REFERENCES TO TRUMPET MUSIC
IN THE BATTLE CHANSONS
OF CLEMENT JANEQUIN

DISSERTATION

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By

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This paper is an examination of the battle chansons of Clément Janequin for references to Renaissance trumpet music. The following issues are addressed: dating the early use of the clarino register; the history and evolution of the courtly trumpet ensemble; and the transition from the shorter trumpet of the Middle Ages to the longer instrument of the middle Renaissance and Baroque eras. Because the earliest Janequin battle chanson predates all known written trumpet sources by over fifty years, musical evidence gleaned from these battle chansons can help to establish the existence and character of trumpet performance practices in the first third of the sixteenth century.

The first chapter summarizes all of the known primary sources of information on Renaissance trumpet performance, and identifies important issues worthy of further investigation. The second chapter examines trumpet music and trumpet style in the Renaissance, including trumpet ensemble performance, military trumpet calls, and the imitation of trumpet style in purely vocal music, and contains eight musical examples. The third chapter discusses the battle chansons of Janequin and their influence on other
sixteenth-century works. Chapter four analyzes the battle works of Janequin for allusions to trumpet music and includes eleven musical examples. The fifth and concluding chapter places the musical allusions into the context of trumpet history.

The musical references pointed out in these chansons provide the first musical evidence that trumpeters in the early sixteenth century were performing in the clarino register. Clear references to unequal articulation, military calls, characteristic trumpet rhythms, and to the music of the courtly trumpet ensemble are demonstrated. The chansons also provide evidence of the simultaneous use of trumpets in at least two different keys, probably for two different styles of playing.
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The members of my family, almost all of whom are teachers, have given me financial and personal support throughout my life. Without their willing help I would not have been able to pursue graduate study. It is to them that I affectionately dedicate this work.
The purpose of this study is to expand existing knowledge about Renaissance trumpet music and performance practice by examining the battle chansons of Clément Janequin for musical references to trumpet music. The lack of written trumpet music before the late Renaissance forces trumpet scholarship to search in other sources for information concerning such issues as the following: dating the early use of the clarino register, the history and evolution of the courtly trumpet ensemble, and the transition from the shorter trumpet of the Middle Ages to the longer instrument of the middle Renaissance and Baroque eras. Because the earliest Janequin battle chanson predates all known written trumpet sources by about fifty years, musical evidence gleaned from these battle chansons can help to establish the existence and character of trumpet performance practices in the first third of the sixteenth century. In addition, the summary of primary sources that makes up the first two chapters of this study is the only concise compendium to date of information about Renaissance trumpet music and practice, and is necessary here to help the reader recognize the musical references that will be pointed out in Janequin's works.

The first chapter summarizes all of the known primary sources of information on Renaissance trumpet performance, and identifies important issues worthy of further
investigation. The second chapter examines trumpet music and trumpet style in the Renaissance, including trumpet ensemble performance, military trumpet calls, and the imitation of trumpet style in purely vocal music. The third chapter discusses the battle chansons of Janequin and their influence on other sixteenth-century works, including four parody masses based on "La Guerre," Janequin's first battle chanson. Chapter four analyzes the battle works of Janequin for allusions to trumpet music. The fifth and concluding chapter places the musical allusions into the context of trumpet history.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

There are only a few primary sources of information on the trumpet in the Renaissance. Perhaps the earliest extant written trumpet music is found in Cesare Bendinelli's treatise, *Tutta l'arte della Trombetta* (1614), which contains five-part trumpet sonatas written in the 1580's. Bendinelli's treatise also includes military calls and an explanation of the practice of improvising five-part trumpet ensemble music from a single notated part. Other late Renaissance sources are the notebooks of the German trumpeters at the Danish court, Hendrich Lübeck and Magnus Thomsen, which can be dated to just before 1600. They contain military calls and other short pieces. The *Musica Getutscht* (1511) of Sebastian Virdung is useful for its woodcuts depicting several kinds of trumpets, but does not discuss their musical usage. Marin Mersenne, in his *Harmonie Universelle* (1636) and Michael Praetorius, in his *Syntagma Musicum* (1619), both devoted space to the trumpet and its usage. Girolamo Fantini's method, *Modo per Imparare a Sonare di Tromba . . .* (1638), contains later versions of the common military calls and is the first published trumpet method. The toccata written to precede Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*
(1607) is an example of five-part trumpet ensemble music, although all five parts are pre-composed (rather than improvised, as discussed in Bendinelli). Daniel Speer, in his 1687 treatise *Grund-richtiger ... Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst*, details both practical and musical aspects of trumpet playing. The 1795 treatise by Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst*, written as the tradition of courtly trumpet ensemble playing was in its final decline, provides a description of the responsibilities and rights of trumpet players. Altenburg also illuminates many of the traditions in trumpet performance practice that had developed over the previous three hundred years.

