

**REVIVAL, REVISION, REBIRTH:
HANDEL OPERA IN GERMANY, 1920-1930**

Abbey E. Thompson

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Approved by:

Annegret Fauser, Advisor

Timothy Carter

Severine Neff

ABSTRACT

ABBEY THOMPSON: Revival, Revision, Rebirth: Handel Opera in Germany, 1920-1930
(Under the direction of Annegret Fauser)

In the 1920s, Germany witnessed a series of revivals of the operas of G.F. Handel, works which had almost entirely lapsed from the German musical consciousness in the nearly 200 years since the composer's death. The reemergence of Handel opera can be traced back to one man, Oskar Hagen, an Art History professor at the University of Göttingen who staged the landmark performance of *Rodelinda* in 1920. This performance and those that followed it were an unanticipated success, suddenly launching the performance of Handel operas across the country, and eventually, the world. Hagen's adaptation techniques, however, have been harshly criticized by modern scholars as being clumsy, audacious, and "inauthentic." This thesis focuses on Hagen's methods of musical adaptation and how they relate to the aesthetics of 1920s Germany, as well as the reception of Hagen's efforts and their impact on the performance practice of Handel opera in the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The concert is a powerful homogenizer when it comes to engaging with repertoires from historically diverse cultures and ambiances... It puts a frame around the musics for which it serves as a medium – a frame whose immediate effect is to enforce the identification of context as a dimension extrinsic to ‘the music itself.’¹

The act of placing a modern stamp of approval upon a work from the distant past instantly raises a number of important issues. To what effect is the work of art changed when placed within a modern frame? The revival of early music thus brings up the problematic concept of historical authenticity and questions the rightful place of this music among both modern audiences and the musical canon. This process of revival is intrinsically linked with culture, reception, and performance practice. With the operas of G.F. Handel, the ideological and political upheavals in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany produced a dramatic shift in many of these culturally prescribed musical values.

In the 1920s, Germany witnessed a series of revivals of the operas of G.F. Handel. These works had almost entirely lapsed from the German musical consciousness for nearly 200 years, since the composer’s death in 1759.² The performance tradition had long been broken, and these significant works were rarely discussed outside of the occasional University classroom.

¹ Rob C. Wegman, “‘Das Musikalische Hören’ in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Perspectives from Pre-War Germany,” *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998), 444.

² There were four performances of *Almira* in Hamburg between 1878 and 1905. Manfred Rätzer, *Szenische Aufführungen von Werken Georg Friedrich Händels vom 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert: eine Dokumentation* (Halle an der Saale: Händel-Haus, 2000).

This phenomenon of revival was not a new one – the resurrection of composers and works from the past had begun early in the nineteenth century, across all of Europe. The widespread rise of nationalism only helped to fuel this trend. In Germany in particular this was unconsciously seen as a way to connect not only with repertoires from their past, but with a somewhat mythologized idea of “Germanness” and the superiority of high German culture.³ In the aftermath of World War I, this need for cultural affirmation was stronger than ever, and the works and historical figure of Handel became a singular launching point for this new national consciousness. Robert Hill notes that

our inability to see our own standards of good taste as relative conceals the danger of a cultural chauvinism. In our revivals of extinct performance traditions we probably have been reconstructing selectively those aspects of a performance practice that suit our own values and expectations while ignoring discrepancies between our reconstructions and the evidence.⁴

This exhumation of Handel’s operas and the selective nature of his revival in 1920s Germany betrays this very climate of cultural chauvinism.

In November 1918, as the First World War drew to a close, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany abdicated his throne and was driven into exile. After nearly a year of revolution and instability, a constitution was officially adopted in July of the following year, signaling the ill-omened birth of the fledgling Weimar Republic. Though the country was decimated by both the war and the political turmoil which followed, German culture in the 1920s flourished, as if consciously standing in stubborn opposition to the brutal unrest which rocked the fragile nation to the core. Bryan Gilliam points out that the end of government censorship in 1918, an early

³ Perhaps the most well known example of German nineteenth-century revival practices is the recovery and promotion of J.S. Bach’s *St. Matthew’s Passion*. In 1829, Felix Mendelssohn directed a ground-breaking performance of this work at the Berlin Singakademie, which many see as the definitive start of the “early music revival” in Germany.

⁴ Robert Hill, “‘Overcoming Romanticism’: On the Modernization of Twentieth-Century Performance Practice,” in *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 41.

act of the provisional administration, marked a profound shift in the artistic and musical consciousness of Germany. Cultural institutions, which once operated solely for the pleasure of the court, were now to be run by – and for – the state. However, this optimistic act of artistic emancipation was not without its own price-tag: despite their optimism, Gilliam notes,

artists and intellectuals had to reckon with political insecurity and economic instability during the years following the November Revolution. Their belief in a brighter future was accompanied by an equally powerful distrust of the immediate past, for post-romanticism, and ultimately expressionism, served as symbols of the bygone Wilhelmine era.⁵

This distrust eventually led to vast developments both in the composition of new German music and in the exploration and revival of music from Germany's past.

By reviving the music and musicians of Germany's bygone eras, the insecure society of post-war Germany was able to satisfy "the need for spiritually intact heroic national figures," untainted by the ravages and embarrassment of a failed and painful war.⁶ Though they had been unsuccessful on the battlefield, Germans could still cling to the notion of German superiority through music, art, and an elevated sense of German culture. Long-dead composers such as Handel and Bach, seemingly uncontaminated by the entanglements of bourgeois Romanticism, the war, and the modern German socio-political apprehension, slowly became conduits for various political or polemical agendas.

Handel's operas had long since passed from the greater musical and social consciousness until Oskar Hagen, an art historian at the University of Göttingen, decided to put on a small performance of *Rodelinda* in June of 1920, using his own translated and adapted edition of the score. The performance was an unanticipated success, suddenly launching the performance of

⁵ Bryan Gilliam, *Music and Performance During the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xi.

⁶ Hill, "Overcoming Romanticism," 38.

Handel operas across the country. In only five years, Hagen's "rediscoveries" had been heard in 37 cities across Germany, totaling a whopping 181 productions.⁷ Before leaving Göttingen in 1925, Hagen had adapted a number of other Handel operas in a similar fashion, including *Giulio Cesare*, *Serse*, and *Ottone* (as *Julius Caesar*, *Xerxes*, and *Otto und Theophano*).

But why did the public latch on to these operas and this composer so passionately? The demand for new music was certainly high; despite the lack of a political infrastructure and the economic devastation of the war, the Germans' love of music and pride in their own culture had helped them to maintain more musical institutions per capita than any other country.⁸ The resurrection of musical jewels from Germany's vaunted past seemed to be just what the country was looking for, albeit unconsciously. However, it is the manner in which these pieces were recovered from their distant, Baroque grave that can tell us the most about the country, society, and ideological place to which these works were brought forth. These recreated operas represent a kind of musical snapshot, and the aim of this study is not to critique these images, but to interpret them. Chapter 2 examines Oskar Hagen and his world: A biographical sketch of Hagen is followed by an exploration of the philosophical and artistic milieu in which he operated. Germany, in the period between World Wars I and II, was a turbulent epicenter of new artistic, philosophical, and aesthetic thought. This chapter acts as a survey of issues and theories contemporary to Hagen, and also details how he interacted with these contemporary modes of thought. Chapter 3 deals with issues of adaptation, and what these changes represent in the context of 1920s Germany. Hagen was anything but consistent in how he altered Handel's opera scores, and this chapter discusses the ramifications of his aesthetic choices

⁷ Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 137.

⁸ Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 4.

when dealing with music, text, translation, and form. Chapter 4 focuses on Hagen's legacy, analyzing the reception of these operas in his own time, as well as the considerable impact his productions have made on the performance practice of Handel opera in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2 OSKAR HAGEN AND HIS WORLD

Oskar Hagen: Biography

In order to explore the many effects that Oskar Hagen had upon the performance practice of Handel opera it is necessary to first examine the man himself, as his biography can help to clarify his motives and actions. He was born on October 14, 1888 in Wiesbaden, in central Germany. He began his musical instruction at a young age, and as a teenager he took composition lessons with composer/conductor Carl Schuricht, despite the fact that Schuricht was only eight years his senior.⁹ His early compositions, according to Schuricht, were heavily over-orchestrated, and obviously influenced by composers such as Wagner, Strauss, and Mahler. In a letter of November 1906, Schuricht lambasted the young Hagen for his orchestration in a recently composed opera, begging him to reduce the forces of his instrumental ensemble, describing it as an “apparatus”, a “giant body”, and that by using such enormous forces Hagen “brings nothing to the music.”¹⁰ Apparently Hagen was not entirely convinced by his teacher’s commentary, as this heavy-handed approach can later be glimpsed in his Handel opera re-orchestrations.

With this comprehensive musical training behind him, Hagen enrolled at the University of Berlin in the fall of 1908, with the intent to study musicology. He continued to work on his

⁹ Ulrich Etschreit, *Händels “Rodelinda”: Libretto, Komposition, Rezeption* (New York: Bärenreiter, 1998), 241, translation mine.

¹⁰ Carl Schuricht to Oskar Hagen, November 6, 1906, Hagen Papers, quoted in Etschreit, 241.

composition skills, however, under the direction of Engelbert Humperdink at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin. Despite his love of both musicology and composition, it was in neither of these disciplines that Hagen eventually earned his diploma. In his second semester, Hagen encountered the influential art historian, Heinrich Wölfflin, whose lectures impressed him to such a degree as to compel a change of major. However, it was while studying musicology with such scholars as Hermann Kretzschmar and Hermann Abert that Hagen met his friend and confidant, Hanns Niedecken-Gebhard, whom he would later engage in 1922 as the Director for the Göttinger Händel-Festspiele. Niedecken-Gebhardt reminisced about their student days together in Berlin:

In Hallen saßen zu Füßen ihres tiefverehrten Lehrers Hermann Abert zwei idealistisch gesinnte, kunstbeflissene Studenten, Oskar Hagen und ich. Mit Staunen hörten wir im Kolleg, daß es von Händel ca. 40 Opern gäbe, die heute kein Mensch mehr kenne, die aber eine Fülle schönster Musik enthielten, sodaß ihre Wiederbelebung sich sehr verlohne! Auf dem Nachhauseweg und auf vielen folgenden Spaziergängen haben wir dann das Problem gewälzt und kamen überein, daß wir uns an den praktischen Versuch damit machen wollten, sobald sich eine Möglichkeit dazu finden lasse.

In Hermann Abert's classes, two idealistic like-minded, artsy students, Oskar Hagen and I, sat at the feet of our deeply-admired teacher. In astonishment we heard that Händel had composed approximately 40 operas, which now are no longer known, which contained, however, an abundance of the most beautiful music, so that their revival would be very worthwhile in itself! On the way home and on many following walks we talked and agreed then the task that we wanted to take on for ourselves was thereby a practical attempt of these operas, as soon as it was possible.¹¹

His professors, however, continued to condemn these "operas of the Neapolitan school" as unperformable, due to their entirely unsatisfactory libretti. Hagen, obviously, did not share these sentiments, as can be evidenced by his zeal for reviving the very pieces his professors once declared as unfit for the modern stage.

¹¹ Etscheid, 242-243.

After completing his degree from Berlin in 1914, he continued his studies with graduate work at the University of Halle, Handel's birthplace. He eventually accepted a lecturer position in art history at the University of Göttingen in 1918, where he would remain for another six years. It was here that he was finally able to put together the performances he had been thinking of since his university days. In the program for the 1926 Händel Festspiele, Göttingen theologian Alfred Bertholet recalled the genesis of the festival:

Es war im September 1919. Eben von einem Ferientaufenthalt zurückgekehrt... [Oskar Hagen] empfing mich mit offenen Armen. "Sie kommen mir wie gerufen: denn ich brauche eine Geige. Sie müssen wissen, daß ich während ihrer Abwesenheit krank gewesen bin; da habe ich mir zum Zeitvertreib Partituren Händels geben lassen, und wie ich so wieder einmal auf seine Opern stieß, da hat mich nichts schneller gesund gemacht! Kaum vom Bette erstanden, habe ich mich an den Flügel gesetzt, und meine Frau sang mir Händelsche Opernarien, die einfach herrlich sind. Heute fehlt uns dazu nur die Geige." Dem war nun leicht abzuhelfen, und bald musizierten wir zu Dreien und musizierten bis tief in die Nacht hinein. Als wir uns trennten, war es nur, um uns auf den nächstfolgenden Abend wieder zu verabreden.

It was in September 1919. Having just myself returned from a holiday sojourn... [Oskar Hagen] received me with open arms: "You have answered my call: because I need a violin. You must know that I was ill during your absence; as a pastime I took up these Handel scores, and I once again encountered his operas, and nothing ever made me healthy faster! Hardly out of bed, I sat myself down at the grand piano, and my wife sang Handel opera arias, which I find simply wonderful. Today we are only missing the violin." That was easy to remedy, and soon the three of us made music – made music deep into the night. When we separated, was it only in order to similarly occupy ourselves again during the next evening.¹²

A cellist, Dr. Wolfgang Stechow, was soon added to their impromptu ensemble, which began meeting regularly, nearly every other night. Continually surprised by the beauty of the music before them, they soon grew enthusiastic about the prospect of sharing it with others. "It seemed at least worth the attempt," Bertholet quipped. Less than a year later, in June 1920, the cast of *Rodelinda* took the stage at the first Göttingen Händel Festspiele. Oskar Hagen was the

¹² Quoted in Rudolf Steglich, "Die neue Händel-Opern-Bewegung", *Händel Jahrbuch* 1928, 80-81, translation mine.

critical element in getting the opera to the stage, acting as editor, translator, manager, producer, promoter, conductor, and all-around impresario; his wife, Thyra, led the cast in the title role.¹³ These initial performances were met with such success that Hagen was able to turn his editorial eye towards other scores, and in the next four years he would edit and produce three more Handel operas at Göttingen: *Otto und Theophano* (1921), *Julius Caesar* (1922), and *Xerxes* (1924).

By 1924, the Göttinger Händel Festspiele had garnered international acclaim, launching the name of Oskar Hagen in high places; his star was decidedly on the rise. Why, then, did Hagen choose this time to leave his post at Göttingen and emigrate to the United States? There is much speculation surrounding his untimely exit from the scene at Göttingen, and some have suggested that he was rudely ushered off the stage prematurely. It should be noted, first and foremost, that his prospects for tenure at Göttingen were dismal, at best: the Art History department had but one tenured chair position, which was indefinitely occupied, leaving Hagen virtually no chance at gaining a full professorship any time in the foreseeable future.¹⁴ Yet upon receipt of the lucrative offer from Wisconsin, Hagen was still not convinced that leaving Germany was in his best interests. In December 1924 he asked the University trustees whether he should accept the offer and give up hope of finding employment in Germany. Though attempting to allay Hagen's concerns, the written response that was sent to him suggests that not all of his professional colleagues reacted positively to his distinctly interdisciplinary success:

Ihre allbekannten und außerordentlichen Verdienste um Händel haben den einen oder anderen Kunsthistoriker – auswärtige, wie ich betone – der Ihre große Vielseitigkeit noch

¹³ Etscheid, 243.

¹⁴ Ibid, 244.

nicht kennt, dazu veranlaßt, gelegentlich die Besorgnis auszusprechen, Sie könnten durch solche Hingabe an die Musik Ihrer eigensten Wissenschaft etwas entfremdet werden. Derartiges kann, wie gesagt, nur ein ganz oberflächlicher Beobachter sagen. Man weiß aber nie, in welchem Maße solche Bemerkungen bei dem Zustandekommen von Vorschlägen für die Neubesetzung eines Lehrstuhles eine Rolle zu spielen vermögen. Diese Gefahr wird nun vermieden, wenn Sie den so ehrenvollen amerikanischen Antrag annehmen!

Your well-known and extraordinary services to Handel have caused concern to some other art historians – from other universities, I stress - who do not know your great versatility yet, and occasionally express the concern that by such devotion to this music, your own scholarship is somewhat alienated. Such things could only be said by a completely superficial observer. One never knows, however, what effect such remarks will have when suggestions are made for the new occupation of a professorship. This danger is now avoided, if you accept the most honorable American offer!¹⁵

Despite the admiration by the scholarly community for both his musical and non-musical pursuits (he maintained an impressive publishing record in his scholarly field of art history), it seems that his exodus from Göttingen was to some degree fueled by subtle political machinations within his own university community.

With his wife, Thyra, and their two children, Holger and Uta¹⁶, Oskar Hagen set out for Madison, Wisconsin in the spring of 1925, to chair their newly-founded Department of the History and Criticism of Art. Though some may wonder why Hagen's enthusiasm for Handel opera revival waned upon his arrival on American soil, it is likely that the musical environment he found in Madison was not as hospitable to continuing his work on reviving Handel opera as he would have hoped. In a letter to the publisher Reinhard Piper in 1926, Hagen despondently remarked:

Musikalisch ist hier so gut wie nichts los. Die Zentralstelle, von der aus die Musik dieses Ortes organisiert werden sollte, ist so miserable besetzt, daß schon deshalb nichts zu

¹⁵ The Kurator of the Universität Göttingen to Oskar Hagen, Göttingen, January 10, 1925, Hagen papers, quoted in Etscheid, 244, translation mine.

¹⁶ His daughter, Uta Hagen, later became a renown American stage and screen actress. His son, Holger, also became an actor, known primarily for his roles in German films.

erreichen ist. Mit Thyra [Hagen's Ehefrau] zusammen habe ich während des Winters hier und anderswo mehrfach Vorträge über Händels Opern gehalten, teilweise unterstützt durch ein kleines Streichorchester bzw. Quartett. Das waren Lichtblicke für uns und rechte Freuden. So schafft Händel Schönheiten auch jenseits des Ozeans.

