

What Handel Taught the Viennese about the Trombone

David M. Guion

Vienna became the musical capital of the world in the late eighteenth century, largely because its composers so successfully adapted and blended the best of the various national styles: German, Italian, French, and, yes, English. Handel's oratorios were well known to the Viennese and very influential.¹ His influence extended even to the way most of the greatest of them wrote trombone parts.

It is well known that Viennese composers used the trombone extensively at a time when it was little used elsewhere in the world. While Fux, Caldara, and their contemporaries were using the trombone not only routinely to double the chorus in their liturgical music and sacred dramas, but also frequently as a solo instrument, composers elsewhere used it sparingly if at all. The trombone was virtually unknown in France. It had disappeared from German courts and was no longer automatically used by composers working in German towns. J.S. Bach used the trombone in only fifteen of his more than 200 extant cantatas. Trombonists were on the payroll of San Petronio in Bologna as late as 1729, apparently longer than in most major Italian churches, and in the town band (*Concerto Palatino*) until 1779. But they were available in England only between about 1738 and 1741. Handel called for them in *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt*.

It is my contention that the influence of these two oratorios on Gluck and Haydn changed the way Viennese composers wrote trombone parts. Fux, Caldara, and the generations that followed used trombones only in church music and oratorios. This repertoire is of great interest to trombonists because of the frequent use of solo trombone to accompany solo singers. In choral movements, however, the Viennese used trombones only to double the chorus. In fact, they used the alto trombone to double alto voices and tenor trombone to double the tenor voices. Viennese composers rarely used the bass trombone at all, although composers elsewhere in Austrian territories, such as Salzburg, did. As a composer of church music, Mozart represents the Salzburg tradition, using the bass trombone. With a few conspicuous but brief exceptions, however, he uses the trombones only to double the chorus.

Handel, on the other hand, in his two oratorios, introduced more flexible ways of doubling. Gone is the idea that the part marked "alto trombone" doubles only the alto part and the part marked "tenor trombone" doubles only the tenor part. They may double one of the other choral parts, at the unison or at the octave; they may double one of the parts of the orchestra that is playing different music from what the chorus is singing; or they may double various orchestral parts when the chorus is not singing at all. And the trombones do not simply double some other part note-for-note, either. Their parts are often modified, either by simplifying or embellishing the part that they double. But neither of Handel's

oratorios includes a trombone solo. The trombone parts of Gluck and Haydn more nearly resemble Handel's flexible doubling than the *colla parte* lockstep of Fux, Caldara, Reutter, and other representatives of the older Viennese tradition.

Furthermore, Handel's oratorios are so different from the standard Italian and Viennese oratorios as to constitute a new genre. For the purpose of this article, the most significant distinction is this: Viennese oratorios, along with the related but distinct *sepolchri*, were performed at court for an aristocratic audience as a Lenten substitute for opera, while Handel's oratorios were performed in public theaters, using star operatic singers in direct competition with other composers' operas. Gluck introduced trombones into the operatic orchestra. Haydn is the only important Viennese composer of church music who never used trombones in any of his masses, but he did use them in oratorios that were intended to be comparable to Handel's. Although Mozart did not depart from older tradition in his church music, he did follow Gluck in using trombones in some of his operas.

Mozart's Requiem marks the end of the old Austrian manner of writing trombone parts. Later Viennese composers used Gluck and/or Haydn as their point of departure. Gluck's close associate Salieri, for example, not only used trombones in some of his operas, he later wrote church music with trombone parts that resemble Handel and Haydn and not Mozart or his predecessors. The trombone parts in Beethoven's choral music likewise clearly use Haydn's procedures as their point of departure. Beethoven was also influenced by the music of the French Revolution, and it was Gluck more than anyone else who taught the French to use the trombone.² Schubert was a student of Salieri and studied Haydn's oratorios avidly. Their influence can be seen even in his juvenile works.

Handel

Unlike the Viennese masters, Handel spent his entire career in places where the trombone was rare. He received his earliest musical training in Halle, then moved to Hamburg. Later, he lived briefly in Hanover. Each of these cities hired a town band, which also served as the church band, and Handel must have heard it regularly. But while trombones were an integral part of the bands, they were uncommon in other contexts. Handel's Hamburg colleague Johann Mattheson wrote, "There are large and small trombones, . . . which can form a full choir by themselves, but which are used very rarely, except in church pieces and solemn music."³

From 1706 to 1710, Handel lived in Italy. Not much has been written about the use of the trombone there. As mentioned earlier, it was still used in Bologna. There were a couple of trombonists on the payroll at San Marco in Venice. According to Buonani, there were trombonists in the Pope's band at Castel Sant'Angelo.⁴ These were all instances of the last manifestations of a dying tradition. If Handel heard any of this music, there is no reason to suppose that it would have meant any more (or less) to him than the old-fashioned German town bands of his childhood. But as it turns out, Handel was in Rome at a time when a new use was being found for the trombone.

In 1689 Angelo Berardi had written, “Il Trombone è vna specie di Tromba, che suona il basso, ne concerti, e Sinfonie fa bonissimo effetto” (The trombone is a type of trumpet that plays the bass in concertos and symphonies [and] makes a very good effect.)⁵ By the time Handel arrived in Rome, Arcangelo Corelli had already conducted at least three oratorios and a *sinfonia* with a trombone in the orchestra. In 1708 he conducted another such oratorio, Handel’s *La Resurrezione*. A trombonist identified only as Andrea was hired for the occasion and was paid for three rehearsals and two performances.⁶

Surely the Italian sound ideal, usage, and cultural connotations of the trombone were significantly different from the German. Considering that Handel has been described as even more sensitive to the nuances of orchestral coloring than Berlioz,⁷ this difference must have made a strong impression on him. It may even have been the primary influence on the way he wrote trombone parts in England.

The only well-documented occasions on which trombones were used in England between about 1685 and 1784 are certain performances of two of Handel’s oratorios, *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt*.⁸ Both were composed in 1738 and first performed in 1739. It is not known who played the trombone parts in these oratorios, but as no trombonists lived and worked in England at the time, they must have been traveling foreigners.

Handel planned to use trombones in at least three other oratorios. In the “Dead March” in the third act of *Samson* (composed 1741, performed 1742), two trombones double the violins and violas. The already beloved march from *Saul*, reorchestrated without trombones, was however quickly substituted for the original march, which perhaps was never played at all. Handel also composed another march for trombones and timpani, which was recently noticed among the sketches for *Samson*, although apparently not intended for the oratorio and certainly never performed.⁹ In the autograph score of *Hercules* (1744), Handel wrote, then deleted, an instruction for two trombones to double the viola part in a triumphal march in the first act.¹⁰ Evidently he hoped that the trombonists who played for *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt* would be available for *Samson* and *Hercules*, but found that they were not.

