Handel’s Agrippina: A Critical Study of the Autograph and Early Sources

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ABSTRACT

Handel’s Agrippina: A Critical Study of the Autograph and Early Sources

A thesis presented to the Department of Music

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

By Jessica Vincent

This study examines Act Three of George Frideric Handel’s 1709 Italian opera, Agrippina, in an attempt to shed light on Handel’s autograph of the piece and three early copies. Specifically, this study focuses on the concordance between the autograph and the copies in an attempt to provide information for a much-needed critical score of this piece, as well as find connections between the sources that provide clues to the origins of each copy. In order to accomplish this, an in-depth, note-by-note analysis of the third act from each of these sources was executed and the findings were recorded in a concordance table, which is attached to this thesis.

This thesis is structured in four parts: (1) Introduction, addressing aim, background information, and an overview of the sources; (2) Narration of Comparison, discussing in detail the specific findings of the study; (3) Conclusion, what can be drawn from this study, limitations, and further
research opportunities; (4) Concordance Table, visual outline of this study.
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1 All examples are from Act 3 of Handel’s Agrippina, from four different sources. Sources and source names given here to be discussed in the introduction.
INTRODUCTION

“Venice was [Handel’s] next resort. He was first discovered there at a Masquerade, while he was playing on a harpsichord in his visor. SCARLATTI happened to be there, and affirmed that it could be no one but the famous Saxon, or the devil. Being thus detected, he was strongly importuned to compose an Opera. But there was so little prospect of either honour or advantage from such an undertaking, that he was very unwilling to engage in it. At last, however, he consented, and in three weeks he finished his AGRIPPINA.” – John Mainwaring

This passage by Mainwaring paints George Frideric Handel as an ambitious and dexterous composer. His claim that Handel completed the opera Agrippina in just three weeks highlights Handel’s efficiency. To add to this praise, the opening of the opera was an enormous success. According to J. Merrill Knapp, it was performed twenty-seven nights in a row following its premiere in Venice on December 26, 1709. Indeed, Mainwaring recalls the premiere, saying that the audience “resounded with shouts and acclamations of viva il caro Sassone! and other expressions of approbation too extravagant to be mentioned.”

Surely, such a beloved opera would have its very own critical edition. Unfortunately, it does not; while the opera is a piece with many readily available primary sources, there is still much work to be done with it, including a critical edition of the score. There are many printed sources and manuscripts.

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4 Mainwaring, 53.
of the opera, however, these sources have not been closely examined. The purpose of this thesis is precisely that: to investigate Agrippina in great detail, specifically Act 3 of the piece, in hopes of providing details for a possible future critical edition of the score, as well as making an attempt to determine the origins of each copy. My study provides a meticulous comparison of sources A2, A3 and A4\(^5\) to A1, Handel’s autograph of the piece. Ideally, in order to be thorough, one would dissect the entire piece, but my focus is solely on the third act.

My findings have been recorded in a table of comparison. A concordance table\(^6\) provides this note-by-note comparison of the sources, focusing on any discrepancies between the autograph and the other three sources that follow it. The problem with tracking the origins of these sources just by comparing the manuscripts is that we do not have access to every formation of this opera – specifically, a performing score that is presumed to have vanished. Knapp articulates this dilemma:

As usual with Handel, we have his original autograph of the score, and we are impressed with the care he took with this Venetian opera. One of the problems is the considerable difference between the autograph, parts of the published libretto, and other copies of the opera, particularly an edition by Samuel Arnold which was the first one published about 1795. Many authorities feel there was originally a performing score (now lost), which incorporated the changes made for the actual performance in Venice; indeed, Arnold may have seen it. Since Handel probably arrived in Venice only weeks before the production during which time he had to accommodate himself to a new group of singers…the differences between the autograph, undoubtedly begun earlier but showing changes, and the later copies can probably be attributed to this circumstance.\(^7\)

Thus, there may have been a performing score that shaped the changes found in sources A2, A3, and A4,\(^8\) but since it is assumed to be lost, we have to make do with the resources we have.

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\(^5\) See bibliography page for the specific source details, as well as information on additional sources.

\(^6\) See concordance table on page 21.

\(^7\) Knapp, 287.

\(^8\) There may be additional changes in the other sources not examined here.
The following narration gives the precise details of the discrepancies between Handel’s autograph and the three preceding sources on which this thesis focuses.
NARRATION OF COMPARISON

Scene 1: Recitative *Il caro Otton*

As is the case for every scene, A2, A3 and A4 all lack stage directions. For scene one, however, this seems to be the only discrepancy.