Music here is practically non-existent. The central office, from which the music of this place should be organized, is so miserably busy that nothing can be attained there. Together with Thyra I held lectures on Handel's operas here and there several times during the winter, partly supported by a small string orchestra and/or quartet. They were bright spots for us, and truly a joy. Thus Handel also creates beauty across the ocean.¹⁷

Despite this unenthusiastic endorsement of the musical scene, Hagen's career in the field of art history flourished in Madison, where he continued to teach and publish until his death in 1957. From his distant position across the ocean, he became quite critical of German politics in his later years. In 1955 he declined to accept an honorary membership in the Georg-Friedrich-Händel-Society of (East-German) Halle due to the conditions he perceived in the divided Germany. This refusal then sparked a similar withdrawal by Hagen from the West-German Göttingen Handel Society. Infuriated by Hagen's decision, the next Göttingen Handel Festival retaliated by opening with an "original" version of *Rodelinda* instead of the one which Hagen had prepared in 1920 and which had become a staple of the festival.¹⁸ This only led Hagen to disassociate himself further from the Society, and at the time of his death he remained at odds with both the city and university which had launched his career as well as his beloved Handel revival. Despite these later political issues, it is clear that Hagen definitely left his mark upon both Handel performance practice and the broader German musical landscape of the twentieth century.

Germany Between the Wars: Theory and Aesthetics

¹⁷ Oskar Hagen to his publisher Reinhard Piper, Madison, July 10, 1926, photocopy, Hagen papers, quoted in Etscheit, 245, translation mine.

¹⁸ Etscheit, 247.

By the time Hagen left Göttingen, the “Handel-Renaissance” in Germany was in full swing. Handel operas were being performed across Germany, for a public that seemed insatiable for this new, old sound. But why did the public latch on to these operas and this composer so passionately? The demand for music was certainly high; despite the lack of a political infrastructure and the economic devastation of the war, the German love of music and pride in one’s own culture had helped the country to retain more musical organizations and ensembles than any other European country after World War I.¹⁹ This notion of “German music” can be traced back even so far as 1802, to the Bach biography written by yet another University of Göttingen musical director, Johann Nikolaus Forkel. This biography, according to Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, “amounted to the first fully realized statement of the existence of a specifically German music.”²⁰ By the 1920s, the nostalgic resurrection of musical jewels from Germany’s vaunted past seemed to be just what the country was longing for, albeit unconsciously.

The concept of Handel as one of *unsere Grossmeister*, the composer most often paired with Bach as “the *other* great German Lutheran composer of the late Baroque,” is indebted to this frenzy of nationalism and the rampant spread of late-nineteenth-century concepts regarding composers, artists, and their products.²¹ Paul Henry Lang notes with amusement that “the romantics were . . . disappointed when they learned that Handel was a shrewd businessman, a speculator who played the stock market – successfully, I might say – surely not their idea of a

¹⁹ Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 4.

²⁰ Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, “Germans as the ‘People of Music’: Genealogy of an Identity”, in *Music and German National Identity*, 5.

²¹ Paul Henry Lang, Alfred Mann, and George J. Buelow, *Musicology and Performance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 72.

serene artist.”²² The aspects of Handel’s unorthodox, cosmopolitan biography and his “hybrid curriculum vitae”²³ were either ignored or adapted and reinterpreted by writers of the time by way of capricious assumptions, so as to obscure the actual figure of Handel behind an allegorical smokescreen. This retroactive search for a semi-mythical “Germanness,” was not a new phenomenon, and was long used to promote German imaginings of nationhood and collective musical identity:

Although at certain points in history people attributed to composers such as Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven an acute awareness of their own German character and a desire to contribute to German greatness, such attributions were usually made as part of a retrospective search for a distinct German identity and had little, if anything, to do with the actual intentions of these composers.²⁴

Handel’s “exile” in Italy and England, in this nationalist reading, becomes a self-imposed one; he becomes, *ex post facto*, Germany’s heroic native son, forced to leave a “culturally impoverished Germany,” divinely inspired to seek a new cultural nexus outside his homeland “expressly to give vent to his German nature.” By the 1920s, “his Germanness was practically a foregone conclusion.”²⁵ Potter concludes that Handel, according to these interpretations, “could only be a true German outside of Germany, and this allowed him to create a musical Germanness so fundamental that it outlived him.”²⁶ The fact that Bach did not have to leave the same Germany in order to achieve his true “German nature,” despite being a contemporary of Handel’s, was simply not raised, further weakening this artificial conclusion regarding

²² Lang et al., 73.

²³ Pamela Potter, “The Politicization of Handel and His Oratorios in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Early Years of the German Democratic Republic,” *The Musical Quarterly* 85, No. 2 (2001), 311.

²⁴ Applegate and Potter, 2.

²⁵ Ibid, 23-24.

²⁶ Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 223-4.

Handel's national status. Instead, Handel's struggle with international influences and expectations could be easily mapped onto modern Germany's plight after World War I; forced to concede to foreign demands yet always retaining his German spirit, the figure of Handel was easily adapted into an object lesson for modern Germans in how to cope with the cultural pressures of the post-war period.

Handel was not the first, nor the last, composer to be idealized in this fashion. One of the very first, and perhaps the most famous, "revival concerts" was Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's monumental performance of the Bach *St. Matthew Passion* in 1829, which "swiftly transformed the revival from a cult of intellectuals into a popular movement."²⁷ Eventually, J. S. Bach came to be seen in the guise of a healer, his compositions serving as a kind of musical salve to heal the scarred and disfigured German culture.²⁸ Take into consideration this passage from the journal *Die Musik*; upon asking readers in 1905 the question "Was ist mir Johann Sebastian Bach und was bedeutet er für unsere Zeit?" (What does Johann Sebastian Bach mean to me and what is his significance for our time?), one reader responded:

For me Bach is a healthy spring, into which I step when my musical soul has suffered any kind of injury. He is a healthy spring that strengthens and purifies; he gives powers to oppose all shallow, hypernervous, and unhealthy music. Bach is like a physician. Through his works he speaks to me like a father who cautions his son, who sharpens my knowledge and who heals me when musical excesses have endangered the health of fantasy and of artistic practice.²⁹

²⁷ Nicholas Temperley and Peter Wollny, "Bach Revival", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 14 March 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²⁸ For more information, please see Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 138-85.

²⁹ Attributed to Theodor Müller-Reuter, as quoted in Frisch, *German Modernism*, 142.

Whereas Bach was simultaneously both Physician and Father, divine being and natural healer, Handel's portrait was not so easily painted; the "German-born Italianate Englishman" was continually threatened by the brushstroke of cosmopolitanism and its negative connotations.³⁰ How then did the German intellectual community cope with a son of Germany who had lived most of his life outside of her boundaries, spoken a number of European languages fluently, and paid money to remove the telltale German umlaut – the scarlet "ä" – from his last name? Pamela Potter asserts that "the fact that Handel spent most of his life away from his native country served as a useful allegory for the pessimism of the 1920s, warning that the sorry state of German musical culture might once again drive away its native sons," leading to the portrayal of Handel as simply a "frustrated German" struggling to overcome his country's "unhealthy craze for foreign music."³¹ In the years to come, Handel and his works would be used by a number of different ideological factions as specific object lessons, often to the point of contradiction. His oratorios in particular were often held up as parables for modern German culture, and in the 1920s many Handel enthusiasts focused on the oratorios as works which dignified the masses, seeing the revival of these important works as their German duty.³²

Handel and Bach were not the only composers which formed the heart of the early music revival; Palestrina and Monteverdi too were popular targets for revival in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe, and performers of early music, such as Wanda Landowska, began to garner critical acclaim.³³ In 1904, it was Paris which witnessed the first Monteverdi opera

³⁰ Lang et al., 72.

³¹ Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 223.

³² Ibid, 223.

³³ Incidentally, Landowska taught harpsichord at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin during Oskar Hagen's student years.

revival: *La Favola d'Orfeo* was performed on February 25, using a French language edition by Vincent d'Indy. A year later this performance was followed by *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, edited once again by d'Indy.³⁴ By the 1930s, Nadia Boulanger was performing Monteverdi works with her vocal ensemble, accompanied by either a modern string ensemble or a piano. Léonie Rosenstiel, in her biography of Nadia Boulanger, notes that the use of modern instruments with early music did not concern Boulanger:

Asked later why they had not used the harpsichord in these performances, Nadia always answered simply, "Because it did not occur to me." She had not intended to produce musicologically accurate interpretations of early music. Rather, she was concerned with projecting the musical values, with making these pieces communicate to modern audiences.³⁵

In discussing the tension between different strains of historicism gripping academics of this time, James Garratt asserts that the primary scholarly conflict was one of objectivity or authenticity: "while objective historiography sought to represent 'how it really was,' it neglected the demands of those whose prime concern was to use the past as a guide to 'how it really should be.'"³⁶ This growing dialectic fueled not only the production of editions of early music works, such as Hagen's Handel scores, but also provided the necessary critical tools for evaluating them by those on both sides of the debate.

The trend towards historicism and authenticity which began in the nineteenth century is inherently bound up with the concepts of revival and reception, and the ideological recreation of Handel, the man and his dramatic works, is a reflection of this scholarly shift. Friedrich

³⁴ Albi Rosenthal, "Aspects of the Monteverdi Revival," in *Proceedings of the International Congress on Performing Practice in Monteverdi's Music*, ed. Raffaello Monterosso (Cremona: Fondazione Claudio Monteverdi, 1995), 120.

³⁵ Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982), 279.

³⁶ James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 12-13.

Chrysander, a nineteenth-century German music scholar, published the first volume of his Handel biography in 1858, eventually dedicating his life to the resurrection of Handel's works.³⁷ In conjunction with the literary historian Gottfried Gervinus, he founded the Händel-Gesellschaft in 1856 with the goal of publishing a collected edition of Handel's works. Though the group eventually disbanded and the project was never finished, Chrysander continued to work on this Handel edition for many years with Gervinus's help, producing many first "modern" editions of Handel's works, the ones from which Hagen was likely working. The editions, however, are problematic. Anthony Hicks hints at their well-known inadequacies:

Chrysander did not, in the case of the major works, make the detailed and thoughtful comparison of sources needed to clarify Handel's numerous revisions, and arbitrarily ignored items present in the sources available to him . . . Chrysander's prefaces – sometimes laconic, sometimes arrogant – give a misleading impression of a search for definitiveness and have thus led to some justified personal criticism.³⁸

This scholarly overconfidence did not translate to the performance stage, however, as Chrysander himself was not interested in actually performing these works about which he was so zealous. Harry Haskell frames Chrysander's apathy towards performance within the context of the early-music revival, describing him as being entirely "enthusiastic about the works themselves but dubious about putting them on the stage." Thus, the only interaction which nineteenth-century audiences had with early opera was through the "bits and pieces parceled out on concert programmes."³⁹

³⁷ The second and third volumes of this biography, titled *Georg Friedrich Händel*, were published in 1860 and 1867 respectively. The project was never finished. See Anthony Hicks, "Chrysander, (Karl Franz) Friedrich", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 November, 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

³⁸ Anthony Hicks: 'Chrysander, (Karl Franz) Friedrich', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 November, 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

³⁹ Haskell, *The Early Music Revival*, 131.

While it is altogether presumptuous to say that Handel, were he alive at the time, would not have approved of Oskar Hagen's actions, it is fair to say that the performance of opera in Handel's own life was drastically different from that of the early twentieth century. As Winton Dean argues, "Handel's stature as a dramatic composer can only be assessed in terms of the theatre for which he wrote."⁴⁰ Where audiences and European cultures of the early twentieth century were intensely focused on the idea of national style and the necessity of stylistically placing musical idioms within their country of origin, composers of the eighteenth century faced much less pressure along these lines. Composers and musicians of the eighteenth century were, on average, literate and well traveled, but compositionally confined to either the cosmopolitan city or court, or the provincial town in which they plied their trade. Neither was in any meaningful sense "national"; the small amount of national significance within musical life at the time was conveyed through the process of writing about music, rather than through the act of musical composition itself.⁴¹ Handel, according to Dean, "has suffered from the effects of one of his greatest virtues, his cosmopolitanism. He belongs to no single country,"⁴² despite the simultaneous appropriation of Handel in later years by both England and Germany as a product of their own superior musical culture, supposedly representing the ultimate in national artistic and intellectual achievement.

⁴⁰ Winton Dean, "Production Style in Handel's Operas," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 249.

⁴¹ Applegate and Potter, 3.

⁴² Winton Dean, "Scholarship and the Handel Revival 1935-85," in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1987), 2.

Opera vs. Oratorio

In Germany it was not only Handel's operas which served as a focal point for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalism. His oratorios, Potter argues, were used consistently by those seeking to exploit politically Handel's image and achievements for nationalistic gain.⁴³ Though she summarily dismisses the entire Handelian operatic canon as "useless for the purposes of nationalists" due to their Italian texts, formal characteristics, and the elitist associations of the genre, her examination and placement of the oratorios and their reception within early twentieth-century German thought and politics serves as a very useful background against which to examine the use and reception of the operas more closely.⁴⁴ Handel's oratorios,

could serve the socialist and communist goals of bringing high culture to the masses and providing repertoire suitable for the growing choral culture. The oratorios were said to reflect Handel's populism because the people were given a "voice" though the prominent role given to the chorus. There were German Workers' Handel Festivals in 1911, 1926, and 1928, and several oratorios were popularized with fully staged productions for the first time.⁴⁵

These same oratorios later went on to bolster the propaganda of the Third Reich. Historian Alfred Heuss commemorated the 175th anniversary of Handel's death in 1934 by announcing with great enthusiasm that thanks to Hitler, Germany had finally achieved a state of Volk-totally similar to that of England in Handel's time and so was finally ready to appreciate the powerful meaning of the oratorios. He went on to interpret passages from *Judas Maccabaeus* as representing the necessary "cleansing" of all "unhealthy, destructive foreign elements" at

⁴³ Potter, "The Politicization of Handel," 311.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 312.

⁴⁵ Applegate and Potter, 23-24.

home following a war.⁴⁶ Heady expressions of moralization and anti-Semitism such as this helped to define the common tropes used by German philosopher-critics to create an ideological link between the Handel of the past and the musical and cultural needs of the present.

Unlike Handel opera, which did not see a widespread revival until the early twentieth century, Handel oratorio maintained a consistent performance tradition in the years since his death. As early as the late eighteenth century, Handel oratorio texts were being translated into German, and the popularity of these works did much to keep his name on the map and his music in the ears of the German public.⁴⁷ With the advent of amateur choral societies in the 1860s, Handel's oratorio music soon took on a populist tinge, only further solidified in the adoption of his works by the growing numbers of German workers' singing groups. The Deutsche Arbeiter-Sängerbund was founded in 1908; by 1920 it had garnered more than 230,000 members, and almost double that number by 1928.⁴⁸ Handel's choral music was used consistently by these groups as a kind of community-building activity, and therefore was much in the public consciousness leading up to the "Handel-Renaissance" in the 1920s. This early awareness of Handel only helped to pave the way for Hagen and his opera productions in Göttingen.

Art, Music, Philosophy – Hagen's Perceptions and Interpretations

Despite criticism from colleagues in the discipline of art history for his dedication to his extracurricular musical activities, Hagen was a prolific writer with many scholarly publications

⁴⁶ Quoted in Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 223-4.

⁴⁷ Potter, "The Politicization of Handel", 312.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 313-4. For more information on the German workers' singers groups, see W. L. Guttsman, *Workers' Culture in Weimar Germany: Between Tradition and Commitment* (New York: Berg, 1990).

to his name, in both German and English. His earliest published works were on the artist Correggio, which grew out of his dissertation at the University of Halle. These were followed by a monograph on the late-Gothic artist Matthias Grünewald in 1919, as well as broader texts such as *Deutsches Sehen: Gestaltungsfragen der deutschen Kunst* (*German Vision: Questions of Creation in German Art*) in 1920 and *Deutsche Zeichner von der Gotik bis zum Rokoko* (*German Illustrators from the Gothic Era to the Rococo*) in 1921. After his move to Wisconsin we begin to see more English-language publications, such as *Art Epochs and Their Leaders: A Survey of the Genesis of Modern Art* in 1927, *Patterns and Principles of Modern Art* in 1936, and *The Birth of the American Tradition in Art* in 1940. His writings on art and the lives of artists offer music scholars a rare glimpse into his artistic – and to some extent, musical – beliefs.

Objectively viewing the past, according to Hagen, is a difficult enterprise when there is very little distance separating us from that time period:

The picture of [the Renaissance] is so remote from us that its principal lines stand forth clearly. The age of Baroque, as we are considerably closer to it, we find rather complicated. It is not so easy to embrace the totality of it with one glance. But the nineteenth century is so close to us that the abundance of the currents which cross and blend in it is utterly perplexing.⁴⁹

We can easily see in his Handel productions this unease in “embracing the totality” of the Baroque era, as he picks and chooses from Handel’s oeuvres to create the vision he feels most truly represents Handel’s objectives and artistic aims. Romanticism, he declared,

has a retrospective eye. It seeks in the past a consolation for that which it lacks in the present. It indulges in history – for art is a dangerous, at times disastrous occupation. Thus it came about that people reverted to the art of the past in order to seek the advice of the great aristocrats of the older painting as to how art was to be kept moving.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Oskar Hagen, *Art Epochs and their Leaders: A Survey of the Genesis of Modern Art* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1927), 272.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 253.

In this passage Hagen described the history of a modern *art* movement, yet if one replaces all references to “art” with “music,” Hagen could have depicted himself and the ideological impetus behind his musical achievements with equal clarity.

Many “revivers” of early music at this time were openly attempting to “strip music of its romantic or ideal pretensions; to emphasize stability and clarity; and to question the role of subjective artistic prerogative versus an objective, infallible musical text.”⁵¹ Oskar Hagen too betrayed this bias, but as a staunch and somewhat idealistic Wagnerian, his natural instinct was “to make Handel sound like Bach and Wagner, as far as such a combination is conceivable,” despite the fact that he believed himself to be clarifying the musical text through his cutting and rewriting the score.⁵² According to Hagen, Handel’s operas in their original form would not only be unpalatable to modern German audiences, but the true spirit or value of these pieces would be obscured, incomprehensible due to an unfamiliarity with outdated forms and structures. He was to save them from what he perceived to be the trash-bin of history by simply stripping away the unnecessary and re-presenting them in an improved, modernized form. “Every understanding listener knows,” he states in the preface to the vocal score of his *Rodelinda* edition, “that the *unprocessed* [or *crude*] original form of Handel’s operas works against the requirements of the modern stage.”⁵³ The form, then, according to Hagen must change, while retaining the work’s sentiment. From his later and more formalist perspective, Lang severely criticized this approach of prioritizing content over form in the revival of Handel’s works:

⁵¹ Gilliam, xi.

