

THE HORN PARTS IN HANDEL'S OPERAS AND ORATORIOS
AND THE HORN PLAYERS WHO PERFORMED IN THESE WORKS

by

JENNIFER BEAKES

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Abstract

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Advisor: Raymond Erickson

Authors have commented frequently on the conservative nature of Handel's horn parts as well as on the impossibility of learning anything relevant about the horn players who performed this music. A careful examination of Handel's music for horn reveals general conservatism; however, individual operas and oratorios contain striking virtuosity and innovative technique. Examples include *Giulio Cesare* and *Arianna*. Furthermore, all Handel's music shows an awareness of continental trends in horn-writing. This fact is evidenced not only at the beginning of his operatic career with *Radamisto* but also towards the end, when he begins treating the horn as a harmonic—and not as a melodic—instrument.

The most striking feature of his music for horn is the imagery associated with the instrument. Although one finds the horn used in military and hunting music, one also sees it employed in pastoral and dance scenes. Furthermore, many of the oratorios require the horns to accompany pagan choruses. This association derives naturally from imagery surrounding the hunt.

Finally, an examination of the lives and careers of the horn players active in early eighteenth-century London reveals some surprising facts: not all doubled on the trumpet, and many worked in nonmusical as well as in musical fields. Frederick Messing (II) was even a stationer to King George III. These observations force us to alter commonly-held views about horn players active in the first half of the century.

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INTRODUCTION

More than one author has addressed questions concerning Baroque horn technique and performance practice. In his book *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide*, John Humphries provides the most up-to-date list of scholarly works about the horn.¹ A number of readers of this study will be familiar with the well-known books by Reginald Morley-Pegge and Horace Fitzpatrick.² Both authors mention the horn parts in George Frideric Handel's music but in passing,³ as does Humphries in his more recent publication.⁴ Surprisingly, the last author to deal extensively with the music Handel composed for the horn was W. F. H. Blandford, whom Humphries describes as "a professional zoologist."⁵ In 1939 and 1940 Blandford wrote three important articles for *The Musical Times* concerning "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts,"⁶ and although Winton Dean referred to them as "important,"⁷ they are clearly out-of-date.

This neglect of Handel's music for the horn most likely derives from two endlessly-repeated "refrains," the first of which concerns the horn parts themselves and proceeds thus: the horn is a melodic instrument in Handel's music, and he employs it

¹ John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4-5.

² R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique*, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973); Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

³ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 83-84; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 68-73.

⁴ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶ W. F. H. Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts," *The Musical Times* 80, no. 1160 (October 1939): 697-699; W. F. H. Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts (Continued)," *The Musical Times* 80, no. 1161 (November 1939): 746-747; W. F. H. Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts (Concluded)," *The Musical Times* 80, no. 1162 (December 1939): 794.

⁷ Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 78.

primarily in a *clarino*, and therefore in a trumpet-like manner. The second “refrain” relates to the first and suggests that, because of the extreme upper register employed in Handel’s horn parts, they must have been played by trumpet doublers or at least by players trained initially on the trumpet. One finds both these assumptions in the writings of Blandford and Morley-Pegge,⁸ as well as in Fitzpatrick,⁹ but the complete list of exponents would be too long to print here. The categorization of the Baroque horn as a type of trumpet coupled with Handel’s perceived unwillingness to advance the instrument’s technique beyond that of the trumpet most likely accounts for brass scholars’ reluctance to study Handel’s music for the horn in depth.

My study of Handel’s horn music in his operas and oratorios has revealed that Handel did not limit his horn music to the technique, timbre, and imagery of the trumpet. Instead, this music presents a far more complicated picture of the state of horn-playing in early eighteenth-century England than the “refrains” above account for, with some of Handel’s horn parts borrowing trumpet techniques and imagery, and other parts capitalizing on idiomatic horn technique, timbre, and symbolism. Indeed, some of the music for horn in Handel’s operas appears almost as an exploration of what the horn was capable of doing, although we need to keep in mind throughout this study that Handel was responding in his music not only to the presence of horn players in his orchestra but also—and perhaps more importantly—to the necessary dramatic elements of his productions.

We will see that Handel’s horn parts are conservative in many respects—at least when one compares them to music written in places like Dresden at this same time. For

⁸ Blandford, “Handel’s Horn and Trombone Parts,” *The Musical Times* (October 1939): 697-699; Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 83-84.

⁹ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 67.

example, they show little evidence of hand-stopping. This pattern holds true as much for music written in the 1740s and 1750s as it does for music written at the beginning of Handel's career. Because horn players in Dresden may have been utilizing this technique as early as the 1720s,¹⁰ Handel's reluctance to employ it thirty years later seems striking.

Yet individual works show Handel immersed in continental methods of writing for the horn. Handel's first opera to include horns, *Radamisto* (1720), uses significant horn-writing techniques found in the works of other composers from his day, and later operas such as *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1724) and *Arianna in Creta* (1734) contain virtuosic music that anticipates methods of horn-writing used often at the end of the century. By the 1730s Handel was clearly beginning to treat the horn as a harmonic—as opposed to a melodic—instrument, and many oratorios continue to exploit the instrument's ability to add warmth of tone to the ensemble. Handel did not stop writing *clarino*-style melodies for his horns at this time; instead he combined old-fashioned elements with the new *galant* style emerging out of Italy. Thus, one cannot make generalizations about the horn parts—or the horn players for that matter—in his operas and oratorios. On the contrary, each work must be judged individually.

One of the most striking aspects of Handel's music for horn, however, is the imagery associated with the instrument in his operas and oratorios. Again, sometimes Handel uses horns in movements containing traditional trumpet imagery, such as that associated with royalty or the military. Naturally, horns are also found in hunting scenes, and in the operas, one finds them accompanying formal celebrations or participating in pastoral movements. The opera *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (1727) uses horns in dance-like

¹⁰ Thomas Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden: The Players and Their Repertory" (DMA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989); "Virtuosity, Experimentation, and Innovation in Horn Writing from Early 18th-Century Dresden," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 112-159.

music containing both hunting and pastoral imagery. The horns' music in this opera seems to foreshadow Handel's use of the instrument in some of his oratorios.

Surprisingly, in many of these works Handel appears to associate the horn with pagan celebrations. We shall see this connection in oratorios such as *Athalia* (1733) and *Samson* (1743). Even though it seems astonishing to us today, the association of the horn with paganism, revelry, and perhaps even debauchery derives naturally from imagery surrounding the hunt in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. Of course, horns are not always used in this manner; however, the pattern is significant nonetheless, if only because it demonstrates the growing independence of the horn from the trumpet.

This growing independence is also demonstrated through the lives and careers of the horn players active in eighteenth-century London and Dublin. While instrumentalists such as Anthony Uhl and John Weitzenmüller were primarily trumpeters who also doubled on the horn, the majority of horn players discussed in this work doubled on instruments as varied as the clarinet, chalumeau, oboe d'amore, violin, and viola. One noteworthy soloist, Frederick Messing (II), even appears as a vocalist. Significantly, the players who doubled on the horn and these other instruments are the same individuals whose names begin to appear in concert advertisements in the 1730s as horn soloists. The evolution of this personage—the horn soloist—forty years before the arrival of Giovanni Punto [Johann Wenzel (Jan Václav) Stich] (1746-1803), is noteworthy and appears to have advanced concurrently with developments in Handel's technical and programmatic usage of the instrument. What is far more surprising, however, is the fact that many of these horn soloists worked in non-musical as well as musical fields. For

example, Henry Rash and Mr. Charles both ran coffee houses, and Frederick Messing (II) was appointed as a stationer to King George III.

These three points—the changes in Handel’s writing style for the horn, his growing programmatic usage of the instrument, and the evolution of the horn soloist in eighteenth-century England—cast doubt on the traditional view of horn-playing in early eighteenth-century England described above. In what follows I hope to provide new ways of thinking not only about Handel’s music for the instrument but also about the lives of the players who performed in his works. In pursuit of this goal, I have broken this dissertation into six large chapters. The first chapter will relate the history of the instrument until the middle of the eighteenth century and thus serves as a general introduction. The second and third chapters discuss the horn music in Handel’s operas, with Chapter Two providing a general overview of this music and Chapter Three giving a detailed analysis of nine specific operas. Chapters Four and Five follow a similar pattern, with Chapter Four providing an introduction to Handel’s music for horn in his oratorios, odes, and serenatas, and Chapter Five dealing with specific works. Finally, in Chapter Six, I will discuss the players who most likely performed in these works, providing biographical and professional information about horn players active in London and Dublin at this time.

Because of the sheer amount of horn music in Handel’s theater works, I have excluded from this discussion well-known pieces such as the *Water Music* (HWV348-350, 1717) and the *Music for the Royal Fireworks* (HWV351, 1749). In addition, it is impossible to discuss adequately the music for horn composed by contemporary London-based composers such as Johann Ernst Galliard, Frederick Lampe, and Thomas Arne.

Thus, this study does not provide a complete picture of horn technique in eighteenth-century England and Ireland. I will note when Handel's practices seem to diverge from those of his contemporaries, but clearly, this topic requires further research.

CHAPTER 1

THE EARLY HORN AND ITS TECHNIQUE

The Horn as a Hunting Instrument

The horn descended from an instrument originally used in hunting. Because of this ancestry, composers and listeners easily associate the horn with hunting, and music written for the horn beginning in the Baroque and continuing up until the present day has made use of these extra-musical associations.¹¹ In fact, Baroque composers wrote nothing more than simple hunting fanfares and calls for the horn when they first introduced the instrument into the opera orchestra. Indeed, during the Baroque, the horn never shed this association with hunting, even while composers gradually included the horn more and more as a fundamental part of the orchestra and also asked the horn to perform a wider range of programmatic functions. Therefore, a complete understanding of the history of the instrument requires an investigation into its role in the hunt.

According to Eva Marie Heater, sources document hunters' use of the horn as a signaling instrument as early as the fifth century CE, although she suggests that at least one of these sources documents a tradition already in existence.¹² Medieval hunters turned an activity designed solely to provide necessary sustenance into a sport enjoyed by

¹¹ Thomas Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 103-115.

¹² Eva Marie Heater, "Early Hunting Horn Calls and Their Transmission: Some New Discoveries," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995): 125.

the upper classes: hunting rituals—often prescribed and enforced by law—increased in complexity over time, and consequently the hunting-horn signals that conveyed information to the hunting participants increased in complexity as well.¹³

By the fourteenth century, these calls and fanfares had become intricate enough to require notation, and thus William Twiti, in his treatise *The Art of Hunting* (1327), attempts to convey to the reader the stages of the hunt using words such as “moot” and syllables such as “trout” and “trourourout.”¹⁴ Although these words and syllables are meaningless to us today, Twiti’s attempt to notate hunting-horn calls at this early date remains significant nonetheless: Twiti, a Frenchman, was employed as the hunting master to King Edward II (r. 1307-27), and his codification of hunting-horn calls represents an early example of French influence on English hunting traditions.¹⁵

Jacques du Fouilloux was the first writer to notate hunting-horn calls in standard musical notation in his treatise *La Vénerie* (1561). Although he provides rhythms for these calls, he notates all of them on the pitch of *c*¹.¹⁶ Heater has shown that there existed a form of hunting-horn tablature concomitant with Fouilloux’s treatise. She suggests that this tablature might have been used by hunting-horn players not only because

¹³ Heater, “Early Hunting Horn Calls,” 126.

¹⁴ Ibid., 127; Eva Marie Heater, “More Hunting Calls for the Hunting Horn,” *Yale University Library Gazette* 69, no. 1-2 (1994): 39.

¹⁵ *British Hunts and Huntsmen in Four Volumes: Containing a Short History of Each Fox and Stag Hunt in the British Isles, Together with Biographical Records of Masters Past and Present, and Some Members of Each Hunt* (London: Biographical Press, 1908-11), 1: 4-5. According to *British Hunts and Huntsmen* (vol. 1), Twiti’s treatise also appeared in a French version under the title *Le Art de Venerie le quell maistre Giullame Twici venoar le Roi d’Angleterre fist en son temps per apprendre autres* (4-5). A contemporary edition in French exists under the title *La vénerie de Twiti: le plus ancien traité de chasse écrit en Angleterre. La version anglaise du meme traité et Craft of venery*, ed. Gunnar Tilander (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1956). The influence of the French on the English hunt is also demonstrated in George Turberville’s treatise, *The Noble Art of Venerie* (1576), which consists of text and hunting calls gleaned from the works of French authors such as Jacques du Fouilloux and Charles Estienne. See Alexander L. Ringer, “‘The Chasse’: Historical and Analytical Bibliography of a Musical Genre” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1955), 131.

¹⁶ Heater, “Early Hunting Horn Calls,” 129.

conventional musical notation did not adequately represent hunting-horn music but also because hunter-musicians probably could not read music.¹⁷ Thus, various forms of notation were necessary in the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century, the French author Marin Mersenne first described the technique of the hunting horn at great length. In his treatise *Harmonie universelle* (1636), Mersenne not only lists the horns then used in France but also provides hunters with a great deal of practical advice concerning articulation, breath support, and embouchure placement.¹⁸ One of the more surprising passages from this work occurs when Mersenne instructs his horn players how to play chords in tune:

If the hunters wish to have the pleasure of performing some concertos in four or more parts with their horns, it is rather easy, provided they know how to make the tones exact, and they so proportion the length and thickness of their *trompes* that they maintain the same ratios as the organ pipes. For example if the largest horn is six feet long, it will make the fifth below the one four feet long; . . . And if there is added a third horn three feet in length, it will produce the fourth against the second, so that the three will form a perfect trio, and will play the three principal chords of the first mode. To this it will be easy to add three or four others to make some other chords.¹⁹

It is clear that French authors such as Fouilloux and Mersenne first took the hunting horn seriously as a real instrument. By contrast, German theorists such as Sebastian Virdung (b. 1465?-d. after 1511) and Michael Praetorius (1571-1621) condescend to mention the instrument in their works even though neither author holds the instrument in high regard. In fact, the former describes the horn as a “foolish instrument.”²⁰

¹⁷ Heater, “More Hunting Calls,” 38-39.

¹⁸ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle: The Books on Instruments*, trans. Roger E. Chapman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 315-318.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 318.

²⁰ Heater, “Early Hunting Horn Calls,” 124; Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht: a treatise on musical instruments* (1511), trans. and ed. by Beth Bullard (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Of the horn, Praetorius writes: “Some people have their trumpets made like a posthorn, or like a snake, in a coil; but the sound of these is different from that of the trumpets already mentioned.” Michael

This attitude results from the small role the horn played in the German hunting tradition. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two kinds of stag hunt existed, each version associated primarily with either France or Germany. Raymond Monelle refers to the two types of hunting traditions as the *parforce de chiens* and the *chasse aux toiles*, respectively. The former, associated with France and especially with the court of Louis XV, required hunters on horseback to follow a specialized pack of hounds. Hunting music performed by the horn signaled various stages of the hunt, and the stag was eventually killed either by the hounds or by the hunter's knife.²¹

The far less dangerous *chasse aux toiles* did not require the extensive use of either hunting ceremonies or hunting music. In this type of stag hunt, the game, rounded up into a general area and either forced to jump over hurdles or driven through a narrow passage, was shot by huntsmen protected within an enclosed pavilion. The association of the *chasse aux toiles* with German hunts is confirmed by its alternate name, the *deutsches Jagen*.²²

Roger B. Manning observes that both forms of hunting existed in England:

The methods employed in pursuing and killing deer varied according to the terrain and were determined by whether the hunting was done *par force* and at large in spacious forests pursuing a single animal, or within enclosed parks. The latter was more contrived and artificial in its methods. Also, the presence of the monarch or a great peer dictated more formal etiquette of the chase and more elaborate organization and logistics.²³

Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II De Organographia Parts I and II*, trans. and ed. by David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 44.

²¹ Raymond Monelle, "Horn and Trumpet as Topical Signifiers," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 13 (2001): 106-107.

²² Ibid. The *chasse aux toiles* was also referred to as the *einggerichtete Jagd* or the *Zeut-Jagd*. See Monelle, "Horn and Trumpet as Topical Signifiers," 107.

²³ Roger B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 23-24.

He maintains that the *chasse aux toiles* seems to have been practiced widely among the Tudor aristocracy and nobility: “The style of hunting prevailing at court and among the nobility was adapted to enclosed parks and involved much ceremony.”²⁴ Even so, this type of hunting was regarded as “distinctly inferior” to hunting *parforce*, which was supposed to “encourage valour and develop military prowess.”²⁵

British Hunts and Huntsmen provides a different view of the evolution of hunting styles in England, stating that British monarchs originally “hunted at force.” It was only the spread of agriculture, the passage of numerous Enclosure Acts, and the resulting deforestation in the late eighteenth century that led British royalty to employ “carted deer” in their hunts. Apparently by the time George III (r. 1760-1820) began his reign, wild stag had ceased to exist in the area around Windsor Castle.²⁶

Records indicate that Charles II (1630-1685) most likely introduced both the *trompe de chasse* and concomitant French hunting ceremonies to England when, after returning from his exile in France in 1660, he reestablished the Royal Buckhounds in 1661.²⁷ Whether these innovations represented nothing more than a change in royal preference or the introduction of a new and as yet unfamiliar hunting style is unknown, although the lack of references to horns in the records of the royal household from previous reigns makes it likely that at least the instrument itself was new. Silver hunting horns appear in the Royal Household accounts in 1661/2 and again in 1667/8.²⁸ Two entries from February 20 and 28, 1661-2, read:

²⁴ Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 24.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁶ *British Hunts and Huntsmen*, 1: 29.

²⁷ R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique*, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973), 18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

1661-2, *February 20*

Warrant to deliver to Gervise Price, Esquire, his Majesty's sergeant trumpeter, two silver hornes after the same manner and fashion as he shall inform you, and also one collar of SS of silver of the quantity of 15 ounces, for the sergeant trumpeter.

1661-2, *February 28*

Warrant to deliver to the sergeant trumpeter two silver hunting hornes for his Majesty's service.²⁹

A subsequent entry from 1667-68 reads:

1667-8, *March 20*

Warrant to prepare and deliver to Gervase Price, esquire, sergeant trumpeter and yeoman of the bowes and guns, one silver hunting horn of the quantity of 40 ounces or thereabouts, being a guift from his Majesty.³⁰

One can only speculate that these "silver hunting hornes" were *trompes de chasses* as opposed to the older coiled horns, but based on Charles II's reestablishment of the Royal Buckhounds and his well-known fondness for French culture, it seems likely that they were so.

Regardless, Heater confirms the existence of two separate hunting traditions as well as the predominance of the horn in the French tradition:

The French hunting tradition, which was also adopted in England, gave great importance to the ceremonies of hunting and hunting music. Most of the activities revolved around the music of the horns, from calling the hunting company in the morning, to butchering quarry (in itself a complicated ritual in which due homage was paid to the animals killed), and calling the stragglers home after the hunt.³¹

The differences in the French and German hunting traditions are further confirmed by the existence of two separate musical traditions. German hunting music was written in duple time and shared many similarities with "contemporary trumpet repertory," while French

²⁹ Henry Cart de Lafontaine, ed., *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians: 1460-1700* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 142.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 201.

³¹ Heater, "Early Hunting Horn Calls," 124.

hunting-horn calls were generally written in triple time. Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti describe French hunting-horn music as “particularly suited to the trot of a horse.”³² When one considers that German theorists such as Virdung described the horn as a “foolish instrument,” it is not surprising that German hunting-horn music resembled contemporary trumpet music: the horn would have gained prestige through its association with the far nobler trumpet.

Nonetheless, as French culture began to influence and penetrate into Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Germans, like the English, adopted many of the French hunting ceremonies. Heater notes:

The German hunting tradition did not include many of the dramatic ceremonies of the French/English hunt—with the horn in a pivotal role—until the 17th and 18th centuries, when French influence in Germany was at its highest.³³

The desire of German monarchs to impress their guests and rival monarchs with elaborate and expensive hunting establishments contributed greatly to the incorporation of *parforce* rituals into the German hunt.³⁴

French hunting music influenced composers of various nationalities throughout the eighteenth century. The *sonneries* of Marc Antoine, Marquis de Dampierre (1678-1756) were particularly significant.³⁵ Dampierre is generally given credit for the codification of French hunting-horn calls and fanfares. His “famous Lullian (Piétri) fanfares and hunting-calls,” published in Paris in a work entitled *Les dons des enfans de*

³² Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti: “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the Natural Horn,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

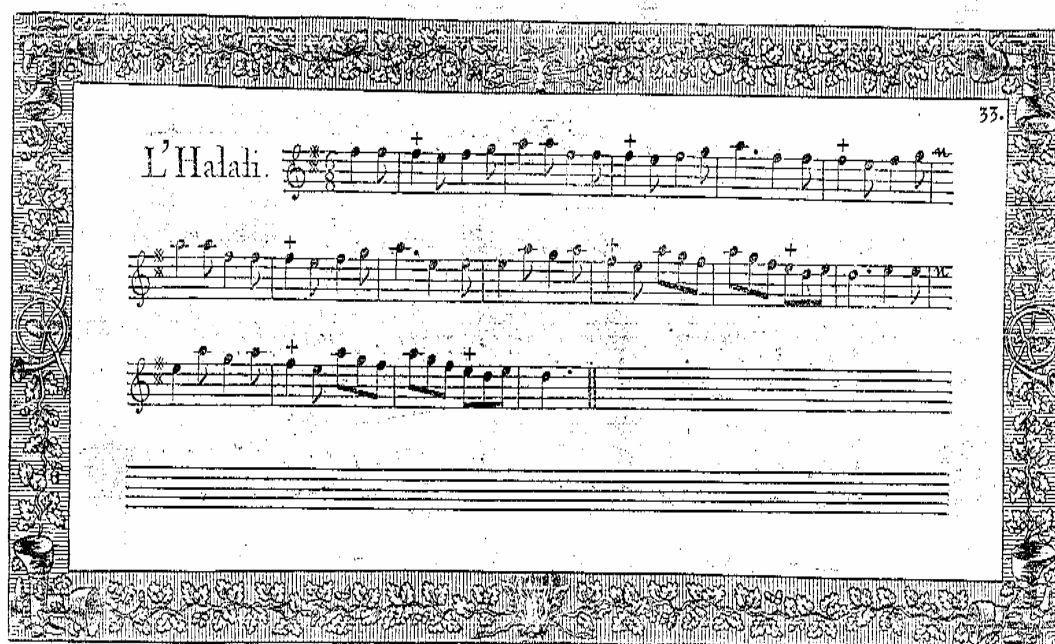
³³ Heater, “Early Hunting Horn Calls,” 124.

³⁴ Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 17-19.

³⁵ According to Edward H. Tarr, the term *sonnerie* refers to a military signal, but it is also used in a wider sense to refer to “a hunting signal sounded on the *trompes de chasse*.” See Edward H. Tarr, “Sonnerie,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

Latone: la musique et la chasse du cerf (1734),³⁶ were incorporated into works such as Joseph Haydn's Symphony No. 73, *La chasse* (1782 [?1781]) and his oratorio *The Seasons*, H.XXI:3 (1799-1801).³⁷ As codified by Dampierre, these calls were always in 6/8 time and ABA form, with A in the tonic and B in the dominant.³⁸ Example 1.1 shows Dampierre's *sonnerie L'Halali*.

Example 1.1. *L'Halali* from *Recueil de fanfares pour la chasse a une et deux trompes composées par Feu Monsieur la Marquis de Dampierre Gentil home des Chasse et Plaisirs de sa Majesté* (Paris: Chez Mr. le Clerc).³⁹



³⁶ Eric de Dampierre, "Dampierre, Marc-Antoine, Marquis de," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

³⁷ Alexander L. Ringer, "The 'Chasse' as a Musical Topic of the 18th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6, no. 2 (Summer, 1953): 153; Daniel Bourgue, "La trompe de chasse, son histoire, sa technique, sa musique," *Brass Bulletin* 39 (1982): 34.

³⁸ Bourgue, "La trompe de chasse," 33.

³⁹ Francis Pinguet, in *La Vénérerie et sa Musique* (Paris: La Revue Musicale, 1978), describes the word *Hallali*: "lorsque l'animal s'arrête, épuisé, on dit qu'il est Hallali, et l'on crie <Hallali>. Il est <Hallali courant> s'il rest debout, ou <Hallali par terre> si les chiens l'ont reverse. Il y a une fanfare pour chacun des deux (en fait on enchaîne généralement les deux, parce que l'animal est <par terre> dès qu'il est servi," (21). [*Hallali*: when the animal stops, exhausted, one says it is *Hallali*, and one cries *Hallili*. It is *Hallali courant* if it remains still, or *Hallili terre* if the dogs drive the deer back. There is a fanfare for these two (one generally sounds both, because the animal is down as soon as it has been sounded).]

In the early eighteenth century, composers wrote music for the horn that combined the German and French hunting traditions. Meucci and Rocchetti cite Vivaldi's concertos and Bach's First Brandenburg Concerto as examples of this practice. In these pieces "the triple rhythms of the French style are juxtaposed with the duple time that was more common."⁴⁰ As we shall see, Handel's first opera to include music for horns, *Radamisto* (HWV12a and 12b, 1720), also employs both styles of writing in the horn parts in the aria "Alzo al volo," while his most idiomatic hunting-horn music occurs in the air "Mirth, admit me of thy crew" from the ode *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740). Written in 6/8 meter and utilizing extensively dotted rhythms to signify the trotting of a horse, "Mirth, admit me" derives directly from the French hunting tradition.

The Horn and Its Introduction Into Art Music

Most authors list three works as the first use of the hunting horn in theater orchestras in general: (1) Michelangelo Rossi (c. 1602-1656), *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome, 1633), (2) Francesco Cavalli (1602-1676), *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (Venice, 1639), and (3) Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687), *La Princesse d'Elide* (Versailles, 1664).⁴¹ The hunting music in these pieces consists only of fanfares and cannot claim any great artistic worth, yet it remains significant because of the mere possibility of horns being used. Whether horns were employed, what types of horns were employed, and whether strings merely imitated the sound of a hunting ensemble, remain debatable questions. For example, Meucci and Rocchetti assert that hunting horns were not used in

⁴⁰ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the Natural Horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴¹ Thomas Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 103.

Rossi's *Erminia*, "since the score makes reference only to a 'chorus of hunters,'"⁴² while Peter Damm affirms that "Michelangelo Rossi (c. 1602-1656) was certainly the first composer to call for horn fanfares, in his opera *Erminia sul Giordano* (1633, published in Venice in 1637)."⁴³

It is impossible to answer satisfactorily this problem within the context of this study, and, though I will expand on this discussion later in this chapter, suffice it to say for now that Lully probably employed hooped hunting horns in his *comédie-ballet* of 1664 (i.e., *La princesse d'Elide*). This fact again confirms France as the locus of horn development. It is all the more striking, then, that although the French continued to make improvements on the hunting horn and codified hunting music, they did not begin to integrate the horn into the theater orchestra until the middle of the eighteenth century: the Paris *Opéra* did not have a pair of regular horn players until 1759.⁴⁴ Other sporadic uses of the horn in French art music at this time include J. B. Morin's divertissement *La Chasse du cerf* (performed at Fontainebleau in 1708)⁴⁵ and a single concerto with horns included in a *Concert Spirituel* program of 1728.⁴⁶

It seems that some seventeenth-century composers outside of France began to use the horn as a *concertante* instrument in sonatas and concertos. Early examples include: (1) an anonymous Sonata da caccia con un cornu (before 1680), (2) the Moravian composer P. J. Vejvanovský's Sonata venatoria (1684), and (3) and the Concerto à 4 in

⁴² Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the Natural Horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://grovemusic.com>>.

⁴³ Peter Damm, "300 Jahre Waldhorn (I)," *Brass Bulletin* 31 (1980): 25.

⁴⁴ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 16.

⁴⁵ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴⁶ Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel: 1725-1790* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1975), 234.

B-flat for corne de chasse and posthorn, two violins and basso continuo by Johann Beer (1655-1700).⁴⁷

Aside from these sporadic works, however, composers did not begin to employ horns regularly in their orchestras until the eighteenth century. Carlo Agostino Badia included two particularly important horn parts in his opera *Diana rapacificata* (Vienna, 1700),⁴⁸ and this work appears to have been the first documented use of the horn in the orchestra.⁴⁹ The horn parts display a style of writing that one encounters in many of Handel's horn parts. Thomas Hiebert notes that Badia begins his horn melodies with triadic, middle-register hunting patterns and then progresses immediately to *clarino* melodies,⁵⁰ thereby combining idiomatic horn and trumpet music. This assimilation of each instrument's traditional music occurred naturally, since both the horn and the trumpet relied on the harmonic series as the basis of their technique.

Badia's opera premiered in Vienna, the same city in which the Leichnamschneider brothers made the first crooked orchestral horn c. 1700.⁵¹ These instruments had far-reaching effects on horn-playing and will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Surprisingly, Viennese-based composers after Badia did not use horns in their operas until 1706,⁵² and the imperial court orchestra in Vienna did not hire horn

⁴⁷ Meucci and Rochetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴⁸ Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 104; Thomas Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden: The Players and their Repertory" (DMA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989), 8; Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 8.

⁴⁹ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 8; Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 104.

⁵⁰ Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 104.

⁵¹ Damm, "300 Jahre Waldhorn (I)," 26; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 32-33.

⁵² Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 8.

players until 1712.⁵³ Fitzpatrick as well as Meucci and Rocchetti explain the lack of horn players in the Viennese *Hofkapelle* during the first decade of the century by the fact that no changes were made to the imperial chapel until Charles VI (1685-1740) succeeded his older brother Joseph I (1678-1711) as Holy Roman Emperor in 1711.⁵⁴

While Badia employed horns in his opera for programmatic purposes, the first composer to use the horn as an integral member of the orchestra was Reinhard Keiser,⁵⁵ whose opera *Octavia* (1705, Hamburg) calls for two *cornes de chasse*.⁵⁶ Keiser continued to use horns in the operas *Henrico* (1711), *Diana* (1712), and *L'inganno fedele* (1714).⁵⁷ It is important to note that Handel was associated with the Hamburg opera house when *Octavia* premiered. In fact, it seems that Keiser used horns in *Octavia* specifically to surpass Handel, whose own opera *Almira* (1705) had just premiered successfully.⁵⁸ Handel himself sought to achieve a similar end when he introduced horns into his first opera for the Royal Academy of Music in London in 1720.

In addition to Keiser, German composers such as Johann Hugo von Wilderer, Johann Gottfried Klingenberg, and Dietrich Buxtehude all wrote works in the first decade of the eighteenth century that included horns.⁵⁹ Furthermore, courts in German-speaking areas began appointing horn players to their orchestras early in the century. Theodorus Zeddelmayer was appointed as a *Waldhornist* to the court orchestra in Weissenfels in

⁵³ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 59.

⁵⁴ Ibid.; Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestra use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; *The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Joseph I and Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor," <<http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/people/A0826615.html>>, (accessed February 2, 2006).

⁵⁵ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 53.

⁵⁶ Birchard Coar, *The French Horn* (1947; repr. Dekalb, 1971), 11.

⁵⁷ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 5.

⁵⁸ W. Kleefeld, "Das Orchester in der Hamburger Oper 1678-1738", in *Sammel-bände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1900), quoted in Andrew D. McCredie, "Instrumentarium and Instrumentation in the North German Baroque Opera" (PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 1964), 194.

⁵⁹ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 5.

1706,⁶⁰ and horn players were subsequently hired at Wolfenbüttel and Dresden in 1710, Düsseldorf in 1711, Stuttgart in 1715, and Darmstadt in 1718.⁶¹

In the first half of the eighteenth century, horn players at the Saxon court of Dresden were undoubtedly the most advanced of all hornists in Europe. The two players hired in 1710, Johann Adalbert Fischer and Johann Adam Franz Samm, were “the first outstanding proponents of *clarino* playing in Dresden.”⁶² Their successors, Johann Adam Schindler and Andreas Schindler (both hired in 1723), Johann Georg Knechtel (hired in 1734), and Anton Joseph Hampl and Carl Joseph Haudeck (both hired in 1747)—⁶³ all demonstrated technical prowess on the horn, as evidenced by the music written by and for them.⁶⁴ Surely part of their expertise resulted from the fact that Dresden horn players were not permitted to perform on any instrument except the horn.⁶⁵ This rule stands in marked contrast to standard continental practice, where *Stadtppfeifer* in particular were expected to be proficient on several instruments.

Horn music in Dresden seems to have influenced Handel. He visited the Saxon court in 1719 while on the continent looking for singers for the new Royal Academy of Music, and during this visit he attended festivities associated with the wedding of the Crown Prince, the future Elector Friedrich August II. In Chapter Three I will examine

⁶⁰ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 54; Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Damm, “300 Jahre Waldhorn (I),” 29.

⁶¹ Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁶² Peter Damm, “300 Jahre Waldhorn (II),” *Brass Bulletin* 32 (1980): 21.

⁶³ *Ibid.*; Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁶⁴ For information on concertos written by and for horn players in Dresden, see Mary Rasmussen, “The Manuscript Kat. Wenster Litt. I/1-17b (Universitetsbiblioteket, Lund): A Contribution to the History of the Baroque Horn Concerto,” *Brass Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1952): 135-153.

⁶⁵ Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 11. According to Hiebert, the *Hofkapelle*’s high level may also have resulted from other factors, including the large size of the ensemble, its intense rehearsal schedule, and the great importance placed on wind parts.

possible connections between Handel's employment of horns in *Radamisto* (HWV12a and 12b, 1720) and Antonio Lotti and Johann Heinichen's music for the wedding festivities.

In addition to Vienna, Hamburg, and Dresden, Naples seems to have been particularly influential in the early part of the horn's history. Alessandro Scarlatti's *Tigrane* (1715, Naples) is cited often as an early and effective use of the horn in this period.⁶⁶ Meucci and Rocchetti account for the popularity of horns in Neapolitan music by the fact that the Neapolitan viceroyalty at this time was represented by a Bohemian, Count Johann Wenzel von Gallas (1699-1719):

Between 1707 and 1719 the Neapolitan viceroyalty, then dominated by the Austrians, was represented by Count Johann Wenzel von Gallas, a member of a Bohemian family with a strong musical tradition. The family supported a sizable orchestra from which, in all probability, the count selected a core of players to take to Naples.⁶⁷

In 1718 Scarlatti used horns again in *Telemaco*.⁶⁸ Meucci and Rocchetti affirm that Scarlatti used horns in every opera of his career after the performance in November 1713 of Antonio Lotti's opera *Porsenna*, as modified by Scarlatti. They also point out that Heinrich Domnich, in his well-known *Méthode de premier et de second cor* (Paris, 1807), claimed that both Scarlatti and Lotti were responsible for introducing the horn into the Italian orchestra. Based on current knowledge, they agree with Domnich's

⁶⁶ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 64; Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Coar, *The French Horn*; 15; Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 105; Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 8.

⁶⁷ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. Fitzpatrick also notes that the four horn players active in Naples in 1714 had come with von Gallas from Bohemia. *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 63-64. In footnote 2 (63) he notes: "Both the Martinitz and Gallas families maintained large hunting-bands and house orchestras at Schmetschen and Campo respectively; both were leading members of the prominent musical circles in Prague and Vienna throughout the eighteenth century; and both names appear amongst the trustees of the Prague Conservatory and the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna more than a century later."

⁶⁸ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 64.

assessment,⁶⁹ and Birchard Coar adds that, in general, the Italians were the first to use horns in their operas with any regularity.⁷⁰ It seems that Scarlatti's pupil, Johann Adolf Hasse, and Lotti's pupil, Domenico Alberti, continued to use horns in their operas as their teachers had done, and horns appear in the Neapolitan scores of Durante, Porpora, Vinci, Feo, Leo, and Pergolesi from about 1720 onwards.⁷¹ The Neapolitan school became important because of the horn's harmonic role in the orchestra of these operas.⁷² This function dominates Classical-era horn parts, and, as we shall see, Handel's use of the horn in a harmonic role in his later works shows clearly the influence of these composers.

As the century progressed, composers such as Johann Sebastian Bach, Jan Dismas Zelenka, and Georg Philipp Telemann all wrote significant music for horn,⁷³ as did C. Graupner and J. S. Endler (both in Darmstadt), and J. C. Graun and C. H. Graun (both in Berlin).⁷⁴ Handel seems to have been influenced by some of these composers as well, particularly Telemann. At the very least, Handel's residence in both Naples and Hamburg and his visits to Dresden account for his assimilation of early eighteenth-century trends in horn-writing.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers—including Handel—would not have been able to employ the horn frequently without contemporary improvements in instrument design. Therefore, in the remainder of this chapter, I would like first, to outline the history of the instrument itself, and second, to attempt to differentiate between the Baroque horn and trumpet.

⁶⁹ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁷⁰ Coar, *The French Horn*, 15.

⁷¹ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (ii) Ensemble and orchestral use," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 105.

⁷⁴ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 2.

History Of The Horn

Fixed-Pitch and Crooked Instruments

The history of the early horn remains a field of great contention among brass scholars. Transitional forms of both trumpets and horns, inconsistent contemporary terminology, and few remaining primary sources make it difficult to differentiate early trumpets from early horns.

It seems, however, that the first instruments we would classify today as horns appeared sometime during the seventeenth century.⁷⁵ In 1636 Mersenne described the horns then in use, and of these instruments the *trompe* and the *cor à plusieurs tours* appear to have played an important role in later developments. The *trompe* was a crescent-shaped instrument consisting of a single coil, while the *cor à plusieurs tours* was not only much longer in length but was also more tightly coiled (Figure 1.1).⁷⁶

The names by which scholars refer to these horns can be confusing. For example, Fitzpatrick calls these two instruments the *cornet de chasse* and the *cor à plusieurs tours* respectively. He maintains that the former is sometimes referred to as the “Du Fouilloux horn,” since it appears in Fouilloux’s treatise *La Vénerie* (1561), but that the latter was known generally as the *trompe*.⁷⁷ Furthermore, contemporary scholars refer to the *cor à plusieurs tours* either as a spiral or a helical horn.⁷⁸ Even Mersenne himself uses terms

⁷⁵ John Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 27.

⁷⁶ Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁷⁷ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 2-3.

⁷⁸ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 1; Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 3.

indiscriminately, such as when he applies the word *cor* to horns in general.⁷⁹ Further complicating matters is the contemporary debate over whether these spiral horns should be classified as horns or trumpets. While the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw transitional forms of both instruments,⁸⁰ most scholars agree that these spiral instruments should in fact be classified as horns.⁸¹ Figure 1.2 shows an assortment of seventeenth-century hunting instruments (including spiral horns) from an illustration by Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625).

⁷⁹ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁸⁰ Herbert Heyde, "Zwischen Hörnern und Jägertrumpeten," *Brass Bulletin* 55 (1986): 43-45.

⁸¹ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. See Edward H. Tarr, "The Coiled Hunting Instrument by J. W. Haas in the Bad Sackingen Trumpet Museum," *Brass Bulletin* 54 (1986): 3-22.

Figure 1.1. Horns described by Mersenne in *Harmonie universelle*.⁸²

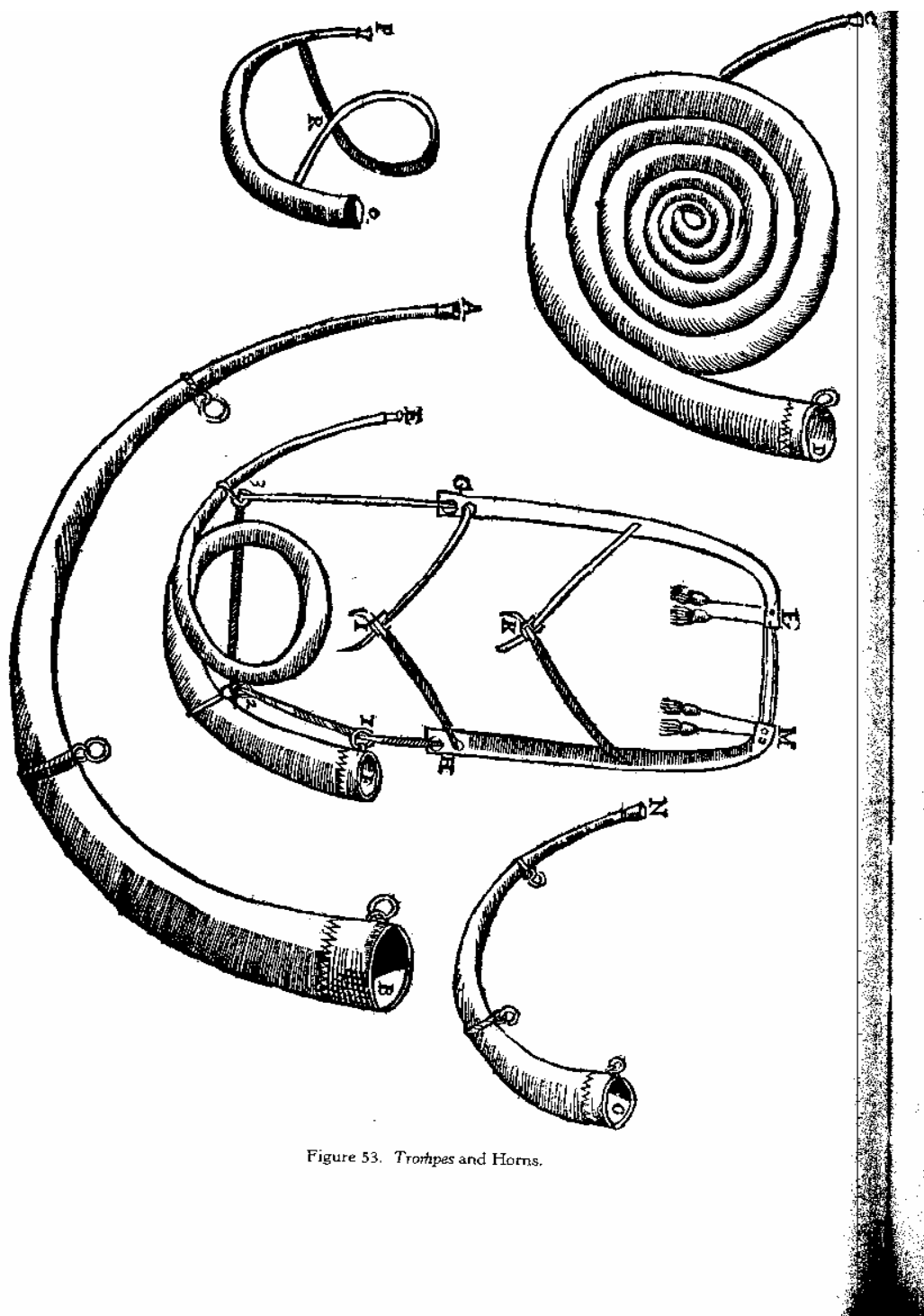


Figure 53. Trompes and Horns.

⁸² Of these instruments Mersenne states: "For AB shows the shape of the *Cor*, and CD that of the Horn of many turns [*cor à plusieurs tours*], which is not so useful as the other. The *Trompe* EF, which has only one turn, is the most used. That is why I have shown it with its straps L, M, G, H, 1, 2, 3 . . . NO represents the third horn, which is ordinarily called the *huchet*." Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 315-316.

Figure 1.2. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Various hunting horns, falcon caps and gunpowder horns*, pen and brush with brown ink, framing lines in graphite, ca. 1617, photo by Christoph Irrgang, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Germany (image reference ART302337, <<http://www.artres.com>>, accessed 18 January 2007).



Because the length of both the *trompe* and the *cor à plusieurs tours* was considerably longer than instruments previously used in the hunt, each allowed for more varied melodic possibilities.⁸³ The transition from these two seventeenth-century instruments to the eighteenth-century *cor de chasse* (this instrument is also known as the *trompe de chasse*; see Figure 1.3), however, is riddled with just as many problems, and scholars seem to be in complete disagreement about the process. For example, Fitzpatrick argues that the two instruments combined to form the *cor de chasse* at

⁸³ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 3; Damm, "300 Jahre Waldhorn (I)," 20-23.

approximately the beginning of the seventeenth century. He believes Mersenne described an outdated instrument when he included the *cor à plusieurs tours* in his treatise, and that actually it was the new instrument that hunters used to produce Mersenne's harmony.⁸⁴ By contrast, Reginald Morley-Pegge states that Rossi, Cavalli, and Lully all wrote hunting music for a modified version of the *cor à plusieurs tours*,⁸⁵ whereas Damm concludes that in approximately 1660 the *cor de chasse* was developed from the single-coiled horn shown in Mersenne.⁸⁶ Finally, John Humphries maintains that the *cor de chasse* was invented around the year 1680, was designed specifically to be played on horseback at Louis XIV's hunting parties, and moved almost immediately into the orchestra.⁸⁷

Clearly, more research needs to be done on this topic, and while Hiebert states we do not know which type of horn Rossi, Cavalli, and/or Lully called for in their scores, the helical horn or the more modern single-coiled horn,⁸⁸ Meucci and Rocchetti think Lully at least asked for the new *cor de chasse* in his *comédie-ballet La Princesse d'Elide* (Versailles, 1664). They base their argument on clues in the score as well as on iconographical evidence.⁸⁹

Like Humphries, writers have traditionally stated that the *cor de chasse* was "invented" by the French around 1680.⁹⁰ Furthermore, scholars typically affirm that the instrument was first brought to Bohemia when Count Franz Anton von Sporck (1662-1738) discovered it while on his Grand Tour of 1680-81, trained two of his servants to

⁸⁴ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 4.

⁸⁵ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 1.

⁸⁶ Damm, "300 Jahre Waldhorn (I)," 22-23.

⁸⁷ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 27.

⁸⁸ Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 103.

⁸⁹ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁹⁰ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 27.

play it, and brought it with him on his return home.⁹¹ Since it appears likely that Lully used the *cor de chasse* in his *comédie-ballet* of 1664, and since, as we saw earlier, horns seem to have been mentioned in the accounts of the royal household in England as early as 1661, it appears that the *cor de chasse* was not only invented well before the traditional date of 1680 but also known in England before Sporck's "discovery" of the instrument in the same year.⁹² Indeed, Ringer gives the date of its "invention" as occurring between 1650 and 1680.⁹³

Even though Sporck may not have discovered the instrument *per se*, he brought either the *cor de chasse* with him to his native Bohemia and/or merely the French hunting ceremonies and music associated with them.⁹⁴ Sporck's passion for hunting helped to promote the instrument and its music throughout Bohemia, and the two servants trained at Versailles, Wenzel Sweda (1630-1710) and Peter Röllig (1650-1723), are viewed today as the first two performers in a long line of outstanding Bohemian horn players.

His introduction of French hunting music into German-speaking areas seems to have affected composers such as Bach, who, in his secular cantata, "Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet," BWV212, employs many popular contemporary songs,⁹⁵ including a hunting tune introduced from France by Sporck. The movement entitled "Es nehme zehntausend Dukaten" includes parts for horns and "uses a very well-known hunting song, originally

⁹¹ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 12-17; Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 16-17; Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 7.

⁹² Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 17-18; Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 103.

⁹³ Alexander Lothar Ringer. "The 'Chasse:' Historical and Analytical Bibliography."

⁹⁴ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (i) Development of the natural horn," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁹⁵ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2000), 361.

French, popular all over Europe, and said to have been introduced to Germany by Count Franz Anton Sporck.”⁹⁶ This hunting tune, the *Brandeiser Jägerlied*, was apparently one of Sporck’s favorites.⁹⁷

Figure 1.3. *Cor de chasse* in G, early 18th century, Friedrich Ehe (1699-1743), Nuremburg, Germany, Leslie Lindsey Mason Collection, 1917, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Accession number: 17.1999, <<http://www.mfa.org>>, accessed January 19, 2007.



In any case, when Badia and Keiser included horns in their operas of 1700 and 1705 respectively, they were writing for the *cor de chasse*. According to Humphries, this instrument was a great improvement over both the *trompe* and the *cor à plusieurs tours* in the hunting field, yet it was a decided inconvenience in the Baroque orchestra:

⁹⁶ “Cantata BWV 212 *Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet*, Discussions,” <<http://www.bach-cantatas.com/BWV212-D.htm>>, accessed January 19, 2007.

⁹⁷ Daniel E. Freeman, “Sporck, Count Franz Anton,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

With their fixed mouthpipe, absence of a tuning slide, and unalterable length, these horns raised very real problems in concert performance . . . often a different instrument was needed for each key . . . while a pragmatist might have hoped to get away with owning instruments in the most common keys of D and F, they could not be finely tuned—the alternative of getting the group to tune to the horn was clearly unsatisfactory.⁹⁸

For these reasons, Johannes and Michael Leichnamschneider began developing crooked orchestral horns in the early years of the eighteenth century (Figure 1.4). Fitzpatrick states that crooks were first used and developed in Vienna and cites a document from 1703 in which the Abbot of Kremsmünster orders horns, crooks, mouthpieces, and tuning shanks from Michael Leichnamschneider.⁹⁹ Even so, the earliest extant horn with crooks, also made by Michael Leichnamschneider, dates from 1721.¹⁰⁰

Crooks allowed a player to perform in more than one key using one instrument: when a crook was inserted either into the mouthpipe or into the body of the horn, the overall length of the instrument was extended so that it could sound an entirely different harmonic series. A player could own one instrument and “crook” it into all necessary keys. As the Kremsmünster bill of sale from 1703 shows, these instruments usually came with “tuning bits,” short pieces of tubing inserted between the mouthpiece and the master crook so that the player could tune the instrument.¹⁰¹

The earliest crooked horns used this master crook and coupler system. Horns of this type came with “two conical ‘master crooks’, to which cylindrical ‘couplers’ of

⁹⁸ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 27-28.

⁹⁹ Fitzpatrick states: “A document which contains what is undoubtedly the first mention of crooks as applied to the horn has recently come to hand. It is a bill to the Abbot of Kremsmünster, dating from the year 1703 and written in Michael Leichnamschneider’s own hand.” *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 32-33.

¹⁰⁰ Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (iii) Crooks and hand technique,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹⁰¹ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 28.

various sizes were added to obtain the lowest pitches.”¹⁰² Humphries notes that players using this system faced a number of practical problems, all arising from the differences in length of the various crooks and couplers. For example, when playing in a very high key with very short crooks, the player would find the instrument precariously close to his face. On the other hand, when playing in very low keys with very long crooks and a great many couplers added, the player would find the instrument so far away from his body that he could not hold it securely. Indeed, Humphries states that these low keys often made the instrument “wobble, with inevitable consequences for accuracy.”¹⁰³

Figure 1.4. Baroque crooked horn, copy of a 1720 instrument, Baroque pitch (A=415), tuning bits, one shank, and 4 couplers for G, F, E-flat, and D, <http://www.members.aol.com/wwwebbrass/p4_3b.gif>, accessed January 19, 2007.



Players used to performing on the *cor de chasse* had to alter the manner in which they held the instrument when performing on a crooked horn. A *cor de chasse* player

¹⁰² Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (iii) Crooks and hand technique,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹⁰³ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 28.

used his left hand to hold onto the reins of his horse and his right hand to hold onto the instrument itself. The addition of crooks necessitated the use of both hands and was thus impractical for hunters. The horn player now had to use his left hand to hold onto both the crooks and the instrument and his right hand to hold onto the side of the bell.¹⁰⁴

Therefore, the employment of crooks and the resulting changes in playing position made it easier for players first, to modify their tone color by inserting their hands into their bells and second, to use their hands to produce stopped pitches.

In addition, because crooks changed the length of the instrument, they changed both the key of the horn and the general tone color. Low keys such as C and B-flat *basso* were considerably darker than high keys such as G, A, and B-flat *alto*. Composers took these differences into account, and one sees Handel contrasting admirably the differences between two horns in G and two horns in D in the Act III sinfonia of *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (HWV17, 1724).

Not all horn players switched immediately to crooked horns. Instruments with crooks were decidedly the provenance of horn specialists. The average orchestral musician or the horn player working as a servant-musician in an aristocratic household had no need for crooked instruments. According to Fitzpatrick: "Horns of fixed pitch continued in general use well after 1750."¹⁰⁵ Hunters in particular would have found the crooked horn not only useless, since they clearly did not need to change keys in the course of a hunt, but also inconvenient. If crooks would "wobble" when a player was

¹⁰⁴ Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (iii) Crooks and hand technique," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹⁰⁵ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 34.

stationary, they would have fallen right out of the instrument if a player tried to use them on a fast-moving horse.¹⁰⁶

The Leichnamschneider brothers continued to make three types of instruments throughout their careers: the *cor de chasse*, the crookless orchestral horn, and the crooked orchestral horn.¹⁰⁷ Players performed on all three types of instruments during the eighteenth century, and the use of fixed-pitch horns is still evident in works from the 1780s. In the Act II finale of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's opera *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786), for example, the horns change from the key of B-flat to G in half a bar. Players could not have changed crooks in this short amount of time, and it seems much more likely that they changed horns instead, especially since Viennese horn makers such as Friedrich Lempp (c. 1723-1796) were producing both fixed-pitch and crooked horns at this time.¹⁰⁸

These problems may have motivated Anton Hampl and Georg Werner, both of Dresden, to create a new instrument, the *Inventionshorn*, in c. 1753.¹⁰⁹ As is evident from the following advertisement of 1762, this instrument was in use in England at least by the early 1760s:

Musical Instruments from Germany. A Parcel of curious French Horns, of an entire new Invention, and approv'd of by the best Masters, they being rather easier than the common Horns, and are so contriv'd that with one Horn you may play in any Tone from B in Alt to B below, only by changing the Pieces which put on in the Middle of the Horn, and not next the Mouth Piece.

These excellent Horns are to be sold at Mr. Hummel's Musick-Shop, facing Nassau-Street, in King's Street, St. Ann's Soho. Likewise a Parcel

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁷ Fitzpatrick calls the *cor de chasse* the "grand *Parforce-Waldhorn*" (35).

¹⁰⁸ Richard Maunder, "Viennese Wind-Instrument Makers, 1700-1800," *The Galpin Society Journal* 51 (July 1998): 171, 183-185.

¹⁰⁹ Hiebert, "The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods," 108.

of other Horns of different Tones, and a Set of Sackbuts, viz. a Treble, Counter, Tenor, and Bass, all which will be sold very reasonably.¹¹⁰

Players using these new crooked instruments no longer inserted the master crook and coupler into the mouthpiece. Instead, they inserted sliding crooks into the body of the horn. The preceding advertisement notes that these instruments are “rather easier than the common Horns.” This ease resulted directly from the new insertion point for the crooks.¹¹¹ In addition, because the distance of the instrument from one’s body did not change with each change of key, the *Inventionshorn* was more stable than crooked horns employed earlier in the century (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5. *Inventionshorn* crooked in A, early 19th century, C. Lobeit, Bohemian, late 18th century, Leslie Lindsey Mason Collection, 1917, Accession number: 17.2002, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, <<http://www.mfa.org>>, accessed January 19, 2007.



¹¹⁰ Thomas Coram Foundation, Foundling Museum, London.

¹¹¹ Hiebert, “The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods,” 108.

The remaining chapters will focus on two categories of Baroque horns, namely fixed-pitch horns and crooked horns. This simple categorization will help determine whether Handel's horn players performed on instruments with crooks, an important contributing factor in terms of the state of horn technique in early eighteenth-century England.

The Harmonic Series and Hand-Stopping

Thus far, we have seen how the development of crooks allowed horn players to perform in more than one key with the same instrument. It is important to note that horn players using either a horn pitched or crooked in a particular key could perform only the pitches contained in the harmonic series for that key. The harmonic series formed the basis of both Baroque trumpet and horn technique. Example 1.2 shows a notated harmonic series for an eight-foot horn in C.

Example 1.2. Harmonic series for an eight foot horn in C.



In Example 1.2 the numbers below the pitches refer to specific harmonics. Thus, C is the first harmonic. This pitch is also called the fundamental. The relationship of the other pitches in the harmonic series to C can be described as follows: “A harmonic series is a set of frequencies which are successive integer multiples of the fundamental (or first

harmonic).”¹¹² For example, the first two harmonics, *C* and *c*, have a ratio of 2:1, and the second and third harmonics, *c* and *g*, have a ratio of 2:3, thereby forming an octave and a perfect fifth respectively. These ratios occur in theory. In wind instruments, they are approximated: “In most wind instruments, the air column has a series of resonances whose frequencies are close to being members of a harmonic series. It is important to realize, however, that in real wind instruments the air column resonances are never perfectly harmonic.” Even so, “the term ‘harmonic’ is customarily used as a synonym for ‘natural note.’”¹¹³

These mathematical relationships produce pitches that sound out-of-tune:

Harmonics which are multiples of prime numbers above 5 (e.g. nos. 7, 11, 13 and 14) do not correspond to recognized notes in the equal-tempered scale. However, on a C trumpet nos. 7 and 14 can fairly easily be lipped up to b-flat, and skilled trumpeters can lip no. 11 down to *f*’ or *f*##’ and no. 13 up to *a*’; composers regularly wrote these notes.¹¹⁴

These out-of-tune harmonics raise an interesting question for Baroque performance practice, namely, did Baroque horn and trumpet players “fix” these pitches, or did they perform them naturally? According to Humphries:

It is a feature of the harmonic series that several notes—most particularly the 7th, 11th and 13th harmonics, written as B-flat, F and A—sound horribly out of tune. Such notes were part and parcel of the hunt, and are still played untempered on the trompe de chasse today, but while it is unlikely that such intonation was welcomed when the horn joined other instruments in the concert hall, we do not know how players adjusted it. One of the most significant issues for horn players today—and one of the hardest to answer—is how players controlled intonation in the pre-hand-horn era.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Guy Oldham, Murray Campbell, C. Greated, “Harmonics,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 19 January 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 54-55.

Like their trumpet colleagues, Baroque horn players may have lipped out-of-tune pitches into place. This technique was described as early as 1638 by the Italian trumpeter and writer Girolamo Fantini in his well-known treatise, *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba*. Fantini discusses performing notes outside of the harmonic series, telling the trumpeter that while it is possible to play these pitches, one should use them as quick passing notes only.¹¹⁶ Edward H. Tarr states that Fantini must have been particularly adept at the technique of “lipping,” which he mentions as the only possible resource for natural trumpeters of that time.¹¹⁷

It is not known when and if brass players in England practiced this technique.

Charles Burney, in describing a trumpet obbligato from the 1784 Handel

Commemoration, notes with particular displeasure a performer who played the eleventh harmonic in the key of D untempered:

The favourite Base song, “The Trumpet shall sound,” (1 Cor. XV. 52) was very well performed by Signor Tafca and Mr. Sarjant, who accompanied him on the trumpet admirably. There are, however, some passages in the trumpet-part to this Air, which have always a bad effect, from the natural imperfection of the instrument. In HANDEL’S time, composers were not so delicate in writing for Trumpets and French-horns, as at present; it being now laid down as a rule, that the fourth and fifth of a key on both these instruments, being *naturally so* much out of tune that no player can make them perfect, should never be used but in short passing notes, to which no base is given that can discover their false intonation. Mr. Sarjeant’s tone is extremely sweet and clear, but every time that he was obliged to dwell upon G, the fourth of D, displeasure appeared in every countenance; for which I was extremely concerned, knowing how inevitable such an effect must be from such a cause.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Girolamo Fantini, *Method for Learning to Play the Trumpet*, trans. Edward H. Tarr (Nashville: The Brass Press, 1975). See Igino Conforzi, “Girolamo Fantini: ‘Monarch of the Trumpet’: New Light on His Works,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 6 (1994): 32-59.

¹¹⁷ Edward H. Tarr, “Fantini, Girolamo,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹¹⁸ Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), 86-87.

Burney implies that trumpeters did not fix out-of-tune harmonics while Handel was active, nor were they doing so as late as 1784. Because Handel's horn parts contain many examples of the eleventh and thirteenth harmonics, one wonders if his horn players performed these pitches naturally. Although this situation seems untenable today, it is important to remember—as Humphries notes—that contemporary *trompe de chasse* players continue to perform these pitches in their natural state. Eighteenth-century audiences may have been far more tolerant of brass tuning that we are today, naturally associating out-of-tune pitches with the timbre of brass instruments.

It is also possible, however, that Baroque horn players used the technique of hand-stopping to correct these pitches. Hand-stopping requires the player to close the bell of the instrument with the hand, either partially or completely, to lower the pitch. For example, by gently closing the bell one lowers the pitch by half a step, and by tightly closing the bell and liping the pitch into place, one can lower it by as much as a whole step. The technique also requires the removal of one's hand from the bell to bring naturally flat pitches, such as written *b-flat*¹, into place. Although stopped pitches had a more muffled or metallic timbre than the open ones, the technique compensated for this deficiency by allowing the player to perform all twelve chromatic pitches.¹¹⁹

It also solved another problem in the harmonic series that affected both trumpet and horn players. As one can see in Example 1.2, the intervals in the lower portion of the series are larger than those in the upper portion, making it necessary for composers to utilize the extreme upper register to write scalar melodies for these instruments. The “high register of a trumpet” is referred to as *clarino*, and this term is also used to describe

¹¹⁹ Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 2. History to c1800 (iii) Crooks and hand technique,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

commonly seen high virtuosic horn and trumpet parts from the Baroque and Classical eras.¹²⁰ Hand-stopping allowed composers to utilize both the upper and lower registers, thereby greatly expanding the melodic opportunities for the Baroque horn.

It is not known when horn players in England adopted this technique. Its usage is necessarily correlated with the adoption of a more modern playing position, in which the bell is held near one's side or placed on one's leg. Therefore, its adoption provides clues about when the horn began to be liberated from the *clarino* technique of the trumpet.

Traditionally writers have maintained that the famous horn soloist Giovanni Punto (Johann Wenzel (Jan Václav) Stich) introduced London audiences to hand-stopping when he performed there in 1772.¹²¹ Since he was a student of Anton Joseph Hampl (ca. 1710-1771), the ostensible codifier of the technique, this assertion has seemed reasonable. Furthermore, because critics at this time reacted negatively to the sound of stopped pitches, scholars have assumed it was new in England. The following passage demonstrates the dissatisfaction of a patron who had the misfortune, as he saw it, to attend a performance by another late-century horn soloist named Pieltan:

To those who love trick, and unexpected discovery of what an instrument can perform, Pieltan's horn is a great treat: the French horn is by him made so soft, so voluble, and minute in its modulations, that it might accompany a female voice in a room . . . The Horn Concerto of PIELTAN was surprising for such an instrument and was as pleasing as it is possible to render sounds that, singly considered, have so little alliance with what is understood by the term *Music*.¹²²

¹²⁰ Reine Dahlqvist and Edward H. Tarr, "Clarino," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 19 January 2007), <<http://www.grovemusiconline.com>>. Dahlqvist and Tarr warn that, although one sees often high horn parts from the Baroque and Classical periods referred to as "clarino horn," this designation is a twentieth-century term and should be treated with caution.

¹²¹ Reginald Morley-Pegge, Horace Fitzpatrick, and Thomas Hiebert, "Punto, Giovanni [Stich, Johann Wenzel (Jan Václav)]," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹²² Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 88.

Handel's music provides little evidence to contradict these traditional assertions, and combined with Burney's observations, it seems likely that hand-stopping was adopted relatively late in England; however, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter Three, midcentury composers working in England wrote music containing non-series tones in the middle and lower register. These works suggest strongly that horn players were hand-stopping these pitches into place. This question requires a great deal more research, and I will mention these other works only as they pertain to questions either about Handel's horn music or his horn players.

The Baroque Horn and Trumpet

Because the horn and trumpet both relied on the harmonic series as the basis of their technique, and consequently, because many composers wrote similar music for them, the differences between the two instruments in the Baroque have been a source of debate among scholars. For example, the question whether the instrument held by Gottfried Reiche in a portrait by Elias Gottlieb Haussmann (1695-1774) is a trumpet or a horn has produced many articles with diverging opinions (Figure 1.6).¹²³

¹²³ See, for example, the writings of Herbert Heyde, Peter Damm, Edward H. Tarr, Reine Dahlqvist, Don L. Smithers, and Kurt Janetzky.

Figure 1.6. Elias Gottlieb Haussmann (1695-1774), *Gottfried Reiche* (1667-1734), *Senior Musician and Solo Trumpeter of Bach's Orchestra*, Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig, Germany, Image ID JPH 51448, The Bridgeman Art Library, <<http://www.bridgemanart.com>>, accessed January 19, 2007.



Even though contemporary scholars define horns as instruments with conical bores and trumpets as instruments with cylindrical bores,¹²⁴ this portrait forces one to acknowledge that modern definitions are not always appropriate when discussing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century instruments. Herbert Heyde notes:

The 18th century also shows transitional and mixed forms in the area of *Jägertrompeten* and alto horns. These cases, “ambiguous” on grounds of scaling, cause much puzzlement nowadays because, from our modern point of view, we like to find a clear, unambiguous, logically impeccable classification and an either-or answer for everything. But—we must not try to be more exact than people were in the past.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Coar, *The French Horn*, 9.

¹²⁵ Heyde, “Zwischen Hörnern und Jägertrompeten,” 45.

Even so, Johann Mattheson differentiated between the two instruments in his treatise *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* of 1713. This early date seems surprising, and accordingly, authors quote Mattheson frequently to show that Baroque horns and trumpets were different instruments. Hiebert summarizes the relevant passage:

Mattheson states the horn had become very popular in church, theater, and chamber music precisely because it represented a different aesthetic from the trumpet: it was not as coarse in tone, it could be played with more facility, and with the most useful key of F (a fifth beneath the trumpet in C) it was more effective in filling out the texture.¹²⁶

Twentieth-century performers have confirmed these differences in timbre. For example, Fitzpatrick, after performing on a *cor de chasse* and what he refers to alternatively as a “Waldhorn” and a “Parforce-Jagdhorn,” concludes:¹²⁷

The tone of the cor-de-chasse is brilliant, penetrating, trenchant, evocative of the trumpet’s martial quality. The Waldhorn, although it shares much of the French instrument’s brilliance at this period, is nevertheless considerably broader and darker in sound, having fewer overtones in its tonal spectrum . . . than the cor-de-chasse. This darker and softer quality was to become more pronounced in the Viennese horn as time went on.¹²⁸

Furthermore, after playing a “Viennese Waldhorn” made by Johannes

Leichnamschneider in 1710, Fitzpatrick concluded:

Each register of this early instrument’s compass has its own character. The lower octave is distinctly bassoon-like in the grainy texture of its tone; the smoothness of the middle octave foreshadows the hand-horn quality; and the upper range is bright and round. So distinctly horn-like and individual is the character of this upper register that there can be no question of the horn’s substitution for the trumpet on the grounds of identical tone quality,

¹²⁶ Hiebert, “The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods,” 104.

¹²⁷ Cf. Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 28-30; 34. Fitzpatrick provides a definition for “Waldhorn” in his glossary: “Waldhorn: Literally, forest horn. The term is in a sense an abstraction in that it applies to an orchestral horn which recalls the forest by connotation. Rightly or wrongly, I have expanded it to mean the two forms of concert horn which were developed from the Jagdhorn. The first of these . . . is the orchestral horn with terminal crooks . . . the second type, sometimes called an orchestral Jagdhorn . . . is simply the Jagdhorn wound twice or thrice upon itself to make a smaller body for orchestral purposes” (230-231).

¹²⁸ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 29-30.

as has so often been assumed. The horn and trumpet were separate and distinct instruments in the Baroque period . . . and a comparison of contemporary instruments will quickly prove, even to an untrained ear, that the horn and trumpet were by no means identical in tone, even though they may have been musically interchangeable to a certain degree.¹²⁹

Damm concurs: “The frequently heard assertion that Baroque trumpets and horns sounded alike is thus shown to be absurd. Then, as now, these were distinct instruments.”¹³⁰

These differences in the timbres of early eighteenth-century horns and trumpets seem to have existed even though Baroque horn players performed, like their trumpet colleagues, with their bells in the air. Whatever differences existed in 1713 must have been accentuated through changes in instrument design as well as advances in technique, most notably the adoption of hand-stopping. Significantly, Handel composed his horn parts for his operas and oratorios during this transitional time in the horn’s history. Therefore, this music provides vital clues concerning the state of horn technique in early and midcentury England.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 37.

¹³⁰ Peter Damm, “Hat J. S. Bach die Partie des ‘Corne da Caccia’ des Messe h-Moll BWV für Gottfried Reiche komponiert? (I)” *Brass Bulletin* 56 (1986): 67.

CHAPTER 2

HANDEL’S HORN PARTS IN HIS OPERAS

Introduction

George Frideric Handel’s first opera, *Almira* (HWV1), premiered in Hamburg in 1705. At that time composers used the horn, a relatively new instrument, infrequently in art music. It should come as no surprise, then, that Handel’s early operas in general and *Almira* in particular do not contain parts for horns.¹³¹ It was not until 1720, with the premiere of *Radamisto* (HWV12a), that Handel included music for horns in an opera. He continued to utilize the instrument regularly, incorporating parts for the horn in a total of twenty-seven operas.

This large number seems surprising when one remembers the sparse scholarly attention the horn parts in these works have received. Indeed, before W. F. H. Blandford wrote about this music, one could find authors claiming that Handel did not incorporate horns into his operas at all. Thus, Blandford’s 1939 article “Handel’s Horn and Trombone Parts” begins:

In the June *Musical Times* a correspondent stated that, although horns and trombones appear occasionally in Bach’s scores, they were never, so far as

¹³¹ These early operas include not only *Almira* (HWV1, 1705) but also *Nero* (HWV2, 1705, music lost), *Florindo* (HWV3, ?1706, fragment), *Daphne* (HWV4, 1708, fragment), *Rodrigo* (HWV5, 1707), *Agrippina* (HWV6, ?1709/1710), *Rinaldo* (HWV7a, 1711), *Il pastor fido* (HWV8a, 1712), *Teseo* (HWV9, 1713), *Silla* (HWV10, ?1713), and *Amadigi di Gaula* (HWV11, 1715).

he knows, used by Handel and are not to be found in the scores of his English contemporaries.¹³²

The focus here will be on the horn music in Handel's operas not only because the parts themselves have received little attention but also because they are historically important. As noted previously, this importance derives from their being contemporaneous with important developments in horn technique such as the use of crooks and hand-stopping. Indeed, Handel's operatic horn parts paint a vivid picture of horn technique in early eighteenth-century London. They also provide significant insight into the playing abilities of London-based horn players during this period. The horn parts in the well-known opera *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (HWV17, 1724), for example, present early and stunning examples of technical innovation and virtuosity; however, less well-known operas such as *Arianna in Creta* (HWV32, 1734) also contain horn music indicative of virtuosic performers.

A study of these operatic horn parts is important not only in terms of the technical history of the instrument but also in terms of the horn's growing programmatic use. In Handel's early music imagery associated with both the horn and the trumpet is often conflated. Handel uses the horn to convey hunting imagery in operas such as *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724) and *Deidamia* (HWV42, 1741), whereas in *Poro, re dell'Indie* (HWV28, 1731) and *Ezio* (HWV29, 1732) the horn is employed in movements sung by military or royal heroes. Although the trumpet was the preeminent symbol of royalty in the Baroque, Handel's association of the horn with traditional trumpet imagery results logically from the Baroque horn and trumpet relying on the same playing technique—the

¹³² W. F. H. Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts," *The Musical Times* 80, no. 1160 (October 1939), 697.

harmonic series—as well as the fact that some Baroque horn players were trumpeters who performed on both brass instruments.

To maintain, however, that this conflation of imagery continues consistently throughout Handel's music would be misguided. Even though one finds horns in military music all the way through Handel's compositional career, one also sees clearly the evolution of imagery associated specifically with the horn. This evolution is not a linear process, yet early operas such as *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (HWV22, 1727) employ horns in dance-like music containing hunting as well as pastoral imagery. This opera foreshadows Handel's later use of the instrument in some of his oratorios, but it also indicates Handel's ability to use the hunt as a starting-point for further images that could be associated only with the horn. The lack of trumpet-like music and images—such as those associated with the military or royalty—in operas such as *Admeto* is therefore significant, because it argues for an early independence of the horn from the Baroque trumpet. As with the progress seen in Handel's technical writing for the horn, developments in his concept of idiomatic imagery coincide with the evolution of the horn soloist. That all three of these processes—namely the introduction of virtuosic music for the horns, changes in the kinds of images that could be associated with them, and the increasing number of horn soloists mentioned in the London press—occurred simultaneously is of course noteworthy.

This chapter will begin with a discussion concerning the possible uses of the horn in England prior to Handel's opera *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720) and then continue with an analysis of technical issues in Handel's operas overall. These issues include instrumentation and doubling, the keys of the horn parts, their ranges, and Handel's use

of either non-series tones or out-of-tune harmonics. An examination of the horn parts in specific operas will follow in the next chapter.

Use of the Horn in England Prior to 1720

Traditionally, writers have maintained that Handel's opera *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720) was the first theatrical work in England to include music for horns. This belief seems to have begun with Charles Burney, who, in his *General History of Music*, states: "*Alzo al volo* is likewise *à grand' orchestra*, with solo parts for two French horns, which seems to have been their first admission into our opera-band."¹³³ Handel also receives credit for being the first composer in England to include parts for horns in art music in general: scholars typically cite his *Water Music* (HWV348-350, 1717) as the first piece in England to include music for the instrument.¹³⁴

However, several works written prior to 1720 call these strongly held assumptions into question. Alexander L. Ringer states that Elizabethan playwrights such as John Fletcher (1579-1625) and Francis Beaumont (1584-1616), as well as William Shakespeare (1564-1616), all provide indications such as "Horns within" or "Wind horn" in their stage directions. Whether the music heard at these moments was "single note 'peals,'" "a three-part caccia," or nothing at all is unknown.¹³⁵ Ringer states that either

¹³³ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789), critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 2: 702.

¹³⁴ R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique*, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973), 19; Birchard Coar, *The French Horn* (1947; repr. Dekalb, 1971), 12; John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11.

¹³⁵ Alexander L. Ringer, "'The Chasse': Historical and Analytical Bibliography of a Musical Genre" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1955), 160-161.

the oboe or the trumpet may have performed this music, although he criticizes one author who mistakenly conflates “single note ‘peals’” with “trumpet ‘flourishes.’”¹³⁶

Whether Fletcher and Beaumont or Shakespeare called for oboes, trumpets, or even horns in their plays, they set the precedent for the type of programmatic usage of the horn in the English theater during the seventeenth century. For example, Henry Purcell, in his tragic opera *Dido and Aeneas* (Z626, ?1689) makes use of hunting calls from Jacques du Fouilloux’s treatise, *La vénerie* (1561).¹³⁷ The music Purcell writes for the “Hunting music at a distance” at the beginning of Act III, scene ii, derives from the call Fouilloux indicated should be performed when the hunter presents the head of the dead animal to the dogs. This appropriate hunting-horn call accompanies the words “upon my bending spear a monster’s head stands bleeding.”¹³⁸

Eighteenth-century composers such as Johann Ernst Galliard (1687-1749) and Johann Christian Pepusch (1667-1752) may have made use of the horn in a more musical manner in their works for the English stage prior to Handel’s inclusion of the instrument in his orchestra. Galliard’s opera *Calypso and Telemachus* (1712) includes a “Hunting Aire” entitled “Hark the hollow Groves resounding.” Roger Fiske observes that the “violin writing suggests hunting horns,” but he rules out the possibility that horns performed this music, basing his conclusion only on the assumption that horns “probably

¹³⁶ Ibid.; cf. G. H. Cowling, *Music on the Shakespearian Stage* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 52.

¹³⁷ *Grove Music Online* describes *Dido and Aeneas* as both a “tragic opera” and an “all-sung masque”; cf. Peter Holman, Robert Thompson, Mark Humphries, “Purcell. 3. Henry Purcell (ii). Works, stage,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 26 January 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Curtis Price, “Purcell, Henry: Opera, Works,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 26 January 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; Curtis Price, “Dido and Aeneas: Opera,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 26 January 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹³⁸ Alexander L. Ringer, “The ‘Chasse’ as a Musical Topic of the 18th Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6, no. 2 (Summer, 1953): 149-50.

did not reach theatre orchestras until after their revolutionary use in Handel's *Water Music* some five years later."¹³⁹

Yet Galliard may have required horns for the hunting music in *Calypso and Telemachus*, because he appears to have used the instrument shortly thereafter in his masque *Pan and Syrinx* (1718; revival with new music in 1726). Birchard Coar suggests tentatively that Galliard employed the instrument and not just hunting music in this masque,¹⁴⁰ while Blandford seems certain about their utilization:

He [Handel] did not use the horn in the orchestra until *Radamisto* (1720), and here he had been anticipated. In 1717 J. E. Galliard used 'hunting horns' in his *Pan and Syrinx*, produced at Lincoln's Inn Theatre; the parts were an afterthought and not in the original score, but Galliard's autograph manuscript (Add. MS. 31588), in which the horns are written an octave above the actual sounds, render it certain that they were actually employed.¹⁴¹

Galliard's colleague Pepusch also appears to have used horns at about the same time. In his masque *Venus and Adonis* (1715) five bars of repeated music marked "Hunting Horns in the Distance" occur before Adonis sings the recitative "Hark how the cheerful Horn Proclaims the Wasting Morn." This programmatic usage of the instrument has more in common with Shakespeare and Purcell than with Galliard, especially because the notes are cued into the first oboe part. Logically, Richard Platt speculates that the oboist performed Pepusch's hunting music,¹⁴² and, although Fiske seems to agree, he adds that the performer played this music off-stage "on the short horn used by huntsmen." Once

¹³⁹ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 55.

¹⁴⁰ Coar, *The French Horn*, 13.

¹⁴¹ W. F. H. Blandford, "Studies on the Horn. No. 1. The French Horn in England," *The Musical Times* 63, no. 954 (August 1922): 545. The phrase "written an octave above the actual sounds" refers to the practice of writing horn parts one octave above sounding pitch. In his operas, Handel utilizes this notational system for horn in D when trumpets are also included in the musical texture.

¹⁴² Richard Platt, "Theatre Music I," in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1990), 115.

more Fiske rules out the possibility of horn players performing this music, simply because, as he puts it, “there are no certain orchestra horn parts in English music until the *Water Music* of 1717.”¹⁴³

After examining the possible employment of horns in Galliard’s music, however, it seems unwise to rule out Pepusch’s use of horns in this work based only on the assumption that horns entered art music in England in 1717. No doubt Blandford would find Fiske too confident in this regard. I would add that since the *cor de chasse* seems to have been introduced into England about the year 1660, it is not possible to know which type of horn may have been used for this performance. Short-coiled horns were still in circulation at this time, but if Pepusch wanted to use the horn for visual as much as for aural effect, he would have asked his performer to use the newer *cor de chasse*.

Pepusch was undoubtedly familiar with this instrument. While employed by James Brydges, Earl of Carnarvon and later Duke of Chandos, he catalogued the Duke’s instruments in 1720. Included in this list are two “French Hunting Horns” made by Johannes Leichnamschneider.¹⁴⁴ As we shall see, the Duke’s horns were most likely *cors de chasses*. In addition, in 1704 Pepusch’s brother Heinrich Gottfried (d. 1750), an oboist employed by the Elector of Brandenburg,¹⁴⁵ traveled to London along with other members of a wind band and gave at least two performances. The first performance occurred in April of that year, when Heinrich Gottfried and six other performers on “Hautboys, Flutes, and German Horns” performed music written by “his Brother, that Eminent Master Mr. John Christopher Pepusch” between the acts of *The Cautious*

¹⁴³ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 56-58.

¹⁴⁴ C. H. Collins Baker and Muriel I. Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges: First Duke of Chandos Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 139-140.

¹⁴⁵ Malcolm Boyd and Graydon Beeks (with D.F. Cook), “Pepusch, Johann Christoph,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 9 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

Coxcomb at Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹⁴⁶ This same ensemble, though advertised as consisting of "Hautboys, Flutes, and Hunting-Horns," participated in another concert the following June.¹⁴⁷

Like his brother, Pepusch had worked at the Prussian court but had arrived in London after September 1697. He began working as a performer, first on the viola and later on the harpsichord, at Drury Lane Theatre in 1704,¹⁴⁸ the same year his brother came to London. Advertisements from this time suggest that Pepusch wrote some music for his brother's London performances, but whether he invited Heinrich Gottfried to London or encouraged him to stay is unknown.¹⁴⁹

In any case, that Heinrich Gottfried brought with him two horn players performing on "German Horns" and/or "Hunting Horns" is significant. Indeed, we shall see that the term "German Horn" in the London press may have referred to a horn with crooks. Because the Leichnamschneider brothers began manufacturing these instruments very early in the eighteenth century,¹⁵⁰ it is possible that this ensemble from Berlin arrived with two specimens of the new instrument.

¹⁴⁶ Emmett L. Avery, ed., *The London Stage*, part 2, 1: 63.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 68. According to Horace Fitzpatrick, Dart gave two other dates for performances by this band, on April 3 and May 31 of the same year. The advertisement for the April performance listed the instruments performed on as "Hautboys, Flutes and German Horns." Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 51-52.

¹⁴⁸ Boyd and Beeks, "Pepusch, Johann Christoph," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 9 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

¹⁴⁹ According to Fitzpatrick: "These 'seven young Hautboys' had been brought to England by Gottfried Pepusch, Johann Christoph's younger brother, who had been Court composer to the Elector of Brandenburg and King of Prussia, Frederick William the First. Gottfried and many of his orchestra had been dismissed late in 1703 as a result of the Prussian monarch's active dislike of music." *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 52; however, Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia dissolved this ensemble in 1713 not 1703. Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2000), 194.

¹⁵⁰ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 32-33. According to David Lasocki: "The music [performed at these concerts] may have been Pepusch's six concertos (published belatedly in 1717) for two treble recorders, two flutes or oboes or violins, and basso continuo, which show the influence of similar works by Finger and Keller." "The French Hautboy in England, 1673-1730," *Early Music* 16, no. 3 (August 1988): 347. This speculation does not account for the two horn players in the ensemble.

Thus, it seems likely that Pepsuch was familiar enough with the *cor de chasse* to employ it in works such as *Venus and Adonis* (1715). It remains a mystery, however, why he cued hunting-horn music into the first oboe part. It may have been, as Fiske suggests, that the oboe player doubled on the horn. Alternatively, Pepusch may have written the music into the oboe part either to save paper, or to make sure the oboist had access to the music in case Pepusch could not procure a horn player. It is impossible to know with certainty who performed this hunting music and on what instrument, but at the very least, Pepusch was acquainted with the horn, and one cannot rule out its employment in this work.

Early eighteenth-century composers in London appear to have called for hunting horns and hunting music sporadically in their works before Handel's well-known use of the instrument in 1717 and 1720. Galliard's and Pepusch's possible employment of the instrument demonstrates that other composers besides Handel working in England were aware of the instrument early in the century. Handel's utilization of the horn in both the *Water Music* and *Radamisto* remains significant nonetheless, if only because audiences took notice of the instrument in the orchestra at this time.¹⁵¹

Handel's prominent horn parts were probably all the more striking because, even though horns may have been heard previously in London theaters, they were not regular members of the orchestra. Surviving eighteenth-century orchestra lists verify the sporadic usage of the horn in early eighteenth-century London.¹⁵² For example, the

¹⁵¹ See Burney, *A General History of Music*, 702.