Underscoring the trombone’s rarity in England, a concert announcement dated 26 February 1741 advertised, among other music, “the Dead March in *Saul* to be perform’d with the Sackbuts.”¹¹ Mention of the sackbut in this context may indicate that two years after the first performance of *Saul*, the “Dead March” was ordinarily played without them. Between this advertisement and the 1784 Handel Festival, the trombone appears to have been mentioned only seven times in English writings, and none of the references indicate performances on it.¹²

In the two works in which Handel was able to use trombones at all, he used them extensively. *Saul* calls for trombones in four choruses and four instrumental movements; *Israel in Egypt* uses them in ten choruses. Unless there are similar parts in the music he heard in Italy, which seems unlikely, Handel’s trombone parts are without precedent. In nearly all other readily available large-scale choral works composed outside the Viennese orbit, trombones merely doubled the choir if they were used at all.¹³

Handel appears to have been one of the first and most influential composers to use trombones in purely instrumental movements of vocal music. In choral movements he used them to double other instruments as often as he used them to double the choir. He also introduced two new kinds of doubling: modified doubling, in which the trombone part is somewhat different from the part being doubled, and autonomous doubling, in which the trombone parts are derived from more than one other part.

Handel even wrote some trombone parts that cannot easily be described as any kind of doubling. In the symphony that opens Act 2, scene 9 of *Saul*¹⁴ (Example 1), the trombone parts are a simplified version of the string parts, played down an octave. This kind of modification, novel in 1738, eventually became commonplace.

The image displays a musical score for Example 1, which is the opening of Act 2, scene 9 of Handel's *Saul*. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes parts for Violin I, Trombone I, Violin II, Trombone II, Bassi, and Trombone III. The Violin I and II parts feature a trill (tr) and a forte (f) dynamic. The Trombone parts are simplified versions of the string parts, played down an octave. The second system shows the continuation of the string parts, with a forte (f) dynamic and a trill (tr) in the Violin I part.

Example 1

Handel, *Saul*, no. 65, "Symphony," Act 2, sc. 9, mm. 1-6.

The modifications in the chorus “David His Ten Thousand Slew,” also from *Saul* (Example 2), do not consist of rhythmic simplification, but rather changes in pitch. The “bass” trombone¹⁵ actually embellishes the choral bass in the first two measures. In measures 4 and 6 the “alto” trombone doubles the tenors an octave higher, not the altos. Sometimes the trombone parts not only deviate from the vocal lines, but in fact do not resemble any other instrumental line. (Parts labeled alto, tenor, and bass trombone were written in the respective clefs and traditionally doubled the respective voice parts. I put “bass” and “alto” in quotation marks simply because all three parts were very likely played on an ordinary tenor trombone, using falset tones for some of the lowest bass notes.)

Example 2

Handel, *Saul*, no. 24, “David His Ten Thousands Slew” (entire).

The chorus “He Is My God” from *Israel in Egypt*¹⁶ contains an especially clear example of autonomous doubling. After twenty measures of unaccompanied chorus, the orchestra reenters. All of the trombone parts are somewhat autonomous, but the tenor trombone part is especially so. In the first measures 31-49 (Example 3), it doubles, at various times, the tenors, basses, and violas.

Trombone 2

viola

5
tenors

10
(tenors) basses

15
tenors | viola | independent | tenors | independent tenors

Example 3

Handel, *Israel in Egypt*, no. 27, “He Is My God,” mm. 31-49.

Even in choral movements, the trombones often double instruments instead of the chorus. “He Smote All the Firstborn of Egypt” from *Israel in Egypt* opens with oboes and bassoons doubling the choir. The rest of the orchestra (trombones and strings) plays a “smiting motive” (Example 4).

The trombones’ first entrance in *Israel in Egypt*, in the chorus “He Spake the Word,” shows Handel’s German roots. Because of the influence of Luther’s translation of the Bible, German-speaking people of the eighteenth century regarded the sound of the trombone as the voice of God.¹⁷ And so after the choir sings “He Spake the Word,” the trombones (doubled by the oboes and bassoons) play a little fanfare (Example 5). This motive occurs frequently, and the trombones play every occurrence of it. They never play it alone; they are always doubled either by oboes and bassoons or by strings, but no other instrument plays it every time.

Musical score for Example 4, Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, no. 20. The score includes staves for Trombone 1, Trombone 2, Trombone 3, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, and Tutti bassi. The music is in common time and features a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes and rests.

Example 4

Handel, *Israel in Egypt*, no. 20, “He Smote All the Firstborn of Egypt,” mm. 1-5.

Musical score for Example 5, Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, no. 17. The score includes staves for Trombones and Chorus. The Trombones play a rhythmic motif. The Chorus has lyrics: "He spake the word, and there came all manner of flies".

Example 5

Handel, *Israel in Egypt*, no. 17, “He Spake the Word,” mm. 1-3.

A similar motive, moved to a different beat to accommodate the word “gloriously,” occurs in Moses’ song, “I Will Sing unto the Lord,” which opens part II. The “smiting motive” also recurs several times. The trombones occasionally play both motives alone, not doubling other instruments. In *Israel in Egypt* Handel seems to associate the trombones with the word, glory, and judgment of God.

Gluck

Of the Viennese Classicists, only Gluck could actually have met Handel. He went to London in 1745 and left in 1746. The Italian Opera in London, which had been closed on account of the Jacobite rebellion, reopened in January 1746 with his *La caduta de' giganti*. It was a resounding failure. While his other efforts were better received by the London public, the visit was at best moderately successful for him. Handel famously commented that Gluck knew no more of counterpoint than his (Handel's) cook, Waltz. This anecdote was first published by Charles Burney¹⁸ and repeated by Ernst Ludwig Gerber. In his additions and corrections to Gerber, Johann Friedrich Reichardt countered with the following anecdote:

Gluck's first [London] opera did not please at the first performance, and Gluck bewailed the fact to Handel, showing him the score. Handel answered him saying, "You have taken too much trouble with the opera, but that is not needed here. For the English, you must have something striking, which has its effect directly on the eardrums, and your opera will be sure to please." This advice gave Gluck the idea of adding trombones to the choruses in the opera, in consequence of which the opera was extraordinarily successful. I tell this anecdote as it was told to me. But Handel's harsh judgment on Gluck as contrapuntist is also no more than hearsay, and less probable. One can, however, accept both anecdotes as true, and that Handel, being one of the greatest contrapuntists of his time, should compare Gluck as contrapuntist with himself, and find him to be no contrapuntist at all, is no criticism of the great expressive dramatic composer [i.e. Gluck].¹⁹

It would be easier to accept Reichardt's anecdote as true if Gluck had not waited fifteen years to introduce trombones into his orchestra. Gluck's own recollections of his stay in England, as told to Burney in 1772, do not include any hint that he was personally acquainted with Handel. Burney wrote,

I reminded M. Gluck of his air, *Rasserena il Mesto Ciglio*, which was in such great favour in England, so long ago as the year 174[6]; and prevailed upon him, not only to sing that, but several others of his first and most favourite airs. He told me that he owed entirely to England the study of nature in his dramatic compositions; he went thither at a very disadvantageous period; Handel was then so high in fame, that no one would willingly listen to any other than to his compositions. The rebellion broke out; all foreigners were regarded as dangerous to the state; the opera-house was shut up by order of the Lord Chamberlain, and it was with great difficulty and address that Lord Middlesex obtained permission to open it again, with a temporary and political performance, *La caduta de' giganti*. This *Gluck* worked upon with fear and trembling, not only on account of the few friends he had in England,

but from an apprehension of riot and popular fury, at the opening of the theatre, in which none but foreigners and papists were employed.

