, possibly in 1750, for Guilia Frasi, who would have sung both this recitative and the following air.
3. Performed with the short ending, possibly until 1763. See Chapter 4, pp. 153-160.
5. Transferred to 27/-/-, but the word-book printed both versions. See item 7 below.
6. Always performed, but never described as a duet in the word-books, except in the footnote to the amendment slip to Issue 1b. See Chapter 4, p.135.
7. Deduced from word-book evidence only. See Issue 1b, Chapter 4, pp.134-145.
8. Libretto transferred from 17/17/-; the music was amended to suit this new position. See conducting score, Pt.1, ff. 68-69. This item remained here until 1762. See Chapter 6, p.231.
9. Deduced from word-book evidence. See Issue 1g, Chapter 4, pp. 146, 148.

10. Deduced from word-book evidence. See Chapter 4, p. 152.

11. This movement named as a Chorus only in the word-books. See Chapter 3, pp. 98-99.

12. Originally designed as two recitatives: 'Ye Worshippers' for the Israelitish Man, and 'No more in Sion' for the Israelitish Woman. The first part, although written in the soprano clef for the soloist, was sung by the tenor in the early performances (see Chapter 3, p. 100).

13. The tenor soloist may have sung the lower part in the first performance. In later revivals it was sung by S2, as originally intended by Handel. See Chapter 3, pp. 100, 102.

14. Late cuts made in the conducting score were observed. See Chapter 3, p. 91.

15. Sometime between 1747 and 1751, this was also sung by the bass soloist. 'Simon' and 'Reinhold' (who died in 1751) are written in Pt. 3 of the conducting score on f. 6.

16. In its entirety.

17. From the later 1748 performances, and until 1758, this recitative was trisected. See Chapter 4, pp. 166-173. In Issue 1e of the word-book 'Pow'rful Guardians' was placed between Sections 1 and 2, and 'Happy, Oh thrice happy we' was inserted between Sections 2 and 3. Musical changes made to accommodate these additions are noted in Chart 7.
18. Further changes were made to this recitative in 1750. Between Sections 1 and 2 'All his Mercies I review' was inserted. Sections 2 and 3 then followed, but with changes to the music to lead into 72/58.A, 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes' (see Chart 7).

19. This was not printed in the word-book. See Chapter 4, p.148.

20. The two opening fugal entries were intended for the alto and tenor soloists. See the autograph score, ff.108-9.

21. These are alternatives. See Chapter 3, pp.104-105.

22. A footnote in the addenda slip to Issue 1b describes this movement as 'Air and Duet', thus keeping the option open. See Chapter 4, p.135.

23. Handel designed the first fugal entry to be performed by the bass soloist, with a tasto solo continuo accompaniment. See Chapter 3, p.106.
CHART 6.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS USED IN JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1747-1750

Reference: Additions and deletions are shown in bold type.

?= a conjecture.

Later 1747 performances (8,10,13,15 April)

Part 1.

After 10/10/7 Air: 'Arm, arm, ye Brave' and
- /11/- Chorus: 'We come, in bright Array'
came 11A/-/- The March in G major
After 24/24/16 Air: 'No unhallow'd Desire'
came 25/-/- Recit: 'By that adorable Decree'¹
and 26/-/- Air: 'Choir of Angels'²

Part 2.

After 33/27/18 Chorus: 'Fal'n is the Foe'
came 34/-/- Air: 'In Jehovah's awful Sight'³
After 46/38/23 Air: 'How vain is man'
came 49/-/- Recit: 'Thus pleas'd is the Almighty'⁴
and 50/-/- Air: 'No more disconsolate'⁵

Part 3.

After 75/62/34 Air: 'With honour'
came 76/-/- Recit: 'And may this noble ardour'⁴
and 77/-/- Air: 'All his mercies' ⁶

Early 1748 performances (26 February, 2,4 March)

The above additions were deleted. Then:

Part 1.

After 14/14/- Recit: 'To Heav'n's almighty King'
came 15/15/9 Air: 'O Liberty'⁷
Part 2.

After 33/27/18 Chorus: 'Fal'n is the Foe'
came 11B/-/- The March in G major

Later 1748 performances (1,4,7 April)

Part 3.

66/57/A Recit: 'From Capharsalama' was subdivided.

After the end of Section 1, '---- rageful train'
came 67/-/A Air: 'Powerful Guardians' 8

Then, after Section 2. 'Yet more'---'yet ungain'd'
came 70/-/- Air: 'Happy, Oh thrice happy we'9

After 78/63/- Recit: 'Peace to my countrymen'
came 79/-/- Air: 'Oh! had I Jubal's lyre' 10

Early 1750 performances (9,14 March)

The additional items of 1748, except 'O Liberty', were deleted. Other changes occurred as follows:

Part 1.

17/17/- Recit: 'These noble Views' was deleted.

After 24/24/16 Air: 'No unhallow'd Desire'
came 27/-/- Recit: 'O Judas, may these just Persuits inspire'11

and 28/-/- Air: 'Endless Fame'12

and 31/25/- Recit: 'Haste we, my Brethren'

Part 2.

11B/-/ - The March was transferred to Part 3.

After 36/29/ A Air: 'So rapid the Course is'
Part 3.

66/57/A Recit: 'From Capharsalama' was again subdivided.

After Section 1., ending 'rageful train'
came 68/- / Air: 'All his mercies I review'.

Section 2. of the recitative continued, but with alterations to the music to accommodate the following:

72/58/A Chorus: 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes'
- /- /B Chorus: 'See the Godlike Youth advance'
- /- /C Chorus: 'See, the conqu'ring Hero comes'

11C/59/32a The March

Later 1750 performances (728, 30 March)

Part 1.

After 24/24/16 Air: 'No unhallow'd desire' and 27/-/- Recit: 'O Judas, may these Just Persuits inspire'
came 29-/-(16a)Air: 'May balmy Peace'.

...
Footnotes and References:

1. From Deborah, 1733. See Chapter 4, p.136.

2. Probably the same music as in the first part of the soprano air, 'Choirs of Angels' (Athalia, 1733, and Deborah, 1744), but set to different words. See Chapter 4, pp.135, 137-9.

3. From Deborah, 1733. See Chapter 4, pp.135-6.

4. Probably a specially composed semplice recitative which was later discarded and is now lost. See Chapter 4, p.136.

5. This air was in C minor in Deborah, 1733, and transposed to F minor in Deborah, 1744, when it was allocated to Jael, and sung by Mrs Cibber, alto. See Chapter 4, p.143.

6. The middle section 'Cease thy anguish' from Athalia, 1733 and Deborah, 1744, but presumably with a new introduction and a final ritornello. See Chapter 4, pp. 141-2.

7. With the original shorter ending.
   See Chapter 4, pp. 153-9.


9. From Joshua, 1747. To accommodate these two insertions some of the music in the recitative, 'O Capharsalama' was changed. See Chart 7.

10. From Joshua, 1747.


12. From Esther, 1732.

13. From Esther, 1732 and Deborah, 1744. See Chapter 4, p.181, note 18.

14. From Athalia, 1733 and Deborah, 1744. Used as item 77/-/- in Judas Maccabaeus in 1747, but deleted in 1748.
15. All from *Joshua*, 1747. The last, repeated, chorus was not printed in the word-books, but it appears in the conducting score on f.16b.

16. From 'There sweetest flowers', *Comus*, 1745 and the *Occasional Oratorio*, 1746. This replaced 'Endless Fame which had been performed earlier in 1750. See Chapter 4, p.148.
CHART 7. ITEM 66/57/AB

RECITATIVE, 'FROM CAPHARSALAMA': ITS EVOLUTION 1747-1774

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>CONDUCTING SCORE</th>
<th>FINAL CADENCE</th>
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<tr>
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<td>FOLIO OR KEY</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747 performances + early 1748 performances (on 26 February, 2 and 4 March)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Sec.1):</td>
<td>From Capharsalama, 1</td>
<td>-- rageful Train.</td>
<td>11v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sec.2):</td>
<td>Yet more-- ungained. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sec.3):</td>
<td>But lo!----land.</td>
<td></td>
<td>17 contd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus:</td>
<td>Sing unto God,</td>
<td></td>
<td>17v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later 1748 performances (on 1, 4, 7 April)

| (Sec.1): | From Capharsalama | -- rageful Train. | 11v. | G |
| Air: | Pow'rful Guardians | 12-14 | G |
| (Sec.2): | Yet more--ungained 2 | | 17 | D 3 |
| Air: | Happy, Oh thrice happy | | - | G minor |
| (Sec.3): | But lo! | | 17 contd. | A |

1750-1755 performances

| (Sec.1): | From Capharsalama | -- rageful Train. | 11v. 4 | G |
| Air: | All his mercies | 11v. 5 | Bb |
| (Sec.2): | Yet more 2 | | 17 | D |
| (Sec.3): | But lo! 6 | | 157, 8 | D |
| Chorus of Youths: | See the conq'ring | 15 | G |
1756-1757 performances

(Sec. 1): From Capharsalama
   --rageful Train. 11v. G
Air: Pow'rful Guardians 12-14 G

(Sec. 2): Yet more 17 D

(Sec. 3): But lo! 159 D

Chorus of Youths:
   See the conq'ring 15 G

1758-1774 performances

(Sec. 1): From Capharsalama
   --rageful Train. 11v. G

(Sec. 2): Yet more 14v.10 A

(Sec. 3): But lo! 15 D

Chorus of Youths:
   See the conq'ring 15 G
Footnotes:

1. Spelt 'Capharselama' in the word-books until the 1750 edition.

2. Handel did not set the two lines 'Nor could -- Coward's Grave'. They were not in Larpent, but they were printed in the earliest word-books. In 1756 they were omitted for the first time in the new edition of the word-book, and thereafter they were never printed again in any successive word-book.

3. Sections 2 and 3 were split by a new double bar; the words 'But lo' were crossed out.

4. Alterations were made to the last three bars. See Chapter 4, p.170.

5. The words 'Seque L'aria All his mercies' are written at the bottom of f.11v. in the conducting score.

6. A new setting. See Chapter 4, p.173.

7. Soloist's part now in the bass clef.

8. 'for Guadagni' is written in ink, but crossed out at the top of f.15 in the conducting score. At the end of this recitative the notes were rewritten higher, but they still fit the original harmony. Guadagni either succeeded Reinhold in 1752, following the death of the bass singer, or he sang this recitative in 1750, as a result of a late change of plan.

9. Not recopied. The solo part is still in the bass clef.

10. Another copy, but with the soloist's part now in the soprano clef. 'Miss Young' was written at the beginning of the recitative by the copyist, J.C.Smith the older.
CHART 8.

THE MUSICAL EVOLUTION OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1751-1759

Reference:  += Performed; -= Omitted.

For Movement Titles see Chart 2, pp. A72-A76.

Roles are indicated by initials explained on Chart 3, p.A78.

Voices are indicated as shown in the Preface. Additionally, S1 differentiates the first soprano from the second soprano (S2).

'51 '52-4 '55 '56 '57 '58-9

Word-books: Editions 3 4 5 6 7a 7b

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<th>Roles</th>
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<td>1759</td>
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<td>Ouverture</td>
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<td>IW</td>
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<td>4/4/2</td>
<td>Duet: IM,IW</td>
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<td>5/5/3</td>
<td>Chorus: IMW</td>
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<tr>
<td>6/6/ABC</td>
<td>Recit: S</td>
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<td>7/7/4abcAir: IW</td>
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<td>8/8/5</td>
<td>Chorus: IMW</td>
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<td>9/9/6</td>
<td>Recit: S</td>
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<td>Air: J</td>
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<td>Recit: IW</td>
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<td>Air: IW</td>
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<td>-------</td>
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<td>1750</td>
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<tr>
<td>17/17/- Recit: IM</td>
<td>- - - - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18/18/11Air: IM</td>
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<td>19/19/12Duet: IW,IM</td>
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<td>+ + + + + + S,A,T,B</td>
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<td>21/21/14Recits: J</td>
<td>+ + + + + + T</td>
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<td>22/22/15Semi-Chorus:</td>
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<td>23/23/- Recit: J</td>
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<td>24/24/16Air: J</td>
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<td>29/-/(16a)Air: IM</td>
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<td>30/-/(16b)Air: IM</td>
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**Part 2**

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<td>11B/-/- The March</td>
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<tr>
<td>34/-/- Air:</td>
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<tr>
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<td>+ + + + + + S2</td>
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<tr>
<td>36/29/19Air: IM</td>
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<tr>
<td>37/30/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>38/-/20a</td>
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<tr>
<td>39/31/20b</td>
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<td>- /52/-</td>
<td>Chorus: IM, IW</td>
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Part 3

<p>| 62/53/29 | Air: IP | + + + + + + S2 |
| 63/54/30 | Recit: IM | + + + + + + S2 |
| 64/55/- | Recit: IW | + + + + + + S1 |
| 65/56/31 | Air: IW | + + + + + + S1 |
| 66/57/AB/Recit: IM | S8 | + + + + + + S2 |
| 67/- /A Air: IMs | - - - + + - S2 |
| 68/- /B Air: IMs | + + + - - - - |
| 69/-/(A.B)Recit:IMs | + + + + + + S2 |
| 70/-/ | Air: | - - - - - - - |
| 71/-/(B) Recit: IMs | + + + + + + S2 |
| 72/58/A | Chorus: Yths | + + + + + + S1, S2, S2 |
| - /-/ B Chorus: Vgns | + + + + + + S1, S2 |
| - /- C Chorus: IMW | + + + + + + S, A, T, B |
| 11C/59/-/32a The March | + + + + + + |
| 73/60/33 | Chorus: IMW | + + + + + + S, A, T, B |</p>
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<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7a</th>
<th>7b</th>
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<td>74/61/- Recit: J</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>77/-/- Air: -</td>
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<tr>
<td>78/63/- Recit: E</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>79/-/- Air: -</td>
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<tr>
<td>80/64/35 Chorus: IMW</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>S,A,T,B</td>
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<tr>
<td>81/65/- Recit: IW</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<tr>
<td>82/-/36a Air: IW</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>S1</td>
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<tr>
<td>83/66/36b Duet: IM,IW</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>84/67/37 Air and</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>85/68/- Chorus: IMW</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>S,A,T,B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

1. In 1756 Curioni sang in Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden (see Chapter 5, p.200). Annotations in B (Pt.1, ff.14r., 51v. Pt.2, ff.12r.,12v.,23v., 24r. Pt3, ff. 11v., 12r.) suggest that she sang S2, as IM and IMs. But they also suggest (e.g. Pt.1, f.23v.,) that she sang 'Pious Orgies', transposed down; a movement originally composed for Gambarini, and later sung by Frasi.