Scene 2: Recitative *Ah mia Popea*

Here (in the autograph) is where we first notice Handel’s frivolous use of bar lines. Sometimes they are accurate and reflect the proper amount of beats per measure, but more often than not they are not placed with care. For the most part, the other three sources correct this problem. In A2, 148 verso⁹, a figured bass notation of flat 6 is missing. The same notation is missing in A3, as well a figured bass notation of a flat. A2 and A3 are missing a 4/2 figured bass notation on 149 recto¹⁰ and 155 r., respectively. A2, A3 and A4 are all missing an F sharp three measures from the end in the lower voice.

Scene 2 (cont.): Aria *Tacerò pur che fedele*

This aria contains some curious additions and omissions in the copied sources. In A2, an entire measure is left blank on 149 v. where the autograph clearly has music written in (see Example 1). The measure following this is missing a dot on one of the quarter notes in the vocal part. A few measures later, an accidental is missing (C-sharp). Source A3 contains an even more peculiar change: notes are added to the bass line, presumably to continue an imitative

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⁹ To be abbreviated as “v.” henceforth.
¹⁰ To be abbreviated as “r.” henceforth.
figure in the previous bars (see Example 2). A4 has the same vocal rhythm discrepancy (missing dot) as A2.

Example 1: Agrippina autograph compared with source A2, blank measure, scene 2

Example 2: Agrippina autograph compared with source A3, notes added, scene 2

Scene 3: Recitative *Attendo qui Nerone*
This scene only contains one discrepancy that is the same throughout A2, A3 and A4: in the bass line of the second measure, these sources move from a G-sharp to an A, whereas A1 remains on G-sharp.

**Scene 4: Recitative Anelante ti reco**

Once again, the discrepancies found here are the same throughout the three copied sources.\(^{11}\) In the very first measure, the figured bass notation 6 should have a slash through it.\(^{12}\) The next discrepancy is an entirely absent figured bass notation: sharp 6. The following two discrepancies are more occurrences of a figured bass notation of 6 is missing a slash.\(^{13}\)

**Scene 4 (cont.): Aria Col ardor del tuo bel cor**

Both A2 and A3 lack dynamic and tutti/soli markings, while A4 only lacks the dynamic markings. In measure five (top voice), A2 and A3 both have an incorrect rhythm. The two sixteenth notes followed by an eighth note rhythm has been flipped (see Example 3). A2, A3 and A4 are all missing an accidental (E-natural) toward the end of the aria. A4 has a note discrepancy on 125 r. in the top voice: F, E-sharp, E-natural should be G, F-sharp, E-natural. A3 contains more errors: on 158 r. of the piece, the top voice leaps down an octave from A to A where the autograph leaps from A to F and on 160 r. we have another case of a flipped rhythm (as in Example 3).

**Scene 5: Recitative Amico ciel**

No discrepancies.

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\(^{11}\) That is, unless one looks at the spelling of the libretto incipits: A1 and A4 begin with “Anelante” while A2 and A3 begin with “Anellante”.

\(^{12}\) This seems to be a lazy mistake that was made consistently throughout the copied sources.

\(^{13}\) Again, this is a common error.
Example 3: Agrippina autograph compared to A2 and A3, rhythm discrepancy, scene 4

Example 4: Agrippina autograph compared to A2, A3 and A4, rhythm discrepancy, scene 6

Scene 6: Recitative *Qui non v'è alcun*
A3 is missing an accidental (B-flat) on the first folio of this scene. A2, A3 and A4 all have a small rhythmic discrepancy in the vocal part: a sixteenth rest is omitted (see Example 4). A2 and A3 both have figured bass 6s missing a slash (156 r. and 162 r., respectively). The note discrepancy on 156 v., 162 v., and 126 v. (vocal line) of A2, A3 and A4 occurs presumably due to the autograph being difficult to read. A1 shows a G in the staff, whereas the other three show an E-flat above the staff (see Example 5). Occurring next are a batch of mistakes that these sources all agree on: two missing figured bass notations (sharp above the bass note) and one case of the wrong note and wrong notation, that is, A2, A3 and A4 show a bass note of G with a 6 above it. The autograph shows a bass note of A with an indiscernible marking above it (see Example 6). A2 and A3 share three vocal note discrepancies on 158 r. and v. and 164 r. and 164 v., respectively. The first is a written C that should be a B-flat, the second is a written D that should be a C-sharp, and the last is a written A that should be a B. A3 also contains this last error. Finally, there is another missing slash through a figured bass 6 toward the end of the recitative.

Example 5: Agrippina autograph compared to A2, A3 and A4, note discrepancy, scene 6
Scene 7: Recitative *Temerario insolente*

This scene is another instance of every copy having the same mistakes. In measure 2, an accidental is missing (C-sharp), and on the following folio of each source, there is a missing figured bass notation of a sharp, located above a bass note A.

Scene 8: Recitative *Ora Claudio, che dici?*

Once again, all inconsistencies are shared across all three copied sources. There is a vocal note discrepancy where a written D should be a B in the staff.\(^{14}\) There is also a vocal note length discrepancy in which an eighth note G should be a quarter note.