He then studied the English taste; remarked particularly what the audience seemed most to feel; and finding that plainness and simplicity had the greatest effect upon them, he has, ever since that time, endeavoured to write for the voice, more in the natural tones of the human affections and passions, than to flatter the lovers of deep science or difficult execution.²⁰

If the two composers ever met, it was probably at a concert for the benefit of “Decay’d Musicians or their Families” held on 25 March 1746. It opened with the overture to Gluck’s *La caduta de’ giganti* and concluded with a concerto by Handel. Handel rarely failed to attend such concerts and Gluck probably conducted his own piece. There is no sign, however, that they had any kind of relationship. Gluck left London before the end of that year.²¹ Einstein has written that London was most important to Gluck because of his acquaintance with Handel and his music, but goes on to point out that it is easy to exaggerate how much Handel’s music meant to his development as a composer and that whatever effects English taste had on him took a long time to manifest.²²

What, then, can we conclude about Gluck’s knowledge of Handel’s trombone parts? He could not have heard any in performance. There is no evidence that trombones had been heard in London for three or four years before Gluck arrived. Gluck’s familiarity with Handel’s music, besides whatever was performed during the time of his visit, must have come through the study of published scores or perhaps through talking about it with other musicians. It is clear, however, that he was influenced by Handel’s music. Baselt describes three of Gluck’s direct borrowings from Handel’s music.²³

Gluck used one trombone in his ballet *Don Juan* (1761) and three trombones in his operas *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) and *Alceste* (1767); these works mark the first time the trombone had ever been used in secular dramatic music that was open to the public. (Monteverdi’s *Orfeo*, Cesti’s *Il pomo d’oro*, and a few other similar pieces with trombones had been intended for the private entertainment of a monarch and invited guests, continuing an old tradition most notably represented by the Florentine *intermedii* of the sixteenth century.) In fact, from the opening of the first commercial opera theater in 1637 until the premiere of *Don Juan*, the only other occasions on which the trombone was heard in the theater at all were the performances of Handel’s *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt*.

Don Juan was a very appropriate story in which to introduce the trombone into a dramatic orchestra for a Viennese audience. Its makes its appearance only in the last two movements, representing first the slain “stone guest” knocking at Don Juan’s door and then the scene in which the unrepentant roué is dragged to his just reward. It surely called to mind the voice of God to an audience that had previously heard trombones only in church.

Except for one measure of the horn part, Example 6 shows the complete orchestration for these measures. Apart from two long notes in the horns at the very opening of the movement and nine measures with oboes, there are no other wind parts besides the trombone in the entire movement, which is marked *Larghetto*. At this slow tempo, Gluck

allows the trombone to play a pair of thirty-second notes in unison with the violas (after the end of the excerpt, in m. 15). This excerpt was chosen to demonstrate the doubling (fairly exact), the quarter-note “knocking” motive, and the two measures where the trombone has long notes over rests in the strings. The next measure after the end of the excerpt has a long note in the trombone over a flurry of dotted sixteenths and thirty-seconds in the strings.

Musical score for Trombone, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, and Vlc e bassi, measures 1-6. The score is in 3/4 time and features dynamics such as *p* (piano) and *f* (forte).

Musical score for Trombone, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, and Vlc e bassi, measures 7-10. The score is in 3/4 time and features dynamics such as *sf* (sforzando) and *f* (forte).

Example 6

Gluck, *Don Juan*, no. 30, mm. 23-34.

In the thirty-first and final movement, Gluck uses the trombone for long notes and shorter repeated notes, much in the manner of a Classical horn or trumpet part. There is not much sign that Gluck had Handel’s music in mind, unless perhaps it is the mere presence of a trombone part.

In the first chorus in the opening scene of *Orfeo*, Gluck uses trombones in much the same way that other Austrian composers had long used them in countless church pieces. For the most part, they double the chorus almost exactly except for the fourteen-measure

The image displays a musical score for the first chorus in the opening scene of *Orfeo*. The score is arranged in two systems. The first system includes parts for 2 Cornets, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Trombone 1, Trombone 2, Trombone 3, and Tutti bassi. The second system includes parts for the Piano. The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The trombone parts are notably similar to the vocal parts, illustrating the concept of doubling the chorus. The score features various musical notations, including stems, beams, and slurs, and includes a rehearsal mark '8' at the beginning of the second system.

Example 7

Gluck, *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Act 1, sc. 1, mm. 1-14.

introduction and two brief moments (mm. 54, 57) where they double and then echo the chorus. The introduction (Example 7) resembles Handel in that the trombone parts are not independent for very long, but do not double any one other part in the orchestra. This is clearly not a case of the two masters arriving independently at similar practices. According to Siegmund-Schulze, the large choral funeral scene in *Orfeo ed Euridice* is modeled on the large choral funeral scene in *Saul*.²⁴ That is, one of the only two scenes with trombone parts in Gluck's work is modeled after the scene that contains Handel's most famous piece with trombones.

The first scene of the second act is a confrontation between Orfeo and the furies (a male chorus), who are attempting to keep a living mortal out of the underworld. There are two separate orchestras, one for each side of the encounter. Two trombones, both notated on the same staff in alto clef, basically double the chorus again, as does the rest of the furies' orchestra (cornett and strings). The chorus, singing in unison, has no melody. It simply shouts "No!" several times, interrupting Orfeo's plea to be allowed to enter. In the few places where the orchestra is not in unison, the first trombone plays the open fifth. After Orfeo vanquishes the furies, the trombones are heard no more. This scene may be the very first instance of two trombones playing in unison.

Gluck used trombones more extensively in *Alceste* (1767) than in the earlier two works. The trombones frequently double the choral parts exactly, in the manner of Viennese church music. There are also passages in which the trombone parts do not resemble choral parts at all. In some cases, of course, there is no chorus, but even in choral movements the trombones and the choir sometimes part company. For example, in the chorus beginning in measure 29 of Act I, scene 3, the trombones double two statements of a particularly angular phrase. In the third choral phrase, where the choral parts are much simpler, the trombones play more or less independent harmonic filler; the alto trombone doubles the second oboe, but the other two trombones do not double anything else (see Example 8).