2. Isabella Young married in December 1757 (see Chapter 5, p.215, n.37). Her first season at Covent Garden as Mrs Scott, therefore, was in 1758. Her name annotated in B (Pt.1, f.12v., Pt.2, ff.12v.,61v., Pt.3, f.1r.) suggests that in 1758, and in 1759, she sang S2, as IM and IP.
CHART 8.

Footnotes and References:

1. Described as 'Air' in the word-book, but still sung as a semi-chorus as Handel intended (see Chapter 3, p.75).

2. One copy of the 1751 word-book (Ob., Malowe L.9.2(3)) has 'May balmy Peace' stuck over 'Endless Fame'. There was only one performance in 1751, so it is impossible to explain the need for this change accurately. See Chapter 5, p.191.

3. Deduced from word-book evidence.

4. Transferred to a later position (as 40/-/B, and 41/-/-).

5. Transferred from an earlier position (as 37/30/A, and 38/-/20a) but still in A major.

6. The position of this item is conjectured from Issue 7b of the word-book. For the music see Cfm, MU. MS. 265, pp.105-8, and the Shaw-Hellier score of Judas Maccabaeus, p.53. The latter is a printed page, possibly from a 1769 (or later) Walsh publication (see W.C.Smith, A Descriptive Catalogue, p.114) stating that the air 'Great in Wisdom' was 'Sung by Miss Friderick' (sic).

7. Ending changed to C major to lead to item 60/50/27b.

8. Until 1758, Section 1 of the complete recitative only.

9. Sections of the recitative now reunited, but with musical adjustments to lead to item 72/58/A. Nos. 69/-/(A.B) and 71/-/(B) are no longer separate items.

10. Air and duet versions were alternatives, but the duet version was the one which was usually performed. See Chapter 3, pp.104-5.
THE COMPOSER'S FIRST AND LAST PERFORMANCES OF

JUDAS MACCABAEUS

Items not performed initially are shown in square brackets
Minor keys are indicated in lower-case lettering.

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<thead>
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<th>keys</th>
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<th>1759</th>
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<tr>
<td>1/1/1</td>
<td>Ouverture</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/2/1</td>
<td>Chorus: Mourn, ye</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3/3/-</td>
<td>Recits: Well, Brethren</td>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>Ab</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daughters, let</td>
<td>Db</td>
<td>Db</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/4/2</td>
<td>Duet: From this dr. Sc</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5/5/3</td>
<td>Chorus: For Sion</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6/6/ABC</td>
<td>Recit: Not vain</td>
<td>Bb-b</td>
<td>Bb-b</td>
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<tr>
<td>7/7/4abc</td>
<td>Air: Pious Orgies</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>8/8/5</td>
<td>Chorus: O Father</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>Bb</td>
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<tr>
<td>9/9/6</td>
<td>Recit: I feel, I feel</td>
<td>Eb-G</td>
<td>Eb-G</td>
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<tr>
<td>10/10/7</td>
<td>Air: Arm, arm</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>-/11/-</td>
<td>Chorus: We come</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>[11A/-/-]</td>
<td>The March</td>
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<td>12/12/-</td>
<td>Recit: 'Tis well</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>13/13/8</td>
<td>Air: Call forth</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>14/14/-</td>
<td>Recit: To Heav'n's</td>
<td>A-E</td>
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<tr>
<td>[15/15/9Air: O Liberty]</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>16/16/10Air:</td>
<td>Come, ever-</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>17/17/-</td>
<td>Recit: These noble</td>
<td>F#-B</td>
<td>F#-B</td>
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<td>18/18/11Air:</td>
<td>'Tis Liberty,</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
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<tr>
<td>19/19/12Duet:</td>
<td>Come, ever-</td>
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<tr>
<td>20/20/13Chorus:</td>
<td>Lead on</td>
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Reference 1747 1759

C /N/ H keys keys

Part 1. contd

21/21/14 Recit: So will'd B-b B-b
- /- /- Recit: We come: b b
22/22/15 Semi-Chorus: Dis. of D'r G G
23/23/- Recit: Ambition! if e'er C-F C-F
24/24/16 Air: No unh'd Desire Bb Bb
[25/-/- Recit: By that adorable] - -
[26/-/- Air: Choir of Angels] - -
[27/-/- Recit: O Judas] - F-Bb
[28/-/- Air: Endless Fame] - -
[29/-/(16a)Air: May balmy Peace] - -
[30/-/(16b)Air: Far brighter] - F
[31/25/- Recit: Haste we,] - C
32/26/17 Chorus: Hear us, O Lord F

Part 2.

33/27/18 Chorus: Fal'n is the Foe d d
[11B/-/- The March] - -
[34/-/- Air: In Jeh's awful St] - -
35/28/- Recit: Victorious Hero! Bb-D Bb-D
36/29/19 Air: So r'd thy Course G G
[37/30/A Recit: Well may we hope] - -
[38/-/20aAir: Flowing Joys] - -
[39/31/20b Duet: Sion now] - G
[- /32/- Chorus: Tune your H'ps] - G
[40/- /B Recit: Well may we hope] - A-E
### Reference 1747 1759

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Part 2. contd

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<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
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<tr>
<td>43/34/21 Air: From mighty Ks</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>44/35/22 Duet: Hail Judea</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>/36/- Chorus: Hail Judea</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>45/37/- Recit: Thanks to my Bn</td>
<td>G-C</td>
<td>G-C</td>
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<tr>
<td>46/38/23 Air: How vain is Man</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
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<tr>
<td>[47/-/-] Recit: Sw't are thy Ws</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>[48/-/(23)Air: Great in Wisdom]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[49/-/-] Recit: Thus pleas'd</td>
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<tr>
<td>[50/-/-] Air: No more discons.]</td>
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<td>51/39/- Recit: O Judas</td>
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<td>D-G</td>
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<tr>
<td>52/40/24 Air: Ah! wretched Is!</td>
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<td>- /41/- Chorus: Ah! wretched Is!</td>
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<td>53/42/- Recit: Be comforted</td>
<td>C-E</td>
<td>C-E</td>
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<td>54/43/25 Air: The L'd w'th Ws</td>
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<td>55/44/- Recit: My Arms!</td>
<td>D-f#</td>
<td>D-f#</td>
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<td>56/45/26 Air: Sound an Alarm</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>- /46/- Chorus: We hear</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>57/47/A Recit: Enough.To H'vn</td>
<td>G-D</td>
<td>G-D</td>
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<tr>
<td>58/48/27a Air: With pious Hearts</td>
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<tr>
<td>59/49/B Recit: Ye Worshippers</td>
<td>Eb</td>
<td>Eb-C</td>
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<tr>
<td>[60/50/27b Air: Wise men, fl'ring]</td>
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<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61/51/28 Duet: Oh never,</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>- /52/- Chorus: We never</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
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**Part 3.**

<p>| 62/53/29 Air: Father of Hv'n | F | F |
| 63/54/30 Recit: See yon Flames | Bb-C | Bb-C |
| 64/55/- Recit: O grant it, H'vn | C-F | C-F |
| 65/56/31 Air: So shall the Lte | Bb | Bb |
| 66/57/AB/Recit: From Caph'lama | C-G | C-G |
| [67/- /A Air: Pow'rful G'ds] | - | - |
| [68/- /B Air: All his Mercies] | - | - |
| 69/-/(A.B)Recit: Yet more; | A-D | C-A |
| [70/-/- Air: Happy, Oh] | - | - |
| 71/-/(B) Recit: But lo! | A-A | f#-D |
| [72/58/A Chorus: See, the conq.] | - | G |
| [-/- /B Chorus: See the Godlike] | - | G |
| [-/- C Chorus: See, the conq.] | - | G |
| [11C/59/32a The March] | - | G |
| 73/60/33 Chorus: S'g unto God, | D | D |
| 74/61/- Recit: Sweet flow | Bb-E | Bb-E |
| 75/62/34 Air: With Honour | a | a |
| [76/-/- Recit: And may this] | - | - |
| [77/-/- Air: All his Mercies] | - | - |
| 78/63/- Recit: P'ce to my C'men | F-D | F-D |
| [79/-/- Air: Oh! had I Jubal's] | - | - |
| 80/64/35 Chorus: To our g't God | g | g |
| 81/65/- Recit: Again to Earth | C-D | C-D |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C /N/ II</td>
<td>keys</td>
<td>Keys</td>
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</table>

Part 3. contd.

| 82/- /36a Air: O lovely Peace, | G |
| 83/66 /36b Duet: O lovely Peace, | G |
| 84/67 /37 Air: Rejoice | D |
| - /68/- Chorus: Hall'jah, Amen | D |
# CHART 10. BORROWINGS AND ANNEXATIONS IN JUDAS MACCABAEUS

1. Borrowings for the Original Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items in Composer Original Source</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Original Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Judas Maccabaeus Ouverture: Telemann Vivace from Concerto in Allegro Part 1. of the Musique de Table, 2nd Production.</td>
<td>Telemann</td>
<td>Handel Last movement of the Italian Duet, <em>Sono liete</em>.¹</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/2/1 Chorus, 'Mourn, Graun Chorus, 'Lasset uns ye afflicted ' aufsehen' from children Kommt her und schaut.</td>
<td>Graun</td>
<td>Handel Arioso,'Notte cara' in Floridante.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/5/3 Chorus, Graun 'For Sion Lamentations make' Kommt her und schaut³.</td>
<td>Graun</td>
<td>Handel Chorus,'Lasset uns aufsehen' from Dead March in Judas Maccabaeus.⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/7/4abc. Air, Handel 'Pious Orgies,'</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Muffat Dead March in Judas Maccabaeus.⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11ABC/-/- The March Muffat Air in Componimenti Musicali, Suite No.6⁵</td>
<td>Muffat</td>
<td>Purcell 'Disdainful of Danger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/22/15 Semi Chorus Purcell 'Rejoice in the Lord alway'⁶</td>
<td>Purcell</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
83/-/36b. Duet, 'O lovely Peace'.

Handel 'O fairest of ten thousand fair' from Saul.7

2. Annexations for Revival Performances

First use in Judas shown in brackets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items in</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Original Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Judas Maccabaeus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/15/9. Air, 'O Liberty' (1748)</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>The Occasional Oratorio - but with a shorter ending.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/-/- Recit, 'By that adorable Decree,' (1747)</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Deborah.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/-/- Air, 'Choir of Angels' (1747)</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Deborah.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/-/- Air, 'Endless Fame' (1750)</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Esther. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/-/(16a) Air, 'May balmy Peace' (1750)</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>'There sweetest flowers' in Comus, used in the Occasional Oratorio.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
30/-/(16b) Air, 'Far brighter than the Morning' Handel (1758)

34/-/- Air, 'In Jehovah's awful Sight, (1747)

38/-/20a. Air, 'Flowing Joys' Handel (1750)

39/31/20b. Duet and Buonon Chorus, 'Sion now' -cini (1758)

48/-/(23.) Air, 'Great Handel in Wisdom,' (1758) Handel

50/-/- Air, 'No Handel more discon.' (1747)

'Il dolce foco mio' from Rodrigo, 1707.