Scene 8: Aria *Io di Roma il giove sono*

A2, A3 and A4 are all lacking the marking, “Il Bassi per tutto” that occurs at the

\(^{14}\) One might suppose that these changes in the copies preceding the autograph were due to a performer and his or her vocal range. This is not the case. There are often other instances in each part where the vocal line reaches far above these changes.
beginning of the aria in the autograph. A2 and A3 lack all dynamic markings in this aria, however, A4 is only missing some. A3 is strange in that it has no D.C. sign whatsoever while the rest of the sources (including the autograph) do. All three copied sources contain a note discrepancy in which the viola line should have a B but instead has an A. The vocal note length discrepancy is merely a half note with an eighth rest where Handel originally had a dotted half note. Next, A3 has a rhythm discrepancy in the top voice on 170 v.: the autograph shows three quarter notes whereas A3 shows a quarter, dotted quarter, eighth (see Example 7). The vocal note discrepancy on 132 r. of A4 is an E where it should be an F-sharp. The most interesting aspect of the changes to this aria is the way each source approaches the da capo. In A1, Handel draws big Xs to indicate where to return for the da capo. A2 and A4 have little illustrations of hands pointing to the place of return. A2 goes even further to include (on the last folio of the aria, after the da capo sign) one measure plus one note of the da capo. A3 does this as well; however, there are no indications about what to do or where to go afterward.

Example 7: Agrippina autograph compared to A3, rhythm discrepancy, scene 8

![Example 7: Agrippina autograph compared to A3, rhythm discrepancy, scene 8](image)

Scene 9: Recitative *Pur al fin se n'andò*

Only A2 and A3 have musical discrepancies with A1 in this scene. They both begin on

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15 Poppea’s suppressed aria “Esci, O mia vita” is crossed out at the end of this scene in the autograph. Handel notes, “quest’Aria non si dice,” that is, the aria is not to be performed. This is replaced with “Con saggio tuo consiglio” which is found at the end of the autograph.
the wrong note in the vocal line: A1 and A4 start on a D, A2 and A3 start on an E. The only other differences occur in the last two measures of A3, in which the bass voice is on a C instead of a G and the last two notes should be E and F quarter notes, but instead are E and F dotted half note and half note.

**Scene 10: Recitative Ora Ottone che dici?**

There is a small rhythm discrepancy throughout the copied sources in the sixth measure: the vocal line shows a quarter note C where the autograph has two eighth note Cs. The missing accidental in A2 and A4 is an E-flat in the bass, while the incorrect accidental in A3 (171 r.) is a B-sharp in the vocal line where it should be a B-natural.¹⁶ A2, A3 and A4 all contain two missing figured bass notations of 4/2 and one more instance of a 6 missing the slash. A3 has an additional instance of a missing figured bass: a 6 missing above a B-natural on 172 r. The final difference is in both A2 and A3: a slur added between the A and B in Ottone’s last phrase.

**Scene 10 (cont.): Aria No no ch’io non aprezzo**

As is stated in the micro concordance table, this aria was replaced in the other sources with “Pur ch’io ti stringa,” which is not in the autograph.¹⁷

**Scene 10 (cont.): Recitative Piega pur del mio**

The copies of this short recitative contain the same mistake across all three: an accidental discrepancy. It seems the scribes mistook a sixteenth rest for a sharp. It is also important to note that at this point the scribes of A4 decided to include a scene change. Thus, it is marked as Scene 11, and the following scene numbers are off by one for the remainder of the opera.

**Scene 10 (cont.): Aria Bel piacere e godere fido amor**

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¹⁶ This is not a case of a sharp being used to cancel out a previous flat. There is a B-natural (with accidental) in the measure directly before this one.

Sources A2 and A3 both lack dynamic markings, whereas A4 includes them and even adds one near the end of the aria. A2 has two incorrect rhythms (plus a missing note), A3 corrects one rhythmic error but not the other (and also leaves out a note), and A4 corrects both rhythmic errors as well as includes the omitted note (see Example 8). Finally, A4 includes a doubling of the top line (marked “unison”) on 135 v. that is not indicated in the autograph.

Example 8: Agrippina autograph compared to A2, A3 and A4 rhythm discrepancies, scene 10

Scene 11: Recitative Cotanto osò Popea?

In this recitative, all three copies are missing stage directions. They also share the omission of two accidentals (B-flat and E-flat) in the same places. There is a vocal note discrepancy in A2 and A3 that is corrected in A4, however all three sources are missing the same four figured bass notations.

Scene 11 (cont.): Aria Come nube che fugge dal vento

All copies are missing multiple tutti/soli and dynamic markings. In sources A2 and A3, the ordering of the voices varies slightly from the autograph, that is, the violoncello line and
Nerone’s line are swapped. Only A4 retains the same voice order as the autograph. Similarly, trill markings are missing in A2 and A3 but are included in A4. The cello part in sources A2 and A3 is written out completely. Instead, the scribes indicate that it is to double the line below it. Because of this, a cello note is omitted in measure 4.