There are several passages in which the three trombones play in unison or in bare octaves, and unlike the unison notes in *Orfeo*, these are melodic lines. The unison writing is one of Gluck's innovations. *Alceste* was his third dramatic work using trombones, and by this time he had become thoroughly comfortable with the procedures he had found in Handel and begun to experiment more boldly. There is a wonderful aria of Alceste in Act II, scene 6, accompanied for a while only by two chalumeaux, two English horns, and the lower two trombones. There are a couple of passages in which the trombones are part of a unified wind choir.²⁵ In the first part of Example 9, the strings form one rhythmic unit while all the winds play sustained chords. I could not resist adding to this example a later section where the trombones and horns echo the soloist and strings. Incidentally, having said that all three trombone parts in Handel's music were likely played on tenor trombones, it appears that, for Gluck anyway, the part labeled "alto trombone" was intended to be played on an alto trombone and not a tenor. In *Alceste* one passage has the alto trombone repeating d^{\sharp} for three measures, and another calls for eb^2 .

Andante

2 Flutes
 2 Oboes
 Trombone
 Trombones 2, 3
 Violins, Violas
 Sopranos, Altos
 Tenors, Basses
 Bassoons, Violoncellos, Bases

Example 8
 Gluck, *Alceste*, Act 1, sc. 3, mm. 68-72.

In the 1770s Gluck rewrote both of these operas for performance in Paris and also composed three additional operas with trombone parts. By that time, of course, he had gained complete mastery of writing for the trombone. His use of the trombone was a revelation to French composers and had a tremendous influence on their use of the

instrument.²⁶ Thus Handel, through his direct influence on Gluck, exercised an indirect influence on the way any number of French and Italian composers working in Paris wrote trombone parts.

Andante

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system includes parts for 2 Flutes/2 Oboes, 2 Bassoons, 2 Horns, 3 Trombones, Violins 1 & 2, Viola, Alceste, and Violoncello e Basso. The second system continues the parts for Violins 1 & 2, Viola, Alceste, and Violoncello e Basso. The score is in G minor (three flats) and 6/8 time, marked Andante. Dynamics include fortissimo (f) for the woodwinds and strings, and piano (p) for the strings in the second system.

Example 9

Gluck, *Alceste*, Act 1, sc. 5, mm. 63-75, 81-83.

The image shows a musical score for four staves, likely a string quartet or similar ensemble. The score is in a minor key (one flat) and 3/4 time. The first two staves are mostly rests, with a '5 measures omitted' marking. The third staff has a melodic line with dynamics *p*, *f*, and *mf*. The fourth staff has a bass line with dynamics *p* and *mf*. The score ends with a double bar line.

Example 9 (cont.)

Haydn

Siegmund-Schultze commits a common blunder in asserting that Haydn was not influenced by Handel’s music until he heard it in London.²⁷ In fact, his earliest music to use Handel’s oratorios as a model is the 1784 revision of his oratorio *Il ritorno di Tobia*, which was also his first use of the trombone. Not surprisingly, these trombone parts show the influence of Handel’s music as much as anything else in the oratorio does.

Reviews of Haydn’s music mention Handel as early as 1775, when the original version of *Il ritorno di Tobia* received its first performance: “Especially his choruses glowed with a fire that was otherwise only in Handel.”²⁸ In fact, this oratorio is based on Italian, not Handelian models. The review hardly proves Handel’s influence on Haydn at such an early date, but it does quite conclusively demonstrate that Handel was held in high repute in Vienna, and that the writer could suppose that comparing the new work to the older master would enlighten his readers. One of Haydn’s operas elicited another comparison:

On 18 Dec. [1784] Herr Schikaneder and Kumpff gave an opera *Die belohnte Treue* by Haydn, this man who is just as unappreciated as Handel, whom the English, after his death, gave a place in the royal vaults of Westminster [Abbey] so that, as a wit observed, posterity could know where the kings of England lie.²⁹

One of Handel’s best-known Viennese champions was Baron Gottfried van Swieten. While Austrian ambassador to Berlin from 1770 to 1777, van Swieten acquired a taste for the music of J.S. Bach, C.P.E. Bach, and Handel. Upon his return to Vienna, he actively promoted

performances of their music. He also hosted regular, informal meetings of musicians in his home, at which early music was played.³⁰ Greisinger, one of Haydn's earliest biographers, reported that Handel's music was played there, led alternately by Mozart and Haydn.³¹ Meanwhile, van Swieten knew Haydn's music some time before 1776, and apparently promoted it in Berlin.³² At some point, although just when is not certain, van Swieten tried without success to interest Haydn in writing an oratorio in the Handelian style, and even provided a libretto.³³

The baron died without a will in 1803. A year later his music library was sold at auction. The auction catalog is no longer extant. Surviving notes made from it indicate that his library included thirty-one English scores, but do not name them.³⁴ If it is not possible to know which Handel oratorios van Swieten owned, it is certainly not possible to know which ones he may have shown to Haydn. (And of course Vienna offered other opportunities besides van Swieten's library to hear and study Handel's works.) Available documentation indicates that Haydn could have known the trombone parts in *Saul* and/or *Israel in Egypt* in or before 1784, but does not demonstrate that in fact he did. It is difficult, however, to explain the trombone parts in *Il ritorno di Tobia* on any other hypothesis.

Could Haydn have gotten his model for trombone parts closer to home? It seems unlikely. Of Mozart's operas with trombone parts, only *Idomeneo* had been composed by 1784. It was not known in or around Vienna, and the trombones make only a brief appearance. Haydn knew Gluck's operas, of course; he prepared a performance of *Orfeo ed Euridice* in 1776 for the theater in Eszterháza. Because there were no trombones there, he had to reorchestrate it, but certainly had ample time to notice and study Gluck's trombone parts.

It seems, however, that if the impetus to use trombones had come from Gluck rather than Handel, Haydn's first use of them would have been in an opera, not in an oratorio. Granted that for whatever reason there were no trombones at Esterháza, some of Haydn's operas were performed in Vienna.³⁵ Had he chosen to add trombone parts for these performances, it would have been no more than the routine editing that composers often did for revivals of their operas. Also, the trombone parts in *Orfeo ed Euridice* are less extensive and varied than Handel's parts.

I have been unable to find any clear evidence that Haydn was as familiar with *Alceste*. For example, Geiringer has demonstrated that all of the serious operas Haydn wrote after he first heard *Orfeo* show the influence of Gluck's achievements, and three of them are based on stories Gluck had already used.³⁶ Yet except for its preface, Geiringer does not mention *Alceste* at all. Although it is inconceivable that Haydn was not aware of *Alceste*, it seems clear that his manner of writing trombone parts is not modeled on it. For example, the kind of extended passage in which the strings and winds form two unified and rhythmically distinct choirs does not occur in Haydn's music at all. In fact, Haydn sometimes used all of the other winds as a unit, with the trombones playing some contrasting rhythm. Both composers wrote for trombones in unison, however. If Haydn ever did study *Alceste* carefully, it is possible that he adopted one practice he found there and rejected another.