'E un incendio fra due venti' from Rinaldo. 13

Deborah. 9

'So much beauty,' from Esther. 14

Air, Se al morir' in cantata Peno, peno e l'alma fedele. Used in Esther in 1757. 15

'Tacero' from Agrippina of 1709, from 'Gaude tellus' in O qualis de coelo sonus of 1707. 16

Deborah. 9
60/50/27b. Air, 'Wise Handel men, flatt' Handel ring (1758)

67/-/A Air, 'Pow'r Handel -ful Guardians' (1748)

70/-/- Air, 'Happy, Handel Oh thrice' (1748)

72/58/ABC Choruses Handel 'See, the conqu'ring hero' (1750)

77/-/- Air, 'All Handel his Mercies' (1747) Handel (68/-/B in 1750)

79/-/- Air, 'Oh! Handel had I Jubal's Sacred Lyre,' (1748)

Belshazzar
Air, 'Amo Tirsi' from Cantata, Clori, Tirsi e, Fileno.

'Se vuoi pace' from Agrippina.

'Credo L'uom' from the 1707 and later versions of Trionfo del Tempo.

'As when the Dove' from Acis and Galatea. 17

Alexander Balus. 18

Joshua. 18

Joshua. 19

Deborah of 1744. 20

Joshua. 18
CHART 10.

Notes and References:

1. Described by Dean as 'borrowing raised literally to a fine art'. See _HDOM_, pp.467, 645.

2. See Roberts, _Handel Sources 5_, introduction xiii.

3. See Roberts, Ibid.

4. Similar material as used in the discarded Dead March. See Chapter 3, pp.113-116.

5. See Chapter 4, pp.161-165, 184,n.40.


7. The two duets are similar in style, and have musical cliches in common. Compare, e.g., HWV 53, movement 56, bars 2-5 with bars 9-10 of this movement. Both have a descending scale passage decorated by two lower notes.

8. See Chapter 4, pp.153-160.

9. See Chapter 4, pp.135-136.

10. See Chapter 4, pp.135-139.

11. See Chapter 4, p.152.

12. See Chapter 4, p.183,n.24.


15. See Chapter 5, pp.206, 209.


17. See Dean, _HDOM_, pp.469-470.
18. See Chapter 4, pp. 146-147.


20. See Chapter 4, pp. 135-136, 179, n. 12.

21. See Chapter 4, pp. 146, 147.
CHART 11.

LONDON PERFORMANCES OF HANDEL'S ORATORIOS: 1760-1774

Performances given at Covent Garden unless stated otherwise

1760

Friday 18 January [Soho] Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Thursday 31 January

Friday 22 February Samson
repeated Wednesday 27 February

Friday 7 March The Triumph of Time and Truth

Wednesday 19 March Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Friday 21 March

Wednesday 26 March Messiah
repeated Friday 28 March; and at the King's Theatre on

Tuesday 15 and Thursday 24 April

1761

Friday 6 February Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Wednesday 11 February

Wednesday 25 February Theodora

Friday 27 February Samson
repeated Friday 6 March

Thursday 5 March [Soho] Judas Maccabaeus

Wednesday 11 March Messiah
repeated Friday 13 March

1762

Tuesday 9 February [Soho] Acis and Galatea
repeated Friday 12 February in Hickford's Room

Friday 26 February Samson
repeated Friday 26 March
Friday 26 February [Drury Lane] Alexander's Feast
repeated Wednesday 3 March and Arne's

Beauty and Virtue

Alexander's Feast and

the Coronation Anthem

Judas Maccabaeus

Wednesday 3 March

repeated Wednesday 24 March

Friday 5 March

repeated Wednesday 10 and Wednesday 17 March

Friday 19 March

Semele

Friday 19 March [Drury Lane] Samson

Wednesday 24 March [Drury Lane] Messiah

repeated Friday 26 and Wednesday 31 March

Wednesday 31 March

repeated Friday 2 April

Wednesday 21 April [Soho] Judas Maccabaeus

Wednesday 1 September [Haymarket] Alexander's Feast and

the Coronation Anthem

1763

Friday 4 February [Soho] Acis and Galatea

Friday 18 February Occasional Oratorio

Wednesday 23 February Alexander's Feast and

the Coronation Anthem

Judas Maccabaeus

Jephtha

Acis and Galatea

Samson

Messiah
Tuesday 28 July [Marylebone Gdns] Alexander's Feast

1764

Friday 9 March
repeated Friday 30 March

Wednesday 14 March

Friday 23 March
repeated Wednesday 4 April

Wednesday 28 March

Wednesday 11 April
repeated Friday 13 April

Wednesday 13 June

[Ranelagh Gdns]

Tuesday 13 November

[Haymarket]

1765

Friday 22 February
repeated Fridays 8 and 22 March

Wednesday 27 February

Wednesday 6 March
repeated Wednesday 20 March

Wednesday 13 March

Friday 15 March

Wednesday 27 March
repeated Friday 29 March

1766

Friday 14 February

L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato and Ode for St Cecilia's Day

Deborah

Judas Maccabaeus

Samson

Messiah

Samson

Acis and Galatea and the Coronation Anthem

1765

Judas Maccabaeus

Alexander's Feast and the Coronation Anthem

Samson

Israel in Egypt

Solomon

Messiah

Deborah
Wednesday 19 February
repeated Friday 7 March
Friday 21 February
repeated 12 March
Wednesday 26 March

Friday 28 February
repeated Friday 14 March
Wednesday 5 March
Wednesday 19 March
repeated Friday 21 March
Friday 20 July
[Ranelagh Gdns] 20
Friday 26 September 21
[Marylebone Gdns]
1767

Friday 6 March
Wednesday 11 March
Friday 13 March
Wednesday 18 March
Friday 20 March
repeated Wednesday 1 April
Wednesday 25 March
Friday 27 March
repeated Friday 3 March
Wednesday 8 April
repeated Friday 10 April
Monday 1 June
[Ranelagh Gdns]

Alexander's Feast and the Coronation Anthem
Samson

Acis and Galatea and Ode for St Cecilia's Day
Judas Maccabaeus

Israel in Egypt
Messiah

Acis and Galatea

Acis and Galatea

Esther
Deborah
Israel in Egypt
Samson
Judas Maccabaeus

Theodora
Acis and Galatea and Ode for St Cecilia's Day
Messiah

Alexander's Feast and the Coronation Anthem
Thursday 10 December
[Haberdasher's Hall]  
1768

Friday 19 February
repeated Wednesday 9 March

Wednesday 24 February

Alexander's Feast and
the Coronation Anthem  

Friday 26 February

Esther

Wednesday 2 March
Joseph and his Brethren  

Friday 4 March
repeated Friday 18 March

Wednesday 9 March [Haymarket] Messiah
repeated Friday 11 and Wednesday 23 March

Friday 11 March
Acis and Galatea

Wednesday 16 March
Alexander Balus

Wednesday 23 March
Messiah
repeated Friday 25 March

1769

Friday 3 February [King's] Messiah

Friday 10 February [Haymarket] Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Friday 3 March, Tuesday 18 April

Friday 17 February Messiah
repeated Wednesday 15 and Friday 17 March

Wednesday 22 February Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Friday 10 March

Wednesday 22 February [Haymarket] Samson
repeated Wednesday 8 March

Friday 24 February Joshua
Wednesday 1 March Samson
repeated Wednesday 8 March
Wednesday 1 March [Haymarket] Messiah
repeated Friday 10 and Friday 17 March
Friday 3 March Israel in Egypt

1770
Friday 2 March [Drury Lane] Samson
repeated Friday 30 March
Friday 2 March Messiah
repeated Wednesday 21 March
Wednesday 7 March [Drury Lane] Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Wednesday 21 March
Wednesday 7 March Judas Maccabaeus
Wednesday 14 March [Drury Lane] Alexander's Feast and the Coronation Anthem
repeated Wednesday 28 March
Wednesday 14 March Samson
Friday 16 March [Drury Lane] Acis and Galatea and Ode for St Cecilia's Day
Friday 23 March [Drury Lane] Messiah
repeated Wednesday 4 and Friday 6 April
Friday 4 May [Haymarket] Judas Maccabaeus

1771
Friday 15 February [Drury Lane] Samson
repeated Friday 1 March
Friday 15 February Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Wednesday 20 March
Wednesday 20 February [Drury Lane] Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Wednesday 6 March
Wednesday 20 February
repeated Friday 22 February, Friday 8, Wednesday 13 March
Friday 22 February [Drury Lane] Israel in Egypt
Wednesday 27 February [Drury Lane] Alexander's Feast and
repeated Friday 15 March the Coronation Anthem
Friday 1 March Samson
Friday 8 March [Drury Lane] Deborah
Wednesday 13 March Acis and Galatea and
Ode for St Cecilia's Day
Wednesday 20 March [Drury Lane] Messiah
repeated Friday 22 March
Friday 12 April [Haymarket] Judas Maccabaeus
1772
Friday 6 March [Drury Lane] Alexander's Feast and
repeated Wednesday 25 March Coronation Anthems
Friday 6 March Messiah
repeated Wednesday 18 March, Wednesday 1 and Friday 3 April
Wednesday 11 March [Drury Lane] L'Allegro, ilPenseroso
ed il Moderato and Te Deum
Wednesday 11 March Judas Maccabaeus
Friday 13 March [Drury Lane] Judas Maccabaeus
repeated Wednesday 1 April
Friday 13 March Samson
Wednesday 18 March [Drury Lane] Acis and Galatea and
repeated Friday 3 April Ode for St Cecilia's Day
Friday 20 March [Drury Lane] Samson
Friday 27 March [Drury Lane] Joseph and his Brethren
Wednesday 8 April [Drury Lane] *Messiah*
repeated Friday 10 April

1773

Friday 26 February [Drury Lane] *Judas Maccabaeus*
repeated Wednesday 3 and Friday 19 March

Friday 26 February [Haymarket] *Messiah*
repeated Friday 26 March

Wednesday 3 March *Messiah*
repeated Friday 5, Wednesday 31 March and Friday 2 April

Friday 5 March [Drury Lane] *Acis and Galatea* and
repeated Wednesday 24 March *Ode for St Cecilia's Day*

Wednesday 10 March [Drury Lane] *Alexander's Feast* and
the *Coronation Anthem*

Wednesday 10 March *Samson*
repeated Wednesday 17 March

Friday 12 March [Drury Lane] *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* and *Te Deum*

Friday 12 March *Judas Maccabaeus*

Wednesday 17 March [Drury Lane] *Alexander Balus*

Friday 26 March [Drury Lane] *Samson*

Wednesday 31 March [Drury Lane] *Messiah*
repeated Friday 2 April

Thursday 27 May [Marylebone Gardens] *Acis and Galatea*
repeated Saturday 29 May, Thursday 3, Friday 4,
Thursday 17, Thursday 24 and Saturday 26 June

1774

Friday 18 February [Drury Lane] *Judas Maccabaeus*
repeated Wednesday 9 March
Friday 18 February [Haymarket] Messiah

Wednesday 23 February [Drury Lane] Samson repeated Friday 4 March

Wednesday 23 February [Haymarket] Samson

Friday 25 February [Drury Lane] Alexander's Feast and Coronation Anthems

Friday 11 March [Drury Lane] Acis and Galatea

Wednesday 16 March [Drury Lane] Messiah repeated Friday 18 March

Saturday 26 April [Foundling Hospital Chapel] Messiah

Command Performances of Judas Maccabaeus

Covent Garden
1761: 11 February
1762: 10, 17 March
1763: 2 March
1764: 4 April
1765: 22 February
1766: 14 March
1767: 20 March, 1 April
1768: 4, 18 March
1769: 22 February, 10 March

Drury Lane
1770: 7, 21 March
1771: 20 February, 6 March
1772: 13 March, 1 April
1773: 19 March,
1774: None
Notes and References:

1. Notices about these two performances, the second of which does not appear in *The London Stage* (pt. 4, vol. 2, p. 772), were announced in *The Public Advertiser*. The first, printed on Thursday 10 January 1760 (No. 7836), stated:

The Great Music Room, Dean Street, Soho, with other parts of the house belonging to it, being entirely fitted up, are now ready. Some additions have been made for the greater conveniences of the Company; whosoever is inclined to, hire it occasionally for public or private Concerts, Oratorios, Meetings, Assemblies, Breakfast, public Sales, Lectures &c, who intends to hire the entire Room or any of the said house for the above said Entertainment or for Business, is desired to apply to the Office in Thrift Street, being the first door on the Right Hand coming from Soho Square, where a proper person will attend from Nine in the Morning till Two in the Afternoon, and from Four till Eight in the evening. The said Room will be lett (sic) on the same Terms as before, with this Difference, that if it is taken for a number of nights, an Abatement will be made. The opening of the said Great Music Room, Dean Street, Soho will be on Friday 18th instant, being the first Night of the subscription when will be performed the Oratorio of
JUDAS MACCABAEUS

By some of the best Vocal and Instrumental Performers in London. Extraordinary Tickets to be had at the Office at the said Place of Performance, and at Batsons Coffee House in Cornhill, at Half a Guinea each for the Pit, and 5s the Gallery. The Subscribers are desired to send for their tickets to the above mentioned places.