There is an interesting measure in A2 in which the second violin part was incorrectly notated down a third. When comparing this same measure in A3 (see Example 9), it looks as though the scribe (or scribes) for A3 wrote down both the correct notes and those that match A2. It is hard to discern which set of notes was actually taken down first. This is a good piece of evidence for the scribes of A3 consulting both A2 and A1 (Handel’s autograph). A4 has the correct notes in this measure.

As demonstrated in Example 10, folio 180 r. of source A3 is somewhat disastrous. It not only includes the additional oboe 2 note and the incorrect violin 2 notes that are present in A2, but it also leaves out an entire bar and a half of the viola line.

At the end of this aria, all three copies include the same extended cadence. According to Dean and Knapp, this change must have been authorized by Handel and is likely due to the “exigencies of stage performance or the singers.”

Example 9: Agrippina autograph compared to A2 and A3 note discrepancies, scene 11

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18 Dean and Knapp, 135.
**Example 10:** Agrippina autograph compared to A2 and A3 multiple discrepancies, scene 11

**Scene 12: Recitative *Evvi donna più empia?***

Scene 12 is similar to Scenes 3 and 4, in that A2, A3 and A4 are identical. First, all have a bass note discrepancy in the first measure: they have a D where the autograph shows a B. Similarly, the three copies share an error a few bars later when they indicate two eighth note Bs to be sung where the autograph shows two As. A missing figured bass notation of sharp 6, as well as a figured bass notation that should be sharp 6 follows this, but there is no slash through the 6.

**Scene 13: Recitative *Agrippina, Nerone, Otton***

Again, we have a case of the same discrepancies in each source, excluding the different spellings of “Ottone” and one note discrepancy in A4 that is not in the other copies. In the first

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19 Also similarly to scene 4, the sources are identical unless one looks at the spelling of the libretto incipits: A1 and A3 read “Evvi donna più empia” while sources A2 and A4 read “Evvoi donna più empia.”

20 It is notable how frequently this error occurs.
few bars, each copy has written B and C eighth notes where the autograph shows G and A. There are two missing flat accidentals, one sharp, and one figured bass notation is missing.

**Scene 14: Recitative Adorato mio sposo**

This scene has the most discrepancies across all three copies. In terms of figured bass notations, only two to three are included, leaving out about eleven others in this particularly long recitative. To be fair, this section is especially messy on Handel’s part, yet it is not impossible to decipher.\(^1\)

**Scene 14 (cont.): Aria Se vuoi pace**

Sources A2 and A3 both lack instrumentation markings (except a sole “oboe” marking in A2), and are missing all trill markings. The missing F-sharp in the bass line of A2 is a blatant omission, as there are only two beats and no rests in that three-beat measure. The note length discrepancy that is in all copies simply lengthens a half note G-sharp and quarter note rest to a dotted half note G-sharp.

It is important to note that while this piece is written in E, Handel notates, “si trasporre in F fa ut” at the beginning of the aria (see Example 11). While sources A2 and A3 keep the aria in E, source A4 is written in F (again, see Example 11). This is the biggest piece of evidence we have that the scribes for A4 must have consulted Handel’s autograph.

**Scene 15: Recitative Ecco la mia rivale**

This recitative is another heavy with discrepancies. A2, A3 and A4 are all missing several accidentals, specifically B-flats, A-flats, C-sharps, F-sharps, and G-sharps. Each source only

\(^1\) At first, this part of the autograph was impossible to decipher, as the microfilm housed in Isham has been spliced in such a way that the end of the recitative was completely cut off, and haphazardly spliced near the beginning of the following aria. After obtaining a photograph of the autograph manuscript from The British Library, I was finally able to examine the end of the recitative.
includes one figured bass notation; all others are omitted. The rhythmic discrepancies on 156 v. of A4 are four sixteenth notes instead of eighths, however, this could be due to the autograph being unclear.

*Example 11*: Agrippina autograph compared to A4 transposed to F as indicated, scene 14

![Example 11: Agrippina autograph compared to A4 transposed to F as indicated, scene 14](image)
Scene 15 (cont.): Coro *Lieto il Tebro increspi l’onda*

This Coro has scarcely any discrepancies among the sources, three to be exact. First, the vocal parts are unmarked. The autograph notates Poppea, Nerone, Agrippina on line four, Ottone, Narciso on line five, and Claudio, Pallante, Lesbo on line six. Next is an interesting note and rhythm discrepancy (see Example 12). Where the autograph shows three quarter notes (D, B-flat, G), A2, A3, and A4 have two eighth notes followed by two quarter notes (C, B-flat, C, G). The final discrepancy among the copies is a quarter note D instead of a C. Looking at that single note in the autograph by itself, it could be argued that it is, in fact, a D. However, this note occurs at a cadential point where the chords are moving ii to V; c minor to F major. Since it is unlikely that Handel meant to write a c minor 9 chord, the D in the copies must be an error.