Anthony Hoboken's catalogue of Haydn's music³⁷ lists eight works that include trombone parts:

1. *Il ritorno di Tobia* (Hob. XXI:1, 1774-75 [1784 revision])
2. "Ad aras convolate" (Hob. XXIIIa:5*, 1780)
3. *L'anima del filosofo, ossia Orfeo ed Euridice* (Hob. XXVIII:3, 1791)
4. *Der Sturm (The Storm)* (Hob. XXIVa:8, 1792)
5. *Die sieben letzten Worte unsers Erlösers am Kreuze (The Seven Last Words of Our Savior on the Cross)* (Hob. XX:2, 1798)
6. *Die Schöpfung (The Creation)* (Hob. XXI:2, 1798)
7. *Te Deum* (Hob. XXIIIc:2, 1800)
8. *Die Jahreszeiten (The Seasons)* (Hob. XXI:3, 1801)

H.C. Robbins Landon and others consider "Ad aras convolate" spurious.³⁸ *The Storm* was conceived without trombones, which were added for a performance in 1793.³⁹ I have not been able to examine either piece.

Haydn composed *Il ritorno di Tobia* in 1775. For the 1784 revision⁴⁰ he made extensive cuts, but also added two new choruses.⁴¹ The second, "Svanisce in un momento," requires two trombones. The use of two alto trombones instead of a trio of nominally alto, tenor, and bass, marks the closest resemblance to the traditional Viennese manner of writing trombone parts, which usually used alto and tenor.

The trombones play from the very beginning of the movement, even though the chorus rests for nearly sixteen measures. Throughout the movement the trombones hardly ever double the chorus, never for very long at a time, and never without some rhythmic modification. Instead, the trombone parts more nearly resemble the woodwind parts, often doubling the oboes an octave lower. Example 10 shows the first choral entrance (omitting flutes, horn, and strings). At this point the trombones have played the entire introduction. I repeat this fact to underscore its novelty. After the end of this excerpt, the trombones rest for three measures while the chorus continues to sing. In a typical Viennese piece the trombones would have made their first entrance with the chorus and doubled the altos and tenors without deviation until the end of the movement.

Because both of Handel's oratorios with trombones were written at about the same time, little can be said of one that is not true of the other. Haydn's trombone parts, on the other hand, show a definite evolution. In *Il ritorno di Tobia*, the writing for trombone seems tentative, with its narrow range, long note values (mostly half notes and whole notes), and the fact that the trombones were used in only one of the two new choruses.

It was in London, of course, that Haydn was stunned, in the words of an early biographer, by Handel's oratorios, including especially *Israel in Egypt*. In response he began to study them as if learning to compose for the first time, and pored over each note carefully.⁴² When he had heard (or conducted) Handel's oratorios in Vienna, they had been arranged to conform to Viennese taste. In London he heard them with the full weight of English tradition.

The image displays a musical score for Example 10, consisting of five systems of staves. The first system includes staves for Oboes, Bassoons, Trombones, and Chorus. The second system includes staves for Oboes, Bassoons, and Piano. The third system includes staves for Oboes, Bassoons, and Piano. The fourth system includes staves for Oboes, Bassoons, and Piano. The fifth system includes staves for Oboes, Bassoons, and Piano. The score is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The Oboe part features a melodic line with some chromaticism and grace notes. The Bassoon part provides harmonic support with sustained notes and some rhythmic patterns. The Trombone part is mostly sustained notes. The Chorus part consists of sustained chords. The Piano part provides a complex harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment, including a prominent bass line with eighth-note patterns.

Example 10

Haydn, *Il ritorno di Tobia*, no. 13c, “Svanisce in un momento,” mm. 16-24.

But if the London performances represented a more “authentic” tradition than the Viennese performances, the twenty-first-century idea of authenticity was far from anyone’s mind. Burney reported that, after much difficulty, six trombonists were found for the 1784 Handel Festival. Only three, of course, ever played for Handel himself. Significantly, Burney did not say that trombones were sought because Handel had intended them for two of his oratorios, but “in order to render the band as powerful and complete as possible.”⁴³ Although Burney mentioned that they “played on other instruments when the sacbuts were not wanted,”⁴⁴ and although other contemporary descriptions of this festival name only three trombonists,⁴⁵ clearly these performances, and also those that Haydn heard the following decade, used larger performing forces than Handel ever had himself. They also

seem occasionally to have included trombone parts that Handel did not write. Burney described a performance of “Worthy is the Lamb” from *Messiah* with added trombone parts at the Handel Festival.⁴⁶

John Marsh, partly in reference to the 1784 Handel Festival, says that composers seldom write separate trombone parts, “but leave them to be added afterwards, as may be required, which can easily be done from the score by any composer or judge of composition.”⁴⁷ It seems impossible that the use of trombones at the Festival could have had the impact on English musical life that it so evidently did if it had been limited to the two works for which Handel supplied parts. Haydn must have heard trombones in other works as well, supplied as Marsh described. It stands to reason that any new trombone parts would have been devised in imitation of Handel’s own practice, the only model readily at hand.

One peculiarity of the notation and publication of Handel’s trombone parts appears to establish a precedent for adding them later. They are incorporated into neither the published scores nor the autograph manuscripts of either oratorio. Instead, they appear on separate staves at the end, even though manuscript evidence makes it clear that they were not an afterthought. This cumbersome procedure was also followed in the first printed editions of *Don Giovanni*, *The Seasons*, and Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, and so seems to have been standard practice in the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ It is a testimony to Haydn’s thoroughness and professionalism that he expended the effort that it took, both in Vienna and in London, to study these parts and discover their novelty.

In *L’anima del filosofo*,⁴⁹ an opera written for London’s Haymarket Theatre but never performed during Haydn’s lifetime, the trombones appear in two movements, the chorus of furies and the final chorus. Once again Haydn calls for two trombones. It is ironic that his only opera with trombones was composed not for Austria, where there was a long tradition of trombone playing, but for England, where less than ten years earlier it had been difficult to find any trombonists at all.

The trombone parts are more adventuresome than those in the oratorio, but still exploratory in character. In the chorus of furies much of the orchestral writing is in octaves. It is not unusual in eighteenth-century music for two flutes, oboes, or bassoons to double one part throughout all or much of a movement. In this chorus, the two trombones are scored in unison throughout. Because of the extreme high range (*g* to *eb*² with three *eb*²s), however, it may be more practical, and certainly more comfortable, for the trombonists to play in alternation rather than in continuous unison. Gluck, of course, wrote for trombones in unison, albeit in a much more reasonable range.

Example 11 shows the wind parts in the opening measures. The strings play in unison with the winds. In the middle of the movement, where there is less unison writing, the trombones often double the first oboe an octave lower, but sometimes play autonomous or independent passages. Regardless of the relationships in pitch material, the trombones make rhythmic alliance with the upper winds and have relatively little in common with the bassoons, other brass, strings, or chorus. Landon writes, “The ugly sound of the orchestra, with its high, piercing trombone, in the Furies’ Chorus is also characteristic, and reveals quite a different side of Haydn’s personality than do the more well-known symphonies.”⁵⁰

Vivace (assai)

2 Flutes

2 Oboes

2 Bassoons

2 Trumpets,
2 Horns

2 Trombones

6

6

6

6

6

Example 11

Haydn, *L'anima del filosofo*, no. 33, Act 4, sc. 1, "Coro di furie," mm. 1-11.