The Subscription for the six Nights is still open at the above said office, on the Following Terms at three Guineas for six nights, for which the Subscribers will get six single Tickets for themselves, and six Ladies tickets. The Ladies Tickets will admit two Ladies each one. The intended Performances for the Six Nights are as follows

Two Serenatas, two Pasturals, and two Oratorios.

The above notice, or part of it, was published in subsequent issues of The Public Advertiser until Thursday January 17 (No. 7842), when it was announced that:

The opening of the Great Music Room in Dean Street, Soho will be Tomorrow, the 18th instant being the last Night of the Subscription, when will be performed the Oratorio of

JUDAS MACCABAEUS

Set to Music by Mr Handel

The principal Vocal parts by Signora Passerini, Miss Frederick, Mr Hudson and Mr Champness. The Choruses by
some of the best singers belonging to the Choir of the Chapel Royal and St Pauls. The Instrumental, first violin by Sig. Passerini, and the rest by the best Performers.

Between the first and second Act a Concerto on the Organ by Miss Frederick.

Extraordinary Tickets to be had at the office in Thrift Street, being the first door on the Right Hand coming from Soho Square; and at Batsons Coffee-house in Cornhill, at half a Guinea each for the Pitt, and 5s for the Gallery.

The Subscribers are desired to send for their Tickets to the above mentioned office. The Performance will begin at exactly Half an Hour after Six.

Another performance was announced from Friday 25 January in The Public Advertiser as follows:

By Particular Desire (for the second night) will be performed the Oratorio

JUDAS MACCABAEUS

at the Great Room, Dean Street, Soho.

Then followed the same details of soloists and instrumentalists as before.

On Saturday 26 January 1760 (No. 7856) came the announcement that Judas Maccabaeus was to be performed at the great Music Room in Dean Street, Soho on Thursday the 31st of January being the Second Night of the Subscription.
2. These were the first revivals of *Judas Maccabaeus* to be given in the reign of King George III. The Covent Garden Account Books, September 1760-June 1761; Lbl., Add. Mss., Egerton 2271, provide financial information about these performances. The receipts paid to Smith and Stanley for that on Friday 6 February 1761 were:

- 368 tickets at 10s 6d £193 4s
- 410 tickets at 5s £102 10s
- 435 tickets at 3s 6d £76 2s 6d

In total 1215 persons paid £371 16s 6d to attend.

For the second performance on 11 February, given 'By Command of His Majesty', receipts were:

- 358 tickets at 10s 6d £187 19s
- 413 tickets at 5s £103 5s
- 387 tickets at 3s 6d £67 14s 6d

In total 1158 persons paid £358 18s 6d to attend.

The standard charge paid for the hire of the theatre was £35 for each occasion.

At these two performances a concerto on the organ was played by Stanley, and a solo on the violin was given by Giardini (see *The London Stage*, part 4, vol. 2, p. 842).

3. This was given, according to the advertisements, with 'New additions and Alterations by Mr Handel since it was last presented'. Account Book receipts, as shown in Lbl., Add. Mss., Egerton 2271 were:

- 140 tickets at 10s 6d £73 10s
- 158 tickets at 5s £39 10s
- 275 tickets at 3s 6d £48 2s 6d

In total 573 persons paid £161 2s 6d to attend.
4. Lbl., Add. Mss, Egerton 2271 shows that receipts were:

- 322 tickets at 10s 6d £169 1s
- 326 tickets at 5s £81 10s
- 344 tickets at 3s 6d £60 4s

In total 992 people paid £310 15s to attend.

5. The Accounts in Lbl., Add. Mss, Egerton 2271 show that receipts were:

- 171 tickets at 10s 6d £89 15s 6d
- 232 tickets at 5s £58
- 320 tickets at 3s 6d £56

In total 723 people paid £203 15s 6d.

Outgoings included payment of a bill for £2 12s 11d for writing parts by Younger.


7. The Account Books in Lbl., Add. Mss, Egerton 2271 record that for the first performance receipts received were:

- 540 tickets at 10s 6d £283 10s
- 429 tickets at 5s £107 5s
- 472 tickets at 3s 6d £82 12s

In total 1441 people paid £473 7s.

For the second performance receipts were:

- 562 tickets at 10s 6d £295 1s
- 428 tickets at 5s £107
- 496 tickets at 3s 6d £86 16s

In total 1486 people paid £488 17s.

8. Performance at the Great Music Room, Dean St., Soho for the benefit of a Widow Gentlewoman.
9. Posthumous benefit performance for Miss Robinson (Mrs Pooke) given in Hickford's Room, Brewer Street.
10. Directed by Dr Arne.
11. 'With Concertos'.
12. Sgrä Frasi's benefit.
15. 'Selected from the most celebrated compositions of the late George Frederick Handel'.
16. 'With Alterations'.
17. Benefit for Miss Brent: conducted by Dr Arne.
18. 'Benefit for the Widow and distressed Family of Mr Lambe, who was unfortunately killed at the late Fire, near Wardour St., Soho. Concerto on the Bassoon by Baumgarten; Concerto on the Hautboy by Simpson; Solo on the violin by Hay who will lead the performance'.
19. 'With Considerable Alterations and Additions'.
20. 'Miss Young's night. Tickets 5s., to be had of Miss Young'.
21. 'The heavy loss Mr Lowe has sustained by the badness of the weather this season he hopes will be sufficient plea for his taking a particular night for himself. By the desire of several worthy Brethren, some Gentlemen will sing Brother Gilding's Ode in Honour of Masonry.'
22. Benefit for the City of London Lying-In Hospital. At Haberdashers Hall, Maiden Lane in Wood Street.
23. 'Some additional songs by Guarducci'.
24. The London Stage (pt. 4, vol. 3, p. 1314) is confused here. It correctly records a performance of Joseph , but then
lists the characters as they are in Joshua.

25. 'For the Benefit and Increase of a Fund established for the Support of decayed Musicians and their Families'.

26. The Theatrical Register of 1769 reported that 'This is a very masterly performance, in general more pleasing (although less grand) than many of Mr Handel's Oratorios, the subject of the drama not requiring that solemnity of stile (sic) which some others demand'.

27. The Theatrical Register, 1769 stated 'We cannot rank this among the most capital of Mr Handel's oratorios, yet it has great merit in one particular, viz. the attempt to characterize the idea of the plagues of Egypt by the power of the music, in which, perhaps, the composer has carried the force of imitation to its utmost extent.'

28. This was the opening of the Lenten oratorio season. Smith and Stanley were now operating their Royal Prerogative from Drury Lane.

29. Benefit for Sig.ra Frasi. The performance began at Twelve noon.

30. 'In the course of the performance will be introduc'd a new Song by Mrs Weichsel (set by Hook); with Solo accompaniments for the Piano Forte by Hook; Hautboy by Parke; Bassoon by Baumgarten.' This Benefit concert for Mrs Weichsel was directed by Stanley.

31. The Theatrical Review 1772, appendix pp.207-8, states: The Oratorios performed at this House were conducted by Messrs. Stanley and Smith, for their own emolument; the Managers of the theatre having no
share of the profit arising from these performances, nor any advantages except a premium for the use of the house. Mr Stanley's musical abilities are well known. Mr Smith was, if we are not mistaken, a pupil of the celebrated Mr Handel's; and, we believe, that Gentleman left Mr Smith the greatest part of his music, if not his whole Library; so that Mr Smith may with great propriety claim the right of succeeding Mr Handel in the exhibition and conduct of his Oratorios, which he has undertaken (in conjunction with Mr Stanley) ever since Mr Handel's death.

Their band was composed of some of the most capital performers in this kingdom, and was led by Mr Ximenes. The vocal performers (exclusive of Chorus singers) were Mr Norris, well known to all lovers of Music, for his taste and delicacy of execution. Mr Parry (a Bass Voice) from the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. This gentleman, though very young, has an extensive compass, and a great power of voice, and acquaints himself with considerable reputation. Mrs Weichsel and Mrs Scott, of whom it would be superfluous and unnecessary to say anything, since their abilities are generally known. And lastly Signora Grassi, a performer of great merit.

The Theatrical Review (London, 1772) explained that as Alexander's Feast is shorter than the usual length of oratorios, Mr Handel's celebrated Coronation Anthems were added in order to make the evening's entertainment
of a proper length. In addition, a solo on the violoncello was given by Mr Janson —— lately arrived from Paris and said to be a pupil of Mr Duport pupil of Mr Janson. (The London Stage, pt.4, vol.3, p.1612).

32. The Theatrical Review (op.cit.) reported that in addition to the oratorio, a Concerto on the horn was given by Mr Ponta, Musician to his Serene Highness the Elector of Mentz, at the end of Part 1. A Concerto on the Violin was played by Sga Lombardini Sirmen at the end of Part 2. Messrs Toms and Arnold were responsible for the 1771-1772 Oratorio Season at Covent Garden. (The London Stage, op.cit., p.1613).

33. The Theatrical Review (op.cit.) reported the playing of a Concerto on the French Horn by Mr Ponta during the performance of the oratorio. It added, 'What this gentleman executes with the horn is very surprising, but, not being suited to the genius of the instrument, is not productive of any good effect, when considered musically; as a matter of novelty it may surprise and please, on which account it is worthy the notice of the curious. (The London Stage, op.cit., p.1614).

34. The Public Advertiser reported that the vocal soloists were Miss Linley, Mrs Weichsel, Miss Mary Linley, Mr Norris. A Concerto on the Violin was played by Mr Thomas Linley.

35. The London Stage (pt.4, vol.3, p.1698) reports that the soloists were Mrs Smith, Miss Harper, Sga Galli (first performance here in sixteen years), Vernon and Meredith (who never performed in public). A Concerto on the
Clarinet was played by Mahoon.

36. Vocal parts by Reinhold, Mrs Thompson, Miss Wilde Mrs Barthélemon, and a number of the best chorus singers.

37. No oratorios were given at Covent Garden this season.

38. The soloists were Vernon, Champness, Mrs Scott and Mrs Barthélemon. Burney played an Organ Concerto.

39. The vocal soloists were Miss Davis, Mrs Wrighten, Norris and Reinhold. A concerto was given by Giardini and Arnold played the organ.

40. From 1761-1773 the following Handel oratorios were performed in the London Oratorio Season 'By Command of Their Majesties'; the total number of performances each received is shown in brackets: Judas Maccabaeus (20), Messiah (18), Samson (13), Alexander's Feast (12), Acis and Galatea (10), L'Allegro ed il Penseroso (4), Deborah (4), Israel in Egypt (3), Esther (2), Joseph and his Brethren (2), Alexander Balus (2), Joshua (1), Theodora (1), Occasional Oratorio (1), Jeptha (1). See The London Stage, pt. 4, vols. 2 and 3.

41. In 1770, Stanley and Smith the younger carried their Royal Prerogative to Drury Lane. See The London Stage, pt. 4, vol. 3, p. 1458.

42. Coxe explained 'the King was prevented from appearing in public by the Queen's lying-in during Lent'. See Anecdotes of John Christopher Smith, reprinted 1979, p. 55. On 24 February 1774, Adolphus Frederick, the eleventh child of George III and Queen Charlotte, was born. See A. Weir, Britain's Royal Families, p. 295.
CHART 12.

THE MUSICAL EVOLUTION OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1760-1762

Reference: + = Performed; - = Omitted.

For Movement Titles see Chart 2, pp. A72-A76.

Roles are indicated by initials explained on Chart 3, p. A78.

Voices are indicated as shown in the Preface. Additionally, S1 differentiates the first soprano from the second soprano (S2).

Word-books: Editions

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<td>10a</td>
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Word-books: Editions 8 9 10a 10bi 10c

Part 2 contd. Roles

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Part 3

| 62/53/29 | Air: IP | + + + + + | S2 |
| 63/54/30 | Recit: IM | + + + + + | S2 |
| 64/55/- | Recit: IW | + + + + + | S1 |
| 65/56/31 | Air: IW | + + + + + | S1 |
| 66/57/AB | Recit: IMs5 | + + + + + | S2 |
| 67/- /A | Air: | - | - - - - - |
| 68/- /B | Air: | - | - - - - - |
| 69/-/(A.B) | Recit: IMs5 | + + + + + | S2 |
| 70/-/- | Air: | - | - - - - - |
| 71/-/(B) | Recit: IMs5 | + + + + + | S2 |
| 72/58/A | Chorus: Yths | + + + + + | S1, S2, S2 |
| -/- B | Chorus: Vgns | + + + + + | S1, S2 |
| -/- C | Chorus: IMW | + + + + + | S, A, T, B |
| 11C/59-32a | The March | + + + + + | - |
| 73/60/33 | Chorus: IMW | + + + + + | S, A, T, B |
Word-books: Editions 8 9 10a 10bi 10c

Part 3 contd. Roles 1762

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<td>83/66/36b Duet:IM, IW</td>
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<td>84/67/37 Air and</td>
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<td>- /68/- Chorus:IMW</td>
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Notes:

1. The recitative 'Well may we hope' (40/-/B) and the air 'Flowing Joys' (41/-/-) were probably sung for the last time in their original 1750 form during this period. See Appendix Chart 16.