¹⁵² For details regarding the make-up of the orchestra in eighteenth-century London see Judith Milhous and Robert Hume, "New Light on Handel and The Royal Academy of Music in 1720," *Theatre Journal* 35 (1983): 149-167; Donald Burrows, "Handel's London Theatre Orchestra," *Early Music* 13 (1985): 349-357; Mark W. Stahura, "Handel and the Orchestra," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 238-248.

directors of the Royal Academy of Music did not include horns in their orchestra rosters when they organized the institution in 1719-1720. Judith Milhous and Robert Hume describe three unpublished manuscripts among the Portland papers on deposit at the University of Nottingham that tell us whom the Royal Academy hired to perform their operas. The three manuscripts, PwB94, PwB98, and PwB97, contain neither a horn position nor the names of any horn players, though PwB98 lists an unfilled trumpet position taken by “Grano” in PwB97.¹⁵³

Based on this evidence, theater orchestras in early eighteenth-century London contained one trumpet position,¹⁵⁴ yet Handel, like his Baroque colleagues, varied his orchestra when needed to suit his dramatic purposes. For example, he included parts for four trumpets in his first London opera, *Rinaldo* (HWV7a, 1711).¹⁵⁵ Either three additional trumpeters were hired for this opera, or some members of the orchestra doubled on more than one instrument. Handel’s inclusion of the horn in his operas results always from dramatic or musical necessity. In the remaining section of this chapter I will outline Handel’s use of the horn in his operas.

Aspects of Handel’s Operatic Horn Parts

Instrumentation

As already mentioned, Handel included music for the horn in twenty-seven of his operas. This large number must be tempered, however, by the acknowledgement that

¹⁵³ Judith Milhous and Robert Hume, “New Light,” 157-161. John Baptist Grano was a well-known trumpet player in the early eighteenth century; see John Grano, *Handel’s Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano*, ed. John Ginger (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁴ Burrows, “Handel’s London Theatre Orchestra,” 349; Stahura, “Handel and the Orchestra,” 240.

¹⁵⁵ In his article “Handel’s London Theatre Orchestra,” Burrows states that the score of *Rinaldo* also includes parts for drums, a flageolet, two recorders, and a violetta (349). Platt notes that *Rinaldo*, as Handel’s first London opera, was orchestrated to impress and that Handel’s “orchestration was far more varied and colorful than that of any previous London opera. “Theatre Music I,” 110-11.

Handel used the horn in only one or two movements per opera. As Hiebert confirms, early eighteenth-century composers generally used the horn in their operas in selected movements only: “The relatively infrequent use of the horn within an opera is normative at this early date.”¹⁵⁶

In works such as *Rodelinda, regina de’ Langobardi* (HWV19, 1725), *Lotario* (HWV26, 1729), and *Orlando* (HWV31, 1733), Handel utilizes the horn in as little as one movement. *Rodelinda* in particular requires the horns to perform only in the final chorus, “Dopo la notte oscura,” yet exceptional operas such as *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724) and *Ariodante* (HWV33, 1735) feature the horn in four and six movements, respectively.

Mary Rasmussen describes the horn as the “least popular” of “the common solo winds of the Baroque period.”¹⁵⁷ Yet except for the oboe, which Handel used in every opera,¹⁵⁸ other wind instruments are employed with comparable frequency. For example, although recorders are found in eighteen operas written between 1721 and 1738,¹⁵⁹ they are included in at most three movements per opera.¹⁶⁰ The newer transverse flute appears in fifteen operas. Nevertheless, Handel uses this instrument in three movements in only one opera, *Partenope* (HWV27, 1730).¹⁶¹ Because the trumpet appears to have been a regular member of the opera orchestra before Handel’s arrival in London, one would reasonably expect to find the instrument employed in far more operas and movements per

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden: The Players and their Repertory” (DMA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989), 38.

¹⁵⁷ Mary Rasmussen, “The Manuscript Kat. Wenster Litt. I/1-17b (Universitetsbiblioteket, Lund) A Contribution to the History of the Baroque Horn Concerto,” *Brass Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1954): 135.

¹⁵⁸ Alison Patricia Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*: Handel, His Woodwind Players, and His London Operas” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 249.

¹⁵⁹ Deadman, quoting Simpson, maintains that recorders were used in almost all Handel’s operas between 1721 and 1738, but Handel stopped employing the instrument after 1738” (189-190); see Adrienne Simpson, “The Orchestral Recorder,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 102.

¹⁶⁰ Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 194-196.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 230.

opera than the horn. According to Robert Minter, parts for trumpets are included in twenty-three of Handel's operas.¹⁶² In comparison with the horn, however, Handel provides more music for the trumpet in each of these works, and it is not unusual to find parts for trumpets in three to four movements per opera.

Even so, it is apparent that Handel used the horn at least as frequently as other contemporary wind instruments. The instrument may not have been a regular member of the opera orchestra when Handel arrived in London, and it may never have been an integral member as it was to become during the Classical era, yet it came to be used regularly by Handel. This impressive fact is confirmed by the number of movements listed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Movements from Handel's operas that contain music for the horn.

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Act, Scene</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Horns</u>
Radamisto, "first version" (HWV12a, 1720)	Act III, scene vi	Aria, "Alzo al volo"	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene xi	Coro, "Un di più felice bramarsi non lice"	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene xi	Balli, "Passapied"	Corno I, II
Radamisto, "second version" (HWV12b, 1720)	Act III, scene vi	Aria, "Alzo al volo"	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene xi	Coro, "Un di più felice bramarsi non lice"	Corno I, II

¹⁶² This number includes only the first version of *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), two operas composed before Handel arrived in London, *Almira* and *Agrippina*, both versions of *Rinaldo* (HWV7a and 7b, 1711 and 1731), and *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724). Robert Minter includes the last opera in the list because Handel removed the difficult Sinfonia for a revival of the opera and inserted a March for trumpet in its place. *Complete Trumpet Repertoire*, ed. Robert Minter, 4 vols. (London: Musica rara, 1974), no pagination.

Table 2.1—*Continued.*

Opera	Act, Scene	Movement	Horns
Muzio Scevola, Act III (HWV13, 1721)	Act III, scene ix	Military Symphony	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Sì sarà più dolce amore con la cara libertà!”	Corno I, II
Floridante (HWV14, 1721) ¹⁶³	Act I, scene ii	Marche ^A and ^{B164}	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene ix	Sinfonia	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Quando pena la costanza”	Corno I, II
Giulio Cesare in Egitto (HWV17, 1724)	Act I, scene i	Coro, “Viva il nostro Alcide”	Corno I & II; Corno III & IV
	Act I, scene ix	Aria, “Va tacito e nascosto, quand’ avido”	Corno
	Act III, scena ultima	Sinfonia	Corno I & II; Corno III & IV
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Ritorni omai nel nostro core”	Corno I & II; Corno III & IV
Rodelinda, regina de’ Langobardi (HWV19, 1725)	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Dopo la notte oscura”	Corno I, II
Scipione <i>or</i> Publico Cornelio Scipione (HWV20, 1726)	Act I, scene i	Marche	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Faranno gioja intera vittoria”	Corno I, II
Alessandro (HWV21, 1726)	Act I, scene v	Aria and Coro, “Frà le guerre e le vittorie” and “Chi t’agguagli in tante glorie”	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “All’ amistà fedel”	Corno I, II

¹⁶³ The aria “Fuor di periglio di fiero artiglio” from Act II, scene vi of *Floridante* contains parts for two recorders in the Chrysander edition; however, Dean and Knapp point out that in the autograph and S2 versions these two parts are for horns. Early scores and the Walsh copy do not contain these parts, and Handel crossed out their opening bars in the autograph. Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel’s Operas: 1704-1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 399; cf. Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 221; see *G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, vol. 65, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

¹⁶⁴ Dean and Knapp call these “alternative marches” and state that the second one was performed in 1721. *Handel’s Operas*, 400.

Table 2.1—*Continued.*

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Act, Scene</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Horns</u>
Admeto, re di Tessaglia (HWV22, 1727)	Act I, scene ix	Sinfonia	Corno I, II
	Act I, scene ix	Aria, “Se l’arco avessi e i strali”	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene x	Coro, “Se un core è contento; non sà più bramar”	Corno I, II
Riccardo Primo, re d’Inghilterra (HWV23, 1727)	Act II, scene vi	Aria, “Dell’onor di giuste impresse fia seguace”	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “La memoria dei tormenti”	Corno I, II
Tolomeo, re d’Egitto (HWV25, 1728)	Act I, Ouverture	Ouverture	Corno I, II
	Act 3, scena ultima	Coro, “Applauda ognuno”	Corno I, II
Lotario (HWV26, 1729)	Act I, scene ix	Coro, “Viva, e regni fortunate”	Corno I, II
Partenope (HWV27, 1730)	Act I, scene i	Coro, “Viva, viva! viva, viva, Partenope viva”	Corno I, II
	Act I, scene xiii	Aria, “Io seguo sol fiero trà boschi le belve”	Corno I, II
Poro, re dell’Indie (HWV28, 1731)	Act I, scene ix	Sinfonia	Corno I, II
	Act II, scene vi	Aria, “Senza procelle ancora si perde quell nocchiero”	Corno I, II
Rinaldo, “second version” (HWV7b, 1731)	Act I, scene v	Aria, “Combatti da forte”	Corno I, II
Ezio (HWV29, 1732)	Act I, scene i	La Marche	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene vi	Aria, “Se la mia vita dono è d’ Augusto”	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “È più bella quella fede”	Corno I, II
Sosarme, re di Media (HWV30, 1732)	Act II, scene ix	Aria, “Alle sfere della gloria, alza i vanni”	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Dopo l’ire si funeste dell’amore splenda la face”	Corno I, II

Table 2.1—*Continued.*

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Act, Scene</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Horns</u>
Orlando (HWV31, 1733)	Act I, scene iii	Aria, “Non fu già men forte alcide”	Corno I, II
Il pastor fido (revised version) (HWV8c, 1734)	Act I, Ouverture	Ouverture	Corno I, II
	Act I, scene viii	Balli (Nos. 1-4)	Corno I, II
Arianna in Creta (HWV32, 1734)	Act I, Overture	Overture	Corno I, II
	Act II, scene vi	Aria, “Qual Leon, che fere irato, se sua prole”	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Bella sorge la speranza lusinghiera al nostro seno”	Corno I, II
Ariodante (HWV33, 1735)	Act I, scene xii	Aria, “Voli colla sua tromba la fama”	Corno I, II
	Act I, scene xii	Sinfonia	Corno I, II
	Act I, scene xii	Coro, “Si godete al vostro amor”	Corno I, II
	Act I, scene xii	Il Ballo	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene xii	Sinfonia	Corno I, II
	Act III, scena ultima	Coro, “Sa trionfar ogn’or virtute in ogni cor”	Corno I, II
Alcina (HWV34, 1735)	Act I, scene ii	Coro, “Questo è il cielo di contenti,” (B)	Corno I, II
	Act III, scene iii	Aria, “Stà nell’Ircana pietrosa tana”	Corno I, II
Atalanta (HWV35, 1736)	Act II, scene i	Coro, “Oggi rimbombano di feste, e giubilo”	Corno I, II
Arminio (HWV36, 1737)	Act III, scene ii	Aria, “Mira il Ciel, vedrai d’Alcide”	Corno I, II
Giustino (HWV37, 1737)	Act I, scene iv	Aria, “Può ben nascer tra il boschi nobil alma”	Corno I, II
	Act I, scene vii	Aria, “Allor ch’io forte avrò orno di palme il trono”	Corno I, II
	Act II, scene v	Coro, “Per voi soave e bella”	Corno I, II

Table 2.1—*Continued.*

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Act, Scene</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Horns</u>
Faramondo (HWV39, 1738)	Act III, scena ultima	Solo and Coro, “Virtù che rende sì forte un core, d’odio e d’amore”	Corno I, II
Serse (“Xerxes”) (HWV40, 1738)	Act II, scene viii	Coro e Recitativo, “La virtute sol potea giunger l’Asia all’altra”	Corno I, II
Deidamia (HWV42, 1741)	Act I, scene i	Marche	Corno I, II
	Act II, scene v	Coro, “Della Guerra la caccia ha sembianza”	Corno I, II
	Act II, scene vi and x	Sinfonia	Corno I, II
	Act II, scene x	Coro, “L’alto Giove al travaglio penoso”	Corno I, II

This table emphasizes the urgent need Blandford must have felt to correct a grave misunderstanding regarding Handel’s use of the horn in his operas: Handel not only employs the horn in twenty-seven operas but also in sixty-three movements from those operas.¹⁶⁵ One can also see that Handel generally requires a pair of horns in each movement that includes music for the instrument. The only opera to deviate from this general rule, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), contains three movements that call for four horns and one movement that calls for horn obbligato.

As far as can be determined from the available *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe* editions of his operas, Handel uses the term “Corno” or some variation thereof for the

¹⁶⁵ These numbers count the first and second versions of *Radamisto* (HWV12a and 12b) as a single work. They may also change with new editions of the *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe* (HHA); see, for example, the discussion in footnote 33.

horn parts in his operas.¹⁶⁶ The variations employed by Handel and/or his copyists are all abbreviations of this basic term. For example, in *Rodelinda* (HWV19, 1725), the horn parts are designated as follows: “Corn 1/Corn 2.”¹⁶⁷ The horn parts in *Lotario* (HWV26, 1729) are designated as “C 1 et 2.”¹⁶⁸

Handel's Use of Horns and Oboes

Operatic movements containing parts for horns often contain parts for oboes as well. We shall see that when Handel writes for horns and trumpets in D, he asks the horns to double the trumpet parts. Horns and oboes performing together do not follow this pattern. Indeed, oboes often double the violin lines, especially in the ritornello sections of arias as well as in entire choruses, although Handel's doubling directions in this regard are sometimes vague.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, horns and oboes perform together frequently. Table 2.2 demonstrates that Handel combines horns and oboes in forty movements of his operas. Six additional movements also contain parts for bassoons and recorders. As Hiebert notes, Handel's pairing of horns and oboes is in keeping with practices by other Baroque composers: “The inclusion of oboes in the texture with horns is very common throughout the early history of the horn in art music.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ In the opera *Porro, re dell'Indie* (HWV28, 1731) Handel calls for two *Corna di Caccia* in F. The meaning of this term and its relationship to his more common term *Corno* will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁷ *Rodelinda, regina de'Longobardi: dramma per musica in tre atti: HWV19, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, ser. ii, band 16, ed. Andrew V. Jones (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2002), 237, 296.

¹⁶⁸ *Lotario: opera in tre atti, HWV 26, Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, ser. ii, band 23, ed. Michael Pacholke (Kassel; New York: Bärenreiter, 2003), 198, 214. Observations regarding Handel's terms for the horns are quickly complicated by the large number of operas available only in *HG* editions (*G. F. Händel's Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902)), as well as the many revisions to—and therefore the many differing manuscripts for—Handel's operas as a whole.

¹⁶⁹ Alison Patricia Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 177-178, 249, 260.

¹⁷⁰ Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 41.

Table 2.2. Movements from Handel's Operas that Use Horns and Woodwinds Together.

<u>Wind Instrumentation</u>	<u>Number of Movements</u>
Horns and Oboes	40
Horns, Oboes, and Bassoons	5
Horns, Oboes, and Recorders	1
Horns and Recorders	2
Two Horns	4
Horn Obbligato	1

Like his Baroque contemporaries, Handel combined horns and oboes in the music texture because the two instruments shared a similarly bright timbre, especially since Handel preferred to write his operatic horn parts in the higher-pitched keys of G and F. They also utilized much of the same imagery. In the early eighteenth century horns, trumpets, and oboes would all have been considered loud and categorized primarily as outdoor instruments. Trumpets and oboes, utilized as far back as the Elizabethan theater, had established historical associations with the military, noisy and festive outdoor entertainments, and, in the case of the oboe, the supernatural.¹⁷¹ David Lasocki has demonstrated that in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England oboes could be used “in martial vein with trumpets and kettledrums (sometimes also violins) or by themselves” as well as in “a more pastoral role with recorders.”¹⁷²

When the horn entered the musical world in the early eighteenth century, composers associated the instrument not only with hunting but also with images traditionally linked with these other loud instruments. This thought process becomes evident when one considers that many Italian composers, for example, referred to the

¹⁷¹ F. W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 195-227.

¹⁷² Lasocki, “The French Hautboy in England, 1673-1730,” 343.

horn as a *tromba da caccia*, or a hunting trumpet.¹⁷³ Horns could signify easily both hunting and military images since, as Raymond Monelle confirms, both sets of ideas were related: “All writers describe the hunt as preparation for war—in a sense, substitute warfare, the ‘preparation and mirror of warfare’ and *praeludium belli*.”¹⁷⁴ Thus, Louis XIV and XV designed their ostentatious hunting ceremonies to display their power, military and otherwise.

Consequently, authors such as Alison Patricia Deadman comment frequently on Handel’s use of oboes and brass instruments to symbolize military imagery:

Descended from the shawm, oboes have been often cited as pastoral instruments, especially in the guise of the shepherd’s pipe; however, in England they were viewed mostly as military instruments . . . Handel often uses oboes to round out a “military” brass group—for example, in Giustino’s act one, scene eight aria, “Allor ch’io forte avrò,” from *Giustino*.¹⁷⁵

In this aria both horns and oboes perform distinctly trumpet-like music: the duple rhythm and repeated notes contribute to its military flavor.¹⁷⁶

John T. Winemiller also describes the aria “Non fu già men forte Alcide” from *Orlando* (1733) as militaristic based on the presence of horns and oboes:

Handel hints that this particular amorous warrior sings in vain by setting these words of love to victorious, martial music . . . The use of divided oboes and horns, in particular, adds exceptional power to the aria, since both are loud instruments obviously appropriate for martial music.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Reine Dahlqvist, “Gottfried Reiche’s Instrument: A Problem of Classification,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 181-184.

¹⁷⁴ Raymond Monelle, “Horn and Trumpet as Topical Signifiers,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 13 (2001): 108.

¹⁷⁵ Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 256.

¹⁷⁶ In another section of her work, Deadman notes that: “The horn as a signifier combines the pastoral and the military, with its use for hunting and for wars. By extension, it carries a noble and regal association also” (221). In the early part of the century, the horn could be used to signify all these ideas, but it was not employed in warfare. Traditional eighteenth-century military instruments included “trumpets, drums, oboes, and fifes.” Peggy Ellen Daub, “Music at the Court of George II (r. 1727-1760)” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1985), 214.

¹⁷⁷ John T. Winemiller, “Handel’s Borrowing and Swift’s Bee: Handel’s ‘Curious’ Practice and the Theory of Transformative Imitation” (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 1994), 195.

The mere presence of horns in the musical texture does not always indicate military-style music, however.

Indeed, because of the instrument's derivation from the hunt, it also shares the oboe's pastoral significations.¹⁷⁸ Like the oboe, the horn is paired with the recorder in three movements in Handel's operas, and as we shall see, horn and oboes are used to represent pastoral images in *Admeto* (HWV22, 1727). Interestingly, many of these pastoral movements are also related to specific Baroque dances.

Thus, Handel pairs horns with oboes often in his operas not only because of their common musical features, such as similar tone color, but also because of shared imagery.

Handel's Use of Horns and Trumpets

Yet this frequent combination of horns and oboes seems to contradict observations about Handel's regular use of horns and trumpets together. Fitzpatrick states: "Trumpets and horns frequently played the same parts side by side, as a glance through the works of Bach and Handel will show."¹⁷⁹ Hiebert also observes Handel's regular use of trumpets and horns in D, sounding one octave apart, with the horns playing the lower notes.¹⁸⁰ No doubt both authors remark on this technique because of its importance in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century orchestration. According to Hiebert:

Telemann's and Handel's early treatment of horn and trumpet in octaves appears to have been a harbinger of an orchestration technique that became the norm in the later eighteenth century. Combinations of

¹⁷⁸ Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 233.

¹⁷⁹ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 67.

¹⁸⁰ Thomas Hiebert, "A Case for Horn in D *basso* in the Early Eighteenth Century and its Effect on Horn-and-Trumpet Combinations," in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historical Brass Symposium, Amherst, 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1995), 127.

trumpets and horns, first seen in works written for festive occasions with large orchestras outdoors—as in Telemann’s, Handel’s and J. S. Bach’s works—are later used with increasing frequency indoors in instrumental and vocal music . . . In works for large orchestra, horn-and-trumpet couplings eventually became commonplace. One only has to survey the works of F. J. Haydn, W. A. Mozart, or C. W. Gluck to find octave doublings of horn and trumpet as a standard technique of orchestration.¹⁸¹

However, out of the sixty-three operatic movements employing horns, only ten also contain parts for trumpets (Table 2.3).¹⁸²

Table 2.3. Movements in Handel’s operas that use trumpets and horns together.

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Wind Instrumentation</u>
Radamisto (HWV12a, 1720)	Coro, “Un di più felice bramarsi non lice”	Oboe I, II; Fagotto; Tromba I, II; Corno I, II
	Balli, “Passepièd”	Tromba I, II; Corno I, II
Radamisto (HWV12b, 1720)	Aria, “Alzo al volo”	Oboe I, II; Trombino I, II; Corno I, II
	Coro, “Un di più felice bramarsi non lice”	Oboe I, II; Fagotto; Tromba I, II; Corno I, II
Muzio Scevola (HWV13, 1721)	Military Symphony	Tromba I, II; Corno I, II; Oboe I, II
	Coro, “Sì sarà più dolce amore con la cara libertà”	Tromba I, II; Corno I, II; Oboe I, II
Floridante (HWV14, 1721)	Marche ^A and ^B	Tromba I, II; Corno I, II; Oboe I, II
	Coro, “Quando pena la costanza”	Tromba I, II; Corno I, II; Oboe I, II
Alessandro (HWV21, 1726)	Coro, “All’amistà fedel”	Tromba I, II, Corno I, II; Oboe I, II
Riccardo Primo (HWV23, 1727)	Coro, “La memoria dei tormenti”	Tromba e Corno I, II; Oboe I, II
Deidamia (HWV42, 1741)	Marche	Tromba I, II; Corno I, II; Oboe I, II

¹⁸¹ Hiebert, “A Case for Horn in *D basso*,” 129-130.

¹⁸² This number includes both movements from the first version of *Radamisto*, but only the additional movement, “Alzo al volo,” from the second. In addition, only one version of the *Marche* from *Floridante* is included.

These conclusions must be expressed with some caution, however, because contemporary performance practice during Handel's lifetime occasionally required horn players to double trumpet parts even when Handel did not include parts for horns in the score. One sees evidence of this practice in the payment records for the 1754 and 1758 Foundling Hospital performances of *Messiah* (HWV56, 1742). Although this oratorio contains parts for two trumpets only, two trumpets and two horns were among the performers at each of these concerts.

Among the "Minutes of the General Committee of the Foundling Hospital, 29th May 1754" are listed the names:

Adcock
Willis
Fr. Smith
Trova
Miller¹⁸³

Deutsch elaborates on this list: "Abraham Adcock and Justice Willis played the trumpet, Fr. Smith the kettle-drums, Trowa and Miller the horn."¹⁸⁴ The same five players are found in the "Orchestra Bill for the 'Messiah' Performance at the Foundling Hospital, Compiled c. 1st May 1758," though Adcock and Willis are listed as performing on the "Horns, Drums" and Trowa, Miller, and "Fr: Smith" are listed as performing on the "Trumpets, & Kettle." Deutsch again attempts to explain: "Abraham Adcock (trumpet), Justice Willis (trumpet) and Joseph Troba (?)."¹⁸⁵

Miller's life and career will be discussed in detail in the final chapter of this work. For now, we should note that even though he performed on both the trumpet and the

¹⁸³ Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955), 750-51.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 752. The horn player's name appears as both "Trova" in the official list and "Trowa" in Deutsch's explanation.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 800. In Deutsch's explanation, the name Trova/Trowa is spelled as "Troba."

horn, he and Trowa/Trova/Troba apparently performed on the horn—and maybe on the drums as well—in both the 1754 and 1758 Foundling Hospital concerts. Donald Burrows calls this fact the “biggest surprise and apparent anomaly about the 1754 list” but concludes: “The most likely assumption (unless these players performed only in some interval concerto) is that the horns doubled the trumpet parts, sounding an octave lower, in the final choruses of Parts 2 and 3.”¹⁸⁶

In 1939 Blandford observed this trend and used his observation to issue the following warning:

Even when a work contains none [no parts for horns], it is unsafe to assume that no horns were used at the performances, should it contain trumpet parts in D that may be doubled. Handel was fond of writing for horns in D doubling the trumpets an octave lower . . . The records of the Foundling Hospital show that at a performance of ‘Messiah’ in 1759 two horn-players were among the paid performers.¹⁸⁷

Hiebert offers an example where this practice may have occurred in a specific Handel opera. The second version of “Alzo al volo” from *Radamisto* (HWV12b, 1720) contains parts for horns in F doubling high trumpets in F. Consequently, it seems likely that the aria’s first version probably utilized both trumpets and horns in performance, because the score calls only for two horns in D, the favored trumpet key.¹⁸⁸ Fitzpatrick speculates that this practice was prevalent on the continent as well:

It is in this capacity that we meet the brothers Schindler at the festival performance of Fux’s opera *Constanze e Fortezza* on the occasion of the coronation of Charles VI as King of Bohemia at Prague in 1723. The score of this work does not call for horns specifically. Yet Dlabacž tells us that these two horn-players from the Dresden Court played ‘with great

¹⁸⁶ Donald Burrows, “Handel’s Oratorio Performances,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 276.

¹⁸⁷ W. F. H. Blandford, “Handel’s Horn and Trombone Parts,” (October 1939): 697.

¹⁸⁸ Hiebert, “A Case for Horn in D *basso*,” 131-132.

distinction'. From this it is evident that they simply doubled the trumpet line in absence of expressly written horn parts.¹⁸⁹

The amount of *ad libitum* doubling of Handel's operatic trumpet parts can be determined not only by the keys Handel uses for horns and trumpets but also by the musical texture of the da capo aria. As we shall see, Handel writes most often for horn in F in his operas. Except for the two *trombini* in F in *Radamisto*, Handel includes parts for trumpets only in D and C, with the former key used most often in his operas and oratorios alike.¹⁹⁰ Because the association of trumpets with the key of D permeates Handel's music, it is unlikely that the trumpets practiced a large amount of *ad libitum* doubling when Handel generally wrote his horn parts in the key of F.

This lack of brass doubling in Handel's operas also resulted from the smaller musical texture of the da capo aria: four brass players would have overwhelmed a single singer. On the other hand, they would have been both appropriate and necessary in an oratorio movement requiring a double chorus and large orchestra. It is in these works that doubling of trumpet and horn parts occurred most frequently, and thus the key of D is more common in the horn parts of Handel's sacred and secular concert works. Trumpets may have doubled some of Handel's operatic parts written for horn in D, but, as Hiebert cautions, each opera must "be evaluated on its own merits."¹⁹¹

Thus, Handel's practice of pairing horns with oboes in his operas seems to contradict commonly-held assumptions about his frequent employment of horns and trumpets in D in these works. Does this practice shed any light on another *truism* of brass scholarship, namely the view that Handel's horn players were trained and performed

¹⁸⁹ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 67.

¹⁹⁰ *Complete Trumpet Repertoire*, ed. Minter, no pagination.

¹⁹¹ Hiebert, "A Case for Horn in D basso," 132.

primarily on the trumpet? As noted previously, this assumption frequently rests on observations about the tessitura in many of Handel's first horn parts: because Handel's music utilizes the extreme upper register, his horn players, skilled extensively on the trumpet and in *clarino* style, performed this music using trumpet mouthpieces.¹⁹² Reine Dahlqvist summarizes this theory:

The high horn parts in works by J. S. Bach and his contemporaries have led to problems for modern hornists. The ability of hornists to play in the extreme high range during the first half of the 18th century has been explained by some scholars (and hornists), e.g., R. Morley-Pegge and H. Fitzpatrick, that the players doubled on the horn and trumpet. Fitzpatrick has also found some horn mouthpieces with rims as broad as trumpet mouthpieces, as well as evidence that some players had a reputation on both instruments.¹⁹³

Yet he comes to the conclusion that not all these upper-register specialists were necessarily trumpeters:

Doubling on the horn and trumpet is true for a certain group of players, but not for all of those mastering the high range. Nor is it true that these parts disappeared toward the middle of the 18th century."¹⁹⁴

Does Handel's practice of pairing horns with oboes offer support for a similar conclusion about his operas?

As one can see in Table 2.3, Handel most often writes for horns and trumpets in D in operas from the 1720s. Only *Deidamia* (1741) falls outside of this general pattern.

¹⁹² Cf. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 83; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 67; Carmen Helena Tellez, "Musical Form and Dramatic Concept in Handel's 'Athalia'" (DM diss., Indiana University, 1989), 68. In his article "Early Horn Mouthpieces" Richard Seraphinoff discusses some of the problems brass scholars encounter when they attempt to study Baroque horn mouthpieces: "As one ventures into the earlier years of the 18th century, it is particularly difficult to form a picture of the Baroque mouthpiece because there are so few surviving examples. The issue is further clouded by the fact that many early 18th century players doubled on trumpet and horn. They may have used a similar embouchure on both instruments, as changing the embouchure for each instrument would seem to make good control almost impossible." Richard Seraphinoff, "Early Horn Mouthpieces," Richard Seraphinoff – Historical Instrument Maker, <http://www.seraphinoff.com/articles/early_mouthpieces.htm>, accessed January 27, 2007. Appeared originally in the *Historic Brass Society Journal* 1 (1989): 93-100.

¹⁹³ Reine Dahlqvist, "Corno and Corno da caccia: Horn Terminology, Horn Pitches, and High Horn Parts," *Basler-Jahrbuch für Musikpraxis* 15 (1991): 56.

¹⁹⁴ Dahlqvist, "Corno and Corno da Caccia," 56-78.

Brass players performing in these works may have been doublers, but the fact that the horns doubled the trumpet parts meant that Handel had at least four players at his disposal. On the other hand, he seems to have stopped writing for horns and trumpets in D together in his operas from the 1730s. Because two horns and two trumpets perform in separate movements in these works it seems even more likely that the parts were played by the same individuals. For example, Act III of *Ariodante* (HWV33, 1735) contains two sinfonias, one employing a single trumpet and one containing parts for two horns. The act also features two trumpets and two horns in the choruses “Ogn’uno acclami bella virtute,” and “Sa trionfar ogn’or virtute in ogni cor,” respectively. The performers could have switched back-and-forth easily between trumpet and horn when they were not playing.

This apparently necessary doubling may have resulted from Handel utilizing limited forces as he responded to increasing competition during the 1730s. The Prince of Wales established his rival opera company, The Opera of the Nobility, in June 1733, and the company presented its first opera in December of that year. In addition, Handel was obliged to relocate to Covent Garden in the following season, 1734-1735, and faced increasing pressure when Farinelli debuted with the Prince’s opera company in October 1734.¹⁹⁵ Handel may have been limited to hiring only two brass players, each of whom could double on the trumpet or horn as needed.

Yet other circumstances do not support this hypothesis. Advertisements containing the names of virtuosic horn soloists such as Mr. Charles, Frederick Messing (I), and Christopher Winch first appear in the London press in 1733, 1734, and 1736,

¹⁹⁵ Hicks, Anthony, “Handel, George Frideric. 8. Opera at Covent Garden,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 11 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

respectively. The operas Handel wrote during this period show an increased level of virtuosity, and the stunning horn parts in *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734) and *Ariodante* (HWV33, 1735), for example, correspond with the arrival of these performers. As I shall demonstrate, earlier operas requiring extreme virtuosity, such as *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), were made possible by traveling horn players available for limited amounts of time. Similarly, demanding horn parts in the operas from the 1730s also seem to have been a response to the arrival of these virtuosic performers. Thus, Handel did not reduce the size of his brass section because of financial necessity; he wrote soloistic music for two horns when he had virtuosic performers at his disposal.

Many of the players who emerged in the 1730s in London had emigrated from German-speaking areas. In the early eighteenth century imperial trumpet guilds in the Holy Roman Empire determined who could and could not perform on the trumpet. These rules made it nearly impossible for horn players in Germany and the surrounding area to perform on both brass instruments. According to Dahlqvist:

In an instruction manual from 1714 concerning how *Trompetenscholaren* should behave, it is stressed that they shall not dare to be together with *Kunstpfeifer oder Waldhornisten*, much less teach them the military signals.¹⁹⁶

Thus, it seems unlikely that players who immigrated to London from Germany performed on both the trumpet and the horn.

However, unless they had been members of the Dresden *Hofkapelle*—where the musicians were required to specialize on a single instrument—horn players usually did

¹⁹⁶ Dahlqvist, “Corno and Corno da caccia,” 57. In footnote 98, Dahlqvist provides details about this instruction manual: “*Abhandlung, von den Trompeten, und ihren besonderen Rechten, in Ansehung der Erlernung ihrer Kunst. (Der Prüfenden Gesellschaft zu Halle herausgegebene Schriften. vol. 2).* (Halle 1743), p. 337). Facsimile in Altenburg, D., *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete im Zeitalter der Clarinblaskunst (1500-1800)*, vol. 2 (Regensburg, 1973), p. 198.

have to double on more than one instrument. According to Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, not only horn players but also trombonists at the smaller German courts were expected to be proficient on both a brass and a string instrument,¹⁹⁷ and Don L. Smithers describes how horn players in Salzburg were not permitted to perform in the cathedral there, mostly because of resentment on the part of traditional brass church instrumentalists like trombonists. Instead of performing on the horn, they generally played string instruments at services.¹⁹⁸ In later chapters, we will observe many horn players who immigrated to London performing on the horn and either a string or woodwind instrument.

Therefore, it seems likely that, while many of the horn players Handel utilized in his early operas were horn and trumpet doublers, the appearance of virtuosic horn soloists in the 1730s resulted in solo virtuosic music. The utilization of only two brass players per movement in the operas of this time did not result from financial difficulties and stressful professional circumstances but rather from the increased prowess of these new players. As demonstrated earlier, each opera and the type of performers who most likely participated in it must be judged separately.

In conclusion, then, the technique of writing for horns and trumpets together, used often at the end of the century, was not favored by Handel in his operas after the 1720s. Throughout the 1730s horns are paired most often with oboes, a grouping that resulted not only from programmatic and musical similarities but also from the increased soloistic abilities of the horn players available in the 1730s.

¹⁹⁷ Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "The Origin and Social Status of the Court Orchestral Musician in the 18th and Early 19th Century in Germany," in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, ed. Walter Samien (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 257.

¹⁹⁸ Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 181-182.

Keys of Handel's Horn Parts

Notation

Table 2.4 indicates that Handel writes for horn in F, D, G, B-flat, and A (in decreasing frequency) in his operas.¹⁹⁹

Table 2.4. Keys of the horn parts in Handel's operas.

<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Number of Parts</u>
F	38
D	16
G	10
B-flat	2
A	1

As noted earlier, Handel employed the horn in sixty-three movements in his operas, yet Table 2.4 contains a total of sixty-seven horn parts. This higher number takes into account two unusual factors in Handel's operatic horn parts. First, both versions of the aria "Alzo al volo" from *Radamisto* (HWV12a and 12b) are included, since the first version was written for horn in D and the second for horn in F. Second, Handel employs horns in two keys in three movements from *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), as can be seen in Table 2.5.

¹⁹⁹ Handel used horn in E-flat in his ode *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740).

Table 2.5. Handel's use of two keys per movement in *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724).

Name of Movement	Keys Employed
Act I, sc. 1, "Viva il nostro Alcide"	Horns I and II in A Horns III and IV in D
Act I, sc. ix, "Va tacito e nascosto, quand' avido"	Horn in F
Act III, <i>scena ultima</i> , Sinfonia	Horns I and II in G Horns III and IV in D
Act III, <i>scena ultima</i> , "Ritorni omai nel nostro core"	Horns I and II in G Horns III and IV in D

Handel's use of pairs of horns in two keys is highly unusual and will be discussed in detail in the section dealing with that opera in the following chapter. This section, on the other hand, will provide an overview of Handel's use of keys in general.

Earlier in this study, I noted that Mattheson distinguished between the tone color of the horn and the trumpet; Blandford observes that Mattheson also lists F as the preferred key for the horn:

Clearly F, in which more than half the total number of parts are placed, was then regarded as by far the most valuable key of the instrument. This accords with Johann Mattheson's statement in 'Das neu-erröffnete Orchestre,' 1713, also with modern practice.²⁰⁰

Even at this early date, then, the key of F had become the most popular key for the horn. Handel's next-preferred key for horns in his operas is D. As expected, the horns typically perform in this key when they double trumpet parts. Horn parts in D in movements without trumpets include the Act III, scene vi aria, "Alzo al volo," from *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720); the Act III, scene ix Sinfonia from *Floridante* (HWV14, 1721); the third and fourth horn parts in three movements of *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724); and

²⁰⁰ Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts," (October 1939): 698; cf. Peter Damm, "300 Jahre Waldhorn (I)," *Brass Bulletin* 31 (1980): 30; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 60-63.

both the Overture and Act III, *scena ultima* chorus, “Bella sorge la speranza,” from *Arianna* (HWV32, 1724).

When Handel writes for horn and trumpet in D, he notates both parts at concert pitch: the horn parts, written in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps, are thought to have sounded one octave below the trumpet. This practice contrasts with the more common method of notation for natural horn, in which the composer notates the part in treble clef in the key of C, regardless of what key the horn is either built or crooked in. A player using a crooked instrument, for example, would simply crook his instrument in the correct key and read his part in C. A written *c'* in B-flat horn would therefore sound very different from a written *c'* in F horn.²⁰¹ Handel's horn parts in his operas in the keys of B-flat *alto*, A, G, and F are all notated in this manner, as are the movements for horn in D that do not contain parts for trumpets. One must transpose all these parts to arrive at the sounding pitch.

According to Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, many systems of horn notation existed before the general adoption of what they refer to as “classical notation,” that is, writing the horn part in the key of C in treble clef and then asking the player to either use a horn pitched or crooked in the sounding key. They contrast this system with what they refer to as “Saxon” notation:

The ‘Saxon’ notation (treble clef, with the notes written an octave higher than sounding pitch) was the principal system found in the early history of the horn in the orchestra. The use of this system meant that the most frequently used partials (from the 4th to the 12th) remained as far as possible within the staff; in addition, this was the same notation as was then used by the trumpet. The favoured keys of the horn in this period, F

²⁰¹ Coar reminds us that a player performing on a D horn and reading a part in concert pitch would transpose the part down a whole step and proceed normally. *The French Horn*, 13. In the next chapter I will discuss a third method of horn notation, namely that of using clefs. One finds an erroneous use of this system in Handel's oratorio *Jephtha* (HWV70, 1752).

(apparently the most frequent) and D, were differentiated by their respective key signatures.²⁰²

Thus, in his operas Handel uses the “Saxon” notation when horns in D perform with trumpets in the same key, and he uses the “classical” notation when horns perform without trumpets, regardless of key.

Horns in D

The sounding pitch of Baroque horn parts in D has provoked a vociferous debate among scholars. As Hiebert notes, the question centers around whether one transposes the parts up or down to arrive at the sounding pitch: “For instance, should horn parts in D sound a major second above written pitch as with the trumpet (*alto*), or a minor seventh below (*basso*), when notated in C in the treble clef?”²⁰³ Because Handel’s parts for horn in D (when trumpets are also included in the musical texture) are notated in the treble clef with a key signature, the question becomes: should the horns sound in unison or one octave below the trumpets?

Dean, for example, supports the possibility of an *alto* rendering of Handel’s horn parts in D, not only because he thinks the *alto* interpretation works better in some contexts but also because the horn parts were most likely performed by trumpeters.²⁰⁴ However, we have seen that not all Handel’s horn players were also trumpeters. In addition, the idea that an *alto* rendering “would give a better sense in a number of contexts”²⁰⁵ is blatantly subjective, since it is based on an out-of-date and preconceived

²⁰² Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, “Horn. 4. Notation and Transposition,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 27 January 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²⁰³ Hiebert, “A Case for Horn in D *basso*,” 115.

²⁰⁴ Winton Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 78-79. Other authors who support the D *alto* hypothesis are Ludwig Güttler and Werner Wolf.

²⁰⁵ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 79.

idea of what Baroque brass instruments were supposed to have sounded like. Hiebert observes that authors who support the *D alto* hypothesis generally equate the brighter tone of the trumpet with Baroque brass music:

This notion, that D basso horns are unwieldy and sound anachronistic in music of the early eighteenth century, strikes a chord with those who hold that the trumpet in the *clarino* range (often played with a valved piccolo model) is the Baroque brass instrument *par excellence*. But an acquaintance with period D basso horns leads one to the conclusion that they are highly playable; and far from the voluminous sound of Romantic-period horns, that of most Baroque horns is more effulgent.²⁰⁶

This question cannot be answered within the context of this study. Because a *basso* interpretation seems more likely, however, I will assume for the purposes of this study that Handel's horn parts in D are transposed down.²⁰⁷ Hiebert managed the problem in his own dissertation in a similar manner:

The question as to whether a brass part is to be played *alto* or *basso* is one of the major unresolved areas of brass scholarship. Since much of the writing on the subject supports the practice of *basso* realizations for horn parts in F, D and to a lesser extent in C during the period under discussion, this position will be followed in this paper unless otherwise mentioned.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Hiebert, "A Case for Horn in *D basso*," 115-116; see also Peter Damm, "Hat J. S. Bach die Partie des 'Corne da Caccia' der Messe h-Moll BWV 232 für Gottfried Reiche komponiert? (III)," *Brass Bulletin* 58 (1987): 63-64.

²⁰⁷ This notational system can be complicated for both the natural horn player and the score reader. When a performer using a natural horn either pitched or crooked in D encounters a part written in D concert pitch, s/he must transpose the part down one whole step to perform the part accurately. To arrive at the sounding pitch, the player must then either transpose the part down a minor seventh or back up a major second, for a *basso* or *alto* rendering respectively. The score reader merely transposes the part down one octave or reads it as is, again depending on whether one uses a *basso* or *alto* rendering of the part. On the other hand, for horn parts in other keys but notated in C, the horn player crooks his/her instrument into the correct key but reads the part as it is written. To arrive at the sounding pitch, both the performer and the score reader must transpose these parts down: for B-flat horn, one transposes the part down a major second lower than written, for A horn, a minor third lower than written, for G horn, a perfect fourth, for F horn, a perfect fifth, and for D horn, a minor seventh; cf. for more information on eighteenth-century brass notation, see J. Murray Barbour, *Trumpets, Horns and Music* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1964).

²⁰⁸ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 32.

Handel's Use of Crooked Instruments

In addition to the frequency with which Handel utilizes various keys, it is important to note if Handel changes keys during the course of a single work. The employment of key changes in the horn parts of a given opera may indicate a corresponding use of crooked instruments. Although a horn part in F would have sounded the same whether it was performed on a crooked or a fixed-pitch horn, the ability to modulate between keys in the course of a single work by changing crooks meant that the horn was not just a curiosity used sparingly to suggest hunting scenes, but was something like a standard member of the orchestra.

Table 2.6. Operas that require horn players to either change keys or perform in unusual keys.

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>(Key of 3rd and 4th horns)</u>
Radamisto (HWV12b, 1720)	Alzo al volo	F	
	Un di più felice bramarsi non lice	D	
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Viva il nostro Alcide	A	D
	Va tacito e nascosto, quand' avido	F	
	Sinfonia	G	D
	Ritorni omai nel nostro core	G	D
Alessandro (1726)	Fra le guerre	F	
	All'amista fedel'	D	
Riccardo Primo (1727)	Dell'onor di giuste imprese fia seguace	F	
	La memoria dei tormenti	D	

Table 2.6—*Continued.*

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>(Key of 3rd and 4th horns)</u>
Il pastor fido (1734)	Ouverture	F	
	Various Balli Movements	G	
Arianna (1734)	Ouverture	D	
	Quel Leon, chef ere irato	F	
	Bella sorge la speranza	D	
Ariodante (1735)	Voli colla sua tromba la fama	F	
	Sinfonia (Act I, scene xiii)	F	
	Si godete al vostro amor	F	
	Il Ballo	F	
	Sinfonia (Act III, scene xiii)	F	
	Sa trionfar ogn'or virtute in ogni cor	G	
Alcina (1735)	Questo e il cielo di contenti (B)	F	
	Stan ell Ircana pietrosa tana	G	
Atalanta (1736)	Oggi rimbombano di feste	B-flat	
Giustino (1737)	Puo ben nascer tra il boschi nobil alma	F	
	Allor ch'io forte avro orno di palme il trono	F	
	Per voi soave e bella	B-flat	

Table 2.6—*Continued.*

Opera	Movement	Key	(Key of 3rd and 4th horns)
Deidamia (1741)	Marche	D	
	Della guerra la caccia ha sembianza	F	
	Sinfonia	F	
	L'alto giove al travaglio penoso	F	

Table 2.6 lists the eleven operas in which Handel either asks his horn players to change keys during the course of an opera or asks them to play in unusual keys that might be indicative of the use of crooks. Again, the most striking opera in this list is *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), and Handel's employment of multiple keys in this innovative manner suggests strongly that Handel wrote for horn players performing on crooked instruments. Without crooks the first horn alone would have been required to bring three fixed-pitch horns each night to the theater: one in A, one in G, and one in F. It is possible that the player did so, but it seems unlikely. A more detailed argument for the use of crooks in this opera will be given later.

The remaining ten operas all show evidence of Handel possibly writing for crooked instruments. Five of these works, the second version of *Radamisto* (HWV12b), *Alessandro*, *Riccardo primo*, *Arianna*, and *Deidamia*, require the horns to perform in the common keys of F and D. The change to the key of D in four of these works, *Radamisto*, *Alessandro*, *Riccardo Primo*, and *Deidamia*, results from the inclusion of trumpets in the musical texture. *Arianna*, on the other hand, requires the horn players to perform in both

F and D, even though the movements in D do not contain corresponding parts for trumpets.

Three operas, *Il pastor fido*, *Ariodante*, and *Alcina*, utilize the keys of F and G. In *Giustino*, Handel writes for horn in F and B-flat, and in the remaining opera, *Atalanta*, Handel writes for horn in B-flat only. This last opera merits inclusion in Table 2.6, because B-flat is a very unusual key in Handel's horn music. Besides these two movements from *Atalanta* and *Giustino*, Handel does not employ the key of B-flat again either in his operas or in his oratorios.

The key of B-flat is also not listed in a well-known passage from Christopher Winch's tutor, *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn* (1745), in which the author describes the fixed-pitch horns then in use in England:

2^{dly}: In the next place you must procure such a Horn as is most convenient for young Beginners there are several Sizes and of a different Pitch as letters G.F.E.D and C. but most Masters will allow a D Horn to be the best Size to begin upon.²⁰⁹

This quotation confirms that fixed-pitch horns in B-flat were not used in England in the 1740s. In addition, they were most likely not available in 1736 and 1737, when *Atalanta* and *Giustino* premiered, and therefore it is highly likely that these two operas required crooked instruments. Furthermore, the use of horn in B-flat in these works corresponds with the appearance of the "corno cromatico" in concert advertisements from the 1740s. This instrument always appears in advertisements promoting concerts given by the Messings. The term most likely referred to an instrument with crooks. Frederick Messing (I) first appears in the London press in 1734. He may have been using this

²⁰⁹ Christopher Winch, *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency To which are Added All the Hunting Notes and Several Choice Lessons for One and Two French Horns* (London: John Simpson, 1746). I would like to thank Richard Seraphinoff for sending me a copy of this work.

instrument in his earliest performances, even if it does not appear in these first advertisements. Indeed, it seems difficult to believe that Handel would write two movements in the unusual key of B-flat in 1736 and 1737 unless this crooked instrument was available.

Therefore, *Giulio Cesare*, *Atalanta*, and *Giustino* present the strongest cases for the employment of crooked instruments. While the remaining operas from Table 2.6 were probably performed on crooked horns, it is possible that players utilized multiple fixed-pitch instruments, no matter how annoying and expensive it might have been for the players to use two or three horns at a single performance.

The seventeen operas listed in Table 2.7, on the other hand, do not require changes of key, and although they could have been performed either on crooked or fixed-pitch horns, the music itself provides no evidence for the use of crooks.

Table 2.7. Operas that do not require the horns to change key.

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Key</u>
Radamisto (HWV12a, 1720)	D
Muzio Scevola (1721)	D
Floridante (1721)	D
Rodelinda (1725)	F
Scipione (1726)	G
Admeto (1727)	F
Tolomeo (1728)	F
Lotario (1729)	F
Partenope (1730)	F
Poro (1731)	F
Rinaldo (HWV7b, 1731)	F
Ezio (1732)	F
Sosarme (1732)	F
Orlando (1733)	F
Arminio (1737)	F
Faramondo (1738)	F
Serse (1738)	F

As one can see, the movements with horn parts are written primarily in D or F. Only a single opera, *Scipione*, uses G horn. Furthermore, it is apparent that Handel's early preference for horn in D gives way to a predilection for horn in F. The prevalence of horns and trumpets performing together in operas from the 1720s accounts for Handel's early and frequent employment of D horn. In his operas, the growing preference for F horn is indicative of the instrument's increasing independence from the trumpet, not only in musical but also in programmatic terms. The use of D major in Handel's music as a whole generally results from the employment of trumpets, while the keys of F and G are often employed in pastoral movements.²¹⁰ Thus, parts for horn in F allow the instrument to take advantage of its own musical imagery.

In summary, it appears that the majority of Handel's operas do not necessarily require a crooked instrument, and thus Handel did not in general compose music expressly for that instrument. Fitzpatrick states that Handel wrote for the "terminally crooked model which the Leichnamschneiders had evolved in Vienna around the beginning of the century."²¹¹ Without further evidence, however, it is difficult to know what type of instrument Handel's horn players used.

Ranges of Handel's Horns in His Operas

Handel's ranges for both his first and second horn parts are fairly consistent in his operas. Here we will examine both parts for Handel's horn parts in D (written one octave above concert pitch), and then his parts in B-flat, A, G, F, and D written in the key of C.

²¹⁰ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 60.

²¹¹ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 72.

Table 2.8. Notated ranges for horns I and II in Handel's horn parts in concert pitch D in his operas.

Opera	Movement	Horn I Range	Horn II Range
Radamisto (HWV12a, 1720)	Alzo al volo	a to a ²	a to g ²
	Un di più felice bramarsi non lice	a ¹ to b ²	d ¹ to a ²
	Passapied	a ¹ to a ²	d ¹ to e ²
Radamisto (HWV12b, 1720)	Un di più felice bramarsi non lice	a ¹ to b ²	d ¹ to a ²
Muzio Scevola (1721)	Military Symphony	d ¹ to b ²	a to g ²
	Si sara piu dolce amore con la cara liberta	d ¹ to a ²	d ¹ to f ²
Floridante (1721)	Marche ^A	f [#] 1 to d ³	d ¹ to g ²
	Marche ^B	f [#] 1 to b ²	d ¹ to g ²
	Sinfonia	d ¹ to b ²	d ¹ to a ²
	Quando pena la costanza, spera pur	a ¹ to b ²	d ¹ to g ²
Alessandro (1726)	All'amista fedel	a ¹ to b ²	d ¹ to f [#] 2
Riccardo primo (1727)	La memoria dei tormenti	f [#] 1 to a ²	d ¹ to g ²
Deidamia (1741)	Marche	a ¹ to d ³	d ¹ to a ²

Table 2.8 shows the ranges of the horn parts in D written one octave above sounding pitch. The most remarkable feature about the ranges in this table is not the high end of the register. The first horn ascends to a written d^3 in only two movements and ascends merely to a^2 or b^2 in the remaining movements; however, both the first and second horn must play a written a in the aria “Alzo al volo” from the first version of *Radamisto*, and the second horn performs this pitch in the Act III, scene vi Military Symphony from *Muzio Scevola* (1721). It is encountered again as a written g not only in both horn parts of the revised version of “Alzo al volo” in F from *Radamisto* (HWV12b) but also in the second horn part of the Act I, scene i Marche from *Scipione* (1726).

These are the lowest pitches (*a*, *g*) in the horn parts of Handel's operas and seem to be associated with Handel's early conception of horn range, especially since the first horn part also descends to this pitch.²¹² Otherwise, the ranges of his horns written one octave above concert pitch in D are similar to his ranges written in C in the keys of B-flat, A, G, F, and D.

Table 2.9. Horn I, II, III, and IV's notated ranges in movements containing parts in B-flat, A, G, F, and D (arranged in that order).

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Horn I</u>	<u>Horn II</u>	<u>Horn III</u>	<u>Horn IV</u>
Atalanta (1736)	Oggi rimbombano di feste	B-flat	c ² to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Giustino (1737)	Per voi soave e bella	B-flat	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Viva il nostro Alcide	A	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Sinfonia	G	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Ritorni omai nel nostro core	G	g ¹ to g ²	e ¹ to e ²		
Scipione (1726)	Marche	G	c ¹ to a ²	g ¹ to f ²		
	Faranno gioja intera vittoria	G	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		

²¹² Blandford, in his article "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts," (October 1939), notes the unusually low range of the horn parts in *Radamisto*. Curiously, he maintains that the horns perform in only one movement in this opera, and he also neglects to mention the existence of the two versions (698).

Table 2.9—*Continued.*

Opera	Movement	Key	Horn I	Horn II	Horn III	Horn IV
Il pastor fido (1734)	Balli, No. 1, March	G	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Balli, No. 2, Pour les Chasseurs	G	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Balli, No. 3, March	G	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Balli, No. 4	G	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to f ²		
Ariodante (1735)	Sa trionfar ogn'or virtute in ogni cor	G	g ¹ to c ³	e ¹ to e ²		
Alcina (1735)	Sta nell Ircana pietrosa tana	G	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		
Radamisto (HWV12b, 1720)	Alzo al volo	F	g to g ²	g to e ²		
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Va tacito e nascosto, quand' avido	F	c ¹ to c ³			
Rodelinda (1725)	Dopo la notte oscura	F	c ² to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		
Alessandro (1726)	Fra le guerre e le vittorie/Chi t'agguagli in tante glorie	F	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Admeto (1727)	Sinfonia	F	c ¹ to b ²	c ¹ to g ²		
	Se l'arco avessi e i strali	F	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		
	Se un core e contento	F	c ² to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		

Table 2.9—*Continued.*

Opera	Movement	Key	Horn I	Horn II	Horn III	Horn IV
Riccardo primo (1727)	Dell'onor di giuste imprese fia seguace	F	e ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Tolomeo, re d'Egitto (1728)	Ouverture	F	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Applauda ognuno	F	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to f ²		
Lotario (1729)	Viva, e regni fortunato	F	c ² to a ²	c ¹ to g ²		
Partenope (1730)	Viva, viva! viva, viva, Partenope viva	F	c ² to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Io seguo sol fiero tra poschi le belve	F	e ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to f ²		
Poro (1731)	Sinfonia	F	c ² to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Senza procelle ancora si perde quell nocchiero	F	g ¹ to a ²	e ¹ to g ²		
Rinaldo (1731)	Combatti da forte	F	e ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		
Ezio (1732)	La Marche	F	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Se la mia vita dono e d'Augusto	F	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	E più bella quella fede	F	c ² to g ²	c ¹ to e ²		
	Alle sfere della gloria	F	e ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Sosarme (1732)	Dopo l'ire si funestre dell'amore splenda la face	F	e ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		

Table 2.9—*Continued.*

<u>Opera</u>	<u>Movement</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Horn I</u>	<u>Horn II</u>	<u>Horn III</u>	<u>Horn IV</u>
Orlando (1733)	Non fu gia men forte Alcide	F	c ² to a ²	e ¹ to f ²		
Il pastor fido (1734)	Ouverture	F	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Arianna (1734)	Quel Leon, chef ere irato	F	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to a ²		
Ariodante (1735)	Voli colla sua tromba la fama	F	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to f ²		
	Sinfonia (Act I, scene xiii)	F	c ² to a ²	e ¹ to g ²		
	Si godete al vostro amor	F	c ² to a ²	e ¹ to e ²		
	Il Ballo	F	c ² to a ²	e ¹ to e ²		
	Sinfonia (Act III, scene xiii)	F	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to e ²		
Alcina (1735)	Questo e il cielo di contenti (B)	F	c ² to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Arminio (1737)	Mira il Ciel, vedrai d'Alcide	F	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		
Giustino (1737)	Puo ben nascere tra il boschi nobil alma	F	g ¹ to g ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	Allor ch'io forte avro orno di palme il trono	F	g ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Faramondo (1738)	Virtu che rende si forte un core	F	c ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to f ²		
Serse (1738)	La virtute sol potea giunger	F	c ² to a ²	e ¹ to g ²		

Table 2.9—*Continued.*

Opera	Movement	Key	Horn I	Horn II	Horn III	Horn IV
Deidamia (1741)	Della guerra la caccia ha sembianza	F	e ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		
	Sinfonia	F	e ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
	L'alto Giove al travaglio penoso	F	e ¹ to a ²	c ¹ to f ²		
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Viva il nostro Alcide	D			c ² to a ²	g ¹ to f ^{#2}
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Sinfonia	D			g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to f ²
Giulio Cesare (1724)	Ritorni omai nel nostro core	D			c ² to a ²	c ¹ to f ²
Arianna (1734)	Ouverture	D	g ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to f ²		
	Bella sorge la speranza'	D	c ¹ to c ³	c ¹ to g ²		

As Table 2.9 shows, Handel is fairly consistent in his written ranges for the horns regardless of the sounding pitch, though he does take into account difficulties inherent in high and low crooks. For example, neither movement in B-flat ascends above a written a^2 , while only four out of the ten movements in G contain a written c^3 . Both movements in the low key of D, however, utilize written c^3 's in the first horn part.

In all these keys, however, Handel most often asks his first horn player to play up to a written a^2 only. This is the highest pitch in thirty first horn parts out of the fifty-three first horn parts listed in Table 2.9. Written c^3 occurs as the highest pitch in eighteen parts, written g^2 as the highest pitch in four, and b^2 in one. In the lower end of the range,

Handel most often asks his first horn to perform down to a written g^1 only. This pitch is the lowest note in twenty-six movements. C^2 is the lowest note in thirteen movements, with e^1 following as the lowest note in eight movements, c^1 in five movements, and the aforementioned g in one movement only.

It would be interesting if Handel's first horn parts showed an increasing tendency toward one register or the other over time. While Handel never again asks his first horn player to perform a written g (or a in concert D notation), the horn parts in his operas do not show an increase in the frequency of c^3 's as time passes, nor do they show the pitches of the upper tessitura rising over time. Handel never asks his first horn to perform higher than c^3 when the part is written in C. Indeed, his first horn parts in his operas show a regular mix of the use of either a^2 or c^3 as the highest pitch. What is striking, on the other hand, are the particular operas that require the first horn player to perform c^3 in more than one movement. The emphasis on the upper register in these works corresponds significantly with a virtuosity not seen in Handel's other operas. These operas include *Giulio Cesare* (1724), *Admeto* (1727), *Arianna* (1734), and *Ariodante* (1735).

Handel treats his second horn with equal caution. This player most commonly ascends to a written f^2 only. Out of the fifty-two second horn parts listed in Table 2.8, this is the highest pitch in thirty second horn parts, with g^2 following as the second highest pitch in fourteen parts. Then e^2 is the highest second horn pitch in seven parts, while a^2 is the highest pitch in one second horn part. This pitch occurs in the Act II, scene vi aria, "Qual Leon, chef ere irato," from *Arianna* (1734). Written in the key of D, it contains virtuosic music for both horns. In terms of the lower register, the second horn does not generally play below a written c^1 . This is the lowest pitch in forty-two second

horn parts. Eight second horn parts descend to e^1 , while g^1 and g are each employed in one second horn part.

Therefore, Handel treats both his first and second horn parts with considerable restraint. Interestingly, authors discussing Handel's ranges for other wind instruments have noted similar constraints. Regarding Handel's use of the upper range in his oboe parts, Deadman has observed:

Even though Handel may not have used any of the extended range beyond d^3 in his operas, his performers were evidently secure in the upper extremities of the standard range of the oboe right from the start of his London career.²¹³

Similarly, Handel's conservative horn ranges may reflect his personal preferences and not the abilities of his horn players.

Out-Of-Tune and Non-Series Pitches

The horn parts in Handel's operas show little innovation regarding the use of either out-of-tune harmonics from within the harmonic series or pitches outside of the series. In the movements notated one octave above sounding pitch in the key of D, Handel asks the first horn player to perform variants of the out-of-tune eleventh and thirteenth partials, written $g^2/g\sharp^2$ or b^2 , but he does not require the player to perform any pitches outside of the series itself (Table 2.10; cf., ch. I, p. 34, Ex. 1.2).

²¹³ Deadman, "*Augeletti Che Cantate*," 251.

Table 2.10. Out-of-tune pitches in the first horn parts in movements notated one octave above concert pitch in D.²¹⁴

<u>Out-of-tune Pitches</u>	<u>Number of Movements</u>
g^2	2
g^2 and $g\sharp^2$	4
g^2 and b^2	4
g^2 , $g\sharp^2$, and b^2	3

The second horn parts in D are similar, except that only written g^2 and $g\sharp^2$ are required of this player (Table 2.11).

Table 2.11. Out-of-tune pitches in the second horn parts notated one octave above concert pitch in D.

<u>Out-of-tune Pitches</u>	<u>Number of Movements</u>
No out-of-tune pitches	6
g^2	6
g^2 and $g\sharp^2$	1

These patterns carry over into the music Handel notates in the key of C, regardless of the key of the horn (Table 2.12).

²¹⁴ Unlike other tables in this chapter, I have included both versions of the *Marche* (A and B) from *Floridante* (HWV14, 1721), because the first horn part of *Marche*^A contains written g^1 , $g\sharp^1$, and b^1 , while the first horn part in *Marche*^B contains only g^1 and $g\sharp^1$. In addition, all movements from both versions of *Radamisto* (HWV12a and 12b, 1720) have been included. Thus, the total number of movements for the first and second horns are sixty-five each instead of sixty-three, as presented in the beginning of this chapter.

Table 2.12. Out-of-tune pitches required in the first and second horn parts notated in C.

<u>Out-of-tune Pitches</u>	<u>Horn I - Number of Movements</u>	<u>Horn II – Number of Movements</u>
No out-of-tune pitches	None	7
b ¹	None	1
f ²	4	41
f ² and f ^{#2}	None	3
f ² and a ²	17	1
f ² , f ^{#2} , and a ²	31	None
f ² , f ^{#2} , g ^{#2} , and a ²	1	None

Thus, whether Handel notates the horn parts in concert D or written C, he typically asks the horn players to perform variations of the eleventh and thirteenth partials: $g^2/g^{\#2}$ and b^2 in the key of D; and $f^2/f^{\#2}$ and $g^{\#2}/a^2$ in written C. Significantly Handel asks the first horn to perform written $g^{\#2}$ as the thirteenth harmonic only once in his operas (Table 2.12).²¹⁵

As Hiebert notes, this conservative practice places Handel well within the early eighteenth-century mainstream: “The most conspicuous occurrence of an altered non-harmonic series note in music from this period is the use of the 11th harmonic, a slightly sharp f², for two distinct notes: f² natural and f-sharp².”²¹⁶ In a footnote to this passage he states that in addition to Handel, Bach, Telemann, and Vivaldi all used this harmonic frequently in their horn music.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ The third horn part also utilizes this pitch in the opening chorus of *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724).

²¹⁶ Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 108.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 129.

Example 2.1. G. F. Handel, *Ezio* (HWV29, 1732), Act I, sc. i, *La Marche*.

LA MARCHE

The musical score is titled "LA MARCHE" and is for G. F. Handel's *Ezio* (HWV29, 1732), Act I, scene i. The score is written for a full orchestra, including Corno I. II., Violino I., Oboe I., Violino II., Oboe II., Viola, and Bassi. The music is in 2/4 time and features a prominent melody in the first horn part, which includes a written B-flat in measure 21. The score is divided into four systems, each containing staves for the various instruments. The notation is in standard musical notation, with notes, rests, and other musical symbols clearly visible.

H. W. 80.

In only one instance does Handel write a pitch truly outside of the harmonic series in his operas. In the Act I, scene i *Marche* of *Ezio* (1732), the second horn player has a written b' in m. 21 (Example 2.1). This unusual pitch is repeated twice and is used as a

lower neighbor note to the written c^2 . Sounding as e^1 , it conflicts dramatically with the E-flat major triad in the other parts. If Handel wanted the pitch to fit into the chord, he should have written a $b\text{-flat}^1$, sounding as $e\text{-flat}^1$; however, this pitch was rarely used by early eighteenth-century composers, even though it is the seventh harmonic of a series in C. J. Murray Barbour confirms its sporadic use by Baroque composers: “The seventh partial, b-flat¹, had better be omitted, since it was too flat to be of much use; the fourteenth partial, b-flat², should be included, since in this octave the player could control its pitch with his lip.”²¹⁸ Like many Baroque composers, Handel may have felt it was impossible to include a written $b\text{-flat}^1$ in his second horn part. But even if the player was able to hand-stop or lip the written b^1 into place, it was still going to clash with the pitches in the other parts. It is possible that the b^1 is a mistake altogether, or it may have been that Handel and his audience in 1732 were not started by dissonances in the brass section. According to Barbour:

The amazing thing to note about these “other” clashes is that the great majority of them did *not* occur because the unfortunate composer could not help himself, because he had no better notes to use in the lower range . . . By writing higher notes they could easily have avoided any of the clashes shown in our examples . . . A fundamental difference between brass and strings, involving both their tone color and traditional function, appeared to be part of the thinking of the eighteenth-century composer. And so a clash arising from a fanfare did not have to be explained by learned talk about secondary seventh chords, about dominant ninths and thirteenths, or about pedals, appoggiaturas and anticipations. It was enough to say that the trumpet or horn was playing.²¹⁹

Were dissonant pitches accepted by eighteenth-century audiences in London as part of the natural brass timbre?

²¹⁸ Barbour, *Trumpets, Horns, and Music*, 10.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

In this context, one need only recall Burney's description of the aria "The trumpet shall sound" from the Handel Commemoration of 1784: "In Handel's time composers were not so delicate in writing for Trumpets and French-horns as at present."²²⁰ In a footnote to his description of this unpleasant performance, Burney wonders why the trumpet could not "have its defects removed by some mechanical contrivance, as those of the German flute are, by keys."²²¹ Interestingly, Burney does not mention hand-stopping on the horn. By 1784, horn players were undoubtedly using this technique in London concert performances, since this time period is well after the date usually suggested for hand-stopping's introduction in England. As stated in Chapter One, authors have traditionally maintained that the famous horn soloist Giovanni Punto [Johann Wenzel (Jan Václav) Stich] (1746-1803) introduced hand-stopping to English audiences in the early 1770s.²²²

Burney's neglect of hand-stopping in his discussion is even more surprising when one realizes he wrote favorably of Punto's horn-playing in the summer of 1772²²³ and was therefore familiar with the technique. Additional contemporary commentators were aware of hand-stopping. We have seen that many of them did not—as Burney did—write favorably about the different timbres hand-stopping produces. Richard Seraphinoff notes that in the tutor *Easy Instructions for the French Horn* (ca. 1770) the anonymous author describes negatively Punto's penchant for hand-stopping:

Mr. Punto [Punto] and many others, famous on the instrument, constantly uses this method, by which means the half tones are expressed, which is

²²⁰ Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), 86-87.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 86; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 102.

²²³ Reginald Morley-Pegge, Horace Fitzpatrick, Thomas Hiebert, "Punto, Giovanni," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

not to be done by any other method, but it is deemed by Judges of the Horn that the principle beauty, the Tone, is greatly impaired thereby.²²⁴

Seraphinoff further observes:

The use of the hand is not discussed here as a new revolutionary improvement to horn playing. The improvement of intonation is not given as a benefit of using the hand in the bell, nor is it apparent that the author felt that the intonation of the horn necessarily needed to be improved.

This last comment might explain not only why Handel typically employed only natural harmonics in his horn music but also why he was not concerned with the dissonance created by the written *b¹* in the *Marche* from *Ezio*. Handel may have preferred brass instruments' natural temperament and found the change in timbre associated with hand-stopping detrimental.

Even so, Handel's reluctance to employ non-series tones and therefore hand-stopping does not mean that London-based horns players were unaware of the technique until the 1770s. This theory is borne out by music for horn contained in the Egerton Manuscript Collection in the British Library (Add. 71539). Dating from the mideighteenth century, two works from this collection, both written by Carlo Vernerberg (fl. 1739-1755, d. 1780), use non-harmonic tones in both slow scalar passages and faster-moving sequences. Hiebert observes Vernerberg's use of these pitches:

Since he is calculating and consistent in his use of non-harmonic tones, it appears that Vernerberg had a special interest in expanding the note gamut of the horn beyond those of the harmonic series, very likely through hand-stopping. The limited and careful use of non-harmonic tones in his writing points to an early manifestation of hand-stopping.²²⁵

²²⁴ Anonymous, *Easy Instructions for the French Horn*, London ca. 1770, quoted in Richard Seraphinoff, "Compromise and Authenticity in the Baroque Trumpet and Horn," in *Posaunen und Trompeten: History-acoustics-playing techniques*, ed. Monika Lustig and Howard Weiner (Blankenburg am Harz: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2000), 203.

²²⁵ Thomas Hiebert, "Extraordinary Horn Writing in the Egerton Manuscript Collection (British Library, Add. 71539): A Contribution to the History of the Horn in Mid-18th Century England," forthcoming. I would like to thank the author for sending me a copy of this article.

Thus, horn players in England appear to have been using some form of hand-stopping by the middle of the century. Whether it was employed at an earlier date in general and in Handel's music in particular is a question that requires further research. The horn players performing Handel's music may have lipped the ubiquitous eleventh and thirteenth harmonics into place, or they may have used their hand to alter these pitches, but Handel's music contains no indications either way.

Conclusion

Handel wrote for the horn frequently in his operas. Although the instrument was generally used in only one or two movements per work, it was employed at least as frequently as other contemporary wind instruments. Handel most commonly pairs the horns with oboes, though early in his operatic career, he writes more parts for horns in D doubling trumpet parts in the same key one octave lower. His preference for horn in F becomes apparent in the works from the 1730s and 1740s, though the ranges of his horn parts remain relatively consistent. Handel's operatic horn parts show little need for hand-stopping; however, because other composers in England appear to have required the technique, it is unknown when London-based horn players began to correct out-of-tune harmonics with their hand. It is also unknown if they utilized this technique to correct the eleventh and thirteenth harmonics found so often in Handel's music for horn.

CHAPTER 3

THE HORN IN HANDEL'S OPERAS

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the horn parts in nine selected Handel operas. Because these works span the entire length of Handel's London-based operatic career, they provide an overall picture of Handel's writing for the instrument in the 1720s and 1730s. After this examination it will be easier to contrast Handel's early usage of the horn with the procedures one finds in Handel's oratorios and secular concert works from the 1740s and 1750s.

My discussion of these nine operas addresses three general concerns. In the previous chapter I presented a general picture of horn technique in Handel's horn parts. Now, through an examination of specific operas, we will see that Handel's use of the horn changes dramatically over the course of his operatic career. In his early operas Handel often writes for a pair of *concertante* horns, but later works such as *Faramondo* (HWV39, 1738) and *Deidamia* (HWV41, 1742) show Handel using the horn in a supporting and purely harmonic role. This significant development foreshadows the harmonic function performed by the horn players in a Classical orchestra and provides a

strong rebuke to authors who would maintain that Handel did nothing except mimic the *clarino*-style of writing for the trumpet in his operatic horn parts.²²⁶

This evolution in the horn's orchestral role is but one example demonstrating Handel's awareness of continental trends in horn-writing. Operas such as *Radamisto* (HWV12a and 12b, 1720), *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (HWV17, 1724), and *Arianna in Creta* (HWV32, 1733) all contain innovative and technically-challenging horn music; however, experiments in horn technique are generally confined to single works such as these. Why Handel does not adopt generally cutting-edge techniques such as writing for pairs of horns in different keys is a question that will be answered in the course of this chapter. Even so, many of his horn parts are virtuosic in nature and demonstrate a high level of skill among eighteenth-century horn players working in London and Dublin. As noted previously, the appearance of specific performers in the London press often coincides with an increase in the level of virtuosity found in particular operas.

Finally—and perhaps most strikingly—the horn's ability to signify a growing range of images can be traced through Handel's musical output as a whole. One sees Handel asking the horns to represent military—or trumpet-like—imagery throughout his operatic career. On the other hand, he also uses horns to accompany royalty and formal celebrations and perhaps most strikingly, for pastoral scenes containing dance-like elements. The varied imagery in Handel's operatic horn parts derives of course from the quality of the music and the dramatic situation; however, it also seems to show the horn beginning to assume a role in the orchestra independent of the trumpet. This kind of imagery—namely that associated with royalty, celebration, the pastoral, and the dance—

²²⁶ See W. F. H. Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts," *The Musical Times* 80, no. 1161 (November 1939), 746.

continue to be used prominently in many of the horn parts in Handel's oratorios. Perhaps more importantly, Romantic composers continued to associate the horn with nature even as the instrument developed the ability to play chromatically.

In order to demonstrate effectively these developments in Handel's operatic horn parts, I will discuss nine specific operas, beginning with three operas written for the Royal Academy of Music (1720-1729). *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), and *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (HWV22, 1727) stand out not only because of their music for horn but also because of their music in general, especially when compared with the other operas Handel composed for the Royal Academy. Indeed, Anthony Hicks describes *Giulio Cesare* as "all-encompassing" and maintains that *Admeto* was a great deal better than the other late Royal Academy operas.²²⁷ Furthermore, *Radamisto* is particularly significant, because it was not only Handel's first opera for the Royal Academy of Music but also his first opera to include parts for horns.

I will follow-up this discussion with an analysis of the music in operas composed for the so-called Second Academy (1729-1734). Two of these works, namely *Poro re dell'Indie* (HWV28, 1731) and *Ezio* (HWV29, 1732), contain movements requiring unusual instrumentation, and a third opera, *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734), contains virtuosic music for horns. I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of movements from three operas that Handel wrote at the end of his operatic career. These three works show Handel using the horn in unusual and surprisingly modern ways. They include: *Giustino* (HWV37, 1737), *Faramondo* (HWV39, 1738), and *Deidamia* (HWV42, 1741).

²²⁷ Anthony Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 21. Operas," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

Radamisto

Introduction

Radamisto, Handel's first opera to include parts for horns, was written for the first season of the Royal Academy of Music in London and premiered on April 27, 1720.²²⁸ Handel made extensive changes for the revival during the second season on December 28, 1720, and thus there are two main versions of this work: HWV12a from April 1720, and HWV12b from December 1720.²²⁹

Scholars generally maintain that Handel intended *Radamisto* to be a spectacular opening work for the Royal Academy's first season.²³⁰ As noted previously, Keiser may have included horns in his opera *Octavia* (1705) to outshine his young rival Handel, and Handel appears to have copied this tactic to achieve similar notoriety. As Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp confirm, the orchestration of *Radamisto* is "on a big scale":²³¹

Radamisto lacks *Rinaldo*'s choir of recorders and battery of trumpets and drums, but the aria accompaniments are fuller and more carefully worked. Scarcely any have fewer than four instrumental parts, and many have more. Besides the horns there are obbligatos for violin, cello, oboe, and trumpet.²³²

Many scholars think the second version of *Radamisto* (HWV12b) far superior to the first version (HWV12a). Again, Dean and Knapp observe: "*Radamisto* is perhaps the only

²²⁸ *Radamisto* I (HWV12a), *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, ser. 2, band 9.1, ed. Terence Best (Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1997), xiv. The Royal Academy of Music opened its first season not with Handel's *Radamisto* but with Giovanni Porta's *Numitore*. This opera was presented on April 2, 1720. *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, ed. Best, xiv. It should be noted, however, that both the King and the Prince of Wales made their first Royal Academy appearance for Handel's opera on April 27. Donald Burrows, *Handel* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 107. It was also their first appearance together since they had reconciled earlier in the month. Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 6. The Royal Academy of Music," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²²⁹ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv; *Radamisto* II (HWV12b), *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, ser. 2, band 9.2, ed. Terence Best (Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2000), xiii. The opera received further revivals in November 1721 and January/February 1728. *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.2, xiii.

²³⁰ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv

²³¹ Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas: 1704-1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 340.

²³² *Ibid.*

Handel opera of which a later version has a strong claim to rank with or even above the original.”²³³ Terence Best confirms this point:

For most of Handel’s operas it can be demonstrated that the first version is the best . . . so often in revivals he was forced by the constraints of casting changes which upset the balance and dramatic coherence of the work . . . it may be argued that *Radamisto* is an exception to this rule and that the revision of December 1720 is a better composition than the one performed in April.²³⁴

The changes that accounted for this superior second version seem to have been necessitated by the arrival in September 1720 of a more brilliant set of singers.²³⁵ To explain not only the reasons for the appearance of these singers but also an additional possible motivational factor for Handel’s inclusion of horns in this work, one needs to examine Handel’s activities prior to the opening of the first season of the Royal Academy of Music.

The Influence of Dresden on *Radamisto*

Efforts to set up Italian opera in London on a regular basis during the initial two decades of the eighteenth century were largely unsuccessful.²³⁶ The Royal Academy of Music, therefore, was an attempt “to put Italian opera in London on a secure footing.”²³⁷ Established in 1719 “as a joint stock company, financed by subscription and incorporated by Letters of Patent,” it received in May 1719 not only an annual bounty of £1000 from

²³³ Ibid., 341.

²³⁴ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.2, xiv.

²³⁵ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv; Dean and Knapp, *Handel’s Operas*, 306.

²³⁶ Donald Burrows and Robert D. Hume, “George I, the Haymarket Opera Company and Handel’s *Water Music*,” *Early Music* 19, no. 3 (August 1991): 323-341; Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, “The Haymarket Opera in 1711,” *Early Music* 17, no. 4 (November 1989): 523-537; Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, “Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera, 1713-1717,” *Early Music* 27, no. 1 (February 1999): 65-84; Sybil Rosenfeld, “An Opera House Account Book,” *Theatre Notebook* 16 (1962): 83-88. For information on attempts to set up English opera in London during the same time period, cf. Curtis A. Price, “The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700-1710,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26 (1978): 38-76.

²³⁷ Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 6. The Royal Academy of Music,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

the King but also legal incorporation.²³⁸ The Royal Academy presented Italian operas for nine seasons, the first—albeit incomplete—season, beginning in April 1720.²³⁹

In May 1719 the Lord Chamberlain, governor of the Royal Academy, issued a warrant commissioning Handel “forthwith to repair to Italy Germany or other such Place or Places as you shall think proper, there to make Contracts with such Singer or Singers as you shall judge fit to perform on the English stage.”²⁴⁰ Handel received a specific schedule of instructions, but in general he was given “a free hand in the negotiations.”²⁴¹ The well-known castrato Senesino seems to have been the only singer Handel was obliged to secure for Royal Academy performance.²⁴²

Senesino, along with “some of the finest singers in Europe,” including Mattea Berselli, Margherita Durastanti, Maddalena Salvai, Francesco Guicciardi, and Giuseppe Boschi, was employed at this time at the Saxon court of Dresden.²⁴³ The Elector of Saxony, Friedrich August I (King August II of Poland, “the Strong”), had established an Italian opera company in Dresden in 1717,²⁴⁴ and when Handel arrived in Dresden by July 1719,²⁴⁵ the Elector was immersed in preparations for the marriage of his son

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ For information on the establishment of the Royal Academy of Music, see Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, chapter 16; Elizabeth Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music: 1719-1728* (New York: Garland, 1989); Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, “New Light on Handel and the Royal Academy of Music in 1720,” *Theatre Journal* 35 (1983): 149-167.

²⁴⁰ Donald Burrows, *Handel* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 104; *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv; Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 6. The Royal Academy of Music,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²⁴¹ Burrows, *Handel*, 104.

²⁴² Ibid.; *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv; Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 6. The Royal Academy of Music,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²⁴³ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv.

²⁴⁴ Johann David Heinichen, *Diana su l'Elba*, ed. Michael Walter (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 2000), vii.

²⁴⁵ Burrows, *Handel*, 104; Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 301; *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv; Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 6. The Royal Academy of Music,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

Friedrich August II, the Crown Prince of Saxony, to Maria Josephta, daughter of the Emperor Joseph I.

The wedding took place in Vienna in August 1719, and the couple returned to Saxony the next month. The month following their arrival was filled with festivities in celebration of the wedding,²⁴⁶ including performances of important works by Antonio Lotti and Johann David Heinichen. Handel was ostensibly in attendance to cajole some of the elector's singers to leave Dresden for employment by the Royal Academy of Music, but he must have noticed the extensive music composed for the occasion as well as Lotti's and Heinichen's prominent use of horns in their music.

Between 1717 and 1719 Lotti composed three operas for the Saxon court: *Giove in Argo* (1717), *Ascanio* (1718), and *Teofane* (1719). He wrote *Teofane* specifically for the wedding festivities, but all three operas received performances that September,²⁴⁷ and all three operas include prominent parts for two horns.²⁴⁸ Heinichen, employed by the Dresden court from 1717 until his death in 1729, composed three serenatas for the wedding festivities of 1719. They also contain prominent parts for horns and are: *Serenata nel Giardino Chinese*, *Diana sull'Elba*, and *Serenata di Moritzburg*.²⁴⁹

Handel was clearly familiar with these works. He used librettos from two of Lotti's operas for two of his own later compositions, producing *Giove in Argo* and *Teofane* as the pasticcio *Giove in Argo* [*Jupiter in Argos*] (HWVA¹⁴, 1739) and *Ottone*,

²⁴⁶ Heinichen, *Diana su l'Elba*, ed. Walter, viii.

²⁴⁷ Thomas Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden: The Players and their Repertory" (DMA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989), 37.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 37-38, 52.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

re di Germania (HWV15, 1723), respectively.²⁵⁰ In addition, Handel “borrowed” music from the scores of both Lotti and Heinichen. Thomas Hiebert has observed similarities between the fifth movement of Heinichen’s *Serenata di Moritzburg* and the “Rejouissance” from Handel’s *Fireworks Music* (1749), as well as between the sixth movement from the same *Serenata* and the minuet from the *Water Music*, Suite I (1717).²⁵¹

Regardless, Handel was able to engage only Durastanti for the first Royal Academy season.²⁵² Yet Senesino, Salvai, Berselli, and Boschi all arrived in London in September 1720, well after the end of the first season, but in plenty of time for the second.²⁵³ The Elector had fired all his Italian singers early in 1720 after Senesino argued with Heinichen, and they were consequently conveniently in need of employment.²⁵⁴ Therefore, the cast for the second version of *Radamisto* (HWV12b) was much stronger than the cast available for the first version (HWV12a) and required revisions worthy of their talent.²⁵⁵

Handel’s Horn Parts in *Radamisto*

Handel’s Reasons for Revising “Alzo al volo”

In addition to reworking the vocal music to suit his new cast, Handel made changes to the horn parts (Table 3.1).

²⁵⁰ Burrows, *Handel*, 104-105. For a comparison of *Teofane* and *Ottone*, see Fiona McLauchlan, “Lotti’s ‘Teofane’ (1719) and Handel’s ‘Ottone’ (1723): A Textual and Musical Study,” *Music and Letters* 78, no. 3 (1997): 349-375.

²⁵¹ Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 72-77.

²⁵² *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv-xv; Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 6. The Royal Academy of Music,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²⁵³ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xv.

²⁵⁴ Dean and Knapp, *Handel’s Operas*, 301.

²⁵⁵ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiii-xiv.

Table 3.1. Handel's use of the horn in both version of *Radamisto* (HWV12a and HWV12b). The table also includes relevant trumpet parts.