In the chorus of *Baccantes* that closes the opera, the trombones at one time or another double the violas, second violins, and bassoons. Sometimes they are autonomous (as in Example 12, where no other wind instruments play; the bass line is omitted). They are in unison more often than not.

Returning to Austria from his second journey to England, Haydn heard a choral adaptation of his orchestral meditations on *The Seven Last Words*, which he had written in 1785. The original version of this work was a critical success, but a commercial failure; the first British edition consisted of only fifty copies, and it took thirty years to sell them all.⁵¹ Haydn had already arranged the work for string quartet and authorized a piano reduction. Upon hearing the choral version, he decided to write his own, and added clarinets, alto and tenor trombones, and contrabassoon to the orchestra.

The image displays a musical score for Example 12. The top section includes staves for 2 Trombones, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Chorus (Sopranos, Altos). The music is in 3/4 time, marked 'Allegro' and 'p' (piano). The bottom section shows piano accompaniment with dynamics 'f' (forte).

Example 12

Haydn, *L'anima del filosofo*, no. 45c, Act 4, sc. 5, "Coro di Baccante," mm. 213-21.

It is in *The Seven Last Words*⁵² that Haydn first demonstrated confidence and mastery in writing trombone parts. Compared with *Tobia* the range is wider, the rhythms more varied, and the lines disjunct. Compared with *L'anima* the tessitura is more reasonable and there is less unison writing, although it is still an important feature of the orchestration.

The trombones participate in every movement except the introduction and the Third Word, playing every kind of part from strict doubling to independent, thematically significant passages. In "Il Terremoto," a choral depiction of the earthquake that followed Jesus's death, the trombones double the altos and tenors of the choir with only slight rhythmic deviations. At the same time they are usually in octaves. Extremely low notes in the tenors closely follow extremely high notes in the altos in this stark, cheerless, even frightening music (Example 13). In the introduction to the fifth Word, scored for wind band, the trombones are completely independent. Example 14 shows a brief passage where only the trombones and first bassoons play.

Presto e con tutta la forza

Trombones

Example 13

Haydn, *The Seven Last Words*, “Il terremoto,” mm. 56-70.

Largo e cantabile

Trombone 1

Trombone 2

Bassoon 1

Example 14

Haydn, *The Seven Last Words* “Introduzione” [to no. 5], mm. 4-7.

*The Creation*⁵³ shows Haydn’s writing for trombones at its most daring. The alto and tenor trombone parts more nearly resemble the chorus than in *The Seven Last Words*. They play much less often in unison and run the same gamut of strict, modified, and autonomous doubling, with some brief independent passages. But where Haydn’s earlier trombone parts contain hardly any notes as short as eighth notes, in *The Creation* he writes sixteenth notes even in a fast movement.

Example 15 shows not only sixteenth notes in the tenor trombone, but even thirty-second notes in the bass trombone, an instrument that Haydn used for the first time in *The Creation*. This bass trombone part is one of the most unusual and noteworthy features of Haydn’s entire orchestral output. It occupies substantially more measures than the other trombone parts, but lacks the variety of different kinds of doubling. Along with the contrabassoon part, it seems to have been an afterthought, a result of Haydn’s lifelong preoccupation with effective, strong, and clear bass lines.⁵⁴ Perhaps he prepared these two parts in a hurry. In any case, they are nearly identical, and much more idiomatic for contrabassoon than for trombone. They are also very similar to the cellos and double basses, which may be another legacy of Haydn’s experience in London; Marsh describes just such a procedure.⁵⁵ The resulting wildly difficult bass trombone part covers more than two and a half octaves. Example 16 is but one sample of the difficulty.

Allegro moderato

Trombone 1
Trombone 2
Trombone 3

Example 15

Haydn, *The Creation*, no. 5, “Mit Staunen sieht das Wunderwerk,” mm. 38, 42.

Vivace

Bass trombone

f

4

8

Example 16

Haydn, *The Creation*, no. 5, “Mit Staunen sieht das Wunderwerk,”
bass trombone part, excerpt.

Donald Francis Tovey observed,

By the way, Haydn does not seem to know the modern or late-Victorian rule that “you must never use the bass trombone without the others.” His rule appears to be that you may do so by all means, but need neither presuppose that he will play like a pig nor compel him to play thus by writing so low as to give him constant rapid changes of his slide from the first position to the seventh. On the other hand, Haydn entrusts to him, or to the conductor, the dangerous task of simplifying the passages where a manifestly insane agility is the result of the directions (Trombone III col Contrafagotto) x (Contrafagotto col Basso) x (Basso col Violoncello).⁵⁶

Edward Kleinhammer, long-time bass trombonist with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, told me that he never simplified the part and never heard of anyone else doing so.⁵⁷ His professional career began at about the same time Tovey's comments were published. Kleinhammer also pointed out that orchestral trombonists are technically more proficient now than earlier.

I might add that the rapid slide work required in *The Creation* is far easier on a modern bass trombone, a B \flat instrument equipped with one or two triggers, than on a bass trombone in E \flat , F, or G. The slide on such an instrument is so long that the player cannot hold it as he would a tenor or alto trombone slide and still reach the lower positions. Instead he must hold a handle that swivels on the slide brace and adds several inches to his reach, at the expense of easy and direct control of accuracy in rapid passages, although published complaints about it are greatly exaggerated.⁵⁸ On the other hand, the older bass trombone had a smaller bore than modern ones, which made a clear, crisp, clean articulation easier to achieve.

These considerations raise the question of what instrument Haydn meant by a bass trombone. Indeed, the low E \flat and C in the examples are unplayable on a B \flat trombone without a trigger except as falset tones, but these notes may be more a result of Haydn's haste or carelessness than his desire for an E \flat bass. In fact, it is unlikely that such an instrument was available or known in Haydn's Vienna. The bass trombone part was almost surely played on a B \flat trombone equipped with a larger-than-usual mouthpiece and perhaps larger bore than the normal tenor trombone.⁵⁹ English bass trombonists in Tovey's time, however, played on a long bass in G and would have found certain parts of *Creation* unreasonably difficult.

The *Te Deum* is Haydn's only church music with trombone parts. The Empress Maria Theresa⁶⁰ had wanted Haydn to write church music for her for years, but Haydn's employer, Prince Nicolaus II Esterhazy, was not willing for him to write any for outsiders—not even the empress. In order to accommodate her, Haydn had to deliver the work to her behind the prince's back. The prince had no trombones in his orchestra, but according to Landon, Haydn used trombones in large choral works whenever he could.⁶¹ The autograph score and the original parts have long been lost, except for the alto and tenor trombone parts. Parts found in the Esterhazy archive in Eisenstadt and the score published in 1802 by Breitkopf & Haertel do not include trombone parts, so the discovery of the original *Hofburgkapelle* parts settled any question of Haydn's intentions. The bass trombone part is later, but surely authentic.