*Example 12*: Agrippina autograph compared to A4 note and rhythm discrepancy, scene 14

![A1](image1.png) ![A4](image2.png)

Scena Ultima: Recitative *D’Ottone e di Poppea*

Scena Ultima, written for the character Giunone, is not included in sources A2 or A3, however it is included in A4. This is another decent piece of evidence hinting at A4 scribes consulting the autograph. The only discrepancies between the autograph and A4 are two accidental discrepancies: B should be B-flat in the vocal line and B-sharp should be B-natural in the bass line.

Scena Ultima (cont.): Aria *V’accendano le Tede*

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22 Although only A4 is included in this example, the discrepancy occurs in all copies.
There are dynamic markings missing from A4, as well as a C where there should be a D.

In the autograph, Handel writes “Segue li balli” at the end of the aria.

**Addendum: Aria *Con saggio tuo consiglio***

This aria is only found in the autograph. It was used in place of Poppea’s aria “Esci, O mia vita” from Act 3, Scene 9.
CONCLUSION

Viewing this study (and this opera) as a whole to draw any conclusions is daunting. What works best is choosing areas and significant changes or similarities that provide insight into what went into producing the autograph of *Agrippina* as well as the other sources examined here. Based on what has been observed during this study, it seems safe to say that source A3 relied heavily on source A2, or vice versa.\(^23\) A2 could have derived from a combination of the autograph and the lost performing score. Surprisingly, A4 seems to utilize the autograph considerably more than the other two sources. This claim is supported by the fact that A4 wrote out the aria “Se vuoi pace” in “F fa ut” as indicated by Handel in his autograph, included Scena Ultima whereas the others did not, and furthermore, often reverted mistakes made by A2 and A3 back to what was originally written in the autograph.

More than any other features of these scores, dynamic and articulation markings, figured bass notations, and accidentals are the most likely to disagree between sources. In some cases, this reflects style. In others, these components were ostensibly overlooked.

Ultimately, this project is incomplete. To create a fully representative assessment of all of

\(^{23}\) I have been unable to find any dates for sources A2, A3 and A4; they have been numbered merely as a means of identification.
these manuscripts and their relationships, further research is needed. To begin, the earliest printed edition by Samuel Arnold would need to be explored. Perhaps this source might expound on some of the similarities and discrepancies discovered here. The Chrysander edition\textsuperscript{24} is also a helpful guide and should be looked at more critically. Second, while this study addresses three of the major sources that constitute relatively complete versions of the opera, the aria collections (such as the Coke Collection, for instance) and libretto collections would need to be dissected and compared with the manuscript sources dealt with here.

Although there is currently no critical edition, the Halle Handel Edition (HHA) has been publishing series of critical editions of all of Handel’s scores, but has not yet gotten to \textit{Agrippina}. There is no further information on when a critical edition for \textit{Agrippina} will be published, our only clue being that the estimated 116 volumes are scheduled for completion in 2023. In the meantime, we have the primary sources, the considerable amount of literature, and now this thesis, which will ideally serve as an effective guide for those who are curious about Handel’s remarkable \textit{Agrippina}.

\textsuperscript{24} See note in bibliography.
### Agrippina Act 3 Concordance Table