⁵² Edward J. Dent, “Handel on the Stage,” *Music & Letters* 16, no. 3 (1935), 175-76.

⁵³ Oskar Hagen, ed., *Rodelinde, Oper in 3 Akten* (Frankfurt: Peters, 1951), Vorwort, translation mine.

Such reworkings and transcriptions are justified by some on the ground that what matters is the content; only the philologists of music, the musicologists, it is said, would cling rigidly to the antiquated and primitive exterior. And yet it is the artists among all concerned who should cling to the faithful “exterior,” for that exterior is the form. They ought to understand these things, they ought to know the importance of form. The musicologist is equally interested in “content,” but he believes, as do all cultivated performers, that the content cannot be conveyed when taken out of context. All the transcribers and arrangers ... forgot that the composer does not offer content alone but also mood and form, and the three are indivisible.⁵⁴

Writing in 1966, a safe distance from the performances of these “wildly incongruous specimens of German theatrical Expressionism of 1920 vintage,” as he so describes them, Lang strongly condemns these versions as merely a “frightful mangling” of his beloved Master’s works, while never pausing to consider the puzzling contradictions espoused by these editions and what they may indicate about the idiosyncratic culture for which Hagen was actually writing.⁵⁵

An excellent example of this type of contradiction is Hagen’s own article in the German periodical *Mitteilungen des Universitätsbundes Göttingen*. In describing his production of *Rodelinde* in 1920, he clearly labels this important work as a “Musikdrama”, doubtlessly evoking strong Wagnerian associations in the minds of his post-Romantic concert-goers.⁵⁶ The *New York Times*, however, presents a contrasting view of this phenomenon in a 1926 report about the “Goettingen Handel Operas”:

The new Handel cult is seen by this correspondent as part of the violent reaction against Wagner and against the generation which tried to carry on Wagnerian methods in music-drama. Modern Germany, he thinks, is making an effort to cast off its inborn romanticism.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Paul Henry Lang, *George Frideric Handel* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 675.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 672-73.

⁵⁶ Oskar Hagen, “Die deutsche Uraufführung von G.Fr. Händels Musikdrama *Rodelinde* im Göttinger Stadttheater am 26. Juni 1920, veranstaltet vom Universitätsbund,” in *Sonderabdruck aus den 'Mitteilungen des Universitätsbundes Göttingen'* Jahrgang 2, Heft 1 (1920), 21.

⁵⁷ *New York Times*, “Goettingen Handel Operas,” August 1, 1926, X5.

Hagen's scores thus seem to contradict themselves: he embraces these stylistically foreign eighteenth-century operas in a neo-classical reaction against the "overblown post-romanticism of Wagner's successors,"⁵⁸ while simultaneously encouraging an adaptation so faithful to the expectations of modern audiences that his original purpose, to move away from passé bourgeois ideals, is ultimately negated. In the next chapter we shall explore Hagen's scores in more detail. The many changes he made to these pieces go beyond the mere surface of the music; the very structure of each opera has been changed on multiple levels. Additions and subtractions to the plot, text, music, and Hagen's modern instrumentation choices all had a profound effect on how these revived operas were accepted – or not – by contemporary audiences and critics.

⁵⁸ Dean, "Production Style in Handel's Operas," 253-54.

CHAPTER 3 ISSUES OF ADAPTATION

When Hagen's opera editions are placed side by side with the Handel originals, the discrepancies between them are not difficult to spot; they virtually leap off the page.⁵⁹ Though some changes are obvious (the translation from Italian to German, the transposition of castrato roles down to male vocal registers, and the near deletion of certain minor characters) others are more subtle. These scores are riddled with clever editorial nips and tucks which betray Hagen's own ideologies. The "fatal error" of Oskar Hagen and his performance editions, according to Paul Henry Lang, was "that they saw in Handel's opera not things resurrected but things renovated."⁶⁰ Wielding his musical shears with a heavy hand, Hagen cut and snipped as he pleased in score after score. Despite the outspoken critics of his methods, Hagen felt justified in his approach due to the expectations of modern German audiences. His editions, therefore, offered the opportunity to process these pieces himself, to make them more palatable to his audiences while also helping Handel's works to function within the constraints of the modern stage. Not all saw his actions in this same, positive light. Winton Dean goes so far as to say that "the work of art is defaced by *graffiti*. The servant is exalted above the master. The client is sold damaged goods."⁶¹ Rather than approach these performances in the disparaging guise of a

⁵⁹ The appendix of this thesis contains a detailed side-by-side comparison of these four opera editions with those of the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe.

⁶⁰ Lang, *George Frideric Handel*, 6.

⁶¹ Dean, "Production Style in Handel's Operas," 257.

critic, judging all of Hagen's changes against the arbitrary yardstick of "authenticity," I have chosen to examine these scores from a different angle.⁶² I believe that much more can be learned by seeing these performances as a product of the 1920s rather than the 1730s: Analyzing Hagen's musical choices and methods of adaptation can give us valuable information about the culture, aesthetics, and ideologies he faced in 1920s Germany.

Additions, Omissions, and Other Editorial Interventions

For each of these four operas, Hagen chose to retain a loose approximation of Handel's three-act structure; but to accommodate his own dramatic tastes he often fundamentally reorganized the sequence of scenes, arias, and even major plot events. Nearly every aria and recitative was shortened, some by only a measure or two, others in a more drastic fashion. *Da capo* arias were consistently decapitated, some cut off cleanly after the B-section of the rounded binary form, while others were even more disfigured, with broad swaths excised from both A and B sections. Random portions of arias were removed in what seems an almost arbitrary fashion, inconsistent from piece to piece. For example, in Amastris's aria, "Se cangio spoglio"/"Trag ich auch Eisen," from Act I of *Xerxes*, Hagen cuts three small sections from the center of the aria (mm. 21-36, 41-46, and 49-56 of the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe edition).⁶³ Harmonically, the aria still works with Hagen's revisions. Each section which he removed was after a cadence and at the end of a phrase. He would then leap forward to the start of another

⁶² Authenticity refers to the idea of performing music in a "historically informed" way, such as using period instruments and techniques. In his article, "Authenticity," (*Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy [Accessed 21 April 2006], <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>), John Butt notes that it is a direct by-product of the 19th-century historicism movement. The concept has been severely criticized by such scholars as Joseph Kerman and Richard Taruskin, who argue that this is merely a form of cultural elitism based in high modernism, always tainted in some way by modern tastes and prejudices.

⁶³ Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, Serie II, Band 39, 40-42.

phrase later in the piece, always beginning on the tonic. This aria is not in *da capo* form, so Hagen had to decide for himself where the appropriate junctures in the piece were in order to then shorten the aria. Though inconsistencies such as these make analysis of the scores a much more difficult task, it indicates that Hagen took a great deal of care with his editorial changes by not performing an identical cookie-cutter method of surgery to each piece. Because there was often a great deal of text repetition in the traditional *da capo* aria, many of Hagen's revisions to the form and shape of these arias did not require a shorter German text; his actions were, in fact, an economical way to make the pieces more concise and to the point.

In Handel's day, these pieces would have been performed quite differently, using methods of ornamentation during the repeated sections. Baroque opera had little room for realism and verisimilitude; exaggeration, fantasy, and the transgression of the bounds of realism were tools of the trade for the baroque opera composer, and it was from these ideals that the operas drew their power.⁶⁴ The use of castrato voices, according to Roger Freitas, is "one of the most celebrated exaggerations of Italian baroque opera . . . The baroque delighted in the erotic fantasy of an ideal lover who was sweeter and more tender."⁶⁵ In this aesthetic of exaggeration and excess, the embellishment of an operatic melody by the singer was not only the popular means by which singers were judged against one another, but also helped to keep the material fresh in the minds of listeners. But this technique had since passed from the modern operatic performing tradition, due to the ongoing trend towards a more literal interpretation of the composer's notation which began in the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ It was not until the early-music

⁶⁴ Roger Freitas, "Singing Handel," *Opera News* 61, No. 1 (1996), 15.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 15.

⁶⁶ Clive Brown, "Ornaments," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 21 April 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

performance practice movement began to gather momentum in the 1960s and 70s that attitudes towards the performance of baroque opera arias began to change.⁶⁷ For Hagen, omitting these passages of incessantly repeating, unvarying material would have been a prudent decision considering the expectations of early twentieth-century audiences.

Hagen's economy of means was not limited to material within individual pieces; if an aria did not fit in with his new, more concise plot, he either cut it or – in several cases – simply moved it elsewhere in the opera.⁶⁸ Some pieces are shifted earlier in the opera, while others are saved for a later part. With *Rodelinde*, Hagen's first effort, he took very few liberties of this nature, only moving two arias to a later section in the same act. As time went on, we can see a steady progression in the amount of material shifted in this way. In *Otto und Theophano*, various sections of the overture are reordered and five arias have been moved. One of these arias is relocated from Act I all the way to Act III: "Dal minacciar del vento"/"Nun mögt ihr Stürme prahlen." The conflict which Emireno is commenting upon – a clash with Ottone's forces at sea – has been entirely removed by Hagen; in his version, Emirenus does not even make an appearance until Act III.⁶⁹ The vagueness of the text, a defiant stance against a powerful foe, works just as well for Hagen in Act III, when Emirenus is struggling to escape from Otto's forces with Theophano:

Nun mögt ihr Stürme prahlen,
euch trotz die knorrige Eiche,
die schon zu tausend Malen erprobt das wilde Heer!
Des Schicksals dumme Launen, die mag ich nicht bestaunen!
Ich weiss, dass seine Streiche vernichten nimmermehr.

⁶⁷ Freitas, 14.

⁶⁸ These relocations are represented by the color-coded sections on the comparison charts located in the appendix.

⁶⁹ Character names differ between the Italian and German editions of the operas. For this study I will use the original Italian names when referring to music or plot devices in the Handel scores, while the German names will be used to refer to the Hagen editions.

How you storms like to bluster,
the knobby oak defies you,
already, for the thousandth time, clashing with the savage army!
The stupid moods of fate, those I do not want to admire!
I know that his tricks will destroy me nevermore.

The lack of indicators specific to the Act I conflict in this aria text allows Hagen to perform this type of reordering with ease.

In his third adaptation, *Julius Caesar*, Hagen makes even more dramatic changes of this nature; a total of six arias are displaced in the course of the score. The most striking of these moves is the shift of a love aria by Tolomeo from the end of Act II, “Belle dee di questo core,” forward to the end of Act I with the new text, “Eilt zum Tanze!” The tempo is speeded up, and the text, rather than merely a simple German translation of original Italian verse as was the case with most of the other arias, has taken on an entirely new meaning:

Eilt zum Tanze! Schlingt den Reihn ihr holden Mädchen,
eilt zu Tanz und Festerauschen!
Schwingt die heiter leuchtenden Fackeln!
Holde Mädchen, nun schlingt den Reihen, eilt zum Tanze.

Hurry to the dance! Make the rounds, you lovely girls,
Hurry to dance and the feast's pleasures!
The cheerful, shining torches swing!
Lovely girls make the rounds, hurry to the dance.

Compare this to the original Italian text of this very same aria:

Belle dee di questo core,
voi portate il ciel nel volto,
non ha il ciel più bel splendore
di quel ch'avete in doppie stelle accolto.

Fair goddess of my soul,
You capture heaven in your face.
Heaven has no brighter splendor
Than those that you have received in double stars.

The exaggerated tempo dictated by Hagen, in combination with the new text, shows his willingness to adapt Handel's material to suit his own needs for the reorganized plot. In this way he has prioritized a sense of drama over that of authenticity, while still staying somewhat true to Handel by reusing his own music in an enterprising fashion.

Another economical method Hagen used to retain Handel's music and simultaneously accomplish his own dramatic goals was to reassign an aria to a different character, altering the text as needed to fit the new situation. His choices are not random, as the emotional kernel of each text is often identical in both scenes, despite the change in character and text. A good example of this technique is found in *Xerxes*, when Romilda is given an aria, "Dass ich den Vertrauten," that originally belonged to her sister Atalanta as "Voi mi dite, che non l'ami." In the original setting, Atalanta is sadly telling Serse that she can do nothing about the depth of her feelings for Arsamene, despite the fact that he loves her sister Romilda:

Voi mi dite, che non l'ami,
ma non dite se potrò.
Troppo belle son le stelle,
ch'al suo volto in Ciel donò.
Troppo stretti quei legami
Onde amor m'incatenò.

You tell me that I should not love him,
but you do not say if I will be able [to do it].
Too beautiful are the stars,
That Heaven has given to his face.
Too tight are those bonds
Of love which enchain me.

In Hagen's edition, this mournful tune has been given instead to Romilda, steadfast in her love for Arsamene despite Xerxes's insistence that he no longer loves her. Though the setting and character have been radically changed, it still conveys the same pathos as Atalanta's original

aria; both characters are expressing the frustration one confronts in the face of a love which may never be returned:

Dass ich den Vertrauten meiner
Lieb verlasse will der König,
doch sein Wille ist umsonst.
Unzerreissbar sind die Bande,
die zwei Herzen ewig fesseln,
wenn sie Treue sich gelobt.
Ach, er will, ich soll ihn lassen,
doch sein Wille ist umsonst.

The King wishes I would
leave my dear loved one,
but his desires are vain.
Unbreakable are the bonds,
Which eternally bind two hearts
When they have sworn to be faithful.
Ah, he wants for me to leave him,
but his desires are in vain.

Once again we find that Hagen has prioritized condensing the drama over preservation of the original poetry, while still retaining the spirit of Handel's original setting.

It is clear that by the time that Hagen began to adapt *Serse* for his stage at Göttingen, he must have been quite comfortable with the editing of Handel's opera scores given the vast amount of material which has been changed. Four arias, one duet, one chorus and one sinfonia are all rearranged within the score. The movement of pieces from one act to another is now common, and the amount of pieces and scenes that Hagen deemed necessary to cut has also grown. Though *Rodelinda* is a much shorter opera to begin with, and therefore required less cutting (according to Hagen's principles), it is still striking to what a large degree Hagen increased his amount of cut material over time: fourteen pieces (nine arias and five recitatives) were removed to create Hagen's *Rodelinde*, but a staggering thirty-six were cut to produce *Xerxes* (seventeen arias and nineteen recitatives). The number had increased steadily with each opera

produced, twenty-five for *Otto und Theophano* (eleven arias and fourteen recitatives) and twenty-nine for *Julius Caesar* (ten arias and nineteen recitatives).

Even more telling about Oskar Hagen's editing principles than what he cut from these scores is what he added. Brevity, the removal of extraneous dialogue, and a concise, approachable plot seem to have been his main goals. Therefore, the fact that he added material not native to these scores into his performances is an important factor for analysis. Some of his boldest insertions can be found in his very first adaptation, *Rodelinde*. Near the start of Act II, after a typical aria and recitative, we are suddenly thrown into what can only be described as a complete deviation from Handel's original score: Hagen has inserted an "Intermezzo" (with the curious subtitle of "Pantomime") into the course of the drama, recycling the Menuet from the end of the Overture. This odd scene has no counterpart in the Handel original. Through the course of the piece, copiously documented stage directions are written above the music, presumably where he desires these actions to take place. As the scene begins, we find Rodelinde, seated in darkness, center stage. The candelabras to her right and left are suddenly lit by two boys with torches ("Zwei Knaben mit Fackeln"), causing her to rise and beckon to the side of the stage, calling forth two noblewomen ("Edelfrauen") who proceed to bedeck her with the royal robes and tiara. Her son, Flavius rushes onstage and into his mother's arms. By the end of the "Pantomime," the stage is full: Grimwald, festively dressed, and Garibald have joined the Queen, surrounded left and right by her noblewomen, noblemen, and torchbearers. The stage, Hagen denotes, should be bright, and the scene full of torch-light ("Es ist hell, die Bühne von Fackelschein erfüllt"). These detailed directions hint at subtexts slightly beyond our grasp.

This scene is obviously important – Hagen’s decision to insert this so-called “Pantomime” can not have been accidental. Placed in the center of an act, it draws attention to itself simply by the virtue of being fully cast, yet unsung. The metaphorical emergence of Rodelinde seems laden with significance: she moves from darkness into light, from dull-witted solitude (“in dumpfen Sinnen befangen”) into a position of strength, a mother-figure, surrounded by her people, crowned with glory and radiance. This addition to the *Rodelinde* score forces us to look at her character in a new way. The character of Rodelinde truly dominates this score with eight full arias and one duet, the only character in the opera for which Hagen did not cut a single aria from the original work.⁷⁰ Has Hagen fashioned Rodelinde as an idealistic metaphor for the plight of Germany? Bereft of joy and support, seemingly abandoned, she stays true to her heart and her people, rising once again to her former glory.

In Hagen’s *Rodelinde* we can find another curious addition to the score at the beginning of the Act III. Rather than start with the simple recitative which Handel originally conceived, Hagen chooses instead to insert a foreign object: a Prelude and Fugue from Handel’s Concerto Grosso in G minor (Op. 6 no. 6, HWV 324). Illuminating the reasons behind this choice can only be but conjecture. However, if we are to view this opera as an expression of Oskar Hagen’s aesthetics, steeped in various German ideologies of the Weimar Republic, then what could be the deeper significance of inserting not just any Handel orchestral interlude, but specifically a Prelude and Fugue? The Prelude and Fugue has a long, respected tradition within German musical culture, immediately invoking the esteemed figure of Bach and the high

⁷⁰ It should be noted that for Hagen’s premiere performances, his wife, Mrs. Thyra Hagen-Leisner, played the role of Rodelinde, and this may be seen as a reflection of his partiality towards her voice. She was the leading lady in each of his subsequent opera performances, but as time went on he did cut pieces of hers as well.