<i>Radamisto</i> , HWV12a (April 1720)	<i>Radamisto</i> , HWV12b (December 1720)
Act 3, sc. vi Aria, "Alzo al volo" Corno I, II in D (parts written one octave above concert pitch) ²⁵⁶	Act 3, sc. vi Aria, "Alzo al volo" Trombino I, II in F Corno I, II in F (parts written in C)
Act 3, sc. xi Chorus, "Un dì più felice bramarsi non lice" Tromba I, II in D Corno I, II in D (parts written one octave above concert pitch)	Act 3, sc. xi Chorus, "Un dì più felice bramarsi non lice" Tromba I, II in D Corno I, II in D (parts written one octave above concert pitch)
Act 3, scene xi Balli, "Passepied" Tromba I, II in D Corno I, II in D (horn parts written one octave above concert pitch)	

The horns perform in three movements in the first version of *Radamisto* (HWV12a) and in two movements in the second (HWV12b). Their extra movement in HWV12a derives from the horns' employment in the Passepied that directly follows the final chorus.²⁵⁷ All three movements in HWV12a employ horns in D, and all three movements are notated in D one octave above concert pitch, even though only two of the movements also include music for trumpets.²⁵⁸ The two movements in HWV12b, on the other hand, differ in instrumentation and key. The second version of "Alzo al volo" contains parts for two *trombini* and two *corni* in F, while the second version of "Un dì più felice bramarsi non lice" contains parts for two trumpets and horns in D. The horn parts

²⁵⁶ I am assuming that the parts are written in D *basso*.

²⁵⁷ Two movements, a Passepied and a Rigaudon, form the dance suite that follows this chorus. The horns are employed only in the Passepied, which is repeated after the Rigaudon. Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 339.

²⁵⁸ As noted previously, Hiebert speculated that *ad libitum* trumpets may have doubled the horn parts in the first version of "Alzo al volo."

in each movement are notated differently, with the horn parts in F notated for a transposing instrument in C and the horn parts in D notated one octave above concert pitch.

It is clear that the first version of *Radamisto* (HWV12a) did not require crooked instruments. Since all three movements are written in the key of D, fixed-pitch horns in D would have sufficed. It may have been that the players used crooked instruments, but the music itself offers no evidence of this possibility. The second version of *Radamisto*, however, contains a movement in F and a movement in D, and thus it is likely that the horn players used crooked instruments for the December 1720 performances. There is still a chance, however inconvenient and expensive it might have been for the hornists, that each player utilized two fixed-pitch horns—one in D and one in F—for the second version of *Radamisto* (HWV12b), though I find this alternative to be doubtful.

Hiebert has shown that Lotti and Heinichen began asking horn players in Dresden to perform in more than one key in the same work after the Saxon court purchased two Viennese *Waldhörner* with two mouthpieces and six pairs of crooks in 1718.²⁵⁹ Lotti writes for horn in C and D in his opera *Teofane*, and Heinichen writes for horn in D, F, and G in his *Serenata nel Giardino Chinese*.²⁶⁰ As noted earlier, Handel was probably familiar with these works. It is possible that in addition to studying the scores, he watched the horn players perform on their crooked instruments. Since the first opera that he wrote upon returning to London included music for horns, it seems likely that *Radamisto*'s instrumentation was inspired by the music Handel heard at Dresden.

²⁵⁹ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 53.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

Hiebert further observes that one of the reasons composers in Dresden included horns prominently in the works composed for the wedding festivities of 1719 was to add visual splendor to the ensemble:

The natural horn with its curved lines was impressive visually and added an element of nobility and splendor to the spectacle when included in an opera . . . a mass, or pure instrumental music. There is no question, given the prominence of the horn in artwork of the time, that by the beginning of the second decade of the 18th century the horn had become a fashionable addition to many a scene.²⁶¹

Given that *Radamisto* was Handel's first opera for the Royal Academy of Music, he may have included horns in this work for similar reasons.²⁶²

If Lotti and Heinichen inspired Handel to feature crooked horns in *Radamisto*, why did Handel wait until the second version to employ these instruments? Three possible answers present themselves: Handel may not have had access either to crooked horns or *trombini* in F until the fall of 1720. Alternatively, Handel changed the key of "Alzo al volo" to accommodate the needs of his new singer. I shall examine these points in turn.

Even if one assumes that Handel was impressed by the crooked horns in Dresden, one cannot presuppose that he had access to either crooked instruments or players capable of performing on them when he returned to London. Consequently, he may have written the horn parts for the first version of *Radamisto* (HWV12a) in the standard trumpet key of D. Is it possible, then, that horn specialists arrived in London in September 1720 with the second set of singers? Perhaps they brought their crooked instruments with them, thereby enabling Handel to write his horn parts for the second

²⁶¹ Ibid., 14.

²⁶² Of course, Handel was also familiar with the horn before he arrived in London, since he was present in Hamburg when Keiser employed two horns in his opera *Octavia* (1705).

version of *Radamisto* (HWV12b) in the keys of both D and F. According to Hiebert, the ability to perform on multiple crooks in a single performance was limited to a few exceptional players in 1720:

Horn players therefore had to be capable of switching between various sizes (lengths) of horns, probably by changing the terminal crook, as opposed to using separate fixed-length horns. The ability to reorient themselves successfully on a longer or shorter horn during a piece was the domain of horn specialists.²⁶³

Johann Adalbert Fischer and Johann Adam Franz Samm in Dresden were clearly among this class of players;²⁶⁴ however, it is unlikely they were granted leave to perform in London during the 1720-21 season. After all, the only reason the singers arrived in September was because they had been fired.

Peter Damm describes other ensembles and horn players in Dresden who may have been given leave to travel:

In addition to the Court Orchestra Dresden possessed other bands whose members were occasionally brought in to reinforce the Court Orchestra. Lack of evidence prevents us from establishing anything about the musicians in these other groups. This applies to the brothers Czermak in Dlabacz, mentioned by Horace Fitzpatrick, as well as to the “Crown Prince’s Horn Player” Tobias Butz, mentioned by Fürstenau.²⁶⁵

One of these extra players played for the wedding festivities of 1719, because Heinichen’s serenata *Diana su l’Elba*, performed in September of that year, contained parts for three horns. Michael Walter finds this instrumentation problematic:

Only horns in F were used in Dresden until the 1719 festivities, when Lotti wrote for horns in D in *Teofane* and Heinichen used horns in D, G, and F in his serenata. The two new horns were presumably used in *Diana su l’Elba*, although it is not clear what kind of horn was used for the third horn part.²⁶⁶

²⁶³ Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 54.

²⁶⁴ See Chapter One, page 19 for information about Dresden and the Schindlers.

²⁶⁵ Peter Damm, “300 Jahre Waldhorn (Part II),” *Brass Bulletin* 32 (1980): 19.

²⁶⁶ Heinichen, *Diana su l’Elba*, ed. Walter, xiv.

But if one remembers that the Crown Prince's new wife, Maria Joseptha, was the daughter of Emperor Joseph I in Vienna, and that the Leichnamschneider brothers made their crooked horns in Vienna, then one may suppose easily that this third horn player, whether it was Butz or another individual, arrived with Maria Joseptha and brought his crooked instrument with him. We do not have evidence suggesting that this third player or another Dresden-based horn player arrived in London in time for the second version of *Radamisto* (HWV12b), but, given that Handel required two keys in his horn parts, it is a question that demands further research.

Of course, it is also possible that Handel employed two London-based horn players for both versions of *Radamisto*. The change from the key of D to F in “Alzo al volo” may have had nothing at all to do with the horns. Instead of having two new horn specialists with new crooked instruments for the December version of *Radamisto* (HWV12b), perhaps Handel had unexpected access to the two *trombini* in F, and it was their unanticipated presence that necessitated the change in key. The designation of these instruments in the score raises two large questions: (1) when exactly were the *trombini* employed, and (2) what kind of instrument does the term refer to?

Radamisto premiered in April 1720, and revivals occurred not only in December of that year but also in 1721 and 1728. In the two volumes of the *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe* (Series II: Band 9.1 and 9.2), “Alzo al volo” first contains parts for two horns in D (Band 9.1) and then parts for two horns and *trombini* in F (Band 9.2). Band 9.1 contains the music from the April 1720 performances, while Band 9.2:

Has as its main text the radical revision which Handel made of the opera for the Royal Academy's second season, a version which was first

performed on 28 December 1720 . . . it is also concerned with the revivals of this version in November 1721 and January/February 1728.”²⁶⁷

Although the *trombini* appear in the main text of the second version (Band 9.2), authors such as Dean and Hiebert have described the difficulty in pinpointing when Handel introduced the *trombini* into the musical texture. Regarding the changes made to “Alzo al volo” for the second version of *Radamisto*, Dean states:

Tiridate retained his other two arias in transposed and enriched versions, ‘Sì che ti renderai’ in F with a written out bassoon part (HG 155), ‘Alzo al volo’ not in C as stated by Chrysander but also in F. Handel added two high trumpets in F (*trombini*) to the horns, which they do not merely double, and made a number of other significant changes besides entirely rethinking the vocal line, especially the coloratura, in terms of Boschi’s voice.²⁶⁸

In a footnote to this text, Dean notes:

This version, not in HG, has been published in a facsimile of the autograph, now in Berlin, edited by W. Siegmund-Schultze (1959). If, as is just as possible but unlikely, it dates from the 1728 revival, the *trombini* may have been ‘the two new instruments called the Chamber Horns, never before heard in public’, played in concerts at Hickford’s and Lincoln’s Inn Fields in March 1728, sometimes with French horns (see *The London Stage* under 15, 20, and 27 March).²⁶⁹

The situation is further confused by Handel’s own autographs. Best maintains that Handel included parts for both *trombini* and *corni* (both notated in the key of C) in the April 1720 autograph (A1 in the British Library) version of *Radamisto*, yet he crossed out the *trombini* parts on the first page of the manuscript while neglecting to cross out the parts on the remaining pages. It is not known whether this change occurred in 1720 or

²⁶⁷ HHA, ser. 2, band 9.1, xiv; HHA, ser. 2, band 9.2, xiii.

²⁶⁸ Dean and Knapp, *Handel’s Operas*, 343.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. Hiebert, basing his text on Dean, also notes: “Moreover, in the aria “Alzo al volo” from *Radamisto* (possibly for the 1728 revival), originally with two horns in D, was transposed to F and two *trombin* or high trumpets in F were added to the horn parts transposed to F.” “A Case for Horn in D basso in the Early Eighteenth Century and its Effect on Horn and Trumpet Combinations,” in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historical Brass Symposium, Amherst, 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1995), 127.

1728, or whether the *trombini* were employed at all.²⁷⁰ Thus, the *trombini* may have been used in April 1720, December 1720, and/or 1728. Alternatively, Handel may not have employed them in any performance of *Radamisto*.

Regarding the connection between the *trombini* and the “Chamber Horns” of 1728 and 1729, I have not found any documented relationship between the two terms. Even so, Robert Minter has concluded that the horn-like nature of the *trombini* parts in “Alzo al volo” suggests that the term *trombin* refers to a horn and not to a trumpet.²⁷¹ An advertisement from March 1728, however, implies that the two instruments, the “Chamber Horns” and the French horns, performed together as the *trombini* and horns did in “Alzo al volo”:

CONCERT.

MUSIC. English and Scotch Ballads, to be sung by Salway, Legare, Mrs Seedo, Mrs Chambers, Miss Warren, and Mrs Barbier; being the first Performance of this kind. The Instrumental Musick by the Best Hands, particularly the two famous French Horns and two Chamber Horns.

COMMENT. Benefit Mrs. Seedo.²⁷²

Of the four advertisements in *The London Stage* that include the term “Chamber Horn” or “Chamber Horns,” this is the only one that lists them as performing with French horns. The adjective “famous” is interesting in this context, suggesting that the four instrumentalists were popular at this time. This popularity is confirmed by their performing again the following season.

Regardless of how horn-like Handel’s *trombini* parts are, Reine Dahlqvist has shown that the term did in fact refer to a small trumpet:

²⁷⁰ *HHA*, ser. 2, band 9.2, 310.

²⁷¹ G. F. Handel, *Complete Trumpet Repertoire*, ed. Robert Minter, vol. 1 (London: Musica rara, 1974), no pagination.

²⁷² Emmett L. Avery, ed., *The London Stage*, part 2, 2: 967.

From the 1720s there is some evidence that a trumpet in F was also used in Italy. This instrument—called *trombino*—is first met with in the sinfonia of L. Vinci's *Astianatte* (1725), and later in a *marchia militare* from N. Porpora's *Davide e Bersabea*.²⁷³

Handel seems to have employed *trombini* five years before Vinci. Georg Philipp Telemann, however, included parts for two *Clarini piccoli* in F and two horns in F in his serenata *Deutschland grünt und blüht im Friede* of 1716.²⁷⁴ Telemann was in Dresden for the wedding celebrations of 1719.²⁷⁵ Therefore, his influence may directly account for the presence of the two *trombini* in *Radamisto*.

While it seems likely, then, that the *trombini* were two small trumpets in F, it is still uncertain if and when they were used in *Radamisto*. Until further evidence becomes available, I will assume that the musical text as presented in *HHA* is correct and that they were added for the December 1720 performances. Their inclusion in the musical texture remains for now a possible reason for the change of “Alzo al volo” from the key of D to F.

On the other hand, Handel may have transposed “Alzo al volo” simply to accommodate the needs of his new singer. Alexander Gordon, a tenor, sang the role of Tiridate in April 1720. Concerning his character, Dean notes: “He is a complete extrovert, without a hint of self-doubt, a tyrant confident of his ability to conquer in war or love.”²⁷⁶ In addition to “Alzo al volo,” Gordon sang two other arias in April 1720,

²⁷³ Reine Dahlqvist, “Pitches of German, French and English Trumpets,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 35.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 34; Hiebert, “A Case for Horn in D basso,” 128. Regarding the *Clarini piccoli*, Tarr states: “A number of composers, including J. S. Bach, J. L. Bach, Telemann and Endler also wrote for the shorter F trumpet, called variously *clarino piccolo*, *tromba piccolo* or *kurze Trompete*.” Margaret Sarkissian, Edward H. Tarr, “Trumpet. 4. The Western Trumpet (iii) 1500-1820,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 13 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²⁷⁵ Steven Zohn, “Telemann, Georg Philipp. 3. Eisenach, Frankfurt,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 13 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

²⁷⁶ Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 337.

one in D major and one in A major. Thus, all three arias initially employed sharp keys. Giuseppe Boschi took over the part for the second version of *Radamisto*. Handel replaced one of his arias with a new one, while retaining the other two “in transposed and enriched versions.”²⁷⁷ Both of the revised arias, “Sì che renderai” and “Alzo al volo,” were transposed to the key of F major. It is interesting that Handel changed them from a sharp to a flat key, since Ellen Harris observed Handel’s association of flat keys with tyrannical characters:

As in many of Handel’s operas, the key areas are directly related to the characters. That is, victims of love and politics tend to express their agony in sharp keys, whereas the tyrant reveals his power and apparent control in flat keys.²⁷⁸

Therefore, Handel may have revised Boschi’s part not only to suit his voice but also to define Tiridate’s temperament and circumstances more accurately. Of course, Handel did not always write music for tyrants in flat keys, but, as we shall see, the connection is significant enough to warrant extended discussion in the horn parts in Handel’s oratorios.

In any case, Handel could have changed the key of “Alzo al volo” from D to F major for two reasons completely unrelated to horns, crooked or otherwise: he may have been responding to the unexpected presence of two *trombini*, or he may have altered the aria to better suit Boschi in particular and the role of Tiridate in general. Perhaps Handel either expected his horn players to each use two fixed-pitch horns, or he knew his London-based horn players were capable of playing on and had access to crooked instruments.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 343.

²⁷⁸ Ellen Harris, “Harmonic Patterns in Handel’s Operas,” in *Eighteenth-Century Music Theory and Practice: Essays in Honor of Alfred Mann*, ed. Mary Ann Parker (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1994), 97.

Handel's "Water Music"

Both of these possibilities could apply equally well to Handel's *Water Music* (HWV348-350, 1717), the only work written before *Radamisto* that contains music for horns. This piece is generally grouped into three suites: Suite No. 1 in F (HWV348), Suite No. 2 in D (HWV349), and Suite No. 3 in G (HWV350); the horns participate in Suites No. 1 and 2, and therefore perform in the keys of F and D, the same keys Handel uses for the horn parts in *Radamisto* (HWV12b).

Yet there appears to be some confusion when each of these three suites was performed. Donald Burrows and Robert D. Hume have found receipts in the Hanover Privy Purse for various water parties, including a receipt indicating payment for the royal party boats used in the well-known water party of July 1717.²⁷⁹ Only one of these receipts, however, deals with payments to musicians, though Burrows and Hume suspect that this particular receipt, dating from 1716, involves payment to musicians who performed at the Duke of Newcastle's home, rather than at a water party. They speculate: "The King apparently did not pay the musicians employed at the water parties, or at least no records of payment have come to light."²⁸⁰ Consequently, we do not have a record of the musicians employed for this well-known event.

Burrows and Hume describe the water party of 1717 as the occasion when "Handel's *Water Music* was given its first performance,"²⁸¹ yet Alfred Mann goes so far as to state that there might have been three separate performances of Handel's *Water Music*, in 1715, 1717, and 1736, and that "no clear correlation can be established between

²⁷⁹ Burrows and Hume, "George I," 333.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 334.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 333.

these three occasions and a series of three distinct suites that we can recognize.”²⁸² Thus, the well-known event of 1717 may have contained performances of only some of what we today consider Handel’s *Water Music*. Provided that either the first or the second suite was performed, the horn players might have used a single fixed-pitch instrument in either F or D respectively. Even if, however, both suites were performed, they may still have used fixed-pitch horns in both of those keys. Far too much mystery surrounds the circumstances of this event to reach definitive conclusions, and more research is needed to ascertain what instruments Handel’s horn players may have used in both the *Water Music* and *Radamisto*.

The Availability of Crooked Horns in Early Eighteenth-Century England

Even so, both fixed-pitch and crooked instruments seem to have been available in England at this time. Two records of Leichnamschneider horns purchased by English aristocrats in the early eighteenth century suggest that the fixed-pitch horn was preferred for the servant musician, a household post that will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. Noblemen seem to have acquired these instruments for their servants to use in hunting expeditions and to entertain guests as they walked through the nobleman’s estate. Reginald Morley-Pegge notes that when Queen Caroline visited the Duke of Newcastle in 1729 they “walked till candle-light, being entertained with very fine French horns.”²⁸³

In the last chapter, we saw that Johann Christoph Pepusch catalogued James Brydges’s instruments in 1720. Included in this list are “Two French Hunting Horns

²⁸² Alfred Mann, *Handel: The Orchestral Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 100.

²⁸³ R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique*, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973), 75.

made tier [sic] Johannem Leichnam Schneider in vienn 1711.”²⁸⁴ It is surprising that the Leichnamschneiders’s reputation reached London so early in the century. Because the instruments are described as “French Hunting Horns,” they were most likely fixed-pitch instruments designed to be used primarily while hunting.

Another British nobleman who purchased horns from Johannes Leichnamschneider was Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar. W. F. H. Blandford describes these instruments:

When Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar (who adopted as his ‘supporters’ two huntsmen properly accoutered and wearing trompes) wanted silver horns he got them from Vienna. These horns, for particulars of which the writer is indebted to Lord Tredegar, were made by Johannes Leichnam Schneider in 1725, and are decorated on the bell-rim with engravings of hunting scenes and Sir William’s crest and arms. These horns are also in F.²⁸⁵

Decorated with hunting scenes and made of silver, these instruments were purchased for hunting as well as for ostentatious display. Because crooked horns were entirely impractical for hunting, it is highly unlikely that these were crooked instruments. Therefore, both noblemen seem to have purchased fixed-pitch horns for musical purposes but primarily for their hunts.

If Pepusch wanted to describe crooked instruments in his 1720 list, he might have labeled them as “German Horns” instead of “French Hunting Horns.” The description “German Horn” appears in three advertisements from the early eighteenth century and seems to be associated with crooked instruments. As we have seen, the first advertisement describes an upcoming concert given by Pepusch’s brother: Gottfried

²⁸⁴ *Handeliana*, Volume 10, The Foundling Museum, London.

²⁸⁵ W. F. H. Blandford, “Studies on the Horn. No. I: The French Horn in England,” *The Musical Times* 63, no. 954 (August 1922): 544; cf. Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 42.

Heinrich's horn players performed on "German Horns" in April 1704, though these same instruments are described as "Hunting-Horns" for the June performance.²⁸⁶ That eighteenth-century newspapers used different terms for what were obviously the same instrument should not come as a surprise. It is noteworthy that "German horn" appears in two other important advertisements, the first of which appeared in the *Daily Courant* in February 1724:

For the Benefit of William Douglas, commonly called Prince. At Mr. Hickford's Great Room in James-street, near the Hay-Market, on Wednesday next, being the 26th of February, will be perform'd, a Consort of Musick. A Concerto and Solo on the Hautboy by Mr. Kytch. A Concerto and Solo on the Violin by Mr. Michael Festing, of his own Composing. A Sonata by Mr. China, on the German-Horn. tickets to be had at the Door, at 5s. each. To begin at Seven a-Clock.²⁸⁷

This concert ostensibly occurred shortly after the premiere of Handel's opera *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724). Three of the participants were prominent members of Handel's opera orchestra: William Douglas performed on the trumpet, Jean Christian Kytch on the oboe, and Michael Festing on the violin. One can reasonably assume that Mr. China was also a member of Handel's opera orchestra that season and therefore performed in *Giulio Cesare*. Because that opera requires the horn players to perform in four different keys, A, G, F, and D, one can make a strong case that crooked instruments were required for this opera. Thus, it seems highly likely that Mr. China's "German Horn" was a horn with crooks.

A third advertisement that uses the term "German Horn" dates from October 1733, when Burk Thumoth, typically a performer on the trumpet and German flute,

²⁸⁶ Avery, ed., *The London Stage*, part 2, 1: 63, 68.

²⁸⁷ The *Daily Courant*, February 22, 1724, Vol. 238B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London. It is important to note that this advertisement, as listed in *The London Stage*, contains only the phrase "A Sonata by Mr. China." Avery, ed., *The London Stage*, part 2, 2: 762.

played a concerto by Quantz on the “German Horn” between the acts of *The Beggar’s Opera* at Drury Lane.²⁸⁸ Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) wrote two known concertos for horn, both in E-flat.²⁸⁹ The advertisement does not specify which concerto Thumoth performed, but given that fixed-pitch horns in E-flat do not appear to have been available in England at this time, he probably used a crooked instrument for this performance.

“German Horn,” then, seems to have referred to a horn with crooks, and although British aristocrats did not purchase them for use in their households, performers in concert halls and theaters appear to have used them early in the century. This evidence demonstrates that whether Handel imported his horn players for *Radamisto* or employed London-based musicians, the horn parts in *Radamisto* could have been performed on crooked instruments.

The Horn Parts in “Alzo Al Volo”

“Alzo al volo” clearly demonstrates the influence of Handel’s presence at the 1719 wedding festivities in Dresden, even as it shows Handel immersed in an already well-established continental method of writing for horn. In this section I will demonstrate Dresden’s influence through a comparison of the aria “Il desio di morti” from Lotti’s opera *Giove in Argo* with Handel’s “Alzo al volo,” concluding with a demonstration of how Lotti’s and Handel’s horn music shares significant features with contemporaries such as Keiser, Bach, and Telemann.

²⁸⁸ Arthur H. Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 328.

²⁸⁹ The Manuscript Kat. Wenster Litt. I/1-17b at the Universitetsbiblioteket, Lund, lists two, the second of which is in the key of E-flat. Mary Rasmussen, “The Manuscript Kat. Wenster Litt. I/1-17b (Universitetsbiblioteket, Lund): A Contribution to the History of the Baroque Horn Concerto,” *Brass Quartely* 5, no. 4 (1952): 135, 142-143, 144.

My discussion of Lotti's music rests on Hiebert's analysis, as presented in his 1989 dissertation "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden." He lists five characteristics of "Il desio di morte" that are important here (See Example 3.2 for an excerpt from Lotti's aria). First, Lotti utilizes triple meter for "Il desio di morte." This important meter permeates Baroque horn music and "is a characteristic of much horn writing, probably because it is the traditional meter of hunting calls. Duple meter is more characteristically found in trumpet writing."²⁹⁰ Second, Lotti employs a rhythmical device that is ubiquitous not only in Handel's horn parts but also in Baroque horn parts in general: "The opening rhythm of one eighth note and four sixteenth notes and variations thereof is also found in many movements with horn at this time."²⁹¹ According to Hiebert, the following composers utilize this figure in their horn parts: Carlo Agostino Badia (*Diana rappacificata*, 1700); Johann Sebastian Bach (Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, BWV1046; mvt. III), Antonio Vivaldi (Concerto for Two Horns in F, RV 538).²⁹²

Third, Lotti employs both open fifths and horn fifths patterns. The former, when combined with "the repeated note rhythm are evocative of the hunt," while the latter are "also a characteristic sonority for the horn . . . This pattern is derived from the overtone series (the notes possible on a natural horn) and represents the hallmark of hunting horn writing."²⁹³ Examples 3.1a and 3.1b show some open and horn fifths patterns derived from Lotti's aria.

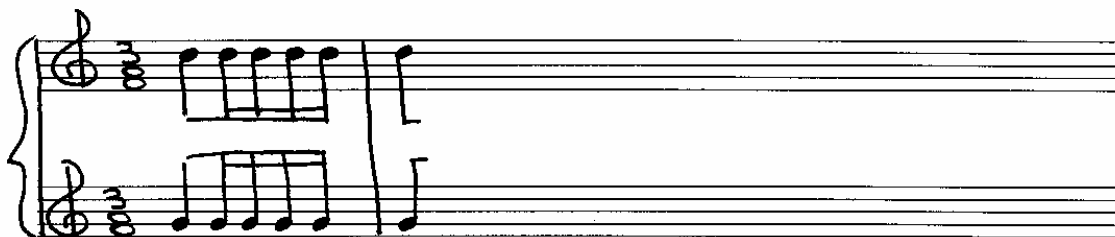
²⁹⁰ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 42.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid., 43.

Example 3.1a. Open fifths.



Example 3.1b. Horn fifths.



Fourth, Hiebert observes: “The trading back and forth of ideas between parts in concertante style makes the horn a more equal musical partner to the violins and oboes.”²⁹⁴ He qualifies this assessment, however, with the conclusion that early in the eighteenth century horns played basically stepwise melodies. Because of the instrument’s reliance on the harmonic series, Lotti does not always reproduce leaps performed by the violins/oboes in material where the horns otherwise imitate their melodies. This circumstance is especially prevalent in the lower register.²⁹⁵

Finally, Lotti allows the horns to participate only in tonic and dominant sections of the music. This limitation results directly from constraints imposed on the horn parts

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 43.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 43-44.

by the harmonic series and “is another characteristic of most horn writing in the early 18th century.”²⁹⁶

Example 3.2. Antonio Lotti, *Giove in Argo* (Dresden, 1717; rev. 1719), Act III, “Il desio di morte,” mm. 1-17.²⁹⁷ Horns in F.

Primo Corno da Caccia
(in F)

Secondo Corno da Caccia
(in F)

Violini, e Oboe Unissoni

Alto Violetta

Basso

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 44.

²⁹⁷ Reproduced with permission from Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 39-40.

Example 3.2. Antonio Lotti, *Giove in Argo* (Dresden, 1717; rev. 1719), Act III, “Il desio di morte,” mm. 18-30. Horns in F.

Primo Corno da Caccia
[in F]

Secondo Corno da Caccia
[in F]

Violini, e Oboe Unisoni

Alto Violetta

Basso

“Alzo al volo” contains much of the same idiomatic horn-writing that Hiebert observed in Lotti’s aria (see Example 3.3). The most apparent similarity between the two arias is their employment of 3/8 meter. Indeed, all the movements that include music for horn in both versions of *Radamisto* are written in some form of triple meter: Handel writes “Alzo al volo” in 3/8 meter in both versions, the chorus “Un dì più felice bramarsi

non lice” in 3/4 meter in both versions, and the Passepied from the first version in 3/4 meter; however, not all of Handel’s operatic horn parts make use of triple meter. One of his most well-known arias to include horn, “Va tacito, e nascosto” from *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), is written in quadruple meter. When Handel deviates from traditional hunting-horn meter he does so because of dramatic necessity.

Similarly, Handel writes “Alzo al volo” in triple meter not only because it is associated with hunting horns but also because—and perhaps more importantly—because it serves to dramatize Tiridate. According to Dean and Knapp:

They [the horns] colour the whole aria, opening the way for pedal and echo effects (horns and *tutti* in bars 9-15, horns, violins, and voice in bars 88-93) and giving the music an irresistible bounce, very appropriate at a point when Tiridate believes he has won.²⁹⁸

It is the presence of horns as well as the use of triple meter that gives this aria its “irresistible bounce,” thereby portraying Tiridate’s overconfidence.²⁹⁹

In addition to triple meter, Handel also incorporates the hunting horn’s stock rhythmic device in “Alzo al volo.” Both the first and second horn perform this rhythm within the opening fifteen measures of the movement: it occurs in the first horn part in m. 3 and in the second horn part in m. 9, and in both parts in mm. 13-15. Hiebert noted the ubiquity of this rhythmic device in early eighteenth-century music for horn. It should not be a surprise, then, that its use is not limited to “Alzo al volo.” Indeed, it permeates Handel’s operatic horn music. For example, of the eight movements in 3/8 meter that employ horns, seven movements make use of this rhythmic device. It is noteworthy that

²⁹⁸ Dean and Knapp, *Handel’s Operas*, 337.

²⁹⁹ Hiebert observes that Dresden-based composers did not always for write for the horn in triple meter either: “Though triple meter is the most common for early horn writing, one also finds writing for the horn in duple meter” (47). It is simply that triple meter is widespread in horn music of this time because of the horn’s association with the hunt.

the single movement lacking the device, the Act III chorus “All’amistà fedel” from *Alessandro* (HWV21 (1726), contains parts for trumpets and horns, with the horns doubling the trumpet parts at the octave.

Movements in other forms of compound meter are less consistent, with only two out of the five movements in 6/8 meter making use of the device. As expected, however, the remaining three movements decline its use based on aesthetic and not on instrumental reasons. Neither the single movement in 9/8 meter nor the single movement in 12/8 meter from Handel’s operas makes use of this device, but the movement in 12/8 meter seems to have more affiliation with stylized dances such as the gigue rather than with the hunt.³⁰⁰ On the other hand, Handel uses it consistently in an augmented form in many of the operatic horn parts utilizing 3/4 time. For instance, the Act II, scene i chorus “Òggi rimbombano di feste” from *Atalanta* (HWV35, 1736) makes prominent use of the rhythmic figure of a quarter note followed by four eighth-notes in the two horn parts.

One suspects that because this figure is ubiquitous in Baroque horn music, it must, like triple meter, derive from the French hunting tradition. Perhaps it is related to the performing style called *le ton roulé* (‘to roll’), in which the *cor de chasse* performer articulates the note using the ordinary ‘tu’ and then prolongs this note by articulating ‘lu’ on the same note without interrupting the air flow.³⁰¹

In addition to triple meter and the hunting-horn rhythm, Handel also makes use of both open and horn fifths in “Alzo al volo.” One sees an ornamented version of horn fifths in Lotti’s aria (mm. 28-30). Handel’s use of horn fifths seems more imaginative.

³⁰⁰ J. Murray Barbour, *Trumpets, Horns, and Music* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1964), 125.

³⁰¹ Daniel Bourgue, “La trompe de chasse, son histoire, sa technique, sa musique,” *Brass Bulletin* 39 (1982): 29-30.

For example, m. 114 appears to start with a horn fifths pattern. Beginning on beat two, the first horn has a written $f\sharp^2$ and the second horn a written d^2 . In the next measure they proceed in a traditional manner, with the first horn playing a written e^2 and the second horn playing a written a^2 . From there the two parts should continue down in pitch to a written a^1 and $f\sharp^1$, yet they play those pitches one octave too high (m. 116). The first horn then holds out the a^1 for four measures, while the second horn performs a florid passage based on the rhythmic figure discussed above. The two horns are soloists in these measures. The full orchestra joins them again in m.120, and true horn fifths are heard in the final cadence in mm. 123-125.

Handel's confidence in the abilities of his players is indicated by the extensive obbligato horn-writing in this movement. As in Lotti's aria, Handel's horn players are equal partners in this ensemble. Yet Handel does not restrict them to performing only in the introductory and concluding ritornellos. Apparently, he did not share Lotti's concern that the horns would overpower the voice,³⁰² perhaps because of his more subtle use of the horns. For example, in m. 43 the first horn alone plays a single held-out pitch for five measures as the singer performs running sixteenth notes. When the horn assists the singer in ending the phrase with its own sixteenth-note flourish in m. 49, the singer takes on a subsidiary role with eighth notes, only completing the phrase unaccompanied with sixteenth notes in mm. 50-52.

Handel reverses this arrangement for the next phrase. Beginning in m. 57, it is the singer who holds out a single pitch for three measures as the two horns together perform an obbligato passage containing eighth and sixteenth notes. One can further confirm that Handel thought of his horn players as independent members of the ensemble in mm. 88-

³⁰² Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 41.

94, where the strings and voice trade a musical idea, again based on the stock rhythmic figure, with the two horns.

By contrast, Handel relegates the horns to a supporting role when the harmonic series prevents them from playing certain passages. For example, if the horns were to double the oboes and strings in mm. 41-42, the first horn would have to play the non-series pitch b^1 , and the second horn would need to perform a^1 , $g\#^1$, and b^1 . Handel's music for horns in his operas shows minimal use of non-harmonic tones, and "Alzo al volo" is no exception; however, in 1720 it would have been extraordinary to have found Handel or any other composer utilizing these midrange pitches.

The horn players must also opt out when the woodwind and string parts are either too florid or contain too many leaps. This stylistic feature is common in much early eighteenth-century music for horn and results again from the limitations imposed by the harmonic series:

As a result of technical considerations, Baroque-period horn and trumpet parts usually involve skips at relatively long note values, while sections with faster figures become conjunct . . . Fast disjunct figures were . . . difficult to play than conjunct lines and were not idiomatic for the horn like they were for the violin. Occasional examples of this disjunct style are found in the literature, but they are in the minority and are usually found in solo works for horn, not larger orchestral works.³⁰³

Therefore, the fast disjunct passages in the oboes and violins in mm. 13-15 were not possible on the horn. Instead, Handel here gives the horns repeated note figures, referred to as a pedal effect by Dean and Knapp,³⁰⁴ based on the common rhythmic device discussed above. These pedal figures contain the lowest pitches Handel asks his

³⁰³ Ibid., 44-45. Hiebert observes that second horn parts later in the century make use of "mid-register, quasi-Alberti bass figures more often" (45). Handel employs this kind of writing in the second horn parts of his opera *Arianna in Creta* (HWV32, 1734).

³⁰⁴ Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 337.

horn players to perform (mm. 14, 16-17); the first horn does not descend this low again throughout the remainder of Handel's operatic career.

Finally, Lotti restricts his horn players to the tonic and dominant sections of the music, yet the horn players in "Alzo al volo" perform in both the 'A' and 'B' sections of the aria; however, as Dean and Knapp note, Handel does not go very far afield harmonically in the 'B' section:

The B section is distinguished by vocal cross-rhythms, seventh leaps, arpeggio violin figures (much admired by Burney), and the strong cadence in the dominant: Tiridate is in no mood for dawdling in relative or other minor keys.³⁰⁵

Thus, the horn parts in Handel's aria "Alzo al volo" share many technical features with the horn parts in Lotti's aria "Il desio di morte." Handel uses triple meter, the common rhythmic figure of an eighth followed by four sixteenth notes, and both open and horn fifths. In addition, he treats the horns independently while keeping their melodic lines within the confines of the harmonic series, and, finally, he utilizes the horns primarily in the tonic and dominant sections of the aria.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

Example 3.3. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, “Alzo al volo,” mm. 1-23. Horns in D.³⁰⁶

172

34. Aria

Allegro

Oboe I

Oboe II

Corno I

Corno II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

TIRIDATE

Bassi
(Violoncello,
Contrabbasso,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

³⁰⁶ HHA, ser. II, band 9.1, ed. Best.

Example 3.3. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, “Alzo al volo,” mm. 24-43. Horns in D.

[illegible]

Example 3.3. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, "Alzo al volo," mm. 44-62. Horns in D.

174

Oboe I

Oboe II

Corno I

Corno II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

TIRIDATE

Bassi
(Violoncello,
Contrabbasso,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

53

la spe - ran - za ch'ho nel cor,

la spe - ran

The image displays a musical score for a scene from G. F. Handel's opera *Radamisto*. The score is divided into two systems. The first system, starting at measure 174, includes staves for Oboe I, Oboe II, Corno I, Corno II, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, and the vocal part of TIRIDATE. The second system, starting at measure 53, includes staves for the vocal part of TIRIDATE and the Basses (Violoncello, Contrabbasso, Fagotto, Cembalo). The score features various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The lyrics are in Italian, with the first system showing "la spe - ran - za ch'ho nel cor," and the second system showing "la spe - ran".

Example 3.3. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, “Alzo al volo,” mm. 63-83. Horns in D.

175

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 63 to 73, and the second system covers measures 73 to 83. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The time signature is common time (C). The instruments are Oboe I, Oboe II, Corno I, Corno II, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, TIRIDATE (soprano), and Bassi (Violoncello, Contrabbasso, Fagotto, Cembalo). The lyrics are in Italian. Dynamic markings include *f* (forte) and *p* (piano).

System 1 (Measures 63-73):

- Oboe I, Oboe II, Corno I, Corno II:** These instruments play a sustained chord of D major throughout the first system.
- Violino I, Violino II, Viola:** These instruments play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, starting with a half rest in measure 63.
- TIRIDATE:** The soprano part begins in measure 63 with the lyrics "za, la spe - ran - za, la spe - ran - za ch'io nel".
- Bassi:** The bass part begins in measure 63 with the lyrics "za, la spe - ran - za, la spe - ran - za ch'io nel".

System 2 (Measures 73-83):

- Oboe I, Oboe II, Corno I, Corno II:** These instruments continue to play the sustained D major chord.
- Violino I, Violino II, Viola:** These instruments continue the rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.
- TIRIDATE:** The soprano part continues with the lyrics "cor, al-zo al vo - lo di mia fa - ma la spe -".
- Bassi:** The bass part continues with the lyrics "cor, al-zo al vo - lo di mia fa - ma la spe -".

Example 3.3. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, “Alzo al volo,” mm. 84-103. Horns in D.

176

84

Oboe I

Oboe II

Corno I

Corno II

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

TIRIDATE

ran - za, la spe - ran -

Bassi
(Violoncello,
Contrabbasso,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

94

za, la spe - ran - za ch'io nel cor

Example 3.3. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12a, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, “Alzo al volo,” mm. 126-156. Horns in D.

178

126

Cor. I

Cor. II

p

V. I

V. II

p

TIRIDATE

Se con - ten - ta fai mia bra - ma. sa - rà pa - go il mio ri - gor, sa - rà pa - go il mio ri -

Bassi

p

137

gor, sa - rà pa - go il mio ri - gor; se con - ten - ta fai mia bra - ma, sa - rà

147

pa - go il mio ri - gor, il mio ri - gor, sa - rà pa - go il mio ri - gor.

da capo

“Alzo al volo” also uses stylistic devices found in the music of many composers from the early eighteenth century. Writers have maintained that horn music in England in general and Handel’s music in particular did nothing more than mimic the *clarino* style of the trumpet;³⁰⁷ however, a close assessment of Handel’s operatic horn parts shows this judgment to be simplistic. Like his colleagues, Handel worked within the confines not only of the hunting-horn tradition but also of the harmonic series to write interesting music for the horn. Hiebert describes this idiomatic Baroque horn-writing:

Therefore, when confronted with these technical limitations of the horn, composers of the early 18th century developed two soloistic writing techniques or styles. The first style is characterized by mid-register triadic hunting-call figures in relatively long note values, and the second is characterized by *clarino* register florid melodic spinning out or *Fortspinnung*.³⁰⁸

These two writing styles derived from two separate brass traditions, namely that of the hunting horn and the Baroque trumpet. By combining them into single melodies, composers overcame limitations imposed by the harmonic series, especially the lower end of the series. As early as 1700, Carlo Agostino Badia, in his opera *Diana rappacificata*, utilized simultaneously both of these styles in his horn melodies.³⁰⁹

Lotti’s aria does not incorporate much low or midregister triadic movement; however, it retains its hunting flavor through Lotti’s use of horn fifths and the stock rhythmic device. Handel’s aria “Alzo al volo,” on the other hand, employs clearly these two styles simultaneously in his melody. Mm. 1-2 in the first horn make use of a triadic, fanfare-like motive, repeated in mm. 2-3 in the second horn. This motif moves quickly to

³⁰⁷ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 76, 84

³⁰⁸ Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 45; Thomas Hiebert, “The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 104-105; Thomas Hiebert, “Virtuosity, Experimentation, and Innovation in Horn Writing From Early 18th-Century Dresden,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 112.

³⁰⁹ Hiebert, “The Horn in the Baroque and Classical Periods,” 104-105.

a *clarino*-like melody in m. 3. Mm. 7-8 contain a prominent horn fifths passage, but in mm. 9-11 the second horn resumes playing in the *clarino* style. Both horns then move quickly to a repeated-note version of the stock rhythmic figure described above.

By comparing Lotti's aria with Handel's, one sees that Handel was undoubtedly inspired by the horn music he heard at the Dresden wedding festivities of 1719, but "Alzo al volo" shows that he was also clearly influenced by horn music written by Reinhard Keiser in Hamburg. As noted previously, Handel resided in Hamburg when Keiser's opera *Octavia* (1705) premiered. It should come as no surprise, then, that one sees Keiser employing the same combinatory melodic style in the horn parts of his aria "La Roma trionfante" from *Octavia* (Example 3.4). Like Handel, Keiser begins his melody with a fanfare-like passage in the mid to low register and then proceeds to an upper register *clarino*-type melody. Given Handel's extensive reputation for "borrowing," it is tempting to accuse Handel of approximating some of Keiser's music in *Radamisto*; however, as Hiebert notes, one sees this same writing style in Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, BWV1046 (Example 3.5), as well as in his "Jagdkantate" *Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd*, BWV208.³¹⁰ Not only Bach and Keiser, but also Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) used this horn style. In his Concerto in D for Two Horns and Orchestra, Telemann begins the second movement with one measure of hunting calls and then proceeds immediately to trumpet-like melodies in the upper register (Example 3.6).

³¹⁰ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 45.

Example 3.4. Reinhard Keiser, *Octavia* (Hamburg, 1705), “La Roma triofante,” mm. 1-5.³¹¹ Horns in C.

I.
Corne de Chasse.

II.
Corne de Chasse.

Violini unisoni
e Oboe.

Violette.

NERO.

(Bassi.)

con Hautb.

(Viol. senza Hautb.)

³¹¹ Reinhard Keiser, *Octavia*, *Supplement enthaltend Quellen zu Händel's Werken*, ed. Friedrich Chrysander (Leipzig, 1902), 6: 20-21.

Example 3.4. Reinhard Keiser, *Octavia* (Hamburg, 1705), “La Roma triofante,” mm. 6-11. Horns in C.

The first system of the musical score consists of seven staves. The top two staves are for the Horns in C, with the first staff labeled "(Ob. I.)" and the second staff labeled "(Ob. II.)". The third staff is for the Hautbois, labeled "Hautb.". The fourth staff is for the Tutti, labeled "Tutti". The fifth staff is for the Violins, labeled "Viol.". The sixth staff is for the Basses, labeled "Bass.". The seventh staff is for the Cello and Double Bass, labeled "Cello". The lyrics "La Ro-ma tri-on-fan-te, tri-on-fan-te," are written below the Bass staff.

The second system of the musical score consists of seven staves. The top two staves are for the Horns in C, with the first staff labeled "(Ob. I.)" and the second staff labeled "(Ob. II.)". The third staff is for the Hautbois, labeled "Hautb.". The fourth staff is for the Tutti, labeled "Tutti". The fifth staff is for the Violins, labeled "Viol.". The sixth staff is for the Basses, labeled "Bass.". The seventh staff is for the Cello and Double Bass, labeled "Cello". The lyrics "la Ro-ma tri-on-fan-te, tri-on-fan-te," are written below the Bass staff.

Example 3.5. J. S. Bach, Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, BWV1046, I, mm. 12-19. Horns in F.³¹²

5

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 12 to 15, and the second system covers measures 16 to 19. The instruments listed on the left are: Corno I, Corno II, Oboe I, Oboe II, Oboe III, Fagotto, Violino Piccolo, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Violoncello, and Continuo e Violone grosso. The score is written in F major and 3/4 time. The first system (mm. 12-15) shows the Horns playing a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system (mm. 16-19) shows the Horns playing a similar melodic line, with the Corno I and Corno II parts being more prominent.

³¹² J. S. Bach, Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, BWV1046, *Die Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie VII: *Orchesterwerke*, bd. 2, ed. Heinrich Besseler (Göttingen: Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, 1956, supplement 1975).

Example 3.6. Georg Philipp Telemann, Concerto in D for Two Horns and Orchestra, mm. 1-6. Horns in D.³¹³

The musical score is for the first six measures of the Concerto in D for Two Horns and Orchestra by Georg Philipp Telemann. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The time signature is 2/4. The instruments listed on the left are Corno I, Corno II, Violino I, Oboe I, Violino II, Oboe II, Viola, Basso ripieno, Fagotto, Cembalo, and Violoncello. The first system shows measures 1-3, and the second system shows measures 4-6. The horns play a melodic line, while the strings provide harmonic support.

³¹³ Georg Philipp Telemann, Concerto in D for Two Horns and Orchestra, *Musikalische Werke: Konzerte für Mehrere Instrumente*, bd. 26, ed. Siegfried Kross (Basel; London; New York: Bärenreiter-Kassel, 1989).

Far from merely borrowing musical material from Keiser, Handel utilized a style of writing for the horn in “Alzo al volo” employed by many early eighteenth-century composers.

“Alzo al volo”
December 1720

Thus far I have examined the horn parts from the first version of “Alzo al volo.” The second version retains a great deal of the first version’s horn music (Example 3.7), even if much of it is now doubled by the *trombini*. Yet Handel still treats the horns independently in three places. First, in mm. 9-12, the horns play their obbligato part without the *trombini*. Second, in mm. 88-93, the horns trade the same musical idea with the winds and string group as in the first version, albeit with the former now consisting of oboes and *trombini*. Third, the horns again perform in the ‘B’ section of this version of the aria without either oboes or *trombini*.

On the other hand, Handel also allows the *trombini* to perform soloistically. In m. 13, for example, they perform a separate part from both the pedal notes of the horns and the florid sixteenth notes of the strings. In addition, the first *trombino* performs without either the second *trombino* or the horns in mm. 98-101, although the rhythms of the first *trombino*’s music duplicate that of the violins.

Therefore, if Handel did in fact add the two *trombini* to the musical texture of “Alzo al volo” in December 1720, the horns maintained their soloistic role nonetheless. It is interesting to note that Handel also treated the trumpets and horns independently in parts of the chorus “Un dì più felice bramarsi non lice.” For example, in mm. 70-78 of both HWV12a and 12b, the trumpets and horns have independent parts, with the horns

echoing the trumpet music one octave lower. This employment of independent brass instruments foreshadows a technique that Handel will use in selected choruses in his oratorios.

Example 3.7. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12b, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, “Alzo al volo,” mm. 1-18. Horns in F.³¹⁴

178

32. Aria
Allegro

Oboe I

Oboe II

Trombino I *)
in Fa / F

Trombino II *)
in Fa / F

Corno I
in Fa / F

Corno II
in Fa / F

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

TIRIDATE

Bassi
(Violoncello,
Contrabbasso,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

*) Vgl. / See Critical Report.

³¹⁴ HHA, ser. II, band 9.2, ed. Best.

Example 3.7. G. F. Handel, *Radamisto* (HWV12b, 1720), Act III, sc. vi, “Alzo al volo,” mm. 19-38. Horns in F.

179

19

Oboe I

Oboe II

Trombino I
in Fa/F

Trombino II
in Fa/F

Corno I
in Fa/F

Corno II
in Fa/F

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

TIRIDATE

Bassi
(Violoncello,
Contrabbasso,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

Al - zo al vo - lo di mia — fa-ma

29

solo

la - spe - ran - za ch'ho nel cor, al - zo al vo - lo di mia — fa-ma —

In conclusion, *Radamisto*, Handel's first opera for the Royal Academy of Music in London and his first opera to include horn parts, may not have been the first employment of horns in the London theater, but it was without doubt the most striking use of the instrument to date. Whether Handel relied on local or imported horn players using either fixed-pitch or crooked instruments is unknown, though it is possible that performers utilized crooked instruments for the December 1720 performances.

Handel's style of writing for the horn in the aria "Alzo al volo" shares many features with music by Lotti and other continental composers. Like Lotti, Handel utilizes triple meter, open and horn fifths, and a ubiquitous hunting-horn figure. He treats the horns independently as he writes interesting and dramatically appropriate music for them within the limitations imposed by the harmonic series. But his utilization of a style of writing for the horn also seen in music written by Keiser, Bach, and Telemann, attests to his immersion in continental writing practices for the horn. Furthermore, Telemann may have directly influenced Handel's use of two trumpets and two horns in F in the second version of "Alzo al volo."

Given Handel's skill in writing for the instrument, it is no wonder that Burney and other audience members took notice of the horn in 1720, even if composers other than Handel had utilized the instrument first.

Giulio Cesare in Egitto

Giulio Cesare in Egitto (HWV17, 1724) contains some of the most innovative and idiomatic music for the instrument in Handel's entire output. This fact need not surprise us if we remember that Handel wrote music for the musicians and singers available to him. Handel clearly had horn specialists available for the 1723-24 season.

In fact, it seems they were on hand for that season only: when Handel revived *Giulio Cesare* in 1725, he removed the difficult G major sinfonia and replaced it with a March for trumpet. Dean and Knapp speculate that this deletion resulted from the “inadequacy of the horns.”³¹⁵ I would have to agree: the players who performed in the 1724 performances were unavailable in 1725.

Table 3.2. Horns in *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724).

Act, scene	Genre of Movement and Title	Key(s) of Horns
Act I, sc. i	Coro, “Viva il nostro Alcide”	Corno I & II in A
		Corno III & IV in D
Act I, sc. ix	Aria, “Va tacito e nascosto”	Corno obbligato in F
Act III, <i>scena ultima</i>	Sinfonia	Corno I & II in G
		Corno III & IV in D
Act III, <i>scena ultima</i>	Coro, “Ritorni omai nel nostro core”	Corno I & II in G
		Corno III & IV in D

Table 3.2 lists the movements in which Handel employs horns in *Giulio Cesare*. One notices immediately two features. Handel asks two of his four horn players to perform in more than one key, and he specifies the simultaneous use of horns in different keys.

In the last section I discussed the horns most likely used in performances of *Radamisto* and concluded that it was probable and even likely that the players used crooked instruments in the second version of that work. The case for the use of crooked horns in *Giulio Cesare* is far stronger. *Radamisto* required the horn players to perform only in the common keys of D and F. In *Giulio Cesare* the first and second horns both

³¹⁵ Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 500-503.

perform not only in more than one key but also in keys besides the ordinary keys of D and F: the first horn utilizes A, G, and F, and the second horn A and G. The third and fourth horn parts consist only of music in the key of D. These two parts did not require crooked instruments, and though the players may have utilized them, the music provides no evidence that they did so. Of course, it is still possible that the first and second horn used three and two fixed-pitch horns respectively at each performance of *Giulio Cesare*, but this scenario seems questionable at best. The music would have sounded the same regardless. It is only the expense and aggravation of carrying and using three separate instruments that might have provided a strong motivation for the players to use a single crooked horn.

In addition, Handel's employment of horn in A for the first and second horn in the opening chorus, "Viva il nostro Alcide," also supports the use of crooks. The presence of fixed-pitch horns in A in England in the first half of the century seems unlikely. We have seen that Christopher Winch, in his *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn* (1745) lists fixed-pitch horns in G, F, E, D, and C, but not in A.³¹⁶ The fact that Winch's tutor was published twenty years after the premiere of *Giulio Cesare* does not detract from the work's relevance in this context. Indeed, if fixed-pitch horns were unavailable in 1745, they were much less likely to have been available in 1724. Furthermore, horn in A is an unusual key in early eighteenth-century horn music, even if composers such as F. W. Zachow and J. D. Zelenka seem to have used it regularly in the early part of the

³¹⁶ Christopher Winch, *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency To which are Added All the Hunting Notes and Several Choice Lessons for One and Two French Horns* (London: John Simpson, 1746). I would like to thank Richard Seraphinoff for sending me a copy of this work.

century.³¹⁷ Since Handel studied with Zachow in Halle, it is possible that Zachow influenced his choice of horn in A for *Giulio Cesare*.³¹⁸

Therefore, Handel's employment of three and two keys for the first and second horn, respectively, and his choice of horn in A for their first movement argues strongly for the players' use of crooks in *Giulio Cesare*.

Act I, sc. i
"Viva il nostro Alcide"

Even more striking, however, is Handel's employment of four horn players performing in two different keys in the same movement. In the Act I, scene i chorus, "Viva il nostro Alcide," the first and second horns are pitched in A, while the third and fourth horns are pitched in D. In the Act III *scena ultima* sinfonia and chorus "Ritorni omai nel nostro core," the horn parts are written in the keys of G and D. Handel's astonishingly early use of two horns in different keys was prescient, but he never repeated this experiment.³¹⁹ Although the technique of writing for brass instruments in different keys was "commonplace in the latter part of the eighteenth century," Handel and N. Porpora (1686-1768) seem to have been the first composers to have made use of it.³²⁰ Porpora's opera *Adelaide* (1723) contains a sinfonia with parts for trumpets in D and horns in G,³²¹ thereby making his use of this technique concurrent with Handel's.

³¹⁷ Reine Dahlqvist, "Corno and Corno da caccia: Horn Terminology, Horn Pitches, and High Horn Parts," *Basler-Jahrbuch für Musikpraxis* 15 (1991): 45-47.

³¹⁸ Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 1. Halle," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

³¹⁹ See Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas*, 500; Burrows, *Handel*, 138; Birchard Coar, *The French Horn* (1947; repr. Dekalb, 1971), 19. For information on Mozart and Haydn's use of mixed-key horns, see Paul R. Bryan, "The Horn in the Works of Mozart and Haydn: Some Observations and Comparisons," in *Haydn Yearbook* 9 (1975): 189-255.

³²⁰ Thomas Hiebert, "Early Examples of Mixed-Keyed Horns and Trumpets in the Works of C. Graupner," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 6 (1994): 231.

³²¹ Hiebert, "Early Examples," 239.

Another composer who began to write for horns or horns and trumpets in different keys in the same movement was Christoph Graupner (1683-1760), the court composer at Darmstadt.³²² Graupner's cantata *Nun danket alle Gott* (DS 436/1) composed in 1728, four years after the premiere of *Giulio Cesare*, contains parts for two trumpets in C and two horns in G.³²³ Unlike Handel, however, Graupner used horns and trumpets together in many works—eighteen in all—between the years 1728 and 1753.³²⁴

Like Mozart and Haydn later in the century, Graupner, Porpora, and Handel wrote for horns and/or horns and trumpets in different keys in an attempt to overcome limitations inherent in the harmonic series. Commenting on Graupner's use of a horn in F with a horn in G, Hiebert states: "By writing for horns a step apart Graupner has effectively filled in the gaps in the middle register of the horns' scale and is thus able to expand the gamut of pitches available in the middle to low register."³²⁵

Handel's use of mixed-key horns shares many characteristics with Graupner's employment of this technique. For example, Graupner often explores the relationships between the tonic and dominant and the tonic and subdominant in his brass parts:

Graupner often scored together brass instruments keyed a fourth—or more frequently, a fifth—apart. There were specific reasons for choosing these relationships, the most obvious being that with them, brass instruments could participate in the subdominant or dominant keys more easily.³²⁶

Like Graupner, Handel places both pairs of horns in *Giulio Cesare* either in the keys of the tonic and the dominant or in the keys of the tonic and the subdominant. In the opening chorus, he combines horns in A and D (tonic and subdominant), and in the two

³²² Ibid., 231.

³²³ Ibid., 238-239.

³²⁴ Ibid., 232.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid.

movements from Act III that utilize horns, Handel writes for horn in G and D (tonic and dominant).

Handel also utilizes the two harmonic series to produce chords in the horn parts.

Hiebert describes Graupner's use of this technique as the "chordal" approach:

The chordal approach simply combines notes from more than one harmonic series to produce intervals or chords, many of which are otherwise not possible on brass instruments confined to the normal series tones, especially in the middle register.³²⁷

Handel employs this chordal approach most effectively in the opening chorus "Viva il nostro Alcide" (Example 3.8) by combining the pitches from the horns' harmonic series in A and D. Example 3.9 shows each of the series, as well as the gamut of pitches available when they are combined.

³²⁷ Ibid., 233.

Example 3.8. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc. i, “Viva il nostro Alcide,” mm. 1-18. Horns in A and D.³²⁸

5

ATTO PRIMO

SCENA I.

Campagna d'Egitto con antico ponte sopra un ramo del Nilo.

GIULIO CESARE e CURIO che passano il ponte con seguito.

CORO.

Non troppo allegro.

Corno I & II
in A.

Corno III & IV
in D.

Violino I. II.
Oboe I.

Violino III.
Oboe II.

Viola.

DURASTANTI.

ROBINSON.

BIGONGI, e
BERENSTADT.

BOSCHI, e
LE GUARE.

Tutti Bassi.

H. W. 89.

³²⁸ *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 68, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.8. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc. i, “Viva il nostro Alcide,” mm. 19-37. Horns in A and D.

6

Corno I & II
in A

Corno III & IV
In D

Violino I. II.
Oboe I.

Violino III.
Oboe II.

Viola.

DURASTANTI.

ROBINSON.

BIGONGI, e
BERENSTADT

BOSCHI, e
LE GUARE

Tutti Bassi

Fi - va, vi - va il no-stro Al - ci - de! go - da, -

Fi - va, vi - va il no-stro Al - ci - de! go - da, -

Fi - va, vi - va il no-stro Al - ci - de! go - da, -

Fi - va, vi - va il no-stro Al - ci - de! go - da, -

go - da, go - da il Ni - lo in que - sto di! O - gni spiag - gia

go - da, go - da il Ni - lo in que - sto di! O - gni spiag - gia

go - da, go - da il Ni - lo in que - sto di! O - gni spiag - gia

go - da, go - da il Ni - lo in que - sto di! O - gni spiag - gia

Example 3.8. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc. i, "Viva il nostro Alcide," mm. 38-56. Horns in A and D.

7

Corno I & II
in A

Corno III & IV
in D

Violino I, II.
Oboe I.

Violino III.
Oboe II.

Viola.

DURASTANTI.

ROBINSON.

BIGONGI, e
BERENSTADT

BOSCHI, e
LE GUARE

Tutti Bassi

per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì;

per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì;

per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì;

per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì;

o - gni spiag - gia per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì.

o - gni spiag - gia per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì.

o - gni spiag - gia per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì.

o - gni spiag - gia per lui ri - de, o - gni af - fan - no già spa - rì.

Example 3.8. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc. i, “Viva il nostro Alcide,” mm. 57-64. Horns in A and D.

8

Corno I & II
in A

Corno III & IV
In D

Violino I. II.
Oboe I.

Violino III.
Oboe II.

Viola.

DURASTANTI.

ROBINSON.

BIGONGI, e
BERENSTADT

BOSCHI, e
LE GUARE

Tutti Bassi

Example 3.9. Combined pitches in the horn parts of the chorus “Viva il nostro Alcide,” *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724). Indicated in concert pitch.

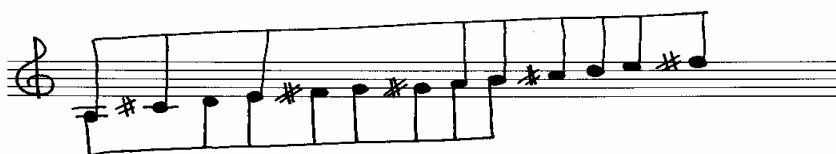
Pitches for the Horns in A.



Pitches for the Horns in D



Combined Pitches for Both Sets of Horns



As one can see in Example 3.9, the harmonic series in D fills in the gaps in the harmonic series in A, especially in the lower and middle register. The low pitches for the horns in A are a , $c\sharp^1$, e^1 , and a^1 . The horns in D fill in these holes with the following pitches: d^1 , $f\sharp^1$, g^1 , and $g\sharp^1$. Looking at Example 3.8, one sees that Handel applies this chordal approach effectively as soon as the horns enter the musical texture in mm. 17-18.

Although these measures contain nothing more than a I-V-I progression, a single pair of horns pitched in the same key could not have participated fully in this music. Beats one and two of m. 17 contain the following written pitches in the four parts: c^2 and e^1 in the first and second horns, as well as d^2 and g^1 in the third and fourth horns, sounding as a^1 , $c\sharp^1$, e^1 , and e respectively.³²⁹ These four pitches produce the tonic chord. Beat three contains the written pitches d^2 , g^1 , $f\sharp^2$, and d^2 , sounding as b^1 , e^1 , $g\sharp^1$, and e^1 . Two of the pitches from this dominant chord, b^1 and e^1 , are contained in both series (Example 3.9), but the sounding $g\sharp^1$ derives only from the harmonic series in D. As a written $f\sharp^2$, it is a variant of the eleventh harmonic that Handel uses so frequently in his horn parts.

Proceeding to m. 18, the horns once again form a tonic chord using the written pitches e^2 , c^2 , d^1 , and g^1 (sounding $c\sharp^2$, a^1 , e^1 , and a). Interestingly, Horn I begins to double the violin melody in m. 18 and continues to do so through m. 25, when horn III

³²⁹ To arrive at the sounding pitch for the horn parts in A, transpose the pitches down a minor third, and to arrive at the sounding pitch for the horn parts in D, transpose the pitches down a minor seventh.

then begins to double the violin melody. In m. 25, the music has modulated to the key of the subdominant, and thus Handel assigns the leading role to the horns pitched in that key, D. Hiebert describes this technique of writing for mixed-keyed horns as the “imitative” approach:

Here a statement by two trumpets in the tonic key is echoed by two horns in the dominant in concertante style . . . The procedure is straightforward: by employing the same harmonics on differently-pitched instruments one effects a restatement in a new key, or emphasizes a new harmony—something not as easily done with horns and/or trumpets in the same key.³³⁰

Handel does not use the horns in this movement in *concertante* style, but he does employ them to emphasize the change in key.

Because of the expanded availability of pitches, the four horns are able to play throughout most of the chorus. This ability contrasts greatly with standard early eighteenth-century practice. As stated previously, most of the horn music of this time is limited to the tonic and dominant sections of music. In this chorus, the horns are silent only in the section of the movement in the remote key of F# minor. The distance from either A major or D major to F# minor is just too great, though the removal of the horns in this section seems appropriate for other reasons: the lack of horns, winds, and chorus creates a contrasting *piano* section before the final return to the tonic at the end of the chorus.

The chordal nature of the horn parts and the ability of the horn players to perform effectively through various modulations are two of the unusual features of these early eighteenth-century horn parts. Their uniqueness is further emphasized by a lack of the

³³⁰ Hiebert, “Early Examples,” 234.

common early eighteenth-century stylistic devices discussed above: triple meter, open and horn fifths, the stock rhythmic device, and the use of a pair of *concertante* horns.

Although Handel writes the movement in triple meter, he makes little use of either horn fifths or the stock rhythmic device. One finds the former used sparingly and generally in cadences, and the latter is hidden in the second horn part in m. 55. Handel does not use the horns in a *concertante* manner, and he employs neither hunting-horn fanfares nor *clarino* melodies. Indeed, the only feature of this movement that bears any similarity to the music discussed in the previous section of this chapter is Handel's use of the horns as equal members of the ensemble. In this respect, they are far less technically limited than the horns in *Radamisto* and *Giove in Argo*, and they have shed completely their traditional association with hunting-horn music.

The third and fourth horn parts in this movement are especially unusual because of their "inner-part" character, as opposed to a "top-line" character.³³¹ This condition is demonstrated as soon as the horns enter the musical texture. When the first and second horns enter the movement in m. 17, they perform a typical horn fifths pattern in m. 17 and then an ornamented version in mm. 18-19. In mm. 22-23 their parts move together primarily in thirds, and except for the written f^2 in the first horn part, they perform only in-tune pitches from the harmonic series up until m. 26, when the third and fourth horns assume the melodic lead.

These parts contrast greatly with the third and fourth horn parts. The third horn enters m. 17 on the ninth harmonic and then proceeds immediately by leap to the out-of-tune eleventh harmonic, a written $f\sharp^2$. Although the third horn has the luxury of returning to the written d^2 , the player does not once in sixteen measures play its own tonic. The

³³¹ Hiebert, "A Case for Horn in D *basso*," 126.

fourth horn does not play a written c^2 until six measures into its part, though since the third horn is playing an augmented fourth above this note, it is uncertain how helpful this so-called resting point may have been for the fourth horn player. Once the music moves to the subdominant of D, the third and fourth horns perform parts in thirds utilizing horn fifths, just as the first and second horn did in their own key. Even so, the lack of a home pitch must have been unsettling to players used to performing in *concertante* style in either the tonic or the dominant.

The third horn part is also one of the few movements in which Handel asks the player to play a written $g\sharp^2$ (mm. 35, 43). In this chorus, the third horn must differentiate between a written $g\sharp^2$ and a written a^2 , both versions of the thirteenth harmonic. Indeed, in m. 35 the third horn attacks $g\sharp^2$ cold after resting for two measures. Fortunately, the pitch is doubled in the second violin and alto parts, and the former has a trill on the pitch. The resulting instability must have helped the third horn player hide possible defects in pitch.

The prevalence of out-of-tune pitches in the third horn part notwithstanding, Handel did not consider this movement as treacherous as the Act III sinfonia: when he revived *Giulio Cesare* in 1725, he replaced this movement with a standard march in D for trumpet, although he left the opening chorus intact. Clearly, horn players in the 1720s had some way of managing these out-of-tune pitches. Except for the written $g\sharp^2$ in m. 35, most of the out-of-tune pitches are approached by step, and so the players may have lipped them into place. This theory seems likely since the lower parts (i.e., the second and fourth horns) do not contain any out-of-tune or non-series tones. It was easier to lip

upper-register pitches into place. Fixing out-of-tune pitches or performing non-series tones in the lower register generally required hand-stopping.

In conclusion, then, the opening chorus, “Viva il nostro Alcide,” employs horns in the tonic and subdominant. Because Handel combines the pitches from the two harmonic series associated with these keys, the horns are able to not only perform through various modulations but also play chords that would otherwise not have been possible with two horns in one key only. This striking usage, however, negates many of the traditional hunting-horn features found in early eighteenth-century music for horn, and the third and fourth horn parts in particular demanded players who could navigate well on a horn pitched in a different key from the tonic of the movement.

Act III, *scena ultima*
Sinfonia

The difficult sinfonia from Act III also uses four horns, two pairs pitched in G and D, respectively (Example 3.10); however, this movement uses each pair in a *concertante* manner, thereby making far greater use of Hiebert’s “imitative approach.” Handel not only exploits the differences in tone color between these two pairs of instruments but also employs them to effect modulations. In addition, this movement is far more challenging technically speaking than the opening chorus because of its extended *clarino* and exposed solo passages, utilization of the upper register, and much more conspicuous employment of horns in different keys.

The *sinfonia* opens the final scene of the opera and accompanies the entrance of:

CESARE CLEOPATRA, e seguito
d'Egizzi con trombe, e timpani, finite
la Sinfonia entrano. CURIO e NIRENO,
e poi SESTO, e CORNELIA con un
Paggio, che porta lo scettro, e Corona
di Tolomeo.

CAESAR and CLEOPATRA, with a
Train of Egyptians, with Trumpets
and Tymbals, after the Symphony,
enter CURIUS, NIRENUS, and then
SESTUS and CORNELIA. A page
bearing the Crown and Scepter of
Ptolomey.³³²

The two pairs of horns are used antiphonally and, as Dean notes, are meant to suggest the “Trumpets and Tymbals.”³³³ *Giulio Cesare* does not contain any parts for trumpets, and even though this stage direction literally calls for trumpets, Handel seems to have chosen to employ horns instead for at least five reasons. First, in 1724 the horn was still very much associated with the trumpet. At this early date it is not surprising to see horns used when the text states that the main characters were accompanied by trumpets. Second, the horn’s association with royalty was strong enough that audiences would have found their employment in this scene credible. Third, the horns were able to add visual splendor to the scene by performing with their bells in the air. In fact, this feature may have directly influenced Handel’s decision to use them instead of trumpets. Fourth, Caesar’s hunting simile aria, “Va tacito, e nascosto,” from Act I, featured a horn obbligato. In that aria, Caesar plots how he will defeat his enemy Ptolemy, and in the final scene of the opera, as he and Cleopatra enter the stage victoriously, the use of horns to accompany them is dramatically appropriate. Fifth, and perhaps most important, Handel must have had horn virtuosi available in 1724. His decision to write four horn parts, all consisting of innovative and challenging music, may have resulted from this circumstance.

³³² Ellen T. Harris, ed., *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas: A Collection of Seventy-One Librettos Documenting Handel’s Operatic Career* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 4: 88-89.

³³³ Dean and Knapp, *Handel’s Operas*, 500.

In addition to horns, the *sinfonia* contains wind parts for oboes and bassoons. Handel contrasts the timbres of the G and D horns and also groups each pair of horns with oboes or bassoons as required. For example, horns I and II enter the *sinfonia* for the first time in m. 5 with a hunting fanfare also played by both the oboes and bassoons. In m. 6, these two horn players perform their melody only with the oboes, and then the first horn is given a striking obbligato passage in m. 8. When horns III and IV enter the musical texture in m. 11, they play the same hunting call in their own key along with the bassoons. The darker sound of the horns in D might have been obliterated by the oboes, and Handel wants to make sure we hear the new horns enter the musical texture. The brighter sound of the horns in G needed no such special treatment.

The oboes join the horns in D in the second half of m. 11, and it is the first oboe that plays the melody along with the strings in mm. 12-13 while the third horn and the second oboe hold out a sustained note. When horns III and IV are given notes of shorter duration in m. 14, they merely introduce the *clarino* melody that horns I and II will take up again in m. 15. Presumably, Handel does not ask the third horn to perform the same obbligato passage on its instrument, since these fast-moving notes would have sounded muddy on the longer D horn.

Handel uses the “imitative approach” throughout most of this movement, reserving the “chordal approach” only for transitional passages such as m. 11, mm. 14-15, and at the climax of the *sinfonia* in mm. 19-20. We saw above how Handel contrasts the timbres of the G and D horns while grouping each pair either with the oboes or bassoons. Handel also utilizes the two pairs of horns to effect modulations. The most striking example of this “imitative approach” occurs immediately before the *da capo* in

mm. 22-25, where horns I and II perform an exposed scalar passage that ascends to a written c^3 , followed directly by horns III and IV performing the exact same phrase on their instruments. Because both passages are written in the key of C, they look the same on paper, yet they would have sounded very different: the tone color of horns III and IV in D would have been darker, their volume would have been considerably less, and above all, the pitches would have been different. In effect, Handel uses the two sets of instruments as a I-V modulation leading back to the tonic at the beginning of the *sinfonia*.³³⁴

The high tessitura of the first and third horn parts in these measures suggests that the players lipped the out-of-tune harmonics into place; however, it is also possible that the players did not fix the pitches and that the audience accepted them as part of the horns' natural temperament. This option is even more likely since the horns perform alone. In his discussion of out-of-tune harmonics in early eighteenth-century brass parts, Richard Seraphinoff notes:

The truth probably lies somewhere between these two positions, with audiences that were willing, for the most part, to accept trumpets and horns as they were, and were very pleased when the player could move the notes close to where the other instruments put them, and performers who did their best to overcome the limitations of their instrument, often with a great deal of success.³³⁵

It seems doubtful that the horn players used an early form of hand-stopping to correct these pitches. Although horn players in Dresden may have been hand-stopping in the

³³⁴ It is interesting to note that a *D alto* rendering of the third and fourth horn parts would ruin this effect. Hiebert has used the position of the G and D horns in the score of *Giulio Cesare* to argue for a *D basso* rendering: "Mixed-keyed horn examples in Handel's *Giulio Cesare* (1723) provide still earlier evidence for *D basso*. Handel's autograph score shows a pair of horns in D placed below a pair in G, thus denoting D as the lower key." Hiebert, "A Case for Horn in *D basso*," 126.

³³⁵ Richard Seraphinoff, "Compromise and Authenticity in the Baroque Trumpet and Horn," in *Posaunen und Trompeten: History-acoustics-playing techniques*, ed. Monika Lustig and Howard Weiner (Blankenburg am Harz: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2000), 200.

1720s, there is no evidence to suggest that London-based horn players were using the technique at this early date. Furthermore, hand-stopping would have been impossible if the horn players were performing with their bells in the air.

They had to struggle not only with out-of-tune harmonics in this passage but also with extremely high pitches. We know that early eighteenth-century horn players in England struggled with this upper register. Just as Mozart later composed the *Musical Joke*, K. 522, to make fun of horn players' difficulties with the eleventh and thirteenth harmonics, so London-based composers wrote music that made fun of horn players' missed notes in the upper tessitura. For example, John Frederick Lampe's burlesque *Margery, or a Worse Plague than the Dragon* (1738), contains an air entitled "Come follow, brave Boys, to the Chace" for two horns in D and strings. Hunting songs, especially Johann Ernest Galliard's "With Early Horn" from the pantomime *The Royal Chace, or Merlin's Cave* (1736) had been especially popular throughout the 1730s. Fiske speculates "Come follow" was a parody of this trend, the joke being dependent on the horn player missing the high notes.³³⁶

Because *Giulio Cesare* had thirteen performances during the 1724-25 season, the first horn player seems to have been unusually skilled in the upper register. In addition, this player seems to have had mastered the *clarino* technique. Difficult obbligato parts requiring this skill are seen throughout the sinfonia, but mm. 5-11 are particularly striking. This melody utilizes a much more challenging form of the writing style seen in *Radamisto*: in the second half of m. 5, both horns I and II enter the musical texture with a fanfare-like passage. In the second beat of m. 6, they move to the *clarino* register,

³³⁶ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 155.

beginning a florid melodic line that is doubled by the violins for two measures. The first horn part is especially noteworthy, since it consists not only of quick stepwise motion but also treacherous leaps into the upper register. For example, in mm. 6-7, the first horn approaches a written c^3 using a leap of a fourth. The first horn part continues to utilize this general melodic pattern in the solo melody of m. 8. In m. 9 the second horn rejoins the musical texture, and both horns perform a fanfare-like cadential passage leading to the entrance of horns III and IV with their own fanfare in m. eleven.

Therefore, the *sinfonia* from Act III employs this “imitative approach” often, using the horns for their contrasting timbres as much as for their contrasting keys. Both the first and third horn are required to perform in the extreme upper register, and the first horn needs a solid command of clarino technique. Because of these factors, it is easy to see why Handel would have been forced to replace this movement with a March for trumpet if the horn players had been “inadequate.”

Example 3.10. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act III, *scena ultima*, Sinfonia, mm. 1-3. Horns in G and D.³³⁷

SCENA ULTIMA.

Porto di Alessandria.

CESARE, CLEOPATRA, e seguito d'Egizii con
trombe e timpani: finita la Sinfonia entrano
CURIO e NIRENO, e poi SESTO e CORNELIA, con
un paggio, che porta lo scettro e la corona di TOLOMEO.

A. SINFONIA.

H. W. 68.

³³⁷ *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 68, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.10. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act III, *scena ultima*, Sinfonia, mm. 4-10. Horns in G and D.

123

Corno I. II.
ex G.

Corno III. IV.
ex D.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Bassoni.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Bassi.

Example 3.10. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act III, *scena ultima*, Sinfonia, mm. 11-17. Horns in G and D.

124

Corno I. II.
ex G.

Corno III. IV.
ex D.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Bassons.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Bassi.

Act I, sc. ix
 “Va tacito, e nascosto”

The first horn player in *Giulio Cesare* performs not only difficult *clarino* passages in the Act III sinfonia but also an extended horn obbligato in F in Caesar’s Act I aria “Va tacito, e nascosto” (Example 3.11). Like most eighteenth-century composers, Handel generally employed two horns in his music. Therefore, the use of four horns or a single horn is striking, and Handel writes an obbligato horn part only in one other work, the ode *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740).³³⁸ His use of a solo horn in *Giulio Cesare* was unusual enough to have been commented on by Burney. In his *General History of Music*, he writes “‘Va tacito’ was ‘richly accompanied with remarkably fine solo parts for a French horn.’”³³⁹ That Burney commented favorably on the horn part in this aria suggests that the soloist performed it well. This fact seems surprising when one remembers that the performer had to not only perform in three different keys but also play florid *clarino* melodies in one key and an extended solo obbligato part in another. I have not found any comments on the horn player’s performance in this aria in 1724 from any contemporary source. Concert reviews were not prevalent in the press until later in the century, so this fact is not a surprise; however, reviews from performances of this work today offer some insight into the difficulty of this part. David C. Hall, in an online review in the OPERA-L archives from 1996 discusses a performance of excerpts from *Giulio Cesare* given recently by the Orchestra of the Age of Enlightenment conducted by Rene Jacobs:

³³⁸ Handel wrote obbligato parts for trumpet far more often. See Barbour, *Trumpets, Horns and Music*, 48-53.

³³⁹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period 1776-1789*, critical and historical notes by Frank Mercer (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 2: 728.

Absorbing though the chunks of GIULIO CESARE were, this section of the evening was over-shadowed by the gruesome failure of the horn soloist in ‘Va tacito’. OAE is a period orchestra of the highest repute so I guess it was just a disastrous aberration. Such a shame, when we had two varieties of baroque (valveless) horns on show for the Handel numbers.³⁴⁰

It is impossible to know how objective Hall is as an observer, but his use of the adjective “gruesome” suggests a particularly painful rendition. Far from being “a disastrous aberration,” a less-than-perfect performance of “Va tacito” occurs more often than Hall admits or knows about. That a horn player in a premier Baroque performing ensemble, however, was having difficulty with this part in 1996 increases one’s admiration for the soloist who carried it off in 1724.

Example 3.11. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc.ix, “Va tacito, e nascosto,” mm. 1-4. Horn in F.³⁴¹

Andante, e piano.

Corno.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

CESARE.

Bassi.

H. W. 68.

³⁴⁰ David C. Hall, “Semele, Rodelinda, chunks of Giulio Cesare,” 9 Aug 1996 (Accessed April 26, 2006) <http://listserv.cuny.edu/Scripts/wa.exe?A2=ind9609b&L=opera-1&T=0&P=6350>.

³⁴¹ *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 68, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.11. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc.ix, “Va tacito, e nascosto,” mm. 5-20. Horn in F.

41

Corno

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

CESARE.

Bassi.

Va ta-ci-toe na-sco - sto, quand' a - vi-doè di pre-da, l'a - stu-to cac-cia-tor,

quand' a - vi-doè di pre-da, l'a - stu-to cac-cia-tor;

va ta-ci-tor na-sco-sto, quand' a - vi-doè di pre-da, l'a - stu-to cac-cia-tor...

H. W. 68.

Example 3.11. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc.ix, “Va tacito, e nascosto,” mm. 21-36. Horn in F.

42

Corno

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

CESARE.

Bassi.

ra - ta - ci - to, na - sco - sto, quand' a - vi - do è di pre - da,

lu - stu - to cac - cia - tor, lu - stu - to cac - cia - tor, ra - ta - ci - to na -

sco - sto, quand' a - vi - do è di pre - da, lu - stu - to cac - cia - tor, lu - stu - to cac - cia - tor, l'a.

lu - stu - to cac - cia - tor.

H. W. 68.

Example 3.11. G. F. Handel, *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724), Act I, sc.ix, "Va tacito, e nascosto," mm. 37-51. Horn in F.

43

Corno

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

CESARE.

Bassi.

E ch'è mal far di spo.sto, non bra.ma che si ve.da lin-gan.no del suo

(Fine.)

cor, — lin-gan.no del suo cor, — lin-gen.no... del suo cor; e ch'è mal far di spo.sto, non

bra.ma che si ve - da lin - gan - no del suo cor, lin - gan - no del suo cor.

Da Capo.

H. W. 64.

Handel writes the movement for horn, strings, alto castrato, and basso continuo.

The text of the aria uses a hunting metaphor to describe how Caesar will stalk his enemy

Ptolemy:

Va tacito, e nascosto,
Quand' avido è di preda
L' astuto Cacciator,
Così chi è al mal disposto,
Non brama, ch' aleun veda
L' inganno del suo Cor.

As crafty Huntsmen, in Pursuit of Prey
Unseen, and hush'd in Silence, stalk along:
So those whom Malice prompts to base Designs,
Conceal from every Eye their dark Intent.³⁴²

Even though Handel writes the aria in 4/4 meter, the use of the horn alone suggests hunting. In addition, the cadential hunting flourishes in the horn part (see mm. 9 and 42, for example) drive home the metaphor. In fact, dramatically speaking, the use of quadruple meter seems more appropriate than triple meter, since Caesar is secretly and furtively stalking his enemy instead of galloping after him on horseback. The repeated notes in the melody (see, for example, mm. 1-2) add to this impression.

The horn part does not contain any tones outside of the harmonic series, using instead only the ubiquitous out-of-tune written pitches f^2 and a^2 ; however, the range of the horn part is extensive. The soloist must play between a written c^1 and c^3 .³⁴³ As noted earlier, Handel's horn parts typically descend to a written g^1 and ascend most often no higher than a written a^2 . Two of the movements in *Giulio Cesare*, this aria and the sinfonia, require the first horn to ascend to a written c^3 .

The horn soloist performs in the 'A' section only (mm. 1-42). This restriction results from the horn's inability to perform in keys outside of the tonic and dominant. The 'B' section key signature contains two sharps, and the music moves between B

³⁴² Ellen T. Harris, ed., *The Librettos of Handel's Operas*, 4: 28-29.

³⁴³ The horn part is written in the key of C. One must transpose it down a fifth to arrive at the sounding pitch.

minor and D major. It is thus inaccessible to a horn in F. From a practical standpoint, however, the horn player most likely welcomed this enforced rest before performing the 'A' section again.

The solo horn performs in the introductory music in mm. 1-9. In these measures the violin doubles most of the horn part. Exceptions include m. 1, in which the horn performs an octave below the violin and m. 2, in which the horn plays two eighth notes instead of the four sixteenth notes in the violin part to avoid playing a written b^1 . Handel's reluctance to let his horn player perform this fast-moving lower neighbor note bespeaks a great reticence regarding the employment of non-series pitches. This lack of confidence continues to affirm the deficiency of hand-stopping in London in the early part of the century. The horn part diverges from the violin line in two other places in the introductory music. First, the violin plays an octave jump in beat one of m. 4, while the horn merely repeats a written c^1 . Second, in m. 9 the horn descends below the pitch of the violin to play a hunting-like motif. Unlike much of the other music in mm. 1-9, the horn, appropriately enough, performs this motif alone.

Lack of complete independence does not imply that the horn part was easy to perform. I mentioned earlier the extensive range required in this aria, and one finds this c^1 to c^3 range used already in these nine opening measures. Furthermore, leaps pervade the melodic line. As discussed in connection with "Alzo al volo," conjunct stepwise motion is far more common in horn parts of this time than either disjunct motion or the use of wide leaps. Mm. 4-9, however, consist almost entirely of leaps and in mm. 4-5, leaps along with repeated notes. This feature is consistent with Handel's writing for the same player in the sinfonia.