Since this piece is Viennese church music, Haydn would have had perfect opportunity to use trombones in the traditional Viennese manner, simply doubling the choral parts *colle parte* with perhaps an obbligato solo if there were still any trombonists capable of playing it. He did not do so. While these trombone parts represent a retreat to safety from some of the extremes of *The Creation*, they still more nearly resemble Handel's parts than traditional Viennese parts. They double the chorus, using all of the same modified and autonomous doubling that Handel first used and that Haydn had used in all of his previous trombone parts.

Example 17 shows the first choral entrance. Instead of doubling the voices, the trombones play music more closely resembling the trumpet and horn parts in the orchestra for the first four measures. Once the choir starts singing in parts, the trombones double the lower three voices, with some changes in rhythm, but not for long. All of the winds drop out when the choir comes to its first soft passage. In Example 18 the choir sings its only passage of rapid sixteenth notes. Fux would simply have had the trombones play the same thing. Haydn may have decided not to trust the trombones with such intricate passage work. But not only did he greatly simplify the rhythms, he also divided the task of doubling the bass line between the bass and tenor trombones. In other words, the trombones usually double the choir in the *Te Deum*, but they do not necessarily double their respective parts.

Allegro

The musical score for Example 17 consists of six staves. The top five staves are for the brass instruments: Alto (treble clef), Trombone 1 (treble clef), Tenors (bass clef), Trombone 2 (bass clef), and Basses (bass clef). The sixth staff is for the piano accompaniment, with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The score shows the first four measures of the choral entrance. The trombones play music more closely resembling the trumpet and horn parts in the orchestra for the first four measures. The piano accompaniment features a bass line with a 'p' dynamic marking.

Example 17
Haydn, *Te Deum*, mm. 9-20.

The image displays a musical score for six parts: Alto, Trombone 1, Tenors, Trombone 2, Basses, and Trombone 3. The music is in common time (C) and features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The Alto part begins with a melodic line, while the Trombone parts provide harmonic support. The Tenors part has a more active role with frequent eighth-note patterns. The Basses and Trombone 3 parts have more sustained, lower-register lines. The score includes dynamic markings such as *fz* (forzando) and *f* (forte).

Example 18

Haydn, *Te Deum*, mm. 146-57.

In *The Seasons*⁶² the bass trombone part is integrated with the rest of the trombone section, as opposed to the constant lockstep with the contrabassoon. It appears that Haydn took more time to compose the bass trombone parts in *The Seasons* than in *The Creation*. Somehow, authentic contrabassoon parts have been omitted from every score of *The Seasons* ever published, but Landon has reproduced some of them.⁶³ They appear less difficult than those in *The Creation*, but still contain passages that would require “manifestly insane agility” if played on a bass trombone. More often than not, however, the bass trombone part has either long, sustained notes or nothing at all during these passages.

On the whole, the trombone parts in *The Seasons*, like those in the *Te Deum*, are more closely based on the choral parts than in any of Haydn’s earlier works. In fact, one passage almost resembles the typical treatment of the trombones fifty years earlier in Salzburg (not Vienna, where bass trombone parts were less common), but even so, Haydn wrote a number of subtle deviations from the choral parts (see Example 19). Again, even at his most

traditional, Haydn did not limit the alto, tenor, and bass trombones to doubling alto, tenor, and bass voices. Example 20 shows the tenor trombone doubling the sopranos an octave lower. There are also long stretches of music in which the trombones do not resemble the choral parts.

Poco adagio

The musical score is for a section of Haydn's *The Seasons*, no. 6. It is in 3/4 time and marked 'Poco adagio'. The score includes parts for Alto, Trombone 1, Tenor, Trombone 2, Bass, and Trombone 3. The Tenor Trombone part is shown doubling the Soprano line an octave lower. The score is divided into two systems, with the second system starting at measure 5. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Example 19

Haydn, *The Seasons*, no. 6, “Sei nun gnädig,” mm. 95-104.

Handel’s innovative trombone parts influenced both Gluck’s and Haydn’s use of the trombone. They did not limit the trombones to church music and private entertainments at court, as did earlier Viennese composers. Neither did they write trombone solos or otherwise restrict their trombone parts to *colla parte* doubling of the chorus. They used trombones more flexibly in doubling the chorus and also used them in strictly instrumental movements. Through Gluck’s influence on French composers, Haydn’s influence on

Beethoven, the French composers' influence on Beethoven, and Beethoven's influence on the entire Romantic era, Handel's influence became an important element in more than a hundred years of trombone parts.

Allegro

The image shows a musical score for six parts: Soprano, Trombone 2, Alto, Trombone 1, Bass, and Trombone 3. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The Soprano part has a long rest followed by a melodic line. Trombone 2 has a steady rhythmic pattern. The Alto part has a more active melodic line. Trombone 1 and 3 have similar rhythmic patterns. The Bass part has a steady rhythmic pattern with some melodic movement.

Example 20

Haydn, *The Seasons*, no. 19, "Ach, das Ungewitter naht," mm. 87-92.

David M. Guion is currently cataloging librarian for musical scores at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, and the editor of the article library for the Online Trombone Journal. He has published one book and numerous articles on various musical subjects, mostly concerning the history of the trombone. Previous articles have appeared in this journal, American Music, Brass Bulletin, Online Trombone Journal, and ITA Journal, among others.

NOTES

¹ See, for example, Walther Siegmund-Schultze, "Georg Friedrich Händel als ein Wegbereiter der Wiener Klassik," *Händel-Jahrbuch* 27 (1981): 23-36.

² David M. Guion, *The Trombone: Its History and Music, 1697-1811* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 135-36, 222-28.

³ "Es sind der Posaunen groß und kleine ... welche vor sich selbst ein vollständiges Chor ausmachen können, aber ausser in Kirchen-Sachen und *Solennitäten* sehr wenig gebraucht werden." Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), 266-67; Guion, *Trombone*, 25.

⁴ Filippo Buonanni, *Gabinetto armonico* (Rome: Giorgio Placho, 1722), 50; Guion, *Trombone*, 32-33.

⁵ Angelo Berardi, *Miscellanea musicale* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1689), 16.

⁶ Hans Joachim Marx, Introduction to *Arcangelo Corelli: Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke*, vol. 5: *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Cologne: Arno Volk,

1976); Ursula Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 237, 257.

⁷ Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 80, quoting Christopher Walsh.

⁸ Trevor Herbert, "The Sackbut in England in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Early Music* 18 (1990): 612.

⁹ Donald Burrows, "Handel, the Dead March, and a Newly Identified Trombone Movement," *Early Music* 18 (1990): 408.

¹⁰ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 429.