German style of the past with which modern composers were longing to reconnect.⁷¹ This fleeting association with the Prelude and Fugue genre, with all its German connotations, again cannot be assumed to be merely an accidental addition to this score, but may have been an intentional move on the part of Hagen, to somehow connect with some deeper level of German culture he believed to be laying dormant those past two hundred years.

Otto und Theophano also contains a few poignant additions which are similar in scope to those of *Rodelinde*. Once again Hagen inserts a movement from Handel's Concerto Grosso in G minor (the Largo) as an intermezzo, this time in the middle of Act III. This is placed directly before a scene change, so likely this addition was a practical one on Hagen's part. Handel himself occasionally inserted movements from his own *concerto grossi* into his operas, so to Hagen this addition would not seem out of place. Since he was already familiar with this particular work, having used another portion of it for *Rodelinde*, his use of it here is not all that surprising. The second addition to *Otto* that is more ideologically revealing occurs in Act I. In an odd counterbalance to Act III's addition of a *concerti grosso* movement, here we find that Hagen has here removed a *concerto grosso* movement that Handel originally placed in the score (Concerto Grosso Op. 3 no. 6, HWV 317). The removal of this movement was done in order to add something else of his own conception, titled a "Hochzeitsmarsch," or "wedding march." The piece has no text; it is purely instrumental. Unlike the other additions to the score which Hagen specifically labeled with its place of origin, this one is without citation.⁷² The texture is homophonic and the harmonies simple; it resembles a Bach chorale more than a

⁷¹ For more information, please see Paul Walker, "Fugue," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 21 April 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁷² The origin markings to which I am referring are in the piano-vocal printed scores available to me for this project.

Handel opera movement.⁷³ Much like the Prelude and Fugue inserted into *Rodelinde*, this blatant invocation of Bach and the German chorale tradition can be easily read as an ideological move on the part of Hagen.

Instrumentation: If Wagner Rewrote Handel

Hagen reveals his true Wagnerian ethos in a number of ways in these operas, most often through his scoring techniques. While the fully orchestrated versions of Hagen's editions were unavailable to me during the writing of this thesis, there is much that can still be gleaned from the piano-vocal scores. Each piece is annotated with Hagen's choice of instrumental ensemble. While the usual suspects are indeed present – harpsichord, string orchestra, etc – we also find evidence of Hagen's more modern scoring techniques. He makes wide use of both bassoons and oboes, and is careful to denote the different orchestral ensembles he used, namely the "Streichorchester" (string orchestra) and the "Orchesterbesetzung" (full orchestra). Because of the occasional references to horns, it is likely these instruments were included in the catch-all term of "Orchesterbesetzung". In the widespread use of horns, Hagen clearly betrays his Wagnerian preference for larger orchestras and a bigger, thicker sound. This thicker sound can also be seen in the scoring of many of his recitatives. Where Handel left his recitatives as free-form basso-continuo pieces, Hagen has instead almost fully scored-out many of his recitatives, often inserting wildly inappropriate melodic figures, such as glissandi and the occasional triplet pattern. He habitually chooses to make use of either the full- or the string-orchestra for these recitatives, rather than relying on Handel's simple figured bass-line. For example, one recitative in *Rodelinde* ("Nein, nein", immediately preceding No.10 – no pun intended) has an

⁷³ The origin of this musical excerpt is still unknown to me at this time.

exquisitely full-scored final gesture, complete with a trill and no less than two fermatas within a three-bar cadence. These sorts of excesses are common in Hagen's score; in fact, most of his arias end with an exuberant, Romanticized cadenza, further betraying his late-Romantic musical taste.

Text: Translation as Reinterpretation

Performing foreign operas in translation was quite common during this era, and did not carry the stigma that we often find in modern times. In the nineteenth century it was generally accepted as a mark of indelible success when an opera was performed in translation, as this was indicative of an international performance tradition. Indeed, by the twentieth century it was considered normal for opera to be performed in the native language in German-speaking countries.⁷⁴ Despite the fact that this type of translation was common practice, Hagen's translations do bear some consideration when probing deeper within his musical settings. While a good many of the aria translations fall under the category of what I would deem artistic license, and a majority of the recitatives are plagued merely by an epidemic of compression or abridgement, it is the select texts which deviate from Handel's librettos which deserve further examination. The final recitative and chorus of *Rodelinde* offers an excellent example of how Hagen's ideologies were betrayed through translation choices.

Reunited at last with both his wife and his country, in Nicola Haym's original libretto Bertarido makes a final, impassioned speech of affection towards his friends before the rousing final chorus:

Sposa, figlio, sorella, amici, oh Dio!
Vi stringo al seno; oh quanto

⁷⁴ Arthur Jacobs, "Translation," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 15 April 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

a tutti, a tutti voi deve il cor mio!
Se festeggi frattanto
di questo regno in ogni parte; e sia
al passato martire, in sì felice dì, pari il gioire.

Spouse, son, sister, friends, oh God!
I pull you to my breast; oh, how much
my heart owes to you all!
Let there be celebrations
in every part of the kingdom, and may
the rejoicing on such a happy day
be as great as our past suffering!

Compare this to Hagen's rendition, which he splits between Grimwald and Bertarich:

Grimwald: König von Mailand, dir huldigt dein Volk!

Bertarich: Ihr Lieben! Welch unermesslich Glück! Stehet auf und feiert diesen Tag. Auf Nacht folget Morgen, auf Schmerzen Lust, frei aller Sorgen hebt sich die Brust!

Grimwald: King of Milan, your people pay homage to you!

Bertarich: My Beloved! What immeasurable happiness! Rise and celebrate this day. After night follows morning, after pain, delight; freely all concerns are lifted off our chest!⁷⁵

Rather than addressing Bertarich's speech towards his fellow cast, Hagen chooses to invoke the trope of the *Volk*, or "the people," an idea quite heavily burdened with Wagnerian implications. If we are to read this with Hagen's implied subtext, where Rodelinda is a representation of German high culture and prosperity, then Bertarich's reclaiming of his wife and throne takes on a new dimension. The invocation of morning following night, and particularly, of delight following pain, which Handel originally saved for the chorus which follows this recitative, only strengthens this allusion towards the plight of Germany in a troubled era and its idealized eventual outcome. By using the textual material from Handel's final chorus in Bertarich's recitative, this allows Hagen to substitute a text for this chorus, which is even more in line with his ideologies:

Auf Grauen folget Wonne!

⁷⁵ All translations mine.

Nun lacht uns neu die Sonne.
Hell leuchtend voll Entzücken
strahlt jetzt des Morgens Licht.
All Leiden ist vergangen.
Voll Freud und Lustverlangen
aus blütenschwerem Haag
grüsst froh der Friedenstag.

After horror follows bliss!
Now the sun laughs with us again.
Light-bright from rapture
now radiates the morning light.
All suffering has passed.
Full of joy and desire for pleasure
from the bloom-heavy *Haag*,
gladly we greet the peaceful day

What is most curious about this final text is Hagen's allusion to The "bloom-heavy *Haag*". When heard spoken aloud, the audience would probably interpret this word as "der *Hag*," or "the hedge," but written with a double a as it is in the score, we get a different cognate of this word: "Den Haag," the city of The Hague, Netherlands. While this could always be just a typographical error, it still raises questions. As this opera takes place, albeit metaphorically, in the Lombard region of Italy, a reference to The Hague may seem somewhat odd. But in early twentieth-century Europe, The Hague was sometimes seen as a symbol of peace, due the widely known Peace conference, the Hague Conventions. Because it is found in the final line of the opera, the very last thing the audience will remember upon leaving the auditorium, Hagen's invocation of this metaphorical olive-branch would be extremely significant to an ideological interpretation of this work.

Though the contemporary scholar or performer might not appreciate Handel opera blighted by such dramatic reinterpretations and modern musical anachronisms, it is in the reception history of these performances that we can gauge their true impact. Pointing the finger at Hagen and labeling his works as simply "inauthentic" does nothing to clarify the world in which he

worked when preparing these scores. In the next chapter I will explore these operas as a representation of Hagen's ideology in action, while also analyzing the reception history and legacy of Hagen's work.

CHAPTER 4 RECEPTION AND LEGACY

Ideology in Action

Carl Dahlhaus wrote that musical “restorations, unlike traditions, are by their very nature reflective.”⁷⁶ Oskar Hagen’s work with Handel opera in the 1920s exemplifies this statement. His editions and performances were reflections of his own ideologies and attitudes towards both music from the past and music in his present. The historicist movement, which began in earnest during the nineteenth century, made its mark upon Hagen and greatly influenced his work. The historicist, Dahlhaus explains,

firmly believes that what a work has to say about the age in which it was written belongs at one and the same time to the past and the present, not because works are “timeless” but because past and present form an indissoluble alloy. The past is what has survived from the past, and hence is part and parcel of the present. The works that have extended from earlier periods into our own age do not come solitary and sequestered; they bring their own time – a *temps perdu* – along with them.⁷⁷

Hagen’s reinterpretations of Handel opera served to bring these works from the past and infuse them with the aesthetics of the present, striking what he saw to be the perfect balance between the two time periods. He made no claim to authenticity or historical accuracy, directing those in search of Handel’s original score to the Chrysander transcription which, he stated, “one can

⁷⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 67.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 70.

find in all larger libraries.”⁷⁸ His aim, as he explained in an article about his revival of *Rodelinde*, was not to represent the past in its own musical language, but to “arouse the musical drama of Handel’s ‘Rodelinde’ from its nearly 250-year Sleeping Beauty slumber by presenting the work in a way that is appropriate to modern feelings.”⁷⁹ He himself noted that his editions were to serve as “der Praxis,” or the pragmatic aspects of contemporary stage performance.⁸⁰ Objectivity was hardly his goal, nor did he make any claims to it.

The post-Romantic era in which Hagen was operating also had a great effect upon his work. The reactions against the excess of Wagnerian Romanticism were inspiring diverse acts of modernist experimentation across the Germanic artistic landscape, resulting in what Pamela Potter deems as “one of the most exciting and most stimulating eras in German cultural history.” This was fueled by the parallel emergence of a working-class culture, she notes, requiring the arts to become more intellectually accessible to the common man.⁸¹ The approach which Hagen took in his Handel productions definitely fit the bill, taking an abused instrument of high culture — opera — and using it a way which was meant as non-elitist and approachable to a broader German-speaking audience. In his own article publicizing the production of *Rodelinde* in 1920, Hagen flaunts a newspaper review, written by Dr. Hans Joachim Moser, a private lecturer of music history at the university, which expresses this idea of intellectual accessibility to the “Volk”:

⁷⁸ “auf allen größeren Bibliotheken zur Verfügung.” Hagen, preface to *Rodelinde*.

⁷⁹ “...das Händelsche Musikdrama ‘Rodelinde’ aus fast zweihundertfünfzigjährigem Dornröschenschlaf erweckt, indem er das Werk in einer dem modernen Empfinden angemessenen...” Hagen, “Die deutsche Uraufführung,” 24.

⁸⁰ “Dieser mit allen Regiebemerkungen versehene Klavierauszug meiner Bearbeitung der Händelschen Oper *RODELINDE* will *der Praxis* dienen.” Hagen, preface to *Rodelinde*.

⁸¹ Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, x.

. . . wir stöhnen alle darüber, daß die hohe Opernproduktion der Gegenwart immer exklusiver sich nur noch an die überraffinierte Geschmäcklerei der Snobisten mit unerhörten äußeren Ansprüchen wendet, während das breite Volk sich mit dem Schund der Operette und des musikalischen Kinodramas den Magen vollschlagen darf. Und hier bricht gerade jetzt ein unversieglicher Springquell aus langverschütteten Schächten hervor!”

We all groan because of the fact that present-day high opera productions have become ever more exclusive, for only the over-refined tastebuds of snobs with their outrageous external requirements, while the broad *Volk* may only fill their stomachs with the trash of Operetta and the musical cinema productions. And here just now breaks forth an unending fount from long buried depths!⁸²

The rise of this working-class culture also helped to promote the idea of a German national identity, which then acted as an important subtext in both Hagen’s performances and their reception by the national and international public.

Hagen’s success

In his 1966 Handel biography, Paul Henry Lang was quick to judge Oskar Hagen’s opera editions as faulty on a number of musical and extra-musical levels, labeling them as downright old-fashioned and no longer of use: “The unfortunate Göttingen ‘reconstructions’ were abandoned as their falsity was recognized, and the initiative passed from the amateurs into the hands of professionals.”⁸³ Lang’s own judgement — strongly rooted in post-war positivism — could only disavow Hagen’s work for its editorial intervention, so contrary to what all modern critical editions and musicological research of the 1950s and ‘60s stood for. Lang’s assertion that these reconstructions had been so quickly “abandoned” is, however, erroneous. Hagen’s editions were wildly popular throughout Germany long into the twentieth century, and

⁸² Quoted in Hagen, “Die deutsche Uraufführung,” 22.

⁸³ Lang, *George Frideric Handel*, 672-3.

continued to be performed into the 1970s.⁸⁴ His musical editions were even performed in the United States when Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, hosted a number of performances of Hagen's Handel opera editions in the late 1920s.

In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* dated March 8, 1928, Hagen wrote of an upcoming performance of his adaptation of *Xerxes* at Smith College, where it would be presented "for the first time in America."⁸⁵ It was not his first production at Smith College, however, as it had hosted a production of *Julius Caesar* in the previous year. Both performances were Hagen's musical editions whose text had been supplanted once again, this time by an English language translation courtesy of Bayard Quincy Morgan, and each performance was also done in conjunction with other "revival" pieces, such as Monteverdi's *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* and Rameau's *Le berger fidèle*.⁸⁶ These American revivals were part of a Baroque Opera series at Smith under the baton of Werner Josten, a noted conductor and composer of German birth who had come to the United States in 1920 to tour as a composer-accompanist for song recitals, remaining there to take up a position as professor of counterpoint and composition at Smith College.⁸⁷

Though I have not as of yet found conclusive evidence of a relationship between Hagen and Josten, the parallels between these two men are hard to ignore: born within three years of each other, from similar regions of Germany, they were both conductors and composers who both left their native country to take up university positions in America in the 1920s. It is reasonable

⁸⁴ Rätzer, 89. The last performance of a complete Hagen edition was a staging of *Julius Caesar* in Berlin in 1972.

⁸⁵ Oskar Hagen, "The Handel Operas. To the Editor of the New York Times," *New York Times*, March 18, 1928, 128.

⁸⁶ Rätzer, 69-187. A third Handel production, *Rodelinda*, was done in 1931, but did not use Hagen's score.

⁸⁷ Lester D. Brothers, "Josten, Werner," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 3 May 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

to conclude that these two musical scholars and supporters of early-music performance may have known of each other or shared a correspondence of some sort. Regardless of the personal relationship between these two men, the widespread success of Hagen and his Handel scores can be charted by the sheer distance his editions traveled in such a short amount of time. Within only a few years they had been performed across Germany, followed by other European capitals such as Vienna, and finally, across the ocean in the United States.⁸⁸ But even after Hagen's works were no longer actively performed and other directors took up the challenge of staging Handel operas, his influence could still be found in the way performers and opera companies chose to tackle these operatic works.

Hagen's Legacy

Hagen's groundbreaking performances of the 1920s set the tone for Handel opera productions for many years to come. Within only a few years of his landmark performance of *Rodelinde* in 1920, numerous others had taken on the challenge of reviving Handel opera, most of whom appropriated the stylistic formula which had proven so rewarding for Hagen. In 1922, the opera *Orlando* was performed at the Handel festival in Halle under the direction of Dr. Hans Joachim Moser – the very same H.J. Moser, music professor at Göttingen University, who wrote the glowing review of *Rodelinde* that Hagen had touted in his aforementioned article publicizing the performance. Apparently, Hagen's work had a lasting impression on Moser: he not only translated the libretto but also sang a part in the opera itself.⁸⁹ The idea that modern audiences would need some sort of change in the operatic structure or some other type

⁸⁸ Appendix II contains a table of performance dates and locations of these four operas from 1920 through 1935.

⁸⁹ Dent, "Handel on the Stage," 175

of inducement to sit through an entire Handel opera had stuck, only leading productions further astray from the Urtext. After Hagen left for the United States, the Göttingen festivals were handed over to the direction of Hagen's friend and college confidante, Hans Niedecken-Gebhard. His first attempts at solving this perceived problem with Handel opera was to overuse the ballet as a way to keep audiences interested, adding a few dancers to any aria which the audience might be inclined to think of as dull.⁹⁰ Brevity became a virtue, in contrast to the marathon length of the Handel originals. Edward Dent recalled a production of *Serse* which he witnessed in Dresden in 1924: it "was cut down to one act, and I must admit that I found it completely unintelligible, not having studied either score or libretto previously."⁹¹ In 1928, an article appeared in the *New York Times* discussing the recent revival of *Ezio*, adapted by Franz Notholt, in Berlin:

Was it Handel's "Ezio"? Almost nothing remained of Handel's original opera. To treat originals as one pleases is one of the principles of the "style opera." Drastic cuts have been applied to the libretto, scenes and airs have been eliminated, shortened and transferred, some have been borrowed from other operas, until there remains a series of aria torsos, sung in costume by opera and concert singers, with a "rotating chorus." This opera "renaissance" is very much distorted. We have no more male sopranos; the monumental art of song which held audiences spellbound for five or six hours is also gone. We do not listen to this opera with the right ears, we do not see it with the right eyes. Since we have no more male sopranos, we emasculate Handel's masterpiece. This unfortunate production certainly was a strong blow to the "Handel renaissance."⁹²

Though the criticism from the foreign press was much stronger than that in Germany, not all verdicts were negative. A 1924 *New York Times* article praises Hagen for his skillful editing, noting that he has quite improved upon Handel's work:

⁹⁰ Ibid, 177.

⁹¹ Dent, "Handel on the Stage," 177.

⁹² Alfred Einstein, "Opera in Germany: Novelties and Revivals – Handel's 'Ezio' in Berlin – Munich Sees 'Skyscrapers'," *New York Times*, March 4, 1928, 122.