When the voice enters in m. 10, the horn is silent. Although Handel does require the horn to double other melodic lines in the remainder of this aria, he will often have the horn double just the first measure of the phrase and then become somewhat independent beginning in the second measure. For example, in m. 19, the horn enters on the second half of beat one in unison with the violin line, but in m. 20 performs sixteenth notes in thirds with the voice part. Beginning in m. 21, the voice and horn echo hunting calls for two measures, until the horn begins to perform an independent solo in m. 24. The horn plays independently throughout most of the next ten measures. The part ascends to a written c^3 five times and culminates with a cadenza shared by the voice in m. 33. This last feature is truly exceptional for 1724. One wonders how the two performers worked out the arrangements, especially since the castrato, Senesino, was temperamental and difficult. In any case, that Handel gave the horn soloist the chance to perform a cadenza with Senesino testifies to Handel's enormous confidence in his abilities.

Scholars have been less than certain regarding the identity of this performer. Fitzpatrick states: "It is unfortunate that the name of the virtuoso who first performed this remarkable piece of bravura horn-writing is unknown."³⁴⁴ Humphries opines: "There must have been someone in London who could cope with difficult parts like the obbligato in the aria 'Va tacito'","³⁴⁵

As reported earlier, the orchestra rosters from the founding of the Royal Academy of Music list a position for one trumpet only. These lists and the payment records for the Foundling Hospital performances of *Messiah* in 1754 and 1758 are the only definitive

³⁴⁴ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 68.

³⁴⁵ John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11.

lists of musicians in Handel's orchestras between 1720 and his death in 1759.³⁴⁶

Regarding the lack of such rosters from the period under consideration, Burrows states:

"No lists appear to survive from the period immediately following 1720, and perhaps none ever existed: the orchestra was probably merely re-adjusted slightly from season to season."³⁴⁷ The lack of official rosters notwithstanding, two other sources provide clues regarding the membership of this ensemble in the 1720s. First, an orchestral roster from the 1727 Lord Mayor's Day entertainment lists two trumpet players and four horn players: "Mr Grano" and "Mr Abington" performed on the trumpet, while "Mr Cheney," "Mr Keller," "Mr Anthony," and "Mr Rash" performed on the horn. I shall discuss these players in more detail in the last chapter, but suffice it to say here that they were active in the late 1720s.

It may be that some of these brass players performed the horn parts in *Giulio Cesare*; however, since Handel removed the difficult Act III sinfonia for the 1725 revival, it seems likely that the horn players who were available in 1724 were not available in later seasons. Earlier I quoted a benefit concert advertisement from February 1724 in which William Douglas, along with other members of the opera orchestra performed. Among these performers was Mr. China, who played a Sonata on the "German Horn." I had speculated not only that China played a crooked instrument in this concert but also that he performed on it in *Giulio Cesare*.

Concert advertisements from the 1720s typically do not list the names of the performers unless they are exceptional. The names of horn players are almost never listed, and the appearance of China's name in this advertisement must result from the fact

³⁴⁶ Mark W. Stahura, "Handel and the Orchestra," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 241.

³⁴⁷ Donald Burrows, "Handel's London Theatre Orchestra," *Early Music* 13, no. 3 (1985): 350.

that he played his solo parts well in Handel's opera. Presumably, Douglas wished to capitalize on China's achievements. In addition, the fact that China performs a solo sonata and not a duet as was standard, suggests that he was the performer in the obbligato solo for "Va tacito." Solos for horn are exceedingly rare in the early eighteenth century, and not only China's name but also his mode of performance in this advertisement is striking.

It would be interesting to know if China accompanied the six Royal Academy singers who left London for Paris in June 1724 to perform both *Ottone* and *Giulio Cesare* in Pierre Crozat's private concert series. Since Senesino did not go to Paris, since the librettos for these operas were printed in Paris and may have differed from the London productions, and since *Ottone* does not require horns at all, it seems unlikely that Paris was his next destination.³⁴⁸ More research is needed to bring details of his performing career to light.

Therefore, *Giulio Cesare* is notable not only because of Handel's use of four horns in two different keys but also because of the difficult and exposed solo passages in the first horn part. Handel uses the four horns in a chordal and imitative manner, typically in either the tonic/dominant or tonic/subdominant keys. This opera, however, was Handel's only stage work to utilize a technique that would become commonplace in the second half of the eighteenth century. Why he did not pursue this style of writing for horns the way Graupner did is not known. Dean offers a possible explanation, observing that Handel incorporated numerous instrumental innovations into his operas when inspired by the drama to do so. In addition to Handel's employment of four horns in

³⁴⁸ Lowell Lindgren, "Parisian Patronage of Performers from the Royal Academy of Musick (1719-28)," *Music & Letters*, 58, no. 1 (January 1977): 22.

Giulio Cesare, Dean notes Handel's use of 5/8 meter in *Orlando* (HWV31, 1733). When not necessitated by the drama, Handel apparently took no interest in innovation for innovation's sake.³⁴⁹ In addition, Hiebert notes other reasons why composers, including Handel, may have abandoned this writing technique for brass instruments: "Though using horns in more than one key made the horn more flexible in terms of the keys it could play in, it also undermined many traditional horn-writing procedures."³⁵⁰ These features included the use of horn fifths, conjunct melodies in thirds, brass reinforcement of the tonic sections, and the inability of mixed-keyed brass instruments to either double each other's lines or imitate them.³⁵¹

Handel may have thought it was dramatically appropriate to use mixed-keyed horns in *Giulio Cesare*, but he could have abandoned the procedure either because the drama hereafter did not compel him to employ four horns or because he preferred the traditional sounds evoked from traditional methods of writing for the instrument. On the other hand, Handel must have found the solo horn obbligato to be relatively successful, since he repeats this innovation in an ode of 1740. The player who performed the solo part in "Va tacito" and the difficult solo passages in the sinfonia was clearly an exceptional virtuoso, as evidenced by contemporary horn players' difficulties with this music. More research is needed about the life and career of the most likely candidate, Mr. China.

³⁴⁹ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 48-49.

³⁵⁰ Hiebert, "Early Examples," 237.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

Admeto, re di Tessaglia

The music for horn discussed thus far in *Radamisto* and *Giulio Cesare* is notable for its virtuosity, innovation, and, given the early date of these operas, novelty. In terms of imagery, both operas show the instrument straddling images derived from the hunting horn and the trumpet. *Giulio Cesare*, for example, calls for a horn obbligato in the hunting simile aria “Va tacito” yet asks the four horns to represent “Trumpets and Tymbrals” in the Act III sinfonia.

In *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (HWV22, 1727), Handel continues to write virtuosic and technically challenging music for the horns; however, instead of asking them to perform trumpet-like music or to signify martial images, he writes hunting-horn music that also refers to the pastoral and the dance. This opera seems to be an early example of Handel exploring possible images that could be associated with the horn. Some of these images foreshadow those associated with the instrument in Handel’s oratorios and secular concert works of the 1740s and 1750s. Therefore, within Handel’s operatic horn parts, *Admeto* is significant because of the role it appears to play in the development of horn imagery in Handel’s works as a whole.

Admeto premiered on January 31, 1727, and received nineteen performances through April 18, 1727, at the King’s Theatre in the Haymarket.³⁵² In its day it was thought to have been a very successful opera, at least in part because it contrasted effectively the two feuding sopranos, Faustina Bordoni and Francesca Cuzzoni.³⁵³ As demonstrated in Table 3.3, two horns in F participate in three movements in this opera.

³⁵² Brad Leissa and David Vickers, (Accessed 13 August 2006), <<http://www.gfhandel.org>>.

³⁵³ Wendy Heller, “The Beloved’s Image: Handel’s *Admeto* and the Statue of Alcestis,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58, no. 3 (2005): 560.

Table 3.3. Movements that include music for horn in *Ademto, re di Tessaglia* (HWV22, 1727).

Act, scene	Genre and Title	Number and Key of Horns
Act I, sc. ix	Sinfonia	Corno I, II in F
Act I, sc. ix	Aria, “Se l’arco avessi e i strali”	Corno I, II in F
Act III, sc. x	Chorus, “Se un core è contento, non sà più bramar”	Corno I, II in F

Although contemporary opera audiences obsessed over Bordoni and Cuzzoni’s growing disputes, Burney took note of Handel’s use of the horn:

The next air, *Se l’arco avessi*, is one of the best and most agreeable hunting songs that ever was composed . . . the French horn parts are remarkably well written, and introduced with particular propriety . . . the air remained in public favour many years after the run of this opera was over.³⁵⁴

To understand Handel’s “agreeable” use of the instrument in *Admeto*, one needs a basic understanding of the history and plot of this work. Accordingly, I will first provide a brief overview of *Admeto*’s relevant story-line and then continue with a discussion of Handel’s use of the horns in the three movements that include music for them.

Although the story of *Admeto* derives ultimately from Euripedes’s play *Alceste*,³⁵⁵ the Act I, scene ix movements that contain music for horns derive from a second plot line added to the original when the story was first used as an opera in Venice in 1660. This production, Pietro Andrea Ziani’s *L’Antigonna delusa da Alceste* (libretto by Aurelio Aurelli) was seen in Bologna, Naples, and Milan and was revived in Venice in 1670. In 1679 it was adapted by the Hanoverian court poet Ortensio Mauro, given new music by the court organist Matthio Trento, and presented in the Hannoverian opera

³⁵⁴ Burney, *A General History of Music*, 743.

³⁵⁵ Heller, “The Beloved’s Image,” 565-574.

theater. It received a second performance in Hanover in 1681, and it is this final libretto that Nicola Haym or Antonio Rolli revised for Handel to use in his London performances.³⁵⁶

In this second plot line, Admeto sends his brother, Trasimede, to Troy on his behalf to ask Antigona's father for her hand in marriage. Trasimede, however, falls in love with Antigona himself and brings back a picture of a less attractive woman to his brother, keeping the real picture of her for himself. After being shown the picture of the unattractive woman, Admeto decides that Antigona is less beautiful than her reputation warrants and marries Alceste instead. Naturally, Trasimede believes he can now claim Antigona for himself, yet he soon learns that Hercules has taken Troy and killed Antigona's father. Although she has escaped the city dressed as a shepherdess, Trasimede thinks she has been killed and is filled with despair.³⁵⁷

In Act I, scene ix of Handel's *Admeto*, Trasimede is walking through the woods with a group of hunters. Instead of hunting, however, he is obsessing over his portrait of Antigona. To accompany Trasimede's fixation, Handel provides an instrumental sinfonia. Wendy Heller notes that Handel does not ask Trasimede to sing an aria to the portrait. Instead, the instrumental music represents Trasimede's "own private sound world."³⁵⁸

After the sinfonia is heard, Antigona appears dressed as a shepherdess. According to Heller, Trasimede is surprised not only by her appearance but also by her clothing: "This real Antigona could not possibly be the woman in the portrait, because she is disguised as a shepherdess and thus has both the wrong name and social

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 575-576.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 582.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 612.

position.”³⁵⁹ In order to reconcile the real Antigona with the woman he has created in his mind, Trasimede sings an aria in which he imagines her to be Diana:

Se l'arco avessi, e i strali
Direi, che in forma umana
Venuta sia Diana
A saettar le belve.
Se son dimmi mortali
O bella Ninfa ì lumì,
Se nacquero fra i Numi,
O pur fra queste selve.

If you the Bow and Arrows had
Which great *Diana* grace,
I'd swear that she in human Form
Was come the Beasts to chace.
O teach me, charming Nymph, to know,
If Stars, or Mortals these.
Are to be rank'd with Nymphs below,
Or else above with Deities.³⁶⁰

Trasimede is able to project Diana's traditional and perhaps unattainable attributes onto the living Antigona, as Heller observes: “Thus, Antigona's beauty and her disguise, combined with the intoxicating atmosphere of the pastoral setting, provoke yet another fantasy—Antigona as the pure, virginal, and lethal huntress Diana.”³⁶¹

Example 3.12. G. F. Handel, *Admeto* (HWV22, 1727), Act I, sc. ix, Sinfonia, mm. 1-6. Horns in F.³⁶²

SCENA IX.
TRASIMEDE col ritratto di ANTIGONA in
mano, e cacciatori che la seguono, e detti.

H. W. 78. 5 6

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 613.

³⁶⁰ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel's Operas*, 5: 102-103.

³⁶¹ Heller, “The Beloved's Image,” 614.

³⁶² *Admeto, re di Tessaglia*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 73, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.12. G. F. Handel, *Admeto* (HWV22, 1727), Act I, sc. ix, Sinfonia, mm. 7-20. Horns in F.

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Corno I, II.
Oboe I.
Violino I.
Oboe II.
Violino II.
Viola.
Bassi.

Both movements, the sinfonia and the succeeding aria “Se l’arco avessi e i strali,” merge traditional musical idioms to contrast Trasimede’s fantasy world with reality. Handel writes the sinfonia for two horns in F, oboes, violin I and II, viola, and *bassi* (Example 3.12). The use of horns, the key of F, and triple meter (6/4 time) all suggest hunters and hunting. In addition, Handel employs compositional devices traditionally associated with the hunting horn. In mm. 1-2, for example, the horns play a low to midregister triadic fanfare-like melody, proceeding in the third measure to upper-register pitches at shorter note values. Even though m. 3 does not contain the kind of florid *clarino* motives seen in the sinfonia from *Giulio Cesare*, for example, these three measures employ this basic compositional pattern nonetheless. Hunting music is further suggested by the horn fifths sounded in mm. 17-20.

Upon closer inspection, however, the sinfonia appears to have as much in common with the dance as it does with the hunt. According to Heller, Handel combines these elements to reveal significant insights about Trasimede's character:

Here, however, the juxtaposition of seemingly incompatible affects renders Trasimede's behavior suspiciously inappropriate. Although the musical topos associated with the outdoors is signaled unambiguously by the *chasse* key, F major, and the use of a pair of horns, this sinfonia is essentially a binary dance in triple meter. Mesmerized by the portrait and his erotic fixation on it, Trasimede is lost in his own private sound world, unable or unwilling to participate in the hunt.³⁶³

Although Heller points out correctly that these "incompatible affects" help us understand Trasimede, the inclusion of hunting horns in a pastoral movement does not seem extraordinary. Harris observes that "hunters had always been an important part of the pastoral population,"³⁶⁴ and the fact that Handel preferred the key of F major for both pastoral movements and music including horns makes this connection explicit.³⁶⁵

On the other hand, the incorporation of the dance into a pastoral movement may derive ultimately from the influence of Keiser. According to Harris:

The importance of dances and processions in the Hamburg pastoral can be partly explained by their use in the earliest German operas, which were pastoral in nature and closely allied with the ballet. This tradition is also the result of adopting an out-dated Italian style. Its maintenance in Germany is due both to the simultaneous development of pastoral and heroic opera and to the lack of a strong reformatory literary movement as in Italy. The later Germanic pastorals continue this tradition of ensemble and dance, and one may even find it in operas like *L'Inganno* which are otherwise stylistically derived from the Italian musical pastoral.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Ibid., 612.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 233.

³⁶⁵ In his article "Handel as Shepherd," Geoffrey Chew lists the characteristic musical devices associated with the pastoral as "F major, 6/8 time, [and] pedal points." *The Musical Times* 125, no. 1699 (September 1984): 498.

³⁶⁶ Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 88. Harris is referring to Keiser's opera *L'inganno fedele, oder Der getreue Betrug* (Hamburg, 1714).

Harris observes that operas from the 1730s show Handel moving “in the direction of the German pastoral,”³⁶⁷ yet according to Geoffrey Chew, Harris neglects to account for the French influence on these German traditions: “Handel’s failure to work in France has no bearing on the considerable extent to which German traditions—before his birth—depended on French ones.”³⁶⁸ Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, Charles Cudworth notes the French stylistic devices present in the operas Handel wrote first in Hamburg and then later in London in the 1730s:

The periods of Handel’s career in which French influence was most marked were the early years in Hamburg, before he ever went to Italy, and the mid-1730s in London, when chance brought a troupe of French dancers to the English capital and set Handel writing ballet music for them . . . His Hamburg operas had included many French dance tunes, in imitation of his first dramatic model, Reinhard Keiser; dances of Asiatics, of Africans, of Charlatans, etc., occur with almost as much frequency in ‘Almira’ as they do in the scores of Lully or Campra, and the ‘Rodrigo’ suite already mentioned may easily have originated as ballet music for one of Handel’s lost operas of the Hamburg days.³⁶⁹

Cudworth also mentions *Admeto* as falling within this sphere: “In the ‘Admeto’ score of 1727 there is a *Ballo di larve* and an entrance of *Cacciatori*—a troupe of stage huntsmen with the inevitable horns.”³⁷⁰ The question whether Handel’s pastorals were influenced by a genre known as the German pastoral derived from an outdated Italian style or a French one cannot be answered adequately within the context of this study. What is clear, however, is that dances and horns are not unusual elements in some of Handel’s pastorals. This conflation of affects foreshadows Handel’s treatment of the horns in

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 232.

³⁶⁸ Chew, “Handel as Shepherd,” 499. Horns are featured in pastoral dance movements from two operas in the 1730s: Handel uses two horns in G in the ballet movements in *Il pastor fido* (HWV8c, 1734), including a movement entitled *Pour les chasseurs* (“For the hunters”). He also uses two horns in F in the pastoral movements in *Ariodante* (HWV33, 1735). In general, Handel seems to have preferred the key of either G or F for pastoral movements.

³⁶⁹ Charles Cudworth, “Handel and the French Style,” *Music & Letters* 40, no. 2 (April 1959): 124-125.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 126.

many of his oratorios from the 1740s and 1750s. In 1727 *Admeto* shows Handel already exploring imagery that could be associated solely with the horn—as opposed to the trumpet, and although one finds horns used in music associated with royalty and the military throughout Handel’s operas, the ability to manipulate hunting imagery in order to allow the horns to participate in pastoral music is noteworthy. In fact, *Admeto* not only prefigures musical imagery associated with the horn in Handel’s oratorios but also the association of the horn and nature in music written by Romantic composers.³⁷¹

Handel continues to combine similar musical imagery in the aria that follows the sinfonia. Consequently, “Se l’arco avessi e i strali” shares many compositional features with the preceding movement. Handel again utilizes the key of F major, the same instrumentation, and triple meter (3/4 time). Heller observes: “Now, however, the hunting topos is handled more explicitly with the prominent horns, albeit in the context of a minuet that has a softening, feminizing effect.”³⁷² The horns—and therefore the hunting topos—are heard more easily in “Se l’arco avessi e i strali.” Unlike the preceding sinfonia, Handel employs them here as *concertante* instruments, thereby giving the aria a lighter texture than the more rustic sinfonia. Indeed, he allows the first horn to play an extended obbligato passage in mm. 72-108 (Example 3.14). Because Baroque composers often wrote for a pair of horns, this lengthy solo is noteworthy. It also contributes to the “feminizing effect” that Heller refers to: not only does the removal of the second horn lighten the texture but also the treatment of the first horn as a real

³⁷¹ See, for example, Robert Evans, “The Post-Classical Horn,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, ed. Trevor Herbert and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 207-216.

³⁷² Heller, “The Beloved’s Image,” 614.

musical soloist—as opposed to a performer of hunting fanfares—gives this music a gracefulness that was lacking in the preceding *sinfonia*.

In terms of the plot, Handel contrasts these different musical images—the hunt and the dance—to heighten the distinction between Trasimede’s fantasy world and the real world. Indeed, musical idioms associated with hunting horns are conspicuous in sections of the aria without the voice. Handel features the horns as a *concertante* pair in the opening and closing ritornellos (Examples 3.13a and 3.13b), and their music employs many traditional features of early eighteenth-century horn-writing, including moving together in conjunct motion in thirds, the utilization of horn fifths, and the employment of the stock rhythmic device discussed above in *Radamisto*. In the opening ritornello Handel writes this last feature in an augmented and sometimes dotted variant (see, for example, mm. 12-15), and he also uses it cadentially in the second horn part (see m. 18). This figure is featured more prominently in the closing ritornello and is given a further hunting-horn flavor when the horns perform it together in fifths (see m. 118), though one finds it again in the second horn part in m. 125.

Example 3.13a. G. F. Handel, *Admeto* (HWV22, 1727), Act I, sc. ix, “Se l’arco avessi e i strali,” mm. 1-20.³⁷³

Allegro.

Corno I.

Corno II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

TRASIMEDE.

Bassi.

6 6 6 p6 6 6 6

6 7 6 6 6 6 4 3

H. W. 12.

³⁷³ *Admeto, re di Tessaglia*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 73, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.13b. G. F. Handel, *Admeto* (HWV22, 1727), Act I, sc. ix, “Se l’arco avessi e i strali,” mm. 105-126.³⁷⁴

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The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for *Corno I.*, *Corno II.*, *Oboe I.*, *Oboe II.*, *Violino I.*, *Violino II.*, *Viola.*, *TRASIMEDE.*, and *Bassi.*. The vocal part for *TRASIMEDE.* includes the lyrics: "— lo bel- ve, a sa- st- tur lo bel- ae." Above the vocal staff, the tempo marking *Adagio* is indicated. The second system continues the instrumental and vocal parts. At the end of the second system, the word *Se* is written above the staff, and *(Pine.)* is written below the staff. Fingering numbers (6, 5, 6, 7, 6, 6, 6, 6) are visible below the bass staff in both systems.

³⁷⁴ *Admeto, re di Tessaglia*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 73, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

The music in the ritornellos contrasts greatly with the horn music Handel writes to accompany the singer (Example 3.14). Here one finds few traditional hunting-horn idioms. They are most prominent when both horns accompany the singer in mm. 31-39; however, when the first horn begins to perform alone with the singer in m. 72, these devices are no longer heard. Instead, the horn melody imitates closely the melismatic figures in the voice part. In this manner Handel declines to reduce the first horn to programmatic hunting music but instead treats the instrument as a viable musical member of the orchestra, capable of participating in the complex imagery used to illuminate Trasimede's character. For example, the horn and voice end two phrases on the same sounding pitch: in mm. 75-76 and again in mm. 101-102 both performers finish their phrase on a sounding c^2 (written g^2 in the horn part), though in each example the voice reaches this unison pitch one measure before the horn player. This lack of coordination between the two performers helps to show Trasimede's complete immersion in his fantasy world: it is almost as if his melismas and therefore his fantasies are spinning out of control. Indeed, Heller notes Trasimede's "obvious sensual pleasure on the lengthy melismas for the word 'saettar,'" ³⁷⁵ and it is precisely at this moment that the voice races ahead of the horn.

The horn, then, seems to reside outside of Trasimede's fantasy world, even though his fantasy allegedly concerns the huntress Diana. Associated with the real hunters accompanying Trasimede, the horn cannot keep up with his flights of fancy, and the overwhelming use of hunting-horn idioms in the sections of the aria that do not employ the voice emphasizes this contrast. This clever use of imagery associated with

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 614.

the hunt is far more subtle than most music written for horn at this time and contributes to the uniqueness of the horns parts in *Ademto*.

Example 3.14. G. F. Handel, *Admeto* (HWV22, 1727), Act I, sc. ix, “Se l’arco avessi e i strali,” mm. 63-83.³⁷⁶

Corno I.
Corno II.
Oboe I.
Oboe II.
Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola.
TRASIMEDE.
Bassi.

sa-et-tar le bel-ue, a sa-et-tar, ...
a sa-et-tar le bel-ue.

H. W. 72.

³⁷⁶ *Admeto, re di Tessaglia*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 73, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.14. G. F. Handel, *Admeto* (HWV22, 1727), Act I, sc. ix, "Se l'arco avessi e i strali," mm. 84-104.

Corno I.

Corno II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

TRASIMEDE.

Bassi.

Se l'arco avessi e i strali, di ree in forma umana re-ata sia li

a-na, a sa-el-lar, a sa-el-lar... n sa-el-lar

Thus far, we have discussed the incorporation of hunting imagery into music containing references to the dance and the pastoral. The horn parts in *Admeto* are also technically challenging. That Handel gives the first horn an exposed solo passage for over thirty measures is striking. He also asks this player to perform in the extreme upper register: in mm. 115-177, for example, the first horn must approach a written c^3 by leap three times. These observations lead us to ask who might have performed the solo part in this aria. We have seen that few rosters from Handel's opera orchestras have survived, but we do have a list of performers for the 1727 Lord Mayor's Day entertainment. Because this event occurred the same year that *Admeto* premiered, it is likely that at least one of these players—Mr. Cheney, Mr. Keller, Mr. Anthony, and/or Mr. Rash—performed the horn parts in *Admeto*. These individuals will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Poro, re dell'Indie and Ezio

Although the horn parts in *Admeto* are technically challenging, they are most noteworthy for their musical imagery. By contrast, *Poro, re dell'Indie* (HWV28, 1731) and *Ezio* (HWV29, 1731) ask the horn players to make use of trumpet-oriented images, such as those associated with warfare, even though these operas premiered four years after *Admeto*. Yet each opera contains a movement utilizing the unusual combination of horns and recorders. Table 3.4 shows the movements calling for horns in each opera.

Table 3.4. Movements that include parts for horns in *Poro* and *Ezio*.

<u>Name of Opera</u>	<u>Act, scene</u>	<u>Genre and Title of Movement</u>	<u>Number and Key of Horns</u>
<i>Poro</i>	Act I, sc. ix	Sinfonia	Corno I, II in F
<i>Poro</i>	Act II, sc. vi	Aria, “Senza procelle ancora si perde quell nocchiero”	Corno I, II in F
<i>Ezio</i>	Act I, sc. i	<i>La Marche</i>	Corno I, II in F
<i>Ezio</i>	Act III, sc. vi	Aria, “Se la mia vita dono è d’Augusto”	Corno I, II in F

As you can see, Handel employs horns in two movements per opera: *Poro* and *Ezio* each utilize them in a purely instrumental movement and an aria. The sinfonia from *Poro* and the *Marche* from *Ezio* make use of the same combination of instruments: horns, oboes, violins, viola, and *bassi*. Both movements are written in quadruple meter (4/4 time) and utilize dotted rhythmic patterns reminiscent of trumpet fanfares. It is interesting that Handel chooses horns instead of trumpets for these movements. For example, the *Marche* in the first scene of *Ezio* accompanies celebrations taking place in the Roman Forum to commemorate Ezio’s recent military victories over the enemy Attila. With the Emperor Valentiniano [Valentinian] III overseeing the festivities on his throne and soldiers in attendance, it would seem that trumpets are the more suitable instruments for this music. This opera calls for a trumpet obbligato in D in the Act III aria “Già risonar d’intorno al campidoglio io sento,”³⁷⁷ and therefore at least one trumpet was available if Handel wanted to employ trumpets instead of horns. It is possible that the trumpet player who performed in “Già risonar” also performed the first or second horn part in the two

³⁷⁷ Anthony Hicks, “Ezio,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 16 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. According to Hicks, this is the only trumpet obbligato part accompanying a bass voice in Handel’s music.

movements from *Ezio* calling for horns; however, because the *Marche* utilizes horns in F, it would not have been possible for trumpets in D to double the parts *ad libitum*. Thus, Handel called for horns in this movement because he wanted to employ the timbre of horns and not trumpets.

This decision may have been based on three aims. Handel could have employed horns and asked them to perform with their bells in the air to add a sense of visual grandeur to the festivities. Since horns are associated with royalty through hunting prerogatives, their visual and aural presence in this movement would not have seemed incongruous. In addition, Harris notes that Handel's operas often feature horns in festive music. She observes that specific affects seem to be affiliated with specific instruments, including horns:

Flutes and recorders complement either the pastoral or poignant mood, trumpets color military or rage arias, and horns relate to hunting or formal celebrations. These generalizations cannot, however, be codified into rules.³⁷⁸

The musical imagery in the horn parts in *Ademto* shows that horns are not always used in celebratory music, yet they seem to be employed in this kind of music often in both the operas and oratorios. Harris also notes that certain keys are used for certain affects. Some of these keys derive from the instruments themselves, such as the use of trumpets in D major;³⁷⁹ however, Handel's operas follow general key patterns regardless of instrumentation:

First, as in many of Handel's operas, the key areas are directly related to the characters. That is, victims of love and politics tend to express their agony in sharp keys, whereas the tyrant reveals his power and apparent control in flat keys.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ Harris, "Harmonic Patterns in Handel's Operas," 115.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 97.

Alison Patricia Deadman confirms Harris's assessment regarding Handel's use of flat and sharp keys to provide insight into characters:

With equal caution, one could suggest that flat keys tend to be utilized by characters that are in a position to change the course of events (frequently, but not always positions of political power), whereas characters who have no control over the unfolding situation tend to sing in sharp keys.³⁸¹

At this point in *Ezio*'s plot, the Emperor Valentiniano, "though grateful to his returning general [Ezio], resents the celebrity being accorded him."³⁸² Since the emperor will use his power against Ezio, the key of F major in this *Marche* might represent Valentiniano's power more than Ezio's triumph. The use of trumpets in D would have ruined this effect. Therefore, Handel's decision to use horns in F for this movement seems to have been a thoughtful decision based on timbre, key, and affect.

The sinfonia from *Poro* shares many musical features with the *Marche*. Also written in quadruple meter and utilizing fanfare-like passages, the sinfonia seems more suitable for trumpets than for horns. Even so, Handel chose to use two "Corna di Caccia" in F. Since Handel frequently designates his horn parts as simply "Corno," one wonders if the term "Corna di Caccia" referred to a different instrument; however, as Reine Dahlqvist has shown, many of the terms used for the horn in the eighteenth century refer to the same instrument:

Thus the various terms "Corno", "Corno da caccia", "Cor de chasse", etc., did not designate two different instruments but the same one, called "Waldhorn" in the vernacular in Germany and "Jägerhorn" in Austria.³⁸³

³⁸¹ Alison Patricia Deadman, "*Augeletti Che Cantate*: Handel, His Woodwind Players, and His London Operas," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 208.

³⁸² Anthony Hicks, "Ezio," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 10 February 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

³⁸³ Reine Dahlqvist, "Corno and Corno da caccia," 39-42.

Hiebert concurs:

In early eighteenth-century treatises and in music, the terms for horn—*corno*, *corne*, *corno da caccia*, *corno da selva*, *corne de chasse*, and other variants—are treated as synonyms. This is seen most vividly in music manuscripts in which composers and scribes sometimes switch from one form of nomenclature to another, often an abbreviation; for example, *corno da caccia* in the first reference in the score, and only *corno* later in the score or in the parts.³⁸⁴

Thus, Handel's designation of the horns as "Corna di Caccia" in F in this sinfonia does not mean that he was writing for instruments other than his more usual "Corno" in F.

In any case, this sinfonia underwent extensive revisions before it reached its present form. Graham Cummings describes Handel's original intentions:

This sinfonia was intended to accompany the arrival of Queen Cleofide and her retinue by boat at Alessandro's camp. In the autograph (f. 3^v) it is headed 'Sinfonia della Scena 11 le Corna di Caccia sul Teatro' ('Sinfonia of Scene 11 the horns on the stage'). For this regal entry Handel composed a fanfare concertato binary movement, with four passages (fourteen bars in total) for two horns alternating with the same or very similar music played by the full band. The presence of the two horn players on the stage was presumably intended to enhance the ceremonial nature of the event.³⁸⁵

Cummings's last observation is even more likely if the horns performed in the boat with the Queen.

Before the first performance Handel reduced the length of the sinfonia to half of the original. Cummings states:

In deleting three of the four fanfare horn passages, and omitting the directions 'le Corna di Caccia sul Teatro' from the principal copies, he [Handel] may have abandoned his original idea of having the two instruments on-stage.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Hiebert, "A Case for Horn in D *basso*," 119.

³⁸⁵ Graham Cummings, "Handel's Compositional Methods in his London Operas of the 1730s, and the Unusual Case of 'Poro, Rè dell'Indie' (1731)," *Music & Letters*, 79, no. 3 (August 1998): 359.

³⁸⁶ Cummings, "Handel's Compositional Methods," 362-363.

One wonders why Handel made these changes. Cummings offers the following suggestions: “Handel may have made these cuts because the movement was too long for stage action, or simply because he had decided that the music was too repetitive.”³⁸⁷ In addition, Handel may have found it difficult to coordinate the horns on stage with the full orchestra during rehearsals.

The two other movements utilizing horns from *Poro* and *Ezio*—the arias “Senza procelle ancora si perde quell nocchiero” and “Se la mia vita dono è d’Augusto,” respectively—are very different in character and affect than the two instrumental movements discussed above. The most striking aspect of these movements is the use of horns and recorders as the only wind instruments in the musical texture. Each aria also employs an alto castrato in addition to strings and *bassi*. Handel groups horns and recorders together in only three movements in his operas, the third movement being the Act I, scene vi aria “Può ben nascer tra li boschi nobil alma” from *Giustino* (HWV37, 1737). Because *Poro* and *Ezio* both premiered in 1731 and were both based on librettos by Pietro Metastasio, their similar instrumentation seems significant.

“Senza procelle” is a simile aria in which the Indian King, Poro, compares the fate of his ostensible enemy, Alexander the Great, to a ship without a pilot:

Senza procelle ancora
Si perde quell Nocchiero,
Che lento in su la prora
Passa dormendo il dì

Sognava il suo pensiero
Forse le amiche sponde
Ma si trovò fra l’onde
Allor che i lumi aprì.

The Pilot soon may perish, tho’
No Tempests on the Ocean blow,
If nodding o’er his Helm, the Day
In languid Sleep he wastes away.

Deluding Dreams perhaps may shew
Some friendly Haven to his View,
But when the Slumber leaves his Eyes,
No Scene he sees but Waves and Skies.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 362.

³⁸⁸ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, 6: 42-43.

In the opening ritornello the horns and recorders alternate one-measure motives, with the recorders echoing an ornamented version of each horn measure (Example 3.15a). When the alto voice enters the musical texture in m. 23, the two pairs of instruments join the strings, and the orchestral ensemble generally alternates with the voice. The most notable example of this pattern occurs in mm. 62-70. From a practical point of view, the horn players obviously had to be able to play softly enough to match the sound of the recorders. Handel assists the players by keeping the upper range within conservative limits: the first horn does not ascend higher than written a^2 , and the second horn ascends no higher than g^2 . Horns are often described as loud, outdoor instruments, and although Baroque horns may have sounded brighter than we are accustomed to today, Coar may have overstated his case when he wrote that it was “customary to play the instrument with an upturned bell without any thought whatsoever of modifying the ‘blare.’”³⁸⁹

Handel employs horns and recorders in a similar manner in “Se la mia vita” in *Ezio*. In this aria, Ezio promises to honor the Emperor Valentinian with future military victories in return for his freedom:

Se la mia vita dono è d’ Augusto
 Il freddo Scita, l’Eviopè adusto
 Al piè di Cesare piegar farò.
 Perchè germogliano pèr te gli Allori
 Mi vedrai spargere nuovi sudori
 Saprò combattere, morir saprò.

If then *Augustus* bids me live,
 I’ll make the Snow-clad *Scythia* give,
 With the scorch’d *Æthiop*’s torrid Land
 Their Realms to *Caesar*’s great Command.
 That Laurels still may bloom for you
 The Toils of War I will renew;
 And you shall view my Deeds, for I
 Know how to combat, and to die.³⁹⁰

Because the text of this aria deals with military exploits, it seems reasonable for Handel to employ either trumpets and/or trumpet-like music; however, Handel writes this

³⁸⁹ Coar, *The French Horn*, 7.

³⁹⁰ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, 6: 50-51.

movement in triple meter and again utilizes horns and recorders in imitative patterns (Example 3.15b).

Furthermore, Handel may have used horns in F in both “Se la mia vita” and “Senza procelle” because the flat key of F major—as opposed to the sharp key of D major, for example—was better suited for developing the drama. According to

Deadman:

Poro, a prisoner of Alexander, is freed by his friend Timagenes. The latter reports having seen Poro killed. Ezio, a prisoner of Valentinian, is granted his freedom by Valentinian, but this is a foil, as Valentinian has planted Varo outside the palace to kill Ezio. Both arias are in F major. Poro, granted his freedom, is now in control of his own fate. Ezio, unaware of Valentinian’s plot to kill him, also believes he is in control of his destiny.³⁹¹

Therefore, horns in F could help reveal insights about Poro and Ezio. Deadman further comments on their use in these arias:

Interestingly, despite the images of the text and the use of horns, Handel avoids a military topos. There are no fanfare motives, rather, short phrases in thirds are heard in the horns and echoed by the recorders. The similarity in the dramatic situations of these arias is not merely confirmed by the instrumentation, but by the opening gesture of each, especially the first two measures with the descending cello line and arpeggiated violin part. Handel obviously had the voicing of these first two measures of Poro’s in mind when beginning that for Ezio.³⁹²

Thus far, we have seen that Handel does not always use the horns in martial music; however, both these operas make use of those images in the instrumental movements. In these two arias, on the other hand, the mere timbre of the horns is probably enough to suggest a “military topos” even without any “fanfare motives.” Trumpets would have been inappropriate not only because they would have had difficulty blending well with

³⁹¹ Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 220.

³⁹² Ibid.

the recorders but also because the key of D major would have been unsuitable at this point in the plots of the two operas.

Example 3.15a. G. F. Handel, *Porò* (HWV28, 1731), Act II, sc. vi, “Senza procelle ancora si perde quel nocchiero,” mm. 1-17. Horns in F.³⁹³

The image displays a musical score for the first system of measures 1-17 from Act II, scene vi of G. F. Handel's opera *Porò*. The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The score is written for a full orchestra, including Corni I. & II., Flauto I. & II., Violino I. & II., Viola, Porro, and Bassi. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The bottom of the first system is labeled 'Violoncello senza Contrabassi e senza Bassons.' and 'Tutti.' The second system continues the orchestration with various instrumental parts.

H. W. 79.

³⁹³ *Porò, re dell'Indie*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 79, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.15b. G. F. Handel, *Ezio* (HWV29, 1732), Act III, sc. vi, “Se la mia vita dono è d’Augusto,” mm. 1-24. Horns in F.³⁹⁴

89

Andante larghetto.

Corno I. II.

Flauto I. II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Ezio.

Violoncello.

Tutti Bassi.

unis.

H. W. 80.

³⁹⁴ *Ezio*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 80, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

As we have seen, then, the horn movements studied from the operas *Porro* and *Ezio*³⁹⁵ are noteworthy for the horns' participation in military-style music as well as for their unique instrumentation. The choice to use horns over trumpets in this music seems to stem primarily from Handel's desire to use a flat key for purposes of character development, a trend that both Harris and Deadman have noted in Handel's operas as a whole. The horns were also better able to blend with the recorders, and their employment with this soft woodwind instrument tells us something about the timbre of Baroque horns. Their ability to merge with the recorders negates many traditional assumptions concerning the supposedly bright tone color of the Baroque horn.

Arianna in Creta

As Table 3.5 demonstrates, Handel includes music for horns in three movements in his opera *Arianna in Creta* (HWV32, 1734).

Table 3.5. Movements that include music for horns in *Arianna in Creta*.

<u>Act, scene</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Number and Key of Horns</u>
Act I, Ouverture	Ouverture	Corno I, II in D
Act II, scene vi	Aria, "Qual Leon, che fere irato, se sua prole"	Corno I, II in F
Act III, <i>scena ultima</i>	Coro, "Bella sorge la speranza lusinghiera al nostro seno"	Corno I, II in D

From this table one can see that Handel employs the horns in two keys, and thus the horn players may have used crooked instruments. In addition, this is one of the few operas that calls for horns in D without also requiring trumpets; however, it is possible trumpets in D doubled the horn parts in these two movements *ad libitum*.

³⁹⁵ The horns perform in a third movement in *Ezio*, the Act III, *scena ultima* chorus "È più bella quella fede."

The “Ouverture” in *Arianna* consists of three movements. Horns in D participate in the third of these, a minuet in D major (Example 3.16 shows the first thirty-one measures of this movement). The horn parts are notated in classical notation, that is, in treble clef in C. In terms of out-of-tune pitches and non-series tones, Handel requires the first horn player to perform only f^2 and a^2 and the second horn only f^2 . Regardless, the parts are difficult because of numerous large leaps.

Both horns enter the musical texture in m. 18. The first horn ascends immediately from written g^2 to c^3 and then back down in m. 19 to e^2 . Although these pitches merely outline a D major triad, the use of a rising fourth and then a descending sixth in the extreme upper register is significant nonetheless. In mm. 18-29 the first horn generally doubles the first violin with a less ornamented version of the latter’s melody. One wonders, however, if the first horn naturally performed snap rhythms instead of straight eighth notes in mm. 19, 20, and 23. Handel asks the first horn to deviate most greatly from the violin melody when he prevents the player from performing non-series tones. For example, in m. 28 the first horn ascends to an $f^{\#2}$ to avoid performing b^1 and a^1 , both pitches sounding one octave below the violin and both requiring hand-stopping.

The second horn part presents similar challenges. Handel keeps this music within typical second horn range, asking the player to perform only between c^1 and f^2 , yet he requires excessively large leaps. In m. 23, for example, the second horn descends from c^2 to c^1 and then ascends on beat three up to a written f^2 . This leap is made all the more difficult by the fact that this last pitch is the out-of-tune eleventh harmonic. Because the first horn simultaneously performs the out-of-tune thirteenth harmonic, the player really had to hear this pitch in his mind’s ear to perform it correctly. Handel probably thought

this large leap preferable to asking the second horn to follow the second oboe line. To do so, the second horn would had to have played d^2 , g^1 , and then two eighth notes $f^{\#1}$, $f^{\#2}$ in beat three. Handel avoided the non-series tone $f^{\#1}$ by composing the second horn part as written.

Example 3.16. G. F. Handel, *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734), Ouverture, Menuetto, mm. 1-31. The first two movements are not included. Horn in D.³⁹⁶

4

Corno I. II.

Violino I.
Oboe I. II.

Violino II.

Viola.

Bassi.

4
6

6

4
6

pp

H. W. 83.

³⁹⁶ *Arianna in Creta*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 83, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

The employment of technically challenging music for the second horn continues in the Act I, scene vi aria “Qual Leon, che fere irato, se sua prole.” Written for Margherita Durastanti as Tauride, this brilliant movement includes parts for horns in F, oboes, bassoons, violins, viola, mezzo-soprano voice, and *bassi* (Example 3.17 shows the first twenty-nine measures). As one can see, Handel uses the traditional French hunting-horn meter of 6/8, but the movement seems to have little in common with Dampierre’s *sonneries*.

The most notable horn music occurs in the opening and closing ritornellos. The first horn and first violin begin the movement together in unison. The first horn deviates from the violin line when necessitated to do so by the limitations of the harmonic series, though the part is virtuosic nonetheless. Handel employs a variation of the traditional method of writing for horn. Instead of beginning with a low to midregister triadic melody and then proceeding to an upper-register *clarino* melody, he asks the first horn to perform two measures of *clarino* passages and then ascend in m. 3 to a fanfare-like melody in the extreme upper register. Indeed, the first horn performs c^3 four times in two measures, thereby attesting to the player’s firm command of this upper tessitura.

The second horn and second violin enter the musical texture in m. 2. In this movement Handel also expects the second horn to be able to play well in the upper register. In m. 3 this player ascends to a written a^2 , the highest pitch in Handel’s second horn parts in his operas. The second horn part also begins to resemble standard Classical-era second horn parts. Hiebert has characterized trends in second horn-writing in Dresden from the period 1734 to 1760 as the following:

Second horn writing trends which began in the second period [1723-1733/36] become more pronounced in the third period [1734-1760] and

are characterized by: accompanimental lines, octave leaps, Alberti bass-type figures, as well as notes at the bottom of the register written in bass clef.³⁹⁷

The music for horns in Handel's opera *Arianna* does not begin to approximate the innovative and virtuosic music composed for the horn players in Dresden, but similarities in the second horn part of "Qual Leon" are clearly apparent. In the "Ouverture" this part employed leaps larger than an octave, and in mm. 19 of "Qual Leon" one sees Handel similarly employing octave leaps in accompanimental figures. Indeed, the lack of conjunct motion in the second horn part is striking. Aside from the few measures of stepwise *clarino* motives (see, for example, mm. 2-3 and 6), the second horn part is arpeggiated throughout most of this movement. In mm. 4-5 the second horn performs descending fanfare-like patterns to accompany the hunting calls in the first horn. Even more striking, perhaps, are the accompanimental arpeggiated figures in mm. 7-12.

The one innovative feature in second horn-writing that Handel never employs is the use of the low register and consequently of the bass clef. *Radamisto* contained some of the lowest pitches in both the first and second horn parts, and Handel's later music for horn never descends that low. His reluctance to expand his music for the second horn into this low register results directly from his disinclination to utilize non-series tones. By keeping the second horn part in the middle and lower-upper register, he is able to utilize only pitches within the harmonic series. Regardless, Handel's treatment of the second horn in "Qual Leon" is unusual and striking and shares many features with the *cor basso* horn parts composed later in the century.

Thus, one sees that the horn parts—especially the second horn part—are virtuosic in this aria. Handel must have had very accomplished players at his disposal. It does not

³⁹⁷ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 199-200.

seem to be a coincidence that some well-know horns soloists, such as Frederick Messing (I) and Mr. Charles, begin appearing in concert advertisements at about this time. Handel may have also employed horns in this aria to help with characterization and affect. Indeed, this simile aria uses virtuosic obbligato horns to suggest the image of a raging lion:

Qual Leon chef ere irato
Se sua Prole altri involò;
Tale anch'Iodi sdegno armato
Nella pugna ferirò.
Mà se auvien che l'Idol mio
Renda pago il mio desio,
Pace, a calma solo avrò.³⁹⁸

The Lion that has lost its Young,
Does raging o'er the Desert range,
So I, with equal Fury stung,
Seek on my haughty Foe Revenge.:
But shou'd my Charming Fair prove kind,
Soft Peace will soon possess my Mind.

Example 3.17. G. F. Handel, *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734), Act I, sc. vi, “Qual Leon, che fere irato, se sua prole,” mm. 1-6. Horns in F.³⁹⁹

The musical score for Example 3.17 shows the orchestration for the first six measures of the aria. The instruments listed are Corno I, Corno II, Oboe I, Oboe II, Bassons, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, TACRIDE, and Bassi. The score is written in F major and 8/8 time. The horns (Corno I and Corno II) play a prominent, virtuosic role, suggesting the image of a raging lion. The bassoon and bass parts also feature complex, rhythmic patterns. The string parts (Violino I, Violino II, Viola, and Bassi) provide a steady, rhythmic foundation. The TACRIDE part is mostly silent, with only a few notes in the first measure.

³⁹⁸ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel's Operas*, 7: 26-27.

³⁹⁹ *Arianna in Creta*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 83, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.17. G. F. Handel, *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734), Act I, sc. vi, “Qual Leon, che fere irato, se sua prole,” mm. 7-18. Horns in F.

59

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes parts for Corno I., Corno II., Oboe I., Oboe II., Bassons., Violino I., Violino II., Viola., TAURIDE., and Bassi. The second system continues the orchestration with additional parts for the strings and woodwinds. The TAURIDE part has the following lyrics: "Qual Le - o - o, che fe - re i - ra - to, che fe - re i - ra - . to, se sua pro - le al - tri in - vo - lo." The score is in F major and 3/4 time, with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature.

Example 3.17. G. F. Handel, *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734), Act I, sc. vi, “Qual Leon, che fere irato, se sua prole,” mm. 19-23. Horns in F.

60

The musical score for Example 3.17 is a page from a manuscript, numbered 60. It features ten staves of music. The staves are labeled on the left as follows: Corno I., Corno II., Oboe I., Oboe II., Bassons., Violino I., Violino II., Viola., TAURIDE., and Bassi. The music is written in F major, as indicated by the key signature (one flat). The tempo and meter are not explicitly stated, but the notation suggests a moderate tempo. The lyrics for TAURIDE are: "ta-le anch' io di sde.gno ar.ma-to, di sde.gno ar.ma-to nel . la pu.gnu". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *pp* (pianissimo).

The features observed in “Qual Leon” are also apparent in the horn parts in the final chorus of this opera, “Bella sorge la speranza lusinghiera al nostro seno” (Example 3.18). As in the “Ouverture,” Handel writes for two horns in D, their parts again notated using classical notation. The range of the first horn part again requires two written c^3 's, even if these pitches are now less treacherous on the lower-pitched horn in D. Unusually, this part also descends to written c^1 . A range of two octaves is large for Handel's first horn parts and has been observed only in soloistic movements such as “Va tacito” from *Giulio Cesare*. The second horn part ascends only to a written g^2 . This part, as well as the first horn part, again makes use of extensive leaps. Both horns begin the movement in m. 1 with hunting-like motives in the low to midregister. In m. 3-4 they demonstrate the typical rise to the upper register, but do so through the use of extremely wide leaps.

For example, the first horn must ascend from a written c^1 through an e^2 to an a^2 over the course of four beats. That the final note of these three pitches is the out-of-tune thirteenth harmonic makes this passage especially difficult.

Unusually, the horns continue to play throughout the modulations in this movement. In this regard mm. 13-15 are particularly striking. Variations of the eleventh harmonic ($f^2/f\sharp^2$) and the thirteenth harmonic ($g\sharp^2/a^2$) pervade the first horn part. These pitches are not used as passing tones in melodies made up primarily of conjunct motion. Instead, the first horn part consists of many leaps featuring these out-of-tune harmonics on strong beats. Handel's employment of $g\sharp^2$ as the thirteenth harmonic is extremely rare in the horn music of his operas, and the use of this pitch m. 14 of the first horn part should be noted.

Handel also asks the second horn player to perform both f^2 and $f\sharp^2$, as well as to utilize leaps of an octave in arpeggiated passages. Mm. 14-15 require the player to perform from c^2 down to c^1 and then back up to c^2 . The lack of conjunct motion in this part is noteworthy. Furthermore, leaps of a third, perfect and even augmented fourth are not uncommon.

Example 3.18. G. F. Handel, *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734), Act III, *scena ultima*, “Bella sorge la speranza lusinghiera al nostro seno,” mm. 1-9. Horns in D. This final chorus is preceded by an aria of the same name.⁴⁰⁰

C O R O.

2. (o. pag. 11a.)

Corno I.

Corno II.

Oboe I. II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Sigra STRADA. Sigra CARENTINI Sigra SCALZI.

Sigra DURASTANTI.

Sigra NEGRI.

Sigra WALTZ.

Tutti Bassi.

(Teseo) (TUTTI)

cor. Bel - lu sor - ge la spe - ran - za lu - sin - ghie - ra al no - stro se - no,

Bel - lu sor - ge la spe - ran - za lu - sin - ghie - ra al no - stro se - no,

Bel - lu sor - ge la spe - ran - za lu - sin - ghie - ra al no - stro se - no,

no' ful - la - ceo men - so - gne - ra più la cre - de il no - stro cor, giù la cul - ma hab.

no' ful - la - ceo men - so - gne - ra più la cre - de il no - stro cor, giù la cul - ma hab.

no' ful - la - ceo men - so - gne - ra più la cre - de il no - stro cor, giù la cul - ma hab.

7
4
2

H. W. 33.

⁴⁰⁰ *Arianna in Creta*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 83, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.18. G. F. Handel, *Arianna* (HWV32, 1734), Act III, *scena ultima*, “Bella sorge la speranza lusinghiera al nostro seno,” mm. 10-20. Horns in D.

119

Corno I.

Corno II.

Oboe I.II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Sig.^{ra} STRADA. Sig.
CARESTINI Sig. SCALZI.

Sig.^{ra} DURASTANTI.
Sig.^{ra} NEGRI.

Sig. WALTZ.

Tutti Bassi.

biam nell' il. ma, nè fu. ne. sta ri. a tem. pe. sta, più non te. me, più non te. me,

biam nell' il. ma, nè fu. ne. sta ri. a tem. pe. sta, più non te. me, più non te. me,

biam nell' il. ma, nè fu. ne. sta ri. a tem. pe. sta, più non te. me, più non te. me,

più non te. me il no. stro a. mor, più non te. me il no. stro a. mor.

più non te. me il no. stro a. mor, più non te. me il no. stro a. mor.

più non te. me il no. stro a. mor, più non te. me il no. stro a. mor.

più non te. me il no. stro a. mor, più non te. me il no. stro a. mor.

più non te. me il no. stro a. mor, più non te. me il no. stro a. mor.

The three movements studied in *Arianna* contain virtuosic music for horns. They also show stunning developments in Handel's writing for the second horn. The use of wide leaps and arpeggiated figures in this part foreshadows the writing for *cor basso* that will become prevalent in the second half of the eighteenth century. As mentioned earlier, Handel's works from the 1730s contain virtuosic music that must be indicative of the arrival of notable horn soloists. Handel completed *Arianna* in October 1733, the same month that Mr. Charles first appeared in the London press. Perhaps he and his second, "Giay," performed the parts in this work.⁴⁰¹

Giustino

The music for horns in *Giustino* (HWV37, 1737) does not approach the virtuosity of the parts included in either *Giulio Cesare* or *Arianna*; however, the three movements that include music for the instrument are notable for their interesting symbolism, instrumentation, and choice of key (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6. Movements that include music for horn in *Giustino* (HWV37, 1737).

<u>Act, scene</u>	<u>Genre and Name of Movement</u>	<u>Number and Key of Horns</u>
Act I, scene iv	Aria, "Può ben nascer tra il boschi nobil alma"	Corno I, II in F
Act I, scene vii	Aria, "Allor ch'io forte avrò orno di palme il trono"	Corno I, II in F
Act II, scene v	Coro, "Per voi soave e bella"	Corno I, II in B-flat

⁴⁰¹ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 328.

The first movement to include music for horns, the Act I, scene iv aria “Può ben nascer tra li boschi nobil alma” has three general sections. The first section includes parts for oboe, two tenor recorders, viola, and bass recorder. The music of this section is repeated twice, the first repeat not only introducing music for the alto castrato but also substituting violins for the solo wind parts; in the second repeat the voice is silent, and instrumental parts for two horns, two tenor recorders, oboe, violins, viola, and *tutti bassi* are included.

The two horns in F are used in the third section of this movement for their association not only with pastoral but also with military imagery. The stage directions contained in the libretto indicate the scene as:

Campagna con Albori fruttiseri.
GIUSTINO coll’ Aratro.

A Country with Fruit-Trees.
JUSTIN with his Plow.⁴⁰²

In this pastoral setting, the character of Giustino falls asleep and learns in a dream that he will one day be emperor:⁴⁰³

Può ben nascere trà Boschi
Nobil’ Alma, e regio Core.
Dà il natale la Fortuna,
Solo il ciel don il valore.
E’ felice chi nell’ Alma
Prova lieto il bell’ ardore.

A Noble Greatness you may find
Stamp’d on the lowly Peasant’s Mind,
Our Births, capricious Fortune rules,
But Heav’n inspires Heroic Souls;
And bless’d is he, and truly bless’d,
Who feels the glorious Ardour in his Breast.⁴⁰⁴

Like much of Handel’s music, the use of F major for this aria signifies the pastoral, thereby allowing the horns to participate in this imagery. On the other hand, they are still associated with the military and royalty, and their presence in the third section of the aria foreshadows Giustino’s future military victories and royal status.⁴⁰⁵ This movement

⁴⁰² Harris, *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, 8: 54-55.

⁴⁰³ Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 210.

⁴⁰⁴ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, 8: 54-55.

⁴⁰⁵ Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 213.

demonstrates that in 1737 horns could be used to simultaneously partake in idiomatic trumpet and horn imagery.

This movement is also significant because, like the two arias examined earlier from *Poro* and *Ezio*, it employs horns and recorders together in the musical texture. In the corresponding movements from those operas, Handel often asked the recorders to echo motives heard in the horn parts. In “Può ben nascer,” on the other hand, he groups the winds and strings together as a single group (Example 3.19). The horn parts contain no evidence of *concertante*-style writing, and the players must have been able to play softly enough to match the volume level of the single oboe, recorders, and strings. The horns’ musical role in this ensemble is to add color and warmth, and they are not given individual melodic lines.

The horn parts do not contain any excursions into the upper register, unusual harmonics, or virtuosic passages. Interestingly, however, Handel again includes wide leaps in the second horn part. In mm. 86-87, the second horn jumps from e^1 to the eleventh harmonic f^2 , thereby performing higher pitches than the first horn, which plays a descending scalar passage beginning on g^2 in m. 85. Handel writes these extreme leaps in the second horn part to avoid giving the player non-series tones in the middle or low register. By jumping up an octave, the second horn player sounds in unison with the recorders. If the player had executed that measure one octave lower (thus making a jump of only a minor second), he would have performed not only f^1 but also d^1 , both unusable pitches as far as Handel is concerned.

Example 3.19. G. F. Handel, *Giustino* (HWV37, 1737), Act I, sc. iv, “Può ben nascer tra li boschi nobil alma,” mm. 64-88. Horns in F.⁴⁰⁶

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The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows the vocal parts with the lyrics: "bo - schi no - bil al - ma e reg - gio co - re, no - bil al - ma e reg - gio co - re." The second system shows the instrumental parts, including two horns (Corno I and Corno II), two flutes (Flauto I and Flauto II), two oboes (Oboe I and Oboe II), two violins (Violino I and Violino II), a viola, and a cello/bass part (Tutti Bassi). The third system continues the instrumental parts. The score is in F major and 4/4 time.

H. W. 69.

⁴⁰⁶ *Giustino*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 89, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Handel also employs two horns in the Act I, scene viii aria “Allor ch’io forte avrò” (Example 3.20). This movement, written in quadruple meter, includes wind parts for oboes as well as horns. While “Può ben nascer” asks the horns to represent both pastoral and military images, “Allor ch’io forte avrò” focuses exclusively on the latter. It is the trumpet-like music infusing this music that provides the direct stimulus to this imagery. In his discussion of Marin Mersennes’ trumpet calls in *Harmonie Universelle*, Barbour states: “The latter part of ‘A cheval’ contains the *sine qua non* of trumpet rhythm, the galloping or dactylic motive of a quarter and two eighths—more frequently, the motive consists of an eighth and two sixteenths.”⁴⁰⁷ One sees this rhythmic figure throughout the horn and oboe parts of “Allor ch’io forte avrò.”

At this point in the opera, the Emperor Anastasius has “just appointed Giustino his champion and commissioned him to rescue the Empress (Arianna).”⁴⁰⁸ In “Allor ch’io forte avrò” Giustino “pledges to give all honors he should win to the Emperor, and even at death promises fidelity.”⁴⁰⁹

Allor ch’io forte avrò	When by successful Deeds I’ve won
Orno di Palme il Trono,	New Laurels to adorn your Throne,
Sestante dir potrai quell’è mio dono.	You gave the Power, be yours the Praise:
Che se mai caderò	But if I fall, my dying Breath
A te mio Augusto innante	Shall justly boast unspotted Faith;
Spirante il cor dirà, fedele io sono.	No other Fame I wish to raise. ⁴¹⁰

Trumpet-like music is therefore appropriate for this music. One has to wonder, however, why Handel did not just employ trumpets. The use of horns in the previous movement, “Può ben nascer,” seems fitting, given their association with the pastoral as well as their ability to blend better—at least when compared with the trumpet—with the recorders.

⁴⁰⁷ Barbour, *Trumpets, Horns, and Music*, 35-36.

⁴⁰⁸ Deadman, “*Augeletti Che Cantate*,” 256.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, 8: 60-61.

Yet this movement could have easily utilized trumpets instead of horns, since Handel does not hesitate to include trumpets in D in three movements in this work: the opening chorus, “Viva Augusto,” the Act I, scene x aria “All’armi, guerrieri,” and the Act III, scene ix sinfonia.⁴¹¹ His decision to use horns in “Alor ch’io foret avrò” may have served to remind listeners of Giustino’s humble and pastoral beginnings. Alternatively, Handel may have felt the flat key of F major to be more suitable for a hero who had already rescued the Emperor’s sister from a bear and was confident he could now rescue the Empress. As we have seen, Handel utilizes horns in martial music not only because they share trumpet significations but also when the trumpet key of D major is not appropriate for character development.

Example 3.20. G. F. Handel, *Giustino* (HWV37, 1737), “Allor ch’io foret avrò,” mm. 1-4. Horns in F.⁴¹²

H. W. 88.

⁴¹¹ Handel, *Complete Trumpet Repertoire*, vol. 1, ed. Minter.

⁴¹² *Giustino*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 68, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.20. G. F. Handel, *Giustino* (HWV37, 1737), "Allor ch'io foret avrò," mm. 5-14. Horns in F.

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for *Corno I*, *Corno II*, *Oboe I*, *Oboe II*, *Violino I*, *Violino II*, *Viola*, *GIUSTINO* (vocal line), and *Bassi*. The second system continues the instrumental parts. The vocal line for *GIUSTINO* is written in a lower register. The score is in F major, indicated by one flat in the key signature. The tempo and meter are not explicitly stated but are implied by the notation.

Handel includes music for horns in one other movement in *Giustino*, the chorus “Per voi soave e bella” from Act II, scene v. Written in 6/8 meter and employing wind parts for horns in B-flat and oboes, this chorus resembles the *siciliana*-like choral movements that Handel often uses in his oratorios when writing for horns. As this aria demonstrates, Handel clearly began writing for the horns in this manner in his later operas; however, the most notable feature of this music is the use of horn in B-flat *alto*. Handel employs a horn in this key only in *Giustino* and in the Act II, scene i chorus “Òggi rimbombano di feste, e giubilo” from *Atalanta* (HWV35, 1736). The use of the novel key of B-flat in two operas performed in successive seasons must be significant. Indeed, I argued previously that Handel’s use of this unusual key was indicative of the availability of crooked instruments. It seems likely the sudden appearance of this key in his horn parts may have had something to do with the instrument called the “Corno Cromatico” that began appearing in the London press in the early 1740s. A typical advertisement for the instrument described it and its players thus:

CUPER’S GARDENS.

The Widow EVANS, being highly sensible of the Obligations she is under to the Town in general for their Kindness to her in visiting her Gardens, is resolv’d to entertain them with as much Variety as possible; in order thereto, this Week there is added to the Fireworks a fiery Dragon, which flies from the Bottom of the Gardens to the top of the Orchestra. Her Band of Musick, which is, by the best Judges, allow’d to be inferior to none, will perform several select and favorite Pieces; particularly Count Messing and his Son will sound a Concerto on the Cromatick Horns, they being the only Persons that perform on those Instruments . . . All the above Entertainments will be continued throughout the remaining Part of the Season.

1744 (?)⁴¹³

⁴¹³ From Old Advertisement Books in the Foundling Museum, London.

In the 1740s these instruments are referred to as new and are always affiliated with Frederick Messing (I) and/or Frederick Messing and his son (Frederick Messing II).

Most authors have interpreted the term “Corno Cromatico” to refer to horns with crooks and not to the practice of hand-stopping. Both Fitzpatrick and Morley-Pegge come to this conclusion based on the fact that hand-stopping was unknown in England until Giovanni Punto arrived in the early 1770s.⁴¹⁴ As noted previously, however, composers such as Carlo Vernsberg seem to have been asking for hand-stopping far earlier than this date. In fact, in the 1770s the term “chromatic French horn” appears to have referred to the ability to use hand-stopping to perform chromatic pitches. Simon McVeigh has noted that:

Three chromatic French horns appeared for the first time at the 1776 Covent Garden oratorios, though it is unclear what is meant by this; it was similarly remarked that Palsa and Türschmidt could modulate through different keys without changing crooks.⁴¹⁵

It may be that the terms “corno cromatico” and “chromatic French horn” both refer to the practice of hand-stopping, but as Morley-Pegge notes, Messing is described as being able to perform “in all keys,”⁴¹⁶ and therefore he was probably using an instrument with crooks.

Based on the likely possibility that crooked horns were employed in *Giulio Cesare* (1724), the use of crooked instruments in England in the late 1730s and 1740s does not seem to have been “a complete novelty.”⁴¹⁷ Indeed, the “German Horn” made its debut as early as 1704; however, the Messings seem to have been the first horn players

⁴¹⁴ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 102; Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 86.

⁴¹⁵ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 89.

⁴¹⁶ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 86.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

to market effectively their ability to perform on this instrument. It may have been necessary for them to do so, since competitors such as Mr. Charles could perform well on the horn and other unusual wind instruments. Therefore, the terms “German horn” and “corno cromatico” both seem to have referred to a horn with crooks. Handel’s employment of horn in B-flat must have resulted from the availability of the latter and the Messings’s ability to perform on it. The music for horn in *Giustino*, then, may give us some idea of their abilities.

Returning to “Per voi soave e bella,” the movement is written in 6/8 meter for horns, oboes, violins, viola, chorus, and *tutti bassi*. Its swaying rhythm is again evocative of the dance, and one finds the hunting-horn figure throughout the violin parts. Because the horn parts are in B-flat *alto*, Handel keeps their ranges within reasonable limits: the first horn does not climb higher than written a^2 , and the second horn stays below f^2 . He does not give either player any unusual harmonics or non-series tones and also does not use the horns as a *concertante* pair. The horns again provide warmth of tone and color to the ensemble. This usage, also seen in Handel’s oratorios and secular concert works, becomes more and more prevalent as Handel’s career progresses.

In conclusion, *Giustino* is significant for three reasons. Handel once more combines horns with recorders. In the aria “Può ben nascer” Handel also includes an oboe in the musical texture, and these three instruments—horns, recorders, and oboe—signify Giustino’s humble and bucolic origins. In addition, because horns are also associated with royalty and martial imagery, their presence in this movement suggests Giustino’s imminent rise to the status of emperor. The horn, then, while expanding its range of significations, could still be used for military music. This fact is all the more

apparent in the aria “Allor ch’io forte avrò,” where horns and oboes perform duple rhythms in quadruple meter. Handel gives them distinctly trumpet-like music as Giustino pledges to give all military honors to the Emperor.

The chorus “Per voi soave e bella” is one of only two movements in Handel’s operatic output to include music for horn in B flat *alto*. It is highly likely that Handel’s use of this key in two works from the late 1730s corresponds with the appearance of the term “corno cromatico” in the London press. This term, like the earlier “German horn,” most likely referred to a horn with crooks, and since it was promoted primarily by the Messings, one can assume it was Frederick Messing (I) who performed both in *Giustino* and *Atalanta*.

Finally, Handel’s employment of the horns specifically to add warmth and color to the ensemble has more in common with Handel’s later usage of the instrument. It shows clearly that the kind of music he was composing for his oratorios was also being incorporated into his operas.

Faramondo and Deidamia

Faramondo (HWV39, 1738) and *Deidamia* (HWV42, 1741) both show Handel continuing to use the horn in a harmonic manner. This new style of horn-writing, also found in *Giustino*, begins to appear regularly in Handel’s music in the late 1730s and, as Anthony Hicks observes, corresponds with trends in Handel’s later operas in general:

The first stirrings of the *galant* in the music of Vinci and Pergolesi are absorbed into several arias in the 1730s, though Handel’s repeated-note basses invariably have more harmonic movement than those of the younger Italians and he still prefers the Corellian walking bass for most

movements . . . An explicitly *galant* movement finally appears in his last oratorio *Jephtha*.⁴¹⁸

Handel employed chordal writing for the horns in the opening chorus to *Giulio Cesare* (1724); however, this compositional method was by no means standard in his stage works, and its usage in these later operas is therefore significant. It is also forward-looking, since it presages the manner in which Classical-era composers will treat the horn.

As one can see in Table 3.7, Handel includes the horns in one movement in *Faramondo* and four movements in *Deidamia*. The sinfonia from scenes vi and x of Act I of *Deidamia* consists of four measures for two horns alone with the stage directions:

Siegle al Coro una breve
sinfonia di Caccia. Fenice
ad Ulisse, e poi Nerea.

After the Chorus follows a short
hunting symphony. Phoenix to
Ulysses, and afterwards Nerea.⁴¹⁹

Table 3.7. Movements that include music for horns in *Faramondo* and *Deidamia*.

<u>Name of Opera</u>	<u>Act, Scene</u>	<u>Genre and Name of Movement</u>	<u>Number and Key of Horns</u>
Faramondo	Act III, scena ultima	Solo and Coro, “Virtù che rende sì forte un core, d’odio e d’amore”	Corno I, II in F
Deidamia	Act I, scene i	Marche	Corno I, II in D
	Act II, scene v	Coro, “Della Guerra la caccia ha sembianza”	Corno I, II in F
	Act I, scene vi and x	Sinfonia	Corno I, II in F
	Act II, scene x	Coro, “L’alto Giove al travaglio penoso”	Corno I, II in F

⁴¹⁸ Anthony Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 14. Style and Technique,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 21 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴¹⁹ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, 8: 360.

Example 3.21. G. F. Handel, *Faramondo* (HWV39, 1738), Act III, *scena ultima*, aria, "Virtù che rende sì forte un core, d'odio e d'amore," mm. 1-20. Horns in F.⁴²⁰

118 *Allegro, e staccato.*

Corno I. II.

Oboe I. II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

FARAMONDO.

Bassi.

unls.

Vir. tù che ren. de sì for. te un. co. re, d'o. dio e d'a. mo. re sa. tri. on.

H. W. 93.

⁴²⁰ *Faramondo*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 91, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 3.22. G. F. Handel, *Faramondo* (HWV39, 1738), Act III, *scena ultima*, aria, “Virtù che rende sì forte un core, d’odio e d’amore,” mm. 62-83. Horns in F.⁴²¹

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows the instrumental parts: Corno I.II., Oboe I.II., Violino I., Violino II., Viola, FARAMONDO, and Basso. The second system shows the vocal part (FARAMONDO) with the following lyrics: *A. mor del fa - to via. ce il po - te - re, fa ch'al pia - ce - re gui - di il pe - nar, - fa ch'al pia -*. The third system shows the vocal part continuing with the lyrics: *- ce - re gui - di il pe - nar, - fa ch'al pia - ce - re gui - di il pe - nar.* The tempo marking *Allegro* is indicated above the vocal line in the third system. The score is marked with measure numbers 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, and 84.

⁴²¹ *Faramondo*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 91, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

All the movements from these operas show Handel utilizing both conservative and innovative features of horn-writing. Hicks confirms this mixture of old and new styles in *Faramondo* overall: “The actual quality of the music is hard to fault, lively major-key arias in the new pre-classical manner are mixed effectively with those in Handel’s normal contrapuntal style.”⁴²² In terms of the horn parts, Example 3.21 shows Handel treating the horns harmonically: they are not performing *concertante* parts as they do in much of Handel’s earlier music for the instrument. On the other hand, Example 3.22 shows Handel using the *clarino* register in his first horn part. In mm. 66-68 the first horn performs a scalar passage culminating in a written c^3 . The player must then descend by leap to written g^2 , although this descent prevents the hornist from ascending to written d^3 with the oboist and violin. Handel never asks his first horn to play higher than written c^3 when the part is notated in C.

The second horn part demonstrates Handel’s reluctance to use non-series tones even as Handel continues to write large leaps such as those found in *Arianna*. This part often moves in thirds or fifths with the first horn; however, there are also a large number of arpeggiated passages. Handel even requires the second horn to perform a leap larger than an octave (m. 15 of the chorus).

One sees a similar combination of conservative and innovative features in the horn parts of *Deidamia* (HWV42, 1741). The Act I, scene i *Marche* contains parts for two trumpets and two horns in D, with the horn parts notated in concert pitch. Written in quadruple meter and containing traditional trumpet idioms, the music accompanies the

⁴²² Anthony Hicks, “Faramondo,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 18 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

arrival of the Greeks to the island of Scyros and is the only employment of trumpets in the opera. The stage directions give us some idea of the regal nature of this scene:

Vestibolo della Reggia presso al Lido,
con Trono di marmo.
Lycomede sul Trono: Ulisse,
Fenice e Nestore che sbarcano.

The Portico of the Palace, near the Sea,
with a Throne of Marble.
Lycomedes on the Throne: Ulysses
Phoenix and Nestor, who come ashore.⁴²³

The brass instruments perform with timpani “in Barca,” meaning in the boat on stage, as opposed to the violins, oboes, viola, and *bassi* in the orchestra. The latter group echoes fanfare-like passages performed by the brass and percussion until the end of the movement where they perform together. The horns’ role in this music is to contribute to the trumpet timbre by doubling their part in the fanfare-like passages and to add to the processional nature of this music. Again, the horns probably performed with their bells in the air, though one has to wonder if this technique seemed anachronistic in 1741.

Handel also uses two horns in the Act II, scene v chorus “Della guerra la caccia ha sembianza.” The stage directions for this movement indicate:

I Cacciatori e le Cacciatrici appaiono.

The Hunters and Huntresses appear.⁴²⁴

The movement is sung not only by the characters of Ulysses and Deidamia but also by this chorus of hunters and huntresses:

CORO.

Chorus of Hunters.

Della Guerra la Caccia à fembianza:

War and hunting resemble they’re full of alarms.

Sono scuola dim arte le selve;

Both learn’d in the woods, and both fearless of harms;

V’è Coraggio, Fatica e Costanza

And who, with success, savage beasts would pursue,

In seguir e in Combatter le Belve.

Must bear labour, have courage, and constancy too.

⁴²³ Harris, *The Librettos of Handel’s Operas*, 8: 335.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 8: 360-361.

Coro di Cacciatrici.	Chorus of Huntresses
E poi dopo l’Affanno e il Diporto,	And when the fatigue, and the pleasure is past.
Son Amor e Riposto il Consorto.	‘Tis love and repose that give comfort at last.
TUTTI.	Chorus of all.
Della Guerra, &c.	War and hunting, &c. ⁴²⁵

This aria makes clear the eighteenth-century connection between war and hunting: both activities required similar skills and were used effectively as displays of power.

Handel includes parts for oboes, horns in F, violins, viola, solo voices, chorus, and *bassi*. The key of F is indicative of the *chasse* and as well as the pastoral, and the horns signify both types of imagery in this movement. Furthermore, the inclusion of huntresses in the ensemble lends the scene an element of fantasy. Although some notable eighteenth-century women hunted, it was considered a masculine activity.⁴²⁶ Thus, the huntresses in this scene merely describe pleasures incurred after the hunting has ended.

In addition to hunting and pastoral imagery, the horns and oboes are used to signify military imagery. It is not only the instrumentation but also the duple meter that contributes to the martial nature of this music. Handel utilizes few standard hunting-horn idioms, and like “Va tacito” from *Giulio Cesare*, this hunting aria uses a non-idiomatic hunting meter for dramatic purposes.

Thus, this movement continues to exploit both traditional trumpet and horn imagery. The horn parts also show a mixture of old-fashioned and innovative technical features. As he did in *Faramondo*, Handel asks his first horn to perform in the upper

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Queen Anne (r. 1702-1714) seems to have been a skilled huntress. She used a one-horse chaise to propel her through forests, sometimes covering as much as forty miles in one day. Later in the century, Lady Salisbury kept a pack of “dwarf foxhounds” and was skilled enough to have been praised in the *Sporting Magazine* of 1795. *British Hunts and Huntsmen in Four Volumes: Containing a Short History of Each Fox and Stag Hunt in the British Isles, Together with Biographical Records of Masters Past and Present, and Some Members of Each Hunt* (London: Published by the Biographical Press, 1908), 1: 11.

tessitura, the highest pitch being c^3 . The second horn part does not utilize extensive leaps or complicated arpeggiated figures, but most often moves in thirds with the first horn part. On the other hand, Handel employs the instruments in a purely harmonic manner; there is no evidence of Handel's former *concertante*-style of writing for the horns. This movement is also interesting for the contrast between solo voice and chorus, an unusual innovation in Handel's opera music. The horns are generally paired with the chorus and orchestra against the solo voice and are silent in the section of the movement sung by the huntresses.

Thus, both *Faramondo* and *Deidamia* combine old-fashioned and innovative features of horn-writing, the former attribute consisting of the extreme upper register seen in the first horn part and the lack of non-series tones in either part. The latter feature includes the arpeggiated passages in the second horn part and most notably, the use of the horns in a harmonic—as opposed to a purely melodic—manner. This last aspect is significant since Classical-era composers will use the horn primarily as harmonic support in their orchestral works, and therefore Handel's shift towards this manner of writing shows that he did not remain tied to the *clarino* style of writing for the horn, as some authors have maintained.

Conclusion

The nine operas in this chapter show Handel's overall style of writing for the horn in his operas. As evidenced by *Radamisto* (1720), Handel was clearly aware of continental trends in horn-writing from the beginning of his operatic career, and although he experimented with some new techniques—such as the use of horns in two keys in *Giulio Cesare*—his writing for the horn remained conservative technically. This feature

is evidenced by the lack of non-series tones in his horn music. Although he consistently includes the out-of-tune eleventh and thirteenth harmonics, his refusal to venture beyond this boundary suggests that either his players were not capable of performing stopped pitches or he was reluctant to employ them, most likely because they changed the timbre of the horn. Because horn players in England seem to have been hand-stopping by the middle of the century, the former suggestion—namely that the players were not advanced enough to use the technique—becomes less and less plausible as Handel's operatic career advances.

In terms of technique, the most innovative and perhaps surprising feature of the later operas is his use of the horn in a purely harmonic manner. Because authors have consistently categorized Handel's horn parts as primarily melodic, this observation is striking. In addition, Handel's music for horn appears innovative when one considers the imagery Handel asks his horn players to represent. Although the horns participate in martial music throughout Handel's operatic career, they also take part in pastoral and dance-like music. This usage is most striking in *Admeto* but continues in other operas such as *Giustino* and *Deidamia*, and it is significant because it shows the horn evolving into an independent instrument, separate from the trumpet. It is a trend that will continue in Handel's oratorios, leading to some surprising observations.

CHAPTER 4

HANDEL'S USE OF THE HORN IN HIS SACRED AND SECULAR CONCERT WORKS

Chapters Two and Three dealt with the horn parts in Handel's operas. Now let us consider the music for horn in Handel's sacred and secular concert works, including his oratorios, odes, dramas, and serenatas. This chapter will provide an overall picture of this music, including sections on instrumentation, keys, ranges, and non-series tones, while the following chapter will deal with specific works.

Instrumentation

As one can see in Table 4.1, Handel employs the horn in eighteen sacred and secular concert works.⁴²⁷ According to Anthony Hicks, Handel composed thirty-three "Odes, Oratorios, etc.,"⁴²⁸ and thus parts for horns appear in a majority of these pieces.

Table 4.1. Movements including music for the horn in Handel's oratorios, odes, dramas, and serenatas.

Name of Work	Type of Work	Movement	Horns
Esther (HWV50a, ?1718)	Oratorio	Arioso, "Jehovah crown'd"	Corno I, II
		Chorus, "He comes, he comes"	Corno I, II

⁴²⁷ This number considers the first and second versions of *Esther* as a single work.

⁴²⁸ Anthony Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. Works, Stage, Odes, oratorios, etc.," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. This numerical total includes first and second versions of *Acis and Galatea* (HWV49a and 49b) and *Esther* (HWV50a and 50b), as well as *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* (HWV46a) and *Il trionfo del Tempo e Della Vertit * (HWV46b).

Table 4.1—*Continued.*

Name of Work	Type of Work	Movement	Horns
Esther (HWV50b, 1732)	Oratorio	Arioso, “Jehovah crown’d”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “He comes, he comes”	Corno I, II
Acis and Galatea (HWV49b, 1732)	Serenata	Coro, “Smiling Venus, queen of love”	Corno I, II
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	Oratorio	Chorus, “Immortal Lord of earth and skies”	Corno I, II, III
		Chorus, “Now the proud insulting foe”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Let our glad songs to Heav’n ascend”	Corno I, II, III
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	Oratorio	Chorus, “The gods, whose chosen blessings shed”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “The mighty pow’r” and “Give glory to his awful name”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Give glory to his awful name” ⁴²⁹	Corno I, II
Parnasso in Festa (HWV73, 1734)	Serenata	Coro, “Oh quando bella gloria e quella dei cacciatore”	Corno I, II
		Aria, “Tra sentier di amene selve”	Corno I, II
		Coro, “Oh quando bella gloria e quella dei cacciatore”	Corno I, II
		Coro, “Coralli e perle vogliamo offrir”	Corno I, II
Alexander’s Feast (HWV75, 1736)	Ode	Aria e Coro, “Bacchus, ever fair and young”	Corno I, II

⁴²⁹ This movement, performed initially as the third section of a three-part movement at the beginning of Act II (Chorus, “The mighty pow’r”; Solo, “He bids the circling season shine”; Chorus, “Give glory to his awful name”), is repeated as the last movement of Act III.

Table 4.1—*Continued.*

Name of Work	Type of Work	Movement	Horns
L' Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato (HWV55, 1740)	Ode	Air, "Mirth, admit me of thy crew"	Corno
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	Oratorio	Sinfonia	Corno I, II
		Chorus, "To song and dance"	Corno I, II
		Chorus, "Great Dagon has subdued our foe"	Corno I, II
		Dead March	Corno I, II
Semele (HWV58, 1744)	Drama	Chorus, "Hail Cadmus, hail"	Corno I, II
		Chorus, "Endless pleasure, endless love"	Corno I, II
Hercules (HWV60, 1745)	Drama	"To him your grateful notes of praise belong"	Corno I, II
Occasional Oratorio (HWV62, 1746)	Oratorio	Chorus, "God found them guilty; let them fall"	Corno I, II
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	Oratorio	March	Corno I, II
		Joshua and Chorus, "Glory to God! the strong cemented walls"	Corno I, II
		Joshua and Chorus, "Almighty ruler of the skies"	Corno I, II
		Joshua and Chorus, "Oh! thou bright orb!" and "Behold! the list'ning sun the voice obeys" ⁴³⁰	Chorus – Corno I, II
		Chorus, "See, the conqu'ring hero comes"	Corno I, II

⁴³⁰ This movement begins with a solo for Joshua ("Oh! thou bright orb") and segues immediately into the following chorus ("Behold! the list'ning sun the voice obeys"). The solo contains parts for two violins, viola, voice, and *bassi*, and the chorus contains parts for trumpets, horns, oboes, three violins, viola (doubling the third violin part), chorus, and continuo.

Table 4.1—*Continued.*

Name of Work	Type of Work	Movement	Horns
		Chorus, “The great Jehovah is our awful theme”	Corno I, II
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	Oratorio	Chorus, “Flush’d with conquest, fir’d by Mithra”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Ye happy nations round”	Corno I, II
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	Oratorio	Chorus, “From the censer curling rise”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Swell, swell, the full chorus”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Praise the Lord with harp and tongue”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “The name of the wicked”	Corno I, II
Theodora (HWV68, 1750)	Oratorio	Chorus, “For ever thus stands fix’d the doom”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Venus laughing from the skies”	Corno I, II
The Choice of Hercules (HWV69, 1751)	Drama	Air, “There the brisk sparkling nectar drain”	Corno I, II
Jephtha (HWV70, 1752)	Oratorio	Chorus, “When loud his voice in thunder spoke”	Corno I, II
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	Oratorio	Air, “Happy Beauty”	Corno I, II
		Solo and Chorus, “Happy, if they still reign”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Like the shadow, life ever”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Oh, how great the glory”	Corno I, II
		Chorus, “Hallelujah”	Corno I, II

Table 4.1 lists the forty-four movements that include music for the horn in Handel's sacred and secular concert works. Patterns observed in Handel's operas are also apparent in this music. For example, Handel continues to employ the horn primarily in one or two movements per work. Out of the eighteen works listed in Table 4.1, seven utilize the horn in only one movement, while four contain music for the horn in only two movements. In selected works, however, Handel makes use of the instrument in four, five, or six movements. For example, the oratorios *Joshua* (HWV64, 1748) and *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (HWV71, 1757) include parts for horns in five and six movements, respectively. Regardless, it is evident that Handel did not consider the horn a standard member of his orchestra. In his theater works from the 1740s and 1750s he frequently asks the horns to participate in the choral movements, many of which show a mixture of old-fashioned *clarino*-style music with the newer treatment of the horns as harmonic support.