¹¹ Herbert, "Sackbut," 612.

¹² Six items are reproduced in Trevor Herbert, "The Trombone in Britain before 1800" (Ph.D. diss., Open University, 1984), 87-97; there was also a singularly uninformative article in the first (1771) edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, reprinted in Guion, *The Trombone*, 67.

¹³ The most notable exception is Bach's cantata no. 118. In the original version, a wind band forms the orchestra. Trombones, as part of that band, more or less double the choir while it sings, but also play when the singers are silent. See Guion, *Trombone*, 201-05.

¹⁴ Georg Friedrich Händel, *Saul*, ed. Percy M. Young, *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, Ser. I, Bd. 13 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962).

¹⁵ Handel, like many other composers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, wrote trombone parts in alto, tenor, and bass clefs. It is only for convenience that I refer to the different parts according to clef. There is no evidence that a part in alto clef, for example, was specifically intended to be played on an alto trombone. In fact, alto and bass parts were commonly played on a tenor trombone, according to Speer and others.

¹⁶ Georg Friedrich Händel, *Israel in Egypt*, ed. Annette Landgraf, *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe*, Ser. I, Bd. 14 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999).

¹⁷ Guion, *Trombone*, 151-52.

¹⁸ Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon ... in Commemoration of Handel* (London: T. Payne, 1785), 33.

¹⁹ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Fortsetzung der Berichtigungen und Zusätze zum Gerberschen Lexicon der Tonkünstler," *Musikalische Monatschrift* 3 (September 1792): 74; quoted in Patricia Howard, *Gluck: An Eighteenth-Century Portrait in Letters and Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 17.

²⁰ Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany...* (London: T. Becket, 1775), i, 267-68, quoted in Howard, *Gluck*, 19.

²¹ See F.G. Edwards, "Gluck in England," *Musical Times* 49 (1908): 511-12.

²² Alfred Einstein, *Gluck*, transl. Eric Blom (London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1936), 26-28.

²³ Bernd Baselt, "Zum Thema Händel und Gluck," in *Kongressbericht: Gluck in Wien: Wien, 12.-16. November 1987*, ed. Gerhard Croll and Monika Woitas (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), 141-45.

²⁴ Siedmund-Schultze, "Georg Friederich Händel, 33-34.

²⁵ Another similar passage occurs late in Act 3, scene 2, but there the wind choir has the same rhythm as the vocal choir.

²⁶ See Guion, *Trombone*, 172-77, 238-40.

²⁷ Siegmund-Schultze, "Georg Friedrich Händel," 30.

²⁸ *k. k. privilegierte Realzeitung* (6 April 1775), p. 219; quoted in H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2: *Haydn at Eszterháza 1766-1790* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 215.

²⁹ *Wienerische Kronik* (1785), 435, quoted in Landon, *Haydn at Esterháza*, 499.

³⁰ Edward Olleson, "Gottfried van Swieten: Patron of Haydn and Mozart," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 89 (1962/63): 63-64.

³¹ Georg August Greisinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn* (1810), transl. in Vernon Gotwals, *Joseph Haydn: Eighteenth-Century Gentleman and Genius* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 38.

³² Joseph Haydn, autobiographical sketch (6 July 1776), quoted in Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 399.

³³ Olleson, "Gottfried van Swieten," 70.

³⁴ Andreas Holschneider, "Die musikalische Bibliothek Gottfried van Swietens," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Kassel, 1962*, ed. Georg Reichert and Martin Just, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 175.

³⁵ *La vera Costanza* (1779) was written with performance at Vienna's Hoftheater in mind, although it was never produced there.

³⁶ Karl Geiringer, "Gluck und Haydn," in *Festschrift Otto Erich Deutsch zum 80. Geburtstag am 5. September 1963*, ed. Walter Gerstenberg, Jan LaRue, and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 75-81.

³⁷ Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisches-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1971).

³⁸ H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, vol 1: *Haydn: The Early Years, 1732-1765* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 157.

³⁹ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works*, vol 3: *Haydn in England 1791-1795* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 355.

⁴⁰ Joseph Haydn, *Il ritorno di Tobia*, ed. Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Werke*, Reihe XXVIII, Bd. 1 (Munich: G. Henle, 1963).

⁴¹ Landon, *Haydn at Eszterháza*, 259-62.

⁴² Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Haydine*, 2nd edn. (Padua, 1823), 167, transl. and quoted in Gotwals, *Joseph Haydn*, 235.

⁴³ Charles Burney, *Account*, 7; quoted in Guion, *Trombone*, 144.

⁴⁴ Burney, *Account*, 9; quoted in Guion, *Trombone*, 145.

⁴⁵ Herbert, "Sackbut," 614.

⁴⁶ Burney, *Account*, 112.

⁴⁷ John Marsh, *Hints to Young Composers of Instrumental Music* (London, 1807), quoted in Guion, *Trombone*, 88.

⁴⁸ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios*, 312; Burrows, "Handel Trombone Movement," 410.

⁴⁹ Joseph Haydn, *L'anima del filosofo, ossia Orfeo ed Euridice, Dramma per Musica*, ed. Helmut Wirth, *Werke*, Reihe XXVIII, Bd. 2 (Munich: G. Henle, 1974).

⁵⁰ Landon, *Haydn in England*, 331.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵² Joseph Haydn, *Die sieben letzten Worte unsers Erlösers am Kreuze, Vokalfassung*, ed. Hubert Unverricht, *Joseph Haydn Werke* Reihe XXVIII, Band 2 (Munich: G. Henle, 1961).

⁵³ Joseph Haydn, *Die Schöpfung=The Creation*, ed. A. Peter Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁵⁴ A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn's "The Creation": Reconstructing the Earliest Renditions* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 28.

⁵⁵ Marsh, *Hints*; quoted in Guion, *Trombone*, 88.

⁵⁶ Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, vol. 5, *Vocal Music* (London: Oxford University

Press, 1937), 142.

⁵⁷ According to Howard Weiner (personal communication, June 2003), the bass trombone part in the widely available C.F. Peters edition, however, has been simplified.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Gottfried Weber, "Über Instrumentalbässe bey vollstimmigen Tonstücken," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 41 (October 1816): col. 701-02.

⁵⁹ See Edward Solomon, "Creating Problems: Edward Solomon Re-examines the Trombone Parts in Haydn's Great Oratorio, The Creation," *The Trombonist Online*. <http://www.trombone-society.org.uk/creation.htm>

⁶⁰ This is not the more famous Empress Maria Theresa, who ruled 1740-80, but Maria Theresa of Naples-Sicily.

⁶¹ Haydn, Joseph. *Te Deum für die Kaiserin Marie Therese* (ca. 1799/1800). ed. H.C. Robbins Landon, full score (Vienna: Doblinger, 1959), preface.

⁶² Joseph Haydn, *The Seasons in Full Score* (New York: Dover, 1986).

⁶³ H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 5: *Haydn: The Late Years 1801-1809* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 131-37.