The richest single source of information concerning trumpet performance in the Renaissance is the manuscript treatise by Cesare Bendinelli, *Volume di tutta l'arte della Trombetta* (1614). Bendinelli was an Italian trumpeter who served for a time in Vienna, then led the trumpet ensemble at the ducal court in Munich from 1580 to 1617. In 1614, nearing the end of his life, he presented one of his trumpets and his manuscript method to the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona, his native city. It is probable that the main body of the work was drawn from Bendinelli's own personal notebook, such as the one described by Johann Ernst Altenburg: "[The teacher should] have [the pupil] write the
short pieces in a special book, and see to it that he
acquires a good collection of such pieces."¹ Bendinelli
acknowledges that the contents were in large part his own,
but that "the remainder was gathered by him with the greatest
diligence from [the] greatest players of his time."² The
treatise, even though it appeared in a published catalogue of
the Accademia Filarmonica in 1941, remained unknown to modern
trumpet scholars until Lorenzo Bianconi brought it to the
attention of Edward Tarr in 1970. Because some of the
individual works within the method are dated in the 1580's,
we can assume that Bendinelli's book is a primer on
Renaissance trumpet ensemble practices.

The contents of the Bendinelli method include: a page of
written instructions; a chart detailing the range of the
trumpet of the past (Trombetta Antigua); ten military
signals; twenty-seven toccatas; exercises for playing from
the high to the low register; two sarasinettas; a short
written explanation of the improvisation of the four
unwritten parts in five-part trumpet sonatas; 332 sonatas
(notated in one part); a page of exercises for the player of
the clarino part; and three sonatas notated in two parts.

Bendinelli's ricercars, which serve the purpose of
"getting to know one's trumpet and learning to control the
embouchure together with the air,"³ are solo pieces that each
begin with long notes and progress to shorter notes,
including in the later ricercars copious practice of the
traditional fanfare motive of double-tongued sixteenth notes followed by a quarter note. The range of the ricercars extends from c to c' and is not progressive; the highest note is reached in almost every example, including the first.

After the ricercars, Bendinelli moves to the military signals (*Tocade di Guerra*). The signals are notated in free rhythm, and are sometimes preceded by a toccata, an introductory signal similar in style to the military call that follows. In his written instructions, Bendinelli states that the military calls are to be played both freely and briskly, with less regard to maintaining a strict tempo than to a well-articulated style.

Next, Bendinelli gives twenty-seven "diverse kinds of toccatas which one may adopt on various occasions." These are similar in character to the toccatas which preceded some of the military signals, and are apparently short solo fanfares for various court ceremonies. The range used in the toccatas is g to c''. Following the toccatas, Bendinelli presents a page of exercises for "playing from high to low as was done in the past." These exercises are intended as preparation for the sonatas which follow as well as the preceding military signals, in terms of developing both a muscular embouchure and characteristic tonguing.

Interestingly, these exercises utilize only the second, third, and fourth harmonics (g to c''). Two curious pieces
labeled sarasinettas appear next. These works are discussed in Baines and Downey.

The next portion of Bendinelli's work is perhaps his greatest contribution. A brief written description of the practice of performing five-part trumpet sonatas from a single written part is given, followed by 332 sonatas, notated in one part only. Roughly three-fourths of the sonatas are in duple meter; the remaining one-quarter are in triple meter. Several of the musical examples incorporate a second written part as a further guide to the performance of the traditionally improvised parts. Many of the sonatas contain remarkable features. Several are adaptations of popular or folk songs; for example, "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein" (Sonata no. 248, fol. 38-38v) and "Fux Beiss mich nit" (Sonata no. 27, fol. 19-19v and Sonata no. 236, fol. 36v). Perhaps the most entertaining work is a sonata (no. 327, fol. 53) apparently based on a drinking song, in which the trumpeters are instructed to play with trumpet in one hand and a glass of wine in the other, pausing at various moments in the piece to take a drink in accordance with the words of the song.