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<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>A4</th>
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<td><em>Recitative Il caro Otton</em> [148 recto]</td>
<td><em>Recitative Il caro Otton</em> [154 recto]</td>
<td><em>Recitative Il caro Otton</em> [120 recto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missing stage directions</td>
<td>Missing stage directions</td>
<td>Missing stage directions</td>
<td>Missing stage directions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scene 2</strong></td>
<td><em>Recitative Ah mia Popea</em> [85 recto]</td>
<td><em>Recitative Ah mia Popea</em> [148 recto]</td>
<td><em>Recitative Ah mia Popea</em> [154 recto]</td>
<td><em>Recitative Ah mia Popea</em> [120 recto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inconsistent bar lines</td>
<td>Missing figured bass notation 148 v. and 149 r.; missing accidental (F-sharp) 149 v.; missing stage directions 149 v.</td>
<td>Missing two figured bass notations 154 v.; missing one figured bass notation 155 v.; missing accidental (F-sharp) 155 v.; missing stage directions 155 v.</td>
<td>Missing accidental (F-sharp) 121 r.; missing stage directions 121 r.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Scene 2 (cont.)</strong></td>
<td><em>Aria Tacerò pur che fedele</em> [86 recto]</td>
<td><em>Aria Tacerò pur che fedele</em> [149 verso]</td>
<td><em>Aria Tacerò pur che fedele</em> [155 verso]</td>
<td><em>Aria Tacerò pur che fedele</em> [121 recto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many bar lines added; one measure in bass is blank 149 v., next measure vocal rhythm discrepancy; missing accidental (C-sharp) 149v.</td>
<td>Bar lines added; two measures in bass line contain added note 155 v.</td>
<td>Bar lines added; rhythm discrepancy in vocal part 121 r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scene 3</strong></td>
<td><em>Recitative Attendo qui Nerone</em> [87 recto]</td>
<td><em>Recitative Attendo qui Nerone</em> [150 verso]</td>
<td><em>Recitative Attendo qui Nerone</em> [156 verso]</td>
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<td><em>Recitative Anelante ti reco</em> [122 recto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contains edits</td>
<td>Missing stage directions for Ottone; figured bass discrepancy 150 v.; missing figured bass notation, missing stage directions, two notation discrepancies 151 r.; missing stage directions 151 v.</td>
<td>Missing stage directions for Ottone; figured bass discrepancy 156 v.; missing figured bass notation, missing stage directions, two notation discrepancies 157 r.; missing stage directions 157 v.</td>
<td>Missing stage directions for Ottone; figured bass discrepancy 122 r.; missing figured bass notation, missing stage directions, two notation discrepancies 122 v.; missing stage directions 123 r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scene 4 (cont.)</strong></td>
<td><em>Aria Col' ardor del tuo bel cor</em> [88 recto]</td>
<td><em>Aria Coll' ardor del tuo bel cor</em> [152 recto]</td>
<td><em>Aria Coll' ardor del tuo bel cor</em> [158 recto]</td>
<td><em>Aria Coll' ardor del tuo bel cor</em> [122 recto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unfinished phrase on 89 r. (final note missing)</td>
<td>Lacks dynamic and &quot;tutti&quot;, &quot;soli&quot; markings; rhythmic discrepancy in fifth measure 152 r.; missing accidental, rhythmic discrepancy 154 v.</td>
<td>Lacks dynamic and &quot;tutti&quot;, &quot;soli&quot; markings; rhythmic discrepancy in fifth measure, missing accidental 158 r.; note discrepancy 158 v.; accidental discrepancy 159 r.; rhythm discrepancy 160 r.; missing accidentals (E-natural) 160 v. and 161 r.</td>
<td>Lacks dynamic markings; note discrepancies 125 r.; missing accidental 125 v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Scene 5 | **Recitative** *Amico ciel*  
[89 verso] | **Recitative** *Amico ciel*  
[155 recto] | **Recitative** *Amico ciel*  
[161 recto] | **Recitative** *Amico ciel*  
[125 verso] |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No discrepancies</td>
<td>No discrepancies</td>
<td>No discrepancies</td>
<td>No discrepancies</td>
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</table>