This first scene of “Xerxes” – thanks, in part, to skillful editing by Dr. Oskar Hagen . . . is a strong, firmly knit and warmly emotional exposition of the principal motives of the drama and is replete with examples of Handel’s finest writing . . . Dr. Hagen’s work can not be judged by comparison with the original, but unquestionably the opera has gained in sequence and consciousness by his revision. Much of the old text has been cut away and much of it rewritten. Three suicides, among other details of the plot, have been dispensed with.⁹³

Regardless of the reception of Hagen’s work, the effects of his alterations were long-lasting. What is, and what is not, appropriate to do with a Handel opera in performance is unique when compared with other composers. Imagine the outcry if a production of Wagner’s “Ring cycle” were condensed into only one opera of two to three hours in length! Yet a German production of *Giulio Cesare* in 1972, whose plot is based on a historical love story set in ancient Rome, chose to portray Caesar as a “mad bisexual dictator” who was regularly saluted in the Nazi style throughout the opera. Pictures of Hitler and Mussolini graced the program, and the music was cut down by nearly two-thirds.⁹⁴ The criterion for production, Winton Dean asserts, has become “not what Handel is trying to say but what the public can be induced to swallow.”⁹⁵

Concluding Thoughts

There is no doubt that Oskar Hagen left his mark on Handel scholarship and performance in the twentieth century. What many probably do not realize is just how deep that impression was. The trends which Hagen began in the 1920s are, to some degree, still in force today. Though Handel operas no longer languish in obscurity as they did in Hagen’s day, they are still far from common on the world’s greatest opera stages. The concrete problems these scores pose — such as their ungainly length, subject matter, and vocal registration — are not

⁹³ Olin Downes, “Impressions of the Fifth Handel Festival at Gottingen: Vindication of Handel’s Despised Operas; Striking Productions of ‘Xerxes’ and ‘Rodelinde’ – May Rival his Oratorios in Popularity,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1924, X5.

⁹⁴ Dean, “Production Style in Handel’s Operas,” 258.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 259.

insurmountable, but neither are they easily conquered, and many modern opera directors still shy away from this repertoire for these same reasons. Oskar Hagen was indeed a visionary: whether one does or does not agree with his particular vision of Handel opera is a matter of both scholarly and philosophical preference and personal taste, but is an interesting one nevertheless. Reception of musical works, we must remember, is a fluid continuum that is constantly growing and shifting beneath our feet. When examining the reception of works from the distant past, there are an infinite number of points along the continuum between “then” and “now” which are worth probing in more detail. Post-World War I Germany, a teeming hotbed of political, social, and cultural activity, is just such a point. By examining the operas of Handel through the eyes of Germany in the 1920s, we can actually learn more about both.

APPENDIX I:

The following four tables represent side-by-side comparisons of Hagen's four Handel opera scores with the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe editions. The vertical columns contain the type of ensemble being performed as marked in the score, the characters involved in each ensemble, and the length (in measures) of the piece. Repeated sections are indicated by the symbol "(x2)." Repetitions involving *Da capo* or *Dal segno* markings are indicated with the symbols "*D.c.*" and "*D.s.*" respectively. Italics indicate recitative sections. The top of each table includes the date of the last stage performance prior to Hagen's revivals, the date of the first revival performance, as well as the names of Hagen's cast members. The name of each character is followed by an abbreviation of that name in parentheses; that abbreviation is used in the remainder of the table. Text which is marked in red indicates a strong difference between the two versions, such as a change in vocal register, character, or that the music has been moved elsewhere in the score. When pieces are moved to a different area of the score, this is indicated by colored shading marking both the original and moved positions.

Table 1: Comparison Chart, *Rodelinda*

	<i>RODELINDA</i>	Last performance: Hamburg, 29 November 1734	First performance: Göttingen, 26 June 1920	<i>RODELINDE</i>	
<u>HANDEL</u>					<u>HAGEN</u>
Rodelinda (Ro)	Soprano		Rodelinde (Ro)	Soprano	<i>Thyra Hagen-Leisner</i>
Bertarido (Be)	Alto		Bertarich (Be)	Baritone	<i>Ernst Possony</i>
Grimoaldo (Gr)	Tenor		Grimwald (Gr)	Tenor	<i>Georg A. Walter</i>
Eudige (Eu)	Mezzo-Soprano		Hadwig (Ha)	Alto	<i>Helene Wiegand; Adele E. Gotthelft</i>
Garibaldo (Ga)	Bass		Garibald (Ga)	High Bass	<i>Wilhelm Guttmann</i>
Unulfo (Un)	Alto		Unolf (Un)	Bass	<i>Carl Baumgartner; Siegfried E. Niescher</i>
<i>Flavio</i>	<i>non-speaking role</i>		<i>Flavius</i>	<i>non-speaking role</i>	<i>n/a</i>
ACT I			ACT I		
14 pieces	11 Aria		10 pieces	7 Arie	
	1 Accompagnato e Recitativo	1 Accompagnato		1 Ariette	
	1 Sinfonia ed Accompagnato			1 Vorspiel, Rezitativ & Arie	1 Rezitativ
Ouverture	no tempo given	12m. (x2)	Ouvertüre	Maestoso	12m. (x2)
	Presto	60m. (x2)		Presto	60m. (x2)
	Adagio	2m.		Adagio	2m.
	Menuet	15m. (x2) + 32m. (x2)		Menuet (Larghetto)	15m. (x2) + 32
Scena I					
1. Aria			No. 1a Arie		
Ro	Hò perduto il caro sposo	74m. + D.s.	Ro	Ach, verloren hab ich	58m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ga, Ro</i>	<i>Regina? Grimaldo</i>	25m.	<i>Ro, Gr</i>	<i>Königin! Herr Grimwald</i>	25m.
2. Aria			No. 1b Arie		
Ro	L'empio rigor del fato	156m. + D.c.	Ro	Ewig währt meine Treue!	57m.
Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Gr, Ga</i>	<i>Duca, vedesti mai più bel...</i>	23m.	<i>Gr, Ga, Ha</i>	<i>Herzog, ist sie nicht schön</i>	31m.

Scena III					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
<i>Eu</i>	<i>E tanto, da che sei re</i>	<i>13m.</i>			
3. Aria			No. 2 Arie		
<i>Gr</i>	<i>Io già t'amai</i>	<i>64m. + D.s.</i>	<i>Gr</i>	<i>Hab dich geliebt einst</i>	<i>65m.</i>
Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Eu, Ga,</i>	<i>E tu dici d'amarmi?</i>	<i>14m.</i>	<i>Ha, Ga</i>	<i>Und du willst mich lieben?</i>	<i>20m.</i>
4. Aria					
<i>Eu</i>	<i>Lo farò, dirò, spietato</i>	<i>52m. + D.c.</i>			
Scena V					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
<i>Ga</i>	<i>Eudige, t'inganni</i>	<i>6m.</i>			
5. Aria			No. 3 Arie		
<i>Ga</i>	<i>Di Cupido impiego i vanni</i>	<i>183m. + D.s.</i>	<i>Ga</i>	<i>Leih mir, Amor, deine Flügel</i>	<i>225m.</i>
Scena VI					
6. Sinfonia ed Accompagnato			No. 4 Vorspiel, Rezitativ & Arie		
<i>Be</i>	<i>Pompe vane di morte</i>	<i>31m.</i>	<i>Be</i>	<i>Eitler Glanz</i>	<i>31m.</i>
7. Aria					
<i>Be</i>	<i>Dove sei, amato bene?</i>	<i>57m. + D.s.</i>		<i>Wo weilst du?</i>	<i>67m.</i>
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Be, Un</i>	<i>Ma giunge Unulfo, oh Dio!</i>	<i>54m.</i>	<i>Be, Un</i>	<i>Ist das nicht Unolf?</i>	<i>38m.</i>
Scena VII					
8. Aria			No. 5 Arie		
<i>Ro</i>	<i>Ombre, piante</i>	<i>111m.</i>	<i>Ro</i>	<i>Schatten, Haine</i>	<i>111m.</i>
9. Accompagnato e Recitativo			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ro, Be, Un</i>	<i>Ombra del mio bel sol</i>	<i>12m.</i>	<i>Ro, Be, Un</i>	<i>Schatten von meiner Sonne</i>	<i>12m.</i>
Scena VIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ga, Be, Un, Ro</i>	<i>Baci inutili e vani</i>	<i>46m.</i>	<i>Ga, Be, Un, Ro</i>	<i>Eitle Klagen um die Toten</i>	<i>42m.</i>

10. Aria			No. 6 Arie		
Ro	Morrai, sì	79m. + <i>D.s.</i>	Ro	Dein Haupt fällt	49m.
Scena IX					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Gr, Ga</i>	<i>E ben, Duca</i>	<i>17m.</i>	<i>Gr, Ga</i>	<i>Wie steht's, Herzog?</i>	<i>15m.</i>
11. Aria			No. 7 Ariette		
Gr	Se per te	81m. + <i>D.c.</i>	Gr	Soll ich mein Glück	32m.
Scena X					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Be, Un</i>	<i>Unulfo, o Dio!</i>	<i>20m.</i>	<i>Be, Un</i>	<i>und das, mein Unolf</i>	<i>8m.</i>
12. Aria					
Un	Sono i colpi della sorte	56m. + <i>D.s.</i>			
Scena XI					
13. Accompagnato			No. 8 Rezitativ		
<i>Be</i>	<i>Sì, l'infida consorte</i>	<i>8m.</i>	<i>Be</i>	<i>Ha! Die treulose Gattin!</i>	<i>8m.</i>
14. Aria			Arie		
Be	Confusa si miri	180 + <i>D.s.</i>	Be	Ich she dein Begehren	106m.
ACT II			ACT II		
10 pieces	8 Aria		7 pieces	5 Arie	
	1 Aria e Recitativo			1 Duett	
	1 Duetto			1 Intermezzo	
Scena I					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ga, Eu</i>	<i>Già perdesti, o Signora</i>	<i>25m.</i>			
Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Eu, Ro</i>	<i>Rodelinda, sì mesta ritorni</i>	<i>20m.</i>			
15. Aria					
Eu	De'miei scherni	84m. + <i>D.c.</i>			
Scena III					
<i>Recitativo</i>			(moved to No. 11 & 12)		
<i>Gr, Ro, Un</i>	<i>Rodelinda, è pur ver?</i>	<i>46m.</i>			
16. Aria			(moved to No. 11 & 12)		
Ro	Spietati, io vi giurai	75m. + <i>D.s.</i>			

Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			(moved to No. 11 & 12)		
Gr, Un, Ga	<i>Unulfo, Garibaldo, in questo</i>	24m			
17. Aria			(moved to No. 11 & 12)		
Gr	Prigioniera ho l'alma in pena	157m. + D.s.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Un, Ga	<i>Massime così indegne</i>	16m.			
18. Aria					
Ga	Tirannia gli diede il regno	39m. + D.c.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Un	<i>Sì, sì, felon</i>	11m.			
19. Aria					
Un	Fra tempeste funeste	138m. + D.c.			
Scena V					
20. Aria e Recitativo			No. 9 Arie		
Be, Eu	Con rauco mormorio	40m. + D.s.	Be	In dunklem Rauschentönen	32m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Eu, Be, Un	<i>Ah no, che non m'inganna...</i>	71m.	Ha, Be, Un	<i>Nein, nein</i>	56m.
21. Aria					
Be	Scacciata dal suo nido	57m. + D.c.			
			No. 10 Intermezzo	(Music taken from overture)	
			Ro, Flavius, Gr, Ga (all silent)	copious stage directions	48m.
		(moved from No. 16 & 17)	<i>Rezitativ</i>		
			Gr, Ro, Ga	<i>Rodelinde, is est wahr?</i>	39m.
		(moved from No. 16 & 17)	No. 11 Arie		
			Ro	Ja, hört mich!	58m.
		(moved from No. 16 & 17)	<i>Rezitativ</i>		
			Gr, Un, Ga	<i>Ach! Garibald</i>	17m
		(moved from No. 16 & 17)	No. 12 Arie		
			Gr	Liebesketten umschließen	76m.

Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ro, Un	<i>Vive il mio sposa?</i>	18m.	Ro	<i>Es lebt meine Gatte!</i>	11m.
22. Aria			No. 13 Arie		
Ro	Ritorna, o caro e dolce mio	28m. + D.s.	Ro	O säum nicht lager	21m.
Scena VII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ro, Be, Gr	<i>Ah sì! ecco lo sposo!</i>	70m.	Ro, Be, Gr	<i>Bertarich! Teurer Freund!</i>	46m.
23. Aria			No. 14 Arie		
Gr	Tuo drudo è mio rivale	46m. + D.c.	Gr	Ob Gatte oder Buhle	29m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ro, Be	<i>Non ti bastò, consorte</i>	14m.	Ro, Be	<i>So sollt es nicht</i>	10m.
24. Duetto			No. 15 Duett		
Ro, Be	Io t'abbraccio	52m. + D.s.	Ro, Be	Einen Kuss nur!	82m.
ACT III			ACT III		
11 musical pieces	7 Aria		7 musical pieces	3 Arie	
	1 Arioso	1 Accompagnato e Recitativo		1 Arie und Szene	
	1 Coro	1 Accompagnato		1 Szene, Rezitativ & Arie	1 Finale
			No. 16 Praeludium und Fuge	(Concerto Grosso in G minor)	
			n/a	n/a	54m.
Scena I					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Eu, Un	<i>Del german nel periglio</i>	36m.	Ha, Un, Ga, Gr	<i>Bertarichs Los noch</i>	40m.
25. Aria					
Un	Un zeffiro spirò	101m. + D.c.			
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
Eu	<i>Con opera giusta</i>	8m.			
26. Aria					
Eu	Quanto più fiera tempesta	50m. + D.c.			
Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
Ga, Gr	<i>O falso è Bertarido</i>	32m.			

27. Aria			No. 17 Arie		
Gr	Tra sospetti, affetti	135m. + D.c.	Gr	Diese Zweifel, die Liebe	151m.
Scena III					
28. Arioso			No.18 – Arie und Szene		
Be	Chi di voi fu più infedele	51m.	Be	Wer von euch verriet mich	86m
29. Accompagnato e Recitativo			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Be, Un</i>	<i>Ma non so che dal remoto</i>	75m.	<i>Un, Be, Ha, Ro</i>	<i>O mein Herr, mein König!</i>	38m.
Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
<i>Eu, Ro</i>	<i>Non temere. Signore?</i>	37m.			
30. Aria			No. 19 Arie		
Ro	Se'l mio duol non è	31m. + D.s.	Ro	Ach weshalb, du mein Gott (translation of a replacement aria, <i>Ahi perchè</i>)	55m.
Scena V					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Be, Un</i>	<i>Amico, ah</i>	24m.			
31. Aria					
Be	Se fiera belva ha cinto	69m. + D.c.			
Scena VI					
32. Accompagnato			No.20 – Szene, Rezitativ & Arie		
Gr	Fatto inferno è il mio petto	46m.	Gr	Höllenqualen hier im Herzen!	82m.
33. Aria					
Gr	Pastorello d'un povero	27m. + D.s.	<i>(Arie, cont.)</i>		
Scena VII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ga, Gr</i>	<i>Che miro? Amica sorte</i>	10m.	<i>Ga, Gr, Be, Ro</i>	<i>Ist's wahr? Grimwald hier</i>	27m.
Scena VIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
<i>Be, Gr, Ro</i>	<i>Tu morrai, traditor!</i>	26m.			

Scena IX (ultima)					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
<i>Un, Eu, Gr, Be, Ro</i>	<i>Eccoti innanzi</i>	<i>26m.</i>			
34. Aria			No. 21 Arie		
Ro	Mio care bene	56m. + <i>D.c.</i>	Ro	Mein Hort, mein Leben	43m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Be</i>	<i>Sposa, figlio, sorella</i>	<i>11m.</i>	<i>Gr, Be</i>	<i>König von Mailand</i>	<i>9m.</i>
35. Coro			No. 22 Finale		
Ro, Eu, Be, Un, Gr	Doppo la notte oscura più	8m. + 8m. (x2) + 8m. (x2) + 16m. + 17m.	Ro, Ha, Gr, Be, Un	Auf Grauen folget Wonne!	58m.