2. No more changes were made to the recitative 'From Capharsalama' (66/57/AB) during this period. See Chapter 4, pp. 166-173; and Appendix Chart 7, pp. A116-118.
Notes and References:

1. I have not included Edition 10bii here, since we do not know to which performances it applied (see Chapter 6, p.231).

2. Probably sung by Miss Brent, whose name is annotated in the conducting score in Part Two, f.18.

3. The original A major version was probably sung by Miss Brent. See Appendix Chart 16.

4. Part two only.

5. From 1757 this recitative was no longer subdivided. With musical adjustments (see Chart 6.) it now led into item 72/58/A without a break (i.e. Nos. 69/-/(A.B) and 71/-/(B) were no longer separate items).

6. As explained in Chart 8, p.A124, note 10, the air and the duet versions were alternatives, but the duet version was that which was usually performed. Except in the footnote to the addenda sheet of Issue 1b, it was, however, always printed as an air in successive word-books, even in the post-Handel era.

7. The copy of the 1762 word-book, Lbl, 11771.h1(5), is annotated 'Duet. Miss Young & Boy' by the side of the air, 'O lovely Peace,'. This is the first evidence in any word-book that this item was sung as a duet, even though it was published as such in 1747 on pp.66-69 of the Walsh edition.
CHART 13.

THE MUSICAL EVOLUTION OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1763-1774

Reference:  + = Performed; - = Omitted.

For Movement Titles see Chart 2, pp. A72-A76.

Roles are indicated by initials explained on Chart 3, p. A78.

Voices are indicated as shown in the Preface. Additionally, S1 differentiates the first soprano from the second soprano (S2).

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### Voices

| 14/14/- Recit: IW | + + + + + | S1    |
| 15/15/9 Air: IW   | +2 + + + + | S1    |
| 16/16/10 Air: IW  | + + + + +  | S1    |
| 17/17/- Recit: IM | - - - - -  | -     |
| 18/18/11 Air: IM  | + + + + +  | S2    |
| 19/19/12 Duet: IW,IM | + + + + + | S1,S2 |
| 20/20/13 Chorus: IMW | + + + + + | S,A,T,B |
| 21/21/14 Recits: J | + + + + +  | T     |
| 22/22/15 Semi-Chorus: | + + + + + | A,T,B |
| 23/23/- Recit: J  | + + + + +  | T     |
| 24/24/16 Air: J   | + + + + +  | T     |
| 25/-/- Recit: -   | - - - - -   | -     |
| 26/-/- Air: -     | - - - - -   | -     |
| 27/-/- Recit: -   | - - - - -   | -     |
| 28/-/- Air: -     | - - - - -   | -     |
| 29/-/(16a) Air: - | - - - - -   | -     |
| 30/-/(16b) Air: - | - - - - -   | -     |
| 31/25/- Recit: IM | + - - - -   | -     |
| 32/26/17 Chorus: IMW | + + + + + | S,A,T,B |

### Part 2

| 33/27/18 Chorus: IMW | + + + + + | S,A,T,B |
| 11B/-/- The March | - - - - - | - |
| 34/-/- Air: | - - - - - | - |
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### Part 2 contd. Roles

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### Part 3

| Air: IP                    | S2     |
| 62/53/29 Recit: IM         | S2     |
| 64/55/- Recit: IW          | S1     |
| 65/56/31 Air: IW           | S1     |
| 66/57/AB/Recit: IMS5       | S2     |
| 67/- /A Air: -             |        |
| 68/- /B Air: IMS           |        |
| 69/-/(A.B)Recit: IMS5      | S2     |
| 70/-/- Air: -              |        |
| 71/-/- Recit: IM           | S2     |
| 72/58/A Chorus: Yths       | S1,S2,S2|
| - /-/ B Chorus: Vgns       | S1,S2  |
| - /- C Chorus: IMW         | S,A,T,B|
| 11C/59/-/32a The March     |        |
Word-books: Editions  

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Note:

As stated in Chapter 6, p.242, I have discovered no word-book for the 1765 performances. However, from an annotation in the conducting score on f. 17 of Part 2 it can be conjectured that 'Flowing Joys' was sung by Mosor in 1765 (see Appendix Chart 16).
Notes and References:

1. From the annotated copy of the 1762 word-book, Lbl, 11771.h1(5), it appears that in 1771 Thomas Champness, sang both 'Not vain' and 'Pious Orgies'. In 1773 the recitative was sung by the bass, but the soprano Mary Linley sang the air.

2. It seems that the longer ending was introduced following the revival of the Occasional Oratorio this season.

3. It might be conjectured that this was the season when the movement was transposed up to G major for Tenducci. See the conducting score, Pt.2, f.17, and Chart 16.

4. From 1764 only Part Two of 'Ye worshippers of God' was sung. This began 'No more in Sion'.

5. See Note 5 of Appendix Chart 12.

6. See Note 6 of Appendix Chart 12.
CHART 14. THE RANDALL EDITION OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS
PUBLISHED IN 1769

Reference: + = Published; – = Omitted.

W = Walsh plates used; Wp = Walsh plates
C/N/H: see Preface, p. iii. partly used.

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<td>Daughters, let</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>4/4/2</td>
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Part the Second.

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Notes and References:

1. Set to the words 'Well may your sorrows, Brethren, flow'.
2. The 1763 ending was printed here, not that used by Handel in this oratorio.
3. Set to the words 'O Judas, may these noble views inspire all Israel with thy heroic Fire'.
4. The duet version was always omitted in the word-books, possibly because the same words were printed in item 16/16/10.
5. By 1764 this item was designated as an Air in the word-books, whereas earlier editions of these books and Randall, in the Index, had it as a Semichorus.
6. Introduced in 1750, deleted in 1762, restored in 1763, permanently removed in 1764.
7. Confusion has been caused by Randall's misunderstanding of this item in its two places. See 'The Randall Edition of the score', Chapter 6, pp. 263-266.
8. The Randall index has 'Chorus. Sound an Alarm', whereas the word-books have 'Chorus. We hear'.
9. By 1764 this item had been deleted.
10. Here the word-books only printed the second part of this recitativo, 'No more in Sion'.
11. Randall printed the 1747 version, ending in A major. As he included the 1750 G major 'Joshua' choruses associated with 'See the conqu'ring Hero comes' to
follow this, he should have printed the later version of this recitative ending in D major which dates from 1750.

12. The word-books always printed the text of this movement as an Air, not a Duet. Handel provided an alternative, but usually it was the duet version that was performed. See Chapter 3, pp. 104-5.
CHART 15.

ITEMS INVOLVED IN THE EVOLUTION OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1760-1774

The date of the first appearance of an item in this work is shown in brackets.

1760

No changes were made in the first revivals after the death of the composer, compared to the performances of 1759 (see Chart 8 and Chart 12). No.82/66/36b Duet, 'O lovely peace' (1747) was sung by Miss Young and a boy, according to the annotated 1760 word-book, Lb1, 11771. h1(5).

1761

Part 1.

30/-/(16b) Air, 'Far brighter than the morning' (1758) was removed. The sequence became:

24/24/16 Air, 'No unhallow'd desire' (1747)
27/-/- Recit, 'O Judas' (1750)
31/25/- Recit, 'Haste we' (1750)
32/26/17 Chorus, 'Hear us, O Lord' (1747)

Part 2.

41/-/- Air, 'Flowing Joys' (used earlier in Part 2 in 1750) was removed. So the sequence became:

40/-/B Recit, 'Well may we hope' (1750)
42/33/- Recit, 'O let eternal honours' (1747)
43/34/2 Air, 'From mighty kings' (1747)
1762

There were four performances; all had changes made in them.

1. Friday 5 March

Part 2.

47/-/- Recit, 'Sweet are the words' (1758) and
48/-/(23) Air, 'Great in wisdom' (1758) were removed.

So the sequence became:

46/38/23 Air, 'How vain is man' (1747)
51/39/- Recit, '0 Judas' (1750)
52/40/24 Air, 'Ah! wretched Israel' (1747)

2. Wednesday 10 March

Part 2.

41/-/- Air, 'Flowing Joys' (1750) was added.

So the sequence became:

- /32/- Chorus, 'Tune your harps' (1758)
40/-/ B Recit, 'Well may we hope' (1750)
41/-/- Air, 'Flowing Joys' (1750)
42/33/ Recit, '0 let eternal honours' (1747)
43/34/21 Air, 'From mighty kings' 1747)

3. Wednesday 17 March

Part 1.

Possibly 30/-/-, Air, 'Far brighter' (1758) was sung by 'The Boy', and 31/25/- Recit, 'Haste we' (1750) was omitted. So the sequence became:

27 /-/- Recit, '0 Judas' (1750)
30/-/(16b) Air, 'Far brighter than the morning' (1758)
32/26/17 Chorus, 'Hear us, 0 Lord' (1747).
Part 2.

41/-/- Air, 'Flowing joys' (1750) was omitted. So the sequence became:
   - /32/- Chorus, 'Tune your harps' (1747)
40/-/B Recit, 'Well may we hope' (1750)
42/33/- Recit, 'O let eternal honours' (1747)
43/34/21 Air, 'From mighty Kings' (1747)
59/49/B Recit, 'Ye worshippers of God' (1747) was omitted. So the sequence became:
   58/48/27a Air, 'With pious hearts' (1747)
   60/50/27b Air, 'Wise men flatt'ring' (1758)
   61/51/28 Duet, 'O never bow we down' (1747)

Part 3.

82/66/36b Duet, 'O lovely peace' (1747) was sung, but not the solo setting.

4. Wednesday 21 April

Part 1.

27/-/- Recit, 'O Judas' (1750) and
30/-/(16b) Air, 'Far brighter' (1758) were omitted. So the sequence became:
   24/24/16 Air, 'No unhallowed desire' (1747)
   32/26/17 Chorus, 'Hear us, O Lord' (1747)

Part 2.

40/-/B Recit, 'Well may we hope' (1750) was omitted. So the sequence became:
   - /32/- Chorus, 'Tune your harps' (1758)
42/33/- Recit, 'O let eternal honours' (1747)
43/34/2 Air, 'From mighty kings' (1747)
In addition, 57/47/A Recit, 'Enough to Heav'n' (1747) and 58/48/27a Air, 'With pious Hearts' (1747) were omitted. So the sequence became:

- / 46/- Chorus, 'We hear' (1747)
59/49/B Recit, 'Ye worshippers' (1747), part 2
60/50/27b Air, 'Wise men, flatter'ring' (1758)

1763

Part 1.
15/15/9 Air, 'O Liberty' (1748); its longer ending was probably introduced.
27/-/- Recit, 'O Judas' (1750) was withdrawn, and 31/25/- Recit, 'Haste we' (1750) was restored. So the sequence became:
24/24/16 Air, 'No unhallow'd desire' (1747)
31/25/- Recit, 'Haste we' (1750)
32/26/17 Chorus, 'Hear us, O Lord' (1747)

Part 2.
40/-/B Recit, 'Well may we hope' (1750) and
41/-/- Air, 'Flowing joys' were restored. So the sequence became:
39/31/20b Duet, 'Sion now' (1758)
- /32 / - Chorus, 'Tune your Harps' (1758)
40/- /B Recit, 'Well may we hope' (1750)
41/- /- Air, 'Flowing joys' (1750)
42/33/- Recit, 'O let eternal honours' (1747)
1764

Part 1.
31/25/- Recit, 'Haste we' was removed. So the sequence became:
24/24/16 Air, 'No unhallowed desire' (1747)
32/26/17 Chorus, 'Hear us, O Lord' (1747)

Part 2.
40/-/B Recit, 'Well may we hope' (1750) and
41/-/- Air, 'Flowing Joys' (1758) were omitted.
So the sequence became
- /32/- Chorus, 'Tune your harps' (1758)
42/33/- Recit, 'O let eternal honours' (1747)
43/34/21 Air, 'From mighty kings' (1747)
Additionally, in 59/49/B Recit, 'Ye worshippers' (1747) only Part 2 was performed.

1765-1774

No further item changes were made.
CHART 16.

THE SOLO SINGERS IN JUDAS MACCABAEUS: 1747-1774

1. The Soloists

The type of voice (on the evidence of the clef for that soloist's music in the autograph and conducting scores) is indicated below by S, S2, T or B. Additional soprano soloists are indicated by S1a, S1b, S2a, S2b or S3c. Clefs are shown as s, a, t, or b. The spelling of the names of certain soloists (e.g. Weichsel) has been standardised. As explained in the Preface, my conjectures are shown by [?] for teams of soloists and ? for an individual. In Judas Maccabaeus Handel wrote little music in the alto clef for the soloists (as can be seen from pages A184-188 below), and the relevant role is referred to throughout as S2. The following lists are derived from Chapters 3 - 6.