At the end of his volume, Bendinelli turns his attention to performance in the clarino register. He writes a page of exercises extending from c'' to g'' (with minor exceptions), similar to the diminutions found in the recorder tutors of Girolamo Dalla Casa and Giovanni Bassano. Bendinelli's
passagework consists mainly of rising and falling five-note scale passages, with a few more difficult sequences that move a simple motive up or down the scale.

Two manuscript collections of trumpet music are preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. They are the notebooks of Hendrich Lübeck and Magnus Thomsen, German trumpeters at the court of Christian IV of Denmark. Because the manuscripts are actual performing notebooks of pieces collected by the trumpeters, like the book described by Altenburg, complete instructions are not given. Bendinelli's explanation of the improvisation of five-part sonatas has allowed a new understanding of the sonatas contained in the Danish notebooks. Before the "discovery" of Bendinelli's treatise in 1970, these sonatas were thought to be solo pieces; it is clear now that the sonatas were intended for ensemble performance. Unlike the Bendinelli treatise, which was notated in traditional clefs, the Danish notebooks are notated in tablature, with the lines of the staff representing harmonics.

The Lübeck notebook contains 210 sonatas, twenty-four Auffzüge Prindtzipall, and eight signals. Most of the sonatas (presumably for trumpet ensemble) are listed in several thematic indexes, each entry of which gives the first measure of a sonata and its number. These thematic indexes allowed Lübeck to find a desired sonata quickly by recalling its opening motive and finding that motive in the index, which
would refer him by number to the sonata itself. Lübeck's auffzüge prindtzipall are fanfares similar in character to Bendinelli's solo toccatas, but may be intended for performance in two or more parts (see below).

The Thomsen notebook contains 281 sonatas, twenty-four Quinten-Aufzug, six signals, thirteen toccatas, and six Sersseneneden. The quinten-aufzug are similar to the solo fanfares that Bendinelli calls toccatas and Lübeck calls auffzüge prindtzipall. However, unlike Bendinelli and Lübeck, Thomsen has notated some of his fanfares in two parts, quinta and clarin. It is unclear whether the examples notated in two parts are exceptions or whether all the fanfares are to be performed in that manner. Peter Downey contends that these auffzüge were intended for five-part trumpet ensemble performance.

Perhaps the most useful information in the Danish notebooks pertains to the rottas, the section ending the sonatas and preceding repeats of the sonatas. Bendinelli refers to rottas, but with one exception, does not notate them. Thomsen and Lübeck both give examples at the end of several sonatas, and Thomsen writes the note, "Das seind di abbrüche Ihn di Sonada," which Edward Tarr translates as "these are the breakings-off of the sonatas." The major characteristic of a rottas is the rhythmic motive consisting of four sixteenth notes and a quarter note, usually repeated many times.
As in Bendinelli's treatise, there are several sonatas based on folk or popular melodies. There is a sonata on the song "Der Piephahn" imitating the clucking of hens, as well as a sonata based on "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein," both of which have related sonatas in the Bendinelli volume. Together, the Bendinelli treatise and the two Danish notebooks contain a total of 823 sonatas. Downey has made a thematic catalog of these works, listing a total of 617 different sonatas. Of these, some 426 different "themes" are represented; those with duplicate themes are differentiated by the development of that theme.

In Sebastian Virdung's *Musica Getutscht*, published in Basel in 1511, we find three woodcuts of trumpets, labeled "Felttrumet," "Clareta," and "Thurner Horn." The *Thurner horn* (tower watchman's horn, possibly a slide trumpet) is in the s-form noted in early iconographic sources and probably in its last years of use (if still in use at all) in 1511. The other two instruments are in the later closed-s or twice-folded form typical of trumpets from the Renaissance to modern times. The probable keys of these instruments will be discussed later in this chapter. We see with these woodcuts that by 1511 trumpets of at least two different lengths were in use, and that a distinction was already being made between field use and high-register use.