Table 2: Comparison Chart, *Ottone*

	<i>OTTONE, RE DI GERMANIA</i>	Last performance:	First performance:	<i>OTTO UND THEOPHANO</i>	
<u>HANDEL</u>		London, 10 December 1734	Göttingen, 5 July 1921		<u>HAGEN</u>
Teofane (Te)	Soprano		Theophano (Th)	Sopran	<i>Thyra Hagen- Leisner</i>
Gismonda (Gi)	Soprano		Gismunde (Gi)	Mezzo-Sopran	<i>Meta Margis</i>
Ottone (Ot)	Mezzo-soprano		Otto II, deutscher Kaiser (Ot)	Bariton	<i>Wilhelm Guttmann</i>
Adelberto (Ad)	Alto		Adalbert (Ad)	Tenor	<i>Georg A. Walter</i>
Matilda (Ma)	Alto		Mathilde (Ma)	Alt	<i>Adele E. Gothelft</i>
Emireno (Em)	Bass		Emirenus (Em)	hoher Baß	<i>Ernst Possony</i>
ACT I			ACT I		
13 pieces	10 Aria		9 pieces	7 Arie	
	1 Arioso			1 Hochzeitsmarsch	
	1 Concerto	1 Sinfonia		1 Kampfmusik	
Ouverture	no tempo given	15m. (x2)	Ouvertüre	Larghetto	15m.(x2)
	Allegro	48m. (x2)		Presto	71m.
	Gavotte	8m.(x2) + 22m.(x2)		Gavotte	8m.(x2) + 22m.(x2)
	no tempo given	71m.			
Scena I					
1. Arioso			1. Arie		
Gi	Pur che regni	35m.	Gi	Nur dem Sohn geziemt die Krone	35m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ad, Gi</i>	<i>Chi più lieto è di me?</i>	55m	<i>Ad, Gi</i>	<i>Welch ein Glück ohne Mass!</i>	55m.
2. Aria			2. Arie		
Gi	Giunt'in porto è la speranza	81m. + D.c.	Gi	Meine Wunsche sind im Hafen	67m.
Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ad, Te</i>	<i>Vien di Romano inclita figlia</i>	36m.	<i>Ad, Th</i>	<i>Du, des Romanos liebliche Tochter</i>	23m.
3. Aria			3. Arie		
Ad	Bel labbro, formato	58m. + D.s.	Ad	O Holde, erkoren	42m.
	D minor			G minor	

Scena III					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Te</i>	<i>E tale Otton?</i>	23m.	<i>Th</i>	<i>Ich kanns nicht glauben!</i>	23m.
4. Aria			4. Arie		
<i>Te</i>	<i>Falsa i magine</i>	47m. + D.s.	<i>Th</i>	<i>Falsch Gemälde du</i>	38m.
Scena IV					
5. Concerto	Concerto Grosso no. 6, HWV 317		5. Hochzeitsmarsch	MUSIC OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN	
n/a	(Vivace)	78m.	n/a	n/a	10m.(x2) + 12m.(x2)
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ot, Em</i>	<i>Te, che assalir</i>	39m.			
6. Aria			(moved to 21. Arie)		
<i>Em</i>	<i>Dal minacciar del vento</i>	58m. + D.c.			
Scena V					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ot, Ma</i>	<i>Tutto a più liete cure</i>	66m.			
7. Aria			(moved to 9. Arie)		
<i>Ot</i>	<i>Ritorna, o dolce amore</i>	24m. + D.c.			
Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Anch'io sperai</i>	12m.			
8. Aria					
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Diresti poi così</i>	96m. + D.s.			
Scena VII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Te, Gi</i>	<i>Tu la madre d'Otton?</i>	49m.			
9. Aria					
<i>Gi</i>	<i>Pensa ad amare</i>	57m. + D.s.			
Scena VIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Te, Ad, Gi</i>	<i>Adelaide, di cui contenta lode</i>	19m.	<i>Ad, Gi, Th</i>	<i>Erheite deine Miene du teure Geliebte</i>	50m.
Scena IX					
<i>Recitativo</i>			(Rezitativ, cont.)		
<i>Ad, Gi, Te</i>	<i>Stendi la bianca mano.</i>	29m.			
Scena X					
<i>Recitativo</i>			(Rezitativ, cont.)		
<i>Te</i>	<i>Giunge Otton!</i>	10m.			

10. Aria			6. Arie		
Te	Affanni del pensier	45m. + D.s.	Th	Gedanken rätselschwer	45m.
Scena XI					
11. Sinfonia			7. Kampfmusik		
n/a	n/a	7m.	n/a	n/a	6m. + 6m.(x2)
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ot, Ad</i>	<i>Cede il ferro, o la vita!</i>	21m.	<i>Ot, Ad</i>	<i>Her das Schwert oder das Leben!</i>	21m.
12. Aria			8. Arie		
Ad	Tu puoi straziarmi	85m. + D.s.	Ad	Lass mich nur geisseln	85m. + D.s.
Scena XII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ot</i>	<i>È di più mio rival?</i>	17m.	<i>Ot</i>	<i>Er verhehlt mir die Braut!</i>	16m.
		(moved from 7. Aria)	9. Arie		
			<i>Ot</i>	Kehr wieder holde Liebste	34m.
13. Aria					
<i>Ot</i>	Dell'onda i fieri	60m. + D.c.			
ACT II			ACT II		
11 pieces	9 Aria		9 pieces	6 Arie	
	1 Recitativo accompagnato			2 Rezitativ und Arie	
	1 Duetto			1 Duett	
Scena I					
		(moved from 17. Aria)	10. Arie		
			Ma	Allen Schrecken der Verzweiflung	61m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ma, Ad, Gi</i>	<i>Per breve spazio</i>	22m.	<i>Ma, Ad, Gi</i>	<i>Ein kurzes Wort</i>	31m.
Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Gi, Ad, Ma</i>	<i>Dove... Al carcere, oh madre!</i>	14m.			
14. Aria			11. Arie		
Ad	Lascia, che nel suo viso	41m. + D.c.	Ad	Lasst ihren Kuss mich spüren	41m. + D.c.
Scena III					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ma, Gi</i>	<i>Ah! che più non resisto!</i>	41m.	<i>Ma, Gi</i>	<i>Weh! ich kanns nicht ertragen</i>	32m.
15. Aria			12. Arie		
Ma	Ah! tu non sai	77m. + D.c.	Ma	Ahnst du denn nicht	78m. + D.s.

Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			13. Rezitativ und Arie		
Gi	<i>Ben a ragon Matilda</i>	19m.	Gi	<i>Dank! Habe Dank, Mathilde</i>	10m.
16. Aria			(13. Rezitativ und Arie, cont.)		
Gi	Vieni, o figlio!	80m. + D.c.	Gi	Gebt mir den Sohn zurück!	100m.
Scena V					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Te, Ot, Ma	<i>Quegli è certo il mio sposo</i>	69m.	Th, Otto, Ma	<i>Ist das Otto, mein Verlobter?</i>	55m.
17. Aria			(moved to 10. Arie)		
Ma	All'orror d'un duolo eterno	45m. + D.c.			
Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Ot, Te	<i>O illustre Teofane</i>	34m.			
18. Aria			14. Arie		
Te	Alla fama, dimmi il vero	114m. + D.c.	Th	All den Sagen wie den Märchen	121m.
Scena VII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ot	<i>Con gelosi sospetti</i>	8m.	Otto	<i>Eifer süchtige Reden!</i>	8m.
19. Aria			15. Arie		
Ot	Dopo l'orrore d'un Ciel turbato	95m. + D.c.	Otto	Nach dem Gewitter erblaut	102m.
	D major			F major	
Scena VIII					
		(moved from 22. Aria)	<i>Rezitativ</i>		
			Em, Ad	<i>Das Gitter wär erbrochen!</i>	10m.
		(moved from 22. Aria)	16. Arie		
			Em	Auf die Wogen lass und fliehen!	56m. + D.s.
20. Recitativo accompagnato			17. Rezitativ und Arie		
Te	<i>O grati orrori!</i>	36m.	Th	<i>O, schwarze Nacht!</i>	37m.
21b. Aria			(17. Arie, cont.)		
Te	S'io dir potessi al mio crudele	78m. + D.c.	Th	Könnt ich ihm sagen	86m.

Scena IX					
Recitativo			(moved to 16. Arie)		
Emiarno, Ad	Del gran sasso alla mole	28m.			
22. Aria			(moved to 16. Arie)		
Em	Le profonde vie dell'onde	56m. + D.s.			
Scena X					
Recitativo					
Ad, Ma, Ot, Te	Odo gente, dell'antro	53m.			
23. Aria					
Ot	Deh! non dir, che molle amante	103m. + D.s.			
Scena XI					
Recitativo			Rezitativ		
Em, Ad, Te	Già d'ogni intorno	20m.	Em, Ad	Im weiten um kreis	20m.
Scena XII					
Recitativo			(Rezitativ, cont.)		
Gi, Ma	Odo il suono dell'onda	20m.	Gi, Ma	S'ist ein Boot auf dem Wasser	16m.
24. Duetto			18. Duett		
Ma, Gi	Notte cara!	53m. + D.s.	Ma, Gi	Blaue Nacht!	53m. + D.s.
ACT III			ACT I		
14 pieces	10 Aria		8 pieces	3 Arie	1 Intermezzo
	1 Recitativo accompagnato	1 Duetto		1 Ariette	1 Duett
	1 Arietta	1 Coro		1 Rezitativ und Arie	1 Finale
Scena I					
25. Aria			19. Arie		
Ot	Dove sei?	65m. + D.s.	Otto	Wo weilst du?	38m.(x2)
		(moved from 6. Aria)	21. Arie		
			Em	Nun mögt ihr Stürme prahlen	47m.
Recitativo					
Gi, Ot	Già t'invola, tiranno	41m.			
26. Aria					
Gi	Trema, tiranno	102m. + D.c.			

Scena II					
27. Recitativo accompagnato			(moved to 25. Rezitativ und Arie)		
Ot	Io son tradito	26m.			
28. Aria			(moved to 25. Rezitativ und Arie)		
Ot	Tanti affanni ho nel core	97m. + D.c.			
Scena III					
Recitativo			Rezitativ		
Te, Ad, Em	Empi! al vostro attentato	20m.	Th, Em	Seht ihr, eure ruchlosen Taten	17m.
29. Arietta			22. Ariette		
Ad	A te lascio, l'idol mio	8m.(x2) + 8m.(x2)+ 8m.	Ad	Wache, schütze, hüte mein Leben!	8m.(x2) + 8m.(x2) + 8m.
Scena IV					
Recitativo			Rezitativ		
Te, Em, Ad	Perchè in vita tornai?	33m.	Th, Em, Ad	Läg' ich tot tief im Meer!	61m.
Scena V					
Recitativo			(Rezitativ, cont.)		
Ad, Em, Te	Temerario pirata	24m.			
30. Aria			23. Arie		
Em	No, non temere, oh bella!	71m. + D.s.	Em	O, bang nicht mehr	67m.
			24. Intermezzo	Largo, Concerto Grosso G-Moll	
			n/a	n/a	163m.
		(moved from 27. Recitativo accomp.)	25. Rezitativ und Arie		
			Otto	Ich bin verraten!	19m.
		(moved from 28. Aria)	(25. Arie, cont.)		
			Otto	Bange Fragen	84m.
Scena VI					
Recitativo					
Te	Si me traete	13m.			
31a. Aria					
Te	Dir li potessi vedi, crudele	92m. + D.s.			
31b. Aria					
Te	Ben chè mi sia crudele	114m. + D.s.			

Scena VII A					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Em, Te</i>	<i>Deh! ti trattiene, o bella</i>	39m.			
32. Aria					
Em	No, non temere, oh bella!	71m. + D.s.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Te</i>	<i>Pur cangiasti alla fin</i>	8m.			
33. Aria					
Te	Gode l'anima consolata	131m. + D.c.			
Scena VII B					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ma, Ot, Gi</i>	<i>Uno de'servi miei anche mi disse</i>	42m.			
34a. Aria					
Ma	Nel suo sangue	35m. + D.s.			
34b. Aria					
Ma	Nel suo sangue	101m. + D.c.			
Scena VIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Em, Ad, Gi, Ma, Ot</i>	<i>Matilda, arresta il piede</i>	52m.	<i>Ma, Otto, Gi, Em, Ad</i>	<i>Jetzt e ben sagt man mir</i>	59m.
Scena IX (ultima)					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Te, Ot</i>	<i>Frena, crudel, la dispevata destra</i>	14m.			
35. Duetto			26. Duett		
Te, Ot	A'teneri affetti il cor s'abbandoni	58m. + D.c.	Th, Otto	Nun lacht uns die Sonne	58m. + D.s.
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ot, Te, Em, Gi, Ma, Ad</i>	<i>Ma qual caso, qual Dio</i>	34m.			
36. Coro			27. Finale		
Te, Gi, Ma, Ot, Ad, Em	Faccia ritorno l'antica pace	48m. + D.s.	Th, Gi, Ma, Ad, Em, Otto, S-A-T-B Chorus	Bliebe hienieden lieblicher Frieden!	92m.

Table 3: Comparison Chart, *Giulio Cesare*

	<i>GIULIO CESARE IN EGITTO</i>	Last performance:	First performance:	<i>JULIUS CAESAR</i>	
<u>HANDEL</u>		Wien, 1731	Göttingen, 5 July 1922		<u>HAGEN</u>
Giulio Cesare (GC)	Alto		Julius Caesar (JC)	Baß-Bariton	<i>Wilhelm Guttmann</i>
Curio (Cu)	Bass		Curio (Cu)	Baß	<i>L.C. Blanck</i>
Cornelia (Co)	Alto		Cornelia (Co)	Alto	<i>Eleanor Reynolds</i>
Sesto Pompeo (SP)	Soprano		Sextus Pompejus (SP)	Tenor	<i>Georg A. Walter</i>
Cleopatra (Cl)	Soprano		Cleopatra (Cl)	Sopran (jugendl. dramat. oder Koloratur)	<i>Thyra Hagen- Leisner</i>
Tolomeo (To)	Alto		Ptolemäus (Pt)	Baß	<i>Bruno Bergmann</i>
Achilla (Ac)	Bass		Achillas (Ac)	Baß-Bariton	<i>Karl Feilke</i>
Nireno (Ni)	Alto		Nirenus (Ni)	Baß	<i>L.C. Blanck</i>
ACT I			ACT I		
16 pieces	12 Aria		16 pieces	7 Arie	1 Duett
	1 Arioso	1 Coro		3 Ariette	1 Rezitativ
	1 Duetto	1 Recitativo Accompagnato		1 Introduktion	1 Chor
Ouverture	no tempo given	14m.(x2)	Ouvertüre	Maestoso	14m.(x2)
	Allegro	47m.		Allegro	47m.
Scena I					
1. Coro			No. 1 Chor		
SP, Co, Ni, To, Ac, Cu	Viva, viva	64m.	Ägyptische Frauen, Ägyptische Männer	Heil dir! Heil dir!	64m.
2. Aria			No. 2 Arie		
GC	Presti omai	54m.	JC	Jetzo wahrlich Ägyptens Erde	34m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
GC, Cu	Cu, Cesare viene	10m.	JC, Co, SP, Ac	Ägypter! Caesar kam und sah	52m.
Scena II					
<i>(Recitativ, cont.)</i>			<i>(Rezitativ cont.)</i>		
GC, Cu, Co, SP	<i>Questa è Cornelia</i>	27m.			
Scena III					
<i>(Recitativ, cont.)</i>			<i>(Rezitativ cont.)</i>		
Ac, GC, SP, Co, Cu	<i>La Reggia Tolomeo</i>	46m.			

3. Aria			No. 3 Arie		
GC	Empio, dirò, tu sei	58m. + D.c.	JC	Ruchlose Grausamkeit!	21m.
Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Cu, SP, Co</i>	<i>Già torna in se</i>	28m.	<i>SP, Co</i>	<i>Mutter! Cornelia!</i>	6m.
4. Aria			No. 4 Arie		
Co	Priva son d'ogni conforto	71m. + D.c.	Co	Ohne Trost	43m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(Rezitativ cont.)</i>		
<i>SP</i>	<i>Vani sono i lamenti</i>	7m.			
5. Aria			No. 5 Arie		
SP	Svegliatevi nel core	64m. + D.c.	SP	Herauf ihr Eumeniden	64m. + 7m.
Scena V					
		(moved from 6. Aria)	No. 6 Introduction		
			n/a	(Instrumental introduction to Cleopatra's <i>Non disperar</i> , which is not sung)	9m.(x2)
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Cl, Ni, To</i>	<i>Regni Cleopatra</i>	56m.	<i>Cl, Ni, Pt</i>	<i>Ich will in Caesars Lager</i>	28m.
6. Aria			No. 6 Introduction		
Cl	Non disperar	58m. + D.c. (46m.)	n/a	n/a	9m.(x2)
				(Instrumental introduction to Cleopatra's <i>Non disperar</i> , which is not sung)	
Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ac, To</i>	<i>Sire, Signor!</i>	30m.	<i>Ac, Pt</i>	<i>König, hör an!</i>	27m.
7. Aria			No. 7 Arie		
To	L'empio, sleale	91m. + D.c.	Pt	Falle, Verräter	91m. + 21m.
Scena VII					
8. Recitativo Accompagnato			No. 8a Begleitetes Rezitativ		
GC	<i>Alma del gran Pompeo</i>	28m.	JC	<i>Manen des großen Pompejus</i>	28m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Cu, GC, Cl</i>	<i>Due nobile donzelle</i>	31m.	<i>JC, Cl</i>	<i>Wer ist die Frau?</i>	25m.


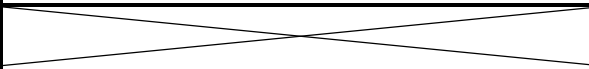
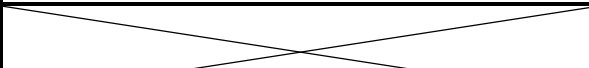
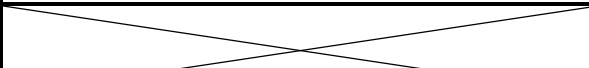
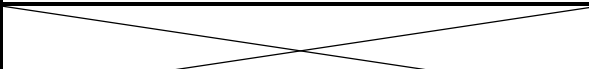
9. Aria			No. 8b Ariette		
GC	Non è si vago e bello	37m. + D.s.	JC	Von erster Morgenhelle	30m.
	E major			G major	
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ni, Cl	Cleopatra, vincesti	11m.	Ni, Cl	Schnell siegest du	30m.
10. Aria					
Cl	Tutto può donna vezzosa	140m. + D.c.			
<i>Recitativo</i>			(Rezitativ cont.)		
Ni, Cl	Ferma Cleopatra	10m.			
Scena VIII					
11. Arioso			No. 9 Arioso		
Co	Nel tuo seno	27m.	Co	Quellt o Tränen	27m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Co, Cl, SP, Ni	Mache! vile e negletta	54m.	Co, SP, Cl, Ni	Weh mir! Bleibt denn Cornelia	28m.
12. Aria			No. 10 Ariette		
SP	Cara speme, questo core	25m. + D.s.	SP	Schon umfängt mich	18m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Cl	Vegli pure il germano	10m.	Cl	Sei auf der Hut	10m.
13. Aria			No. 11 Arie		
Cl	Tu la mia stella sei	91m. + D.s.	Cl	Hast du mich ganz berauscht	100m.
Concerto grosso No. 1 G-major			No. 11a Intermezzo (Festmusik)		
			n/a	n/a	24m.(x2) + 24m.
Scena IX					
		(moved from Act II, No. 30 Arioso)	No. 11b Ariette		
			Pt	Eilt zum Tanze!	4m.(x2) + 24m.
				(larghetto changed to andante)	(mm. 29-end CUT)
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
To, GC	Cesare, alla tua destra	22m.	Pt, JC, Ac	Caesar, dir hat das Schicksal	18m.
14. Aria			No. 12 Arie		
GC	Va tacito e nascosto	51m. + D.c.	JC	Da she ich einen Jägersmann	42m.
Scena X					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ac, To, Co, SP	Sire, con Sesto il figlio	35m.	Ac, Pt, Co, SP	Erlachter, mit Sextus	61m.