In addition, Handel continues to write for a pair of horns. Exceptions to this general practice include choral movements such as "Immortal Lord of earth and skies" and "Let our glad songs to Heav'n ascend" from *Deborah* (HWV51, 1733), each of which includes parts for three trumpets and three horns. Even more striking is the horn obbligato in the air "Mirth, admit me of thy crew" from *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740). Finally, Handel continues to utilize oboes in the musical texture with horns. Again, one finds the horns paired with trumpets less frequently: out of the forty-four movements that include music them, only sixteen also contain parts for trumpets (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Movements from Handel's oratorios, odes, serenatas, and dramas that include parts for both horns and trumpets in the musical texture.

Name of Work	Name of Movement	Instrumentation
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	Dead March (see below)	Horns, Trumpets, and Traversi
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	"Glory to God! the strong cemented walls"	Horns and Trumpets
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	March	Horns, Trumpets, and Oboes
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	"Almighty ruler of the skies!"	Horns, Trumpets, and Oboes
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	"Oh! thou bright orb!" and "Behold! the list'ning sun the voice obeys"	Horns, Trumpets, and Oboes
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	"The great Jehovah is our awful theme"	Horns, Trumpets, and Oboes
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	"Like the shadow, life ever"	Horns, Trumpets, and Oboes
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	"Flush'd with conquest, fir'd by Mithra"	Horns, Trumpets, and Oboes
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	"Swell, swell, the full chorus"	Horns, Trumpets, and Oboes
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	"Immortal Lord of earth and skies"	Horns, Trumpets, Oboes, and Bassoons
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	"Let our glad songs to Heav'n ascend"	Horns, Trumpets, Oboes, and Bassoons
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	"The mighty pow'r" and "Give glory to his awful name"	Horns, Trumpets, Oboes, and Bassoons
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	"Give glory to his awful name"	Horns, Trumpets, Oboes, and Bassoons
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	"From the censer curling rise"	Horns, Trumpets, Oboes, and Bassoons
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	"Praise the Lord with harp and tongue"	Horns, Trumpets, Oboes, and Bassoons
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	"The name of the wicked"	Horns, Trumpets, Oboes, and Bassoons

"Glory to God! the strong cemented walls" from *Joshua* (HWV64, 1748) is the only movement in this table to include parts for horns and trumpets as the sole wind instruments in the musical texture; the remaining fifteen movements also include parts for

oboes, flutes, and/or bassoons. Interestingly, *Joshua* is also the oratorio containing the most music for trumpets and horns overall: in this work they perform side-by-side in five out of six movements.⁴³¹

Two important qualifications need to be made regarding the information presented in Table 4.2. First, Handel's inclusion of the Dead March in the 1743 premiere of *Samson* is questionable, as are the parts for trumpets in general. Handel composed two drafts of *Samson*, the first in September-October 1741 and the second in September-October 1742. During the intervening months, Handel made his well-known visit to Dublin.⁴³² Two previous works, *Saul* (HWV53, 1739) and *Israel in Egypt* (HWV54, 1739), both included music for trombones, and Handel had planned on employing them again for a Dead March in *Samson*; however, between the initial draft and the premiere of the work in 1743, Handel's trombone players seem to have left London. Donald Burrows observes that "the last documentary record of their activity comes from February 1741, though they presumably also took part in Handel's performances of *Saul* at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre on 18 March as well."⁴³³ Consequently, Burrows suggests that Handel first included a Dead March in *Samson* in the 1749 revival:

None of the 1743 editions of the word-book make reference to a Dead March, and the first mention of one appears in the word-book for Handel's 1749 performance. The introduction of a Dead March in that year is not difficult to account for: in 1749 Handel recomposed the Dead March from *Saul* for use in *Samson*, transposing it from C major and re-scoring it with horns, timpani and strings as a contrasted group to flutes and organ.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ The sixth movement from *Joshua*, the well-known chorus "See, the conqu'ring hero comes" from Act III, contains three sections. The first section includes music for two horns in G, and the third section includes music for two horns in G, two oboes, and two flutes.

⁴³² Donald Burrows, "Handel, the Dead March and a Newly Identified Trombone Movement," *Early Music* 18, no. 3 (August 1990): 409.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 410.

Thus, a Dead March with parts for horns does not seem to have been incorporated in the 1743 performances of *Samson*, and trumpets do not seem to have been utilized at all.⁴³⁵ For the remainder of this chapter, then, I will assume that Handel included parts for both horns and trumpets in fifteen—not sixteen—movements in his sacred and secular concert works.

The second qualification about the information contained in Table 4.2 was discussed in the previous chapter but must be mentioned again: because of contemporary performance practice, horns most likely performed with trumpets in more than these fifteen movements. As we saw previously, horns sometimes doubled trumpet parts in D, even when Handel did not include parts for horns in the score. The most notable examples of this practice, the 1754 and 1758 Foundling Hospital performances of *Messiah*, are unlikely to have been the only times Handel asked his horn players to double trumpet parts in D *ad libitum*. Indeed, this practice must have occurred more often in the larger choruses from Handel's oratorios than in the da capo arias from his operas, since four brass players would have been superfluous in the latter form.

Without more specific evidence, however, it is difficult to know which oratorios may have employed additional horns. According to Robert Minter, Handel includes parts for trumpets in nineteen sacred oratorios and twelve miscellaneous theater works.⁴³⁶ As one can see in Table 4.3, eight of Minter's nineteen sacred oratorios utilize trumpets without horns in multiple movements.

⁴³⁵ Parts for trumpets are indicated in parentheses in *HG*, vol. 10.

⁴³⁶ G. F. Handel, *Complete Trumpet Repertoire*, ed. Robert Minter (London: Musica rara, 1974), 4 vols. The miscellaneous category includes all the music considered in this chapter under the name "secular concert works," including odes, serenatas, and dramas.

Table 4.3. Sacred oratorios that include trumpets but not horns.

<u>Name of Sacred Oratorio</u>	<u>Number of Movements</u>
Oratorio per la Resurrezione di Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo (HWV47, 1708)	6
Saul (HWV53, 1739)	7
Israel in Egypt (HWV54, 1739)	5
Messiah (HWV56, 1742)	5
Joseph and his Brethren (HWV59, 1744)	4
Belshazzar (HWV61, 1745)	4
Judas Maccabeus (HWV63, 1747)	4
Susanna (HWV66, 1749)	3

Depending on the availability of players, the programmatic function these extra brass players may have served, as well as the purpose of the event and accordingly the grandeur required, Handel may have asked horn players to perform in some of the oratorios listed in Table 4.3.

Even so, the large number of movements including parts for horns and woodwinds without trumpets—twenty-eight out of forty-four—means that Handel continued to combine primarily horns and oboes together in the musical texture.⁴³⁷

Keys Of Handel's Horn Parts

Earlier we saw that in his operas Handel wrote most often for horn in F, but he also employed horn in B-flat, A, G, and D. Table 4.4 lists the keys used in his sacred and secular concert works. As one can see, Handel included parts for horn in F, D, G, and E-flat (in order of frequency).

⁴³⁷ Handel's scores indicate that he utilized horns and trumpets together in ten out of sixty-three movements in his operas (sixteen percent), while he employed similar instrumentation in fifteen out of forty-four movements in his oratorios and secular concert works (thirty-four percent). Thus, horns and trumpets are paired together more often in these later works.

Table 4.4. Keys of the horn parts in Handel's oratorios, odes, serenatas, and dramas.

Key of Horn	Number of Movements
F	17
D	16
G	9
E-flat	1

The key of F, used in seventeen movements, is still the preferred key for Handel's horn parts. Even so, he writes for horn in D nearly as frequently: sixteen movements contain parts for horns in this key.⁴³⁸ Approximately a quarter of the horn parts in Handel's operas contain parts for horns in D, whereas this figure is about a third in the oratorios. This increase results from the higher number of movements containing parts for trumpets as well as horns. The only movement to use horns in D without corresponding trumpets is the air "There the brisk sparkling nectar drain" from the drama *The Choice of Hercules* (HWV69, 1751). Like Handel's other movements containing parts for horns in D, the horn parts are notated in the treble clef with two sharps, yet the lack of corresponding trumpets in the musical texture makes this notation unusual.

Interestingly, Thomas Hiebert notes that Ludwig Güttler recorded a D *alto* version of this air.⁴³⁹ Given the trumpet-like notation, the fact that this is the only movement in this work to employ horns, and the employment of trumpets alone in two other movements, it is tempting to think that the horn parts in "There the brisk sparkling nectar drain" were performed by trumpeters. Without an official roster, it is not possible to know for certain, but it seems likely that Handel's horn parts from the 1750s may have

⁴³⁸ I have again excluded from this table the troublesome Dead March from *Samson*.

⁴³⁹ Thomas Hiebert, "A Case for Horn in D *basso* in the Early Eighteenth Century and its Effect on Horn-and-Trumpet Combinations," in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historical Brass Symposium, Amherst, 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1995), 115-116.

been performed by trumpet doublers. This position contrasts strongly with conclusions reached about the horn soloists in Handel's operas from the 1730s, but circumstances in the 1730s may not have been applicable in the 1750s. Newspaper advertisements from the 1730s and 1740s mention the names of horn players relatively frequently, whereas advertisements from the 1750s do not. Simon McVeigh has noted that:

During the 1750s advertised programmes commonly add the phrase 'with horns' to concertos (presumably implying symphonies and suites such as the *Water Music*); four horns were promised at a benefit in 1758. But the players remain unidentified until the rise of modern concertos around 1770.⁴⁴⁰

Soloists such as Giovanni Punto made their London debut in the 1770s, although he was clearly preceded by virtuosos such as Mr. Charles and Frederick Messing (I & II); however, for various reasons, these earlier soloists do not seem to have been active in London in the 1750s. As we shall see in Chapter Six, Mr. Charles was living in York and touring the provinces at this time. He is just one example, but it does not seem coincidental that one finds the names of trumpeters such as John Weitzenmüller playing the horn in the Foundling Hospital's performances of *Messiah*. Perhaps it is not a surprise, then, that Handel, except in his final oratorio, employs horns and trumpets in separate movements in his stage works from the 1750s. This division of his brass resources would result naturally if the same performer had to play both instruments. Different individuals seem to have been active in various decades in the first half of the eighteenth century, thereby making general assessments about playing conditions for this whole time unreliable. Again, in terms of who performed what brass parts, each of Handel's stage works must be judged individually.

⁴⁴⁰ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 88.

In addition to the keys of F and D, Handel uses horn in G and E-flat in his sacred and secular concert works. Horn in G occurs in nine movements, and as Winton Dean notes, Handel used horns in this key for “bright, festive occasions.” He cites the Overture to *Samson* (HWV57, 1743) and the chorus “See, the conqu’ring hero comes” from *Joshua* (HWV64, 1748) as notable examples.⁴⁴¹ On the other hand, horn in E-flat occurs in only one movement, the air “Mirth, admit me of thy crew” from *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740).

Regarding notation, Handel generally follows the patterns established in his operas: horn parts in the key of D are notated in concert D in the treble clef with a key signature, while horn parts in other keys are notated in C; however, as Howard Serwer observes, Handel notates the horn parts in F in both versions of *Esther* (HWV50a and 50b, ?1718 and 1732) in concert F: “In both the arioso and the chorus Handel notated the horn parts an octave above sounding pitch, a procedure followed in all but three copies of *Esther I* and *Esther II*.”⁴⁴² As we saw previously, the parts for horns in F in *Radamisto* (HWV12b, 1720) are notated like Handel’s other music for horn F—in the treble clef in the key of C. Presumably composed two years before *Radamisto*, *Esther* represents some of Handel’s earliest writing for the horn. According to Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, the earliest known example of classical notation—that is, horn parts notated in C for a transposing instrument—occurs in Badia’s opera *Diana rappacificata* (Vienna, 1700). They argue that this Viennese usage provides compelling evidence for the

⁴⁴¹ Winton Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 78.

⁴⁴² *HHA*, ser. 1, band 8, ed. Howard Serwer, 203.

“Viennese origin of horn crooks, which made such notation necessary.”⁴⁴³ The contrasting notation in *Esther* and *Radamisto* continues to support earlier speculations not only about Brydges’s owning fixed-pitch horns in F—and thus Handel composing for that type of instrument in *Esther*—but also about the second version of *Radamisto* being written for crooked instruments. A detailed discussion of the music for horn in *Esther* will follow in the next chapter.

Handel employs atypical notation in the movements listed above from *The Choice of Hercules* and *Esther* as well as in the Act I chorus “When loud his voice in thunder spoke” from the oratorio *Jephtha* (HWV70, 1752). Although this movement is scored in G, the horn parts are written in the key of D in the treble clef with a key signature (Example 4.1).⁴⁴⁴

Thus far I have described two notational systems employed by Handel; however, early eighteenth-century composers wrote horn parts using other systems, and it seems to have been a misguided use of one of these other systems that caused the notational discrepancy in *Jephtha*. Roger Fiske notes that Thomas Arne, as well as other English composers such as William Boyce and Maurice Greene, “adopted a system whereby the parts could be thought of as transposing or loco.” Arne writes his horn music in the key of C, including, however, a clef and a key signature. The performer ignored these items, even as they provided the score reader with the sounding pitch. In addition to Arne, Boyce, and Greene, Fiske notes that Philip Hayes, John Frederick Lampe, and Charles

⁴⁴³ Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti: ‘Horn. 4. Notation and Transposition’, *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 24 July 2006). Interestingly, they label the practice of writing horn parts in treble clef one octave above sounding pitch as “Saxon notation.”

⁴⁴⁴ Note that the horn parts in the first page of the score do not contain any accidentals. It is only in the beginning of the second page that the editor includes two sharps in the horn parts. These accidentals are present in the remaining pages.

Dibdin all wrote their horn parts using various clefs.⁴⁴⁵ According to Meucci and Rocchetti, early eighteenth-century Italian composers also employed this system:

The earliest ‘Neapolitan’ notation was in bass clef with the notes written an octave below sounding pitch, possibly because it was felt to be more suited to the baritone register of the instrument, or perhaps to distinguish it from the corresponding treble clef notation used by the trumpet.⁴⁴⁶

In fact, Blandford refers to the “classical” system as a “German practice” and compares it with notational systems then current in Italy:

Thus in L. Leo’s *Sta. Elena al Calvario*, we find separate movements in parts for:

Corni in F, written in the bass clef an octave too low;
Corni in D, written in the alto clef in actual sounds;
Trombe da caccia in D, similarly written;
Corni in D, written in the treble clef an octave too high;
 all with key-signatures.⁴⁴⁷

Regarding Handel’s chorus “When loud his voice in thunder spoke,” J. Murray Barbour speculates that the inconsistencies in key resulted from a mistaken use of the notational system based on clefs:

The most striking error in the use of clefs for church-tone notation occurs in Handel’s *Jephtha* . . . The chorus, ‘When loud His voice in thunder spoke,’ is in the key of G, and the voices and all of the instruments save the horns have a signature of one sharp. There is a facsimile edition of Handel’s rough score for *Jephtha*, and this shows clearly that the horn parts, which are notated a fifth high, in D, have a treble clef and a two-sharp signature . . . This is exactly how the horns would be notated for performance today, when the parts would be played on F horns. But, of course, Handel’s parts were intended for horns in G—he has written in the margin, “C. 1 ex 2 ex g.” The correct notation . . . would be the mezzo-soprano clef, with only one sharp.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 188.

⁴⁴⁶ Meucci and Rocchetti, “Horn. 4. Notation and Transposition,” *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 24 July 2006). Fiske notes that Arne’s horn parts in bass clef also sound one octave higher than written. *English Theatre Music*, 188.

⁴⁴⁷ W. F. H. Blandford, “Studies on the Horn. No. I: The French Horn in England,” *The Musical Times* 63, no. 954 (August 1922): 545.

⁴⁴⁸ J. Murray Barbour, *Trumpets, Horns, and Music* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1964), 7.

This anomaly in Handel's horn parts must have resulted from his encroaching blindness and declining overall health. Handel began composing *Jephtha* in January 1751, a month before his sixty-sixth birthday, and by mid-February he had lost enough sight to prevent further composition.⁴⁴⁹ Hicks describes Handel's working conditions:

On 13 February, as he was setting the final chorus of Act 2, 'How dark, O Lord, are thy decrees', he noticed that his eyesight was failing. On the autograph score he noted, in German, that the sight in his left eye had become 'so relaxt' that he could not continue.⁴⁵⁰

We have seen that Handel's horn parts in G in his stage works are generally notated in C for a transposing instrument. The mistake in notation in "When loud his voice in thunder spoke" probably resulted from Handel working under difficult personal circumstances.

⁴⁴⁹ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 595, 617; Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 12. Last Years," *Grove Music Online*, ed L. Macy (Accessed 8 May 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴⁵⁰ Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 12. Last Years," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 9 May 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

Example 4.1. G. F. Handel, "When loud his voice in thunder spoke," *Jephtha* (HWV70, 1752), mm. 1-5. Horns in G.⁴⁵¹

Allegro. CHORUS.

Corni I. II.
Oboe I. II.
Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola.
SOPRANO.
ALTO.
TENORE.
BASSO.
(Continuo.)
Pianoforte.

Allegro moderato.

H. W.

⁴⁵¹ *Jephtha*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 44, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 4.1. G. F. Handel, "When loud his voice in thunder spoke," *Jephtha* (HWV70, 1752), mm. 6-15. Horns in G.

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The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system (measures 6-15) includes the following parts:

- Corni I, II.*
- Oboe I, II.*
- Violino I.*
- Violino II.*
- Viola.*
- SOPRANO.*
- ALTO.*
- TENORE.*
- BASSO.*
- (Continuo.)*
- Pianoforte.*

The second system (measures 16-25) includes the vocal parts with lyrics:

When his loud voice in thun - der spoke,
 Wenn Er ge - beut im Don - ner - schall,
 When his loud voice in thun - der spoke,
 Wenn Er ge - beut im Don - ner - schall,

H. W. 44.

Example 4.1. G. F. Handel, "When loud his voice in thunder spoke," *Jephtha* (HWV70, 1752), mm. 16-24. Horns in G.

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Corn I. II.

Oboe I. II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

SOPRANO.

ALTO.

TENORE.

BASSO.

(Continuo.)

Pianoforte.

in thun - der, when his loud voice in thun - der spoke,

im Don - ner, wenn Er ge - beut im Don - ner schall,

in thun - der, when his loud voice in thun - der spoke,

im Don - ner, wenn Er ge - beut im Don - ner schall,

with con - scious fear the bil - lows broke, with con - scious fear, with con - scious

da bebt und bricht der Wö - ge Schwall, da bebt und bricht, da bebt und

with con - scious fear the bil - lows broke, with con - scious fear, with con - scious fear

da bebt und bricht der Wö - ge Schwall, da bebt und bricht, da bebt und bricht

In terms of key areas, then, the oratorios follow the same general pattern as the operas, with the movements from *Esther* and *Jephtha* being notable exceptions.

Furthermore, the majority of horn parts in his sacred and secular concert works require the horn players to perform in a single key only. As one can see in Table 4.5, twelve out of nineteen works contain parts for horns in a single key.

Table 4.5. Oratorios, odes, serenatas, and dramas that do not require the horn players to change keys in the course of a single work.

Name of Work	Name of Movement	Key of Horn(s)
Esther (HWV50a, ?1718; HWV50b, 1732))	“Jehovah crown’d”	F
	“He comes, he comes”	F
Acis and Galatea (HWV49b, 1732)	“Smiling Venus, queen of love”	F
Alexander’s Feast (HWV75, 1736)	“Bacchus, ever fair and young”	F
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	Sinfonia	G
	“To song and dance”	G
	“Great Dagon has subdued our foe”	G ⁴⁵²
Semele (HWV58, 1744)	“Hail Cadmus, hail”	F
	“Endless pleasure, endless love”	F
Hercules (HWV60, 1745)	“To him your grateful notes of praise belong”	F
Occasional Oratorio (HWV62, 1746)	“God found them guilty, let them fall”	F
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	“From the censer curling rise”	D
	“Swell, swell, the full chorus”	D
	“Praise the Lord with harp and tongue”	D
	“The name of the wicked”	D
Theodora (HWV68, 1750)	“For ever thus stands fix’d the doom”	F
	“Venus laughing from the skies”	F
The Choice of Hercules (HWV69, 1751)	“There the brisk sparkling nectar drain”	D

⁴⁵² I have excluded *Samson* in Table 4.6 once again under the assumption that the Dead March in D was not performed in 1743.

Table 4.5—*Continued.*

Name of Work	Name of Movement	Key of Horn(s)
Jephtha (HWV70, 1752)	“When loud his voice in thunder spoke”	G

Seven of these works contain parts for horn in F only, again confirming Handel’s association of the key of F with the horn. G and D are both used as the only keys in two works each.

Table 4.6 shows the seven works in which Handel requires the horn players either to change keys during the course of the work or to perform in an unusual key.

Table 4.6. Handel’s oratorios, odes, serenatas, and dramas that require the horn players to change keys.

<u>Name of Oratorio, Ode, Serenata, or Drama</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn(s)</u>
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	“Immortal Lord of earth and skies”	D
	“Now the proud insulting foe”	F
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	“Let our glad songs to Heav’n ascend”	D
	“The gods, whose chosen blessings shed”	F
	“The mighty pow’r” and “Give glory to his awful name”	D
Parnasso in festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Give glory to his awful name”	D
	“Oh quando bella gloria e quella del cacciatore”	G
	“Tra sentier di amene selve”	G
	“Oh, quando bella gloria e quella del cacciatore”	G
L’ Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato (HWV55, 1740)	“Coralli e perle bogliamo offrir”	F
	“Mirth, admit me of thy crew”	E-flat

Table 4.6—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Oratorio, Ode, Serenata, or Drama</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn(s)</u>
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	March	D
	“Glory to God! the strong cemented walls”	D
	“Almighty ruler of the skies”	D
	“Oh! Thou bright orb!” and “Behold! The list’ning sun the voice obeys”	D
	“See, the conqu’ring hero comes”	G
	“The great Jehovah is our awful theme”	D
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	“Flush’d with conquest, fir’d by Mithra”	D
	“Ye happy nations round”	F
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Happy Beauty, who”	F
	“Happy, if they still reign”	F
	“Like the shadow, life ever”	D
	“Oh, how great the glory”	G
	“Hallelujah”	F

The change of key in six of these works might indicate that the horn players performed on crooked instruments; however, because the key changes in these parts are made up of the common keys of D, F, and G, it is possible that the horn players owned and performed on multiple instruments during the course of each work.

I raised the same questions in my discussion of Handel’s operas, yet the later date of composition for many of the works in Table 4.6 argues for the employment of crooked instruments. We saw previously an *Inventionshorn* advertisement from 1762 in which crooked horns utilizing the master crook and coupler system were described as “common horns.” Therefore, it seems likely that crooked horns were already well-known when Handel wrote his sacred and secular oratorios. The question revolves around whether the performers preferred to use them or fixed-pitch instruments. Regardless, the key of E-flat

in “Mirth, admit me of thy crew” indicates even more strongly that the performers used crooked instruments. Like horn in B-flat, instruments in the key of E-flat do not seem to have been available in England in the 1740s.

Even if Handel’s horn players played crooked horns in all seven of these works, it is still the case that the majority of Handel’s horn parts do not call expressly for crooked instruments. In this regard, Handel’s compositional practices were standard for mid-eighteenth-century England, when English composers in addition to Handel appear to have been equally reticent about crook utilization. Fiske notes that the earliest example he has found of a key change in a single piece occurs in a song written by Michael Arne for *The Belle’s Strategem* (1780). Composed for horn in D, the song has four bars of rest and the direction “Change quick to G” at the start of the Allegro.⁴⁵³ This instruction, however, does not prove that the players used crooked instruments. Like the horn players in Mozart’s opera *Le Nozze di Figaro* (1786), these instrumentalists may have changed horns, not crooks.

However, crooked instruments were clearly known and used in England before the 1780s. Hiebert observes that the music for horn in The Egerton Manuscript Collection (British Library, Add. 71539) contains changes of keys within a single work. Most likely dating from the mid-eighteenth century, this manuscript contains music for horns(s) in twenty out of twenty-nine pieces. Although keys are not indicated for any of the horn parts, Hiebert notes that: “In most of the works it is clear what key is intended for the horn, either from the key of the piece as a whole, where the horn employs the

⁴⁵³ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 283.

tonic in the harmonic series, or from the clef used.”⁴⁵⁴ Thus, the keys of the horn parts in this collection are G, F, E, E-flat, D, and C *basso*. This last key is not found in Handel’s horn parts and is unusual in eighteenth-century music for horn in general.

In addition to the utilization of this atypical key, some of the horn parts in the collection change keys in the course of a single work. For example, a four-movement concerto by Carlo Vernsberg, containing parts for violino, oboe, cornu solo, and basso, utilizes a horn in C in the first two movements; however, the third movement is in the key of C minor. Hiebert notes that “here the part is clearly for a horn in E-flat (this is indicated by the way the horn part is notated, changing to the bass clef with 2 flats).”⁴⁵⁵ Other pieces in this collection require key changes in the course of the work.⁴⁵⁶

It seems likely, then, that some horn players were using crooked instruments by the middle of the eighteenth century. Whether members of Handel’s orchestra employed them is another matter. It is interesting to note in this context my earlier speculation about the lack of horn specialists in London in the 1750s. Because Hiebert speculates that Carlo Vernsberg and Mr. Charles may have been the same person,⁴⁵⁷ the latter’s absence from London during this time seems to indicate a lack of horn specialists in London during the 1750s and therefore a lack of players capable of performing on crooked instruments. More research is needed to answer these questions.

⁴⁵⁴ Thomas Hiebert, “Extraordinary Horn Writing in The Egerton Manuscript Collection (British Library, Add. 71539): A Contribution to the History of the Horn in Mid-18th Century England,” forthcoming.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

Ranges of Handel's Horn Parts

Handel employs similar ranges in the horn parts in his secular and sacred concert works as he does in his operas. Out of the sixteen movements that utilize horn in D,⁴⁵⁸ the first horn ascends to a written d^3 five times (Table 4.7); however, the majority of this music does not contain any pitches higher than written b^2 . This is the highest pitch in eight first horn parts in D. Interestingly, the first horn descends either to a written d^1 or d^2 in equal amounts: both pitches are the lowest notes in five movements.

Table 4.7. First horn parts in D.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Range</u>
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	March	D	a^1 to b^2
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	"Swell, swell, the full chorus"	D	a^1 to b^2
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	"The great Jehovah is our awful theme"	D	a^1 to d^3
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	"The mighty pow'r" and "Give glory to his awful name"	D	d^1 to b^2
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	"Give glory to his awful name"	D	d^1 to b^2
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	"Flush'd with conquest; fir'd by Mithra"	D	d^1 to b^2
The Choice of Hercules (HWV69, 1751)	"There the brisk sparkling nectar drain"	D	d^1 to b^2
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	"Glory to God! the strong cemented walls"	D	d^1 to b^2
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	"Let our glad songs to Heav'n ascend"	D	d^2 to b^2
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	"From the censer curling rise"	D	d^2 to d^3
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	"Praise the Lord with harp and tongue"	D	d^2 to d^3

⁴⁵⁸ Again, I have excluded the Dead March from *Samson* (HWV57, 1743). I have included the air "There the brisk sparkling nectar drain" from *The Choice of Hercules* (HWV69, 1751).

Table 4.7—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Range</u>
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	“The name of the wicked”	D	d ² to d ³
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Like the shadow, life ever”	D	d ² to d ³
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“Almighty ruler of the skies”	D	f ^{#1} to a ²
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“Oh! thou bright orb!” and “Behold! the list’ning sun the voice obeys”	D	f ^{#1} to a ²
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	“Immortal Lord of earth and skies”	D	f ^{#1} to c ^{#3}

Table 4.8 shows the corresponding second horn parts in these same movements. Handel writes a *d*¹ as the lowest pitch in all his second horn parts in D in these works.⁴⁵⁹ The highest pitches generally vary between *f*^{#2}, *g*², and *a*², with *g*² occurring the most frequently (seven movements). The highest pitch in these second horn parts is the written *b*² in the chorus “The name of the wicked” from *Solomon*. This pitch occurs four measures from the end of the movement and is performed a third below the written *d*³ in the first horn.

Table 4.8. Second horn parts in D.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Range</u>
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	March	D	d ¹ to f ^{#2}
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	“Swell, swell, the full chorus”	D	d ¹ to g ²

⁴⁵⁹ The Act I chorus “Immortal Lord of earth and skies” from *Deborah* (HWV51, 1733) contains parts for three trumpets and horns in D. The lowest pitch in the third trumpet/horn part is written *a*.

Table 4.8—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Range</u>
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“The great Jehovah is our awful theme”	D	d ¹ to g ²
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	“The mighty pow’r” and “Give glory to his awful name”	D	d ¹ to a ²
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	“Give glory to his awful name”	D	d ¹ to a ²
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	“Flush’d with conquest; fir’d by Mithra”	D	d ¹ to a ²
The Choice of Hercules (HWV69, 1751)	“There the brisk sparkling nectar drain”	D	d ¹ to g ²
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“Glory to God! the strong cemented walls”	D	d ¹ to f ^{#2}
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	“Let our glad songs to Heav’n ascend”	D	d ¹ to g ²
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	“From the censer curling rise”	D	d ¹ to a ²
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	“Praise the Lord with harp and tongue”	D	d ¹ to a ²
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	“The name of the wicked”	D	d ¹ to b ²
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Like the shadow, life ever”	D	d ¹ to g ²
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“Almighty ruler of the skies”	D	d ¹ to f ^{#2}
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“Oh! thou bright orb!” and “Behold! the list’ning sun the voice obeys”	D	d ¹ to g ²
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	“Immortal Lord of earth and skies”	D	d ¹ to g ²

The second horn ascends to written a^2 in two other movements from *Solomon*. In measure 100 of the chorus “From the censer curling rise” the second horn, performing repeated a^2 ’s, ascends higher than the first horn and trumpet, as well as the second trumpet for two beats. In the chorus “Praise the Lord with harp and tongue” from the

same oratorio, the second horn performs this pitch far more often, the most notable example utilizing large leaps in mm. 65-66.

The horn parts in the oddly-notated movements from *Esther* (HWV50a and 50b, 1718? and 1732) and *Jephtha* (HWV70, 1752) utilize less dramatic ranges. In order to facilitate comparisons with parts notated in other keys, I have included a column titled “Pitches Used if the Parts Were Notated in C” in Tables 4.9 and 4.10. One sees the conservative ranges Handel uses in these works: the first horn does not play any pitches higher than “written” a^2 , and the second horn performs only up to a “written” g^2 .

Table 4.9. First horn parts in *Esther* and *Jephtha*.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Written Pitches</u>	<u>Sounding Pitches</u>	<u>Pitches Used if the Parts Were Notated in C</u>
Esther (HWV50a, ?1718)	“Jehovah crown’d”	F	a^1 to d^3	a to d^2	e^1 to a^2
	“He comes, he comes”	F	f^1 to d^3	f to d^2	c^1 to a^2
Esther (HWV50b, 1732)	“Jehovah crown’d”	F	a^1 to d^3	a to d^2	e^1 to a^2
	“He comes to end our woes”	F	f^1 to d^3	f to d^2	c^1 to a^2
Jephtha (HWV70, 1752)	“When loud his voice in thunder spoke”	G	a^1 to b^2	d^1 to e^2	g^1 to a^2

Table 4.10. Second horn parts in *Esther* and *Jephtha*.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Written Pitches</u>	<u>Sounding Pitches</u>	<u>Pitches Used if the Parts Were Notated in C</u>
Esther (HWV50a, ?1718)	“Jehovah crown’d”	F	f ¹ to b ²	f to b ¹	c ¹ to e ²
	“He comes, he comes”	F	f ¹ to c ³	f to c ²	c ¹ to g ²
Esther (HWV50b, 1732)	“Jehovah crown’d, with glory bright”	F	f ¹ to b ²	f to b ¹	c ¹ to e ²
	“He comes to end our woes”	F	f ¹ to c ³	f to c ²	c ¹ to g ²
Jephtha (HWV70, 1752)	“When loud his voice in thunder spoke”	G	d ¹ to a ²	g to d ²	c ¹ to g ²

Although notated oddly, these horn parts are similar to those in Handel’s remaining keys, all of which are notated in C (Tables 4.11 and 4.12).

Table 4.11. Ranges of Handel’s first horn parts in the keys of G, F, and E-flat when notated in C.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn(s)</u>	<u>Range</u>
Parnasso in festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Tra sentier di amene selve”	G	c ¹ to g ²
Parnasso in festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Oh quando bella gloria e quella del cacciatore”	G	g ¹ to c ³
Parnasso in festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Oh quando bella gloria quella del cacciatore”	G	g ¹ to c ³
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	“To song and dance”	G	c ¹ to c ³
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	Sinfonia	G	e ¹ to c ³

Table 4.11—*Continued.*

Name of Work	Name of Movement	Key of Horn(s)	Range
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	“Great Dagon has subdued our foe”	G	g ¹ to c ³
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Oh, how great the glory”	G	c ² to c ³
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“See, the conqu’ring hero comes”	G	c ² to c ³
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	“Now the proud insulting foe”	F	c ¹ to a ²
Acis and Galatea (HWV49b, 1732)	“Smiling Venus, queen of love”	F	c ² to a ²
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Happy, if they still reign”	F	c ² to a ²
Theodora (HWV68, 1750)	“For ever thus stands fix’d the doom”	F	c ² to b-flat ²
Semele (HWV58, 1744)	“Hail Cadmus, hail”	F	c ¹ to c ³
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	“The gods, whose chosen blessings”	F	c ² to c ³
Parnasso in festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Coralli e perle vogliamo offrir”	F	c ² to c ³
Semele (HWV58, 1744)	“Endless pleasure, endless love”	F	c ² to c ³
Hercules (HWV60, 1745)	“To him your grateful notes of praise belong”	F	c ² to c ³
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	‘Hallejuah’	F	c ² to c ³
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Happy Beauty, who”	F	e ¹ to a ²
Alexander’s Feast (HWV75, 1736)	“Bacchus, ever fair and young”	F	e ¹ to c ³
Alexander Balus (65, 1748)	“Ye happy nations round”	F	g ¹ to a ²
Occasional Oratorio (HWV62, 1746)	“God found them guilty; let them fall”	F	g ¹ to c ³
Theodora (HWV68, 1750)	“Venus laughing from the skies”	F	g ¹ to g ²

Table 4.11—*Continued.*

L' Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato (HWV55, 1740)	"Mirth, admit me of thy crew"	E-flat	c ¹ to c ³

Table 4.12. Ranges of Handel's second horn parts in the keys of G, F, and E-flat when notated in C.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Range</u>
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	"Great Dagon has subdued our foe"	G	c ¹ to e ²
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	"See, the conqu'ring hero comes"	G	c ¹ to f ²
Parnasso in festa (HWV73, 1734)	"Tra sentier di amene selve"	G	c ¹ to f ²
	"Oh, quando bella gloria e quella del cacciatore"	G	c ¹ to g ²
	"Oh quando bella gloria e quella cacciatore"	G	c ¹ to g ²
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	Sinfonia	G	c ¹ to g ²
	"To song and dance"	G	c ¹ to g ²
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	"Oh, how great the glory"	G	c ¹ to g ²

Semele (HWV58, 1744)	"Hail Cadmus, hail"	F	c ¹ to a ²
	"Endless pleasure, endless love"	F	c ¹ to a ²
Theodora (HWV68, 1750)	"Venus laughing from the skies"	F	c ¹ to e ²
Acis and Galatea (HWV49b, 1732)	"Smiling Venus, queen of love"	F	c ¹ to f ²
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	"Now the proud insulting foe"	F	c ¹ to f ²
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	"Ye happy nations round"	F	c ¹ to f ²

Table 4.12—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horn</u>	<u>Range</u>
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Happy Beauty, who”	F	c ¹ to f ²
	“Hallelujah”	F	c ¹ to f ²
Alexander’s Feast (HWV75, 1736)	“Bacchus, ever fair and young”	F	c ¹ to g ²
Hercules (HWV60, 1745)	“To him your grateful notes belong”	F	c ¹ to g ²
Theodora (HWV68, 1750)	“For ever thus stands fix’d the doom”	F	c ¹ to g ²
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Happy, if they still reign”	F	c ¹ to g ²
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	“The gods, whose chosen blessings”	F	e ¹ to a ²
Parnasso in Festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Coralli e perle vogliamo offrir”	F	e ¹ to a ²
Occasional Oratorio (HWV62, 1746)	“God found them guilty, let them fall”	F	e ¹ to a ²
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	“Flush’d with conquest, fir’d by Mithra”	D	c ¹ to f ²

Table 4.11 demonstrates that Handel employs written c^3 more often in the first horn parts in his oratorios than he did in his operas. In fact, out of the eight first horn parts in the key of G, seven make use of this pitch. Furthermore, eight out of the fifteen movements in F require the first horn to make use of this pitch. This propensity to write in the extreme upper register in an already high key is a different practice from that employed by Handel in his operas. As noted previously, Handel generally asks the first horn to play only up to a written a^2 in the higher keys of B-flat *alto*, A, and G. This practice also differs from Handel’s compositional methods when employing horns and trumpets

together in D. Again, the two first players in this quartet generally perform no higher than written b^2 .

In terms of the lower end of the register, Handel never asks the first horn to perform lower than written c^1 when the parts are notated in C, though c^2 is the more common bottom pitch, especially when in the key of F: eight out of fifteen movements in F descend only to this pitch. In these eight parts the corresponding top pitches are a^2 , b -*flat*², and c^3 . Thus when writing for horn in F, Handel often confines his first horn to this single upper octave. Again, this practice does not apply to Handel's horn parts in D in his sacred and secular concert works, which have relatively equal distributions of d^1 , $f\sharp^2$, a^2 , and d^2 as the lowest pitches in the first horn parts. It also contrasts with Handel's practice in his operas, where twenty-six first horn parts notated in C contain g^1 as their lowest pitch.

Handel's second horn parts in C typically use c^1 as the lowest pitch, although three movements in the key of F descend to e^1 only. The higher end of the same part is similar to that seen in Handel's operas, with this player most often ascending either to f^2 or g^2 , though written a^2 is the highest pitch in five movements with horn parts in F.

Handel's sacred and secular concert works do not, therefore, display great advances in his writing for second horn. Hiebert notes that: "The earliest documentation of flexible low-register (bass clef, factitious notes) horn writing in Dresden comes from 1740,"⁴⁶⁰ and although Handel begins to use his second horn in a more independent and arpeggiated manner in the opera *Arianna in Creta* (HWV32, 1734), he never extends the range down into the bass clef register. To do so, he would have been required to

⁴⁶⁰ Thomas Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden: The Players and Their Repertory" (DMA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989), 215. He also notes, however, that bass-clef writing for the second horn dates back to 1726 (Leonardo Vinci, *Didone abbandonata*).

incorporate low-register non-series tones into this part. As we shall see, he was clearly reluctant to do so.

Out-Of-Tune and Non-Series Tones

As he did in his operas, Handel employs very few non-series tones in the horn music in his sacred and secular concert works, continuing primarily to use variants of the eleventh and thirteenth harmonics, whether the parts are notated in F, D, or C. Table 4.13 shows all the out-of-tune and non-series tones used in the horn parts from the works notated in D, and one can see immediately that the first horn generally performs only written g^2 , $g\sharp^2$, and/or b^2 , and the second horn performs $g^2/g\sharp^2$.

Table 4.13. Out-of-tune and non-series tones in the first and second horn parts notated in concert D in Handel's oratorios, odes, serenatas, and dramas.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horns</u>	<u>First Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Pitches</u>	<u>Second Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Pitches</u>
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	“Flush’d with conquest, fir’d by Mithra”	D	g^2 , $g\sharp^2$, b^2	g^2
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	“Give glory to his awful name”	D	g^2 , $g\sharp^2$, b^2	g^2 , $g\sharp^2$
	“The mighty pow’r” and “Give glory to his awful name”	D	g^2 , $g\sharp^2$, b^2	g^2 , $g\sharp^2$
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	“Immortal Lord of earth and skies”	D	g^2 , $g\sharp^2$, b^2	g^2
	“Let our glad songs to Heav’n ascend”	D	g^2 , $g\sharp^2$, b^2	g^2

Table 4.13—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horns</u>	<u>First Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Pitches</u>	<u>Second Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Pitches</u>
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	March	D	$g^{\#2}$, b^2	NA
	“The great Jehovah is our awful theme”	D	g^2 , b^2	g^2
	“Glory to God! the strong cemented walls”	D	g^2 , $g^{\#2}$, b^2	g^2
	“Almighty ruler of the skies”	D	g^2	NA
	“Oh! thou bright orb!” and “Behold! the list’ning sun obeys”	D	g^2 , b^2	g^2
Solomon (HWV67, 1749)	“Swell, swell, the full chorus”	D	g^2 , b^2	g^2
	“From the censer curling rise”	D	g^2 , $g^{\#2}$, b^2	g^2
	“Praise the Lord with harp and tongue”	D	g^2 , $g^{\#2}$, b^2	$g^{\#1}$, g^2
	“The name of the wicked”	D	g^2 , $g^{\#2}$, b^2	g^2 , b^2
The Choice of Hercules (HWV69, 1751)	“There the brisk sparkling nectar drain”	D	g^2 , $g^{\#2}$, b^2	g^2
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Like the shadow, life ever”	D	g^2 , $g^{\#2}$, b^2	g^2

The only exception to this general rule is the written $g^{\#1}$ in the second horn part of the chorus “Praise the Lord with harp and tongue” from the oratorio *Solomon* (HWV67, 1749). This pitch occurs in m. 34 of the movement, is not doubled by the trumpets,

consists of a noticeably short duration, and is approached by leap. It seems like a difficult motive for a horn player in 1749, and one wonders why, given Handel's conservative use of the horn, he did not give the $g\sharp^1$ to one of the woodwind instruments.

As one can see in Tables 4.14 and 4.15, Handel does not employ any further non-series tones in the parts notated in F and D (oddly-notated with clefs) or in C.

Table 4.14. Out-of-tune and non-series tones in the horn parts in *Esther* and *Jephtha*.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horns</u>	<u>First Horn – Notated Pitches</u>	<u>First Horn – Sounding Pitches</u>	<u>First Horn – If Notated in C</u>	<u>Second Horn – Notated Pitches</u>	<u>Second Horn – Sounding Pitches</u>	<u>Second Horn – If Notated in C</u>
Esther (HWV50a, ?1717)	“Jehovah crown’d”	F	b-flat ² , d ³	b-flat ¹ , d ²	f ² , a ²	b-flat ²	b-flat ¹	f ²
	“He comes, he comes”	F	b-flat ² , b ² , d ³	b-flat ¹ , b ¹ , d ²	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	b-flat ²	b-flat ¹	f ²
Esther (HWV50b, 1732)	“Jehovah crown’d with glory bright”	F	b-flat ² , d ³	b-flat ¹ , d ²	f ² , a ²	b-flat ²	b-flat ¹	f ²
	“He comes to end our woes”	F	b-flat ² , b ² , d ³	b-flat ¹ , b ¹ , d ²	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	b-flat ²	b-flat ¹	f ²
Jephtha (HWV70, 1752)	“When loud his voice in thunder spoke”	G	g ² , b ²	c ² , g ²	f ² , a ²	g ²	c ²	f ²

Table 4.15. Out-of-tune and non-series tones in the movements notated in C.

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horns</u>	<u>First Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Tones</u>	<u>Second Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Tones</u>
Joshua (HWV64, 1748)	“See, the conqu’ring hero comes”	G	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	NA
Parnasso in Festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Tra sentier di amene selve”	G	f ²	f ²
	“Oh quando bella gloria e quella del cacciatore”	G	f ² , a ²	f ²

Table 4.15—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horns</u>	<u>First Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Tones</u>	<u>Second Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Tones</u>
	“Oh quando bella gloria e quella del cacciatore”	G	f ² , a ²	f ²
Samson (HWV57, 1743)	“Great Dagon has subdued our foe”	G	f ²	NA
	“To song and dance”	G	f ² , f ^{#2}	f ²
	Sinfonia	G	f ² , f ^{#2} , g ^{#2} , a ²	f ²
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Oh how great the glory”	G	f ² , a ²	f ²
Acis and Galatea (HWV49b, 1732)	“Smiling Venus, queen of love”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ²
Alexander Balus (HWV65, 1748)	“Ye happy nations round”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ²
Alexander’s Feast (HWV75, 1736)	“Bacchus, ever fair and young”	F	f ² , a ²	f ²
Athalia (HWV52, 1733)	“The gods, whose chosen blessings shed”	F	f ² , a ²	f ²
Deborah (HWV51, 1733)	“Now the proud insulting foe”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ²
Hercules (HWV60, 1745)	“To him your grateful notes of praise belong”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ²
Occasional Oratorio (HWV62, 1746)	“God found them guilty; let them fall”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ² , a ²
Parnasso in festa (HWV73, 1734)	“Coralli e perle vogliamo offrir”	F	f ² , f ^{#2}	f ² , a ²

Table 4.15—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Work</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Key of Horns</u>	<u>First Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Tones</u>	<u>Second Horn – Out-of-Tune and Non-Series Tones</u>
Semele (HWV58, 1744)	“Hail Cadmus, hail”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²
	“Endless pleasure, endless love”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²
The Triumph of Time and Truth (HWV71, 1757)	“Happy Beauty, who”	F	f ² , a ²	f ²
	“Happy, if they still reign”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ²
	“Hallelujah”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ²
Theodora (HWV68, 1750)	“Venus laughing from the skies”	F	f ²	NA
	“For ever thus stands fixed the doom”	F	f ² , f ^{#2} , a ²	f ²

Except for the single movement from *Solomon*, Handel’s music for horn does not show any indication that horn players in England were using hand-stopping. This observation does not mean that composers and horn players in England were unaware of the technique in the 1740s and 1750s. For example, compositions in The Egerton Manuscript Collection (British Library, Add. 71539) show possible evidence of the technique. Furthermore, Fiske states that the “first movement of Abel’s *Love in a Village* (1762) asks the second horn for a note that was generally regarded as unplayable.”⁴⁶¹ This factitious low F, however, is also found, as Fiske notes, “in contemporary tutors and

⁴⁶¹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 283.

in Haydn's Symphony No. 61."⁴⁶² Joseph Haydn also employed bendable low-register pitches in his *Concerto per il Corno di Caccia* in D, Hob. VIIId.3 (1762) and in his *Divertimento a tre* (1767).⁴⁶³

Although the hand-stopping technique seems to have been known in England in the 1750s and was clearly well-known in general by the 1760s, Handel did not make use of this technique in his horn parts. It is possible that the first and second horn players either lipped the out-of-tune eleventh and thirteenth harmonics into place, or at this late date, they may have employed some form of hand-stopping. As we have seen, however, Handel seemed to have preferred the natural temperament of brass instruments. He made use only of the out-of-tune harmonics required to produce interesting horn melodies within the confines of the harmonic series.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Hiebert, "The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden," 227.

CHAPTER 5

THE HORN IN SELECTED ORATORIOS AND SECULAR CONCERT WORKS

Introduction

As observed in Chapter Four, the technical features of Handel's horn parts do not change dramatically in his oratorios and theater works other than operas. This chapter will demonstrate that the most striking aspect of this music is the imagery associated with the horn. Accordingly, I will begin my discussion with Handel's first oratorio to include parts for horns, *Esther* (HWV50a, ?1718). This work is significant merely because of its early date, yet since it was written and most likely performed for a private patron—James Brydges—it reveals surprising insights into the performing traditions and working conditions of early eighteenth-century horn players.

The remainder of the horn parts discussed in this chapter all derive meaning in one way or another from eighteenth-century hunting imagery, and therefore I will continue my discussion with a history and analysis of the hunt in England. The horn parts will then be grouped into three categories. The air “Mirth, admit me of thy crew” from the ode *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740) is notable not only for technical reasons but also for its use of idiomatic hunting-horn music. The horn and the music associated with it seem to portray a bucolic English countryside, thus reinforcing the role of the hunt in the pastoral.

The next category deals with works asking horns to perform side-by-side with trumpets in D. Of all the works in this chapter, these three—*Joshua* (HWV64, 1748), *Alexander Balus* (HWV65, 1748), and *Solomon* (HWV67, 1749)—derive the least meaning from hunting-horn imagery. Indeed, in these works the horns perform traditional trumpet music, even if Handel allows them to do more than merely double the trumpet parts. The horns' independence in these works is perhaps their most notable feature.

Finally, this chapter will conclude with the most surprising oratorios containing music for horn. In *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), *Theodora* (HWV68, 1750), and *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), the horns are used in celebratory music sung by pagans. Significantly, this unusual usage derives directly from images surrounding the hunt in eighteenth-century England.

***Esther I and II* (HWV50a and 50b)**

Introduction

The first version of *Esther* (HWV50a, ?1718) contains some of Handel's earliest music for horns.⁴⁶⁴ They participate in two movements, the arioso "Jehovah crown'd" and the chorus "He comes, he comes," both from scene v, and their inclusion in a work

⁴⁶⁴ Horace Fitzpatrick maintains that Handel's Naples serenata "Aci, Galatea e Polifemo" of 1708 included a pair of horns. *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition from 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 69; however, the HHA edition of this dramatic cantata (I/5) does not contain any horn parts. The only brass instruments in the score are two trumpets. Fitzpatrick does not make clear what edition he used or where he obtained this information. Perhaps he mistakenly used the 1732 version of the serenata "Acis and Galatea" (HWV49b), which does include parts for two horns. The only horn parts to precede *Esther* (HWV50a) are those in the *Water Music* (HWV348-350, 1717), assuming that the suites in F and D were performed at the famous water party of 1717.

written so early in the century and for a private patron makes *Esther* (HWV50a) worthy of study regardless of its overall inconsistencies.⁴⁶⁵

In what follows I will attempt to answer who might have performed this music, primarily because this information will shed new light on the working conditions and social status of early eighteenth-century horn players. It will become apparent that even though horns and trumpets shared a similar technique and were linked programmatically in the early part of the century, the instruments derived from different traditions nonetheless. In addition, we will also be able to assess the playing abilities of these early horn players while gaining an understanding of Handel's early compositional style for the instrument.

Cannons

After the Haymarket Opera company collapsed during the 1716-1717 season,⁴⁶⁶ Handel obtained the private patronage of James Brydges, Earl of Carnarvon and later Duke of Chandos (1673-1744). C. H. Collins Baker and Muriel I. Baker describe the Duke as "a notable figure" "among second-rank men of his time";⁴⁶⁷ however, the Duke, arising from humble beginnings, had managed to acquire a huge fortune in the early years of the century as the Paymaster of the Forces Abroad during the War of the Spanish

⁴⁶⁵ Ilias Chrissochoidis notes that including the "Cannons masque *Esther I*" among Handel's oratorios "does not make the best of scholarly choices," but I have included it in this chapter, along with Handel's other secular concert works, because of its interesting and important music for the horn. "Early Reception of Handel's Oratorios, 1732-1784: Narrative-Structure-Documents" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2004), 1: 570.

⁴⁶⁶ Donald Burrows and Robert D. Hume, "George I, the Haymarket Opera Company and Handel's *Water Music*," *Early Music* 19, no. 3 (August 1991): 323-341; Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "Heidegger and the Management of the Haymarket Opera: 1712-1717," *Early Music* 27, no. 1 (February 1999): 65-84.

⁴⁶⁷ C. H. Collins Baker and Muriel I. Baker, *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges: First Duke of Chandos and Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), Introduction, no pagination.

Succession.⁴⁶⁸ In addition, as part of his first wife's dowry, he received the "manor" known as Cannons and began enlarging and remodeling it about the year 1713. Although he and his second wife, along with his two sons, moved into a partially completed portion of Cannons in 1714 or thereabouts,⁴⁶⁹ the Duke went through numerous architects until the house was finally completed in 1725.⁴⁷⁰

Handel seems to have begun working at Cannons in the summer of 1717, since, as Anthony Hicks notes, his presence is indicated by a letter dating from August of that year.⁴⁷¹ At this time the Duke was "at the height of his fortune,"⁴⁷² and in addition to Handel, maintained a private orchestra of about thirty musicians under the leadership of Johann Christoph Pepusch.⁴⁷³

Handel composed two dramatic works while at Cannons: the masque *Acis and Galatea* (HWV49a, ?1718) and the oratorio *Esther* (HWV50a, ?1718).⁴⁷⁴ Although the details surrounding the first performance of the latter are unknown,⁴⁷⁵ contemporary authors, including Howard Serwer, Donald Burrows, and Graydon Beeks, suggest that the work was completed by 1718. For example, according to Serwer:

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., xiv.

⁴⁶⁹ "The Rise and Fall of Henry James Bridges [sic] First Duke of Chandos for whom Handel composed The Chandos Anthems," (Accessed July 28, 2006), <<http://www.baroque-music.org/chandos.html>>.

⁴⁷⁰ "James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Brydges,_1st_Duke_of_Chandos (Accessed July 28, 2006).

⁴⁷¹ Anthony Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 5. Cannons," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 28 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴⁷² Donald Burrows, "Handel's Oratorio Performances," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 263.

⁴⁷³ Baker and Baker, *The Life and Circumstances*, xiv-xvii. According to David Lasocki, most of the musicians had either left or were dismissed in 1721. "The French Hautboy in London's Musical Life, 1673-1730," *Early Music* 16, no. 3 (August 1988): 349.

⁴⁷⁴ Handel also wrote eleven "Chandos Anthems" (1717-1718) and a *Te Deum* (c. 1718) while at Cannons. Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 5. Cannons," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 28 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴⁷⁵ *Esther I* (HWV50a), *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, ser. 1, bd. 8, ed. Howard Serwer (Kassel, Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1995), xiv.

The title page of a copy that once belonged to Elizabeth Legh of Adlington Hall in Cheshire . . . reads *The Oratorium / Composed by / George Frederick [sic!] Handel Esquire / in London / 1718*. Because this copy was made no later than 24 March 1720 (i.e. the last day of 1719, old style), and because it is in the hand of H2, a copyist who seems to have worked for Handel regularly at this time, it seems fairly certain that 1718 is the correct year of composition.⁴⁷⁶

This significant information contradicts assertions made by authors such as Winton Dean giving 1720 as the date of composition:

There is very strong evidence for 1720 as the date; this is confirmed by several nearly contemporary documents of recent discovery, including copies of the music and the libretto of the Gates production in February 1732.⁴⁷⁷

In explaining why 1720, and not 1718, has seemed like a viable date, Beeks notes two factors: problems of instrumentation and the presence of “compositional layers.”⁴⁷⁸ The former has caused general consternation among scholars. The scoring of *Acis and Galatea*, for example, is more in keeping with the Duke’s instrumental resources.

According to Stanley Sadie:

The Cannons version [of *Acis and Galatea*] was almost certainly intended for just five singers—a soprano, three tenors and a bass—serving as ‘chorus’ as well as principals (Coridon, omitted from all modern editions, sings one air, added at a late stage to words by Hughes); the instrumental music could be supplied by seven players (strings, and oboes doubling recorders), though probably the violins were doubled, and some early copies indicate slightly fuller scoring including bassoon.⁴⁷⁹

Esther, on the other hand, contains instrumental parts for oboe, two bassoons, trumpet, two horns, violin I and II, viola, harp, and *bassi* (violoncello, contrabass, bassoon, and

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.; see also Donald Burrows, *Handel*, 97; Graydon Beeks, “Handel and the Music for the Earl of Carnarvon,” in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 16.

⁴⁷⁷ Winton Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 191; see also Donald Burrows, *Handel* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 81, 97.

⁴⁷⁸ Beeks, “Handel and the Music for the Earl of Carnarvon,” 16-19.

⁴⁷⁹ Stanley Sadie, “Acis and Galatea,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 28 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

cembalo)⁴⁸⁰ in addition to “a soprano, an alto, 2 tenors and 2 basses.”⁴⁸¹ As Burrows observes: “It is more difficult to get *Esther* into focus. It may have been performed for some special occasion, for which the ‘Cannons concert’ must have been considerably augmented.”⁴⁸² Beeks further notes:

The vocal and instrumental requirements of *The Oratorium* [*Esther*] far exceed the forces available at Cannons on a regular basis . . . However, these requirements almost exactly match the expanded membership of the Cannons Concert in Midsummer 1720 . . . a time when Handel could have been available to direct a performance.⁴⁸³

Because the Duke did not have any horn players in his ‘Concert,’ the inclusion of two horns in this work has been seen as especially problematic. In their “Alphabetical List of Cannons’ Concert,” Baker and Baker include the name of only one brass instrumentalist, the trumpeter A. G. Lemon.⁴⁸⁴ It seems likely Lemon performed in the single movement from *Esther* that requires trumpet, the final soli and chorus “The Lord our enemy has slain,” and he may also have doubled on the horn in the two movements that required those instruments; however, this solution still leaves one horn part unaccounted for.

Problems of instrumentation are compounded when one looks at Handel’s compositional methods for *Esther*. According to Beeks, Handel’s autograph reveals two distinct “layers”: first, Handel proceeded up to scene v, and the instrumental and vocal resources of this first layer seem to match those of the “Cannons Concert.” The second layer, however, reveals that in the middle of scene v:

Handel apparently decided to rework his earlier material employing a somewhat revised libretto and an expanded instrumental and vocal

⁴⁸⁰ *HHA*, ser. 1, band 8, ed. Serwer, 2.

⁴⁸¹ Burrows, *Handel*, 97.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ Beeks, “Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon,” 16.

⁴⁸⁴ Baker and Baker, *The Life and Circumstances*, 132-133. They note that Lemon deserted the army to work for Brydges (131).

scoring. The reasons for these changes are not known, but as the revised version is found complete in the score dated '1718', the alterations must have been made before the end of the year, or before 25 March 1719 if the old calendar was employed.⁴⁸⁵

Thus, two horns were included in the first score even though none seem to have been in the Duke's employment; however, Beeks argues that Handel did not compose *Esther* in 1718 for a performance in that year by the Duke's orchestra. Rather, the work was designed "for a projected performance by the Cannons Concert at a time when it had expanded its own resources sufficiently." In addition, he notes that "all indications point to 1720 as the date for that performance."⁴⁸⁶

I would suggest, however, that whether *Esther* was performed in 1718 or 1720, the Duke had two horn players in his employment regardless. This conclusion results from the fact that the Duke owned two Leichnamschneider horns, as well as from the admittedly unproven premise that the musicians who performed in *Esther* also served the Duke as domestic servants.

We have seen that the Duke's horns were most likely *cors de chasses*. In August 1720 Pepusch described them as: "Two French Hunting Horns made tier [sic] Johannen Leicham Schneider in vienn 1711."⁴⁸⁷ The horns, made in 1711, may have been purchased long before Handel arrived at Cannons, and if so, the Duke would have acquired them for two reasons: (1) for his footmen and grooms to sound during his hunting expeditions, and (2) for these same servants to entertain his guests as they walked through his gardens and estate.

⁴⁸⁵ Beeks, "Handel and Music for the Earl of Carnarvon," 18. Beeks notes that Dean first noticed these layers.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ Pepusch also includes in this list "A Trumpet Made by John Harris in London." Lemon must have performed on this instrument. *Handeliana*, Volume 10, The Foundling Museum, London; see also Baker and Baker, *The Life and Circumstances*, 139-140.

It seems that grooms, footmen, and other male servants often accompanied their masters on hunts. For example, J. Jean Hecht quotes Catherine Cappe (néé Harrison [1744-1821]), who in her memoirs refers to a town in Yorkshire “where the Duke of Cleveland, and afterwards Lord Darlington, with their grooms and footmen, used sometimes to spend whole weeks, for the purpose of fox-hunting.”⁴⁸⁸ As an early eighteenth-century nobleman, the Duke would have practiced the stag hunt, and he would have required his male servants to sound the horns during the complicated rituals of this event. They may also have served him in a domestic capacity on hunting expeditions, at Cannons, and/or at his London residence.

Baker and Baker state that “in 1718, though Cannons was still in the builder’s hands, the ‘family’ or household consisted of 83 persons, while others were on board wages in the London house.”⁴⁸⁹ By eighteenth-century standards, the Duke’s household was very large;⁴⁹⁰ however, he was not averse to asking domestic servants to work for him in both a musical and domestic role. For example, John Ginger observes that the Duke, looking for a violinist for his orchestra in the 1720s, was pleased when a particular candidate “had also mastered the art of valeting.”⁴⁹¹ This violin player/valet may have been the same individual whom the Duke chose to accompany George Carnarvon on his

⁴⁸⁸ *Memoirs of . . . Mrs. Catherine Cappe*, 106; quoted in J. Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956), 125. Although fox-hunting with hounds seems to have been introduced into England during the reign of Charles II, it did not outstrip stag hunting in popularity until the passage of numerous Enclosure Acts from 1760 to 1840 and the consequent deforestation that made stag hunting difficult. “Tally Ho! a history of the fox hunt,” CBC News Online (November 18, 2004; Accessed July 27, 2006), <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/hunting/>>.

⁴⁸⁹ Baker and Baker, *The Life and Circumstances*, 127.

⁴⁹⁰ According to John M. Beattie, the largest households in the eighteenth century (excepting the court) employed between thirty and fifty servants; however, most members of the nobility and gentry employed less than thirty people. In fact, only the wealthiest noblemen could afford twenty servants. *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 19.

⁴⁹¹ John Grano, *Handel’s Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano*, ed. John Ginger (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1998), 6.

Grand Tour in 1721: “Ghiraldo” or “Gheraardo” was “one of my Music,” had traveled with other gentlemen abroad, knew multiple languages, shaved excellently, and performed well on the violin.⁴⁹²

From the servant’s perspective, the wealthier one’s employer, the more chance one had of specializing in a particular job;⁴⁹³ however, combinations of musical and domestic functions seem to have been relatively common. As late as 1757, an employer who placed a help-wanted advertisement in the *Daily Advertiser* sought a footman, and was willing to pay £10 to an “ordinary one,” but £15 to one who could also “blow the French horn.”⁴⁹⁴

Some of these musician-servants performed occasionally in the theaters, as is indicated in the following advertisement for a performance of *Acis and Galatea* at the Aungier Street Theatre in Dublin in 1735:

At the Theatre Royal in Aungier-street on Friday the 21st of 1734-5, will be performed a Pastoral Opera of *Acis & Galatea*, compos’d by Mr Handel with an additional chorus for Trumpets, a French Horn and Kettle Drum, and an additional Song, which Mr Handel compos’d for the performance on the Harpsichord alone, to be performed by Mr Davis . . . The Third Act, an Overture for a French Horn, the French Horn to be perform’d by the Lord Mountjoy’s Gentleman.⁴⁹⁵

Thus, Lord Mountjoy’s servant performed a solo between the acts of *Acis and Galatea*; it is likely he also performed in the “additional chorus for Trumpets, a French Horn and Kettle Drum.”

Although I have not found the names of the Duke’s horn players/footmen, it seems likely that the Duke purchased his horns from Vienna and Handel subsequently

⁴⁹² Baker and Baker, *The Life and Circumstances*, 130-131.

⁴⁹³ Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class*, 35.

⁴⁹⁴ *Daily Advertiser*, 1757, No. 8186, reprinted in Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class*, 150.

⁴⁹⁵ Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760* (Dublin: Kill Lane, Blackrock, Co., 1988), 58.

wrote the horn parts in *Esther* for them. It may have been that Handel also thought of the Duke's huntsmen as mere footmen and was surprised to learn—perhaps while composing *Esther*—that they were capable performers. I believe further research will reveal the players' names.

“Jehovah crown'd” and “He comes, he comes”

The two movements in which horns participate in *Esther* provide us with some idea of the servant-musician's playing ability. As noted previously, Handel writes the horn parts in concert F one octave above sounding pitch. This unusual notation argues strongly for fixed-pitch horns in F and is consistent with earlier arguments concerning the details of Brydges's “French Hunting Horns.”

The arioso “Jehovah crown'd” is written in quadruple meter and contains parts for a single oboe, two horns, violin I and II, viola, voice, and *bass*⁴⁹⁶ (Example 5.1). The horns enter alone in the first measure, performing stately figures made up of dotted rhythms and trills. As Dean observes, these figures, combined with the scalar passages in the oboe and violins, “makes for a wonderfully solemn and sonorous effect.”⁴⁹⁷

This stateliness derives directly from the libretto:

Jehovah crown'd with glory bright,
Surrounded with eternal light,
Whose ministers are flames of fire:
Arise, and execute thine ire!⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ According to the autograph, a part for viola is included in only five movements in *Esther*: “Virtue, truth, and innocence,” “Jehovah crown'd,” “He comes,” “Turn not, O Queen,” and “The Lord our enemy has slain.” *HHA*, ser. 1, band 8, ed. Serwer, xvii.

⁴⁹⁷ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 203.

⁴⁹⁸ George Friedrich Händel, *Esther* (1718): *A Masque*, Input by Pierre Degott, HTML conversion by Potharn Imre (Last updated October 20, 1999; Accessed August 14, 2006); <<http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/esther.htm>>.

At this early date, it is not surprising to find horns utilized in a movement celebrating the powers of Jehovah. Like most composers Handel felt free to employ horns to express royal aspects of music. Indeed, we have seen this association many times in Handel's operas. Of course, Handel's choice of instrument could have been necessitated by the Duke's resources: if his brass section consisted of a single trumpet and two horns, Handel may have been forced to employ the two horns—and not the single trumpet—in this movement.

Given that the Duke's servant-musicians most likely performed these horn parts, the independence Handel granted them in both the arioso and the chorus that follows is striking. In direct contrast to later compositional practice, Handel does not double the horn line in the arioso: the horns function as a single group, and the oboe/violins function as their own group. In m. 17 Handel even permits the first horn alone to accompany the singer.

The chorus "He comes, he comes" also begins with a solo passage in the first horn and then proceeds in the second measure with a prominent *concertante* part for both horns (Example 5.2). In this movement, the two horns perform together in thirds, as is typical of early eighteenth-century music for horn; however, they also perform autonomously. In m. 14 the second horn initiates a phrase that the first horn takes up two measures later. Their equality is further demonstrated by the similarity in their ranges. Both parts descend to a written f^1 (written c^1 for a part notated in C; sounding f). The first horn part goes up to a written d^3 (written a^2 for a part notated in C; sounding d^2), and the second part ascends almost as high to a written c^3 (written g^2 for a part notated in C; sounding c^2).

It should be noted in this context that neither part makes use of the *clarino* range. As was evident from the horn parts in *Radamisto*, Handel used the lower end of the horn range in his early music for the instrument. Whether this conservative employment of the upper tessitura in *Esther* resulted from the deficient skills of the Duke's players is not known.

In addition to the numerous fanfare-like phrases in the horn parts, Handel also utilizes many sustained pitches, some of which, as in mm. 15 and 23, are out-of-tune harmonics. For example, in m. 15 the second horn holds a written *b-flat*². If written in C, this *f*², the eleventh harmonic, would sound as a *b-flat*¹, the same pitch in the oboe and violin part.

In 1718 it is unlikely that the horn player used hand-stopping to perform the written *b-flat*² in tune with the other instruments. Instead, the player may have either lipped the pitch into place or let it go where it would, thereby creating idiomatic dissonance with the oboe/violin. Although this last possibility seems unbelievable to today's audience, we should remember Burney's description of the trumpeter performing out-of-tune harmonics at the 1784 Handel Commemoration. According to Burney, then, early eighteenth-century brass players in London do not seem to have been able to lip pitches into tune.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore, even if the Duke's horn players practiced this technique, the pitches in mm. 15 and 23 were most likely still out-of-tune. This circumstance is even more likely if the players were used to performing hunting calls out-of-doors.

⁴⁹⁹ For a lively debate about the lipping abilities of seventeenth-century trumpet players in England see Peter Downey, "What Samuel Pepys Heard on 3 February 1661: English Trumpet Style Under the Later Stuart Monarchs," *Early Music* 18, no. 3 (August 1990): 417-428; Andrew Pinnock and Bruce Wood, "A Counterblast on English Trumpets," *Early Music* 19, no. 3 (August 1991): 436-443; Peter Downey, "On Sounding the Trumpet and Beating the Drum in 17th-Century England," *Early Music* 24, no. 2 (May 1996): 263-277.

Trompe de chasse performers in the eighteenth-century performed the harmonics in their natural state, as they do today.

Beginning in m. 88, the horns perform sustained pitches for twelve measures. The remainder of the orchestra performs pitches of shorter durations as the chorus sings the words “Earth trembles.” Dean has noted Handel’s musical representation of an earthquake in this section of the chorus,⁵⁰⁰ and the horns contribute minimally to this imagery. Even so, they are used in a manner not seen again until much later in the century, making Handel’s early employment of the instrument in this harmonic fashion astonishing.

⁵⁰⁰ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 66, 201.

Example 5.2. G. F. Handel, *Esther* (HWV50a, ?1718), “He comes, he comes,” mm. 12-23. Horns in F.⁵⁰²

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 12-17) includes parts for Oboe, Horn I, Horn II, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, and Bassi. The second system (measures 18-23) continues the same instrumentation. The Horns are in F major and play a significant melodic and harmonic role throughout the passage.

⁵⁰² *Esther I*, HHA, ser. I, bd. 8, ed. Howard Serwer.

Conclusion

Handel features the horns prominently in two movements from his oratorio *Esther* (HWV50a). Composed in 1718 and most likely performed in 1720, this music represents some of Handel's earliest writing for the instrument. Although the Duke of Chandos did not employ horn players in his "Concert," he owned two hunting horns that were most likely used by his servants during hunts and for outdoor entertainment. It seems to have been relatively common for eighteenth-century employers to hire domestic servants who could also serve them in a musical capacity, and it is likely that two of the Duke's footmen or grooms also performed on the horn. These servants were most likely the horn players in the 1720 performance of *Esther*.

Therefore, Handel's horn parts in this work provide a fairly good idea of the playing abilities of the servant-musician in the early eighteenth century. That horn players worked in a domestic capacity for the aristocracy, as opposed to obtaining court positions as their trumpeter colleagues did, explains a great deal about the later differences in the programmatic usage of the two instruments. In England, at least, the two instruments seem to have evolved from two separate performing traditions, even as they shared the same technique and methods of performance.

The Programmatic Significance of the Hunt in Handel's Oratorios: The Hunt in Eighteenth-Century England

Before proceeding to examine further horn parts, it is necessary to first outline the state of hunting and hunting imagery in mid-eighteenth-century England. This imagery, found in both contemporary politics and literature, is employed repeatedly in Handel's horn music in his oratorios.

The hunting-horn imagery that Handel uses in his oratorios rests on an eighteenth-century context that we today, as twenty-first century listeners, might not be aware of. In eighteenth-century England, hunting was practiced legally by three general groups: the monarchy, the landed upper classes, and the urban elite. The legal hunting rights of various members of these groups derived from two complicated sets of laws: forest law and game law. Forest law, introduced into England under the Norman kings, was considered by medieval contemporaries to be noticeably pernicious. According to Roger B. Manning:

Depending upon nothing more than the royal prerogative, the forest law established vast hunting reserves throughout England where only the king and a favored few who possessed his license could hunt. The royal forests, which at one time comprised a quarter of all the land in England, constituted a separate jurisdiction wholly outside the common law and alien to its concepts of justice.⁵⁰³

“Royal prerogative” enabled the king to grant members of the aristocracy exclusive hunting rights in areas designated as chases, parks, and free warrens;⁵⁰⁴ however, it is important to note that all other individuals could legally hunt in areas that were not either royal forests or designated as chases and free warrens.⁵⁰⁵ Game law, on the other hand, rested not on royal prerogative but on property qualifications. Under the first game law of 1389-90, hunting rights rested on two conditions: either one owned land worth at least 40 shillings a year, or one was a member of the clergy earning at least 10 pounds per year.⁵⁰⁶ Subsequent game laws were passed making hunting more socially restrictive

⁵⁰³ Roger B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 58.

⁵⁰⁴ Chester Kirby and Ethyn Kirby, “The Stuart Game Prerogative,” *The English Historical Review* 46, no. 182 (April 1931): 239.

⁵⁰⁵ Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 61.

⁵⁰⁶ Chester Kirby, “The English Game Law System,” *The American Historical Review* 38, no. 2 (January 1933): 240.

even as kings continued to assert their right of “royal prerogative.”⁵⁰⁷ Thus, forest law and game law operated concurrently, with obvious consequences for confusion and varied enforcement.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, James I and Charles I, both of whom were avid hunters, reasserted strongly their right of “royal prerogative.” As Chester Kirby notes: “It was this moribund prerogative, a claim to the personal control of the game everywhere in England and to the right of hunting wherever the king pleased, that James I attempted to restore to a state of health and vigour.”⁵⁰⁸ In addition, both monarchs enforced strictly the game laws in their hunting grounds of Middlesex, and during James I’s reign, juries in this locale sometimes treated the unlawful hunting of deer as a felony.⁵⁰⁹

Charles II had less success defending his “royal prerogative,”⁵¹⁰ and by the end of the century, it seemed like an “anomalous curiosity.”⁵¹¹ The game laws that had been enacted first in the 1300s culminated in the act of 1671, upon which eighteenth-century game legislation was based. This law restricted hunting to the landed classes: one either had to own a freehold worth £100 per year or lease a property (the lease lasting at least ninety-nine years) earning £150 per year. Individuals whose wealth was based on equities other than land were therefore disqualified from hunting. In addition, the act of 1671 allowed members of this landed class the right to appoint a gamekeeper who was permitted to not only confiscate illegal hunting items such as guns or nets but also search

⁵⁰⁷ Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 58-66.

⁵⁰⁸ Kirby and Kirby, “The Stuart Game Prerogative,” 240.

⁵⁰⁹ Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 69-70.

⁵¹⁰ Kirby and Kirby, “The Stuart Game Prerogative,” 247-253.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 254.

the houses of suspected residents.⁵¹² Further game laws were passed in 1691 and 1692 both increasing the power of gamekeepers and further narrowing the category of permitted hunters.⁵¹³ It should be noted that just because one was a member of the upper classes did not mean that one could hunt: since this privilege rested on qualifications of property and rank, it naturally excluded younger sons of the nobility and gentry.⁵¹⁴

In addition to the royal family and the landed classes, one other group of individuals hunted in eighteenth-century England: citizens of London were permitted to hunt, a right that dated back to the reign of Henry I (r. 1100-35).⁵¹⁵ In the early eighteenth century, a pack of hounds belonging to London's Lord Mayor and its citizens was kept and used in Middlesex.⁵¹⁶

While members of the above-cited groups hunted regularly, attitudes towards hunters and hunting varied widely among the populace, and the symbolism associated with hunting was vast. As Manning observes, this symbolism might not be readily apparent to modern readers: "The symbolism and imagery of hunting are very rich; there was a covert language spoken in these rituals which was widely understood by contemporaries, although it is not always easy for us to decipher."⁵¹⁷ In what follows, I will list some of these forgotten symbols and associations.

⁵¹² Kirby, "The English Game Law System," 241-242.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 242.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 245.

⁵¹⁵ "Sport, ancient and modern: Introduction," *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 2: General; Ashford, East Bedfont with Hatton, Feltham, Hampton with Hampton Wick, Hanworth, Haleham, Littleton* (1911), 253-58. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=22180>. Date accessed: 01 August 2006.

⁵¹⁶ "Sport, ancient and modern: Hunting: staghounds," *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 2: General; Ashford, East Bedfont with Hatton, Feltham, Hampton with Hampton Wick, Hanworth, Haleham, Littleton* (1911), 253-58. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=22180>. Date accessed: 01 August 2006.

⁵¹⁷ Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 3.

Authors comment frequently on the association of hunting with the aristocracy and the use of hunting by this group as a substitute for warfare. As we have seen, the association of hunting with royal power and redirected violence seems to have been a truism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵¹⁸ In his operas, Handel uses this imagery when he asks the horns to participate in movements celebrating martial victory or when he replaces horns for trumpets when the latter are indicated in the libretto.

Yet hunting and the hunting-horn were associated with less well-known imagery. For example, because celebrations often followed hunting expeditions, hunting was naturally thought of in conjunction with these festive events. As Manning observes: “A popular belief seems to have existed that no celebration or special occasion was complete without a bit of hunting.”⁵¹⁹ Members of the aristocracy and nobility thought that hospitality naturally included “opportunities for hunting,”⁵²⁰ but members of the lower classes seem to have also made this association. A landlord might have required a tenant to participate in his hunt by driving deer, recompensing the individual’s efforts with venison. Landlords also seem to have arranged community-wide festivities to celebrate hunts occurring on holidays such as the Feast of the Assumption (August 15).⁵²¹

During the eighteenth century, hunting seems to have been connected not only with celebratory events but also with festivities of a more profligate nature. Describing fox-hunting in the second half of the century, Chester Kirby states:

To the confirmed fox hunter, sport was an orgy in which he rode himself to such a roaring humor that only coarse jokes and quantities of drink, into which a fox’s pad had been dipped for added zest, could satisfy him.⁵²²

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 3-5.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 19.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁵²¹ Ibid., 18-19.

⁵²² Kirby, *The English Game Law System*, 243.

A. E. Richardson observes about eighteenth-century country gentlemen that the “Squire Westerns of the remoter counties hunted prodigiously, ate and drank prodigiously, and were content enough with their small world.”⁵²³ Furthermore, individual eighteenth-century observers linked excessive revelry with hunting devotees. According to J. P. Hore, Lady Mary Wortley Montague (1689-1762) described residents of Wiltshire as “being ‘insensible to other pleasures than hunting and drinking.’” She added that “their mornings are spent among the hounds and their nights ‘with what liquor they can get in this country, which is not very famous for good drink.’”⁵²⁴

The reaction against hunting as a wholesome activity preparing one for the trials of war seems to have begun as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Some thinkers of this time described hunting as a “waste of time,” an attitude that must have resulted from observing James I blatantly disregarding affairs of state to pursue this passion.⁵²⁵ In the eighteenth century, hunting was looked down upon by members of the urban elite:

Although popular with the great landlords, hunting and shooting were held by the snobbish to be pastimes more suitable to the country gentleman. It was more elegant and refined to prefer dancing, fencing, and ‘elegant horsemanship’ to the ‘rustick, illiberal sports of guns, dogs and horse’ which, Lord Chesterfield told his godson, ‘characterise our English Bumpkin Country Gentleman.’⁵²⁶

This condescending attitude towards the country gentleman resulted not only from individual observations of drunken hunters but also was part of a propaganda campaign

⁵²³ A. E. Richardson, *Georgian England: A Survey of Social Life, Trades, Industries, & Art from 1700 to 1820* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1931), 7.

⁵²⁴ J. P. Hore, *The History of the Royal Buckhounds* (Issued by the Compiler (His Publishers Having “Taken the Knock”) at High Street, Newmarket, 1895), 226.

⁵²⁵ Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 5.

⁵²⁶ G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 152.

by urban Whigs to label their country Tory colleagues as unintelligent. Their representation continues to this day: “The Whig caricature stuck. Country gentleman equals Tory equals fox hunting equals stupid is an association of ideas which still persists.”⁵²⁷

It was probably easy for individuals in the eighteenth century to associate hunting with drunkenness and a lack of intelligence since hunting had a long history of being associated with unrestrained passion in English literature and politics. Both John Dryden (1631-1700) and Alexander Pope (1688-1744) used the metaphor of hunting for their own political purposes. Rachel A. Miller has demonstrated that in Dryden’s *Fables* and Pope’s *Windsor Forest*, both authors “condemn William III, tyranny, and imperialist warfare through the hunt.”⁵²⁸ Regarding Dryden’s *Fables*, she notes: “Dryden, then, identifies the hunt with uncontrolled passion—be it fury, vengeance, or love.”⁵²⁹ She notes that Pope follows suit:

Similarly, in the Lodona myth of *Windsor-Forest*, Pope uses the sexual and cynegetic pursuits to allegorize the damaging political consequences of uncontrolled passion; specifically, to demonstrate the self-destructive end of imperialist warfare. Although Pope draws upon numerous Ovidian myths, the association of the hunt, rape, and warfare is purely Dryden’s.⁵³⁰

The hunt in these works is still connected with warfare, for it is the “potentially dangerous passions” that are produced by hunting that could “erupt in warfare.”⁵³¹ Thus, hunting was used to describe negatively the “unrestrained passions” of resented

⁵²⁷ “Three centuries of fox hunting,” BBC News (September 16, 1999; Accessed July 30, 2006), <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/422752.stm>>.

⁵²⁸ Rachel A. Miller, “Regal Hunting: Dryden’s Influence on *Windsor Forest*,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1979-80): 188.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 178. According to Wikipedia: “*Windsor Forest* (1713) is a topographical poem celebrating the “Tory Peace” at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession.” “Alexander Pope,” Wikipedia (Accessed July 30, 2006).

⁵³¹ Miller, “Regal Hunting,” 179.

monarchs. Pope uses the metaphor of William III as the hunter to condemn what he saw as foreign tyranny:

The hunter William . . . exposes his lack of patriotic feeling in his despotism, his ravishment of the fields and crops, and in his wanton disregard for the land's beauty. The hunt, always potentially capable of provoking the disruptive passions, is inimical to England's highest pursuits of peace, art, and just monarchical rule.⁵³²

Later Jacobite writers applied the violent hunting metaphor to George I, only in the following example, he was the hunted not the hunter: in an undated Jacobite broadsheet called "The Hunting of the Newfound *Dear* with its Last Legacy," the writer "portrays George as a stag to be hunted, killed and cut up, with various parts of the carcass to be distributed to the groups who had supported the Hanoverian succession."⁵³³

Whigs also used hunting imagery for their own political purposes. Long before they began to portray their country Tory colleagues as ill-educated fox-hunting devotees, they applied the metaphor to their chief foreign enemy: France. For example, William Lloyd, in his *Discourse of God's ways of Disposing of Kingdoms* (1691), argues not only that William III's reign is justified because of a "right of conquest," but also that "had it not been for William's intervention, Louis [XIV] 'would have hunted here next.'"⁵³⁴

In mid-eighteenth-century England, therefore, hunting was associated with royalty and the upper classes as well as with unrestrained passion, tyranny, and possibly stupidity. It should be noted that hunting could still be used to represent the pastoral, but different people could use pastoral imagery for different purposes. While it is true that some members of eighteenth-century urban society looked down on their country

⁵³² Ibid., 186.

⁵³³ John Broad, "Whigs and Deer-Stealers in Other Guises: A Return to the Origins of the Black Act," *Past and Present* 119 (May 1988): 69-70.

⁵³⁴ Miller, "Regal Hunting," 180-181.

gentleman hunters, other members contrasted eighteenth-century urban life, which they perceived as decadent and corrupt, with “bucolic frugality.”⁵³⁵ As Ruth Smith notes, one finds this type of pastoral imagery most often in Handel’s secular librettos,⁵³⁶ and as we shall see, Handel uses hunting-horn music in the ode *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740) for this very purpose.

In Handel’s sacred oratorios, however, the horn often represents debauched pagans. Dean confirms this employment: “A good deal of Handel’s scoring has a specifically dramatic reference. The hedonistic gaiety of heathen nations—Baalites in *Athalia*, Philistines in *Samson*, Thebans in *Semele*, Romans in *Theodora*—is regularly suggested by the addition of horns to the choruses.”⁵³⁷ Handel uses horns in these movements not only because of the images listed above, namely celebration, profligacy, and unrestrained passion, but also from a surprising association of hunting codes with pagan ritual. According to Manning:

Observers have frequently noted that rites such as ‘blooding’, or the daubing of novice hunters with the blood of a dead stag, not only bespoke pagan origins, but also constituted a profanation of Christianity with its parody of baptism.⁵³⁸

Finally, the horn would have been the appropriate instrument for choruses sung by foreign and enemy peoples, since the rituals associated with the stag hunt were thought of as a “foreign import.”⁵³⁹ They, along with the instrument used in these rituals, derived from the country of the enemy: France

⁵³⁵ Ruth Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 270.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁵³⁷ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 74; see also Gerald Abraham, *Handel: A Symposium* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 102.