| Scene 6 | **Recitative** *Qui non v'è alcun*  
[90 recto] | **Recitative** *Qui non v'è alcun*  
[155 verso] | **Recitative** *Qui non v'è alcun*  
[161 verso] | **Recitative** *Qui non v'è alcun*  
[126 recto] |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contains edits</td>
<td>Missing stage directions; rhythm discrepancy, figured bass discrepancy 156 r.; note discrepancy 156 v.; two missing figured bass notations, figured bass discrepancy, note and figured bass (together) discrepancy 157 r.; vocal note discrepancy 158 r.; two vocal note discrepancies, figured bass discrepancy 158 v.; missing stage directions</td>
<td>Missing stage directions; missing accidental 161 v.; rhythm discrepancy, figured bass discrepancy 162 r.; note discrepancy 162 v.; two missing figured bass notations, note and figured bass (together) discrepancy, missing accidental (E-sharp) 163 r.; vocal note discrepancy 164 r.; two vocal note discrepancies, figured bass discrepancy 164 v.; two measures of bass line missing 165 r.</td>
<td>Missing stage directions; rhythm discrepancy 126 r.; note discrepancy 126 v.; two missing figured bass notations, figured bass discrepancy, note and figured bass (together) discrepancy 127 r.; vocal note discrepancy, figured bass discrepancy, missing stage directions 128 v.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Scene 7 | **Recitative** *Temerario insolente*  
[92 verso] | **Recitative** *Temerario insolente*  
[159 recto] | **Recitative** *Temerario insolente*  
[165 recto] | **Recitative** *Temerario insolente*  
[128 verso] |
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contains some edits</td>
<td>Missing accidental measure two (C-sharp) 159 r.; missing stage directions, missing figured bass notation 159 v.</td>
<td>Missing accidental measure two (C-sharp) 165 r.; missing stage directions, missing figured bass notation 165 v.</td>
<td>Missing accidental measure 2 (C-sharp) 128 v.; missing stage directions, missing figured bass notation 129 r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Scene 8 | **Recitative** *Ora Claudio, che dici?*  
[93 recto] | **Recitative** *Ora Claudio, che dici?*  
[160 recto] | **Recitative** *Ora Claudio, che dici?*  
[166 recto] | **Recitative** *Ora Claudio, che dici?*  
[129 recto] |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contains some edits</td>
<td>Vocal note discrepancy 160 v.; note length discrepancy 161 r.</td>
<td>Vocal note discrepancy 166 v.; note length discrepancy 167 r.</td>
<td>Missing accidental, vocal note discrepancy 129 v.; note length discrepancy 130 r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Scene 8 (cont.) | **Aria** *Io di Roma il giove sono*  
[94 recto] | **Aria** *Io di Roma il giove sono*  
[161 verso] | **Aria** *Io Di Roma il Giove sono*  
[167 verso] | **Aria** *Io di Roma il Giove sono*  
[130 verso] |
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missing marking &quot;Il Bassi per tutto&quot; 161 v.; lacks dynamic markings; note discrepancy 163 r.; vocal note length discrepancy 164 r.; one measure plus one note of da capo written out 164 v.</td>
<td>Missing marking &quot;Il Bassi per tutto&quot; 167 v.; missing DC sign 168 r.; lacks dynamic markings; note discrepancy 169 r.; vocal note length discrepancy 170 r.; rhythm discrepancy in top voice, no &quot;DC al segno&quot;, one measure plus one note of what should be the da capo 170 v.</td>
<td>Missing marking &quot;Il Bassi per tutto&quot; 130 v.; note discrepancy 131 r.; note length discrepancy, missing dynamic marking, vocal note discrepancy 132 r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scene 9</td>
<td>Recitative</td>
<td>Pur al fin se n’andò</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[97 recto]</td>
<td>Poppea’s aria “Esci, O mia vita” is crossed out at the end of the scene. Handel notes, “quest’Aria non si dice”. Replaced with “Con saggio tuo consiglio”, found at end of autograph.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 10</th>
<th>Recitative</th>
<th>Ora Ottone che dici?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[98 recto]</td>
<td>Rhythm discrepancy, missing accidental 165 r.; two missing figured bass notations, one figured bass notation discrepancy 165 v.; slur added 166 r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 10 (cont.)</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>No no ch’io non apprezzo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[98 verso]</td>
<td></td>
<td>This aria was replaced in the other sources with ‘Pur ch’io ti stringa’ which is not in the autograph (Dean &amp; Knapp, 132)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 10 (cont.)</th>
<th>Recitative</th>
<th>Piega pur del mio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[99 verso]</td>
<td>[168 recto]</td>
<td>Accidental discrepancy 168 r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 10 (cont.)</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Bel piacere e godere fido amor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[100 recto]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lacks dynamic markings, note discrepancy 168 r.; two rhythm discrepancies 170 r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 10 (cont.)</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Bel piacere e godere fido amor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[168 recto]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lacks dynamic markings, note discrepancy 174 r.; one rhythm discrepancy, one missing note 176 r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 10 (cont.)</th>
<th>Recitative</th>
<th>Piaga pur del mio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[134 recto]</td>
<td>[135 recto, marked as Scene 11]</td>
<td>Accidental discrepancy 135 r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 10 (cont.)</th>
<th>Aria</th>
<th>Bel piacere e godere fido amor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[135 recto]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Note discrepancy, second line doubles top line for undisclosed amount of time (not in A1) 135 v.; added note 136 r.; added dynamic marking 136 v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Scene 11

Recitative

Cotanto osò Popea?

Recitative

Cotanto osò Popea

Scene 11 (cont.)

Aria

Come nube che fugge dal vento

Aria

Come nube che fugge dal vento

Aria

Come nube che fugge dal vento

Scene 12

Recitative

Evvi donna più empia?