The *Harmonie Universelle* of Marin Mersenne, published in Paris in 1636, includes information on the trumpet's
theoretical principles, construction, usage, and articulation. Mersenne also lists the most common military signals in use at that time, both in regular musical notation but without bar lines, just as Bendinelli did in his treatise, and in a tablature of his own invention. Curiously, he does not mention the trumpet ensemble, although he does mention trumpet playing at events such as marriages and banquets, where sonata playing typically occurred. At the end of his discussion of the trumpet, Mersenne presents a chart giving the trumpet's range.

Two volumes by Michael Praetorius, both published in 1619, offer information on the trumpet. The *Syntagma Musicum*, in books II and (primarily) III, contains extensive references to the trumpet and its musical usage, while the *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrical* gives a partially notated example of trumpet ensemble music in a setting of "In Dulci Jubilo" for chorus, trumpets and tympani.

In Book II of the *Syntagma Musicum*, Praetorius gives a brief discussion of the instrument itself, including a reference to earlier trumpets that were shorter in tube length than those in use in 1619. In Book III, he turns his attention to the usage of the trumpet ensemble with the choir in sacred music. In order to acquaint the reader with the trumpet ensemble, he describes the function of the mostly improvised parts within the ensemble, as well as the fact that many trumpeters were unable to read music. For the
trumpeters who could read music, he prepared several arrangements for choir with trumpet ensemble. Unfortunately, only one such arrangement survives ("In Dulci Jubilo"). Praetorius' description of trumpet ensemble improvisation will be compared to Bendinelli's in Chapter Two.

Girolamo Fantini, the First Trumpeter to Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, published his *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba...* in Frankfurt in 1638. Aside from its distinction as the first published method for the trumpet (the Bendinelli treatise is in manuscript and was probably completely unknown to his contemporaries), the Fantini method also marks the entrance of the trumpet into the realm of art music, for it contains the first solo trumpet music with continuo accompaniment. Like Bendinelli's manual, this method contains a table of the trumpet's range, several preliminary exercises, Fantini's versions of the military calls, some fanfares called *chiamata* which are analogous to Bendinelli's solo toccatas, and some exercises in performing passagework. However, with the exception of two works labeled "Imperiale," the remainder and largest part of Fantini's volume is devoted not to trumpet ensemble music, but to works for one or two solo trumpets with other instruments: seventy dance movements for trumpet and basso continuo, nine sonatas for two trumpets, and eight sonatas for trumpet and organ. It is worthy of note that with the shift in emphasis from courtly trumpet ensemble music to solo
trumpet music the term "sonata" is now used by Fantini as a generic term for any trumpet work. Fantini's volume also extends the clarino register to c'''.

Claudio Monteverdi, in his opera L'Orfeo (1607, first published 1609), included a toccata to be sounded three times before the curtain was raised. Although he specified for the piece to be played "with all the instruments,"¹⁴ this fanfare is very obviously intended for trumpets. Monteverdi states in the score that the toccata (notated in C) sounds a tone higher when played by muted trumpets. It is quite possible that "with all the instruments" simply means the entire court trumpet and kettledrum ensemble. In Chapter Two, Monteverdi's notated example of trumpet ensemble music will be compared to the descriptions of improvised trumpet ensemble music given by Bendinelli and Praetorius.

Daniel Speer wrote a treatise for amateur musicians in 1687 titled Grund-richtiger, Kurtz-Leicht- und Nohiger jetzt Wolvermehrter Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst. Ten years later he revised and enlarged the work, subtitling it Vierfaches Musikalisches Kleeblatt (Ulm, 1697). Like his predecessor Praetorius, he details the function of each part of the trumpet ensemble to enable those not previously familiar with its music to compose for it. Aside from some minor differences in terminology, Speer's discussion closely parallels that of Praetorius. He also presents several original compositions: two works for six trumpets and four
clarino-register duets. Several practical suggestions regarding composing for trumpets and performing are given. Perhaps the most memorable suggestion by Speer concerns that curse of beginning brass players throughout the centuries: puffing out the cheeks. The latter seems to be a sore spot with Speer: "Mankind experiences much sorrow because of such laziness; therefore, the true trumpeter breaks this habit in his students by boxing their ears." Speer's description of trumpet ensemble music will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