⁵³⁸ Manning, *Hunters and Poachers*, 40.

⁵³⁹ “Three centuries of fox hunting,” BBC News (Accessed July 30, 2006).

Handel was clearly aware of these associations, and his employment of the horn in his oratorios reflects these intellectual developments. When horns and trumpets are both called for in Handel's sacred oratorios, he generally utilizes the instruments in the following manner: first, horns are used without trumpets in movements sung by pagan characters; second, trumpets are employed with or without horns in movements sung by Israelite characters. If horns are also utilized in these movements, they perform trumpet-like music and are wholly subservient to the idiom of the trumpet. Of course, exceptions to this general practice exist; however, as I shall demonstrate in my discussion of Handel's music for trumpet in the oratorio *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), out of the ordinary music results when images supplied by the libretto trump Handel's general practice.

In general, however, the trumpet's association with the nation of Israel is as strong as the horn's alliance with the people of other nations, and it derives from two factors. First, the trumpet, not the horn, is the instrument associated with the British monarchy, and second, contemporary thought linked eighteenth-century Britain with Biblical Israel. Trumpets and kettledrums had been employed prominently by English royalty since the Middle Ages, with the first "King's trumpeter" working in the court of Henry III (r. 1216-1272). By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, special court occasions required the services of nine to twenty-two trumpets.⁵⁴⁰ By contrast, the horn seems to have been imported into England from France in the 1660s. As we saw with *Esther*, early eighteenth-century horn players found employment not as court musicians but as servants in aristocratic households. Indeed, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century court records reveal the names of the trumpeters employed at court, yet these same

⁵⁴⁰ Peggy Ellen Daub, "Music at the Court of George II (r. 1727-1760)" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1985), 226-227.

records do not also include the names of horn players.⁵⁴¹ For example, the department of the Royal Buckhounds, reinstituted at the beginning of Charles II's reign in 1660, contains the names of huntsmen; however, it appears that while these individuals sounded hunting calls during royal hunts, they were not professional musicians in the way that court trumpeters were. Although the Office of the Master of the Buckhounds was vacant after 1715, Francis Negus, first as Joint Commissioner (1715-1717) and then as Solo Commissioner (1717-1727) of the Office of the Master of the Horse,⁵⁴² appears to have had responsibilities within the hunting department as well. According to Hore, "one membrane of Roll 30" lists some of his duties:

William Nelson Sturgeon for setting the leg of Thomas Phipps one of H.M. huntsmen, 10£. 10s. To a person to teach several huntsmen to sound the French horn 7£.6s. John Harris for 10 brass French horns and mending two others for H.M. huntsmen, 26£.16s.⁵⁴³

The "person" who taught George I's huntsmen "to sound the French horn" was most likely a musician, though the huntsmen clearly were not.⁵⁴⁴

Thus, while the horn and hunting were associated with royalty in general, the trumpet was the preeminent symbol of *British* royalty. Given that mid-eighteenth century Britons thought of themselves as the modern incarnation of Biblical Israel, it is not surprising that the trumpet was employed in movements sung by these characters. Smith has observed:

⁵⁴¹ See *The King's Musick: A Transcript of Records Relating to Music and Musicians, 1460-1700*, ed. Henry Cart de Lafontaine (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973).

⁵⁴² "The stables: Master of the Horse 1660-1837," *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), 603-04. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=43902>. Date accessed: 14 August 2006.

⁵⁴³ Hore, *The History of the Royal Buckhounds*, 289. Blandford dates this entry in 1717. "The French Horn in England," 544.

⁵⁴⁴ This fact is especially interesting when one considers that at about this same time, the Duke of Chandos seems to have had two horn-player servants in his employ who could do more than sound hunting calls during the hunt.

The analogy of the biblical Israelite to the present-day Briton, which is commonplace in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious and political writing, continued to flourish in the eighteenth century. It is present in poetry, fiction and drama; in the liturgy, in biblical paraphrases, in sermons and tracts; and even in political theory.⁵⁴⁵

Furthermore, the enemies of Biblical Israel found their parallel in the enemies of Protestant England. Thus, the Catholic nations of France and Spain were often equated with the heathens.⁵⁴⁶ Ilias Chrissodoisis confirms the persistence of these trends in eighteenth-century thought:

To contemporary British culture independence was more than a personal character trait. From geographical position to religious belief England stood on its own. A Protestant kingdom in, it would seem, perennial confrontation with two Catholic superpowers, France and Spain, the British considered independence a national mark *an dimperative*. Their identification with a biblical Israel hinges largely on this virtue: a chosen people are accountable only to God.⁵⁴⁷

Therefore, even when Handel incorporates horns into movements sung by Israelite characters, they perform martial music in quadruple meter, and one finds few hunting-horn idioms. Their presence is required to add aural weight and visual splendor to the ensemble, but their significations are subservient to those of the trumpet.

Finally, Handel's employment of horns and trumpets in these particular kinds of movements also results from his use of specific keys for certain types of characters.

Ellen T. Harris has suggested that in Handel's operas, the appropriate key can be more important than instrumentation:

There is a particularly nice example of this in *Rinaldo*, where Handel, as is typical, associated the aggressors (here, the pagans) with flat keys and the righteous victims (the Christians) with sharps. Therefore, in Act III when the libretto states that the "Christian trumpets sound," Handel writes a march in D major with parts for four trumpets and timpani in addition to

⁵⁴⁵ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 214.

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid., 216.

⁵⁴⁷ Chrissodoisis, "Early Reception," 595.

string orchestra and oboes. A few scenes earlier, the libretto has a similar direction: “The Pagan trumpets sound.” But here Handel writes a march in B-flat major, effectively eliminating the possibility of trumpets, and the march is scored for strings only. That is, Handel prefers to keep the flat-sharp tonal conflict (paralleling the dramatic conflict) rather than use the keys or the instruments usually associated with military marches.⁵⁴⁸

Handel continues this pattern in his oratorios. In many of these works, horns in the flat key of F are used in movements sung by pagans, while trumpets in the sharp key of D are used for Israelites. Of course, this pattern is not ubiquitous, and one cannot assume that all pagan choruses are in flat keys. For example, horns in the sharp key of G major are employed to represent the pagans in *Samson* (HWV57, 1743). Even so, the pattern is consistent enough to deserve mention.

***L’Allegro, Il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740)**

Handel employs the horn in a single movement in the ode *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740). This air, “Mirth admit me of thy crew,” contains parts for horn obbligato, violins, viola, bass voice, and *bassi*. Because early eighteenth-century composers generally wrote music for a pair of horns, Handel’s employment of a single horn in this movement is unique. It is also rare in his works in general; the only other horn obbligato part occurs in the aria “Va tacito, e nascosto” from *Giulio Cesare* (HWV17, 1724).

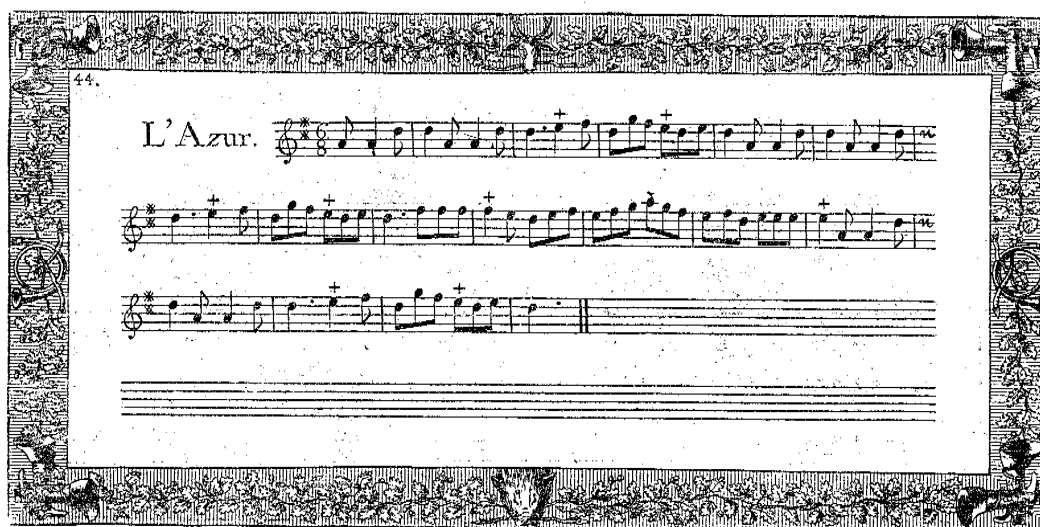
As I demonstrated previously, “Va tacito” may have been a hunting simile aria, but it did not make use of traditional hunting-horn idioms. Even so, its employment of quadruple meter and repeated notes shares stylistic features with the small number of

⁵⁴⁸ Ellen T. Harris, “Harmonic Patterns in Handel’s Operas,” in *Eighteenth-Century Music in Theory and Practice: Essays in Honor of Alfred Mann*, ed. Mary Ann Parker (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1994), 115. One could also maintain that Handel, not having access to horns in F, could not employ them in the march for the pagan trumpets, so he wrote for strings in B-flat instead.

other horn obbligatos from the first half of the eighteenth century, including the “Quoniam” from J. S. Bach’s B-minor Mass.⁵⁴⁹

“Mirth, admit me,” on the other hand, utilizes traditional eighteenth-century hunting-horn music derived directly from Dampierre’s *sonneries*, most notably the 6/8 meter and numerous triadic figures.⁵⁵⁰ A comparison of Dampierre’s fanfare *L’Azur* (Example 5.3) with “Mirth, admit me” makes this derivation apparent (Example 5.4). Although Barbour states that “Mirth, admit me” merely pays homage to the tradition of the hunt, with only slight suggestions of the French *sonneries*,⁵⁵¹ Handel’s audiences would have recognized it as hunting-horn music nonetheless. This circumstance indicates that they were familiar with hunting-horn music derived from the French hunting tradition.

Example 5.3. *L’Azur* from *Recueil de Fanfares Pour La Chasse A une et deux Trompes composées par Feu Monsieur la Marquis de Dampierre Gentil home des Chasse et Plaisirs de sa Majesté* (Paris: Chez Mr. le Clerc).



⁵⁴⁹ Hiebert, “The Horn in Early Eighteenth-Century Dresden,” 64-68, 162-163.

⁵⁵⁰ Horace Fitzpatrick and Peter Downey, “Jagdmusic,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁵⁵¹ J. Murray Barbour, *Trumpets, Horns, and Music* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1964), 53.

Example 5.4. G. F. Handel, *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740), "Mirth, admit me of thy crew," mm. 19-42. Horn in E-flat.

51

Corno in E-flat

Violino I, II

Violino III e Viola

Basso

Bassi
(Violoncello, Violone,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

19

Mirth, ad-mit me of thy crew, Mirth, ad-mit me of thy crew,
Freud, ver-ein mich dei-ner Schar, Freud, ver-ein mich dei-ner Schar,

25

Mirth, ad-mit me, ad-mit me, Mirth, ad-mit me, ad-mit me of thy
Freud, ver-ein mich, ver-ein mich, Freud, ver-ein mich, ver-ein mich dei-ner

31

crew, to lis-ten how the
Schar, zu lau-schen dann, wie

37

hounds and horn cheer-ly rouse the slum-bering morn, from the
Horn und Hund fröh-lich-ge-lüßt die Mor-gen-stund, wie der

Example 5.4. G. F. Handel, *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740), "Mirth, admit me of thy crew," mm. 43-64. Horn in E-flat.

52

43

Corno in E-flat

Violino I, II

Violino III
e Viola

Basso

Bassi
(Violoncello, Violone,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

side of some hoar hill through the high wood
Klang von Hu - gel schallt und im Hoch - wald

48

e choing shrill; to lis - ten how the hounds and horn cheer - ly rouse
mi der hallt, zu lau - schen dann, wie Horn und Hund froh - lich grüßt

54

the slum - bring morn from the
die Mor - gen - stund, wie der

60

side of some hoar hill, of some hoar hill,
Klang von Hu - gel schallt, von Hu - gel schallt

Example 5.4. G. F. Handel, *L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740), "Mirth, admit me of thy crew," mm. 65-92. Horn in E-flat.

Corno in E-flat
 Violino I, II
 Violino III
 e Viola
 Basso
 Bassi
 (Violoncello, Violone,
 Fagotto, Cembalo)

65

through the high wood, through the high wood
und im Hoch - wald wi - der - hallt, im Hoch -

72

79

choing shrill.
wald wi - der - hallt.

85 *ad libitum.*

It is interesting in this context to note the Englishness traditionally ascribed to *L'Allegro*. For example, Dean suggests that the work is “the richest of all English pastorals,”⁵⁵³ further commenting that the songs and choruses in oratorios such as *L'Allegro*, *Semele*, and *Susanna* “invite classification as the most profoundly English music ever written.”⁵⁵⁴ Whatever French qualities “Mirth, admit me” may have laid claim to, they clearly had been assimilated by English hunting culture at this time.⁵⁵⁵

The air is also noteworthy because of Handel's employment of horn in E-flat. According to Horace Fitzpatrick, “Mirth, admit me” is “more forward-looking than its counterpart in *Giulio Cesare*,”⁵⁵⁶ and this forward-looking quality must result from Handel's choice of key. This movement contains Handel's single use of horn in E-flat, a key that was not only uncommon in Handel's music but also in early eighteenth-century music for horn. By the end of the century, however, it becomes the preferred key for solo horn music.⁵⁵⁷ Handel's innovative though albeit single use of this key may have resulted from two factors. First, the premiere of *L'Allegro* coincides with the solo careers of the Messings. The first advertisement listing Frederick Messing (I) as a performer dates from 1734, while his son, Frederick Messing (II), initially appears in the London press in 1741. Both father and son were noted for performing on the “corno cromatico,” thought to have been a horn with crooks. Handel's part for E-flat horn might relate to the

⁵⁵³ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 34.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵⁵⁵ Thomas Augustine Arne had similarly employed two horns in 6/8 meter in the Act I chorus “Away, away” from his masque *Comus* (1738). Written two years before Handel's *L'Allegro*, this work is thought to have served as inspiration for Handel's ode. Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 181-182.

⁵⁵⁶ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 73.

⁵⁵⁷ R. Morley-Pegge, “The Evolution of the Modern French Horn from 1750 to the Present Day,” *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 69th Sess. (1942-43): 42. In his discussion of the second horn part in Beethoven's *Eroica Symphony*, Raymond Monelle notes its relationship to German hunting music: “Beethoven's horn was closely related to the brass *trompe de chasse*, an instrument that had been in existence only since about 1680. This is supported by the key of the symphony; in the German lands, hunting horns were not uncommonly in E-flat.” “Horn and Trumpet as Topical Signifiers,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 13 (2001): 102.

appearance of these noted performers and their instruments in the London press. Second, Handel's choice of the key of E-flat may have been determined by the libretto:

Mirth, admit me of they crew!
To listen how the hounds and horn
Cheerly rouse the slumb'ring morn
From the side of some hoar hill,
Through the high wood echoing shrill.⁵⁵⁸

Dean notes that both E major and E-flat major are "serene keys, generally colored by the reflection of past emotion and confined to movements of a slow or deliberate pace."⁵⁵⁹

Clearly, neither the music nor the text suggests a "slow or deliberate pace." Earlier we observed Smith's belief that Handel often contrasted urban and country life in his secular oratorios. She notes that for many midcentury authors, a "retreat" to the countryside was seen as the only way to escape the "evils of modern life," and "in the librettos [of Handel's oratorios] we can perhaps discern the same sense that perfected retreat is impossible."⁵⁶⁰

Although the music of "Mirth, admit me" is boisterous, it still seems to be suggestive of a festive yet bucolic world no longer available to urban residents. Thus, Handel's employment of the key of E-flat helps to portray the nostalgic qualities in this music, regardless of its fast tempo and galloping rhythms.

In terms of the horn part itself, Handel requires a large range: the lowest pitch is c^1 , and the highest pitch is c^3 . Not surprisingly, this is the same range Handel used in "Va tacito." Like that movement, the lowest pitch, c^1 , is found in phrases directly suggestive of the hunt (see, for example, mm. 52-54), thereby suggesting that Handel continued to associate the lower end of the range with the hunting-horn. On the other hand, the

⁵⁵⁸ *HHA*, ser 1, band 16, ed. James S. Hall, Martin V. Hall (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1965).

⁵⁵⁹ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 60.

⁵⁶⁰ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 270-271.

highest pitch, c^3 , is used in the horn cadenza of mm. 86-89. The mere presence of a horn cadenza in a work from 1740 is remarkable, and the employment of the extreme upper register in this exposed passage suggests that the soloist, whether it was Frederick Messing (I or II) or someone else, had an excellent command of the upper tessitura.

As expected, Handel makes use only of the eleventh and thirteen harmonics (as f^2 and a^2), but this simplicity supports the programmatic intent of this movement. Indeed, to further portray this image, the horn player may have performed these pitches using the instrument's natural temperament.

Therefore, "Mirth, admit me of thy crew" differs from other early eighteenth-century parts for horn obbligato in that it derives indirectly from Dampierre's *sonneries*. Employing 6/8 meter and triadic melodic figures, it suggests strongly French hunting rituals, which seem to have been thoroughly absorbed into the English hunt of this time.

The horn part is notable not only for the use of a solo instrument covering a large range but also for its employment of the key of E-flat. This last quality may have resulted either from the availability of noteworthy horn soloists capable of performing well on crooked instruments. Alternatively, Handel may have chosen this key because of programmatic considerations. In either case, "Mirth, admit me," through its use of the horn and traditional hunting-horn music, is highly evocative of a bucolic (if boisterous) English countryside, which as Smith suggests, was a place eighteenth-century authors eagerly sought to remedy what they perceived as the evils of modern urban life.

Horns and Trumpets In Israelite Choruses

Let us now consider oratorio movements that utilize trumpets and horns in D together for Israelite choruses. This music is important not only because of Handel's symbolic use of the horn, especially in comparison to movements without trumpets, but also because of Handel's musical use of the instrument. Ten out of these fifteen movements require the horns to double trumpet music. In five movements, however, Handel gives the horns independent parts. As early as *Radamisto*, Handel allowed the horns to perform in alternation with the trumpets, but this practice was not employed again in his operas. Therefore, the horn's use in trumpet-based movements is important in terms of Handel's oratorios as a whole, while its independent usage in these same movements is significant in terms of the history of the instrument.

Table 5.1. Movements from Handel's sacred and secular concert works that require horns and trumpets in D to double one another at the octave.⁵⁶¹

<u>Name of Oratorio, Ode, etc.</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Number of Horn and Trumpet Parts</u>
Deborah (1733)	"Immortal Lord of earth and skies"	3 trumpets and 3 horns
	"Let our glad songs to Heav'n ascend"	3 trumpets and 3 horns
Athalia (1733)	"The mighty pow'r" and "Give glory to his awful name"	2 trumpets and 2 horns
	"Give glory to his awful name"	2 trumpets and 2 horns

⁵⁶¹ Because of the uncertainty surrounding the movement, I have not included the Dead March from *Samson* in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1—*Continued.*

<u>Name of Oratorio, Ode, etc.</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Number of Horn and Trumpet Parts</u>
Joshua (1748)	March	2 trumpets and 2 horns
	“Almighty ruler of the skies”	2 trumpets and 2 horns
	“Oh! thou bright orb” and “Behold! the list’ning sun the voice obeys” ⁵⁶²	2 trumpets and 2 horns
	“The great Jehovah is our awful theme”	2 trumpets and 2 horns
Solomon (1749)	“Swell, swell, the full chorus”	2 trumpets and 2 horns
The Triumph of Time and Truth (1757)	“Like the shadow, life ever”	2 trumpets and 2 horns

One notices in Table 5.1 that these works span the entire length of Handel’s oratorio career. Three oratorios from the late 1740s, however, allow the horns to participate independently in movements also employing trumpets (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Movements from Handel’s oratorios, odes, serenatas, and dramas, in which the horns do not simply double the trumpet parts.⁵⁶³

<u>Name of Oratorio, Ode, etc.</u>	<u>Name of Movement</u>	<u>Horn and Trumpet Parts</u>
Joshua (1748)	“Glory to God”	2 trumpets and 2 horns
Alexander Balus (1748)	“Flush’d with conquest, fir’d by Mithra”	2 trumpets and 2 horns
Solomon (1749)	“From the censer”	2 trumpets and 2 horns
	“Praise the Lord”	2 trumpets and 2 horns
	“The name of the wicked”	2 trumpets and 2 horns

⁵⁶² In mm. 23-34 Handel gives the first trumpet part an extended solo, and the remaining brass players are silent. In mm. 17-22 and again from m. 34 until the end of the movement, however, two horns double two trumpets in D.

⁵⁶³ W. F. H. Blandford noted this independence in his article “Handel’s Horn and Trumpet Parts,” *The Musical Times* 80, no. 1161 (November 1939): 746.

Joshua

The oratorio *Joshua* (HWV64, 1748) employs the horns in a total of six movements, five of which include parts for horns and trumpets. Four of these five movements require the horns to merely double the trumpet parts (Table 5.1), but in the chorus “Glory to God! the strong cemented walls” Handel treats the brass instruments separately (Table 5.2).

The work of an anonymous librettist, *Joshua* tells the story of “the Israelites’ conquest of Canaan, the ‘promised land’, under the leadership of Joshua.”⁵⁶⁴ “Glory to God,” sung by Joshua and a Chorus of Israelites, occurs in the first scene of Act II and is preceded only by Joshua’s recitative and a “solemn march” for trumpets, horns, timpani, oboe, violins, viola, and *bassi*. The scene opens thus: “Before Jericho. Joshua, Caleb, Achsah, Chiefs and Chorus./The Priests bearing the Ark of the Covenant.”⁵⁶⁵

In his recitative, Joshua predicts Jericho’s imminent destruction; he also describes the instruments that will herald and celebrate this event:

’Tis well; six times the Lord hath been obey’d,
Low in the dust the town shall soon be laid.
Now the seventh sun the gilded domes adorns,
Sound the shrill trumpets, shout, and blow the horns.⁵⁶⁶

Trumpets and horns are therefore employed in the “solemn march” that follows Joshua’s recitative. This march accompanies “the circumvection of the Ark of the Covenant,”⁵⁶⁷ and the horns merely double the trumpet parts in D. In “Glory to God,” on the other hand, both trumpets and horns perform soloistic fanfare-like passages to celebrate the

⁵⁶⁴ Anthony Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 11. The Later Oratorios,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 24 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁵⁶⁵ Pierre Degott (input), Potharn Imre (HTML conversion), George Friedrich Händel, *Joshua: A Sacred Drama* (Last Updated October 20, 1999; Accessed July 23, 2006), <<http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretto/joshua.htm>>.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

destruction of Jericho, as indicated explicitly in the libretto. Although Handel uses horns to accommodate Joshua's directive, he does not provide them with any hunting-horn music, the use of triple meter in the opening and closing sections of the chorus notwithstanding. Indeed, the middle section of the chorus, in quadruple meter, is permeated by the military figure of an eighth and two sixteenth notes. Thus, Handel features the horns in this movement using trumpet-like music.

According to W. F. H. Blandford, "Thus, in the chorus 'Glory to God' in 'Joshua,' the horns enter in imitation four bars after the trumpets and have a separate part for some sixteen bars, after which the usual disposition in octaves is reverted to."⁵⁶⁸ It is true that the movement begins with a solo in the first trumpet for four bars, followed by an echo of the same melody in the first horn (Example 5.5). It is also true that this imitative pattern continues until m. 17, at which point the horns and trumpets share similar rhythms until m. 24. But their parts are not exactly the same even in these measures, and in m. 31, they begin to play solos in imitation once again. It is not until m. 60 that Handel writes "Corno I colla Tromba I" and "Cor. II c. Tr. II," at which point the horns double the trumpets for the remainder of the movement. It appears that Blandford might have looked at only the first page of the score and merely assumed Handel would continue in his typical writing style for the remainder of the movement.

Interestingly, Winton Dean mentions the solo passages from "Glory to God!" to support the possibility of an *alto* rendering of Handel's horn parts in D. He notes that, beginning in m. 47, Handel accompanies three solo passages for the singer with corresponding solo passages for trumpet, horn, and oboe, respectively. Both the trumpet and oboe parts sound a tenth above the voice part. An *alto* rendering of the horn part also

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

produces the interval of a tenth, whereas a *basso* rendering places the horn a third above the voice. It seems likely, Dean argues, that the horn part should be transposed up so that the intervals match those sounded by the trumpet and oboe.⁵⁶⁹

This happy consistency presupposes, however, that the horn parts were performed primarily by trumpeters⁵⁷⁰ and that the trumpet sound was still ideal as late as 1748. As we have seen, trumpets and horns were separate instruments with separate sound ideals in the eighteenth century. We have also seen that some of Handel's music for horn was performed by horn players who were not also trumpeters.

In the case of *Joshua*, Handel calls for three trumpets in the "Warlike Symphony" from Act II. One of the horn players may have doubled the third trumpet part, thereby making at least one of the brass players in *Joshua* a doubler. Without an official orchestral roster, however, we cannot know for certain who performed what part. Indeed, we have seen that early eighteenth-century trumpeters such as Grano and Thumoth were also proficient on the flute. Therefore, it is just as likely that one of the *traversa* players utilized in the chorus "See, the conqu'ring hero comes" performed this third trumpet part.

In any case, the possibility of brass doubling in *Joshua* cannot be used to support an *alto* rendering of the horn parts, and the idea that horns and trumpets both performed regularly in the D *alto* register as late as 1748 seems unlikely, especially since Johann Mattheson differentiated between the timbres of the two instruments as early as 1713. Furthermore, Hiebert has argued for a *basso* rendering of midcentury horn parts written in England: after examining a five-movement overture for two horns and clarinets

⁵⁶⁹ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 79.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

composed by Handel c. 1740, he concluded: “D *basso* was the preferred register also in England in the third decade of the eighteenth century.”⁵⁷¹

The lack of consistent intervals between the trumpet/horn/oboe and voice part notwithstanding, it seems likely the horn solo in “Glory to God!” was performed in the D *basso* register, even if brass doublers performed one or both of the horn parts.

⁵⁷¹ Thomas Hiebert, “A Case for Horn in D basso in the Early Eighteenth Century and its Effect on Horn-and-Trumpet Combinations,” in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historical Brass Symposium, Amherst, 1995*, ed. Stewart Carter (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1995), 122-123.

Example 5.5. G. F. Handel, *Joshua* (HWV64, 1748), “Glory to God! the strong cemented walls,” mm. 1-26. Horns in D.⁵⁷²

82 **Allegro. CHORUS.**

Tromba I. II.

Corus I. II.

Violino I. II.

Viola.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

Violino I. Oboe I.

Violino II. Oboe II.

TENORE.

JOSHUA solo

Glo

EA

H. W. 17.

⁵⁷² *Joshua*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 17, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.5. G. F. Handel, *Joshua* (HWV64, 1748), "Glory to God," mm. 45-59. Horns in D.

84

Tromba I II
Timpani
Corno I II
Violino I
Violino II
Oboe I
Oboe II
Viola
SOPRANO
ALTO
TENORE
BASSO
Continuo
Pianoforte

Solo.

Glo - ry to God! Glo - ry,

Solo.

Eh - re sei Gott! *Solo.* *Eh re,* *Solo.*

Glo - ry to God! Glo - ry, Glo - ry,

Eh - re sei Gott! *Eh - re,*

Glo - ry, Glo - ry to God! the strong ce - ment - ed walls, the tot - ter - ing tow - rs, the pon - derous

Eh - re, *Eh - re sei Gott!* *es wankt der stol - ze Wall, es droht der Burg, der stol - zen*

Tutti. *ry.* *Glo - ry,* Glo - ry to God! the strong ce - ment - ed walls, the tot - ter - ing tow - rs, the pon - derous

Eh - re, *Eh - re sei Gott!* *es wankt der stol - ze Wall, es droht der Burg, der stol - zen*

H. W. 17.

Example 5.5. G. F. Handel, *Joshua* (HWV64, 1748), "Glory to God," mm. 60-74. Horns in D.

Corno I colla Tromba I.

85

Car. II c. Tr. II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

ru - in, the pon - drous ru - in falls,

Thür-me, der stol - zen Thürme Fall,

ru - in, the pon - drous ru - in falls,

Thür-me, der stol - zen Thürme Fall,

Solo.

Glo - ry to

Eh - re sei

Tutti.

Tutti.

glo - ry to God! the

Eh - re sei Gott! es

God. glo - ry to God!

Gott, Eh - re sei Gott!

Eh - re sei Gott! es

Eh - re sei Gott! es

H.W. 17.

Alexander Balus

Handel composed *Joshua* in June 1747 and worked on *Alexander Balus* (HWV65, 1748) in July and August of that same year;⁵⁷³ he continued to employ horns and trumpets independently in the chorus “Flush’d with conquest, fir’d by Mithra” in Act I of the latter work. Following the overture and sung by a “Chorus of Asiates,” this movement accompanies the return of Alexander, King of Syria, from his “conquest of Demetrius”:

Flush'd with conquest, fir'd by Mithra,
Fountain of eternal rays,
Sing we to Balus, sing we to Mithra
Songs of triumph, songs of praise.⁵⁷⁴

This chorus is one of the few movements sung by non-Christians to employ trumpets as well as horns.⁵⁷⁵ Although the Syrians praise foreign gods such as Balus and Mithra, the movement utilizes military instruments like oboes and trumpets to evoke Alexander’s recent military victory. Indeed, Handel opens the movement with oboes and bassoons only. They perform their march-like music alone until the trumpets and timpani enter in m. 17 “senza Corni.” The horns, the last wind instruments to be heard before the full orchestra and chorus enter, begin to play in m. 29, doubling the trumpet parts in D.

Except for two measures marked “senza Corni,” the horns continue to double the trumpets until m. 98. In mm. 99-114, Handel allows the brass instruments to participate in the polyphonic texture by having the horns imitate the trumpets at a distance of two

⁵⁷³ Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric. 11. The Later Oratorios,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 24 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁵⁷⁴ Pierre Degott (input), Potharn Imre (HTML conversion), George Friedrich Händel, *Alexander Balus: An Oratorio* (Last Updated, October 20, 1999, Accessed July 23, 2006), <<http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/albalus.htm>>.

⁵⁷⁵ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 74.

measures. In m. 115, the horns begin to double the trumpet parts in D and do so until the end of the movement.

Solomon

The third of these oratorios to employ horns and trumpets independently, *Solomon* (HWV67, 1749), was composed between May and June 1748.⁵⁷⁶ Dean notes Handel's antiphonal use of trumpets and horns in this work, and attributes the horns' "emancipation" in these later oratorios to Handel's having access to "stronger resources."⁵⁷⁷ Because virtuosic horn soloists begin to appear in the London press as early as the 1730s, and because we saw that Handel most likely composed his virtuosic operatic horn parts for them, it is uncertain why he would suddenly "emancipate" the horns in works from the late 1740s. It may have been a purely musical decision to do so, as opposed to one based on "resources." Without an official roster, however, it is not possible to know his reasoning with any certainty, and in any case, *Solomon* is the last stage work to employ both trumpets and horns until the oratorio *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (HWV71) premieres in 1757.⁵⁷⁸

Three movements from *Solomon* allow the horns and trumpets more freedom than doubling one another's parts, and compared with Handel's employment of horns in the movements discussed above from *Joshua* and *Alexander Balus*, the horns are most independent in this last work. Composed in consecutive summers, these three oratorios

⁵⁷⁶ Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 11. The Later Oratorios," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 24 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁵⁷⁷ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 79.

⁵⁷⁸ Thus, *Theodora* (HWV68, 1750), *The Choice of Hercules* (HWV69, 1751), and *Jephtha* (HWV70, 1752) utilize trumpets and horns in separate movements only.

represent an exceptional moment in Handel's compositional style, and *Solomon* may be seen as the culmination of this technique.

In the Act II chorus "From the censer curling rise" Handel writes not only for trumpets and horns but also timpani, oboes, bassoons, violins, violas, double choruses, and *organo, e Tutti Bassi*. Hicks notes the large forces used in *Solomon*: "The use of full brass and an extra body of *ripieno* strings in the orchestra, coupled with writing for double chorus, gives the music special power and colour."⁵⁷⁹

"From the censer" begins in a similar manner as "Flush'd with conquest" from *Alexander Balus*: except for a single pitch in the organ, oboes and bassoons start the movement alone, performing military-like rhythms in quadruple meter (Example 5.6). In m. 6 the strings enter with repeated-note fanfare passages, and they alternate with the woodwinds until the brass and double chorus enter together in m. 11. The trumpets perform generally with the first chorus, echoed in turn by the horns and the second chorus. Unexceptionally, the timpani perform consistently with the trumpets. In only one instance, mm. 35-39, do the trumpets echo the horns. In mm. 27-30, Handel asks the trumpets and first chorus to perform a motive, followed by the horns and second chorus, and echoed a second time by the oboes and first chorus. Clearly, Handel groups the trumpets and oboes, both brighter instruments, with the first chorus, and the darker horns with the second chorus. This treatment of the wind instruments again argues for a *basso* interpretation of the horn parts.

Even though the horns are "emancipated" in *Solomon*, Blandford laments what he sees as the lack of innovation in their parts:

⁵⁷⁹ Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric. 11. The Later Oratorios," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 24 July 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

In 'Solomon,' the independence of the horns in two choruses, 'From the censer' and 'Praise the Lord,' is even more marked and represents Handel's greatest advance in this direction. Here one notices a number of short phrases given out alternately by trumpets and horns, in echo, but this is a revival of a device used in two movements of the Water Music, and then laid aside.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁸⁰ Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts," *The Musical Times* 80 (November 1939): 746.

Example 5.6. G. F. Handel, *Solomon* (HWV57, 1743), Act II, "From the censer curling rise," mm. 15-18. Horns in D.

114

Tromba I. II.

Corno I. II.

Timpani.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Bassons tutti.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola I.

Viola II.

SOPRANO I.

ALTO I.

TENORE I.

BASSO I.

SOPRANO II.

ALTO II.

TENORE II.

BASSO II.

Organo, e Tutti Basso.

Organo.

Pianoforte.

Heaven bles.ses Da - vid's throne.

Gottes Se - gen schirmt den Thron,

Heaven bles.ses Da - vid's throne.

Gottes Se - gen schirmt den Thron,

Heaven bles.ses Da - vid's throne.

Gottes Se - gen schirmt den Thron,

Heaven bles.ses Da - vid's throne.

Gottes Se - gen schirmt den Thron,

Org. o Man. I.

Org. o Man. II.

mp

H. W. 26.

“Praise the Lord with harp and tongue” occurs in Act III and again utilizes a double chorus as well as pairs of trumpets and horns. The chorus “Shake the dome and pierce the sky,” also from Act III, contains a double chorus and parts for trumpets only. The exclusion of the horns results necessarily from the military deeds described in the text:

Now a different measure try,
Shake the dome, and pierce the sky.
Rouse us next to martial deeds;
Clanking arms, and neighing steeds,
Seem in fury to oppose
Now the hard-fought battle glows.⁵⁸²

“Praise the Lord, on the other hand, again provides the horns with independent music. They enter the movement in m. 22, performing short dotted-rhythm motives on and off with the woodwinds and noticeably without the trumpets until m. 59. Beginning in m. 61, the horns and woodwinds echo phrases performed by the trumpets and timpani until m. 73.

This grouping is even more noticeable in the final measures of the movement, at which point the trumpets and timpani perform repeated-note patterns, while the horns, woodwinds, and eventually the choruses play/sing pitches of noticeably longer durations (Example 5.7). Handel’s separation of the trumpets and horns in these measures reflects the images suggested in the last stanza:

Full Chorus

Let the loud Hosannahs rise,
Widely spreading through the skies,
God alone is just and wise.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸² George Friedrich Händel, *Solomon: An Oratorio*, Pierre Degott (input), Potharn Imre (HTML conversion) (Last Updated October 20, 1999; Accessed July 24, 2006), <<http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/solomon.htm>>.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

Handel consistently identifies the trumpet with the people of Israel and their God. Even though he included horns in these celebratory movements from *Joshua*, *Alexander Balus*, and *Solomon*, they perform trumpet-like music and generally echo phrases performed first by the trumpets. This necessary prominence of the trumpets is further assisted by the horns' continuous grouping with the woodwinds.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸⁴ This usage contrasts with the horns' employment in movements without trumpets. For example, in the Act I chorus "Ye happy nations round," sung by a "Chorus of Asiates" in *Alexander Balus*, Handel includes wind parts for horns in F and oboes only. Although written in quadruple meter, it contains dance-like features to emphasize the festivities taking place to celebrate Alexander's triumph, and except for the inclusion of horns and oboes, the movement does not contain any martial references.

Example 5.7. G. F. Handel, *Solomon* (HWV57, 1743), Act III, "Praise the Lord with harp and tongue," mm. 92-95. Horns in D.⁵⁸⁵

The musical score is for measures 92-95 of Act III of G. F. Handel's *Solomon*. It features a large ensemble of instruments and voices. The instrumental parts include Tromba I.II., Timpani, Corno I.II., Oboe I., Oboe II., Bassons, Violino I., Violino II., Viola I., Viola II., Organo I.II., and Pianoforte. The vocal parts include Soprano I., Alto I., Tenore I., Basso I., Soprano II., Alto II., Tenore II., and Basso II. The lyrics are in German and English, praising God for his attributes of being alone, just, wise, and good. The score is written in D major and 4/4 time. The organ and piano parts provide a harmonic foundation for the vocal and instrumental ensemble.

Lyrics:

Soprano I: God a - lone, God a - lone is just, God a - lone
Gott al - lein, Gott al - lein ist gut, Gott al - lein

Alto I: Gott al - lein, God a - lone is just and wise,
Gott al - lein ist gut und gross.

Tenore I: God a - lone, God a - lone is just and wise,
Gott al - lein ist gut und gross,

Basso I: Gott al - lein, God a - lone is just and wise,
Gott al - lein ist gut und gross,

Soprano II: God a - lone is just, God a - lone
Gott al - lein ist gut, Gott al - lein

Alto II: God a - lone is just and wise,
Gott al - lein ist gut und gross,

Tenore II: God a - lone is just and wise,
Gott al - lein ist gut und gross,

Basso II: God a - lone is just and wise,
Gott al - lein ist gut und gross,

Organo e Tutti Bassi: Ch. I. Tutti
Org. I. Org. I. II.

Organo I.II: Org. I. II.

Pianoforte: Org. I. II.

H. W. RE.

⁵⁸⁵ *Solomon*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 26, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.7. G. F. Handel, *Solomon* (HWV57, 1743), Act III, "Praise the Lord with harp and tongue," mm. 96-99. Horns in D.

292

Tromba I.II.
Timpani.
Corno I.II.
Oboe I.
Oboe II.
Bassons.
Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola I.
Viola II.
SOPRANO I.
 lone is just and wise, God a
 Gott ist gut und gross, Gott al
ALTO I.
 and wise, God a
 und gross, Gott al
TENORE I.
 is just and wise, and wise, God a
 ist gut und gross, und gross, Gott al
BASSO I.
 God a lone is just and wise, God a
 Gott al lein ist gut und gross, Gott al
SOPRANO II.
 lone is just and wise, God a
 lein ist gut und gross, Gott al
ALTO II.
 and wise, God a
 und gross, Gott al
TENORE II.
 is just and wise, and wise, God a
 ist gut und gross, und gross, Gott al
BASSO II.
 God a lone is just and wise, God a
 Gott al lein ist gut und gross, Gott al
Organo, e Tutti Bassi.
Organo I.II.
Pianoforte.

H. W. 26.

Example 5.7. G. F. Handel, *Solomon* (HWV57, 1743), Act III, “Praise the Lord with harp and tongue,” mm. 100-106. Horns in D.

293

Tromba I & II.

Timpani.

Corno I & II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Bassons.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola I.

Viola II.

SOPRANO I.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

ALTO I.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

TENORE I.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

BASSO I.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

SOPRANO II.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

ALTO II.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

TENORE II.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

BASSO II.

lone is just, God a lone is just and wise.
lein ist gross, Gott al lein ist gut und gross.

Organo, e Tutti Bassi.

Organo I & II.

Pianoforte.

H. W. 26.

In *Solomon*, horns double the trumpet parts again in the Act II chorus “Swell, swell the full chorus” but are given independent parts in the final chorus of the work “The

name of the wicked.” In this movement they again echo passages performed first by the trumpets (see, for example, mm. 46-50).

In conclusion, Handel includes parts for both horns and trumpets in the Israelite choruses from *Joshua*, *Alexander Balus*, and *Solomon*, but he does not relegate the horns to doubling the trumpet parts in D. Blandford argues that Handel’s imitative use of the instruments merely repeats a technique first employed in the *Water Music* of 1717; however, Handel’s consistent grouping of the horns with the woodwinds and the second chorus provides significant information not only about the imagery associated with each brass instrument but also on the likelihood of the horn parts being performed in the *basso* register.

Heathen Choruses

Athalia

The libretto of the oratorio *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), written by Samuel Humphreys, derives ultimately from 2 Kings 11 but more recently from Racine’s play *Athalie* of 1692. Athalia, Queen of Judah and worshipper of Baal, murdered all the rightful sons of the House of David to safeguard her throne. One child, Joas, escaped the slaughter and was raised secretly in the Temple of Solomon by the High Priest, Joab, and his wife, Josabeth. They eventually proclaim Joas king of Judah, orchestrate a revolt against Athalia, and defeat the Queen.⁵⁸⁶

These two groups, the Baalists under Athalia and the Israelites under Joab, are characterized primarily through the chorus, which Dean describes as “the real hub and

⁵⁸⁶ Liner notes to go with George Friedrich Händel, *Athalia* (HWV52), Kölner Kammerchor, Collegium Cartusianum, Peter Neumann; notes by Dr. Markus Schwering, editor Dr. Irmlind Capelle, MDG 332 1277-2.

hero” of the work.”⁵⁸⁷ Not surprisingly, Handel’s employment of brass instruments in these choral movements aids this characterization. In what follows, we will see how Handel’s employment of horns and trumpets in three choral movements from *Athalia* supports Handel’s representation of these two groups.

As one can see in Example 5.8, the Act I chorus “The gods, whose chosen blessings shed” contains instrumental parts for horns in F, oboes, violins, viola, and continuo. It is sung by a Chorus of Attendants and Sidonian Priests who are trying to revive Athalia’s spirits after she had dark misgivings about her future:

The gods, whose chosen blessings shed
On majesty’s anointed head,
For thee their care will still employ,
And brighten all thy fears to joy.⁵⁸⁸

Handel’s music for the courtiers combines both hunting-horn and dance-like idioms, and although he first used these devices in *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (1727), the *chasse*-like elements are more prominent in this movement. The 12/8 meter and triadic melodic figures are reminiscent of Dampierre’s *sonneries*, and the dotted rhythmic figures remind the listener of the hunting music in the air “Mirth, admit me of thy crew.” Conversely, Carmen Helena Tellez observes that this courtier-song is more appropriately described as “a charming *siciliana* in a moderately fast tempo.”⁵⁸⁹ She further notes that the warm sound of the horns in addition to a swaying figure in the bass line “combine to represent the sensuousness of pagan life.”⁵⁹⁰ Scholars have consistently identified Handel’s

⁵⁸⁷ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 250.

⁵⁸⁸ George Friedrich Händel, *Athalia* (1733): *An Oratorio; or Sacred Drama*; input Pierre Degott, HTML conversion Potharn Imre (Updated October 20, 1999; Accessed August 2, 2006), <<http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/athalia.htm>>.

⁵⁸⁹ Carmen Helena Tellez, “Musical Form and Dramatic Concept in Handel’s ‘Athalia’” (D Mus diss., Indiana University, 1989), 194.

⁵⁹⁰ Tellez, “Musical Form,” 194.

dramatic, pastoral music with the *siciliano*,⁵⁹¹ and therefore, the seemingly disparate images in this movement, namely the hunt and the dance, both derive naturally from the pastoral.

It seems obvious that the dance-like elements in this movement contribute to its joyful mood; however, all the imagery I discussed in relation to hunting is equally relevant for this purpose. Because hunting was linked metaphorically not only with royalty but also with festivities, excessive passion, and even pagan ritual, the use of horns in this music was a purposeful decision⁵⁹² and served to represent, in the words of Dean, “the hedonistic gaiety of heathen nations.”⁵⁹³

A further motivation for employing horns may have resulted from Handel’s concern with flat and sharp keys. As Harris notes, Handel preferred to use flat keys for music sung by aggressors—including pagans—in his operas. This correlation is apparent in “The gods, whose chosen blessings shed” as well, especially when one compares the use of trumpets in the sharp key of D in other movements. Finally, the texture of “The gods whose chosen blessings shed” is clearly homophonic⁵⁹⁴ and the horns’ role within this texture seems to be to add warmth of tone. Tellez observes the regularity with which Handel employs horns in this manner in his oratorios: “The horns provide special warmth to the sound, a function that seems to be assigned to the instrument through all the oratorios.”⁵⁹⁵ As we have seen, not all Handel’s oratorios employ horns in this manner; however, the observation that horns do so in some of Handel’s oratorios is significant,

⁵⁹¹ Ellen Turner Harris, “Handel’s Pastoral Genre: Its Literary and Musical Antecedents” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1976), 4.

⁵⁹² It is interesting in this context to note that Tellez warns the conductor against using a very fast tempo for this movement, because it could start to sound more like a hunting as opposed to a courtier song. She notes, however, that this is a subjective matter. “Musical Form,” 294.

⁵⁹³ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 74.

⁵⁹⁴ Tellez, “Musical Form,” 194.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

because it contradicts assessments made by previous authors. For example, Blandford asserts that Handel employed horns purely as a melodic instrument:

Handel's writing for the horn, like that of Bach, is a carry-over from the seventeenth-century treatment of the trumpet. There is no attempt to merge the sounds of the instrument into the orchestral background of strings, oboes, and bassoons, either to enrich the harmonies, to modify colour and impart warmth of tone, to provide holding notes or the like. Its function is melodic.⁵⁹⁶

Given the timbral and harmonic role played by the horns in later operas as well as in numerous oratorios, one can safely contradict Blandford's general conclusion.⁵⁹⁷

The mere timbre of the horns, then, suggests paganism, yet the exotic character of this movement also results from Handel's abrupt modulations. For example, Tellez observes that during the second choral statement, Handel modulates suddenly from F major to E-flat major to B-flat major and then back to F major. By creating "a non-functional relationship between the three chords," Handel gives the impression that this is foreign music.⁵⁹⁸ Surprisingly, the horns perform throughout this section. Indeed, when the music moves suddenly to the key of E-flat in m. 23, they are able to participate by performing written *f*¹'s and *d*¹'s. Sounding as *b-flat*¹ and *g*¹, they help to provide the fifth and third of the new tonic, respectively. Handel also asks for an unusual pitch in his first horn part: in m. 12, he gives this performer two written *b-flat*²'s as passing tones. Although this pitch is the fourteenth harmonic in the series and is therefore generally in tune, it is rare in Handel's music for horn. Other than this unusual pitch, the first horn performs only the out-of-tune eleventh and thirteenth harmonics. Interestingly, the

⁵⁹⁶ Blandford, "Handel's Horn and Trombone Parts," 746.

⁵⁹⁷ Dean, in *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, also observed this contradiction (79).

⁵⁹⁸ Tellez, "Musical Form," 194-195.

second horn also utilizes both of these harmonics: in m. 12, the second horn ascends to a written a^2 , the highest pitch in Handel's second horn music.

Thus the horns, because of the imagery associated with hunting, are employed in this movement to help portray the pagan characters. Combined with dance-like elements and sudden modulations, they expose Athalia's courtiers as foreigners. Yet Handel refuses to present them in an unfavorable light. Indeed, Dean notes that not only do these "Baalite choruses" have an "almost feminine sweetness and voluptuousness" but also "that Handel (very characteristically) represents these evil-doers as charming hedonists and not in the least oppressive."⁵⁹⁹

This last trait is characteristic of Handel's pagan choruses that include music for horns, and, as Smith observes, has caused scholars to make assumptions about both Handel and his librettists:

To modern listeners, Handel's beguiling music for them [the hedonistic heathens] seldom suggests criticism, indeed it has encouraged the idea that Handel was a humanist with pagan tendencies, sympathizing with the reveling idolaters he portrays. To draw this inference from (dramatic) music and to go on to deduce that the composer's approach was that of 'a dramatist, without moral preconceptions' is to make the old confusion of the portrayal with the author; but in the case of the words such confusion cannot arise, for the librettists make heathen vice only minimally attractive.⁶⁰⁰

Perhaps even more than in *Athalia*, the pagan choruses with horns from *Theodora* and *Samson*, both of which will be discussed later, are especially attractive and contrast markedly with the words of the libretto.

⁵⁹⁹ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 250.

⁶⁰⁰ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 266-267.

Example 5.8. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act I, “The gods, whose chosen blessings shed,” mm. 1-3. Horns in F.⁶⁰¹

CHORUS. CHOR.
Allegro.

H.W.S.

⁶⁰¹ *Athalia*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 5, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.8. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act I, "The gods, whose chosen blessings shed," mm. 4-9. Horns in F.

55

Corno I. II.

Oboe I. II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

The

Die

The

Die

gods, who cho - sen bless - ings shed on ma - jes - ty's an -

Macht, die gnad und se - genreich be - schützt dein hei - lig

gods, who cho - sen bless - ings shed on ma - jes - ty's an -

Macht, die gnad und se - genreich be - schützt dein hei - lig

coll' 8^{va}

H. W. & S.

Example 5.8. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act I, "The gods, whose chosen blessings shed," mm. 10-15. Horns in F.

56

Corno I/II.
Oboe I/II.
Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola.
Soprano.
Alto.
Tenore.
Basso.
Continuo.
Pianoforte.

noim ted head, for thee, for thee their care will still em . pty, and
Haupt und Reich, stillt dir, stillt dir auch nun den Gram der Brust und
noim ted head, for thee, for thee their care will still em . pty, and
Haupt und Reich, stillt dir, stillt dir auch nun den Gram der Brust und
bright en all thy fears to joy, to joy thy fears, thy
wan - delt all dein Leid in Lust, in Lust dein Leid, dein
bright en all thy fears to joy, to joy thy fears, thy
wan - delt all dein Leid in Lust, in Lust dein Leid, dein

H. W. A.

Example 5.8. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act I, "The gods, whose chosen blessings shed," mm. 16-21. Horns in F.

57

Corno I/II.

Oboe I/II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

fears to joy, and bright en all, all, all thy fears to joy, and
 Leid in Lust, und wan delt all, all, all dein Leid in Lust, und
 fears to joy, and bright eu all, all, all thy fears to joy, and
 Leid in Lust, und wan delt all, all, all dein Leid in Lust, und

bright en all, all, all thy fears to joy.
 wan delt all, all, all dein Leid in Lust.
 bright en all, all, all thy fears to joy.
 wan delt all, all, all dein Leid in Lust.

B. W. s.

Example 5.8. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act I, "The gods, whose chosen blessings shed," mm. 22-27. Horns in F.

58

Corno I, II.

Oboe I, II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

The gods, who cho - sen bless - ings shed on

Die Macht, die gnad - und se - genreich be -

The gods, who cho - sen bless - ings shed on

Die Macht, die gnad - und se - genreich be -

ma - jes - ty's an - noid - ted head, for thee, for thee their care will

schützt dein hei - lig Haupt und Reich, stillt dir, stillt dir auch nun, auch

ma - jes - ty's an - noid - ted head, for thee, for thee their care will

schützt dein hei - lig Haupt und Reich, stillt dir, stillt dir auch nun, auch

H.W. N.

Example 5.8. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act I, "The gods, whose chosen blessings shed," mm. 28-34. Horns in F.

59

Corno I.II.

Oboe I.II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

bright - en all, all, all thy fears to joy.

wan - delt all, all, all dein Leid in Lust.

bright - en all, all thy fears to joy.

wan - delt all, all dein Leid in Lust.

H.W. 2.

The horns participate in two choruses in addition to “The gods, whose chosen blessings shed.” The Act II chorus “The might pow’r” and “Give glory to his awful name”⁶⁰² contains parts for both horns and trumpets, as does the reprise of “Give glory to his awful name” at the end of Act III (Example 5.9). Smith observes that “there are no Coronation Anthems, or any other music associated with the crown, in *Athalia*”;⁶⁰³ however, both movements are sung by Israelites or groups associated with them, and the music for horn resembles the trumpet-like music employed in oratorios such as *Joshua* and *Solomon*: horns in D double trumpet parts utilizing repeated-note and fanfare-like figures. The text of these movements, however, essentially glorifies Jehovah, and therefore trumpets and horns performing trumpet-like music are also “dramatically motivated”:

The mighty pow’r in whom we trust,
Is ever to his promise just;
He makes this sacred day appear
The pledge of a propitious year.

Give glory to His awful name,
Let ev’ry voice His praise proclaim!⁶⁰⁴

According to Tellez, the trumpets and horns are “associated with the timpani” in these “two ceremonial choruses.”⁶⁰⁵ She goes on to note that because of the high tessitura of the horn parts, they were probably played with a trumpet embouchure.⁶⁰⁶ Actually, compared to many of Handel’s other horn parts, the horn music in these movements

⁶⁰² The Act II choruses are part of a three –section movement, the middle section being taken up by the solo “He bids the circling season shine.”

⁶⁰³ Smith, *Handel’s Oratorios*, 287. Smith is arguing for “ambiguity of political meaning” in this libretto (287).

⁶⁰⁴ George Friedrich Händel, *Athalia* (1733): *An Oratorio; or Sacred Drama*; input Pierre Degott, HTML conversion Potharn Imre (Updated October 20, 1999; Accessed August 2, 2006), <<http://opera.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/athalia.htm>>.

⁶⁰⁵ Tellez, “Musical Form,” 68.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

neither ascends to the extreme upper register nor remains persistently in this tessitura. Both parts descend to a written d^1 , a pitch lower than the average range of Handel's first horn parts. In addition, the first and second horn part ascends to a written b^2 or a^2 , respectively. Since many of Handel's first horn parts notated in C ascend to a written c^3 , the range of Handel's music for horn in these two movements is actually on the conservative side. Thus, one cannot make assumptions about horn technique used in *Athalia* based on the tessitura of the parts.

However, one can assume that at least one of the horn players also doubled on the trumpet, since three trumpets perform without horns in the Act III chorus "Around let acclamations ring." This evidence suggests far more strongly than the tessitura of the horn parts that at least one player may have used a trumpet embouchure or mouthpiece, though again, we know very little about early eighteenth-century horn technique.

One might also be tempted to ask if the horn players performed with their bells in the air in these choruses. Like embouchure and other technical issues, it is not possible to know for certain what playing position horn players used in 1733. It seems likely, however, that they performed with their bells upraised for the large choral movements in Acts II and III. Indeed, their ability to add visual grandeur to these scenes may have been one of Handel's primary reasons for including them in these movements.

Whether or not they performed with their bells in the air for "The gods, whose chosen blessings shed" is not as certain. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, authors recommended and observed players utilizing various playing positions

for different purposes.⁶⁰⁷ Whether this practice also applied to music in the first half of the century is not known, but it is a possibility in *Athalia* nonetheless. What is certain, however, is that Handel employed the horns in *Athalia* differently according to the characterization desired: in the Baalite chorus from Act I, he combines hunting and dance-like features to portray the sensual and foreign pagans; whereas in the Act II and III choruses sung by groups associated with the Israelites, he treats the horns like trumpets. Again, since the trumpets were associated with British monarchy, and the concert-going public in London thought of their nation as the modern incarnation of Biblical Israel, the trumpet and trumpet-like music represent these characters appropriately.

⁶⁰⁷ John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 52; 54; Meucci and Rocchetti, "Horn. 2. History to c1800 (iii) Crooks and hand technique," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 3 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

Example 5.9. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act III, “Give glory to his awful name,” mm. 1-4. Horns in D.⁶⁰⁸

204

CHORUS. CHOR.

Tromba I.
Corno I.

Tromba II.
Corno II.

Timpani.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Fagotti.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Violoncelli
ripieni.

Soprano I.

Soprano II.

Alto I.

Alto II.

Tenore I.

Tenore II.

Basso I.

Basso II.

Contrabassi,
Violoncelli
e Cembalo.

Organo.

Pianoforte.

Loud.

ff

H.W. 3.

⁶⁰⁸ *Athalia*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 5, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.9. G. F. Handel, *Athalia* (HWV52, 1733), Act III, "Give glory to his awful name," mm. 5-8. Horns in D.

205

Tromba I.
 Corno I.
 Tromba II.
 Corno II.
 Timpani.
 Oboe I.
 Oboe II.
 Fagotti.
 Violino I.
 Violino II.
 Viola.
 Violoncelli
 Ripieni.
 Soprano I.
 Soprano II.
 Alto I.
 Alto II.
 Tenore I.
 Tenore II.
 Basso I.
 Basso II.
 Contrabassi,
 Violoncelli
 e Cembalo.
 Organo.
 Pianforte.

give glo - ry to His aw - ful
 hoch frei - er! un - sern heil' - gen
 give glo - ry to His aw - ful
 hoch frei - er! un - sern heil' - gen
 give glo - ry to His aw - ful
 hoch frei - er! un - sern heil' - gen
 give glo - ry to His aw - ful
 hoch frei - er! un - sern heil' - gen

H. W. 3.

Theodora

Athalia, composed and performed in 1733, was one of Handel's first oratorios. The oratorio *Theodora* (HWV68), on the other hand, premiered at the end of Handel's career in 1750. Even so, Handel continues to employ horns and trumpets in the same manner and for the same types of characters as he did in *Athalia*.

The story of *Theodora* differs from *Athalia* in that it does not oppose heathen people against Biblical Israel. Instead, the story contrasts the piety of the young Christian, Theodora, against the paganism of Rome, as exemplified by the Roman prefect, Valens. According to Smith, the decline of empires in general and Rome in particular was a topic of great import to eighteenth-century moralists:

For many of the commentators on Rome's corruption, its decline begins with the depredations of Julius Caesar, Augustus and their successors to the liberties of its citizens. Roman imperial rule was lawless, tyrannical, and an image of modern absolutist (Catholic) European states. Conversely, ancient societies in the early stages of their development, including Rome, were lauded for their establishment of civil liberty.⁶⁰⁹

She further notes that:

The parallels which contemporary modern historians constantly made with the terminal decadence of Rome also clarify an oratorio outside the Israelite canon, *Theodora*—a story of sober Christian virtue pitted against the machinery of the decadent state and society of imperial Rome.⁶¹⁰

Given the history of the association of hunting with political tyranny, it is not surprising to find the instrument employed vividly in *Theodora*. It is also not surprising to find the horns performing in movements sung by heathens during celebrations of an unsavory nature. They participate without trumpets in two movements in *Theodora*, while the trumpets participate in one. Neither instrument is found in music sung by Christians;

⁶⁰⁹ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 263.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 266.

however, Handel exploits the dual views of ancient Rome mentioned by Smith in the manner in which he employs each instrument in movements sung by Roman characters.

To understand this usage, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the plot: *Theodora* opens with the Roman prefect, Valens, declaring that a festival will take place in celebration of his birthday. Held ostensibly in honor of Jove, all participants must sacrifice to the deity. As a Christian, Theodora refuses, and Valens arrests her. As punishment for her defiance, she is sentenced to work in a brothel; however, the Roman officer Didymus, who is in love with her, rescues her from prison. Valens puts him on trial, and when Theodora offers to sacrifice herself on his behalf, Valens orders that they both should die.⁶¹¹

It is not surprising to learn that horns are employed for some of the more salacious points in this story. Handel writes for two horns in F in the Act I chorus “For ever thus stands fix’d the doom.” Sung by a Chorus of Heathens, the text celebrates the torture that awaits the Christians when they refuse to make sacrifices to Jove:

For ever thus stands fix'd the doom,
Of rebels to the gods and Rome,
While sweeter than the trumpet's sound,
Their groans and cries are heard around.⁶¹²

Reading this text, one might be led to assume two things about Handel’s corresponding music. First, Handel employs trumpets to demonstrate the glory of Rome. Second, given the unpleasant images in the last line, the music will be correspondingly unpleasant; however, neither presumption is borne out.

⁶¹¹ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 556-557.

⁶¹² George Friedrich Händel, *Theodora: An Oratorio*, Words by Thomas Morell, input by Pierre Degott (Accessed 12 May 2006), <<http://operetta.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/theodora.htm>>.

“For ever thus stands fix’d the doom” is written in 12/8 meter and contains instrumental parts for horns in F, oboes, violins, viola, and continuo (Example 5.10a). Already one sees similarities between this movement and the Act I chorus “The gods, whose chosen blessings shed,” a fact also noted by Dean:

Key, time, tempo mark, scoring (horns, oboes, and strings), and layout (the divided violins having independent semiquaver figures in a different rhythm) are reproduced exactly. The principal violin figure in the ritornello is almost identical. The dramatic situation and the emotional effect are very similar: both are pagan choruses upholding the authority of their religion and their rulers, both come early in the action, and both make an impression of spontaneous warmth and gaiety.⁶¹³

Handel uses horns as well as both hunting-horn and dance-like idioms to portray the same festive and perhaps debauched imagery as he demonstrated in the first act of *Athalia*. Even so, looking at the violin figure in the ritornello of this movement, one sees that it is the same hunting-horn figure first observed in the horn parts of Handel’s *Radamisto*. It appears not only in the corresponding movements from *Athalia* and *Theodora* but also in Handel’s horn music in general. In both choruses, Handel gives this motif to the violins. He may have wanted to utilize it for its hunting-horn associations, but the horns were probably unable to perform it well at an Allegro tempo. That it occurs in both movements, written with similar instrumentation and for similar purposes, however, cannot be a coincidence. Thus, Handel employs hunting-horn motives to accompany pagan festivities; however, as Dean has observed, his joyful music does not correspond with the more pernicious imagery in the text:

Where the courtiers in *Athalia* are trying to cheer their queen, Morell has given the Romans four lines of sadistic gloating over the persecuted Christians. We can imagine what wealth of expression Handel could have wrung from the words
While sweeter than the trumpet’s sound

⁶¹³ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 564.

Their groans and cries are heard around.

Thomas Morell, the librettist, probably did intend for the heathens to be portrayed in an unfavorable manner; however, as Dean notes: “Handel’s Romans were not to be sadists but charmers.”⁶¹⁴

In terms of the horn parts, Handel again writes for two horns in F, most likely because of the association of flat keys with pagans. In addition, the first horn part once more contains the unusual pitch *b-flat*², this time as an upper neighbor note in m. 32, though both parts utilize only variants of the eleventh (*f*²/*f*^{♯2}) and thirteenth harmonics (*a*²) (Example 5.10b). The ranges of the parts are conservative; for example, the second horn remains below *g*². Finally, Handel employs the horns in a harmonic manner. They are not given any exposed solo passages and are present merely to add their unique timbre to the movement specifically to characterize the nature of the festivities.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

Example 5.10a. G. F. Handel, *Theodora* (HWV68, 1750). Act I, “For ever thus stands fix’d the doom,” mm. 1-6. Horns in F.⁶¹⁵

CHORUS. CHOR.
Allegro.

27

For e - ver thus stands fix'd the doom of
So kom - ms ja - der Feind zu Fall, der
For e - ver thus stands fix'd the doom of
So kom - ms ja - der Feind zu Fall, der

H. W. 8.

⁶¹⁵ *Theodora*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 8, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.10b. G. F. Handel, *Theodora* (HWV68, 1750). Act I, "For ever thus stands fix'd the doom," mm. 31-36. Horns in F.⁶¹⁶

32

Corno I.II.

Oboe I.II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

than the trum - pets sound, their groans are sweet - er, sweet - er,
als Trom - pe - ten - schall, sein Schrei ist sü - sser, sü - sser,

sound, their groans and cries are sweet - er, sweet - er,
schall, sein Angst ge - schrei ist sü - sser, sü - sser,

trum - pets sound, than the trum - pets sound, sweet - er than the trum - pets sound,
pe - ten - schall, als Trom - pe - ten - schall, sü - sser als Trom - pe - ten - schall,

trum - pets sound, are sweet - er than the trum - pets sound,
pe - ten - schall, weil sü - sser als Trom - pe - ten - schall,

sweet - er than the trum - pets sound, their groans and cries
sü - sser als Trom - pe - ten - schall, sein Angst - geschrei

sweeter than the trum - pets sound, their groans and cries
sü - sser als Trom - pe - ten - schall, sein Angst - ge - schrei

than the trum - pets sound, their groans and cries are heard a -
als Trom - pe - ten - schall, sein Angst - ge - schrei um - her er -

than the trum - pets sound,
als Trom - pe - ten - schall,

H. W. 8.

⁶¹⁶ *Theodora*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 8, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Horns continue to help portray pagan celebrations in the Act II chorus “Venus laughing from the skies” (Example 5.11). Also sung by a Chorus of Heathens, it celebrates obliquely the pleasures to be obtained in the Temple of Venus in general and on Theodora in particular:

Venus laughing from the skies,
Will applaud her votaries.
While seizing the treasure
We revel in pleasure,
Revenge sweet love supplies.⁶¹⁷

This movement uses the same instrumentation as the other two pagan choruses studied thus far; however, it differs from them in its employment of quadruple meter. While its material does not derive from Dampierre’s *sonneries*, the presence of horns in F is enough to suggest hunting imagery in the context of another dance-like movement.

Again, this festive music differs drastically from the potentially lewd images suggested by a Chorus of Heathens in a brothel. Dean notices this discordance between the text and the music: “The brothel scene is delightful. There is nothing crude here; as in *Semele* and *Hercules*, Handel endows the heathen with siren songs based on the swing of the dance.”⁶¹⁸

The horn parts themselves are technically unremarkable. For example, the first horn part covers a range only of g^1 to g^2 , and the second horn part covers a range from only c^1 to e^2 . They are noteworthy for Handel’s continuing association of the horn with debauchery. Indeed, this pagan movement is more reminiscent than the other two discussed thus far of hunting’s association with profligacy and drunkenness.

⁶¹⁷ George Friedrich Händel, *Theodora: An Oratorio*, Words by Thomas Morell, input by Pierre Degott (Accessed 12 May 2006), <<http://operetta.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/theodora.htm>>.

⁶¹⁸ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 566.

Example 5.11. G. F. Handel, *Theodora* (HWV68, 1750), Act II, “Venus laughing from the skies,” mm. 1-7. Horns in F.⁶¹⁹

CHORUS. CHOR.

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system contains staves for Corno I, II, Oboe I, Oboe II, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Alto, Tenore, Basso, and Continuo. The second system contains the Pianoforte part. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *p* (piano) and *mf* (mezzo-forte). The Pianoforte part features a prominent bass line and a more active treble line. The vocal parts (Alto, Tenore, Basso) are mostly silent in this excerpt.

H. W. 8.

⁶¹⁹ *Theodora*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 8, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.11. G. F. Handel, *Theodora* (HWV68, 1750), Act II, “Venus laughing from the skies,” mm. 8-23. Horns in F.

104

Corno I & II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Piano/forte.

criso.

2a.

skies, will ap - plaud her vo - ta - ries; Ve - nus laugh - ing from the

Hörn, soll sich freun auf uns zu sehn; *Te - nus,* la - chend aus den

skies, will ap - plaud her vo - ta - ries; Ve - nus laugh - ing from the

2a.

H. W. S.

Handel does not employ horns and trumpets together in the same movement in *Theodora*; however, two trumpets participate in the Act I chorus “And draw a blessing down.” It is also sung by a Chorus of Heathens, yet the suggested imagery is entirely different:

And draw a blessing down,
On his imperial crown,
Who rules the world below.⁶²⁰

Not only does this movement employ both trumpets and timpani instead of horns, it is also made up of fanfare-like motives using dotted rhythms (Example 5.12). With its images of “blessings” descending from heaven, and an “imperial crown,” this text seems far more suitable to the instrument favored by church and state alike.

⁶²⁰ George Friedrich Händel, *Theodora: An Oratorio*, Words by Thomas Morell, input by Pierre Degott (Accessed 12 May 2006), <<http://operetta.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/theodora.htm>>.

Example 5.12. G. F. Handel, *Theodora* (HWV68, 1750), Act I, “And draw a blessing down,” mm. 1-8. Trumpets in D.⁶²¹

12

CHORUS. CHOR.

Tromba 1. II.

Timpani.

Violino I.

Oboe I.

Violino II.

Oboe II.

Viola.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

And
Und

And
Und

And
Und

And
Und

H. W. M.

⁶²¹ *Theodora*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 8, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

As eighteenth-century moralists noted, ancient Rome had good and bad qualities, the latter beginning with the reign of Julius Caesar. Trumpets and horns could be used to represent these different qualities. Dean has observed how:

Handel keeps the wind instruments for special purposes, generally associated with the Romans. Trumpets and drums reinforce the military element in their first chorus; horns confer geniality on the two others, 'For ever thus' and 'Venus laughing from the skies.' These instruments do not appear elsewhere.⁶²²

Thus, even though horns and trumpets participate in choruses sung by the Romans (or Heathens, as indicated in the libretto), they retain their symbolic associations nonetheless: the horns continue to be employed in celebratory pagan movements, and, even more than in *Athalia*, are associated with profligacy and debauchery.

Samson

The final work to be discussed in this chapter, the oratorio *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), is important for two reasons. First, Handel again uses the horns in connection with pagan festivities, and second, the horn parts themselves are technically interesting. He includes parts for horns in the opening sinfonia and in two choral movements.⁶²³ By contrast, two trumpets are utilized in three choral movements. This oratorio also contains the trumpet obbligato in the well-known air "Let the bright seraphim." The imagery associated with the two brass instruments is similar to that seen in *Athalia* and *Theodora*.

The opening sinfonia in G major begins as a French Overture with a slow section utilizing dotted rhythms, followed by a faster fugal section, and concluding with a minuet. All three sections employ two horns in G in addition to oboes, violins, viola, and

⁶²² Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 571.

⁶²³ Again, I am excluding the questionable Dead March.

bassi. Although Handel writes this music in the sharp key of G major, Dean states that the horns symbolize the presence of the Philistines: “The brilliant and difficult parts in the Overture also represent the Philistine element.”⁶²⁴ Thus, Handel deviates from his usual practice of writing pagan music in flat keys. Since the libretto sets the opening scene as “Before the Prison in Gaza. Samson, blind and in chains./Chorus of Priests of Dagon, celebrating his festival,”⁶²⁵ one assumes that Handel chose to employ horns in the bright key of G to evoke a festive atmosphere.⁶²⁶

Dean described the horn parts in the Overture as “difficult,” and indeed, they must have required two virtuosi to perform them well (Example 5.13). First, one notices that Handel abandons his operatic practice of limiting the horns’ use of the upper register in a high key. Even though Handel calls for horns in G, the first horn ascends to a written c^3 at least four times in the Allegro section. In mm. 28-29 the first horn approaches this pitch by a leap of a fourth and then plays a descending scale before resuming the florid *clarino* motives. In mm. 34-35 the first horn again approaches this pitch by a leap of a fourth, and then in mm. 41-42 repeats the same pattern seen in mm. 28-29, except for an extra flourish between the b^2 and c^3 . Although other horn parts in Handel’s operas and oratorios make use of these extreme upper pitches, this part is clearly one of the most difficult. There must have been a performer in London in the 1740s with an excellent command of this tessitura, because similar upper-register parts are seen again in the two choruses from *Semele* (HWV58, 1744) that employ horns; however, those parts would have been a little bit easier to play since they were written in the lower key of F major.

⁶²⁴ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 345.

⁶²⁵ Handel, *Samson: An Oratorio*. Words by Newburgh Hamilton. Input by input by Pierre Degott (Accessed 12 May 2006), <<http://operetta.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/samson.htm>>.

⁶²⁶ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 78.

Example 5.13. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Sinfonia, Allegro, mm. 1-9. Horns in G. This excerpt does not show the preceding fugal section or the concluding minuet.⁶²⁷

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system shows measures 1 through 9, with a tempo change from Adagio to Allegro. The instruments listed are Corno I.II., Violino I., Oboe I.II., Violino II., Viola, Bassi, and Pianoforte. The second system continues the music, showing measures 10 through 18. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'senza Rip.' and 'con Rip.'.

⁶²⁷ *Samson*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 10, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.13. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Sinfonia, Allegro, mm. 10-18.
Horns in G.

5

Corno I.II.

Violino I.
Oboe I.II.

Violino II.

Viola.

Bassi.

Pianoforte.

Obois... unis.

H. W. 10.

Example 5.13. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Sinfonia, Allegro, mm. 19-30. Horns in G.

6

Corno I. II.

Violino I.

Oboe I. II.

Violino II.

Viola.

Bassi.

Pianoforte.

Ob. I.

Viol.

Ob. II.

Viol.

Tutti.

Tutti.

B. W. 10.

Example 5.13. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Sinfonia, Allegro, mm. 31-41. Horns in G.

7

Corno I,II.

Violino I.

Oboe I,II.

Violino II.

Viola.

Bassi.

Pianoforte.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Viol. I.

Viol. II.

B.W. to.

Example 5.13. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Sinfonia, Allegro, mm. 42-46. Horns in G.

The image displays a musical score for the Sinfonia from Handel's *Samson*, measures 42-46, marked 'Adagio'. The score is written for a full orchestra, including Horns I & II, Violino I, Oboe I & II, Violino II, Viola, Bassi, and Pianoforte. The Horn I & II part is in G major, featuring a prominent G#2 and A2 in measure 36. The score is presented in a standard musical notation format, with staves for each instrument and a grand staff for the piano.

In terms of out-of-tune and non-series tones, both parts make use only of variations of the eleventh and thirteenth harmonics. Even so, this is one of the few movements in which Handel calls for a written $g^{\#2}$ as well as an a^2 . Both pitches are found in m. 36 in the first horn part.

Neither the first nor the second section of the Overture contains idiomatic hunting-horn music. The *clarino* parts in the second Allegro section could just as easily have been found in a mid-eighteenth century trumpet part. It is in the third section, the Minuet, where one finds Handel again combining dance-like and hunting-horn idioms through his employment of triple meter as well as the ubiquitous hunting-horn rhythm of an eighth and four sixteenth notes. Although the timbre of the horns is utilized in all three sections of the Overture, their employment in this third section is the most suggestive of the pagan celebrations they will accompany later in the oratorio.

Handel opens the work with a recitative for Samson followed by the chorus “Awake the trumpet’s lofty sound.” Although it is sung by a Chorus of Philistines,

Handel decided to use the trumpet and music associated with it because it was called for directly in the libretto:

Awake the trumpet's lofty sound!
The joyful sacred festival comes round,
When Dagon king of all the earth is crown'd.⁶²⁸

This is one of the few instances where trumpets are employed in a chorus sung by pagans, and although Handel used horns in movements in *Theodora* that also mention trumpets in the text, the image of King Dagon being crowned was far too indicative of trumpets for Handel not to have employed them. Handel completed the martial imagery by also calling for timpani and writing fanfare-like rhythmic figures in quadruple meter (Example 5.14). The sharp key of D major is also inconsistent with Handel's traditional relationship of pagans and flat keys; however, he already abandoned this procedure in the Overture. In addition, D major, associated with important royal events, is celebratory in its own way. Handel ends the oratorio with trumpets in D performing celebratory music sung by the Israelites, and thus it is likely he wanted to achieve symmetry by beginning and ending the oratorio in the same festive key.

Finally, Handel may have felt justified in using trumpets for a Philistine chorus since it was with Samson himself that the English public would identify. Smith has shown how political circumstances in England changed from the time Newburgh Hamilton completed the libretto of *Samson* in autumn 1741 and the oratorio premiered in February 1743. She notes:

The helpless Samson must have seemed all too vivid an image of the threatened British nation; and, as handled by Hamilton, the hero's revival offered the interested audience a very singular form of reassurance.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁸ Handel, *Samson: An Oratorio*. Words by Newburgh Hamilton. Input by Pierre Degott (Accessed August 2, 2006), <<http://operetta.stanford.edu/iu/libretti/samson.htm>>.

⁶²⁹ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 292.

Trumpets, even though they are associated with the British monarchy, could not be used in movements sung by a “helpless Samson.” When the text demands their presence, they are employed; however, it is at the end of the work—when the Israelites have triumphed over the Philistines—that trumpets participate in movements sung by the former group. Horns are noticeably absent.

Example 5.14. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Act I, “Awake the trumpet’s lofty sound,” mm. 7-12.⁶³⁰

The musical score is presented in two systems. The top system (mm. 7-12) is marked "senza Oboi." and the bottom system (mm. 13-18) is marked "con Oboi." The score includes parts for Tromba I. II., Timpani, Violino I., Violino II., Viola, Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso, Continuo, and Pianoforte. The vocal parts have the following lyrics:

Soprano: earth, of all the earth is crown'd,
Herrn, ge.krönt zum Herrn der Welt,

Alto: earth, of all the earth is crown'd,
Herrn, ge.krönt zum Herrn der Welt,

Tenore: earth, of all the earth is crown'd,
Herrn, ge.krönt zum Herrn der Welt,

Basso: earth, of all the earth is crown'd,
Herrn, ge.krönt zum Herrn der Welt,

English lyrics (Soprano/Alto/Tenore/Basso):
the sa-cred joy - - ful, joy - - - ful fes - ti-val comes round,
der hei-lig fro - he, fro - - - he Tag kehrt uns zu - rück,
the sa-cred joy - - ful, joy - - - ful fes - ti-val comes round,
der hei-lig fro - he, fro - - - he Tag kehrt uns zu - rück,

English lyrics (Soprano/Alto/Tenore/Basso):
a - wake, a - wake, a -
er - schallt, erschallt, er -

H. W. 10.

⁶³⁰ *Samson*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 10, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

The horns participate in two further celebratory heathen movements. They are found in the Act II chorus “To song and dance.” Sung by the Philistines, it has obvious connections to images portrayed in other pagan choruses:

To song and dance we give the day,
Which shows thy universal sway.
Protect us by thy mighty hand.
And sweep this race from out the land!⁶³¹

The text of the Act I chorus “Awake the trumpet’s lofty sound” practically demanded trumpets, even though it was sung by Philistines to celebrate their harvest festival. “To song and dance,” on the other hand, with its imagery of oblivious debauchery, is far more suited to the horn. Again, Handel writes for two horns in the sharp key of G and utilizes quadruple meter; however, the florid *clarino* music suggests even more strongly the unrestrained passions of the Philistines: as the florid melodies spin out of control, so do their morals (Example 5.15).

This chorus is one of three that ends Act II, the third of which, “Fix’d in his everlasting seat,” contains parts for two trumpets in D. In this movement, the Philistines and Israelites each proclaim their god to be supreme:

Fix'd in his everlasting seat,
Jehovah / Great Dagon rules the world in state.
His thunder roars, Heav'n shakes, and earth's aghast,
The stars with deep amaze,
Remain in stedfast gaze.
Jehovah / Great Dagon is of Gods the first and last.⁶³²

Again, this chorus, even though it is sung by both Philistines and Israelites, cries out for trumpets. The images of Jehovah, stars, and the thunderous roar of each god would not be captured appropriately by horns.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Ibid.

Example 5.15. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Act II, “To song and dance,” mm. 7-13. Horns in G.⁶³³

184

Corno I. II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola con Basso.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Piano.

to song and dance we give the day, to song and dance we give the

Zu Sang und Tanz sind wir be - reit, zu Sang und Tanz sind wir be -

to song and dance we give the day, to song and dance we give the

Zu Sang und Tanz sind wir be - reit, zu Sang und Tanz sind wir be -

day, we give the day, which shows thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, thy u - ni -

reit, sind wir be - reit am Tag der dei.nem Preis ge - weihet, der dei.nem

day, we give the day, which shows thy u - ni - ver - sal sway,

reit, sind wir be - reit am Tag der dei.nem Preis ge - weihet,

con 5/8

H. W. 10.

⁶³³ *Samson*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 10, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

Example 5.15. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Act II, "To song and dance," mm. 14-19. Horns in G.

190

Corno I. II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola con Basso.

Soprano.

Alto.

Tenore.

Basso.

Continuo.

Pianoforte.

ver - sal
Preis ge -

thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, which shows thy u - ni - ver - sal
der dei - nem Preis ge - weicht, am Tag der dei - nem Preis ge -

thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, which shows thy u - ni - ver - sal
der dei - nem Preis ge - weicht, am Tag der dei - nem Preis ge -

thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, which shows
der dei - nem Preis ge - weicht, am Tag

sway, which shows thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, which
weicht, am Tag der dei - nem Preis ge - weicht, am

sway, which shows thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, which
weicht, am Tag der dei - nem Preis ge - weicht, der dei - nem Preis ge - weicht, am

thy u - ni - ver - sal sway, which
der dei - nem Preis ge - weicht, am

cu. N. 12. u. W. 10.

The horns are employed to signify sensational pagan celebrations once again in the Act III chorus “Great Dagon has subdued our foe.” Handel uses horns in this movement not only because they are associated with the Philistines but also, and perhaps more importantly in the case of *Samson*, because the text makes specific references to wine:

Great Dagon has subdu'd our foe.
And brought their boasted hero low:
Sound out his pow'r in notes divine
Praise him with mirth, high cheer and wine.⁶³⁴

At first glance, this movement seems similar to the pagan choruses from *Athalia* and *Theodora* in that it combines both dance-like and hunting-horn idioms (Example 5.16). Written in triple meter, it is permeated with the hunting-horn rhythmic motive first seen in *Radamisto*. Handel uses this figure for programmatic purposes. For example, in m. 51 the horns perform this figure in fifths on a single repeated note (*d'* in the first horn and *g'* in the second horn). They perform it again in thirds and then in fifths in mm. 53 and 55. Each figure is preceded by the chorus singing the words “sound out his pow'r,” and therefore the hunting-horn figure is indicative of the power of Dagon.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

Example 5.16. G. F. Handel, *Samson* (HWV57, 1743), Act III, “Great Dagon has subdu’d our foe,” mm. 42-56. Horns in G.⁶³⁵

239

Corno I.II.
Oboe I.II.
Violino I.
Violino II. *con Rip.*
Viola.
Soprano.
Alto.
Tenore.
Basso.
Continuo. *con Rip.*
Pianoforte.

sound out his pow'r in notes di vine, praise him with mirth, high cheer and
laut singt ihn Preis, stimmt freu.dig ein, und jauchzend bringt Frucht ihm und
sound out his pow'r in notes di vine, praise him with mirth, high cheer and
laut singt ihn Preis, stimmt freu.dig ein, und jauchzend bringt Frucht ihm und

H. W. 10.

⁶³⁵ *Samson*, G. F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft, vol. 10, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1858-1902).

On the other hand, “Great Dagon” differs from the other pagan choruses discussed thus far in its choice of key: although Handel writes for horn in G, the movements is in the key of E minor. The horns’ participation in a minor mode movement is extraordinary in and of itself, and Handel’s use of the relative major key in their parts is an effective way of allowing them to participate. Indeed, although the music undergoes further modulations, when the horns initially enter the musical texture in m. 38, the music has modulated to G major.

It is strange that Handel would place a festive movement celebrating the value of drinking a prodigious amount of wine in the minor mode. Dean was also puzzled by this problem and offered the following solutions:

The Philistine air and chorus ‘Great Dagon has subdued our foe’ revert to the manner of the Act II finale. The choice of key, E minor, is odd for so cheerful an occasion. Handel may have meant to convey the fact that the music is sung ‘at a distance,’ or the idea of disaster casting its shadow head, or a simple contrast with the D major exuberance of the previous Israelite chorus; or perhaps a compound of all three.⁶³⁶

I would agree that the key of E minor was used to suggest the unfortunate fate of the Philistines.