Scena XI					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(Rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
Ac, Co, SP	<i>Cornelia, in quei tuoi lumi</i>	23m.			
15. Aria					
Ac	Tu sei il cor	64m. + D.c.			
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(Rezitativ, cont.)</i>		
SP, Co	<i>Madre! Mia vita!</i>	8m.			
16. Duetto			No. 13 Duett		
SP, Co	Sonnata a lagrimar	39m. + D.s.	Co, SP	Für Not und Leid gemacht	31m.
ACT II			ACT II		
14 pieces	9 Aria		6 pieces	3 Arie	
	1 Aria e Coro	1 Recitativo accompagnato		1 Rezitativ und Arie	
1 Sinfonia	1 Arioso	1 Arioso e Recitativo	1 Sinfonia und Szene	1 Ariette	
Scena I					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Cl, Ni	<i>Eseguisti, oh Niren</i>	30m.			
Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Ni, GC	<i>Da Cleopatra apprenda</i>	8m.			
17. Sinfonia			No. 14 Sinfonia und Szene		
GC, Ni	Taci! Che fia?	9m.	JC, Ni	Wohin führst du mich?	17m. (mm.2-9 repeated w/ voices added 2nd time through)
<i>(Recitativo)</i>	<i>Cieli, e qual delle sfere</i>	5m.	<i>(Rezitativ)</i>	<i>Seltsam! Sie möchte mich sehen?</i>	5m.
Sinfonia (Instrumental)	n/a	17m.	Sinfonia (Instrumental)	n/a	17m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(No. 14, cont.)</i>		
GC	<i>Giulio, che miri?</i>	4m.	JC	<i>Traumhafter Glanz!</i>	4m.
19. Aria			<i>(No. 14, cont.)</i>		
Cl	V'adoro, pupille	47m.	Cl	Es blaut die Nacht	47m.
<i>(Recitativo, GC)</i>	<i>Non ha in cielo</i>	4m.	<i>(Rezitativ, JC)</i>	<i>In der Brust</i>	4m.
Cl	(V'adoro, pupille, D.c.)	35m.	Cl	(Es blaut die Nacht, reprise)	18m.

<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
GC, Ni	<i>Vola, vola, mio cor</i>	27m.	Cl, JC, Ni	<i>Caesar, wie dank ich dir</i>	42m.
20. Aria					
GC	Se in fiorito ameno prato	97m. + D.c.			
Scena III					
21. Arioso			(moved to No. 17 Ariette)		
Co	Deh piangete, oh mesti lumi	18m.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Ac, Co	<i>Bella, non lagrimare!</i>	14m.			
Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
To, Co, Ac	<i>Bella, placa lo sdegno!</i>	21m.			
22. Aria					
Ac	Se a me non sei crudele	34m. + D.s.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
To, Co	<i>Bella, cotanto abborri</i>	21m.			
23. Aria			(moved to No. 18 Aria)		
To	Si spietata, il tuo rigore	56m. + D.c. (43m.)			
Scena V					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Co, SP	<i>Su, che si tarda?</i>	28m.			
Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Ni, Co, SP	<i>Cornelia, infausto nove</i>	20m.			
24. Aria					
Co	Cessa omai di sospirare!	81m. + D.s.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
SP	<i>Figlio non è</i>	7m.			
25. Aria			(moved to No. 19 Aria)		
SP	L'angue offeso mai riposa	100m. + D.s. (64m.)			
Scena VII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Cl	<i>Esser qui deve in breve</i>	11m.			

26. Aria					
Cl	Venere bella	122m. + D.c.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
GC, Cl	<i>Che veggio, oh Numi?</i>				
Scena VIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Cu, GC, Cl	<i>Cesare, sei tradito</i>	78m.			
27. Aria e Coro			No. 15 Arie		
GC	Al lampo dell'armi	55m. + D.s.	JC	Ein Ritter in Waffen	26m.
S-A-T-B Chorus	Morà, morà, Cesare morà!	5m.	Tenor-Bariton-Bass	Tod ihm!	5m.
	B-flat major			C major	
28. Recitativo accompagnato			No. 16 Begleitetes Rezitativ und Arie		
Cl	<i>Che sento? oh Dio!</i>	18m.	Cl	<i>Sie töten ihn!</i>	18m.
29. Aria			(No. 16, cont.)		
Cl	Se pietà	50m. + D.s.	Cl	Breite aus	51m.
Scena IX					
30. Arioso e Recitativo			(moved to Act I, No. 11b Ariette)		
To, Co, SP	Belle dee di questo core	47m.			
Scena X					
		(moved from 21. Arioso)	No. 17 Ariette		
			Co	Hört ihr Augen	18m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ac, To, SP, Co	<i>Sire, prendi!</i>	45m.	Ni, Co, Pt	<i>Herrin, unsel'ge Kunde</i>	38m.
		(moved from 23. Aria)	No. 18 Arie		
			Ptolemäus	Der Ge walt sollst	57m.
			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
			SP, Pt, Ac, Co	<i>Elender, wehr dich selber!</i>	71m.
		(moved from 25. Aria)	No. 19 Arie		
			SP	Darf ich ruhen	103m.

Scena XI					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>SP, Co</i>	<i>Ecco in tutto perduta</i>	<i>26m.</i>			
31. Aria					
SP	L'aure che spira	107m. + <i>D.s.</i> (83m.)			
ACT III			ACT III		
13 pieces	7 Aria		11 pieces	3 Arie	1 Marsch
	1 Recitativo accompagnato ed Aria	1 Duetto	1 Sinfonia	2 Rezitativ	1 Ballet
2 Sinfonia	1 Recitativo accompagnato	1 Coro	1 Finale	1 Szene, Rezitativ und Arie	1 Duett
Scena I					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ac</i>	<i>In tal modi si premia</i>	<i>11m.</i>			
32. Aria					
Ac	Dal fulgor di questa spada	107m. + <i>D.c.</i>			
Scena II					
33. Sinfonia			No. 20 Sinfonia		
n/a	n/a	19m.	n/a	n/a	1m. + 19m.(x2)
	"battle sinfonia" - troops in combat				
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>To, Cl</i>	<i>Vinta cadesti</i>	<i>18m.</i>	<i>Pt, Cl</i>	<i>Ich bleib der Sieger</i>	<i>30m.</i>
34. Aria					
To	Domerò la tua fierezza	71m. + <i>D.s.</i>			
Scena III					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Cl</i>	<i>E pur così in un giorno</i>	<i>12m.</i>			
35. Aria			No. 21 Arie		
Cl	Piangerò la sorte mia	69m. + <i>D.c.</i>	Cl	Weine nur, klage nur	86m.

Scena IV					
36. Recitativo accompagnato ed Aria			No. 22 Szene, Rezitativ und Arie		
GC	<i>Dall'ondoso periglio</i>	42m.	JC	<i>Aus der Brandung Gefahren</i>	42m.
GC	Aure, deh, per pietà	90m. + D.s.	JC	Atem der blauen See	108m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			No. 23 Begleitetes Rezitativ		
SP, Ac, GC, Ni	<i>Cerco in van Tolomeo</i>	53m.	SP, Ac	<i>Umsonst!</i>	40m.
Scena V					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
GC, SP	<i>Lascia questo sigillo</i>	17m.	JC, SP	<i>Lasse mir dieses Siegel!</i>	10m.
37. Aria			No. 24 Arie		
GC	Quel torrente che cade	157m. + D.c.	JC	Als des Wasserfalls	102m.
	C major			D major	
Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
SP, Ni	<i>Tutto lice sperar</i>	9m.			
38. Aria					
SP	La giustizia ha	59m. + D.s.			
Scena VII					
39. Recitativo Accompagnato			No. 25a Begleitetes Rezitativ		
Cl, GC	<i>Voi, che mie fide</i>	30m.	Cl, JC	<i>Ach, ich getreuen</i>	31m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
GC, Cl	<i>Forzai l'ingresso</i>	31m.	JC, Cl	<i>Die Tore sprengt ich</i>	26m.
40. Aria			No. 25b Arie		
Cl	Da tempeste il legno	99m. + D.c.	Cl	Heil und sicher	48m.
Scena VIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
To, Co	<i>Cornelia, è tempo omai</i>	21m.			
Scena IX					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
SP, To, Co	<i>T'arresta, oh genitrice!</i>	21m.			
41. Aria					
Co	Non ha più che temere	44m. + D.s.			

Scena X (ultima)					
42. Sinfonia			(moved to No. 27 Ballet)		
n/a	n/a	25m. + D.c. (21m.)			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Ni, GC, SP, Co, Cl	<i>Qui Curio vincitor</i>	50m.			
42b. La Marche	(written for 1st revival in 1725)	(intended to replace the above Sinfonia)	No. 26 Marsch		
n/a	n/a	10m.(x2) + 18m.	n/a	n/a	10m.(x2) + 18m.
			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
			<i>Cu, JC, SP</i>	<i>Herr, das Waffenlos entschied</i>	35m.
		(moved from 42. Sinfonia)	No. 27 Ballet (Waffentanz)		
			n/a	n/a	25m.
43. Duetto			No. 28 Duett		
Cl, GC	Caro! / Bella!	60m. + D.s.	Cl, JC	Starker! / Schönste!	47m.
<i>Recitativo</i>					
GC	<i>Goda pur or l'Egitto</i>	8m.			
44. Coro			No. 29 Finale		
Cl, SP, Co, GC, To, Ni, Ac, Cu	Ritorni omai nel nostro core	6m. + 6m.(x2) + 12m.(x2) + 2m.	Cl, Co, SP, JC, Cu, S-A-T-B Chorus	Bring wieder Freud	43m. (includes antiphonal section between main characters and chorus)
Cl, GC	Un bel contento	8m.(x2) + 16m.(x2)	Cl, JC	Doch trennt und einst	25m.
Cl, SP, Co, GC, To, Ni, Ac, Cu	Ritorni omai nel nostro core (reprise)	6m. + 12m. + 2m.	Cl, Co, SP, JC, Cu, S-A-T-B Chorus	Bring wieder Freud (reprise)	20m.

Table 4: Comparison Chart, *Serse*

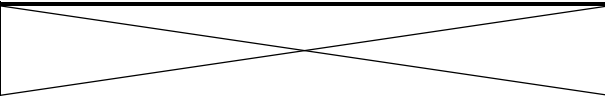
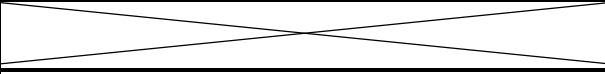
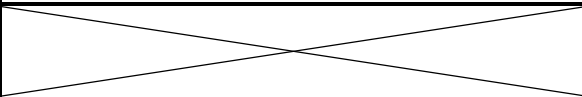
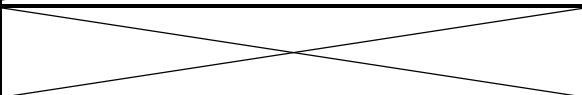
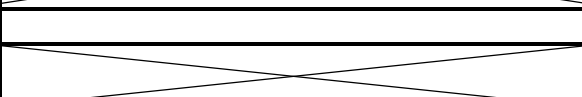
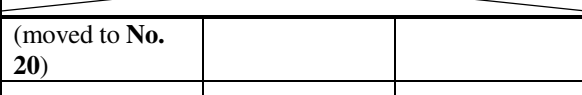
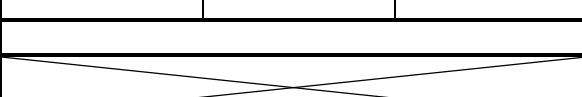
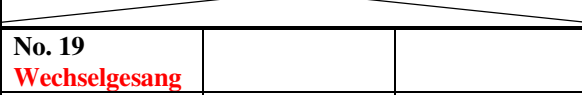
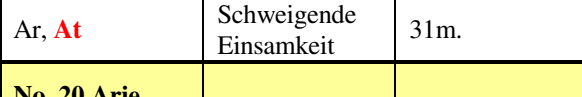
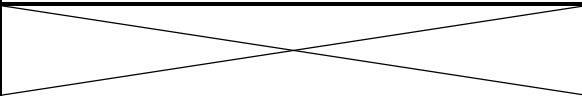
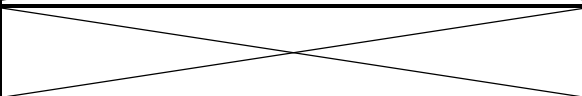

	<i>SERSE</i>	Last performance: London, 15 April 1738	First performance: Göttingen, 5 July 1924	<i>XERXES</i>	
<u>HANDEL</u>					<u>HAGEN</u>
Serse (Se)	Mezzo-soprano		Xerxes (Xe)	Tenor	<i>Gunnar Graarud</i>
Arsamene (Ar)	Mezzo-soprano		Arsamene (Ar)	Lyric Baritone	<i>Georg A. Walter</i>
Amastre (Am)	Alto		Amastris (Am)	Alto	<i>Marie Schultzdornburg</i>
Romilda (Ro)	Soprano		Romilda (Ro)	young dramatic Soprano	<i>Thyra Hagen-Leisner</i>
Atalanta (At)	Soprano		Atalanta (At)	Coloratura Sopran	<i>Emy von Stetten</i>
Ariodate (Ar)	Bass		Ariodat (Ar)	Serious Bass	<i>Alfred Borschardt</i>
Elviro (El)	Bass		Elviro (El)	Buffo Bass	<i>Bruno Bergmann</i>
			Volk, Soldaten, Hochzeitsgäste	vierstimmiger, gemischter Chor	<i>n/a</i>
ACT I			ACT I		
<u>20 pieces</u>	14 Arias	1 Sinfonia e Recitativo	<u>13 pieces</u>	9 Arie	1 Duett
	1 Arietta	1 Accompagnato		1 Szene und Arie	1 Chor
	1 Arioso e Recitativo	2 Coro		1 Couplet	
<u>Ouverture</u>	no tempo given	18m. (x2)	<u>Ouverture</u>	Andante maestoso	18m.
	Allegro/Adagio	66m.		Allegro/Adagio	66m. (+ 4-bar "Cemb. Kadenz ad lib" before adagio)
	Gigue - no tempo given	40m. (x2)		Gigue - Presto/Largo	40m.
Scena I					
1. Accompagnato					
Se	Frondi tenere	9m.			
2. Aria - Larghetto			No.1 Arie		
Se	Ombra mai fu	52m.	Xe	Wonnevoll	52m.
Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ar, El	<i>Siam giunti, Elviro</i>	9m.	Ar, El	<i>Da sind wir, Elviro!</i>	8m.

3. Sinfonia e Recitativo			No. 2 Szene und Arie		
Ar, El	Sento un soave concento	55m.	Xe, El, Ar	Dieses liebliche Konzert	12m.
				(Text is spoken over Romilda's aria)	
4. Arioso e Recitativo			(No. 2, cont.)		
Ro, Ar, El	O voi...	20m.	Ro	O Leid!	58m.
Scena III					
	(O voi, cont.)	40m.			
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Se, Ar	Arsamene. Mio Sire.	8m.	Xe, Ar	Mein muss Romilda werden	19m.
5. Aria					
Ro	Và godendo	58m.			
6. Aria			No. 3 Duett		
Se (solo)	Io le dirò che l'amo	19 m.	Xe, Ar	Liebe will ich ihr schwören!	19m. + 12m.
Ar (solo)	Tu le dirai che l'ami	19 m. + D.c.			
Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ro, Ar, At	Arsamene. Romilda, oh Dei	23m.	Ro, Ar, At	Geliebter! Romilda!	19m.
7. Aria			No. 4 Arie		
At	Sì, mio ben	33m.	At	O Weh und Ach!	33m.
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
El, Ar	Presto, Signor	2m.	El, Ar, Xe	Vorsicht! Der König!	19m.
Scena V					
(recit. cont.)			(recit. cont.)		
Se, Ro, Ar, El	Come, qui, Principessa (cont. of Presto, Signor)	23m.			
8. Aria			No. 5 Arie		
Ar	Meglio in voi	55m. + D.s.	Ar	Soll ich gehn	55m. + 21m.
				(3 verses, not ABA)	
Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Se	Bellissima Romilda, eh!	9m.	Xe	Ach holdeste Romilda	9m.
9. Aria					
Se	Di tacere	72m.			