Recitative

Evvi Donna più empia

Recitative

Evvi Donna più empia

Scene 13

Recitative

Agrippina, Nerone, Otton

Recitative

Agrippina, Nerone, Otton

Recitative

Agrippina, Nerone, Otton 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 14</th>
<th><strong>Recitative Adorato mio sposo</strong></th>
<th><strong>Recitative Adorato mio sposo</strong></th>
<th><strong>Recitative Adorato mio sposo</strong></th>
<th><strong>Recitative Adorato mio sposo</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[109 verso]</td>
<td>Incorrectly marked as Scene 13</td>
<td>[183 recto]</td>
<td>[189 recto]</td>
<td>[148 recto, marked as Scene 15]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Missing figured bass notations 183 r. and v.; note discrepancy 184 r.; note discrepancy, missing accidental 184 v.; missing figured bass notation 185 v.; note discrepancy, missing figured bass notation 186 r.; missing accidental 187 r.; missing accidental, two note discrepancies, four missing figured bass notations 188 r.; incorrect accidental, missing figured bass notation 188 v.</td>
<td>Missing figured bass notations 189 r. and v.; missing figured bass notation, note discrepancy 190 r.; note discrepancy, missing accidental 190 v.; missing figured bass notation 191 v.; note discrepancy, missing figured bass notation 192 r.; missing accidental 193 r.; missing accidental, two note discrepancies, four missing figured bass notations 194 r.; incorrect accidental, missing figured bass notation 194 v.</td>
<td>Missing figured bass notations 148 r. and v.; missing note 148 v.; note length discrepancy 149 r.; missing figured bass notation 149 v.; bass note discrepancy 150 r.; two missing figured bass notations 150 v.; missing accidental 151 r. and v.; missing figured bass notation 151 v.; two missing figured bass notations, incorrect accidental 152 r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 14 (cont.)</th>
<th><strong>Aria Se vuoi pace</strong></th>
<th><strong>Aria Se vuoi pace</strong></th>
<th><strong>Aria Se vuoi pace</strong></th>
<th><strong>Aria Se vuoi pace</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[113 recto]</td>
<td>Written in E, Handel notates “si trasporre in F fa ut” at beginning of aria</td>
<td>[189 recto]</td>
<td>[195 recto]</td>
<td>[152 verso]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lacks instrumentation markings (except oboe), trill markings missing throughout; missing accidental, missing note 189 v.; note length discrepancy, missing accidental 190 r.</td>
<td>Lacks instrumentation markings, trill markings missing throughout; added note in bass line 195 r.; missing accidental 195 v.; note length discrepancy, three missing accidentals 196 r.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Written in F, one trill marking missing 152 v.; note length discrepancy 153 r.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene 15</th>
<th><strong>Recitative Ecco la mia rivale</strong></th>
<th><strong>Recitative Ecco la mia Rivale</strong></th>
<th><strong>Recitative Ecco la mia Rivale</strong></th>
<th><strong>Recitative Ecco la mia Rivale</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[114 recto]</td>
<td></td>
<td>[190 verso]</td>
<td>[196 verso]</td>
<td>[154 recto, marked as Scene 16]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Three missing accidentals 190 v.; incorrect accidental, three missing figured bass notations, missing accidental 191 r.; missing figured bass notation, four missing accidentals 191 v.; two missing accidentals 193 r.; incorrect accidental 193 v.</td>
<td>Three missing accidentals 196 v.; incorrect accidental, three missing figured bass notations, missing accidental 197 r.; missing figured bass notation, four missing accidentals 197 v.; two incorrect notes 198 v.; two missing accidentals 199 r.; incorrect accidental 199 v.</td>
<td>Two incorrect notes, two missing accidentals, one accidental discrepancy, one missing figured bass notation 154 r.; two missing accidentals, three missing figured bass notations 154 v.; three missing accidentals, two note discrepancies 155 r.; two note discrepancies 155 v.; two missing accidentals, one note discrepancy 156 r.; missing accidental, one measure of rhythm discrepancies (4th system), accidental discrepancy 156 v.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocal parts unmarked; incorrect notes and rhythm 194 v.; incorrect note 195 r.; “IL FINE” written at end of coro 195 v.</td>
<td>Vocal parts unmarked; incorrect notes and rhythm 200 v.; incorrect note 201 r.; “IL FINE” written at end of coro 201 v.</td>
<td>Vocal parts unmarked; incorrect notes and rhythm 157 v.; incorrect note 158 r.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scena Ultima</td>
<td>Recitative D’Ottone e di Poppea [118 recto]</td>
<td>Scena Ultima not included</td>
<td>Scena Ultima not included</td>
<td>Recitative D’Otone e di Popea [159 recto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recitative text “Dall’augusto mio genio” crossed out before this recitative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Two accidental discrepancies 159 r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scena Ultima (cont.)</td>
<td>Aria V’accendano le Tede [118 recto]</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Aria V’accendano le Tede [159 verso]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Segue li balli” written at end of aria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Missing dynamic markings; note discrepancy 161 r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addendum</td>
<td>Aria Con saggio tuo consiglio [120 recto]</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aria used in place of Poppea’s aria “Esci, O mia vita” from Act 3 Scene 9, ends on 121 v.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography


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A2. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus MS 19160. Complete copy. Microfilm accessed at Isham Memorial Library, Harvard University. Call number: 3447.5.25


Other sources:

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus MS 73 (31 F8)
   Signed and dated 1767 by Lord Fitzwilliam. Accessible at Isham Memorial Library, Harvard University. Call number: 3447.5.69
Manchester, Henry Watson Music Library, MS 130 Hd4, v. 11
Contains overture and 31 arias, in no particular order and with no recitatives or ensembles. Accessible at Isham Memorial Library, Harvard University.
Call number: 3447.5.70 (11-18)

London, Gerald Coke Handel Collection, Foundling Museum, HC 403b/C3
List of contents can be found online at Foundling Museum’s website.

Also accessible at Harvard Theater Collection.
Call number: HTC-LC fM1500. H26 A37 1795