The last two movements of the work, the air “Let the bright Seraphim” and the chorus “Let their celestial concerts all unite,” are both for Israelites and therefore employ trumpets. Even though Handel utilized trumpets in pagan movements, they are predominantly associated with Biblical Israel and therefore contemporary Britain. In this context, it is interesting to note that Milton’s *Samson Agonistes*, after which Newburgh Hamilton derived his libretto for *Samson*, was used by eighteenth-century authors as

⁶³⁶ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios*, 342.

support for this metaphor. Smith quotes one prebendary who likens Samson to William III and the Philistines to England's Catholic oppressors.⁶³⁷

Trumpets are associated with Biblical Israel, then, even if the text of a particular pagan movement demands their usage. Horns without trumpets, though, are consistently used for pagan music dealing with festivities, usually of a debauched nature. It is interesting in this context to note again Handel's refusal to portray the heathens in an unfavorable light, even when his librettist does. The chorus "To song and dance" could have been written very differently, especially if Handel had chosen to emphasize the brutality inherent in the final line "And sweep this race from out the land!"

Handel's contemporaries seem to have been aware of his partiality. For example, Charles Jennens, in a pique over what he perceived as Handel's neglect of his oratorio, *Messiah*, pointed out in a letter of 1743 to Edward Holdsworth that Handel seemed to prefer pagan gods to Christian ones:

I don't yet despair of making him retouch the Messiah, at least he shall suffer for his negligence; nay I am inform'd that he has suffer'd for he told Ld Guernsey, that a letter I wrote him about it contributed to the bringing of his last illness upon him; & it is reported that being a little delirious with a Fever, he said he should be damn'd for preferring Dagon (a Gentlemen he was very complaisant to in the Oratorio of Samson) before the Messiah. This shews that I gall'd him: but I have not done with him yet.⁶³⁸

In some ways, this letter reveals more about Jennens than it does about Handel.

Regardless, Jennens recognized that Handel wrote attractive music for the Philistines in *Samson* and was troubled by this fact.

⁶³⁷ Smith, *Handel's Oratorios*, 215.

⁶³⁸ "Chronology of George Frideric Handel's Life, Compositions, and his Times: 1739-1759," (Update December 27, 2000; Accessed August 13, 2006), <<http://www.gfhandel.org>>.

Heathen Choruses: Conclusion

Thus, hunting symbolism plays a large role in the horn parts in Handel's oratorios. In the eighteenth century, hunting was associated with many images, including but not limited to the aristocracy, festivities, unrestrained passion and consequent tyranny, general immoderation, dimwittedness, pagan ritual, and the Catholic enemy, France. Handel did not employ all these images in his horn music, though the fact that he consistently uses the horns in celebratory and insalubrious choral movements sung by pagans derives from many of these associations.

On the other hand, the trumpet, as a symbol of British royalty, was generally associated with biblical Israel, of which eighteenth-century Britain was the modern incarnation. In both *Theodora* and *Samson*, Handel uses trumpets in movements sung by pagans; however, the texts of these particular movements contain military or other imagery that makes trumpets necessary. In all other cases, the instrument represents the supremacy of eighteenth-century England.

CHAPTER 6

HORN PLAYERS IN HANDEL'S OPERAS AND ORATORIOS

The names of musicians who performed in Handel's operas and oratorios have eluded scholars for some time. Many authors are pessimistic when it comes to investigations regarding eighteenth-century orchestral musicians in London. In his article "Making a Living in the Pit: The Career of Thomas Rawlings" Graydon Beeks explains why it would be important to discuss in detail the career of this eighteenth-century violinist:

It would be appropriate to say a few words about why the life and career of Thomas Rawlings might be of interest. He was, after all, not a composer or publisher or even arranger. Nor was he a renowned solo performer. He was, rather, a minor professional violinist whose documented career lasted from 1719 to his death in 1767, and was spent largely in the orchestra pit of London theaters owned by John Rich and his successors.

It turns out that much of Thomas Rawlings' career corresponds to the English career of George Frideric Handel . . . what is even more interesting is that we know very little about how rank-and-file musicians in London—especially English-born musicians—made a living during precisely the period of Rawlings' career.⁶³⁹

Therefore, Beeks thinks it worthwhile to discuss a minor eighteenth-century musician simply because we know so little about these "rank-and-file" performers. As we have seen, very few orchestral rosters have come down to us today. If finding information

⁶³⁹ Graydon Beeks, "Making a Living in the Pit: The Career of Thomas Rawlings," *Händel-Jahrbuch* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), 49: 223.

about minor eighteenth-century violin players seems difficult, then finding information about eighteenth-century horn players must seem even more so.

Thus, authors such as R. Morley-Pegge have stated:

Of the players of the first half of the 18th century we know little beyond a few names for, unlike dramatic criticism which was flourishing, musical criticism both in England and on the continent was practically non-existent.⁶⁴⁰

Horace Fitzpatrick takes a similar stance: “Indeed, virtually nothing is known about Handel’s horn-players, and apart from a shadowy Mr. Winch no actual names have come to light.”⁶⁴¹ Finally, Simon McVeigh notes that “the [horn players in concerts] remain unidentified until the rise of the modern concerto around 1770.”⁶⁴²

Skepticism notwithstanding, I would maintain that we do know not only the names of some of these performers but also significant biographical information about them. After examining newspaper advertisements, probate records, online databases, and other sources, I have assembled a list of prominent horn players from the first half of the eighteenth century (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Names of horn players active in London and/or Dublin in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Name	Approximate Dates of Activity
George Wade	1723
Mr. China	1724
Anthony Uhl	1725-d. 1737
Mr. Keller	1727

⁶⁴⁰ R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique*, 2nd ed. (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973), 85.

⁶⁴¹ Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing and the Austro-Bohemian Tradition From 1680 to 1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 69.

⁶⁴² Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 88.

Table 6.1—*Continued.*

John Anthony (?)	1727-1728
Mr. Anthony	1727-1733
Mr. Cheney	1727-1739
Henry Rash	1727-d. 1763
John Bennet	1728 – 1740s(?)
Joachim Frederic Creta	1729
Anthony Cook	1729-1733
Mr. Charles, Sen.	1733-1756
Mr. Charles, Jun.	1746 - ?
Mr. Mason	1733
Frederick Messing (I)	1734- ?
Christopher Winch	1736 – d. 1759(?)
Cato	1738-?
Frederick Messing (II)	b. 1726-d. 1769
Mr. Stroud	1747
Mr. Baker	1747
Mr. Andrews	1748 –
John Weitzenmüller	1748-d. 1784
John Clark	1751 -
James Forster	1751 -
Joseph Troba/Trova/Trowa	1752 -

As one can see, we have far more names than just “the shadowy Mr. Winch.” Some of these performers, such as Mr. Stroud and Mr. Baker, appear in only a single newspaper advertisement; however, soloists such as Mr. Charles and Frederick Messing (I and II) have documented performing careers that stretch over decades.

In what follows I will discuss each player individually, beginning with the players for whom I have found very little information and ending with players for whom I have found a great deal of information. Some of the genealogical research has been noted previously by other scholars. For example, Nat Alcock investigated extensively the records of the Messing family. Even so, I am confident that I am the first person to have found wills and other documents for many of these performers. The introduction of

online databases has made this task easier, but the records have remained unexamined nonetheless.

In the course of my research, I have found some notable surprises that I think will change the way we view horn players in England in the first half of the eighteenth century. As noted previously, many scholars have suggested that the horn players in Handel's orchestras were nothing more than trumpet doublers. While eighteenth-century horn players such as Anthony Uhl and John Weitzenmüller were trumpeters who also performed on the horn, not all the musicians in this chapter fall into this category. Mr. Charles, for example, performed extensively on the horn and woodwind instruments such as the clarinet. Most surprising, however, are performers such as Frederick Messing (II) and Christopher Winch, both of whom worked as horn players while maintaining occupations in non-musical fields. Indeed, Messing's will indicates that he considered his work as a stationer, and not as a musician, to have been his primary occupation.

We have seen that immigrants from German-speaking areas would have been prohibited from learning to play the trumpet in their homeland. In addition, horn-playing in England derived from a separate tradition than that of the trumpet, regardless of the instruments' shared technique. These factors undoubtedly influenced the career choices of the musicians in this chapter, resulting in a wide variety of solutions to the problem of earning a living in a highly competitive environment. Various answers to this problem are evident in the lives of the players discussed below.

**Mr. Stroud, Mr. Baker, Mr. Keller,
Mr. Cheney, and Mr. Bennet**

These five players occur in one or two references only, and therefore we have very little information about them. Indeed, I have found only one reference for Mr. Stroud and Mr. Baker. According to Philip H. Highfill *et al.*: “Mr Stroud and Mr Baker played French horns between the acts at the Goodman’s Fields Theater on 24 March 1747.”⁶⁴³

Regarding Mr. Cheney and Mr. Keller, they performed along with Mr. Anthony and Mr. Rash in the Lord Mayor’s Day royal entertainment in 1727.⁶⁴⁴ The list of instrumentalists from the 1727 performance includes the note: “The performers are all from the Opera and both Theatres and the Musick Composed by M^r Hendell &c.”⁶⁴⁵ We have seen that at least two of these four horn players were probably involved in Handel’s opera *Ademto re di Tessaglia* (HWV22, 1727). While Keller does not appear in any concert advertisements from this period, Cheney seems to have been respected enough to have had his own benefit concert at the Swan Tavern in March 1739:

For the Benefit of Mr. Cheney. At the Swan Tavern in Cornhill, on Monday next, will be performe’d a CONCERT of MUSICK. Particularly some Pieces with four French Horns, never perform’d before. To begin exactly at Seven o’Clock. Tickets to be had at the Bar of the Tavern at 5s. each.⁶⁴⁶

It would be interesting to know who the other three horn players were who performed with Cheney at this concert. We should note that by 1739, all the major soloists that we will encounter in this chapter were active in London. This fact is important for two

⁶⁴³ Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 14: 323.

⁶⁴⁴ Donald Burrows, “Handel’s London Theater Orchestra,” *Early Music* 13, no. 3 (1985): 354-355.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁶ *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser*, Tuesday, March 18, 1739-40, Vol. 347B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

reasons: (1) Cheney may have performed this benefit concert with some of these more well-known players, and (2) he was a good enough player to remain active while they began their careers. Neither Cheney nor Keller, however, appears either in Highfill or in other sources.

Finally, John Bennet is also listed in only one or two references.⁶⁴⁷ Trumpeter John Grano mentions Bennet in his diary within an important passage that lists four of the horn players I will discuss in this chapter:

Thursday Morn, the 7th of August [1729]

When I got in the Hay Market call'd in at Rudd's Coffee House where I saw Mr Rochetti, who told me he was forced to leave Tunbridge [as] old Mrs Chambers was so insolent to Him. From thence, understanding **Rash** and **Anthony** the two professors of French Horns, were at Keaton in Yorkshire, I went towards Cook's Coffee House in Bury Street, but Meeting Mr Kystell the Hautboy He told me that one **Mr Witch** who keeps a Coffee House by St James's Church would do my Business. Accordingly I went there and found the Man a very Civiliz'd, good Nature[d] Fellow, so engag'd Him and gave Him directions to get a Comrade and call of me at my FATHER's the Moment He was ready. In about 3 Quarts. of an Hour He came to me accordingly and brought with Him one **Bennet** for a Comrade. Then I took a Coach and went with them, but desiring they would gets [sic] some Musick we call'd in Jermyn Street for some . . . When had got some Musick we proceed[ed] towards Skinners' Hall where we were to Perform in Favour of the Grocers' Company.⁶⁴⁸

Therefore, the horn player Mr. Witch brought along Bennet to perform with him at Skinners' Hall. John Ginger notes: "Bennet, John: horn player, organist and teacher of harpsichord; associated with Drury Lane Theater."⁶⁴⁹ This reference to John Bennet provides no indication that he was a doubler on the trumpet and horn. Instead he seems to have played the horn and keyboard instruments.

⁶⁴⁷ His name seems to be spelled as either "Bennet" or "Bennett," depending on the source.

⁶⁴⁸ John Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano*, ed. John Ginger (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1998), 303. Boldface Added.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 338.

Betty Matthews, in her list of the members of the Royal Society of Musicians, lists a “John Bennett” (?1725-30-1784) as an organist at St. Dionis, Backchurch, from 1752-1784 and as a viola player in the Queen’s Band in 1763.⁶⁵⁰ Highfill also mentions a John Bennet who appears to have been active between the 1740s and early 1770s. Highfill quotes from a number of sources, including a manuscript memoir of Charles Burney’s in the British Museum, Mortimer’s *London Directory* (1763), and *Grove* to describe Bennet’s activities. According to these sources, Bennet was a member of the Drury Lane pit band around 1748, a tenor player in the Queen’s Band,⁶⁵¹ as well as an organist and teacher on the harpsichord around the year 1763, and the first bandmaster of the Band of the Royal Regiment of Artillery (1762), respectively.⁶⁵²

It may be that this John Bennet/Bennett was the son of John Bennet the horn player, who was active in the 1720s. On the other hand, if Bennet was still active as a member of the Drury Lane pit band in the 1740s, then Highfill’s description of John Bennett could also include the late career of his father. These threads need to be untangled, but it seems likely there were two musicians named John Bennet in the eighteenth century, one active in the early part of the century as a horn player, organist, and harpsichordist, and one active later in the century as a viola player, organist, and harpsichord teacher.

⁶⁵⁰ Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians List of Members 1738-1984* (London: The Royal Society of Musicians, 1985), 22.

⁶⁵¹ Highfill *et al.* states that the term “Tenor” refers to a “horn player”; however, it is more likely that this term refers to the viola. *Biographical Dictionary*, 2: 34.

⁶⁵² Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 2: 34.

Joachim Frederic Creta

Morley-Pegge and Fitzpatrick both mention a traveling horn player named Joachim Frederic Creta. Although he spent a limited amount of time in London, his unusual performance is worthy of mention. Morley-Pegge tells us:

Among the few [horn players] whose names broke through the anonymity of mere orchestra lists are two with the unusual accomplishment of playing two French horns at once. The first of these was Joachim Friedrich Creta, who, at a concert in London in 1729, was announced 'to blow the first and second treble on two French horns in the same manner as is usually done by two performers.'⁶⁵³

Fitzpatrick adds to this picture:

As regards the Bohemian virtuosi and concert-horn-players, on the other hand, written record for the first third of the century is meagre indeed. After the appearance of Pepusch's 'young Hautboys' in 1704 there is a puzzling absence of horn-players from the concert bills and journals until 1729, when the Bohemian virtuoso and one-man duettist, Joachim Friedrich Creta, arrives from Hamburg . . . There is a gap of twenty-five years between Pepusch's horn-players and Creta.⁶⁵⁴

We have seen that Fitzpatrick is only partially correct. For example, Mr. China performed his sonata in 1724. Regardless, Creta was a traveling musician and not likely to have been a regular member of Handel's orchestras. Before arriving in London, Creta had given a similarly odd performance in Hamburg. Apparently, these peculiar duets were not very lucrative. Fitzpatrick observes how Mattheson writes in his *Musicalischer Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728) that:

Here in Hamburg we have just witnessed the fact that honest Creta (who blew two horns at once) was able to rake together seven Thalers in the Drill-House concert; and in the second, secretly abetted by his friends, he conquered just enough to pay for his quarters and pack his bags in peace. Thus does Art earn bread, my dear Patriot!⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵³ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 85.

⁶⁵⁴ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 75-76.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 99.

Somehow he must have managed to scrape enough money together to make his way to London for his 1729 performance. Since it is unlikely that this traveling *duettist* was a regular member of Handel's orchestras, I will move on to other horn players.⁶⁵⁶

Anthony Cook

The earliest reference concerning Cook is a concert advertisement quoted by Ginger in his list of individuals mentioned in Grano's diary. In Ginger's entry for "Cook, Anthony," he states that "a piece for the harpsichord by Mr Cook' was performed at the benefit for Mr Leneker and Mrs Smith at Hickford's on 16 February 1719."⁶⁵⁷ Grano notes his own meeting with Cook in May 1729. On the 29th of that month he recorded:

Waited of Mr Fleetwood who receiv'd me very kindly, met **Anthony Cook** the French Horn. Got into the Barges by 8, went up the River, sounded pretty much, got above Chelsea, put in at the Swan where we were Elegantly Entertain'd with the Sight of 3 fine Ladies, one of which Sang like an Angel; a pretty Supper, some excellent Wine, and beyond all, courteous usage from Mr Fleetwood and the whole Company. We left the Swan about 2 in the Morning, got to the White Hall Stairs in about 3—where we received Thanks and I, in particular, was Graciously treated and a fee or Gratuity of two Guineas put into my Hand.⁶⁵⁸

Cook, therefore, performs in a concert on a barge with Grano. It is interesting to note that Grano received a payment of two Guineas for this performance, yet he does not record Cook's payment except to suggest that it was less than his.⁶⁵⁹ Even so, both performers

⁶⁵⁶ Apparently a contemporary of Creta's, Beda performed similarly odd duets. In *The Horn and Horn-Playing* Fitzpatrick relates how Beda was paid at Cöthen for such a performance (99). According to Morley-Pegge, a M. Ernst performed in the same manner in Paris twenty years later. A concert reporter for the *Mercure de France* wrote: "A German, M. Ernst, played single-handed a concerto for two horns, a novelty that proved more curious than pleasing." *The French Horn*, 85. The content of these performances remains elusive.

⁶⁵⁷ Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 339.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 262.

⁶⁵⁹ According to Ginger, Thomas Fleetwood was a "member of freemasons' lodge at the Horn Tavern, Westminster; prominent in Masonic processions and celebrations in the mid-1730s; and from 1734 owned a share in the Drury Lane patent." Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 342.

appear to have received dinner at the Swan Tavern and enjoyed the festivities there until 2 A.M.

Cook also seems to have performed with Christopher Winch in John Frederick Lampe's production of Henry Fielding's musical farce, *The Mock Doctor*, in March 1733. Along with eleven other instrumentalists, Cook received £3 5s. for his performance on March 20.⁶⁶⁰ In addition to *The Mock Doctor*, Lampe's group performed *The Beggar's Opera* on two nights, as well as George Lillo's tragedy, *The London Merchant*. All the performances were paired with the afterpiece *Love Runs All Dangers*. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume suggest not only that the orchestra may have been the outstanding feature of these endeavors but also that the irregular schedule used for the performances resulted from the necessity of avoiding conflicts with the Italian opera.⁶⁶¹ Handel's oratorio, *Deborah*, premiered on March 17, 1733, at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket,⁶⁶² and Milhous and Hume remind us that he used about seventy-five musicians for his production.⁶⁶³ Unusually, *Deborah* required three horns. In addition to performing for Lampe's productions, Cook may have been a member of Handel's orchestra.

The only other advertisement I was able to find mentioning Cook appears to confirm this hypothesis. According to the advertisement, he performed in a benefit concert for the singer Gustavus Waltz in February 1735:

⁶⁶⁰ Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, "J. F. Lampe and English Opera at the Little Haymarket in 1732-3," *Music & Letters* 78, no. 4 (November 1997): 516, 519.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Anthony Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 15 May 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁶⁶³ Milhous and Hume, "J. F. Lampe," 519.

CONCERT.

MUSIC. Vocal by Waltz. Instrumental by Opera Masters. Flute by Hagan, French Horn by Anthony Uhl and Cook.

COMMENT. Benefit Waltz, Singer in Mr Handel's Operas. 6 P.M. 5s.⁶⁶⁴

The phrase "Instrumental by Opera Masters" suggests that Cook was a member of Handel's opera orchestra, as does his employment in an opera singer's benefit concert. In addition, Ginger had given Cook's name as "Anthony." Perhaps the advertisement prints the first name for Anthony Uhl only, since both Uhl and Cook share the same first name.

In any case, it is clear that Cook was a prominent musician in the 1720s and 1730s in London. Not only does he appear to have been a member of Handel's orchestra but also he performed with notable horn players whom I will discuss later in this chapter: Christopher Winch and Anthony Uhl. Further research is necessary to reveal details of Anthony Cook's life and career.

Mr. Andrews

Mr. Andrews was a horn player active in both London and Dublin. The first reference I have found for him dates from January 1748 and concerns a benefit concert for himself that took place in Dublin. The advertisement simply states that he will "play pieces for the French horn."⁶⁶⁵ By 1749 he was in London, for *The General Advertiser* on April 22 of that year states: "Mr. ANDREWS will perform a Solo on the French Horn, between the Parts of the Concert" at a benefit for "Mr. MASCIN."⁶⁶⁶

He seems to have returned to Dublin by 1752, performing in a benefit concert for himself at the Crow Street Theatre in March. In this concert, he played a solo piece for

⁶⁶⁴ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 463.

⁶⁶⁵ Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar: 1700-1760* (Dublin: Kill Lane, Blackrock, Co., 1988), 114.

⁶⁶⁶ *The General Advertiser*, Saturday, April 22, 1749, Vol. 431B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

horn, concertos and duets with Mr. Leander, and a concerto for four French horns. This last piece was “by particular Desire.” It seems that there was also a ball after the concert, which opened with a “Grand new Minuet of French Horns.”⁶⁶⁷

Andrews appears to have stayed in Dublin after his move in 1752, for his name appears in a great number of advertisements throughout the 1750s for concerts in that city. Unlike the London press at this time,⁶⁶⁸ Dublin advertisements frequently list horn music as well as the names of the corresponding horn players. Andrews’s name is cited often along with his colleagues Mr. Clarke, Mr. Forster, Mr. George, M’Kenny, and Mr. Wensel. One unusually detailed advertisement from 1753 actually lists the names of all four horn players who will reputedly perform “a Concerto for 4 French Horns—Mr Andrews, Mr Clark, Mr Forster & Mr Wensel.” Unfortunately, this concerto does not seem to have occurred, because a separate advertisement states that instead of the “Concerto for 4 French Horns,” there will be “Several favourite Concertos on the French Horns by Mr Clark and Mr Forster.”⁶⁶⁹ Why this grand concerto did not occur is a mystery.

We shall see that at least two notable horn players immigrated temporarily to Dublin. That Andrews chose to stay is interesting. His colleagues, John Clark and James Forster, were both admitted to the “BAND OF CITY MUSIC” as of January 17, 1751, along with George Wade, whose original appointment dates from 1723, making Wade the first known horn player in my entire list.⁶⁷⁰ Clark, Forster, and Leander all appear frequently in Dublin newspaper advertisements with Andrews, though their careers

⁶⁶⁷ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 163.

⁶⁶⁸ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 88.

⁶⁶⁹ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 183.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

technically cover a period of time beyond the bounds of this study. For example, a “Mr. Leander” is listed as one of the horn players in the 1784 Handel Commemoration.⁶⁷¹ Therefore, I shall move on to horn players who may have performed Handel’s music during his lifetime.

Mr. Anthony

Anthony may have been a black musician. While this circumstance might seem surprising today, black musicians in general and black brass players in particular were relatively common in early eighteenth-century England. Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina notes that in the eighteenth century black musicians “had become *de rigueur* in English military and domestic orchestras and bands,” though large numbers of free black men in England were also students and sailors.⁶⁷² In addition, Kirstin Olsen asserts that free black men were often employed as boxers, musicians, authors, sailors, and entrepreneurs.⁶⁷³ This small range of possible professions for free blacks resulted directly from discrimination. For example, in 1731 the Lord Mayor issued a proclamation in which black men were forbidden from learning trades.⁶⁷⁴

Society’s acceptance of black men as musicians must have resulted from the pervasive association of musicians with servants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have seen that domestic servants such as footmen and grooms could also serve as musicians in large eighteenth-century households. In a society that was more

⁶⁷¹ *Handelania*, Foundling Museum, London.

⁶⁷² Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 5.

⁶⁷³ Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th-Century England* (Westport; London: Greenwood Press, 1999), 29.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

concerned with social station than with color, whether that servant-musician was white or black probably seemed irrelevant.

Unlike their white counterparts, however, black servant-musicians could be slaves as well as free. One of the most famous of these slave servant-musicians was Cato, whom the Earl of Chesterfield gave to the Prince and Princess of Wales upon their arrival at Cliefden House in the summer of 1738 to celebrate the birth of George III. Cato was described as “his Black” and reputed to “blow the best French Horn and Trumpet in England.”⁶⁷⁵ Previous to his “employment” with the Earl of Chesterfield, Cato served Robert Walpole. He seems to have been highly regarded by the Prince, who made him head gamekeeper first at Cliefden and then at Richmond Park.⁶⁷⁶

Cato, like many other male black slaves in eighteenth-century England, may have been bought initially to serve as a black page to a “lady of quality.” These young pages served as useless and as decorative a function as their mistresses did. They were dressed in expensive, elaborate, and colorful livery, along with silver padlocked collars and feathered turbans.⁶⁷⁷ Indeed, an engraving of Cato reprinted in J. P. Hore’s *The History of the Royal Buckhounds* shows the musician holding a French horn while wearing just such a feathered turban.⁶⁷⁸

If Cato had originally been engaged by the Walpole household to serve as a page to the lady of the house, he would have been expected to perform the following “tasks”:

It was the duty of the little negro boy, in the service of the lady of quality in the last century, to attend his mistress’ person and tea-table, to carry her

⁶⁷⁵ J. P. Hore, *The History of the Royal Buckhounds* (Issued by the Compiler (His Publishers Having “Taken the Knock”) at High Street, Newmarket, 1895), 321; see also Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 75-76; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 75.

⁶⁷⁶ Hore, *The History of the Royal Buckhounds*, 321.

⁶⁷⁷ Gerzina, *Black London*, 16.

⁶⁷⁸ Hore, *The History of the Royal Buckhounds*, 322.

train as she moved to and fro, to take charge of her fan and smelling-salts, to feed her parrots, and to comb her lap-dogs.⁶⁷⁹

Many of these young black pages were shipped off to certain death in the West Indies when they reached puberty and could no longer serve as useful “fashion accessories.”⁶⁸⁰ One cannot help but wonder how Cato escaped such a brutal fate, and I suspect it was his ability to perform well on the trumpet and horn, among other skills, that kept him in London. It seems that lucky pages like Cato were sometimes apprenticed or turned into faithful family retainers.⁶⁸¹

Many of the “free” members of the black community also worked in London as musicians. One need only glance through eighteenth-century newspaper advertisements to see the prominence of black performers. One particularly well-known trumpeter from the first half of the eighteenth century was William Douglas. A student of John Grano, he appears frequently in advertisements as the “Black Prince” or simply as “Prince.” The following advertisements will serve as examples:

For the Benefit of Mr. William Douglas, commonly called the Black Prince, A Scholar of Mr. Grano.⁶⁸²

For the Benefit of Mr. William Douglas, commonly call'd the Black Prince.⁶⁸³

For the Benefit of William Douglas, commonly called Prince.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁷⁹ Gerzina, *Black London*, 15-16. C. H. Baker and Muriel I. Baker note that in the household of the Duke of Chandos, David Ockra, a black boy, “attended on her Grace” and “was attached to their [kitchen] table, presumably as a waiter.” One wonders, however, if he, like Cato, was one of the Duke’s horn players. *The Life and Circumstances of James Brydges: First Duke of Chandos Patron of the Liberal Arts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 175.

⁶⁸⁰ Gerzina, *Black London*, 53.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸² *The Daily Courant*, Saturday, March 17, 1719, Vol. 194B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

⁶⁸³ *The Daily Courant*, Saturday, February 20, 1720, Vol. 199B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

⁶⁸⁴ *The Daily Courant*, Saturday, February 22, 1724, Vol. 238B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

Douglas appears to have had a successful career. In addition to performing frequently as a trumpet soloist, he found employment at the court of King George II until 1754, first as a member of the 4th Troop, Horse Guards, and then as a member of the 2nd Troop, Life Guards.⁶⁸⁵

Anthony, who also may have been a black musician, is found in two definitive references. First, along with Mr. Cheney, Mr. Keller, and Mr. Rash, Mr. Anthony performed at the Lord Mayor's Day royal entertainment in 1727. As noted previously, the list of musicians for that performance explains that many of them performed in the opera orchestra.⁶⁸⁶ Second, Anthony, along with Rash, appeared in a benefit concert for the violin player Carbonell at Hickford's Room in April 1733. At this concert, they performed in a concerto for "two Hautboys and two French Horns, composed by Carbonell."⁶⁸⁷

There may be some connection between the horn player Mr. Anthony of these two events and the John Anthony who came to take trumpet lessons with John Grano while the latter was imprisoned in the Marshalsea prison.⁶⁸⁸ Ginger describes this student:

Anthony, John: "the Tawny Moor": Grano's mixed-race pupil, subsequently engaged as ship's trumpeter. (*Mr Anthony*, professor of the French Horn, had played at the Lord Mayor's Day royal entertainment in the City in 1727; he appeared also at Hickford's Room on 20 April 1733).⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁵ Peggy Ellen Daub, "Music at the Court of George II (r. 1727-1760)," (PhD diss, Cornell University, 1985), 331.

⁶⁸⁶ Burrows, "Handel's London Theater Orchestra," 354-355.

⁶⁸⁷ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 290-291. According to Highfill *et al.*, Giovanni Steffano Carbonelli (c. 1700-1772) was a "violinist, band leader, and composer" in eighteenth-century London. *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 54-55.

⁶⁸⁸ Grano kept of diary during his imprisonment in the Marshalsea in 1728 and 1729. Ginger notes that he records teaching three students while imprisoned there, including John Anthony, D. Corbett, and "an unidentified black servant of General Evans." The fact that two of the three trumpeters seeking lessons were black individuals confirms the prevalence of black brass players in early eighteenth-century London. Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 39.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 337.

Grano's descriptions of Anthony in his diary suggest that while there may have been a connection between Professor Anthony and John Anthony, they are not the same individuals.

The first entry concerning John Anthony in the diary dates from August 12, 1728, when Anthony's mother comes to the prison to ask Grano to teach her son:

Monday, the 12th of August

When Stood erect before me a tall, venerable Woman who made me a decent curtesy and said she had brought me a Cordial. Not knowing who She was I told her Thank God I had no Occasion for any; but she told me I must have some, and that it was of her own making. Then I ask[ed] her who She was, to which she reply'd, Don't You Know, Sir, that tawney-moor Trumpeter, the Black's Son? – I am his Mother, and I beg you would instruct him as much as You can to make him a brave man. So She left me in Possession of a Pint of an excellent Cordial and a Black Book to put some Musick in for her Son.⁶⁹⁰

From this entry one learns that while Anthony's father was a black man, Anthony's mother may have been white. She asks Grano: "Don't You Know, Sir, that tawney-moor Trumpeter, the Black's Son"? Given that Anthony is "the Black's Son," the phrase "tawney-moor" may describe a person of mixed heritage.

Mixed-race marriages seem to have been fairly common and generally accepted in eighteenth-century England as long as they occurred among the lower classes.⁶⁹¹ Indeed, Olsen states that while black people at this time "met with limited tolerance," marriages between black men and white women were considered acceptable specifically because no class boundaries were crossed.⁶⁹² These marriages, a necessity for black men, resulted from the fact that they were imported in large numbers as children to serve as pages to upper class women and therefore as adults outnumbered black women by a large

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., 70.

⁶⁹¹ Gerzina, *Black London*, 21.

⁶⁹² Olsen, *Daily Life*, 29.

margin.⁶⁹³ Given these circumstances, Anthony and musicians like Anthony were probably fairly common in early eighteenth-century England.

Furthermore, Anthony's mother's question to Grano indicates that she expects Grano to know her son already. Like Ginger, one might look for some connection between Grano's pupil and the Mr. Anthony who performed with him at the Lord Mayor's Day entertainment; however, descriptions both of Anthony's performances and the horn player himself in the diary suggest that his pupil was not an experienced performer:

Tuesday, the 5th of November [1728]
After Supper we went into the Court House which look'd very Well, and indeed cost me some trouble to put in Order. We danc'd away sans ceremony and I chose for Partenor Miss Brown. The poor fellow of this place who play'd to us was so very Ill that he could hardly touch a Note in Tune and as for the Tauny he did not seem us'd to such Business, therefore we sent for a Hautboy to eke out our Performers.⁶⁹⁴

John Anthony's inexperience is further confirmed in Grano's entry for September 11, 1728:

Soon after came my Tawny Moor, and Thomas Nicholls brought the Keys, so up stairs we went where I gave him a Lesson. The Lad Seems Willing and understands a little of the practice of Musick but his performance on the Trumpet is very painful to Him.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ Gerzina, *Black London*, 22, 75.

⁶⁹⁴ Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 133-134.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., 88. Alison Patricia Deadman also notes that John Anthony seems very young; however, she states that Grano had only two students who came to see him at the Marshalsea and that the father of another student was actually Anthony's father. "Augeletti Che Cantate: Handel, His Woodwind Players, and His London Operas," (PhD diss, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 79. It is easy to see how this confusion occurred from the following passage: "Tuesday, the 10th of Septr. [1728] . . . When I came there, found it to be one Yeates a shower of Postures, Monsters, etc., who wanted to have his son instructed in Musick. He stay'd some time Babbling on that Subject, to which I let him understand [that] as Musick was my Practice I should Teach him for a Pecuniary Reward as we should Settle the next Day . . . As I was going back to the Oak, met the Tawny Moor I have promis'd to Instruct. I then sent him to our Room for the Trumpet but not finding my Governor at Home would not ask the Keys of the Court Hall of any one else and so dismiss him till next Day." According to Ginger, Yeates is "the puppet-master who at the 1725 Fair had presented *St. George and the Dragon* at "a booth in the coach-maker's yard adjoining to the "New Prison" (*Parker's Penny Post*, 8 September 1725)." Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 86-87.

Of course, if Anthony's lessons consisted of the same instructions that Grano gave D. Corbett on Monday, April 28, 1729, we may understand why Anthony considered the lessons "painful":

Monday Morn, the 28th
Corbett came for his Lesson – to whom after giving Him the Same ordered him to have his upper Teeth Fil'd even and as short as possible, they covering his Under, being an Obstruction to his Wind; and at the same time desir'd him to tell his Father I wanted a Guinea the next Time he came.⁶⁹⁶

In addition to instructing Anthony on the trumpet, Grano taught him not only violin but also composition. The entry for October 9, 1728, relates:

John Anthony, the tawny Moor I teach, brought me an Old Spinnet which I intend to put into Order and divert myself with. I made Anthony perform all his Airs on the Violin, and Set a March into Parts [that] he had Compos'd.⁶⁹⁷

The fact that John Anthony and Mr. Anthony might be two separate individuals is further confirmed by a diary entry from August 7, 1729: "From thence, understanding Rash and Anthony the two professors of French Horns, were at Keaton in Yorkshire, I went towards Cook's Coffee House."⁶⁹⁸ It seems likely that Grano would have called Anthony his "Tawny Moor" if he and "Professor" Anthony were one and the same person.⁶⁹⁹ It may be, however, that Professor Anthony was John Anthony's father, which would explain why Mrs. Anthony expected Grano to know her son.

As Ginger notes, it seems that in February 1729 Anthony was engaged as a ship's trumpeter. Grano tells us:

⁶⁹⁶ Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 238.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid., 114. On July 10, 1729, Anthony's mother returned to take back the spinet (285).

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., 303.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid. Regarding this diary entry, Ginger states: "There is a possible relationship between "Professor" Anthony and Grano's pupil John Anthony (in which case he is a black musician)." Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 303.

Friday Morn, the 21st of Feb^r.
 My Tauni Moor came to See me; told me he was engag'd with Capt.
 Smith to go to Sea; wrote me a [Receipt] to make *Ratafia*; desir'd a little
 Musick to carry with him and treated me in Spight of my Teeth with some
 Mulled Wine etc.⁷⁰⁰

I have found no other references to either Mr. Anthony or John Anthony in the London press, though I did find a will for John Anthony, "Surgeons second mate on board his Majestys Ship Phoenix."⁷⁰¹ This will was drafted in 1769, and in it Anthony leaves all his wages to his mother, Elinor Anthony, widow, and his brothers. He also named his mother as the executrix of his estate. The will was read in 1778, after Anthony had passed away while on board the fireship Strombolo in New York.⁷⁰² Apparently this John Anthony was involved in the American Revolution.

It seems unlikely that Elinor Anthony was the woman who not only asked Grano for lessons for her son in 1728 but also served as executrix to her son's estate in 1778, especially, as we have seen, if Anthony the horn player began his lessons as a young adult. More research is needed to establish this connection, but because John Anthony was both a seaman as well as a musician, it seems likely that there is one. Indeed, Anthony's mother may have asked for trumpet lessons for her son "to make him a brave man," specifically because she wanted him to pursue a career at sea.

Highfill has suggested that Peter Anthony (fl. 1672-1673) may have been related to the Mr. Anthony who performed in the April 1733 concert at Hickford's music room:

On 22 February 1673 Peter Anthony was granted a lifetime pension of 16*d.* per day, but he did not go into retirement; on 13 March he was paid £50 for his extra expenses while attending Prince Rupert at sea, and on 1 December he received £36 5*s.* for the same service from 23 April 1672 to

⁷⁰⁰ Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 194.

⁷⁰¹ Public Records Office (PRO) Prob/11/1140.

⁷⁰² PRO Prob/11/1140.

14 September 1673. He may have been related to Anthony the horn player of 1733.⁷⁰³

It seems natural for Peter Anthony to expect his son to follow in his footsteps and for Mr. Anthony to also perform on a brass instrument. Whether his son, John Anthony, then went into the navy remains an open question. More research is needed to untangle these various threads.

Henry Rash

In the preceding sections on Cook and Anthony, I mentioned the horn player Rash three times. First, in the section of this chapter describing Anthony Cook, I quoted a selection from Grano's diary in which he is looking for two horn players to perform in a concert. Since "Rash and Anthony the two professors of French Horns" were unavailable, he takes Mr. Witch and Bennet with him to Skinners' Hall.⁷⁰⁴ Second, Mr. Rash performed along with Mr. Anthony, Mr. Cheney, and Mr. Keller at the Lord Mayor's Day royal entertainment in 1727.⁷⁰⁵ Third, in the section of this chapter dealing with Anthony, I stated that Rash and Anthony performed in a benefit concert for Carbonell at Hickford's Room in April 1733.⁷⁰⁶

Ginger notes that the Rash Grano is looking for in 1729 to perform at Skinners' Hall "is probably the 'German professor of the French horn' whom Grano had seen at Carlos' coffee-house on 9 November 1728";⁷⁰⁷ however, Grano's description of these two individuals, "Mr Rash" and a "German professor of the French horn," reveal that

⁷⁰³ Highfil *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1: 91.

⁷⁰⁴ Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 303.

⁷⁰⁵ Burrows, "Handel's London Theater Orchestra," 354-355.

⁷⁰⁶ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 290-291.

⁷⁰⁷ Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 303.

they are most likely different people. Here are the relevant passages from the entry dated November 9, 1728:

Saturday Morn, the 9th of November
 From thence we went directly into St Alban's Street and into Carlos' Coffee House where after having call'd for some Coffee we sent to Mr Barnevelt's who gave his Service to us and sent word he would wait on us immediately. There was at that time a considerable Number of People knew me. Among the Rest there were Mr Rash, Mr Richar, Mr Mills, Mr Smith the Opera Copyist etc. . . .
 After having taken my Leave of my Mother and Sister, which time She recommended me to God, Mr Acton and I went to Rudd's Coffee House where we saw nobody but a Waiter and a German professor of the French Horn.⁷⁰⁸

Because Mr. Rash is not included in the list of the “considerable Number of People [who] knew me” at Carlos' Coffee House, it seems likely Grano and Rash were acquaintances only; however, Grano clearly knew his name and would have used it again if he had met him later in the day at Rudd's Coffee House. The “German professor of the French Horn” he encountered there must have been a different person. Therefore, Rash's nationality is still an open question.

Even so, he was clearly a prominent member of London's musical community in the mid-eighteenth century. Not only was he described as a member of Handel's opera orchestra but also he was one of the founding members of the Royal Society of Musicians in 1739. His record mentions performances in 1742, 1744, and 1755.⁷⁰⁹ In later years he seems to have sold tickets for the Royal Society's benefit concerts. The following advertisement dates from 1753:

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., 137.

⁷⁰⁹ Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 120.

ENTERTAINMENT OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

For the Benefit and Increase of a Fund established for the support of Decay'd Musicians . . . Tickets for the Performance are delivered by Mr Rash at the Prince of Orange Coffee-House, in the Haymarket.⁷¹⁰

Like many eighteenth-century musicians, Rash seems to have been proficient on more than one instrument. Instead of the trumpet, however, Rash played the violin and viola in addition to the horn. Highfill states that in May 1753 Rash was paid 10s. for performing on the violin in the Foundling Hospital's annual *Messiah* concert. In 1758, he received 8s. for performing in the same concert on the viola.⁷¹¹

Yet given that Henry Rash had a son also named Henry Rash,⁷¹² some of these later performances could have been given by the son. More research is needed to answer this question. Another area of confusion centers on whether Henry Rash or Henry Rich lived at or ran the Prince of Orange Coffee House. Highfill states: "He was, it seems, Henry Rash, who is cited in *Mortimer's London Directory* of 1763 as a French horn player who lived at the Prince of Orange Coffee House in the Haymarket";⁷¹³ however, Bryant Lillywhite states: "In the *Universal Director*, under the heading of 'Masters & Professors of Music' is Prince of Orange Coffee House, Haymarket, Henry Rich, French Horn."⁷¹⁴ Regarding Henry Rich, Highfill notes:

Lillywhite in *London Coffee Houses* notes that in the *Universal Director* in 1763, under the heading 'Masters & Professors of Music,' is listed the Prince of Orange Coffee House, operated, apparently, by Henry Rich, French horn player. Henry was surely the Mr. Rich who played in the band at Covent Garden Theater and was on the playlist as of 14 September 1767 at a salary of 5s. daily.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹⁰ Stone, ed., *The London Stage*, part 4, 1: 367.

⁷¹¹ Highfill et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 12: 257.

⁷¹² PRO Prob/11/925.

⁷¹³ Highfill et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 12: 257.

⁷¹⁴ Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963), 457.

⁷¹⁵ Highfill et al., *Biographical Dictionary*, 12: 337.

Clearly there is some confusion regarding Henry Rich and Henry Rash, though one should note that the 1753 advertisement quoted above notes: “Tickets for the Performance are delivered by Mr Rash at the Prince of Orange Coffee-House, in the Haymarket.” It seems likely that it was Henry Rash, not Henry Rich, who either lived at or operated the Prince of Orange Coffee House.

In any case, I have found definitive information about Henry Rash’s personal life. First, he married a woman named Cecilia Voss on July 31, 1749, in the parish of Saint George Mayfair, Westminster.⁷¹⁶ Second, he appears to have had not only a son named Henry but also a daughter named Harriott [sic]. In his will, dated October 26, 1762, he asked that “the rest of my Efforts” be divided “between my beloved Wife—Cecilia Rash and Harriott Rash, my beloved daughter.” He names his wife, Cecilia, as his executrix.⁷¹⁷ I was not able to find a birth or christening record for either Henry or Harriott, although the latter married Robert Willcocks on April 27, 1782, in the parish of Saint Anne Soho, Westminster.⁷¹⁸

Interestingly, Rash added a codicil to his will on January 17, 1767, in which he stated: “I leave to my best friend Doctor Tomlinson of Cheltenham Handell’s [sic] Coronation Anthems Handel’s Duettos both in Manuscripts.”⁷¹⁹ The will was proved in Prerogative Court on January 20, 1767.

Henry Rash, therefore, was a well-known horn player active in the 1720s through the 1760s. He probably performed in Handel’s opera orchestra and was a founding

⁷¹⁶ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 15, 2005), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁷¹⁷ PRO Prob/11/925.

⁷¹⁸ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 15, 2005), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁷¹⁹ PRO Prob/11/925.

member of the Royal Society of Musicians. He may also have run the Prince of Orange Coffee House in the Haymarket. As we shall see, many of the horn players ran a business in addition to performing on their instrument.

Anthony Uhl

According to Highfill, Anthony Uhl was a trumpet and horn player active in London between the years c. 1727 and 1737.⁷²⁰ He was appointed as a trumpeter for King George I (r. 1714-27) upon the demise of Earnest Godfrey in 1725 and continued as a trumpeter for King George II (r. 1727-60) until his own death in 1737, when he was replaced by Hezekiah Hopkins.⁷²¹

Except for the Sergeant Trumpeter and a few trumpeters at the end of George II's reign, all the military instrumentalists at court had military as well as purely artistic duties. Trumpeters (as well as kettledrummers) would have been found in the Horse Guards and regiments of Horse.⁷²² This double role is reflected in many of the official court documents. For example, at the beginning of George II's reign, many of the trumpeters who were reappointed were referred to as "Trumpeters-in-ordinary," but in later documents and appointments are described as belonging to one of the four troops of Horse Guards.⁷²³

Therefore, it seems likely that Uhl performed on the trumpet at official ceremonies, such as coronations or funerals, as well as with one of the troops of Horse Guards. What his exact duties consisted of, however, remains unclear, although he must have been pleased with his appointment, since, unlike the reign of Charles II, payments

⁷²⁰ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 15: 80.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*

⁷²² Daub, "Music at the Court of George II," 215.

⁷²³ *Ibid.*, 227.

during the reign of George II were fairly reliable.⁷²⁴ In addition, trumpeters in the Royal Regiment of Horse received expensive liveries,⁷²⁵ and all trumpeters received a silver trumpet worth about £20.⁷²⁶

Like many of his colleagues Uhl was a respected professional musician outside of court. He is one of the horn players in this chapter who performed primarily on the trumpet and was therefore a doubler on the horn. His name appears in three references. First, Peggy Ellen Daub states that according to Inderwick, Uhl was paid for performing on the horn at the Inner Temple in 1734.⁷²⁷ Second, in the section of this chapter dealing with Anthony Cook, I reprinted an advertisement in which Cook and Uhl performed on the French horn at a benefit concert for the singer Gustavus Waltz in 1735.⁷²⁸ Third, Daub states that Uhl subscribed to Handel's operas *Atalanta* (1736) and *Giustino* (1737).⁷²⁹

These few details are all we know about Uhl's professional career, although I have found some interesting biographical details about the Uhl family. In December 1724 Anthony Uhl married Margaret Scott at the parish of Saint Martin in the Fields, Westminster.⁷³⁰ They had three children, Anne, Washington John, and Radolphus. I was able to find birth and/or christening records only for Washington John, who was born on

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 213.

⁷²⁵ Ibid., 215.

⁷²⁶ Ibid., 240.

⁷²⁷ Ibid., 355.

⁷²⁸ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 463.

⁷²⁹ Daub, "Music at the Court of George II," 355.

⁷³⁰ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed: December 10, 2005), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

October 17, 1725, and christened on October 29, 1725, at the parish of Saint Martin in the Fields, Westminster.⁷³¹

As mentioned above, Uhl passed away in 1737, and his wife, Margaret Uhl, lived only a few years longer. Her will was proved in Prerogative Court on February 1, 1742. From this document, one sees that the Uhl's were rather well-off. Table 6.2 shows the items and the recipients of such items in Margaret Uhl's will.

Table 6.2. Items in Margaret Uhl's will.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Recipient</u>
One Hundred Pounds South Sea Annuities	Daughter Anne Uhl (she receives item when she turns twenty one)
Wearing apparel, rings, ear rings, stay hooks, gold watch chain and seals, plate marked "A.U." and a soup spoon marked "Daughter Uhl"	Daughter Anne Uhl (she receives these items when she turns twenty one)
One pair of gold sleeve buttons	Father Nicholas Scott
One brilliant diamond hoop ring and a ring with four brilliants set in a lozenge	Mother Mary Scott (though the rings pass into the hands of the daughter, Anne, upon the decease of Mary Scott)
Gold of the coin from the reign of William and Mary (worth five guineas) and a brass tea kettle	Mother Mary Scott
Emerald ring with six rose diamonds	Sister Martha Scott
One ring with two diamond hearts	Sister Susan Scott
Book case and all the books in it	Brother Nicholas Scott
One ring with an amethyst and four rose diamonds	Brother Henry Scott
All remaining goods, fifty pounds South Sea annuity not disposed of, five old gold rings	All to be sold, and after debts paid and funeral paid for, remainder divided between sons Washington John and Radolphus Uhl (they receive the money when they reach twenty-one years of age) ⁷³²

⁷³¹ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed December 10, 2005), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁷³² PRO Prob/11/716.

I repeat the details of Margaret Uhl's will only to point out the number of expensive items that she had in her possession at the time of her death. Generally, we do not think of the widow of a musician having at least five rings containing precious stones to give away.

We must also note that Washington John was twelve years old when his father died and seventeen when his mother also passed away. We have to wonder if he and Radolphus carried on their father's profession, or if they entered a new field entirely. It is noteworthy that Margaret Scott leaves very little material goods for the two of them, yet she leaves a great deal of valuable items to Anne. More research will certainly uncover further details about this interesting family.

John Christian Weitzenmüller

Like Uhl, John Christian Weitzenmüller was a horn and trumpet player, although unlike Uhl, he seems to have begun his career in the 1740s. In his will he refers to himself as "John Christian Weitzenmüller otherwise John Weitzenmüller."⁷³³ Yet in various records he is often referred to as "Miller," "John Weitzen Miller," or "Weitzenmiller." The use of "Miller" alone has caused some authors to advise against confusing Weitzenmüller with John Miller, the bassoon player, even though they were clearly two separate individuals.⁷³⁴

Weitzenmüller is listed in the Lord Chamberlain's records as a trumpeter to King George II from 1747/8 to 1759, when he was replaced as a trumpeter in the 2nd Troop

⁷³³ PRO Prob/11/1150.

⁷³⁴ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 10: 226-231.

Horse Guards by J. Richards.⁷³⁵ Highfill states his salary was £40 per year.⁷³⁶

Weitzenmüller was also a member of the Royal Society of Musicians. Matthews lists his names as “Weitzenmüller <Weitzenmiller>, John.” He joined the society on January 6, 1751. His record indicates that he was a trumpeter and that he was sixty-nine years old in 1784.⁷³⁷

He seems, therefore, to have began his career at the end of Handel’s, although it is important to note that he appears on the pay lists for both the 1754 and 1758 annual *Messiah* concerts at the Foundling Hospital. In Chapter Two I quoted Otto Erich Deutsch’s lists of these instrumentalists, and “Miller” appears in the payment records for the brass performers for each concert.⁷³⁸

“Miller” appears again in the list of horn players who performed at the 1784 Handel Commemoration concert.⁷³⁹ Weitzenmüller would have been sixty-nine years old when this event took place. Because this seems like an advanced age for an eighteenth-century horn player, three possibilities exist regarding whom this player might have been. First, it could have been Weitzenmüller himself. Because there were twelve horn players overall who performed at this event, Weitzenmüller might have been asked to participate simply because he was active when *Messiah* began to be canonized. Second, “Miller” could refer to Weitzenmüller’s son, though since he does not mention any children in his will, this option seems unlikely. Third, “Miller” could refer to another person altogether.

⁷³⁵ Daub, “Music at the Court of George II,” 344.

⁷³⁶ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 10: 231.

⁷³⁷ Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 155.

⁷³⁸ Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1955), 750-752, 800-801. As noted previously, the other horn player listed in these performances is Troba/Trova/Trowa.

⁷³⁹ Thomas Coram Foundation, Foundling Museum, London.

The name was very common in eighteenth-century England, and it may not be possible today to know if this performer was our Weitzenmüller or related to him.

However, his will proves to be a fascinating document and may give us some insights into the immigrant brass community in eighteenth-century London in general. It states that Weitzenmüller was a resident of the parish of St. Ann's, Soho. As we shall see, other immigrant horn players settled in Soho. Indeed, the area has long been noted for its high concentration of foreigners, though generally one thinks of its high French population.⁷⁴⁰

Weitzenmüller appears to have immigrated from "the town of Parnua in Livonia about twenty-five miles beyond Riga." Both his brother, Martin Michael Weitzenmüller, and his brother in law, John Christian Krippendorf [?], still resided there at the time Weitzenmüller drafted his will. Weitzenmüller left all of his musical books and instruments to them.⁷⁴¹

Riga is located in present-day Latvia. In the eighteenth century, however, the country of Livonia comprised parts of contemporary Latvia and Estonia. Even though Livonia was populated primarily by Baltic and Finnish peoples, it was governed by a ruling class of Baltic Germans,⁷⁴² as Joachim Braun and Arnold Klotinš observe:

While the Latvian population was reduced to serfdom and did not develop an art culture until the 19th century, the Germans developed their own, significant musical life; it was based mainly on German values and no local trend or school developed. Most musical activities were concentrated in the country's capital, Riga.⁷⁴³

⁷⁴⁰ E. F. Rimbault, *Soho and its Associations: Historical, Literary, & Artistic* (London: Dulau & Co., 1895), 200-202.

⁷⁴¹ PRO Prob/11/1150.

⁷⁴² "Livonia," (Accessed January 28, 2006) <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Livonia>>.

⁷⁴³ Joachim Braun and Arnold Klotinš, "Latvia: Art music," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed May 4, 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

They continue:

From the 18th century onwards significant numbers of virtuoso performers gave concerts in Jelgava and Riga, *en route* from Western Europe to St Petersburg. In the 18th century educated Latvian circles had close ties with the University of Königsberg.⁷⁴⁴

Weitzenmüller's family must have immigrated to Livonia from Germany, and it seems likely they originated in Hesse, for a simple search of "Weitzenmüller" on <<http://www.familysearch.org>> pulls up ten individuals with the last name of "Weitzenmüller," all of whom lived in "Seeheim, Benheim, Hesse, Germany" at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.⁷⁴⁵ How our Weitzenmüller ended up in London must remain a mystery for now, and while he does not appear to have had any family of his own in London, he apparently did have quite a number of friends, including George Müller. According to Matthews, Müller was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians beginning in 1752.⁷⁴⁶ Weitzenmüller served as a witness for Müller's will in 1772⁷⁴⁷ and left small sums of money to his widow and children in his own.

Mr. Charles

Mr. Charles, one of the more interesting horn players in this chapter, appears in a great many concert advertisements not only in London but also in Dublin and the provinces beginning in the 1730s and ending in the 1750s. For a *mere* horn player and for an eighteenth-century musician in the British Isles in general, Mr. Charles appears to have been an extraordinarily busy man. His career can be broken down into roughly

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ "Weitzenmüller," Matches: Ancestral File. The Church of Jesus Christ Latter-Day Saints, copyright 1999-2005. (Accessed January 27, 2006) <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁷⁴⁶ Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 103.

⁷⁴⁷ PRO Prob/11/974.

three phases: (1) his work as a soloist in London, (2) his attempt to make a permanent career in Dublin, and (3) his move to York and subsequent tours (with his son as his second) of the provinces.

Charles's career begins at about the same time Handel begins promoting oratorios and ends at about the same time as Handel's death. Although we have no direct evidence that Charles performed regularly in Handel's oratorio orchestra, we have to suppose that he did at one time or another, if only because of his immense success and reputation.

Even though Fitzpatrick maintains that the first reference to Mr. Charles occurs in the *Dublin Mercury* for 1742,⁷⁴⁸ most sources agree that his first reference dates from an appearance in London on October 6, 1733.⁷⁴⁹ *The London Stage* reprints the advertisement for this performance as follows:

THE CARELESS HUSBAND . . .
MUSIC. Second Musick: First Concerto of the 1st Opera of Geminiani.
Third Musick: Overture compos'd by Handel for Alexander. I: A concerto
call'd The Cuckoo composed by Vivaldi. III: Due for Two French Horns
by Charles and Giay.⁷⁵⁰

Yet Highfill adds additional and important information: "I: Concerto for French Horns, the French Horns by Charle and Giay, lately arriv'd from Paris" and "III. Solo for French Horn by Charle."⁷⁵¹ There is, therefore, some discrepancy between the two sources regarding the items played by Charle and/or Giay at this performance. The original advertisement needs to be consulted to obtain an accurate account.

⁷⁴⁸ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 103-104.

⁷⁴⁹ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 178; Elizabeth Chevall, "Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford, 1690-1760," in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), 49; Elizabeth Jane Chevall, "Music Societies and Musical Life in Old Foundation Cathedral Cities 1700-60," (PhD diss, The Department of Music King's College London, 1993); Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 328.

⁷⁵⁰ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 328.

⁷⁵¹ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 178.

The phrase “lately arriv’d from Paris,” however, is particularly intriguing and seems to suggest that Charles was French or at least came to London via France. An advertisement from April 1734 in which Charles performs at Drury Lane seems to confirm Charles’s French nationality:

THE CARELESS HUSBAND . . .

MUSIC. Select Pieces. IV: By particular Desire, Mons Charle will perform a Solo on the French Horn, the first time of his Appearance on this Stage, and the last of his Performance in Publick during his Stay in England.⁷⁵²

In the early part of Charles’s London career, the name “Mons Charle” is anglicanized to become “Mr Charles,” and most of the advertisements from this point forward refer to him as either “Charles” or “Mr Charles.” Even so, the confusion about his nationality persists throughout his career, as shown by an advertisement that appeared in the *Dublin Journal* in March 1742:

Mr. Charles, an Hungarian, the famous French Horn, who has been allowed by the best Judges to be the most excellent in Europe for that Instrument, arrived here yesterday from England.⁷⁵³

In May of that year the same newspaper advertised both a rehearsal and concert that would occur that month in Dublin. Unusually the advertisement listed the program that Charles intended to perform. The top of this program read “MR CHARLE’S GRAND CONCERT.”⁷⁵⁴ Of course this last reference could be nothing more than a grammatical error, yet one cannot assume that it is so based on the confusion regarding Charles’s nationality.

Charles’s designation as “an Hungarian” in the March 1742 advertisement has led some authors to make wild speculations about his home country. Fitzpatrick, for

⁷⁵² Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 391-392.

⁷⁵³ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 80.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 81.

example, concluded that not only was Charles not French but also that he was a traveling Hungarian gypsy:

Not only do these notices point up Mr. Charles's quite remarkable versatility, but they furnish us with a number of clues as to his origins, age, and identity. It has been thought up to now that he was probably a Bohemian. 'The identification was close enough for those days, and Hungarian names rarely occur in lists of horn-players', Blandford wrote in 1922. A plausible deduction, this: but had Mr. Charles's real name, whatever it was, been that of a German-speaking Austrian from the Hungarian province, he would no doubt have been billed simply as a 'German', especially as there were plenty of them about in those days. Rather the stage name 'Mr. Charles', and the designation, 'the Hungarian', expressly set off with commas . . . strongly suggest to the present writer that our 'Hungarian' horn-player was, in fact, a Hungarian gypsy.⁷⁵⁵

Highfill countered that "'Faulkner's Dublin Journal' called him [Mr. Charles] 'the Hungarian,' though the probability is that he was French."⁷⁵⁶ I seriously doubt that Charles was a gypsy, though his later career shows a peculiar propensity for travel.

Charles's ability to perform on unusual instruments such as the clarinet and the chalumeau may help solve the problem of his nationality. According to Himie Voxman, a chalumeau concerto was performed at the *Concert Spirituel* on February 21, 1728.⁷⁵⁷ J. G. Prod'homme and Theodore Baker go further, asserting that it was performed by a German musician:

Previous to the advent of Telemann, the Concert des Tuileries (which did not disdain this sort of exhibition) had welcomed for the first time, in 1728, an unknown German, a player on the chalumeau, who performed a Concerto on this rustic instrument, with symphonic accompaniments which formed the choruses. "The whole thing had quite a singular effect, and gave pleasure," observes *Le Mercure* (Feb., 1728, p. 385).⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁵ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 104-105.

⁷⁵⁶ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179.

⁷⁵⁷ Himie Voxman, "Some Notes On the Clarinet and the Concert Spirituel," *The Clarinet* 25, no. 1 (November 1997): 62. Constant Pierre, in his *Histoire du Concert Spirituel: 1725-1790*, confirms that on February 21, 1728, there occurred a "Conc. de chalumeau avec accomp. de la symph." (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1975), 234.

⁷⁵⁸ J. G. Prod'homme and Theodore Baker, "Austro-German Musicians in France in the Eighteenth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (April 1929): 178.

Neither London nor Paris contained a surplus of chalumeau players, and it is possible that the “unknown German” who performed on the chalumeau in 1728 was Mr. Charles. This suspicion is supported by a concert performed in March of that same year. According to Morley-Pegge, the *Mercure de France* reported on April 23 of a concert recently given that featured a concerto for trumpets, *cors de chasse*, oboes, and timpani with orchestral accompaniment. He states that the *Mercure* noted that this performance also “gave great pleasure.”⁷⁵⁹ This concert appears to have occurred on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of March, for according to Pierre, the following item was performed on those dates: “Conc., Antonio avec tromps, cors de ch., htb. et timb. et les chœurs de toute la symph.”⁷⁶⁰

It is possible that both “Charle” and “Giay” performed the “cors de ch.” parts in these concerts. If so, Charles would have spent about five years in Paris (or traveling between Paris and his home country) before moving to the British Isles. More research is needed to answer this question, but it seems likely that Charles merely arrived in London from France but was not himself French.

In any case, he seems to have remained in London from September 1734 until the end of the decade. Table 6.3 lists notices of Mr. Charles’s London performances found thus far.

⁷⁵⁹ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 16.

⁷⁶⁰ Pierre, *Histoire*, 234.

Table 6.3. Mr. Charles's performances in London during the 1730s.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Music Performed</u>	<u>Source</u>
October 1733	Haymarket Theater	Concerto for French horns, performed by Charle and Giay; also a solo on the French Horn by Charle	Highfill, Biographical Dictionary, vol. 3 (BD, vol. 3)
April 1734	Drury Lane Theater	"Mons Charles performs a Solo on the French Horn"	The London Stage, part 3, vol. 1; (LS, part 3, vol. 1)
September 9, 1734	Goodman's Fields	"Concerto on the French Horn"	LS, part 3, vol. 1
September 11, 1734	Goodman's Fields	"Concerto on the French Horn by Charles"	LS, part 3, vol. 1
September 13, 1734	Goodman's Fields	"Concerto on the French Horn by Charles"	LS, part 3, vol. 1
March 1735	Haymarket Theater	"Several Concertos, particularly a Grand Concerto with French Horns and Trumpets, and another with one French Horn, the French Horn part by Mr. Charles"	LS, part 3, vol. 1
April 1735	Swan Tavern ("Benefit for Mr. Charles")	"Mr. Charles will perform several new Pieces on the French Horn and Clarinet"	LS, part 3, vol. 1
May 1735	Goodman's Fields	"A Piece of Hunting-Musick on the French Horn by Mr. Charles"	LS, part 3, vol. 1
October 1735	Goodman's Fields	" <i>Se Larco</i> by Buchinger and Charle . . ."	LS, part 3, vol. 1
November 1735	Swan Tavern, Benefit for "Mr. Charles, Master of the French Horn"	"A Solo and several Pieces on the French Horn by Mr. Charles"	LS, part 3, vol. 1

Table 6.3—*Continued.*

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Music Performed</u>	<u>Source</u>
February 1736	Mercers' Hall	"Concerto on the French Horn by Charles"	LS, part 3, vol. 1
March 1737	Stationer's Hall	Mr. Charles performed a solo and other pieces on the "French Horn, Clarinette, and Sharlarno"; pieces on the French Horn were also performed by "an English Gentlewoman, and a Negro Boy"	LS, part 3, vol. 2
March 1738	Drury Lane Theater	..."two little Negro Boys, Scholars to Mr. Charles" performed "two new Minuets, and a Chorus out of Atalanta"	Deutsch, 452; LS, part 3, vol. 2
May 1740	Drury Lane Theater	"Concerto on the French Horn by Charles"	LS, part 3, vol. 2

Charles was busy enough in the 1730s that the number of these performances in this part of his career far exceeds the notices of performances by all the other horn players in this chapter combined. We have seen that he performed on unusual instruments as well as the horn. He also featured atypical students in his concerts. I will discuss each of these points before discussing Charles's career in Dublin.

In April 1735 Charles performed "several new Pieces on the French Horn and Clarinet" at a benefit concert for himself at the Swan Tavern.⁷⁶¹ According to Highfill,

⁷⁶¹ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, Part 3, 1: 474; Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 178.

Charles's performance on the clarinet at this concert was the first public recital on that instrument by a player named in the British Isles;⁷⁶² however, the earliest reference I have found of a clarinet performance in the British Isles dates from March 1726, when August Freudenfeld and Francis Rosenberg played clarinets at their own benefit concert.⁷⁶³ Even so, Charles was one of the earliest proponents of the instrument in England.

Later instrumentalists such as Charles Barbandt performed on the clarinet during the 1750s,⁷⁶⁴ and the instrument began to be made and advertised for sale at about this same time;⁷⁶⁵ however, it was only after Thomas Arne's (1710-78) use of them in his afterpiece *Thomas and Sally, or the Sailors' Return* (1760) and his opera *Artaxerxes* (1762) that clarinets began to be employed regularly in the British Isles, most notably in clarinet-horn ensembles in the London pleasure gardens.⁷⁶⁶ As Nicholas Shackleton observes, Charles may have been responsible for the clarinet's increasing usage in the British Isles. Handel himself seems to have written at least two times for the instrument. First, in 1742 he composed an Overture in D for two clarinets and two horns. Second, a c. 1744-45 copy of the opera *Tamerlano* (1724) shows the original cornett parts replaced by clarinets.⁷⁶⁷ Charles may have been connected with the composition of the first piece: P. Weston speculated that it had been written for Mr. Charles, his wife, and his son.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶² Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 178. Roger Fiske asserts that clarinets were first used at Drury Lane in 1737. *English Theater Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 282.

⁷⁶³ Avery, ed., *The London Stage*, part 2, 2: 860; *The Daily Courant*, March 24, 1726, Vol. 256B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London; Albert R. Rice, "The Clarinet in England During the 1760s," *Early Music* 33, no. 1 (February 2005): 55.

⁷⁶⁴ Rice, "The Clarinet in England," 55.

⁷⁶⁵ Nicholas Shackleton, "Clarinet: II. Musical History, (i) The Eighteenth Century," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 December 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁷⁶⁶ Rice, "The Clarinet in England," 57.

⁷⁶⁷ Shackleton, "Clarinet," *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 9 August 2006).

⁷⁶⁸ P. Weston, *Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (London, 1971), reprnt. in Shackleton, "Clarinet," *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 9 August 2006).

Later concert advertisements indicating participation by these two personages place this hypothesis within the realm of possibility.

In addition to the clarinet, Charles was also proficient on the chalumeau. He was advertised as performing on both instruments—in addition to the horn—in a concert at Stationers' Hall in March 1737:

CONCERT.

MUSIC. By the best Hands. With a Solo, and several new Pieces on the French Horn, Clarinette, and Sharlarno, by Mr. Charles. Also several new Pieces on the French Horn by an English Gentlewoman, and a Negro Boy of ten Years old, both Scholars of Mr. Charles.

COMMENT. Benefit Mr. Charles. 7 P.M. 5s.⁷⁶⁹

This advertisement is significant for a number of reasons, and I shall return to it later in this section. At this point, however, I would like to point out the unusual spelling of the chalumeau: “Sharlarno.” In an advertisement for one of Charles’s concerts in Dublin in May 1742, the instrument is spelled as “Shalamo.” Boydell concludes logically that “Shalamo” probably refers to the *chalumeaux* [sic], a predecessor to the clarinet.⁷⁷⁰ The instrument seems to have evolved from the recorder in the later seventeenth century, and according to Colin Lawson, appears in sources under names as diverse as “Chalumeaux,” “scialumò,” “schalamaux,” “shalamo,” “salmò” or “salmoè.”⁷⁷¹ It was also known in England as the “Mock Trumpet.”⁷⁷²

Again, Charles was one of the few performers on this instrument, though it was both known and used by Handel before Charles’s arrival in London. An advertisement

⁷⁶⁹ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 2: 646.

⁷⁷⁰ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 81.

⁷⁷¹ Colin Lawson, “Chalumeau,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 December 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁷⁷² Nicholas Shackleton, “Mock Trumpet,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 December 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

from the *Daily Post* in 1722 contains a reference to the instrument, again spelled as “The Shalamo”:

RICHMOND-WELLS will continue Open every Day during the Summer Season, by the Proprietors of the last Year. There is an extraordinary Set of Musick to play Mornings and Evenings, and on Mondays will be select Band of Musick from the Opera, that perform the most celebrated Opera Songs, accompan'd with the Harpsichord, French Horns, Flutes, and German Flutes. N.B. There will be several Concerto's every Evening on a new Instrument from Germany, call'd, *The Shalamo*, never play'd in Publick before. The Stairs at the Water Side are new built for the Convenience of the Company.⁷⁷³

In addition, Handel included parts for two chalumeau in his opera *Riccardo primo* of 1727.⁷⁷⁴

Besides the clarinet and the chalumeau, Charles was also proficient on the “Hautbois de Amoir [sic],” which he played, along with the French horn, clarinet, and shalamo [sic], at a May 1742 concert in Dublin.⁷⁷⁵ Like many of his colleagues, Charles played more than one instrument in order to increase his chances of employment, yet the number and unusual nature of the instruments he was proficient on is indicative of his excellent marketing and self-promotional abilities. These skills are confirmed by another aspect of the March 1737 advertisement quoted above. It references not only Charles's versatility on various instruments but “Also several new Pieces on the French Horn by an English Gentlewoman, and a Negro Boy of ten Years old, both Scholars of Mr. Charles.” This advertisement is the only one from Charles's London career that mentions a female performer on the French horn, whereas one finds that Charles has not only one but two black students by March 1738:

⁷⁷³ The *Daily Post*, Thursday, June 21, 1722, Vol. 220B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

⁷⁷⁴ Schackleton, “Clarinet,” *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 12 December 2005).

⁷⁷⁵ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 81.

CONCERT.

MUSIC. Consisting of several Select Pieces, compos'd by Mr. Handel and other Eminent Masters, and taken from the most favourite operas. The Vocal Parts by Mr. Beard and Mrs. Clive, being several Favorite Songs in Italian and English. A Preamble on the Kettle-Drums by Master Ferg. With two new Minuets, and a Chorus out of Atalanta, for French-Horns and Trumpets, the two French-Horns to be perform'd by two little Negro Boys, Scholars to Mr. Charles, who never perform'd before. Concluding with the Anthem, God save the King, &c.⁷⁷⁶

I have already demonstrated how black musicians were prominent in eighteenth-century London musical life. Young black musicians, such as Charles's "two little Negro Boys," would have been especially prized. They would have made excellent pages and could have doubled as huntsmen, thereby saving the owner money. From the boys' perspective, too, it would have been necessary to obtain as many skills as possible to survive in an era in which a white owner would not think twice about sending his no-longer "useful" black page to likely death on the plantations of the West Indies because as one upper class woman put it, "[It] was more original to have a Chinese page than to have a black one; everybody had a black one."⁷⁷⁷

For his part, Charles may have been trying to attain two goals by including young black boys in his concerts: (1) marketing atypical performers, such as "two little Negro boys," would have increased patrons' attendance at his concerts, and (2) by showing that he could teach young black children to perform on the French horn, he was probably trying to obtain an aristocratic patron. Many eighteenth-century aristocrats hired musicians to manage private concerts and possibly teach family members.⁷⁷⁸ Even

⁷⁷⁶ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 2: 705; Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179. Deutsch includes this advertisement in his work and explains that Mr. Charles was well-known in London and Dublin about 1740. *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, 452.

⁷⁷⁷ Vita Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles* (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1931); reprinted in Gerzina, *Black London*, 53.

⁷⁷⁸ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1820: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 45.

though members of the upper class generally regarded their private musicians as nothing more than servants, early eighteenth-century singers and instrumentalists eagerly sought positions in these great households. If Charles was trying to gain an aristocratic patron, his best hope was to publicize, as he did in these advertisements, that he could teach “negro” students the art of playing the French horn.

Mr. Charles taught not only young black men but also an “English Gentlewoman” how to play the instrument. Black brass players may have had a conspicuous presence in eighteenth-century musical life in London, but female instrumentalists, let alone female brass players, were decidedly rare. Women were not even permitted on the stage before the Restoration,⁷⁷⁹ and while music was taught at upper-class girls’ schools,⁷⁸⁰ women were normally denied the formal education given to men either through apprenticeships or at institutions such as the Chapel and cathedral foundations.⁷⁸¹ Women such as Elisabetta de Gambarini (1731-65) and Elizabeth Turner (d. 1756) managed to obtain a musical education, thereby becoming published composers,⁷⁸² but they were exceptions.

As performers, women were not only discouraged from performing on “male instruments,” especially the ‘cello,⁷⁸³ but also were not permitted into the orchestra. Even so, several women, including Charles’s “English Gentlewoman,” managed to

⁷⁷⁹ Margaret Yelloly, “The Ingenious Miss Turner’: Elizabeth Turner (d. 1756), Singer, Harpsichordist and Composer,” *Early Music* 33, no. 1 (February 2005): 65.

⁷⁸⁰ Roger Fiske, “Music and Society,” in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1990), 4: 5. Of course, girls’ education in general was shallow and haphazard, as it was designed to help them acquire social graces as opposed to knowledge. G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 131.

⁷⁸¹ Technically, the apprentice system was open to girls (McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 183), yet girls were by no means encouraged to enter this field. Of the charity practices of the Royal Society of Musicians, Betty Matthews notes: “Children of 14, both male and female, were apprenticed to a trade, the girls mostly to millinery or dressmaking; one who wished to follow a musical career was turned down with the comment that the governors thought it ‘a Business by no means proper for a female to be brought up to. “Handel and the Royal Society of Musicians,” *The Musical Times* 125, no. 1692 (February 1984): 81.

⁷⁸² Yelloly, “The Ingenious Miss Turner,” 75-76, 66.

⁷⁸³ Fiske, “Music and Society,” 5; McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 87.

perform solo pieces on recitals.⁷⁸⁴ For example, the following concert appears to have taken place in February 1731:

CONCERT.

MUSIC. In which [a Gentlewoman will] perform on several Instruments, particularly on the Violin, she having been approv'd by Mr Handell, and will play (besides Corelli's Vivaldi's, &c.) some Pieces of her own Composing.

COMMENT. Benefit a Gentlewoman lately arriv'd. 5s. 7 P.M.⁷⁸⁵

Yet it is doubtful whether this "Gentlewoman" instrumentalist and composer would have been able to perform a benefit concert without Handel's approval. Perhaps Charles was successful enough to help another "English Gentlewoman" find a place on the stage.

Female instrumentalists who attempted to set up their own concerts or subscription series were often thwarted by social conventions. One of the most notorious of these female performers was Ann Ford (1737-1824), who was not only a gifted singer but also a formidable viola da gamba and guitar player. Although she was very talented, her father disapproved strongly of her performing in public. At one point he actually obtained a magistrate's warrant to confine her to his house. Yet she managed to set up a series of five subscription concerts in 1760 at the Haymarket Theater, for which she obtained £1,500 from subscribers. At the first of these concerts, on March 18, her father tried to prevent the concert from taking place by blocking the streets around the concert hall with Bow street runners, and the concert only occurred because Lord Tankerville threatened to

⁷⁸⁴ Alyson McLamore, "Symphonic Conventions in London's Concert Rooms, circa 1755-1790," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1991), 24. It should be noted that while ladies were not encouraged to perform in public, they were expected to show off their musical accomplishments in domestic settings. By contrast, although professional orchestral musicians were all male, quite a number of *gentlemen* refused to condescend to take part in what they saw as a 'trivial ladies' pastime,' unless, of course, one takes into account the singing of glees at home over port or in all-male clubs after dinner. McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 45-46.

⁷⁸⁵ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 114.

disperse them with a detachment of the Guards.⁷⁸⁶ McLamore says this event “proved to be a spectacular display of parental disapproval,”⁷⁸⁷ and although some authors have stated that her last public performance occurred in January 1761,⁷⁸⁸ Ford participated in a number of daytime concerts at the Spring Garden Room from October 1761 onwards.⁷⁸⁹ Excluding Charles’s wife, the first female horn soloist that we know of is Beate Pokorny. She performed a concerto by Punto at the *Concert Spirituel* in December 1779,⁷⁹⁰ and her first performance in London took place in 1780.⁷⁹¹

In any case, Charles, always looking for ways to promote himself and his career, may have embraced publicity of any sort, even if, like that which Ann Ford clearly benefited from, it was negative publicity. On the other hand, eighteenth-century concert promoters consistently sought to increase revenue by highlighting the sensational and/or exceptional aspects of their concerts. References to child prodigies, women instrumentalists, and handicapped performers were all used to entice potential patrons,⁷⁹² and Charles seems to have mastered this relatively new marketing skill.

The strange thing about Charles’s female performer is that, unlike Ann Ford, she performed on an extremely male instrument. The black children would have benefited greatly from being seen in public performing on the horn, but, given the enormous social stigma against women instrumentalists, what would she have gained from performing on the horn in Charles’s concert?

⁷⁸⁶ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 5: 364-65.

⁷⁸⁷ McLamore, “Symphonic Conventions,” 130.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁹ Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 39.

⁷⁹⁰ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 172.

⁷⁹¹ McLamore, “Symphonic Conventions,” 24.

⁷⁹² McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 79-80.

It is possible she herself had a sufficient interest in hunting ceremonies to take up the horn. According to Mingay, upper class women “shared their menfolk’s love of riding and shooting.”⁷⁹³ Queen Anne was reputed to have been an excellent hunter,⁷⁹⁴ and ladies’ participation in the runs with the Royal Buckhounds is confirmed by accounts in numerous letters. In a well-known letter from Lady Suffolk to John Gay, dated 1730, she tells him that “the ladies of the Court ‘hunt with great noise and violence, and have every day a very tolerable chance to have a neck broke.’”⁷⁹⁵ Even so, it seems unlikely that Charles’s French horn performer was one of these ladies from court. While following the hunts of the Royal Buckhounds might have been considered socially tolerable, performing a brass instrument on stage would not have been acceptable. Furthermore, while the advertisement refers to the lady in question as a “Gentlewoman” it is doubtful the general public would have thought of her in this manner.

It seems likely that this “Gentlewoman” was Charles’s wife. According to Morley-Pegge, Charles performed horn solos, duets with “his second,” and occasionally trios with his wife as third horn.⁷⁹⁶ In addition, Highfill notes that in an advertisement from November 1743, Charles performs *en trio* with both his wife and son. This concert featured Charles’s usual roster of instruments: the horn, clarinet, *hautbois d’amour*, and the “Shalamo.”⁷⁹⁷ As we shall see, the existence of a son is confirmed by later advertisements. Charles’s wife is mentioned far less frequently, and her participation in these concerts makes her one of the first female horn players in England.

⁷⁹³ Mingay, *English Landed Society*, 142.

⁷⁹⁴ Hore, *The History of the Royal Buckhounds*, 225.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 280.

⁷⁹⁶ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 85.

⁷⁹⁷ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179.

In any case, between March 1738 and May 1740, Charles's whereabouts are unknown. Highfill speculates he may have been touring the provinces.⁷⁹⁸ This conjecture seems correct, since he clearly began touring the provinces from December 10, 1741, when he performed in the Great Assembly Room in Stamford.⁷⁹⁹ He next appears in an advertisement for a performance in York in February 1742,⁸⁰⁰ and by March of that year he was in Dublin.⁸⁰¹ One can trace Charles's general musical activities from this year until approximately 1756 (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4. References to Charles in newspapers throughout the British Isles from 1741 to approximately 1755.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Music Performed or Information Announced</u>	<u>Source</u>
December 10, 1741	Stamford Great Assembly Room	Unknown	Chevill, "Clergy, Music Societies" (CMS)
February 9, 1742	York Assembly Room	Large program of music for various instruments (French horn, Clarinet, Shalamo): The New Pastor Fido, Solo Concerto on the French Horn, Select Piece on the Shalamo, etc.	Chevill, "Music Societies and Musical Life" (MSML); CMS
March 19, 1742	Dublin	Arrival of Mr. Charles, "an Hungarian"	Boydell (B), CMS, Highfill, Biographical Dictionary (BD)

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Chevill, "Clergy, Music Societies," 50; Chevill, "Music Societies and Musical Life," 260.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁰¹ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 80; Chevill, "Clergy, Music Societies," 50; Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3:179.

Table 6.4—*Continued.*

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Music Performed or Information Announced</u>	<u>Source</u>
May 5, 1742	Dublin	Rehearsal for concert on May 12, 1742 – same program as York February concert	B
May 12, 1742	Musick Hall in Dublin	Same program as York February concert and May 5, 1742, rehearsal	Deutsch (D), B, BD
May 17, 1742	Dublin	“Mr Charles with his Second will perform the Water Musick”	B, CMS, BD
May 19, 1742	Musick Hall in Dublin	Was supposed to be a repeat performance of the May 12, 1742, concert – postponed until June	D, BD
June 2, 1742	Dublin	Repeat of May 12, 1742, concert, yet includes new music, “...particularly a new Solo for the French Horn’	BD
November 22, 1742	Dublin	Charles returns to Dublin and takes over Geminiani’s Great Room	B
November 26, 1742	Dublin	Charles to perform for the Charitable Musical Society	B
January 1743	Dublin	Charles advertises private lessons to take place in Geminiani’s Great Room	B
February 1743	Dublin	“Mr Charles and his Second will perform a Concerto on the French Horn”	B

Table 6.4—*Continued.*

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Music Performed or Information Announced</u>	<u>Source</u>
February 12, 1743	Theater Royal in Aungier Street, Dublin	Benefit for Charles after the play <i>Love for Love</i>	B, BD
March 10, 1743	Dublin	Charles to take part in William Delamain's benefit	B
November 1743	London	Performs as a trio with wife and sons on clarinet, <i>hautbois d'amour</i> , and the "Shalamo"	BD
December 24, 1743	Assembly Rooms St Augustine's Back, Bristol		CMS (Chevill claims BD contains this reference, but I have not found the reference she refers to)
February 1744	Haymarket Theater, London	"Concerto on the French Horn"	The London Stage (LS), CMS, BD
December 22, 1748	Town Hall, Worcester		CMS
January 3, 1749 (date of performance)	Woodcock's Coffee House in Hereford	"A CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC, for the Benefit of Mess. CHARLES, Sen. and Jun."	MSML, CMS
January 17, 1749	Bell Great Room, Gloucester		CMS
February 7, 1749	York	"Tickets to be had at Charles's and Woodhouse's Coffee-Houses in Petergate"	MSML
January 23, 1750	York	"Tickets to be had at Charles's and Woodhouses' Coffee-Houses in Petergate"	MSML

Table 6.4—*Continued.*

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Music Performed or Information Announced</u>	<u>Source</u>
February 13, 1750	York	“Overture of PTOLEMY with the French-Horn . . . TICKETS to be had at Charles’s and Woodhouse’s Coffee-Houses in Petergate”	MSML
March 27, 1750	Assembly Room, York	.”..a CONCERT of MUSICK, By Mr. CHARLES and his SON, from LONDON”	CMS, MSML
July 31, 1750	Bell Great Room, Gloucester		CMS
October 23, 1750	Hereford	.”..several Select Pieces on the French-Horns by Mess. Charles Sen. and Jun. from London”	CMS, MSML
January 15, 1751	York	“Tickets to be had at . . . Mr. Charles’s and Perkins’ Coffee houses . . . ”	MSML
February 11, 1751	New Assembly Room, Salisbury	“Several Concertos and Duets will be Perform’d on French Horns intirely [sic] New”	CMS, MSML
February 19, 1751	York	“Tickets to be had at Charles’s and Woodhouse’s Coffee-Houses in Petergate”	MSML
May 6, 1751	Bath		CMS
June 12, 1751	Bristol		CMS
October 1, 1751	Ross (Gloucester Journal)		CMS

Table 6.4—*Continued.*

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Music Performed or Information Announced</u>	<u>Source</u>
January 28, 1952	York	“Tickets to be had at Mr. Charles’s and Woodhouses’ Coffee-Houses in Petergate”	MSML
May 18, 1752	Bristol: Opening Concert at Hotwells		CMS
October 23, 1753	Hereford	“Particularly several select PIECES on the French Horns by Mess. CHARLES Sen. and Junr. from London”	CMS, MSML
April 11, 1754	York	Charles and his son may use the rooms for concerts (from the Assembly Room Minutes, York)	MSML
November 9, 1754	Newcastle	Charles participates in a concert at Newcastle to celebrate the King’s birthday	CMS, Routhey, “Competition and Collaboration” (CAC)
1755	Edinburgh	Charles appears as clarinetist	BD

According to Elizabeth Chevall, Charles made a few appearances in London and then began touring the provinces beginning in 1740. She asserts: “Charles seems to have stayed in each place for only a couple of days, and he may have planned his itinerary so that he visited most of the major centres during the course of a year.”⁸⁰² Yet if one looks closely at Table 6.4, one sees that Charles’s post-London career is broken down into two phases. During the first phase, he made his way to Dublin via Stamford and York and

⁸⁰² Chevall, “Music Societies and Musical Life,” 42; see also Chevall, “Clergy, Music Societies,” 49.

then seems to have resided primarily in Dublin until the spring of 1743. After this time he apparently returned to London for a couple of performances, following which he began touring the provinces, although he seems to have resided in York. I will examine these points in detail.