A. Performances under the direction of Handel at Covent Garden in 1747:

a. The original allocation of soloists and their roles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soloist</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gambarini</td>
<td>Israeliite Woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galli</td>
<td>Israeliite Man; Priest; Messenger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beard</td>
<td>Judas Maccabaeus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinhold</td>
<td>Simon, brother to Judas Maccabaeus; Eupolemus, the Jewish Ambassador to Rome.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Revivals of 1748 and 1750:

1748  [?] Casarini [S], Galli [S2],
       Lowe [T], Reinhold [B].
From 1750 onwards, Handel regularly employed three
voices for the S and S2 roles. These are distinguished
below as S, S2a, and S2b. In some of the later
seasons, and in Benefit performances, yet another
soprano, indicated below as S2c, appears to have been
engaged.

1750  [?] Frasi [S], Galli [S2a], Guadagni [S2b],
       Lowe [T], Reinhold [B].

B. Performances under the direction of Handel
and J.C. Smith the younger at Covent Garden:

1751  [?] Frasi [S1], Galli [S2a], Guadagni [S2b],
       Lowe [T], Reinhold [B].
1752  [?] Frasi [S1], Galli [S2a], Chas. Brent [S2b],
       Beard [T], Wass [B].
1753  [?] Frasi [S1], Galli [S2a], Guadagni [S2b],
       Beard [T], Wass [B].
1754  [?] Frasi [S1], Galli [S2a], Passerini [S2b],
       Beard [T], Wass [B].
1755  [?] Frasi [S1], I. Young [S2a], Passerini [S2b],
       Beard [T], Wass [B].
1756  [?] Frasi [S1], I. Young [S2a], Curioni [S2b],
       Beard [T], Wass [B].
1757  [?] Frasi [S1], I. Young [S2a], Beralta [S2b],
       Beard [T], Champness [B].
1758 Frasi [S1], I. Young (Mrs Scott) [S2a], Frederick [S2b], Beard [T], Champness [B].
1759 Frasi [S1], Scott [S2a], Ricciarelli [S2b], Beard [T], Champness [B].

C. Performances under the direction of Smith and Stanley at Covent Garden:
1760 Frasi [S1], Scott [S2a], Brent [S2b], Beard [T], Champness [B].
1761 Frasi [S1], Brent [S2a], Scott [S2b], Beard [T], Quilici [B] or Champness [B].
1762 Frasi [S1], Scott [S2], Beard [T], Quilici [B].
1763 Frasi [S1], Scott [S2a], P. Young [S2b], Tenducci [S2c], Beard [T] or Norris [T], Quilici [B].
1764 Brent [S1], P. Young [S2a], Tenducci [S2b], Beard [T], Champness [B] or Quilici [B].
1765 Frasi [S1a] or Brent [S1a], Mosor [S1b], Scott [S2a], Tenducci [S2b], Beard [T], Champness [B] or Legg [B].
1766 Brent [S1], Mattocks [S2a], Tenducci [S2b], Vernon [T], Champness [B].
1767 Frasi [S1], Brent [S2a], Scott [S2b], Vernon [T], Champness [B].
1768 Frasi [S1], Scott [S2a], Guarducci [S2b], Battishill [T], Champness [B].
In 1770 Smith and Stanley moved their Lenten Oratorio Season to Drury Lane, and continued there until after the 1774 season.

D. Performances under the direction of Smith and Stanley at Drury Lane:

1770  [?] Weichsel [S1], Scott [S2a], Guadagni [S2b],
       Tenducci [S2c],
       Norris [T], Champness [B].

1771  [?] Weichsel [S1],
       Scott [S2a], Guadagni [S2b],
       Tenducci [S2c],
       Norris [T], Champness [B].

1772  [?] Weichsel [S1], Scott [S2a], Grassi [S2b],
       Norris [T], Parry [B] or Champness [B].

1773  E. Linley [S1], Weichsel [S2a],
       M. Linley [S2b],
       Norris [T], Parry [B].

1774  [?] Galli [S1], Davies [S2a], Wrighten [S2b]
       Norris [T], F.C. Reinhold [B].

E. Other London Performances, 1760-1774:

1760 Great Music Room, Dean Street, Soho:
       Passerini [S1], Frederick [S2],
       Hudson [T], Champness [B].
1762 Great Music Room, Dean Street, Soho:

[?] Frasi [S1a], Mosor [S1b], Brent [S2a],
P. Young [S2b], Tenducci [S2c],
Beard [T], Champness [B].

1769 New (or Little) Theatre, Haymarket, 1 and 2:

[?] Brent [S1], Mattocks [S2a], Jewel [S2b],
Vernon [T], F.C. Reinhold [B].

New (or Little) Theatre, Haymarket, 3:

Frasi [S1a], Weichsel [S1b], Scott [S2a],
Parsons [T], Champness [B].

1770 Covent Garden:

[?] Brent [S1], Mattocks [S2a],
Vernon [T], F.C. Reinhold [B].

New (or Little) Theatre, Haymarket:

Frasi [S1], Scott [S2a], Guadagni [S2b],
Vernon [T], Champness [B].

1771 Covent Garden:

[?] Brent [S1], Mattocks [S2a],
Vernon [T], F.C. Reinhold [B].

New (or Little) Theatre, Haymarket:

Weichsel [S1a],
Scott [S2a], Guadagni?, [S2b],
Vernon [T], Champness [B].

1772 Covent Garden:

[?] Brent (Mrs Pinto) [S1], Mattocks [S2a],
Vernon [T],
F.C. Reinhold [B] or Champness [B].
1773 Covent Garden:
Catley [S1],
Mattocks [S2a], Ristorini [S2b],
Venables [T], F.C.Reinhold [B].

1774 There were no London performances of Judas Maccabaeus, except those given at Drury Lane.

2. Evidence from the Annotations in the Conducting Score of Judas Maccabaeus

Three sources have annotations which supply information about the soloists in certain movements of Judas Maccabaeus in performances in the period 1747-1774:

i. the conducting score (D-Hs, MA/1026), annotated with singer's names at various times between 1747 and c.1765.

ii. one exemplar of word-book Edition 10bii (dated 1762) with annotations from the seasons of 1771 and (possibly) 1762 (see Chapter 6, p.257).

iii. one exemplar of word-book 13, (dated 1766) with annotations from the seasons 1769 and 1770 (see Chapter 6, pp.244-245).

The annotations from sources ii and iii are tabulated in Chapter 6. There follows a list of the annotations in the conducting score: tentative dates have been assigned for the addition of each name, on the assumption that they were written the first time the soloist sang that movement. Annotations which are barely legible are accompanied by ?
Part 1.

3/3/- Recit: Well, Brethren,
  f.14r. Galli [1747], Curioni [1756],
         Brent [1760], Young [1764],
         M(aster?) Norris [?].

Recit: Daughters, let your distressful Cries,
  f.14r. Gambarini [1747], Frasi [1750].

4/4/2 Duet: From this dread Scene,
  f.14v. Frasi [1750], Brent [1760].

6/6/ABC Recit: Not vain is all this Storm of Grief,
  f.23r. original version (see Chapter 3, pp.94-97).

Simon, Brother to Judas Macchabaeus:
  b. clef, but then sung in later revivals by ?Frasi [S1 in 1750],
  ('a note lower' suggests ?Curioni [S2 in 1756].

f.22r. revised version, Israelite [Man]:
  s. clef for soloist,
  Brent [S2 in 1760],
  Tenducci [S2 in 1763],
  Mosor [S1 in 1765].

7/7/4abc Air: Pious Orgies
  f.23v. Frasi [S1 in 1750],
         Curioni [S2 in 1756]
         Brent [S2 in 1760],
         Tenducci [S2 in 1763],
         Mosor [S1 in 1765].
14/14/- Recit: To Heav'ns almighty King
Gambarini [1747].

16/16/10 Air: Come, ever-smiling Liberty
f.48r. Gambarini [1747],
f.48v. Brent [S1 for this movement in 1760].

17/17/- Recit: These noble Views
f.51r. Galli [1747].

18/18/11 Air: 'Tis Liberty,
f.51v. Galli [1747], Curioni [1756],
Young [1757].

22/22/15Semi-Chorus: Disdainful of Danger
f.60r. a,t,b clefs for soloists.
Galli [1747], Beard 1747],
Reinhold [1747].

Part 2.

31/25/- Recit: Haste we (dates from 1750)
f.69r. Israelite Man: a clef for Guadagni.

35/28/- Recit: Victorious Hero!
f.12r. Galli [1747], Passarini [1754],
Curioni [1756], Young [1757].

36/29/19 Air: So Rapid thy Course is
f.12v. Galli [1747], Curioni [1756],
Young [1757], Scott [1758].

37/30/A Recit: Well may we hope
f.18r. (original version):
Guadagni [1750], Brent [1760].

38/-/20a Air: Flowing Joys
f.18r. (original version):
Guadagni [1750], Brent [1760].
Recit: Well may we hope
f.17r. (revised versions):
  Young [?], Mosor [1765].

Air: Flowing Joys
f.17r. (revised versions):
  Tenducci [1763], Mosor [1765].

Recit: O let eternal Honours
f.19r.
  Gambarini [1747], Brent [S2 in 1760].

Air: From mighty Kings
f.19v.
  Gambarini [1747], Brent [S2 in 1760].

Duet: Hail Judea
f.24r.
  [Israelite] Woman:
    Frasi [1750], Curioni [1756].
  [Israelite] Man:
    Guadagni [1750], Galli [1754].

Recit: O Judas
f.31v.
  Israelite Messenger:
    a.clef. ? written for Galli
    [S2 in 1747], but sung by Gambarini
    [S1 in 1747] to lead into the
    following air. Guadagni [1750].

Air and Chorus: Ah! wretched Israel!
    Gambar(ini) [1747], Fra(si) [1750].

Recit: Ye Worshippers
f.52v.
  Israelite Man: Galli [1748],
    Guadagni [1750], Young [1756].
  Israelite Woman: Gambarini [1747],
    Tenducci [1763], Mosor [1765].
Air: Wise men, flatt'ring

f.54v. Tenducci [1763].

Duet: Oh never,

f.61v. 'Master Morton' above all the staves[?].

Isr(aelite) Woman:
Gambarini [1747], Brent [S1 in 1765].
Isr(raelite) Man:
Galli [1747], Guadagni [1750],
Young [1756], Scott [1758].

Part 3.

Air: Father of Heav'n

f.1r. Israelite [Man] or Priest:
Young [1756], Scott [1758],
Tenducci [1763].

Recit: See, see yon Flames

f.6r. Israelite Man (crossed out), Simon:
s.clef, written for Galli (1747), but
sung by Reinhold [1747].

Recit: O grant it, Heav'n

f.6v. Israelite Woman:
Brent [S1 in 1765].

Air: So shall the Lute

f.7r Brent [S1 in 1765].

Recit: From Capharsalama

f.11v. Isr(raelite] Messenger:
a.clef, intended for
Galli in 1747, but sung by
Reinhold in 1747,
Guadagni [1750], Curioni [1756].
67/- /A Air: Pow'rfu1 Guardians
   f. 12r. Cur(ioni) [1756], Mosor [1765].

69/- (A. B) Recit: Yet more;
   f. 14v. later version, s.clef,
       Young [1757].
   f. 17r. original version, a clef,
       a continuation of 'From Capharsalama'
       (see f. 11v. above).

71/- (B) Recit: But lo!
   f. 15r. b.clef [but sung by Guadagni in 1750].

78/63/- Recit: Peace to my Countrymen
   f. 29r. Reinhold [1747].

83/66/36b Duet: O lovely Peace
   f. 35v. [S] Gambarini [1747],
       [S2] Galli [1747], Tenducci [1763].

3. Annotations and Casts

   a. The match between the annotations in the conducting
      score and my cast lists reveals that Charlotte Brent sang
      as [S2] in the 1760 and 1761 seasons. In those of 1764 and
      1765 she sang [S1], whilst in 1767 she sang [S2] in Jud as
      Maccabaeus during the Lenten oratorio season performances
      at Covent Garden.

   b. I am unable to assign the singers Master Norris,
      and Master Moreton to a specific performance. Their names
      appear, respectively, in Pt. 1, f. 14r., and in Pt. 2, f. 61v.
      in the conducting score. There is a possibility that they
      could be linked with the performances associated with Issue
      10bii of the word-book (see Chapter 6, p. 257).
c. The annotations, Curioni and Tenducci (as shown on pp. A184-A188 above), are helpful in dating such movements as 'Pious Orgies' (7/7/abc), and both versions of 'Flowing Joys' (38/-/20a and 41/-/-). See Chart 8 Notes; p.A123 and Chart 13, note 3 on p.A166, and p. A168.