Scena VII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Ro	<i>Aspide sono</i>	4m.			
		(moved from 14. Aria)	No. 6 Arie		
			Xe	Deine Blicke	61m.
10. Aria			No. 7 Arie		
Ro	Nè men con l'ombre	69m.	Ro	Trägt der Geliebte	69m.
Scena VIII					
11. Aria			No. 8 Arie		
Am	Se cangio spoglia	58m.	Am	Trag ich auch Eisen	28m.
Scena IX					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Ar, Am	<i>Pugnammo, amici</i>	7m.	Am	<i>Was wird mein König sagen</i>	7m.
12. Coro			No. 9 Chor		
S-A-T-B Chorus	Già la tromba che chiamò	18m.	S-A-T-B Chorus	Laut ruft der Trompete	18m.
Scena X					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Am, Se, Ar	Ecco Serse, o che volto	19m.	Am, Xe, Ar	Auf jauchzen möchte ich	21m.
13. Aria			No. 10 Arie		
Ar	Soggeti al mio volere	40m.	Ar	Man greift nicht	40m.
12a. Coro			"Alla marcia"		
S-A-T-B Chorus	Già la tromba che chiamò	18m.	S-A-T-B Chorus	Ehret den dem Ehrgebührt	18m.
Scena XI					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
Se, Am	<i>Queste vitorie</i>	35m.	Ar, Am, El	<i>Herrlich!</i>	34m.
14. Aria			(moved to No. 6)		
Se	Più che penso	75m. + D.c. (61m.)			
Scena XII					
<i>Recitativo</i>			(recit. cont.)		
Ar, El	<i>Eccoti il foglio, Elviro</i>	13m.			
15. Arietta			No. 11 Couplet		
El	Signor, lasciate far a me	16m.	El		16m. (x3)
					three verses, strophic

16. Aria			No. 12 Arie		
Ar	Non sò se sia la speme	52m. + D.s.	Am	So will er mich verstossen	52m. + 30m.
Scena XIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Am</i>	<i>Tradir di regia sposa</i>	<i>6m.</i>			
17. Aria					
<i>Am</i>	Saprà delle mie offese	139m. + D.c.			
Scena XIV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>At, Ro</i>	<i>Alfin sarete sposa</i>	<i>22m.</i>	<i>Ro, At</i>	<i>Schwester, wo bleibt</i>	<i>29m.</i>
18. Aria					
<i>Ro</i>	Se l'idol mio	69m. + D.s.			
Scena XV					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>At</i>	<i>Per rapir quel tesoro</i>	<i>5m.</i>			
19. Aria			No. 13 Arie		
<i>At</i>	Un cenno leggiadretto	50m. + D.c.	<i>At</i>	Wenn Schelmenaugen	50m. + 17m.
ACT II			ACT II		
23 pieces	10 Aria		9 pieces		
	3 Arioso	1 Recit. ed Accompagnato		4 Arie	
2 Recit. ed Arioso	2 Arietta	1 Accompagnato		2 Arioso	1 Rezitativ u. Arie
1 Aria e Recitativo	2 Duetto	1 Coro e Recitativo		1 Arioso (Duett)	1 Wechselgesang [duet]
Scena I					
20. Arioso			No. 14a Arioso		
<i>Am</i>	Speranze mie	9m.	<i>Amastris</i>	Verzage nicht	9m.
21. Arietta			<i>Rezitativ (accomp.)</i>		
<i>El</i>	Ah! chi voler	34m.	<i>El</i>	<i>Ah! Leuto, kauft Blumen</i>	34m.
<i>Recitativo ed Arioso</i>			<i>(recit. cont.)</i>		
<i>El, Am</i>	<i>E chi direbbe mai</i>	58m.	<i>El, Am</i>	<i>Wer vermutet wohl</i>	56m.
22. Aria			No. 14b Arie		
<i>Am</i>	Or che siete, speranze	60m. + D.s.	<i>Am</i>	O versink, letztes Hoffen	44m.

Scena II					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>El</i>	<i>Quel curioso è partito</i>	<i>7m.</i>	<i>El</i>	<i>Der lästige Frager</i>	<i>8m.</i>
23. Arioso e Recitativo			<i>(recit. cont.)</i>		
<i>At, El</i>	<i>A piangere ognora</i>	<i>30m.</i>	<i>At, El</i>	<i>Du armes Kind</i>	<i>26m.</i>
24. Arietta			No. 15 Arioso		
<i>El</i>	<i>Ah! tigre infedele</i>	<i>16m.</i>	<i>El</i>	<i>Ha! Ist es zu glauben!</i>	<i>16m.</i>
<i>Recitativo ed Arioso</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>At, El</i>	<i>Parti; il re s'avvicina</i>	<i>7m.</i>	<i>At, El</i>	<i>Hurtig, der König naht!</i>	<i>7m.</i>
Scena III					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(recit. cont.)</i>		
<i>At</i>	<i>Con questo foglio</i>	<i>2m.</i>	<i>At</i>	<i>Mit diesem Brief</i>	<i>2m.</i>
25. Arioso			<i>(recit. cont.)</i>		
<i>Se</i>	<i>È tormento troppo fiero</i>	<i>23m.</i>	<i>At</i>	<i>Du armes Kind (reprise)</i>	<i>3m.</i>
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>(recit. cont.)</i>		
<i>Se, At</i>	<i>Di quel foglio, Atalanta</i>	<i>27m.</i>	<i>Xe, At</i>	<i>Darf man wissen</i>	<i>24m.</i>
26. Aria e Recitativo			No. 16 Arie		
<i>At</i>	<i>Dirà che amor per me</i>	<i>24m. + D.c.</i>	<i>At</i>	<i>Beteuert dir mein Schatz</i>	<i>17m.</i>
			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Se, At</i>		<i>4m.</i>	<i>Xe, At</i>	<i>Liebes Kind</i>	<i>4m.</i>
(Aria cont.)			(Arie cont.)		
<i>At</i>	<i>Dirà che amor per me</i>	<i>24m. + D.c.</i>	<i>At</i>	<i>Beteuert dir mein Schatz</i>	<i>9m.</i>
Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Se, Ro</i>	<i>Ingannata Romilda!</i>	<i>10m.</i>	<i>Xe, Ro</i>	<i>Komm heraus</i>	<i>12m.</i>
27. Duetto			No. 17a Arioso (Duett)		
<i>Ro, Se</i>	<i>L'amerò/L'ameret e?</i>	<i>18m.</i>	<i>Ro, Xe</i>	<i>Fest und treu!/Und du liebst</i>	<i>18m.</i>
28. Aria			No. 17b Arie		
<i>Se</i>	<i>Se bramate d'amar</i>	<i>84m. + D.c.</i>	<i>Xe</i>	<i>Dem Treulosen willst Treue</i>	<i>49m.</i>
			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
			<i>Ro</i>	<i>Befehlet meinem Vater</i>	<i>6m.</i>

			(Arie cont.)		
			Xe	Dem Treulosen willst Treue	29m.
		(moved from 36. Aria)	No. 18 Rezitativ und Arie		
			Ro	Wär es denn wahr?	14m.
				Dass ich den Vertrauten	61m.
			Rezitativ		
			Xe, Am	Sie ging?	29m.
Scena V					
29. Accompagnato					
Ro	L'amerò?	14m.			
30. Aria					
Ro	È gelosia quella tiranna	38m. + D.c.			
Scena VI					
Recitativo					
Am, El	Giacché il duol	10m.			
31. Aria			(moved to No. 20)		
Am	Anima infida	56m.			
Scena VII					
Recitativo					
El Ar	È passo affé!	19m.			
32. Aria			No. 19 Wechselgesang		
Ar	Quella che tutta fé	20m. + D.c.	Ar, At	Schweigende Einsamkeit	31m.
		(moved from 31. Aria)	No. 20 Arie		
			Am	Erst sollst du büßen	58m.
33. Coro e Recitativo			(moved to Act III, No. 21)		
S-A-T-B Chorus	La virtute sol potea	14m.			
Se, Ar	Ariodate?	13m.			
S-A-T-B Chorus	La virtute (reprise)	14m.			
Scena IX					
34. Arioso					
Ar	Per dar fine alla mia pena	24m.			
Recitativo					
Se, Ar	Arsamene, ove andate?	30m.			

35. Aria					
Ar	Si, la voglio	43m. + D.c.			
Scena X					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
At, Se	<i>V'inchino, eccelso Re.</i>	9m.			
36. Aria			(moved to No. 18)		
At	Voi mi dite che non l'ami	61m.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Se	<i>Saria lieve ogni doglia</i>	4m.			
37. Aria					
Se	Il core spera e teme	41m. + D.s.			
Scena XI					
38. Recitativo ed Accompagnato					
El	Me infelice	17m.			
39. Aria			(moved to Act III, no. 22)		
El	Del mio caro Bacco amabile	46m.			
Scena XII					
40. Duetto					
Se, Am	Gran pena è gelosia	17m.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Se, Am	<i>Aspra sorte!</i>	18m.			
Scena XIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Se	<i>Romilda, e sarà</i>	4m.			
41. Arietta					
Ro	Val più contento core	31m. + D.s.			
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Se, Ro, Am	<i>Vuò ch'abbian fine</i>	18m.			
Scena XIV					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
Am, Ro	<i>La fortuna, la vita</i>	11m.			
42. Aria					
Ro	Chi cede al furore di stelle	141m. + D.s.			

ACT III			ACT III		
<u>10 pieces</u>	6 Aria		<u>9 pieces</u>	3 Arie	1 Arioso (Duett)
	1 Arietta	2 Coro		1 Trinklied	2 Chor
	1 Duetto	1 Sinfonia		1 Duett	1 Trauungsmusik und Chor
<u>Sinfonia</u>			<u>No Sinfonia</u>		
	Andante	8m. (x2) + 14m. (x2)			
Scena I					
		(moved from Act II, 33. Coro)	No. 21 Chor der Soldaten		
			S-A-T-B Chorus	Füllt die Becher	14m.
			Rezitativ		
			El, <i>Ein Soldat</i> , Am	Ihr Leute!	18m.
		(moved from Act II, 33. Coro)	(Chor, cont.)		
			S-A-T-B Chorus	Füllt die Becher	14m.
			No. 22a Rezitativ acc.		
			El	Grollend in rauhem	10m.
		(moved from Act II, 39. Aria)	No. 22b Arie		
			El	Diese angenehme	46m.
		(moved From Act II, 40. Duetto)	No. 23 Arioso (Duett)		
			Xe, Am	Nun soll mein Sehnen	17m.
Recitativo					
Ar, Ro	Sono vani i pretesti	6m.			
Scena II					
Recitativo					
At, El, Ar, Ro	Ahi! Scoperto è l'inganno!	27m.			
44. Arietta					
At	No, se tu mi sprezzì	36m.			

Scena III					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ro, El, Ar, Se</i>	<i>Ecco in segno di fé</i>	<i>26m.</i>			
45. Aria					
<i>Se</i>	<i>Per rendermi beato</i>	<i>43m. + D.c.</i>			
Scena IV					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ar, Ro</i>	<i>Ubbidirò al mio re?</i>	<i>18m.</i>			
46. Aria					
<i>Ar</i>	<i>Amor, tiranno amor</i>	<i>47m. + D.c.</i>			
Scena V					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Se, Ar</i>	<i>Come già vi accenammo</i>	<i>15m.</i>	<i>Am, Xe, Ar</i>	<i>Hilfe! Halt ihn?</i>	<i>25m.</i>
47. Aria			No. 24 Arie		
<i>Ar</i>	<i>Dal ciel d'amore</i>	<i>41m. + D.s.</i>	<i>Ar</i>	<i>Dass jeder König</i>	<i>26m.</i>
Scena VI					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ro</i>	<i>Il suo serto rifiuto</i>	<i>4m.</i>			
Scena VII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Se, Ro</i>	<i>Fermatevi, mia sposa</i>	<i>37m.</i>			
Scena VIII					
<i>Recitativo</i>					
<i>Ro, Am</i>	<i>Prode guerrier</i>	<i>58m.</i>			
48. Aria					
<i>Am</i>	<i>Cagion son io dolore</i>	<i>36m.</i>			
Scena IX					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ar, Ro</i>	<i>Romilda infida</i>	<i>8m.</i>	<i>Ro, Am, Ar</i>	<i>Was für ein Lärm</i>	<i>34m.</i>
49. Duetto			No. 25 Duett		
<i>Ro, Ar</i>	<i>Troppo oltraggi</i>	<i>66m.</i>	<i>Ro, Ar</i>	<i>So vergiltst du</i>	<i>54m.</i>
Scena X					
50. Coro			No. 26 Trauungsmusik		
<i>S-A-T-B Chorus</i>	<i>Ciò che Giove destinò</i>	<i>28m.</i>	<i>S-A-T-B Chorus</i>	<i>Heil dem Paare</i>	<i>28m.</i>
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Ar, Ar, Ro</i>	<i>Ecco lo sposo</i>	<i>24m.</i>	<i>Ar, Ar, Ro</i>	<i>Heil Arsamene!</i>	<i>19m.</i>

(Coro, reprise)			"Andante affetuoso"	(or repeat the Chor)	
S-A-T-B Chorus	Chi infelice si trovò	17m.	Instrumental	Act III - SINFONIA	8m. (x2) + 14m.
Scena XI					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Se, Ar</i>	<i>Se ne vienne Ariodate</i>	<i>42m.</i>	<i>Xe, Ar</i>	<i>Wo ist Ariodat?!</i>	<i>20m.</i>
51. Aria			No. 27 Arie		
Se	Crude furie degli orridi abissi	77m. + D.s.	Xe	Tu den Rachen auf	60m.
Scena XII (ultima)					
<i>Recitativo</i>			<i>Rezitativ</i>		
<i>Se, Ar, Ar, Ro, Am, At, El</i>	<i>Perfidi! E ancor osate</i>	<i>40m.</i>	<i>Xe, Am, Ro, At, El</i>	<i>Arsamene!! Und du wagst</i>	<i>28m.</i>
52. Aria			No. 28 Arie mit Chor		
Ro	Caro voi siete all'alma	47m.	Ro	Soll ich mein Glück	47m.
53. Coro			(No. 28, cont.)		
S-A-T-B Chorus (tutti)	Ritorna a noi la calma	40m.	S-A-T-B Chorus (tutti)	Lasst Amors Kraft	40m.

APPENDIX II:

Performances of *Giulio Cesare*, *Ottone*, *Rodelinda*, and *Serse*, 1920-1935.*

Date	City	Country	Opera
06/26/1920	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
07/05/1921	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
04/21/1922	Gera	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
07/05/1922	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
07/06/1922	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
09/27/1922	Stuttgart	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
10/29/1922	Hannover	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
06/04/1923	Berlin	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
06/20/1923	Oldenberg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
07/06/1923	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
09/15/1923	Hannover	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
10/07/1923	Bremerhaven	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
11/28/1923	München	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/01/1923	Mannheim	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/19/1923	Graz	Austria	<i>Ottone</i>
12/25/1923	Bamberg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
01/13/1924	Rostock	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
01/29/1924	Berlin	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
02/17/1924	Dessau	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
03/23/1924	Zürich	Switzerland	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
03/23/1924	Bremen	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
05/07/1924	Tilsit	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
06/26/1924	Essen	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
07/05/1924	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Serse</i>

* All information in Table 5 is found in Rätzer, 56-189.

07/06/1924	Kassel	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
08/31/1924	Altenburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
09/03/1924	Basel	Switzerland	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
09/05/1924	München	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
09/20/1924	Rostock	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
09/21/1924	Stuttgart	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
10/05/1924	Münster	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
10/07/1924	Erfurt	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
10/11/1924	Dresden	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
10/18/1924	Köln	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
11/04/1924	Mannheim	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
11/18/1924	Nürnberg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
01/10/1925	Würzburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
02/15/1925	Altona	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
03/12/1925	Breslau	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
03/19/1925	Bremerhaven	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
03/24/1925	Halle an der Saale	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
03/24/1925	Königsberg	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
04/02/1925	Plauen	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
04/12/1925	Gera	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
04/18/1925	Oberhausen	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
04/26/1925	Ausburg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
05/23/1925	Königsberg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
05/30/1925	Wien	Austria	<i>Serse</i>
07/05/1925	Weimar	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
09/18/1925	Rostock	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
10/29/1925	Koblenz	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
10/30/1925	Remscheid	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
11/01/1925	Freiburg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
11/24/1925	Aachen	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
12/02/1925	Kaiserslautern	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/05/1925	Stettin	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
12/15/1925	Cottbus	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
12/25/1925	Zwickau	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/25/1925	Mainz	Germany	<i>Serse</i>

03/05/1926	Hannover	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
03/26/1926	Bern	Switzerland	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
04/22/1926	Nürnberg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
04/25/1926	Coburg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
05/25/1926	Görlitz	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
05/29/1926	Wien	Austria	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
06/18/1926	Duisburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
06/24/1926	Saarbrücken	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
07/01/1926	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
09/06/1926	Berlin	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
09/19/1926	Osnabrück	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
10/02/1926	Freiburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
10/14/1926	Ulm	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
10/19/1926	Lübeck	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
10/30/1926	Gera	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
12/02/1926	Bremerhaven	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
12/05/1926	Coburg	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
03/06/1927	Ausburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
04/02/1927	Saarbrücken	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
04/13/1927	Danzig	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
05/14/1927	Northampton, MA	USA	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
06/23/1927	London	Great Britain	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
09/02/1927	Mainz	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
09/11/1927	Darmstadt	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
09/15/1927	Würzburg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
10/06/1927	Dessau	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
12/09/1927	Hamburg	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
04/11/1928	Görlitz	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
05/12/1928	Budapest	Hungary	<i>Serse</i>
05/12/1928	Northampton (MA)	USA	<i>Serse</i>
05/26/1928	Kiel	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
07/05/1928	Göttingen	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
11/17/1928	Königsberg	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
12/04/1928	Weimar	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
01/18/1929	Hamburg	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>

01/19/1929	Erfurt	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
01/30/1929	Trier	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
05/03/1929	Halle an der Saale	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
01/06/1930	London	Great Britain	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
05/09/1931	Northampton (MA)	USA	<i>Rodelinda</i>
02/1932	Göteborg	Sweden	<i>Rodelinda</i>
06/04/1932	Berlin	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
09/18/1932	Saarbrücken	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
09/19/1932	Düsseldorf	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/15/1932	New York (NY)	USA	<i>Serse</i>
03/28/1933	Arnstadt	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
10/24/1933	Ulm	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/01/1933	Amsterdam	Netherlands	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
05/30/1934	Dresden	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
11/15/1934	Ulm	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
01/18/1935	Strasbourg	France	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
01/10/1935	Danzig	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
02/12/1935	Liegnitz	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
02/16/1935	Chicago (IL)	USA	<i>Serse</i>
02/21/1935	Prag	Czech Republic	<i>Rodelinda</i>
02/22/1935	Kiel	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
02/23/1935	Schwerin	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
02/24/1935	Halle an der Saale	Germany	<i>Ottone</i>
04/15/1935	Berlin	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
04/27/1935	Zürich	Switzerland	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
05/11/1935	Düsseldorf	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
05/12/1935	Rostock	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
06/08/1935	Berlin	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
06/15/1935	Loughton (Essex)	Great Britain	<i>Serse</i>
06/25/1935	Aachen	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
07/07/1935	Karlsruhe	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
07/16/1935	Stuttgart	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
09/15/1935	Mannheim	Germany	<i>Serse</i>
10/04/1935	Hamburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
10/23/1935	Magdeburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>

11/01/1935	Ulm	Germany	<i>Rodelinda</i>
11/29/1935	Coburg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/10/1935	Königsberg	Germany	<i>Giulio Cesare</i>
12/11/1935	Nürnberg	Germany	<i>Serse</i>

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