In February 1742 the *York Courant* announced the arrival of “MR CHARLES, Master of the FRENCH Horn” as having “just arrived from London with a Second eminent Hand.”⁸⁰³ He and his second performed an extensive concert for Charles’s benefit. The program was as follows:

First ACT.

1. An Overture with French Horns called, The New Pastor Fido.
2. The 6th Concerto of Signor Geminiani.
3. A Solo Concerto on the French Horn by Mr. Charles.
4. A Concerto on the Clarinet by Mr. Charles.
6. Mr. Handell’s Water-Musick with the March in Scipio and Chorus in Atalanta.

Second ACT.

1. The Overture in Saul, with the Dead March.
2. A Concerto for the Harpsichord by Mr. Nares.
3. A Select Piece on the Shalamo, by Mr. Charles.
4. Signor Hasse’s Concerto with Signora Barbarini’s Minuet.
5. A Solo on the Hautboy-de Amour by Mr. CHARLES.
6. The Turkish Musick in the Original Cast as perform’d in the Spring-Gardens, Vauxhall.

To begin exactly at Six o’Clock. Tickets to be had at Mr. GIBSON’S in Lendale, at Mr. OLDFIELDS in Coney-Street and at Mr. MARSH’S Coffee-House at 2s. 6d. each. N.B. The Clarinet, the Shalamo and the Hautbois de Amour no body perfom’d in England but Mr. Charles.⁸⁰⁴

One can see Charles performing on the same instruments he performed on in London, namely the French horn, clarinet, and “Shalamo.” It is unknown who his “Second Eminent Hand” was.⁸⁰⁵ Some of the early advertisements from 1733 mention a “Second”

⁸⁰³ Chevill, “Music Societies and Musical Life,” 99.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid.

named “Giay”; by the end of the 1740s, however, Charles is performing exclusively with his son, Mr. Charles, jun. Without further research it is difficult to know when “Giay” was replaced, for references to Charles’s son do not appear until about 1749, as in the following example:

By DESIRE OF THE MUSICAL SOCIETY, On Tuesday next the 3d of January, will be perform’d in Mr. Woodcock’s GREAT ROOM, A CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC, for the Benefit of Mess. CHARLES, Sen. and Jun. in which they will perform a Variety of Pieces on the French-Horns, Shallamo, and Clarinett. Note, There will be a CONCERTO and SOLO on the VIOLIN by Mr. Charles jun. Tickets to be had at Mr. Woodcock’s – To begin at Five o’Clock.⁸⁰⁶

From the January 1749 advertisement, it is clear that “Mr. Charles jun” was also proficient on the violin. In any case, this is the first official reference to Charles’s son performing with him, and one can assume logically that the mysterious references to “a Second Eminent Hand” also refer to him. It is clear that many eighteenth-century musicians often performed as father-and-son teams. Later I will discuss the careers of Frederick Messing I and II, both of whom were active around this same time.

After passing through Stamford and performing in York, Charles arrived in Dublin, and on May 5, 1742, performed in a rehearsal for a concert with the exact same program he and his “Second” had given in York.⁸⁰⁷ The actual concert took place on May 12, was advertised to be repeated on May 19th, but was not given again until June 2.⁸⁰⁸ He also managed to perform in a benefit concert for “Messrs Will. and Bar

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., 239.

⁸⁰⁷ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 81.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.; Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, 547-8; Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179.

Manwaring” on May 17, 1742, playing along with “his Second . . . the Water Musick, accompanied by Kountze on the Kettle-Drums.”⁸⁰⁹

Although Charles’s whereabouts are unknown during the summer of 1742, he is advertised as returning to Dublin in November of that year,⁸¹⁰ and, contrary to Chevill’s observations about Charles’s hectic performing schedule, Charles clearly tries to settle down at least semi-permanently in Dublin before beginning his tours of the provinces again in the fall of 1743. Highfill notes that Charles “also postponed his departure from Ireland, since he seems to have taken over for awhile the music room which had been abandoned by Francesco Geminiani in 1740.”⁸¹¹ This fact is confirmed by an advertisement Charles placed in the *Dublin Journal* in January 1743:⁸¹²

Mr Charles, French-Horn master, having taken over Mr Geminiani’s Concerns, and Great Musick Room in Dames-street, proposes teaching Gentlemen and others, the French Horn after the newest Taste, and in the most expeditious Manner: He Likewise teaches Loves of Hunting or Huntsmen, the Hunting or Field-Pieces, as now in use all over England and France &c. He will (if required) wait on Gentlemen at their Houses.

‘N.B. He attends his Scholars at the Great Room beforementioned, from eight in the Morning until three in the Afternoon: His Price for those who come to him, is a Guinea Entrance, and a Guinea for sixteen Lessons, which he gives to the Month – If he waits upon Gentlemen, the Price is a Moydore Entrance, and a Moydore for sixteen Lessons.’⁸¹³

This advertisement is striking, because it gives us some idea of what was expected of horn teachers in the 1740s. It is directed at two different audiences, and therefore two different kinds of students. The first kind of student would have been “Gentlemen and others,” whom Charles promised to teach “the French Horn after the newest Taste, and in

⁸⁰⁹ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 82; Chevill, “Clergy, Music Societies,” 50; Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179.

⁸¹⁰ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 87.

⁸¹¹ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179.

⁸¹² Boydell notes that Charles advertised frequently in both the *Dublin Journal* and *Dublin News-Letter* after his November 22, 1742, performance that he would teach the horn. *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 87.

⁸¹³ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 90. Boydell notes that “the value of a Moydore was 27s. 6d.”

the most expeditious Manner.” This first type of student might have been a gentleman who desired to perform art music on the horn, albeit in an amateur context. Charles might have taught his more advanced amateur students either how to perform on crooks or how to employ rudimentary hand-stopping techniques. Of course, one could also include Dublin-based professional trumpeters and horn players in this category: they might have taken lessons with Charles to improve their own skills on the horn.

The second kind of student is the “Loves of Hunting or Huntsmen” who would have learned “the Hunting or Field-Pieces, as now in use all over England and France &c.” This individual might have been a gentleman but was more likely a servant—free or otherwise—or a practicing musician who wished to learn the signals and techniques associated with French hunting ceremonies, which Charles claimed were then common in England.

Charles demonstrates his excellent marketing skills not only by bringing sought-after sophistication to the nobility and gentry of Ireland but also by directing his advertisement to different audiences. A successful horn teacher in the 1740s must have been proficient in both musical styles, ready to explain the *ton de venerie*, as codified by the Marquis de Dampierre,⁸¹⁴ as well as the method of playing suitable for the theater or other purely artistic venues.

Therefore, Charles attempted to become a professional and relatively settled musician in Dublin, although McVeigh, along with Chevill, tries to ascribe a less stationary lifestyle to him:

The French horn-players, Mr Charles and his son seem to turn up everywhere in the years around 1750, marketing themselves like a

⁸¹⁴ Daniel Bourgue, “La trompe de chasse, son histoire, sa technique, sa musique,” *Brass Bulletin* 39 (1982): 29.

traveling circus with performances on the oboe d'amore 'and two foreign instruments, the shallamo and clarinet.' While this might sound like a concert tour, this would be overstating both intention and planning: usually musicians simply arrived and put on a concert with some local performers at a few days' notice. The idea that an international virtuoso might deliberately travel around the country in a planned succession of money-making concerts (as Hummel and Paganini were to do in the 1830s) was still in the future. At this point such naked commercialism would seriously have damaged both a musician's reputation and his standing with patrons.⁸¹⁵

Charles, however, clearly put some thought into his move to Dublin: the fact that he tested his Dublin program in York first shows ample preparation, which paid off when the Dublin public asked Charles to repeat his program in June 1742. One might counter that Charles merely had a select number of pieces he could perform and thus played the same music wherever he ended up. While Charles clearly had a stock repertoire, the program first used in York and then repeated in Dublin was put together with the latter location in mind. Brian Boydell notes that Charles "astutely benefited from the popularity of Handel's music (who was in Dublin at this time) by putting on a concert consisting mainly of Handel's music."⁸¹⁶ Handel gave a series of oratorios and other concert works in Dublin between December 1741 and June 1742, culminating in a public rehearsal of *Messiah* on April 9 and two performances on April 13 and June 3.⁸¹⁷ Charles was in Stamford in December 1741, but knowing that Handel was in Dublin, he proceeded to that city with a program containing many pieces written by that composer. He also copied the marketing strategy Handel used for *Messiah*, scheduling a public

⁸¹⁵ Simon McVeigh, "Introduction," in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited and Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), 10.

⁸¹⁶ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 13.

⁸¹⁷ Anthony Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric," *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 13 August 2006).

rehearsal for May 5 and the concert for May 12. Like Handel, Charles was very successful, since his concert was repeated in June.

Burrows suggests not only that Handel scored *Messiah* for the reasonably small forces he could expect to assemble in Dublin but also that he used mostly local musicians for these performances even though the newspapers reported in November 1742 that Handel had “brought over several of the best Performers in the Musical Way.” Handel’s letters shed no light on who his personnel was, and one would think from the lack of horn parts in *Messiah* that Handel did not bring any horn players with him and that local horn specialists were not available in Dublin.⁸¹⁸ Yet the oratorio *L’Allegro il Penseroso ed il Moderato* (HWV55, 1740) was performed on December 23, 1741, and January 13, 1742, and the oratorio *Esther* (HWV50b) was performed on February 3, 1742.⁸¹⁹ The former contains a solo obbligato part for horn, while the latter uses horns in two movements. State trumpeters could have performed these parts,⁸²⁰ though it seems more likely that a horn player was required for the obbligato part in *L’Allegro*.⁸²¹

Charles was not in Dublin until March 1742 and therefore did not take part in these performances. There appears to have been another London-based horn player in Dublin concurrent with Handel’s arrival:

1741, 22 Th, S-A: Between the Acts of the play, ‘a Concerto on the French Horn by the celebrated Mr Winch, who has perform’d several years in Mr Handel’s Operas and Oratorios.’⁸²²

⁸¹⁸ Donald Burrows, *Handel* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 260-264.

⁸¹⁹ Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric,” *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 13 August 2006); Burrows, *Handel*, 264.

⁸²⁰ Burrows, *Handel*, 261.

⁸²¹ Horn players may have also participated in *Messiah* by doubling the trumpet parts as they did in the Foundling Hospital concerts of the 1750s.

⁸²² Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 74.

Winch appears in further Dublin advertisements, and although I will discuss his career in detail later in this chapter, I will point out for now that Winch certainly accompanied Handel to Dublin, whereas Charles obviously did not. Although Charles took advantage of Handel's popularity in his concert programs, he made no explicit reference to having "perform'd several years in Mr Handel's Operas and Oratorios." He may have performed for Handel, especially if Weston is correct in asserting that Handel wrote his quartet for two clarinets and two horns for Charles and his family, but for some reason he came to Dublin on his own.

It is interesting to note in this connection the appearance of many London-based musicians and composers in Dublin in the early 1740s. It seems many of them left London for Dublin during this time. The city was second only to London as a musical center in the British Isles in the eighteenth century, and in fact many of the leading actors and musicians of the day made a point of visiting during the course of their careers.⁸²³

Boydell notes:

After the wars of the 1690s the city [Dublin] settled down to a period in which the elegance and idle affluence associated with a colonial governing class formed the ideal background for the cultivation of the arts. As the second city in the British Isles, Dublin entered upon a 'golden age' and attracted musicians of European fame. Cousser, Geminiani, Dubourg, Michael Arne and Tommaso Giordani made Dublin their home; and Handel, T. A. Arne, Pasquali, Castrucci, J. F. Lampe, Pinto, Tenducci and many others paid extended visits. The remarkable extent of musical activity in the middle of the 18th century can be deduced from an analysis of advertised events in the 1749–50 season, which reveals nearly three dozen performances of 16 oratorios, 59 of operas or musical plays and a wide range of instrumental music.⁸²⁴

⁸²³ Fiske, *Blackwell History of Music*, 20; Enrico Careri, *Francesco Geminiani (1687-1762)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 32.

⁸²⁴ Brian Boydell, "Dublin," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 4 May 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

According to Roy Johnson, however, many London-based musicians began to think of moving permanently to Dublin in the early 1740s because of the lack of work in London. Dublin seemed to offer musicians and composers considerable opportunities for employment at a time when comparable opportunities in London reached an abrupt nadir. During the 1740s a number of British actors began to perform in what we would consider to be a more “natural” manner. Both Charles Macklin and David Garrick led this upheaval in acting style in 1741 with the former’s portrayal of Shylock and the latter’s interpretation of Richard III. Because of this phenomenon, the popularity of Shakespeare in particular and of spoken drama in general increased exponentially, while the popularity of musical theater decreased significantly.⁸²⁵ Not only did London theaters reduce significantly music, pantomimes, and afterpieces in their productions but also they reduced drastically the number of new dramatic productions, instead relying on plays already known to the public.⁸²⁶ In addition, some theater managers, like “John Rich, the parsimonious manager of Covent Garden” found it less expensive to put on old productions instead of adding new plays to their repertoire and added almost no new plays to his repertoire during the 1740s.⁸²⁷ Therefore, many dancers, composers, and musicians as well as authors found themselves unemployed,⁸²⁸ and quite a few musicians, including Thomas and Cecilia Arne, John Frederick and Isabella Lampe, and Handel

⁸²⁵ Roy Johnston, “The Pleasures and Penalties of Networking: John Frederick Lampe in the Summer of 1750,” in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), 220.

⁸²⁶ Dennis R. Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe*, Detroit Monographs in Musicology Number 8 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1985), 63

⁸²⁷ Roger Fiske, *Blackwell History of Music*, 18.

⁸²⁸ Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style*, 63. Henry Carey (ca. 1687-1743), the librettist for *The Dragon of Wantley* (1737), became so depressed by his inability to succeed in the “new theatrical climate” that he committed suicide in 1743. Johnston, “The Pleasures and Penalties,” 220.

himself, left London sometime in the early 1740s to try their luck in Ireland.⁸²⁹ Charles may have left for similar reasons.

On the other hand, or perhaps in conjunction with, the severe epidemic fever of 1741-42 may have driven many of these musicians out of London. The epidemic seems to have been precipitated by an extremely cold winter in 1739-40, followed by two springs and summers of hot and dry weather. All these factors led to bad harvests and consequent high food prices, though the fever itself was said to have arrived with seamen in the autumn of 1740. By the summer of 1741, it had spread all over England.⁸³⁰

In 1741, 7,258 Londoners died from fever, while 32,119 Londoners died from general causes. These numbers are out of a total population of about 700,000.⁸³¹ Even so, Charles Creighton suggests that the London population had been struggling for quite some time:

The great epidemic of fever in 1741-42 was the climax of a series of years in London all marked by high fever mortalities. If there had not been something peculiarly favourable to contagious fever in the then state of the capital, it is not likely that a temporary distress caused by a hard winter and a deficient harvest following should have had such effects. This was the time when the population is supposed to have stood still or even declined in London. Drunkenness was so prevalent that the College of Physicians on 19 January, 1726, made a representation of it to the House of Commons . . . Fielding guessed that a hundred thousand in London lived upon drink alone.⁸³²

Presumably, Charles and many other musicians felt that not only was it difficult to obtain positions in the theaters but also that their lives were at stake should they stay in the capital during the early 1740s.

⁸²⁹ Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style*, 65.

⁸³⁰ Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1965), 78-80.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, 84.

For many of these musicians, performing in Dublin was very different from performing in London. While the former was the second-largest city in the British Isles, it suffered greatly from both a preoccupation with its status as a colonial city as well as friction resulting from a ruling class of Protestants in a predominantly Catholic city. Indeed, T. C. Barnard states that at this time Dublin had more in common with Bengal than not only with London but also with either Edinburgh or Paris.⁸³³ Furthermore, while audiences in London theaters would occasionally turn to violence in an attempt to solve problems with either unsatisfactory performance details or what they viewed as misguided theater management,⁸³⁴ Dublin audiences seem to have been particularly unruly. Sometimes they were disorderly to the point of putting the lives of the orchestra musicians in danger, as evidenced by a manifesto placed in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in 1747 by the actor and theater manager Thomas Sheridan:

The Manager of the Theater Royal at an Extraordinary Expense provided the best Band of Musick which he could procure, was in hopes that he had done a Thing which would be very agreeable to the Town in general, but more particularly so to that part of the Audience who came early to the Galleries to procure good Places . . . But to his great Surprise, he finds for some nights past that the Band has been treated in such a Manner as renders it impossible for them to stay in the Box, for besides the Danger to their Persons, in one Night they sustained at least ten pounds worth of Damage by having some of their most valuable Instruments broke.⁸³⁵

⁸³³ T. C. Barnard, "‘Grand metropolis’ or ‘The anus of the world’? The cultural life of eighteenth-century Dublin," in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840*, ed. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 185-210.

⁸³⁴ Leo Hughes states: "Throughout this sketch of a ‘candid’ but exigent audience, an audience sometimes violently responsive to activities on the stage, I have been aware of the danger of stressing this more dramatic quality, of leaving the impression that all theatergoers were so partisan or so violent that an actor's only concern was not to arouse them too much. Such a picture would be distorted since violent reactions are in the long run intermittent and, often enough, the response of something less than the whole audience." Leo Hughes, *The Drama's Patrons: A Study of the Eighteenth-Century London Audience* (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1971), 64; cf. Harry William Pedicord, *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press; London and Amsterdam: Feffer & Simons, Inc., 1954).

⁸³⁵ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, November 21/24, 1747, reprinted in T. J. Walsh, *Opera in Dublin 1705-1797: The Social Scene* (Allen Figgis & Co. Ltd., 1973), 73.

Perhaps Charles was not successful in obtaining students, or perhaps he was unable to work successfully under such conditions. Highfill states he was back in London, performing with his family, by November of 1743,⁸³⁶ and although Chevill, quoting Highfill, asserts that Charles performed in Bristol in December of that year,⁸³⁷ the first advertisement I have found for him after he leaves Dublin concerns a performance at the Haymarket Theater and dates from February 1744:

OTHELLO. As 6 Feb.

MUSIC. Concerto on French Horn – Charles, first time of his performing since his arrival; concerto on German Flute – Burk Thumoth. After which will be acted Gratis the tragedy . . . by a set of Gentlemen for their diversion⁸³⁸

This advertisement claims to be Charles's first performance since he returned to London. That claim may or may not be true. I have not found any advertisements for Charles between this concert and December 1748, when he appears in a concert in Worcester.⁸³⁹ He may have begun traveling throughout the provinces, which he appears to have done extensively, along with his son, throughout the remainder of his career. It would appear at first glance that in fact, Charles and his son look very much like "a Hungarian gypsy" or a "traveling circus," yet upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that although Charles and his son were engaged in various towns throughout the provinces, they made their home in York. Beginning in February 1749, one reads phrases such as "Tickets to be had at Charles's and Woodhouse's Coffee-Houses in Petergate . . . at 2s. 6d. each" in concert advertisements."⁸⁴⁰ At this particular event there was also a "Concerto on the French

⁸³⁶ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179.

⁸³⁷ Chevill, "Clergy, Music Societies," 50.

⁸³⁸ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 2: 1090.

⁸³⁹ Chevill, "Clergy, Music Societies," 50.

⁸⁴⁰ Chevill, "Music Societies and Musical Life," 267.

Horn, composed by Signor Hasse.”⁸⁴¹ Therefore, we can assume that Charles was a performer as well as a ticket distributor. Many advertisements from the 1750s contain instructions for patrons to purchase tickets at Charles’s coffee house in York,⁸⁴² and so while he was touring the provinces, he was also running a business. We might assume that he and his son continued performing while his wife managed the coffee house. That Charles was resident in York is also confirmed by a reference to him and his son in the York Assembly Room Minutes: “Order’d that Mr. Charles and Son have the use of the Rooms for Concert on any night w^{ch} does not interfere w^{ith} the Assembly or the Orders above on the usual conditions.”⁸⁴³

Thus, like Anthony Rash, Charles ran a coffee house while working as a horn player. It is interesting that he started out as a very busy horn soloist in London, tried unsuccessfully to establish himself in Dublin, and then ended up in York. His clear estrangement from Handel may have had something to do with him seeking employment outside of London, though the details that formed the basis of this rift need to be researched.

In any case, Charles was active into the late 1750s. Highfill mentions that a clarinet player named Mr. Charles appears in Edinburgh in 1755.⁸⁴⁴ As a noted performer, he also composed many works for use in his concerts. In 1756 his “Twelve Duettos for two French Horns or Two German Flutes” were appended to *Apollo’s Cabinet* (Liverpool: John Sadler, 1756).⁸⁴⁵ Morley-Pegge reminds us that these duets

⁸⁴¹ Ibid.

⁸⁴² Ibid., 267, 268, 269, 270, 272.

⁸⁴³ Chevill, “Music Societies and Musical Life,” Appendix I, no pagination.

⁸⁴⁴ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179.

⁸⁴⁵ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 3: 179; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 106; John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 14.

followed the instructions taken almost word-for-word from Winch's tutor of 1746.⁸⁴⁶

Since Charles and Winch were in Dublin during the same period, they must have been familiar with one another. It is possible they collaborated on this project. Another possibility is, of course, that John Sadler simply put the instructions and the duets together himself in order to increase his profits.

In addition, Fitzpatrick mentions a Concerto in D by "Sig. Charles" that appeared in the Musical Library of Sir Samuel Hellier (c. 1764-84) at Wombourne Wodehouse, Staffordshire, where at the time of writing (1970), it was still preserved.⁸⁴⁷ The *New Grove* entry for "Charles [first name unknown]," lists Charles's compositions as including the twelve duets attached to *Apollo's Cabinet* (1756) in addition to a concerto, a solo for horn, and two solos for spinnet.⁸⁴⁸ Finally, music by Charles probably appears in The Egerton Manuscript Collection (British Library, Add. 71539). As seen in previous chapters, horn music in this manuscript contains evidence of the use of crooks as well as of the employment of hand-stopping. Thomas Hiebert speculates that Mr. Charles and Carlo Vernsberg (fl. 1739-1755; d. 1780) might have been the same person:

Very little is known about Carlo Vernsberg, though he does show up on the lists of the Royal Society of Music as Charles Vernsberg [Vernsbergh], first in 1739 and again in the lists of 1742, 1744 and 1755; it is also noted that he died "before 3 December 1780." And whereas other hornists active in early 18th-century England—such as Christopher Winch and various hornists from the Messing family—do appear in the lists of the Royal Society of Music, Mr. Charles is strangely absent from them. It is tempting to speculate that Mr. Charles and Charles Vernsberg may have had contact, or were even one and the same person, since they share the name Charles, their dates of activity are similar, and they both wrote for

⁸⁴⁶ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 86.

⁸⁴⁷ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 106.

⁸⁴⁸ F. G. Rendall, Christopher Hogwood, Barra R. Boydell, "Charles [first name unknown]," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 7 August 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

solo horn; nevertheless, there is not enough evidence at present to make that claim.⁸⁴⁹

There are a number of Charles Vernbergs active in England in the mid- to late-eighteenth century, but disentangling them will require more research.⁸⁵⁰

Regardless, Charles, far from being a nebulous personage, had a long and relatively successful musical and business career. Arriving most likely from Paris in 1733, he first embarked on a performing career in London that lasted until about 1740. Like many London-based musicians in the early 1740s, Charles moved to Dublin and tried to establish himself there. He seems to have obtained a position in a local theater orchestra and worked hard to gain students. That Dublin did not turn out as he had hoped is evidenced by his return first to London and his eventual semi-permanent home in York. Charles seems to have been a composer as well as a musician and can also claim credit for popularizing new and/or unusual instruments such as the clarinet, chalumeau, and oboe d'amore. His son seems to have followed in his footsteps, performing on these unusual instruments as well as the violin. It would, of course, be fascinating to know what happened to this musical family in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is

⁸⁴⁹ Thomas Hiebert, "Extraordinary Horn-Writing in The Egerton Manuscript Collection (British Museum, Add. 71539): A Contribution to the History of the Horn in Mid-18th Century England," forthcoming.

⁸⁵⁰ For example, a Charles Vernsberg and Mary had two sons: William was christened in 1747 (Saint Martin In the Fields, Westminster) and Philip in 1753 (Saint Paul Covent Garden, London); however, records also indicate that Philip Vernsberg and Mary had a son, Philip, who was christened in 1752 (Saint Martin In the Fields, Westminster). In addition, a Mary Vernsberg lists her two sons, Joseph and Francis, in her will (Prob, PRO/11/1087, proved 1782). Her will states only that she was a widow, and so the name of her husband (Charles or Philip) is not known. I have not found any records pertaining to Joseph Vernsberg, but a Francis/Charles Francis/Francis Charles Vernsberg appears to have married twice, first to Margretta Cunningham in 1770 (Dorchester, Dorset) and then to Elizabeth Palmer in 1790 (Market Bosworth, Leicestershire). He and Margretta/Margaretta had a son, Charles, who was christened in 1773 (Devonport, Devon), though the records also list a daughter, Anna Maria, as being born to Charles Francis Vernsberg and Mary in 1779 (Stamford, Lincoln). It is unknown whether Mary and Margretta/Margaretta are the same person. Finally, a Charles Ignatius Vernsberg married Esther Rudge in 1753 (Chippenham, Wiltshire). Either Charles Ignatius or the Charles mentioned at the beginning of this footnote could relate to Hiebert's Carlo Vernsberg (Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 7, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>).

possible they continued to perform in the provinces or stopped performing to run their business. Further research will provide answers to these questions.

The Messing Family

In addition to Mr. Charles, the Messings have figured prominently in histories of the horn. Both Morley-Pegge and Fitzpatrick discuss them in relation to Burney's claim that they were "the first who pretended to perform in all keys in England, about the year 1740."⁸⁵¹ I have also mentioned them in previous chapters, speculating not only that the increased level of virtuosity in the horn parts in Handel's operas from the 1730s as well as his employment of horn in E-flat in "Mirth, admit me of thy crew" was somehow connected with them.

In researching the musical careers of the Messings, I have come across surprising information not only about their professional but also their personal lives. In what follows I will provide a detailed genealogical record for four generations of Messings, beginning with Nicholas Jacob Christopher Messing, an immigrant from Hesse-Cassel and ending with Frederick James Messing, who died impoverished and insane in 1798.

Based on the name itself, Fitzpatrick speculates that the Messing family came to England from Germany. He writes:

Contemporary accounts give us no information about the country of their birth; but the name suggests Sudeten German origin. (*Messing* means brass: the name is occasionally encountered, not inappropriately, in the Erzgebirge, the ore-bearing mountains dividing Bohemia and Saxony).⁸⁵²

Although Fitzpatrick incorrectly laments the paucity of contemporary records for the Messing family, he does surmise correctly the general area of their birth. Nicholas Jacob

⁸⁵¹ See Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 86; Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 102-103.

⁸⁵² Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 102.

Christopher and Sophia Maria Messing, of Hesse-Kassel, immigrated to England sometime in the early eighteenth century. According to Nat Alcock and Joan Lane: “Nothing further has been discovered about them, but it would be plausible that the family’s move to London was connected with the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty.”⁸⁵³ Because their son, Frederick Messing (I), was a noted horn player, it is reasonable to suppose that Nicholas Jacob Christopher Messing was also a musician.⁸⁵⁴

The couple had at least three children: Henry William, Frederick, and Susannah. Records indicate that only Henry William was born in England: he was christened at Saint James, Westminster in March 1722.⁸⁵⁵ I have not found corresponding records for either Frederick or Susannah, though their relationship to each other as well as to their parents is substantiated by three sources: Susannah’s marriage bond, a private act passed in Parliament enabling her to become a naturalized citizen, and a lawsuit Frederick brought against her before her second marriage.

In 1735 Susannah Messing married Michael Hubert “in the church of St John Baptist, Clerkenwell.”⁸⁵⁶ According to Alcock and Lane, the marriage bond lists both her maiden name of “Messing” as well as their residence before marriage, Saint James’, Westminster,⁸⁵⁷ the same parish in which Henry William was christened. Shortly after marrying, they moved to Wasperton in Warwickshire and had two children, one of whom

⁸⁵³ Nat Alcock and Joan Lane, “A Widow’s Adornment and Estate,” no pagination.

⁸⁵⁴ According to Christoph Hellmut-Mahling, the greatest number of eighteenth-century orchestral court musicians in Germany came from families made up of musicians or families in which music was considered important. “The Origin and Social Status of the Court Orchestral Musician in the 18th and Early 19th Century in Germany,” in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, ed. Walter Samien, annotated and trans. Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner, Sociology of Music No. 1 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 229.

⁸⁵⁵ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 7, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁸⁵⁶ In a footnote Alcock and Lane observe: “The marriage record itself was very elusive (not in IGI) and was only found following the location of the marriage bond.” “A Widow’s Adornment,” no pagination.

⁸⁵⁷ Nat Alcock and Joan Lane, “A Widow’s Adornment and Estate,” no pagination.

died after six months. Unfortunately, Michael Hubert himself passed away before the birth of the second child: Susannah proved his will in Prerogative Court on February 1, 1738.⁸⁵⁸

Susannah and Michael Hubert's marriage bond establishes that she was a Messing; her exact relationship to Nicholas Jacob Christopher and Sophia Maria Messing is demonstrated in a private act passed by Parliament allowing her to become a citizen.

12^o Georgij 2^{di} No. 26 states:

SUSANNAH HUBERT, widow and relict of Michael Hubert, of Wasperton in the County of Warwick, Esquire, deceased, daughter of Nicholas Jacob Christopher Messing, by Sophia Maria his wife, born at Hesse Cassel in Germany.⁸⁵⁹

It seems likely Susannah Hubert petitioned the House of Lords for citizenship specifically so she could purchase property: after she attained citizenship in April 1739, she purchased the manor of Wolston, Warwickshire the following year. She had received a substantial inheritance upon the death of her husband, and the purchase price of Wolston, £5,065, gives us some idea of her new-found ability “to set herself up independently” as a wealthy widow.”⁸⁶⁰

It may have been Susannah's good financial fortune combined with her desire to remarry that motivated her brother, Frederick, to sue her in 1751. The lawsuit, dated April 2 of that year, begins thus:

Humbly complaining sheweth unto your Lordship your Orator Frederick Messing of James Street in the Parish of Covent Garden Gentleman that Susannah Hubert the Widow and Sole Executrix of Michael Hubert deceased did before her Intermarriage with the said Michael Hubert live

⁸⁵⁸ Alcock and Lane, “A Widow's Adornment,” no pagination.

⁸⁵⁹ William A. Shaw, ed., *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England & Ireland 1701-1800* (Lymington: The Huguenot Society of London, 1911), 2: 142. James Tracy, Christian Burckhard Reyhlen, and Zacharias Nieman also became citizens through this act.

⁸⁶⁰ Alcock and Lane, “A Widow's Adornment,” no pagination.

and board with your Orator for a considerable Space of Time she being your Orators own Sister for which your Orator expected to be paid but did not then or at or during the said Intermarriage of his said Sister receive any Satisfaction whatsoever for the same.⁸⁶¹

In the lawsuit, Frederick asserts that his sister, Susannah, should pay him for the Board and Lodgings he provided to her before her marriage specifically because he maintained her in a style necessary to attract the wealthy Michael Hubert. Furthermore, he notes that her responses to his claims range from denying that she lived with him, stating that he mentioned nothing to her about payments while she lived with him, and asserting that she was more help to him at his residence than he was to her.

Frederick is also concerned about an unredeemed promissory note for £100 originally made out to Michael Hubert from David Moreau. He believes that as the executrix of Hubert's estate, Susannah is in collusion with Moreau and others, preventing him from redeeming this note.⁸⁶²

I have established already that Susannah Hubert was a wealthy widow. In addition, it seems clear from her brother's litigious behavior that she had married "considerably above her expectations."⁸⁶³ For the purposes of this study, the lawsuit confirms that Frederick Messing and Susannah Hubert were siblings. Combined with the documents relating to Susannah's first marriage and her naturalization act, one can also verify that Susannah and Frederick, along with Henry William, were the children of Nicholas Christopher Jacob and Sophia Maria Messing.

They may have had additional siblings. There is a record of a Mary Magdalen Messing marrying Samuel Gottlieb Goodman on September 7, 1723, at Saint James,

⁸⁶¹ PRO C 11/2198/19 (241672).

⁸⁶² PRO C 11/2198/19 (241672).

⁸⁶³ Alcock and Lane, "A Widow's Adornment," no pagination.

Westminster, London,⁸⁶⁴ but more research is needed to confirm her connection to this family. In addition, a Samuel Messing married Mary Wolliman on May 24, 1735, at Westminster, Middlesex.⁸⁶⁵ Again, I have not found any confirmation that Samuel Messing was related to Nicholas Jacob Christopher and Sophia Maria, but because the name of Samuel Messing is listed as a Drum-major to the Third Regiment of Footguards beginning in October 1758, it seems likely he was somehow connected with this musical family.⁸⁶⁶

It is not known when Frederick Messing (I) married, but he and his wife, Mary, christened their son, Frederick, in April 1726 at St. Anne's, Soho, Westminster, London.⁸⁶⁷ I have found no records indicating that they had additional children. Frederick Messing (I)'s will does not survive, and while Mary Messing's does, it does not contain any references to their children; however, her will was proved in Prerogative Court in 1785, well after the death of her son, Frederick Messing (II) (d. 1769). If she and Frederick Messing (I) had additional children, they might have also passed away before she drafted her will.⁸⁶⁸

Fitzpatrick asserts that Frederick Messing and his brother were active as soloists, beginning their performing careers in the 1740s.⁸⁶⁹ Yet the first advertisement I have

⁸⁶⁴ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 7, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁸⁶⁵ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 7, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁸⁶⁶ Samuel Messing was appointed on October 7, 1758 and last mentioned on March 4, 1761. The position was vacant by at April 7, 1767. "Index of officers: Mc-My," *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), 1266-1302. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=43958>. Date accessed: 31 July 2006; see also Daub, "Music at the Court of George II," 344.

⁸⁶⁷ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 7, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁸⁶⁸ PRO Prob/11/1134.

⁸⁶⁹ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 102.

found containing the name “Messing” dates from 1734. According to this advertisement, Frederick Messing and “Charke” shared a benefit concert at Hickford’s Room:

CONCERT.

MUSIC. In which will be introduc’d Adonis Chace, consisting of two Aubaden for four French Horns. Compos’d by Seedo and Lampe. Singing by Miss Arne.

COMMENT. Benefit Charke and Messing. 5s. 7 P.M.⁸⁷⁰

Because Frederick Messing (II) was christened only in 1726, the “Messing” in this advertisement must refer to his father, Frederick Messing (I).

By the 1740s it was Frederick Messing (I) and his son, Frederick Messing (II), who began performing together—not Frederick Messing and his brother. The first mention of them together occurs in a reference made by Burney. He recalls that in the year 1741: “Lampe and his wife and sister,” Daniel Sullivan, Jemmy Worsdale, and “the two Messings” all visited Chester via Preston Guild. They performed *The Dragon of Wantley*, *The Dragoness*, *Amelia*, and other works. Burney notes he happened to be at Chester when the company arrived there and that he heard them perform frequently.⁸⁷¹ Frederick Messing (II) would have been fifteen years old at the time of this performance.

An advertisement from 1744 confirms both their heritage and their relationship to each other:

CUPER’s GARDENS

The Widow EVANS, being highly sensible of the Obligations she is under to the Town in general for their Kindness to her in visiting her Gardens, is resolv’d to entertain them with as much Variety as possible, in order thereto, this Week there is added to the Fireworks a fiery Dragon, which flies from the Bottom of the Gardens to the Top of the Orchestra. Her Band of Musick, which is, by the best Judges, allow’d to be inferior to none, will perform several select and favorite pieces; particularly, Count

⁸⁷⁰ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 384.

⁸⁷¹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789) (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 2: 1007.

Messing and his son will sound a Concerto on the Cromatick Horns, they being the only Persons that perform on those Instruments.⁸⁷²

This important advertisement corroborates not only their relationship—“Count Messing and his son”—but also highlights their unique ability to perform on the “Cromatick Horns.” I suggested earlier in this work that this term refers to a crooked instrument. It seems unlikely that in 1740 Frederick Messing I and II were the only individuals who could perform on a crooked horn, but certainly they promoted themselves as such.

Either Frederick Messing (I) or his son had his own benefit concert in February 1741. In this performance, Messing performed “A SERENATA. In which will be introduced several pieces on a new-invented Instrument, called the Corno Cromatico.”⁸⁷³ It is not clear whether one or both Messings appeared in between the acts of the play *Love Makes a Man* at the Haymarket Theater in November 1744, since the advertisement for this performance states “Concerto on Chromatic Horns, Messing.”⁸⁷⁴

In addition to performing on the chromatic horn, Frederick Messing (II) made at least one professional appearance as a vocalist: an advertisement for a “Benefit for Waltz” from December 1748 states: “CONCERT OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. Vocal Parts by Sga Sybilla, Miss Young, Waltz, Hague, Messing, Jr.” One can presume he also performed in the “Grand Concerto with Trumpets, French Horns, and four Kettle Drums beat by John Mitchell Axt.” as well as “a piece of music by six of the best French Horns in England, never attempted before.”⁸⁷⁵ In 1763 Mortimer’s *London*

⁸⁷² Thomas Coram Foundation, Foundling Museum, London.

⁸⁷³ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 2: 891.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1128.

⁸⁷⁵ Stone, ed., *The London Stage*, part 4, 1: 80. According to Matthews, Gustavus Waltz was a “Bass singer on the London stage from 1732. Said to have been Handel’s cook.” Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 150.

Directory lists him as a “Performer on the French horn and violin. Compton-street, Soho.”⁸⁷⁶

Although he performed as a vocalist and violinist, Frederick Messing (II) is remembered today as a horn player, not only because he seems to have been one of the earliest performers on the crooked horn in England but also because he participated in prestigious events such as the 1755 and 1756 Three Choirs Festivals.⁸⁷⁷ Deutsch reprints the following advertisement from Bettow’s *Worcester-Journal*, 28th August 1755:

[Three Choirs Meeting on 10th and 11th September at Worcester]

Mr. Handel’s New Te Deum and Jubilate, Mr. Purcell’s Te Deum and Jubilate with Dr. Boyce’s Additions, with a New Anthem composed for the last Meeting of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy at St. Paul’s by Dr. Boyce, and Mr. Handel’s Coronation Anthem, will be performed in the Cathedral Church.

The Oratorio of Sampson by Mr. Handel, and Dr. Boyce’s Solomon with several other Pieces of Musick, will, in the Evenings of the said Days, be performed in the Great Hall in the College of Worcester . . . Care has been taken to engage the best Masters that could be procured. – The Vocal Parts (beside the Gentlemen of the Three Choirs) – will be performed by Mr. Beard, Mr. Wasse, Mr. Denham, Mr. Baildon, Miss Turner and others. The Instrumental Parts by Mr. Brown, Mr. Miller, Mr. Adcock, Mr. Messing, &c&c – the Musick to be conducted by Dr. Boyce.⁸⁷⁸

Both father and son were members of the Royal Society of Musicians: the former joined in 1739 and was thus a founding member of the Society, and the latter joined in 1757.⁸⁷⁹

This limited information is all I have been able to find relating to the musical careers of Frederick Messing (I and II); however, a closer look at the details of their

⁸⁷⁶ Highfill *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary*, 10: 204.

⁸⁷⁷ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 86.

⁸⁷⁸ Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, 765-66. Deutsch confirms that Abraham Browne was the leader of the orchestra, Miller played the bassoon, Abraham Abcock the trumpet, and Messing the French horn.

⁸⁷⁹ Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 100.

personal lives reveals surprising information not only about them but also about the careers of eighteenth-century horn players in general.

Frederick Messing (II) married Sarah le Febore at London, St. Andrew by the Wardrobe on December 26, 1752.⁸⁸⁰ Records indicate that they had a son, George Thomas, who was baptized on July 22, 1759, at Saint Anne Soho, Westminster, London.⁸⁸¹ Another daughter, Mary Martha, was christened in December 1757 at St. James, Westminster, London.⁸⁸² In his will, which was proved in Prerogative Court in November 1769, Frederick Messing (II) lists Frederick James, John Christian, and Mary Martha as his three children.⁸⁸³ Sarah Messing's will, proved in Prerogative Court in February 1779, lists the names of these same three children,⁸⁸⁴ and thus Frederick and Sarah Messing had four children, one of whom passed away.

The name of Frederick James Messing also appears in the will of Mary Messing, widow of Frederick Messing (I). In this document, she lists her residence as "Oxford Street Saint Giles's in the County of Middlesex" and names her grandson, Frederick James, as one of her executors,⁸⁸⁵ thereby confirming that she is the wife of Frederick Messing (I) and mother of Frederick Messing (II). In addition to these relationships, her own lineage is confirmed in her will. She states:

When every thing is paid shall be divided into three [illegible] shares and be paid immediately to the three following Sisters share and share alike

⁸⁸⁰ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 7, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁸⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸⁸² Ibid.

⁸⁸³ PRO Prob/11/952.

⁸⁸⁴ PRO Prob/11/1050. This will should not be confused with that of another Sarah Messing from a slightly later date. Her will, which was proved in August 1791, lists Sarah's husband, John Messing, as one of her executors; it also lists her residence as Exton, Rutland (PRO Prob 11/1208). A Sarah Baines married John Messing in 1746 in Tinwell, Rutland, and these are probably the same two individuals (www.familysearch.org (Accessed August 7, 2006)).

⁸⁸⁵ PRO Prob/11/1134.

who are Mrs Arne Wife of the late Doctor Arne Mrs Isabella Lampe and Mrs Jones.⁸⁸⁶

Mary Messing appears to have come from a prominent musical family: according to her will, she was the sister of the three celebrated Young sisters: Cecilia, Isabella, and Esther Young. Mollie Sands observes that these three daughters of Dr. Charles Young, organist of All Hallows, Barking, were well-known singers from approximately 1732 to 1759.⁸⁸⁷

“Mrs Arne” refers to Cecilia Arne (1712-1789). Sands notes that she was the most famous of the three,⁸⁸⁸ and that she was highly respected by Burney:

Burney says there was a time “when her voice and manner of singing were superior to those of any other female singer in this country”, and in a letter to her niece recalls how much he learnt in his early days from “accompanying her in her vocal exercises”.⁸⁸⁹

She married the composer Thomas Arne (1710-1778) in 1736, and appeared in premiers of Handel’s operas *Ariodante* and *Alcina* (1735) as well as numerous stage works composed by her husband.

“Mrs Isabella Lampe” refers to Isabella Lampe, wife of the composer John Frederick Lampe (1703-1751). After portraying the heroine in his successful burlesque, *The Dragon of Wantley* (1737), she subsequently created roles in all his stage works. Finally, “Mrs Jones” refers to Esther Jones, also a singer. She married the music publisher and seller Charles Jones in 1762, created the role of Mauxalinda in *The Dragon of Wantley*, and sang Lucy in John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* for many years.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁶ PRO Prob/11/1134

⁸⁸⁷ Mollie Sands, *Invitation to Ranelagh: 1742-1803* (London: John Westhouse, 1946), 74.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁸⁸⁹ Mollie Sands, “Some English Musical Clans,” *The Monthly Musical Record* 73 (October 1943): 181.

⁸⁹⁰ Olive Baldwin and Thema Wilson, “Young,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 December 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

The latest edition of *New Grove* does not mention a fourth sister, though authors such as Sands support the existence of this fourth musical personage. She remarks: “There is here an irritating uncertainty in the family tree,” and regarding Mary in particular observes:

The third Young sister is sometimes known as Mary, sometimes as Esther, and later became Mrs. Jones. Recent comparison of dates on programmes leads me to think that perhaps Mary and Esther were not one and the same person and that there was a fourth Miss Young singing about the same period.⁸⁹¹

The ubiquity of the Young name in England makes genealogical research difficult, and the fact that the next Young generation contained three female singers with similar names adds to the difficulties. Charles Young, brother to Cecilia, Isabella, Esther, and Mary, had three daughters named Isabella, Elizabeth, and Polly (Mary, Maria), who sang under the name “Miss Young” until their marriages to the Hon. John Scott, Ridley Dorman, and François Hippolyte Barthélemon respectively.⁸⁹²

According to Sands, both Burney and Hawkins made “pardonable errors in the family tree,”⁸⁹³ and later authors seem to have followed suit. For example, the 1879 edition of the *Grove Dictionary* states that Mrs. Mary Barthélemon was the sister of Cecilia Young Arne, Isabella Y. Lampe, and Esther Y. Jones.⁸⁹⁴

The information in Mary Messing’s will confirms Sands’s suspicions. It also shows Frederick Messing marrying into a well-known musical family. Based on the lawsuit he initiated against his sister, Susannah Hubert, one can maintain easily that he

⁸⁹¹ Sands, “Some English Musical Clans,” 181.

⁸⁹² Olive Baldwin and Thema Wilson, “Young,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 12 December 2005) <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁸⁹³ Sands, *Invitation to Ranelagh*, 74.

⁸⁹⁴ Notes from Saratoga.

was concerned with social standing. His marriage to Mary Young may have been for professional as much as for personal reasons.

Of their grandchildren, the least is known about Mary Martha, perhaps because she never married: she is listed as a spinster in her mother's will.⁸⁹⁵ At the time of his death, her brother, John Christian, resided in "Lambeth Walk Vauxhall in the parish of Saint Mary Lambeth in the County of Surrey."⁸⁹⁶ In his will, which was proved in Prerogative Court in April 1817, he mentions neither a wife nor children but appears to have been a musician, since his list of items to be bequeathed includes "Musical Instruments and Music Books."⁸⁹⁷ Of the three siblings, Frederick James Messing was the most notorious. He married Penelope Clark at Saint Mary-St Marylebone Road, Saint Marylebone, London on March 10, 1781.⁸⁹⁸ In his application to the Royal Society of Musicians in 1782, he provides the following information: he is twenty-seven years old, he plays the violin, viola, violoncello, and guitar, he married on March 10, 1781, he did not have any children nor did he intend to have any, and finally, that both his father and grandfather had been members of the Society for many years.⁸⁹⁹

Regardless, upon his death in 1798 his wife, Penelope, and his three children, Frederick James, age fourteen, Phoebe, age nine, and Henrietta, age seven, were supported by the Royal Society of Musicians.⁹⁰⁰ Frederick Messing died impoverished and also insane. His obituary reads thus:

At his lodging in Tottenham-court-road, aged 43 years, Frederick-James Messing, a character well-known by the name of "The Mad Fiddler." He

⁸⁹⁵ PRO Prob/11/1050.

⁸⁹⁶ PRO Prob/11/1591.

⁸⁹⁷ PRO Prob/11/1591.

⁸⁹⁸ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed August 7, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁸⁹⁹ Notes from Saratoga.

⁹⁰⁰ Notes from Saratoga.

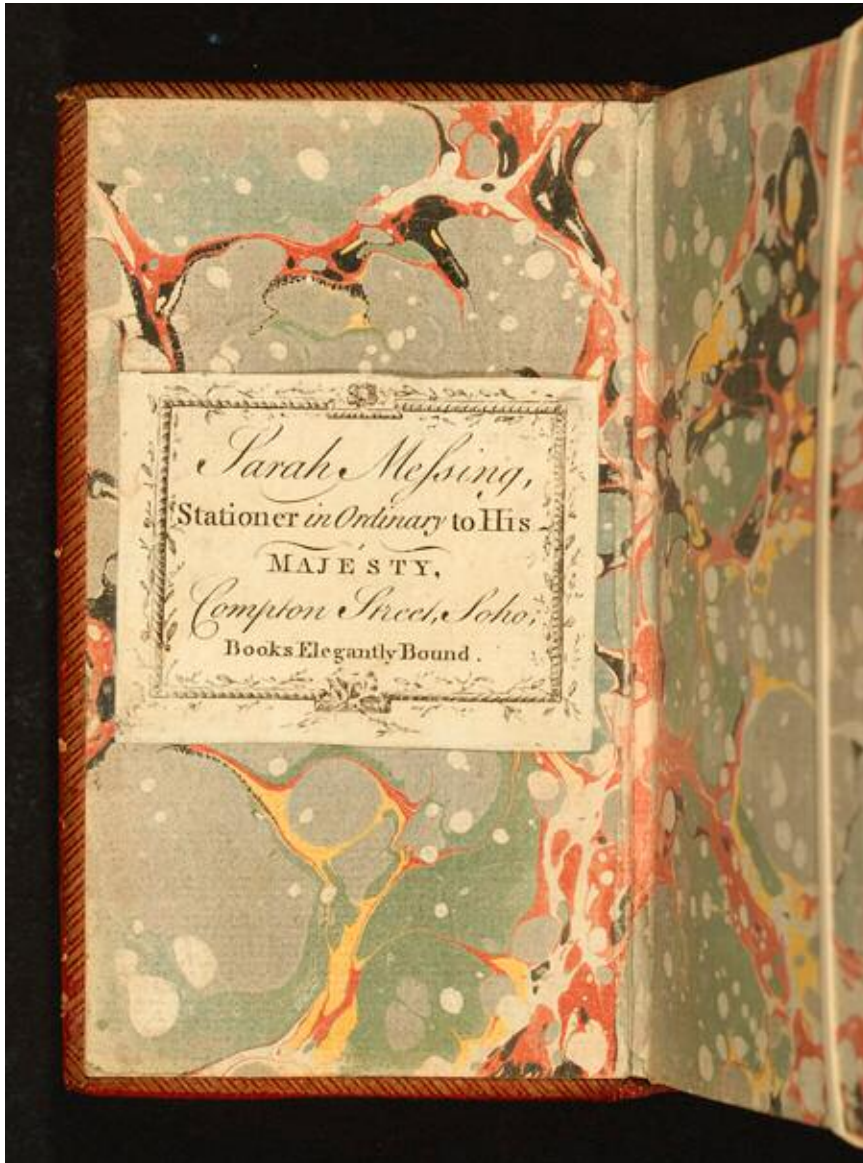
was a musician by profession, and formerly engaged at the theater-royal in Covent Garden, where he forsook, and has ever since paraded the metropolis habited in a suit of black with a star, and his head close shaved. He generally called himself a son of Handel, whose monument he visited daily, and whose compositions he performed in the different public-houses. His children have for some years been supported and educated by the Royal Society of Musicians, of which he was a member; and in his last illness he was assisted with every necessity which could alleviate his distress by the same charity, in addition to the medical relief afforded to him by that truly benevolent institution the Westminster General Dispensary.⁹⁰¹

I have not found any information relating to his three children. Presumably, they were apprenticed to a trade by the Society.

Thus far I have discussed the Messing's genealogical record as it relates to their careers as musicians; however, the most significant information found about these individuals concerns the non-musical activities of Frederick Messing (II). I have shown how he began performing on the horn with his father, established a successful independent career, married, and had three surviving children. Although Mortimer's *London Directory* lists Messing as a horn player and violinist in 1763, he was at the same time working as a stationer to the king.

⁹⁰¹ Thomas Coram Foundation, Foundling Museum, London.

Figure 6.1. Binding by Sarah Messing. Photograph by David Brown, University of Calgary.



The University of Calgary contains a binding entitled *The Royal Kalendar, or the Complete and Correct Annual Register for England, Scotland, Ireland and America* (1776).⁹⁰² According to R. H. Carnie: “This handsome binding can be attributed with some confidence to Sarah Messing, Stationer in Ordinary to the King, whose engraved

⁹⁰² This binding also contains *Rider's British Merlin*, 1776.

binder's ticket is pasted on the inside of the front cover." (Figure 6.1)⁹⁰³ Both Carnie and Ian Maxted note that she succeeded Frederick Messing as Stationer in Ordinary to the King, holding the office from 1770 to 1779. In addition, Maxted records her address as "Compton St., St. Anne's, Soho."⁹⁰⁴ As Carnie observes, this is the same address listed on her binder's ticket;⁹⁰⁵ it is also the same address that Mortimer's *London Directory* of 1763 lists for Frederick Messing (II).

Perhaps Messing's work in the publishing industry has been little noted because it has been difficult for scholars to find information about the king's stationers in general. Carnie observes:

What information there is about the book tradesmen associated with the Royal Household is derived mostly from the kind of almanacks discussed in this article, although there may be extant accounts in the Royal Archives. The official bookseller and stationer by patent in 1776 was Mrs. K. Castle, who succeeded William Castle for the period 1773 to 1795. The royal bookseller in that year was John Nourse and the royal bookbinder was W. Shropshire (Bookbinder to the King, 1762-1788). This is presumably Walter Shropshire, son to William Shropshire, bookseller, who died in 1785. Frederick Messing appears as Stationer in Ordinary in the almanacks up to 1770. In those at Calgary, Sarah Messing's name appears as the holder of this office in the 1773 and 1776 volumes. She was replaced by Francis Knight, stationer in St. James's Street in 1780, who held the office until 1807.⁹⁰⁶

Of his work as a musician and a stationer, Messing seems to have valued the latter more, or at least thought of it as a more dignified trade: in his will, he lists his occupation as "stationer to his Majesty" and not musician.⁹⁰⁷ But for the fact that he includes the names of his three children, Frederick James, John Christian, and Mary Martha, in his

⁹⁰³ R. H. Carnie, "Some English Almanack Bindings," *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 8, no. 2 (Second Quarter 1984) (Accessed 10 August 2005), <http://www.ucalgary.ca/lib-old/SpecColl/OccPaper/carnie_bulletin.html>.

⁹⁰⁴ Carnie, "Some English Almanack Bindings" (Accessed 10 August 2005); Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trades 1775-1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (Folkestone, England: Dawson, 1977).

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁶ Carnie, "Some English Almanack Bindings" (Accessed 10 August 2005).

⁹⁰⁷ PRO Prob/11/952.

will, this document could have been written by a different person altogether. In my personal correspondence with Nat Alcock he agrees that Frederick Messing the musician and stationer are the same individual: “It would certainly seem that your Messings are the same as mine – the name is very rare, and the Christian names fit – but some of mine seem to have been stationers, rather than musicians – maybe they moonlighted as horn players – or moved on from that career.”⁹⁰⁸

Given the date of Messing’s entry in Mortimer along with the time frame for his appointment as a royal stationer, it seems he worked in both fields simultaneously. In this regard, it would be wise to remember the casual nature of many of the concerts Grano took part in his diary. He seems always to be looking for horn players at the last minute. The passages dealing with Mr. Rash and Mr. Anthony and with Mr. Witch and Bennet respectively serve as excellent examples.

On the other hand, the Mortimer listing could be out-of-date, and perhaps Messing left his musical career behind either when he could no longer play or when better opportunities presented themselves. Other notable eighteenth-century musicians turned to different occupations after having tired and failed to succeed as a performer. For example, the Italian violinist and composer Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755-1824) became a wine merchant after 1801, and though he continued to play and compose music for friends, he made no effort to reenter the musical world.⁹⁰⁹

In addition, it seems that Messing’s father, Frederick Messing (I), may also have turned to a non-musical occupation in his last years. On December 22, 1760, a “Messing, Frederick” was appointed along with seven other individuals as footmen in the royal

⁹⁰⁸ Personal correspondence with Nat Alcock (August 10, 2005).

⁹⁰⁹ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 202; Chappell White, “Viotti, Giovanni Batista,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed December 12, 2005), <<http://www.grovemusiconline>>.

stables. Because this position was vacant by January 13, 1770,⁹¹⁰ and thus corresponds with the death of Frederick Messing (II), I initially thought this Messing was a stationer as well as a footman. According to his will, however, he owned one-fourth share of freehold lands in Stepney at the time of his death.⁹¹¹ Given his work as a stationer and this indication of material prosperity, it seems unlikely he worked concomitantly as a servant in the king's stables. Furthermore, since his mother, Mary Messing, lived into the 1780s, it is possible his father died at about the same time he did. More research is needed to answer these questions, but it seems likely that it was Frederick Messing (I) who worked in the king's stables in the 1760s.

During the same time, his son lived and worked in the artistic community of Soho. His Compton Street address indicates that he was surrounded by artistic neighbors, primarily of French extraction. Of Compton Street, E. F. Rimbault quotes Strype, who in 1720 observed:

Compton Street, very long, which from Hog Lane runneth westwards into Wardour Street. This street is broad, and the houses well built, but of no great account for its inhabitants, which are chiefly French.⁹¹²

Furthermore, Rimbault asserts: "Music, as well as the sister art, was encouraged in this locality [Compton Street], and one 'Mr. Liessem, at his Musick shop in Compton Street, over against the Black Boy,' is frequently mentioned in the advertisements of the middle of the last century."⁹¹³ The *Survey of London* notes that No. 63 "Old Compton Street" was

⁹¹⁰ "The stables: Footmen c. 1669-1837," *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), 638-45. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=43291>. Date accessed: 08 August 2006.

⁹¹¹ PRO Prob/11/952.

⁹¹² Rimbault, *Soho and its Associations*, 77. Messing's wife, Sarah le Febore, was clearly of French extraction. Perhaps her family was among the large number of Huguenots who settled in Soho after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Rimbault, *Soho and its Associations*, 200-201.

⁹¹³ Rimbault, *Soho and its Associations*, 79.

a music shop around the year 1760,⁹¹⁴ though neither source mentions either Frederick or Sarah Messing as “a notable inhabitant.”

In any case, Frederick Messing (II) seems to have been more successful than either his father or his son, Frederick James. We have already seen how the latter died in serious mental distress as well as in great poverty. He appears to have never been well-off. Deborah Rohr states that after 1780, a musician needed to earn a minimum of £200 per year to be a “successful and respectable member of the profession.”⁹¹⁵ In 1770 Frederick Messing earned approximately £65 13s. 6d. By 1781, the year of his marriage, he was earning £123 16s 7d. Although this was sufficient income for him to feel confident about applying to the Royal Society of Musicians,⁹¹⁶ it was still below that of most “shopkeepers and tradesmen (£150).”⁹¹⁷ In addition, most of his earnings came from copying music and teaching and not from performing.⁹¹⁸ I have not found any corresponding figures for his brother, John Christian, but since his will requests the Friendly Society of Lambeth to cover his funeral costs,⁹¹⁹ it appears that he did not achieve financial security either.

It is interesting that neither son became a stationer like his father (and his mother, for that matter). This circumstance must have resulted from Frederick Messing (II) either being appointed by royal patent or purchasing his position. It is unclear whether his wife subsequently purchased the position after his death, was similarly appointed, or was eligible to continue the trade because she was his wife. Because the job was taken up by

⁹¹⁴ “Old Compton Street Area: Portland Estate: Old Compton Street,” *Survey of London: volumes 33 and 34: St Anne Soho* (1966), 193-201. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=41080>. Date accessed: 28 March 2006.

⁹¹⁵ Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 157.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁹¹⁷ McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 199.

⁹¹⁸ Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 156.

⁹¹⁹ PRO Prob/11/1591.

Francis Knight after her death, Messing's sons seem to have had neither the social standing nor purchasing power to obtain it.

In conclusion, the three, and possibly four, generations of Messing performers are among the more interesting and unknown musical families working and living in eighteenth-century London. The family descended from German immigrants, and while Frederick Messing (I) and his son, Frederick Messing (II), began their performing careers as soloists on the chromatic horn, they appear to have ended their lives in different financial and social circumstances.

The details that have come to light regarding Frederick Messing (II) are particularly interesting and provide light on the working conditions and career choices of a well-respected early eighteenth-century horn soloist. Even though Messing was a noteworthy musician in mid-eighteenth-century London, he seems to have moved on to a more prestigious and lucrative position when the opportunity arose.

Christopher Winch

The last player I will discuss in detail is Christopher Winch. Although Fitzpatrick dates the beginning of his career from 1741,⁹²⁰ Winch may have begun performing well before that time. Indeed, Grano mentions a horn player named "Mr Witch" two times in his diary. It could be that Grano misspelled Winch's name. The first entry was quoted in full at the beginning of this chapter. In this record (dated August 7, 1729), Grano mentions that Mr. Witch not only performs on the French horn but also keeps a coffee house by St. James's Church.⁹²¹ Given that a number of the horn players mentioned thus far have also had non-musical occupations in addition to performing on the horn, and

⁹²⁰ Fitzpatrick, *The Horn and Horn-Playing*, 107.

⁹²¹ Grano, *Handel's Trumpeter*, 303.

given that Winch does appear to have run a coffee house later in his life, it could very well be that Mr. Witch is the same player or the father of the same.

Grano mentions Mr. Witch again in his entry for August 10, 1729:

[At] 3 a Clock . . . my Mamma and I went to the Portugese [sic] Chapel and heard Vespers . . . We made the Best of our Way back to my Father's and in our Way Mr Witch, the French Horn Performer, invited my Mother and I in; but my Mother not caring to accept the Offer we excus'd our Selves and went on.⁹²²

Winch's name is commonly misspelled in newspaper advertisements. In the section of this chapter dealing with Anthony Cook, I stated that he and "Wynch" performed on the horn in Lampe's production of *The Mock Doctor* in March 1733.⁹²³ Winch performed in another one of Lampe's productions, and this time his name is spelled correctly.

"Winch" and "Mason," both performers on the "ffrench Horns" were paid 7s. 6d. per night for various performances.⁹²⁴

Winch's name is spelled in two additional ways. First, he appears as "Winsch" in an advertisement from March 1735 for a concert at Stationer's Hall:

CONCERT.

MUSIC. Seventy select voices and instruments perform the four anthems composed by Handel for the Coronation. A violin solo by Festing.

COMMENT. Benefit Winsch. 6 P.M. 5s. Gallery 2s. 6d.⁹²⁵

Second, he appears as "Mr. Wynch" in an advertisement from March 1745:

At the Devil Tavern near Temple-Bar, on Thursday next, the 14th of March, will be perform'd a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK. The Vocal Parts by Mr. Lowe and Miss Molly Turner; a Solo on the Violin by Mr. Brown; a Solo on the Violoncello by a Gentleman; a Concerto on the Bassoon by Mr. Hebden; a French-Horn-Piece by Mr.

⁹²² Ibid., 305.

⁹²³ Milhous and Hume, "J. F. Lampe," 519.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., 526.

⁹²⁵ Scouten, ed., *The London Stage*, part 3, 1: 474.

Wynch; and a new Concerto on the German Flute by a Gentleman.
Tickets Five Shillings each. To begin exactly at Seven o’Clock.”⁹²⁶

These variations reflect, I think, typical eighteenth-century lack of concern for proper spelling and do not refer to numerous individuals.

Christopher Winch was one of the original members of the Royal Society of Musicians. He joined in 1739 and appears to have been active up until about 1755.⁹²⁷ Furthermore, like Mr. Charles and other London-based musicians, Winch spent at least part of the 1740s in Dublin. In October 1741 the *Dublin News-Letter* advertised: “Between the Acts of the play, ‘a Concerto on the French Horn by the celebrated Mr Winch, who has perform’d several years in Mr Handel’s Operas and Oratorios.’”⁹²⁸ Earlier in this chapter I speculated that Winch arrived with Handel in the fall of 1741.

In February 1742 Winch performed “several concertos on the French horn” between the acts of *The Merchant of Venice*, with *The Lying Valet*. One finds Winch’s address in this advertisement: “Tickets to be had at Mr Winch’s lodgings at Mr Bushel’s next door to the Mahogany Warehouse on Blind Quay.”⁹²⁹

Winch does not appear officially in any further Dublin advertisements, and though his whereabouts at this point are unknown, he eventually returned to London, because, as mentioned above, he appears in a concert at the Devil Tavern in March 1745. In that year he also published his treatise for the horn: *The Compleat Tutor*. Published by John Simpson in 1746, it was first advertised in the *Daily Advertiser* on July 12, 1745:

NEW MUSICK. This Day are publish’d, (Price 1s., 6d.) The Hunting
Notes of the French Horn, after a perfect new Method, which renders the

⁹²⁶ The *Daily Advertiser*, Monday, March 11, 1745, Vol. 407B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

⁹²⁷ Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians*, 159.

⁹²⁸ Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar*, 74.

⁹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

Instrument quite easy to every Capacity, so as to be [Illegible] in one Quarter of the Time usually allotted; also adjusts the Quantities of the Notes to their due Proportion. To which is added, A Collection of favourite Duets, with the celebrated Hunting Song, call'd The Early Horn, for two French Horns. Set by Mr. WINCH. Printed for, and sold by J. Simpson, in Swithin's Alley, opposite the East Door of the Royal Exchange; Sold Also at all the Musick-Shops.⁹³⁰

This is the first known tutor written for the horn, though it seems to share many of the same negative features as eighteenth-century tutors for other instruments. Over the course of the eighteenth-century amateur music-making increased exponentially in England, and music publishers attempted to take advantage of this burgeoning market by printing at least two hundred and fifty tutors for instruments as common as the harpsichord and as unusual as the mandolin or bagpipe.⁹³¹ Many of these tutors, even the ones published at the end of the century, were written very badly, and were therefore incomprehensible to the aspiring student.⁹³² Furthermore, most of these tutors contained nothing more than:

Neatly engraved charts of fingerings, the rudiments of notation, a table of graces and a dictionary of musical terms, followed by a generous collection of elementary airs and dances – precisely those things of greatest convenience to the teacher.⁹³³

More than one author has commented negatively on the lack of instruction in Winch's tutor. For example, Morley-Pegge refers to the work as "completely valueless instructions,"⁹³⁴ and Humphries says the work "does little more than cover the basics."⁹³⁵ Yet this lack of helpful instruction appears to be typical for the age.

⁹³⁰ The *Daily Advertiser*, July 12, 1745, Vol. 407B in the Burney Collection of Newspapers, British Museum, London.

⁹³¹ Thomas McGeary, "Music Literature," in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1990), 408-9.

⁹³² Fiske, "Introduction," *The Blackwell History of Music*, 4.

⁹³³ Thomas McGeary, "Music Literature," *The Blackwell History of Music*, 408-9.

⁹³⁴ Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 76.

⁹³⁵ Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 51.

Perhaps readers expected more when they read Winch's title-page:

The Compleat Tutor
For the
French Horn
Containing
The Best and Easiest Instructions
for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency.
To which are Added
All the Hunting Notes and several Choice
Lessons for One and Two French Horn
Printed for and Sold by John Simpson
at the Bass Viol and Flute in Sweetings Alley.
opposite the East Door of the Royal Exchange
London
Where may be had French Horns of any Size
Also Instruction Books for any single Instrument.
Price 1s.6d.⁹³⁶

The title page indicates that the tutor contains a number of different sections: (1) instructions for learners, (2) all the hunting notes, and (3) lessons for one and two French horns. In addition, a beginner could purchase "French Horns of any Size" at Simpson's shop. The French horn was not a typical chamber music instrument. Amateur instrumentalists generally performed on the harpsichord, flute, violin, or oboe.⁹³⁷ Why would Simpson think it worthwhile to publish a book clearly aimed at beginners on the French horn?

First, hunting songs had been very much in vogue since John Beard sang 'The Early Horn' in Galliard's pantomime *The Royal Chace* (1736).⁹³⁸ This song, originally scored for four string parts and solo horn,⁹³⁹ seems to have been "endlessly repeated" in

⁹³⁶ Christopher Winch, *The Compleat Tutor for the French Horn Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency To which are Added All the Hunting Notes and Several Choice Lessons for One and Two French Horns* (London: John Simpson, 1746). I would like to thank Richard Seraphinoff for sending me a copy of this work.

⁹³⁷ H. Diack Johnstone, "Music in the Home I," *The Blackwell History of Music*, 175.

⁹³⁸ Richard Platt, "Theater Music I," *The Blackwell History of Music*, 151.

⁹³⁹ Fiske, *English Theater Music*, 116.

chamber music performances in the home.⁹⁴⁰ As the horn became more prominent in the theaters, therefore, perhaps gentlemen performers wished to learn how to play the instrument.

It is more likely, however, that the book was geared towards servants of gentlemen like Cato. This assumption seems likely given that the 1746 edition does not mention the use of crooks, which were clearly known in England at this time. Winch limits his discussion to fixed-pitch horns. As we have seen, Winch writes that horns in G, F, E, D, and C are available at this time. He also suggests that beginners start with a horn in D.⁹⁴¹ Handel had established long before 1746 that F was the key for the horn and D the key for the trumpet; however, it seems logical for the horn player-servant to acquaint himself with the key of D, since his employer will most likely expect him to perform on the trumpet as well as the horn.

Second, the 1746 tutor proceeds, as Winch specifies on the title page, from hunting music to more advanced duets. Winch provides the following advice in the opening section of the tutor: “When you meet with the following Notes which are slurr’d they must be expressed after a jirking [sic] Manner.” He then provides examples, asking the student to use the syllables, “lon nah ton nah ton nah lon nah lon nah.” Clearly, this is hunting music derived directly from the French hunting tradition. Example 6.1 illustrates this music along with the syllables.

In addition, the playing position advocated by Winch on the frontspiece of the tutor confirms that the aristocratic servant is its intended audience, even if he does

⁹⁴⁰ Johnstone, “Music in the Home I,” *The Blackwell History of Music*, 167.

⁹⁴¹ Winch, *The Compleat Tutor*.

include some more difficult art music later in the work. Figure 6.2 provides a copy of this frontspiece.

Example 6.1. Hunting Music from Christopher Winch's *The Compleat Tutor* (London: John Simpson, 1746).

Example

ton nah ton nah ton nah ton nah ton nah

ton nah ton nah ton nah ton nah

Observe to sound the four Minims in one Breath, and join the two last only.

Example

ton ton nen ton ton nen nen nen nah

Figure 6.2. Frontspiece from Christopher Winch's *The Compleat Tutor* (London: John Simpson, 1746).



Far from being useless, then, these instructions would have been invaluable to servants of the aristocracy.

We saw earlier that Charles advertised for students desiring to learn both the new style of playing and the hunting style. Clearly, a horn player in the 1740s needed to be proficient in both styles. It stands to reason that Winch and Charles were engaged occasionally by noblemen to perform in their households using the so-called old hunting style.

Winch's tutor was reprinted in many versions throughout the century, beginning with H. Waylett's *The French Horn Master* in 1750. Peter Thompson published another edition in 1756. It appeared again under the title *Instructions for the French Horn* as part of a series of tutors known collectively as *Apollo's Cabinet*. Finally, in about 1780, an anonymous "eminent performer" quoted it verbatim in parts of the *New Instructions for the French Horn*.⁹⁴²

In the final version, printed in 1780, the author hints at the technique of hand-stopping:

The author of the *New Instructions*, advises that the horn is usually held 'with the right hand nearly in the middle of the Hoop, the Bell hanging over the same arm.' This stance would have allowed hunting horn players on horseback to hold the reins in one hand and the instrument in the other. The author adds, however, that 'it would be absurd to adopt only one peculiar method, as different positions will hereafter be found very convenient and absolutely necessary,' and in a section which hints at an understanding of hand stopping, points out that 'should you want to make the chromatic tones, [sic] . . . one hand must be within the edge of the Bell ready to put into the Pavillion or Bell of the horn as the notes require.'⁹⁴³

At this late date players used various playing positions depending on what the situation required. Some players performed in the modern position so they could use their hand to

⁹⁴² Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 51, 111.

⁹⁴³ Ibid., 52.

fix both out-of-tune notes and non-series notes, but some players, not needing this technique, most likely held their bells in the air in the old-fashioned manner. In my discussion of *Athalia* I speculated that horn players were using different playing positions as early as 1733, and I am confident that this situation prevailed in 1746 as well. Surely Frederick Messing did not perform on his “corno cromatico” with the bell in the air, though Cato most likely did.

The genealogical record contains a number of Christopher Winch’s active in London during the time under discussion. First, a Christopher Winch married Mary Ferry in the parish of Saint Mary Magdalene Old Fish Street, London, on November 19, 1726.⁹⁴⁴ Second, a Christopher Winch married Frances Tabart in the parish of Saint Mary, Putney, London, on August 6, 1747.⁹⁴⁵ This second Christopher Winch left a will (it was proved in Prerogative Court in June 1760) in which he declared himself to be a vintner and left all his possessions to his wife, Frances.⁹⁴⁶

While the will does not mention any children, it appears that this Christopher Winch had a stepdaughter named Susannah Tabart. This child was apparently raped two times at a room called the Turk’s Head by a man named John Osborne. The latter stood trial for the crime at the Old Bailey in January 1749. One of the witnesses, Mrs. Winch, states that she is the child’s “mother-in-law.”⁹⁴⁷ She had been married to the child’s father, though since he has died, she has remarried. Mrs. Winch does not seem to know very much about Tabart, including how old the child is or when exactly she arrived in

⁹⁴⁴ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed May 15, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁹⁴⁵ Family Search International Genealogical Index, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, (Last Updated: March 22, 1999; Accessed May 15, 2006), <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.

⁹⁴⁶ PRO Prob/11/866.

⁹⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the term “mother-in-law” in this context does not refer to the mother of one’s spouse, but rather to state of being a child’s lawful, as opposed to natural, mother. Today we would refer to Mrs. Winch as Susannah Tabart’s stepmother.

England. She does say that Tabart was born in South Carolina and speculates that she may have arrived in England around the year 1739. According to both a surgeon named Mr. Vilnoe and a constable named William James, the prisoner Osborne confessed to sleeping with Tabart two times; however, Osborne is acquitted.⁹⁴⁸

Therefore, the Christopher Winch who married Frances Tabart in 1747 had a stepdaughter named Susuannah Tabart, and he also owned a room called the Turk's Head. It seems likely that this individual is the same Christopher Winch who rented the space at No. 9 Gerrard Street in Soho in 1759. This Winch began operating a tavern called the Turk's Head at No. 9 Gerrard Street in that year, having previously run a tavern of the same name in Greek Street. The Turk's Head at Gerrard Street remained in use under that name until 1783⁹⁴⁹ and is historically important, since it was "celebrated in the latter half of the century as the great rendezvous [sic] for artists and literary men." Indeed, "The Club" or "the *Literary Club*," founded in 1764, held their meetings for many years at this tavern. This group counted among its original members Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, Dr. Nugent, Topham Beauclerk, Mr. Langton, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Chamier, and Sir John Hawkins.⁹⁵⁰ I have found no records indicating whether Winch continued renting this space throughout its luminous career. The landlord changed from John Spencer to Charles Swinden in 1764, followed by Margaret Swinden in 1783.⁹⁵¹

⁹⁴⁸ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 6 May 2006), January 1749, trial of John Osborne (t17490113-11).

⁹⁴⁹ "Gerrard Street Area: The Military Ground: Gerrard Street," *Survey of London: volumes 33 and 34: St Anne Soho* (1966), 384-411. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=41114&strquery=Winch>. Date accessed: 28 March 2006.

⁹⁵⁰ Rimbault, *Soho and its Associations*, 194-195.

⁹⁵¹ "Gerrard Street Area: The Military Ground: Gerrard Street," *Survey of London: volumes 33 and 34: St Anne Soho* (1966), 384-411. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=41114&strquery=Winch>. Date accessed: 28 March 2006.

Finally, it seems that this Christopher Winch received a grant of denization in 1759. The record describes Winch as a vinter, states that he is a resident of St. Ann, Westminster, and describes him as “aliens born.”⁹⁵² It seems odd that Winch would not only receive citizenship but also rent a space for a new tavern a year before he died, but perhaps his death was sudden. Sadly for Susannah Tabart, not only did she lose both her mother and her father, but also lost her stepfather, and sadly for Frances Tabart Winch, she lost two husbands and ended up with a child that was not hers.

I have not been able to link either of these Christopher Winch’s to Winch the horn player. Even so, it seems likely that one of them corresponds with our Winch, especially when we remember that Grano’s Mr. Witch not only performed on the horn but also ran a coffee house near St. James’s. Perhaps Mr. Witch is the father of one of these individuals. Alternatively, like Mr. Charles and Frederick Messing (II), Winch may have decided to pursue a more stable career in addition to or in place of his musical one. The only circumstance that would need to be explained is Winch’s sojourn to Dublin, yet since the second Winch married Frances Tabart in 1747, well after one finds newspaper advertisements for him living in Dublin, he could have gone there and returned before his marriage. It may be that he both ran a coffee house and performed on the horn during his early life and chose the former career at the end of it. Of course, without further research,

⁹⁵² Shaw, *Letters of Denization*, 160. According to The National Archives, “denization was “the granting of the protection of the Crown to an alien living in the kingdom.” This process was done by letters patent, as opposed to the process of naturalization. As we saw in the case of Susannah Hubert, one became a naturalized citizen through a private act of Parliament. Again, according to the National Archives, denization, unlike naturalization, did not grant the recipient the full rights of a native-born English person: “Denizens could not hold public office and could not inherit land. Children born after the grant did have full rights, but not those born before it” (The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, (Accessed May 5, 2006), <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/familyhistory/guide/migrantancestors/denization.htm>>). These statements contradict directly with those in Shaw’s introduction to the *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland: 1603-1700*. He maintains that the only difference between denization and naturalization is that the former originated with the king while the latter originated with the parliament. “In making his grants of denization by letters patent the king (the executive) could put into the grant what he pleased or keep out of it what he pleased.” (vi-vii).

these speculations remain merely speculations, yet like the Messing family, it seems likely there is some connection.

Conclusion

This chapter forces one to rethink the way eighteenth-century horn players have typically been viewed. Many authors state that horn players in England were nothing more than trumpet doublers. While Anthony Uhl and John Christian Weitzenmüller performed on both the trumpet and the horn, many of the horn players in this chapter did not. It is significant in this context to note that both Uhl and Weitzenmüller found positions in King George II's household, thereby ensuring a stable income. For the horn players who performed on the horn only, or performed on the horn and another instrument such as the violin, they needed a different kind of stable income source. Performers as varied as Henry Rash, Mr. Charles, Frederick Messing (II), and most likely Christopher Winch, worked in both musical and non-musical fields. To think of them only as musicians who doubled on various brass instruments in the orchestra would be misleading. Even though they were doublers, they performed on the horn and instruments as varied as the violin, viola, clarinet, chalumeau, oboe d'amore, and even appeared as a vocalist.

Horn-playing in England seems to have evolved out of a domestic context, and unlike trumpeters, horn players do not seem to have been able to obtain musical positions in the royal household in the first half of the century. Even the noted Frederick Messing (I) seems to have ended his life as a servant in the king's stables. It is no surprise, then, that many of these early horn virtuosi moved on to a more prestigious career when the opportunity arose. Burney, Lysons, and even Morley-Pegge and Fitzpatrick remember

Frederick Messing (II) as an eminent performer on the “chromatic horn,” but Messing wanted to be remembered as a stationer.

CONCLUSION

Handel's music for horn has been consistently labeled as conservative. Given his reluctance to either employ non-series tones or extend the range of the second horn into the bass clef, this label does not seem inaccurate. Even so, one cannot ignore the experimental parts for horns in two keys in *Giulio Cesare*, the virtuosic second horn part in the aria "Qual Leon" from *Arianna*, or the treatment of horns as harmonic instruments—a role they would later assume in the Classical period—in operas such as *Giustino*, *Faramondo*, and *Deidamia*. In addition, it appears that Handel's horn players were possibly using crooks as early as *Radamisto* (1720), and later operas employing unusual keys such as A and B-flat *alto* show even more evidence of this practice.

Clearly, Handel was aware of continental trends in horn-writing, and given that he never repeated experiments used in operas such as *Giulio Cesare*, one can easily make the case that his horn players—with the exception of a select few—were not capable of performing the kinds of advanced music one might have found on the continent. This theory accords with what we know about Handel's music for his singers: he wrote for the performers at his disposal. As we saw with *Radamisto*, the second version of this opera is much better than the first, simply because Handel had access to more advanced singers. Many of Handel's horn parts also seem to reflect this pattern. For example, the difficult *clarino* parts in *Giulio Cesare* may have been written for Mr. China, while the virtuosic horn parts from operas such as *Arianna* and *Ariodante* may have been composed for Mr.

Charles or Frederick Messing (I). Similarly, the obbligato horn part in “Mirth, admit me of thy crew” from *L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato* could also be associated with the Messings. Additional players such as Henry Rash, John Anthony, and Christopher Winch also seem to have been affiliated with Handel’s orchestras, and we can assume some of his music was written for them.

On the other hand, Thomas Hiebert’s research on the Egerton Manuscript Collection in the British Library demonstrates that composers such as Carlo Verna were asking horn players to perform non-series tones using hand-stopping by the middle of the century. Thus, horn players were utilizing this technique, even though Handel rarely asked them to employ it. Therefore, while much of Handel’s music reflects the abilities of his players, I would suggest that in this instance, Handel’s aesthetic preference made him reluctant to write non-series tones. Like critics from later in the century, Handel seems to have preferred the natural tone of the horn.

This complicated picture is typical of Handel’s music for horn. For example, one cannot maintain that he always wrote *clarino* parts for two horns. Nor can one make the case that all Handel’s horn players were merely trumpet doublers. Each work must be judged individually.

Even more striking than these conclusions are observations about the imagery Handel associates with the instrument. Although one finds horns used in martial music throughout Handel’s career, one also sees them employed in hunting and pastoral movements in his operas. *Admeto* is the most notable example of this usage, although one observes horns paired with pastoral recorders in *Poro*, *Ezio*, and *Giustino*. The imagery associated with the horn in the oratorios is even more remarkable. Oratorios

such as *Athalia*, *Theodora*, and *Samson* ask the horns to participate in celebratory music sung by pagans. The association of the horn not only with paganism but also with celebrations and unrestrained passion seems to derive directly from images surrounding the hunt in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. This connection seems fascinating to us today but would have been taken for granted by Handel's concert-goers. For our purposes, the dichotomy present in many of these works—that is, the association of trumpets with the people of Israel and therefore with Britain and the contrasting association of horns with pagans—argues for a growing separation of the horn from the trumpet.

This programmatic growth corresponded with the advent of the horn soloist in the 1730s. Because of Punto's well-known solo career in the 1770s, individuals such as Frederick Messing (I and II), Mr. Charles, and Christopher Winch have been unrecognized – or at least underappreciated. The horn soloist of the first half of the century differed from these later players in that he (or she, in the case of Charles' wife) seemed to require a non-musical job in order to survive financially. Thus, Christopher Winch and Mr. Charles both appear to have run coffee houses, and Frederick Messing (II) worked as a stationer to the king. Messing's career in the publishing industry is perhaps the most significant find in this study, and information presented about his family suggests that the Messings should henceforth be included as a prominent musical family in eighteenth-century London.

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