4. Last use of the Conducting Score for Performances

The annotations in the conducting score do not include the names of any soloists who sang in Judas Maccabaeus for the first time in a Smith revival after 1765, such as Weichsel (1769-1771), Guarducci (1769), Grassi (1772), both Miss Linleys (1773), Parry (1772-1773), Davies (1774) and Wrighten (1774). Although the conducting score contains annotations of soloists such as Guadagni (1750; 1768-1771) and Tenducci (1762-1766;1770-1771), such annotations could apply to their earlier performances. Therefore no reliability can be placed on the exact date of these annotations.

In trying to trace the date of the last certain use of the conducting score, however, a useful clue comes with the annotations (Part One, f.22r., Part Two, ff. 17r. and 52v., Part Three, f.12r.) of the name Mosor, who sang in Judas Maccabaeus at Covent Garden for the first time in 1765. It might be argued, therefore, that the conducting score was in use until the end of the 1765 performances at Covent Garden.

Whilst no accurate date can be given for the last performance in which the conducting score was used, it seems likely either that the same conducting score
continued to be used until 1774 at Drury Lane (with no annotations being added for the new soloists), or that a new conducting score (in manuscript, or based on the 1769 printed Randall Edition) was used in the last seasons of the Smith/Stanley era, but is now lost.

We do not know what conducting score, or what vocal and orchestral parts, were used for the Soho performances in 1760-1762, but it seems unlikely that the Handel-Smith/Stanley conducting score was used. The names of Soho soloists such as Passerini, Frederick, Hudson (of 1760) and Quilici and Champness (of 1761) do not appear in the conducting score.

For other London performances after 1769 at Covent Garden and the Haymarket it is probable that the conducting score and performing parts used there were derived from the Randall Edition.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES FOR THE LIBRETTO OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS

Manuscript Source


Judas Macchabaeus/ an Oratorio,/or/Sacred Drama/
as it is to be performed at the Theatre-/Royal in
Covent Garden/Composed by. George Frideric Handel
Libretto in the hand of J.C. Smith, and signed by the
composer. Originally submitted to the Lord
Chamberlain's office in 1747. (The 'Larpent Ms').

Printed Sources of Word-books from the oratorio

Edition 1, dated 1747 (Issue 1a of 1 April 1747).

Lbl, CUP 407. KK.26; F-Pn, VS.892.

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS./ A/ SACRED DRAMA./ As it is
Perform'd at the/ THEATRE-ROYAL in COVENT-GARDEN./
The MUSICK by Mr. HANDEL./LONDON:/ Printed for John
Watts: And Sold by B. Dod at the Bible and Key in
Ave-Mary Lane near Stationers-Hall./ MDCCXLVII./
[Price One Shilling.]

Issue 1b. Bc, 783.3, Oratorios E/1.

Issue 1c. F-Pa, Ro.7703(2).

Issue 1d. Ckc, Mn.20.62.

Issue 1e. Lcm, XX.G.22. Vol II(9).

Issue 1f. Mp, B.R.310.1 Hd578(6).

Issue 1g. Lcm, XX.G.22. Vol.II(10), as originally
published.

Issue 1h. Lcm, XX.G.22. Vol.11(10). Issue 1g
with stuck-on slip.

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS./ A/ SACRED DRAMA./ As it is
Perform'd at the/THEATRE-ROYAL in COVENT-GARDEN./
The MUSICK by Mr. HANDEL./LONDON:/Printed by and
for John Watts; and Sold by him at the Printing-/Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields:/
And by B. Dod at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary Lane
near/Stationers-/Hall. M DCC L./

[Price One Shilling.]

Title page unchanged, except for the date.

Title page unchanged, but no date is given.

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS./ A/ SACRED DRAMA./ As it is
Perform'd at the/THEATRE-ROYAL in COVENT-GARDEN./
Set to MUSICK by Mr. HANDEL./LONDON:/Printed in the
Year M, DCC, LV.

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS./ A/ SACRED DRAMA./ As it is
Perform'd at the/THEATRE-ROYAL in COVENT-GARDEN./
The MUSICK compos'd by Mr. HANDEL./LONDON:/
Printed for J. Watts: And Sold by B. Dod at the Bible
and/Key in Ave-Mary-Lane near Stationers-Hall.
1756./ [Price One Shilling.]

Edition 7, dated 1757. (Edition 7a; all exemplars have
stuck-on correction slips = Edition 7b).
JUDAS MACCHABAEUS. / A SACRED DRAMA. / As it is Perform'd at the THEATRE-ROYAL/IN/ COVENT-GARDEN. / Set to MUSICK by Mr. HANDEL. / LONDON: / Printed for J. Watts: And Sold by B. Dod at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane near Stationers-Hall. 1757. / [Price One Shilling.]

Edition 7, dated 1757, with stuck-on correction slips [= Edition 7b of 1758 and 1759].

BENcoke, C7; Lbl, 11778.g.17; Ckc, Mn.20.64.

Edition 8, dated 1760. BENcoke, C9; Lcm, XX.G.19(8).

The 1756 title page was used, with the change of date to 1760.


The title page is identical to that of 1756, except for the change of date to 1761.

Editions 10, all dated 1762.

10a. US-SM, K-D 413; Ckc, Mn.20.65; Lcm, XX.G.22(14).

Title-page is identical to that of 1756, except for the change of date to 1762.

10b. Lbl, 11778.g.18; Lbl, 11771.h1(5).

Upper part of the title page identical to Edition 10a. Lower part changed to:

London:/Printed for J. Watts; And Sold by B. Dod at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane near Stationers-Hall; and the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1762.

10c. En, BH.Lib.97.

Title page as Edition 10b. Correction slips stuck
on pp. 10 and 12. Change of textual format on pp. 15 and 16.

Edition 11, dated 1763. BENcoke, C11 (2 examples); En, BH.Lib.98; Lbl1, 1500/253; Lcm, XX.G.22(15).

Same title page as Editions 10b and 10c.

Edition 12, dated 1764. Lcm, XX.G.22(16); BENcoke, C.12.

Upper part of the title page identical with that of Edition 11. Change of decoration and text on the lower part, to read:
London: /Printed for the Administrators of J.Watts: And sold by B.Dodd (sic)/at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane near Stationers-Hall; G.Woodfall the corner of Craigs-Court, Charing-Cross; and S./Hooper at the New-Church in the Strand. 1764/ [Price One Shilling].

Edition 13, dated 1766. Lcm, XXI.C.13(3); BENcoke, C.13; Ob, Vet A.5.e.158(1).

Text of the upper part of the title page identical with that of Edition 11. Change of decoration and text on the lower part, to read:
London:/Printed for the Administrator of J.Watts And sold by G.Wood-/fall the Corner of Craig's-Court, Charing-Cross; and S.Hooper/ at the New-Church in the Strand. 1766./[Price One Shilling.]
Undated Post-1766 Word-books


Lbl, 11630.d.4(13); Lcm, XX1.C.13(4); Mp, B.R.310.1Hd; 674(10); US-PRu, (Ex) ML53.2.J82H36.

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS/A/Sacred Drama./
As it is performed at the/ Theatre Royal/
In COVENT-GARDEN./ The MUSICK Composed by Mr.HANDEL./London:/Printed for the Administrator of J.WATTS; and sold by/T.LOWNDES, in Fleet-Street. [Price One Shilling].


Lbl, T 657(16); Lcm, XX.G.22(11) and XX.G.22(12).

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS/A/Sacred Drama./
As it is performed at the/ Theatre Royal/
In COVENT-GARDEN./ The MUSICK Composed by Mr.HANDEL./London:/ Printed for E.Johnson (Successor to B.Dod, by whom it was/many Years sold) at NO 12, Ave-Mary-Lane./
[Price One Shilling].


JUDAS MACCABAEUS./ A/ SACRED DRAMA/ As it is performed at/ The THEATRES ROYAL./ The Music composed by Mr. HANDEL./ LONDON:/ Printed for W.Lowndes, Fleet Street; and J. Barker,/ Russell-Court, Drury-Lane.
Other Relevant Eighteenth-century Libretti

Judas Machabæus, Melodramma, dated 1695.
JUDAS/MACHABAEUS./MELODRAMMA/In Sacello
Archiconfraternitatis/SS. CRUCIFIXI/ Feria VI.
post Dominicam Secundam/Quadragesime,
Sub armonica directione/GREGORII COLAE ROMANI/
Audiendum./ANNO DOMINI MDCXCV./ROMAE,
Ex Typographia Joannis Francisci Buagni, 1695.
SUPERIORUM PERMISSU.

Mater Machabæorum,Melodrama, dated 1705.
I-Rli, 171.E.13(14).
MATER/MACHABAEORUM/MELODRAMA/F.L./Canendum/
In Sacello Archiconfraternitatis
SANCTISSIMI/ CRUCIFIXI/Anno Salutis MDCCIV.
Musicus aptatum Concentibus/ A FLOIANO ARESTI
Bononiensi.ROMAE, Typis Io:Buagni. MDCCIV.
Superiorum Facultate.
SOURCES FOR THE MUSIC OF JUDAS MACCABAEUS

PRIMARY SOURCES

Judas Maccabaeus [HWV 63]

Autograph Score  Lbl, RM 20.e.12.
Conducting Score  D-Hs, MA/1026.
Composer's Manuscripts and Sketches  Cfm, MUMS.
   i. 259, pp. 53 and 54, 'O Liberty' in A major, with the ending used in Judas Maccabaeus.
   ii. 260, p.26, 'G major March' for horns, vlns, and bassi.
   iii. 263, p.77, Horn 2 part for the 'G major March', copied by the older Smith.

First Printed Edition, published Tuesday 9 June 1747

JUDAS MACCHABAEUS/ an /Oratorio/ Set to Musick by/
MR.HANDEL/ London. Printed for I. Walsh, in Catherine Street, in the Strand./of whom may be had,/The Works of Mr.Handel, Geminiani, Corelli, and all the most/
Eminent Authors of Musick.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Judas Maccabaeus [HWV 63]

Library copies
a. in score:
   i. 'Aylesford'  Mp, Newman Flower Collection, MS 130 Hd4,v.173.
   ii. 'Stanley'  Lbl, RM 18.f.10.
iii. 'Annesley' Lcm, MS. 250.
iv. 'Shaftesbury' Private collection, Earl of Shaftesbury, Wimbourne St Giles, A3.
v. 'Fussell Winton' BENcoke, (Harvester Microfilm Collection Ms 70).
vi. 'Barrett-Lennard' Cfm, MU. MS. 809
vii. 'Smith Collection' Lbl, RM 18.f.1

b. in performing parts:

Mp, Newman Flower Collection, MS 130 Hd4:-
v.174 Violino Primo
v.175 Violino 2do
v.176 Viola
v.177 Hautbois Pmo
v.178 Hautbois 2do
v.179 Bassoon Pmo
v.180 Organo
v.181 Canto Primo
v.182 Canto 2do
v.183 Alto Pmo
v.184 Tenor Pmo
v.185 Basso Pmo
v.186 Basso 2do
v.243(4) Violoncello Primo
v.244(3) Violoncello 2do, Contra Basso
v.247(9) Tromba Pma
v.248(9) Tromba 2do
v.353(8) Tympano.
Soprano air, 'Future times', in the hand of the younger Smith. Later used in *Judas Maccabaeus* set to the words 'Great in Wisdom'.

Performance copy of the score

'Shaw-Hellier' Bu, Shaw-Hellier Collection, 75-77.

Vocal score of four choruses with an incomplete Italian translation

Alcuni Cori / Dell' Oratorio intitolato/ Giuda Maccabaeo/Messo in Musica/ Dal Sig. Heandel.

BENcoke, (Harvester Microfilm Collection Ms 70).

Later Editions referred to in the Text

Randall Edition [1769]:

Judas Macchabaeus/ AN/ORATORIO/ in Score / As it was Originally Perform'd/ composed by/ Mr HANDEL/ with/ HIS ADDITIONAL ALTERATIONS/ London Printed for William Randall Successor to / the late Mr J Walsh in Catharine (sic) St in the Strand/ of whom may be had the compleat scores of Messiah, Samson, Alexander's Feast, Acis and Galatea &c.

Bland Edition [c.1780]

The Overture and Songs in/Iudas Maccabeus/ for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte./ Composed by Mr Handel/ Pr: 4s/6d.

Harrison Edition [1784 and 1786],
Judas Maccabaeus; /An Oratorio./ Composed by M"F Handel,/ for the Voice, Harpsichord, and Violin;/ with the Choruses in Score/London; Printed for Harrison & Co.

Wright Edition [c.1785]
Judas Macchaboeus/ An Oratorio,/ in Score/ As it was Originally Performed/Composed by M"F Handel/ with His Additional Alterations./Pr. L1. S1./ London Printed for H. Wright, Successor to the late M"F J. Walsh.