The final primary source to be examined here is the treatise by Johann Ernst Altenburg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst* (Essay on an Introduction to the Heroic Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art; Halle, 1795). Although written two centuries after the Renaissance, the tradition of courtly trumpet ensemble playing was still alive. The first part of this volume contains a historical justification of the elevated social position held by trumpeters, which was quickly being eroded at the end of the eighteenth century. The second part contains information relevant to the evolution of Renaissance traditions, including chapters concerning the trumpet's range, field pieces (military signals), clarino playing, the structure of trumpet ensemble pieces, and pedagogical suggestions.
The use of the clarino register, harmonic eight and higher, is a significant milestone in the musical use of the natural trumpet. Only in this register is any kind of scale available to the trumpeter; even then, the available scale is diatonic rather than chromatic. Prior to the utilization of this register, trumpeters were limited to military signals and other simple fanfares that made use of triadic lower-harmonic figures.

As players explored the notes available higher on the harmonic series, longer instruments were built in order to lower the entire series, making the clarino register available at a lower and more accessible pitch. Unfortunately, this evolution is not documented by extant trumpet music. Further, the use of verbal references to the range of trumpet music is often clouded by regional differences; what was remarkably high to a court visitor, and thus reported in writing, was not necessarily clarino-register playing. Edward Tarr, in his monograph The Trumpet, places the beginning of clarino playing between 1450 and 1550. Peter Downey places the date more specifically around the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Even with specific written references, there is still no trumpet music from the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries to verify the expansion of the trumpet range into the clarino register.
The formation of the courtly trumpet ensemble can be documented by the records of trumpeters and kettledrummers employed at various courts. Court records show trumpeters performing at the coronation of Christian I of Denmark in 1449, and also at royal festivities at the French court in 1467. Downey speculates that the early trumpet ensemble consisted of four members, three drone parts and one playing in the clarino register. By the sixteenth century, there is overwhelming iconographic evidence to support the existence of the five-part trumpet-kettledrum ensemble. The exact nature of the music performed by the courtly trumpet ensemble, other than brief descriptions and limited examples by Bendinelli, Praetorius, Speer, and Monteverdi, some one hundred years later, remains a mystery.

The use of shorter trumpets for low-register (military) playing and longer trumpets for clarino-register playing is a commonly accepted fact. Unfortunately, only a few instruments made before 1600 survive. There is some evidence to suggest that military field trumpets were in F and that the trumpets used for clarino-register performance were in C. The terminology employed for these two instruments is of interest here because Janequin refers to both trompettes and clarons in the text of his chansons "La Guerre," "Chantons sonnons trompetes," and "La bataille de Mets."

The instrument donated by Bendinelli along with his method was built by Anton Schnitzer of Nuremberg in 1585. It
is pitched near modern E. The chart in his volume giving the trumpet's range is labeled "Li nomi et uoci della Trombetta Antigua" (The Names of the Registers of the Trumpet of the Past). The chart is notated in the key of F, unlike the rest of the method, in which every piece (except one) is notated in C. Notation in the key of C is traditional for Renaissance and early Baroque trumpet music. It is plausible that the instrument Bendinelli donated was pitched in the F of his day and region, and that his chart reflects that pitch. His designation Trombetta Antigua could serve to let the reader know that the trumpet in F was the older military signal and fanfare instrument, not the newer trumpet in C used in ensemble playing which included the clarino register.

The woodcuts found in Virdung's Musica Getutscht (Figure 1a) also support the existence of both a longer and shorter trumpet. Downey uses these woodcuts as part of his argument that the Clareta was shorter in length and of narrower bore than the Felttrumet, which he labels the Italian trumpet, and that the Clareta was most likely pitched in F as opposed to the probable key of C for the Felttrumet. He argues that the Italian style of trumpet ensemble playing evolving around 1500, represented by the sonatas of Bendinelli, Thomsen, and Lübeck, required a longer instrument and that the Felttrumet is equivalent in length to a Claret-trumpet (or Clareta) crooked down by a fourth.
This author has no argument with the assertion that the newer style made use of longer instruments, probably initially obtained by adding crooks to older trumpets. I do, however, disagree with Downey's interpretation of these particular woodcuts and his resultant terminology.