Arnold Edition [c. 1789]
Judas Macchabaeus/A Sacred/Oratorio/In Score/ With all the additional Alterations/ Composed in the Year 1746/ by / G.F. Handel.

Preston Edition [c.1802],
Judas Macchaboeus/An Oratorio/composed by/ Mr Handel/ with his Additional Alterations./Pr. £1.11s.6d./London Printed & Sold by Preston, at his Wholesale Warehouses, 97, Strand.

Button and Whitaker [1809]
Judas Maccabaeus:/A/Sacred oratorio, /Composed by/ George Frederick Handel/In Complete Vocal Score/ With Accompaniment for the Organ or Pianoforte/ By/ Dr. John Clarke.

Novello Edition [1848]
Judas Maccabaeus/An Oratorio/In Vocal Score/Composed in the Year 1746 by/G.F.Handel./ Edited, and the Piano Accompaniment Arranged, by/
Vincent Novello. / Price Two Shillings./
London: Novello and Company, Limited/And/

Cramer, Beale Edition [1855]
Judas Maccabaeus/ An Oratorio/ Composed by/
George Frederick Handel (ed. Macfarren, for the
English Handel Society, 1855),

Breitkopf and Härtel Edition [1866]
Judas Macccabaus/Oratorium/von/ Georg Friedrich
Handel/ Ausgabe der Deutchen Handelgesellschaft
(ed. Friedrich Chrysander)

Bagster Edition [c.1901]
Bagster's/ Gem Edition/of/Handel's/Judas
Maccabaeus./SB/ Multae terricolis linguae,
coelestibus una./ London: S.Bagster & Sons,
Ltd., 15 Paternoster Row./New York: James Pott &
Co.

Novello Edition [1906]
Novello's Original Octavo Edition/ Judas
Maccabaeus/ an Oratorio/composed in the year 1746
by/ G.F.Handel./Edited, And The Pianoforte
Accompaniment Arranged, By/ JOHN E. WEST./ Price
Two Shilling/ Paper Boards, 2s.6d; cloth, gilt,
4s./London: NOVELLO AND COMPANY, Limited./ New
York: THE H.W.GRAY CO., Sole Agents for the
U.S.A.

Eulenburg Gmbh Edition [1971]
Judas Maccabaus/an Oratorio by/George Friedrich
Handel. libretto by/ the Rev.Thomas Morell, D.D/
Concerto in Judas Maccabaeus

[Concerto a Due Cori in F, No. 3, HWV 334]

Autograph score, Cfm, MU. MS. 264, pp. 45-56.
Lbl, RM 20. g. 6, ff. 66-81.

Library copies of the score and parts,
Mp, 'Newman Flower Collection',
MS 130 Hd4:

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v.366(2) Corno Primo del Coro 2do
v.367(2) Corno 2do del Coro Secondo.

Sources referred to in connection with other Handel works

Serenata a 9. Music for Comus [HWV 44]
'There in blissful shade and bow'rs'
Mp, 130 Hd4, v.300.
Modern Edition: Handel: Music for Comus
(ed. C. Timms and A. Hicks,

Esther [HWV 50b]
Conducting Score D-Hs MC/261;
Additional Songs for HWV 50b Lbl., Egerton 2931
Kalmus Miniature Score Series No.1310
(Reprint of the HG edition edited by
Friedrich Chrysander, 1882).

Deborah [HWV 51]
Conducting Score D-Hs MC/258.
Kalmus Miniature Score Series No. 1309
(Reprint of the HG edition edited by
Friedrich Chrysander, 1869).

Athalia [HWV 52]
Conducting Score D-Hs, MC/264.
Vocal Score

ATHALIA/ An Oratorio or Sacres Drama/
The words by Samuel Humphreys/The music
The Occasional Oratorio [HWV 62]

- Autograph Score, Lbl, RM 20.f.3.
- Conducting Score, D-Hs, MA/1033.
- Composer's Manuscripts and Sketches, Cfm, MU. MS 259.

Library copies in score,
- 'Aylesford', Mp, MS 130 Hd 4 v. 213.
- 'Smith Collection', Lbl, RM 18.e.7.
- 'Shaftesbury', (Bencok; Harvester Film Collection Mss.78-80).


Robert Cocks and Co. Edition dated 1855

The Occasional Oratorio, Composed, in the Year 1745, By George Frederick Handel; with an Accompaniment for the Pianoforte or Organ, arranged by John Bishop of Cheltenham. Ent. Sta. Hall. Price 2s.

Robert Cocks and Co, New Burlinton Street.

Kalmus Miniature Score Series No.1317
(Reprint of the HG edition edited by Friedrich Chrysander, 1884).

Joshua [HWV 64]

- Autograph Score, Lbl, RM 20.e.11.
- Conducting Score, D-Hs, MA/1027a (pt.2).

Library copies in score,
- 'Smith Collection', Lbl, RM 18.f.3.
- 'Shaftesbury', Bencok; (Harvester MS.69).

Performance copies of Score,

'Hamburg', D-Hs, MA/ 1027.

'Newman Flower Collection', Mp, 130 Hd4 v.166.

'Matthews', DRc, Ms. Music, A.24.

Early Printed Editions,

Walsh (2 April 1748).

Randall (5 May 1774).

Kalmus Miniature Score Series No.1314.

(Reprint of the HG edition edited by Friedrich Chrysander, 1864).

**Alexander Balus [HWV 65]**

Autograph Score, Lbl, RM 20.d.3.

Conducting Score, D-Hs, MA/1001.

Library copies in score,

'Barrett-Lennard' Cfm, MU.MS. 790.

'Aylesford', Mp, Ms 130 Hd4 v.27.

'Smith Collection' Lbl, RM 18.f.2.


'Shaftesbury', BENcoke, (Harvester Film Library, MS. 161).

'Hamburg', D-Hs, 1001a.

Early Printed Editions,

Walsh: Songs in Alexander Balus, published 19 April 1748.

Alexander Balus an Oratorio Set to Musick by Mr Handel, published 5 May 1748.
Music by Other Composers referred to in the Appendix

Buononcini, Giovanni Battista,


Graun, Carl Heinrich, *Passion, 'Kommt her und schaut'*


Muffat, Gottlieb, *Componimenti Musicali per il cembalo*, Suite No.6.


Telemann, Georg Philipp, *Musique de Table*, 1733

Eighteenth-century Literary Sources

Manuscripts
Allen, Anthony, 'Skeletons of King's College', ('Skeleton Collegii Regalis Cantab').

Bishop of Lincoln's Register, LAO, REG 38, p. 103.
Lincolnshire Archives Office.

Covent Garden Account Books,
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1771-4, Lbl, Add. Mss. Egerton 2268-2278
1759-60, Washington, D.C., Folger
Shakespeare Library.
Rich's Register, vol, iv, 1750-73,
Chatsworth House, Bakewell, Derbyshire.

Cross, R., 'Prologue in Honour of the Duke of
Cumberland and his Glorious Victory over
the Rebels' included in the
'Larpent' manuscript libretto, US-SM, LA 59.

Duck, Stephen, The Curatical Battle for Q. Chappel
US-SM., No. 315993.

The Foundling Hospital Messiah Accounts, Thomas Coram
Foundation, London,
1760, 1763, 1767, General Committee
Minutes, vol. 7, p. 269, vol. 8, p. 259 (also
Ms. list, with receipt in the Foundling
10, p. 204. General Committee Minutes, vol.
12, p. 192, and vol. 14, p. 291 record thanks, but no accounts for 1769 and 1774.


Eighteenth-century Journals


The General Advertiser 1747-1753,

Lbl, Burney Collection. Microfilm nos. consulted are shown in brackets.

1745 (415b); 1746 (416b, 417b); 1747 (420b, 421b);
1748 (428b, 429b); 1749 (430b, 431b); 1750 (438b);
1751 (443bb); 1752 (449b); 1753 (462b).

The Public Advertiser 1754-1774,

Lbl, Burney Collection. Microfilm nos. consulted are shown in brackets.

1754 (467b); 1755 (472b); 1756 (478b);
1757 (483b); 1758 (484b); 1759 (503b);
1760 (502b); 1761 (506b); 1762 (516b);
1763 (523b); 1764 (532b); 1765 (541b);
1766 (542b, 543b); 1767 (554b); 1768 (558b);
1769 (562b); 1770 (571b); 1771 (576b, 577b);
1772 (584b); 1773 (599b); 1774 (610b).

The London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer, July 1746.
The Early English Newspapers,
(Research Publications inc., Woodbridge, Connecticut, 1978)
- a microfilm collection of newspapers from the
Lbl, Burney Collection, and from the Ob, John Nichols' Collection. The copy in Lbl. was used in the preparation
of this thesis.

Eighteenth-century Printed Books

The Authorized Version of the Bible, based on the Bishop's Bible of 1568, included the Apocrypha. It was the work of fifty-four revisers, and was first published in 1611.


Cruden, Alexander, A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament; or a Dictionary and Alphabetical Index to the Bible; In Two Parts. ---- To which is Added, A Concordance to the Books called Apocrypha (London, J. Buckland, J. F. and C. Rivington et al, 1737).


Langhorne, John, 'The Tears of Music', a Poem to the memory of Mr Handel.' (London, R. Griffiths, in the Strand, 1760).

[Maddison, Robert] An Examination of the Oratorios which have been Performed this Season at Covent Garden (London, G. Kearsly, in Ludgate Street; R. Davis, in Piccadilly; and J. Walter, at Charing Cross, 1763).

Thomson, James, The Seasons, complete, (London, 1730).

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Boydell, Brian, A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760 (Blackrock, Irish Academic Press, 1988).
Burrows, Donald, 'Handel's Performances of 'Messiah'; The Evidence of the Conducting Score' Music and Letters, 56 (1975).
- 'Handel and the Foundling Hospital'

- 'Handel and Alexander's Feast',


- and Ronish, Martha J.,


Acts and Monuments on Matters happening in the Church ('Foxe's Book of Martyrs'). First, and expanded, edition in English. (London, 1563).


Harris, Ellen, Handel and the Pastoral Tradition (London, Oxford University Press, 1980).


Hicks, Anthony, 'Handel's music for 'Comus', Musical Times, cxvii (1976).

- 'Handel's "Judas Maccabaeus"', (Sleeve notes to Archiv Produktion recording of Judas Maccabaeus, conducted by Charles Mackerras, 1977).

'Judas Maccabaeus G. F. Handel (1685-1759)'. (Programme Notes for a performance of *Judas Maccabaeus* given at St John's Smith Square, London, on 30 May 1990 by the London Handel Choir and Orchestra, conducted by Denys Darlow).


- 'Handel: more Unpublished Letters',

- (comp.), Members of the Royal Society of
  Musicians 1738-1984 (London, The Royal
  Society of Musicians, 1985).

Macmillan, D, (comp.), Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the
  Huntington Library (San Marino, California, 1939).

  1984).

McCredie, A.D., 'John Smith as a Dramatic Composer'

McHardy, W.D., (ed.), The New English Bible. The Apocrypha
  (Oxford University Press, Cambridge

McVeigh, Simon, The Violinist in London's Concert Life,
  1750 - 1784 (New York and London,

Metzger, Bruce M., An Introduction to the Apocrypha
  New York, Oxford University Press
  Inc., 1957).

Moorman, John Richard Humpidge,
  A History Of The Church in England
  (London, Adam & Charles Black, 1953;

Myers, Robert Manson, Handel's Messiah, A Touchstone of Taste


Taylor, Sedley, The Indebtedness of Handel to the works by Other Composers. A Presentation of Evidence. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1906; reprinted New...


Walker, Arthur D., (comp. by),


Wooll, J., Biographical Memoirs of Dr Joseph Warton (London, 1806).


- Handel (London, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd,
Other Works Consulted

A Select List


Revolution and Rebellion: State and society in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Clifford, James, L., Man versus Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain. Six Points of View

Coleman, D.C., The Economy of England 1450-1750

Colley, Linda, Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837

Cook, Chris, & Stevenson, John, (eds.),
British Historical Facts 1688-1760

British Historical Facts 1760-1830
(Houndmills, Basingstoke, Macmillan Academic and Professionals Ltd, 1980).

Cowie, Leonard W., Hanoverian England 1724-1837

Coxe, William, Memoirs of Horatio, Lord Walpole, Selected from His Correspondence and Papers, and connected with the History of the Times, from 1678 to 1757
(London, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orne, 1808).

Daub, Peggy Ellen, Music at the Court of George II (Cornell University Ph.D thesis, 1985).


Jarrett, Derek, Britain 1688-1815 (Harlow, Longman Group Limited, 1965).


Lenman, Bruce, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London, Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1980).

Lewis, W.S. and Brown, Ralph, S. (eds.), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence Vol. 9., Montague 1, 1736-1761.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941).


Thomas, Lord Bishop of Oxford (Thomas Secker)