After careful scrutiny and comparison, it appears obvious to me that the Clareta is a longer instrument than the Felttrumet. Certainly, the two instruments (which appear on two different pages in Virdung's work) are cut to a different scale. If one assumes the bell and mouthpiece sizes of both instruments to be similar, the total tubing length of the Clareta would be some 25-30% longer than the Felttrumet (Figure 1b). If, for the sake of argument, one takes Downey's position that the Clareta represents a shorter instrument, the overall size of the Clareta woodcut would have to be reduced to allow its tubing length to be shorter than that of the Felttrumet, and the resulting difference in bore size, bell size, and mouthpiece size between the two would be preposterous (Figure 1c).

I propose that the Clareta, probably pitched in C, is a longer instrument on which the clarino register (harmonic eight and higher) would be lower and thus easier to play. The Felttrumet is the older field instrument in F, on which the military signals (using harmonics two through six) would be high enough in pitch (sounding f to c'') to be played with adequate volume.
Figure 1a. *Felttrumet* and *Clareta* from Virdung's *Musica Getutscht* (1511)

Figure 1b. *Felttrumet* and *Clareta* with similar bell and mouthpiece sizes.

Figure 1c. *Felttrumet* and *Clareta* with tube-lengths as speculated by Downey.
Downey uses the term "claret-piece" to describe a crook that would lower the old F trumpet (which he calls a Clareta) by a fourth. In my opinion, a claret-piece would have been used to convert a field trumpet (in F) into a Clareta in C, which is the instrument of the Italian style of trumpet ensemble playing. My terminology employs words with the "clar-" root to refer to clarino-register playing (or instruments and crooks for that purpose), while Downey's terminology has the Clareta playing music outside the clarino register. The instrument which Virdung has labeled a Clareta requires no crook or claret-piece to make the clarino register accessible; it has been manufactured with longer yards (the straight lengths of tubing). I believe that Virdung differentiated the Clareta from the Felttrumet precisely because it was longer, and had ceased to serve as a field instrument. Regardless of the terminology chosen (and my differences with Downey in this matter concern only his choice of terminology), these woodcuts present clear evidence of the concurrent existence of trumpets in at least two different keys, most probably for two different purposes.
NOTES
Chapter 1


3. "... ricercar la trombetta et menar il barbozzo con far lena." Edward Tarr translates this passage "... investigating one's trumpet and for leading one's chin to push the air out." He has translated Bendinelli's somewhat cryptic Italian term barbozzo (the area of the lower mandible of a horse where the bit exits the mouth) as chin. Because the Italian word mento would have been a clearer term if Bendinelli had meant the chin itself, perhaps a better translation would be to consider the entire muscular area surrounding the mouth (in modern terminology, the embouchure), especially the area to the sides of and underneath the lips, as Bendinelli's barbozzo. This yields a slightly different interpretation of his instructions in this section and elsewhere in the method, by emphasizing the importance of muscular development at the corners of the mouth rather than chin position. Most modern pedagogues place similar emphasis on the development of a muscular embouchure. I am grateful to Prof. John Hill of the Musicology faculty, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, for help with the translation of this passage.


6. "... sonare di Alto a Basso come si usava per il passato, ..."

7. Again, depending on the translation of menar il Barbozzo, the exercise is good for learning to lead one's chin, as Edward Tarr suggests, or for learning to control one's embouchure.


10. A modern edition of large portions of these notebooks is located in *Trompeterfanfaren, Sonaten, und Feldstücke*, ed. by Georg Schünemann as Ser. I, Bd. 7 of *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1936). Additional information, including citations of errors in the Schünemann edition, can be found in Downey, *op. cit.*


13. Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet Before 1721*, second edition (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 85. Smithers notes that Carlo Schmidl suggested in 1928 that the original place of publication may have been Florence, and also that Hermann Eichborn speculated in 1890 that the attribution "Published in Frankfurt by Daniel Vuastch" reflects only the bookseller who distributed the volume in Frankfurt. Smithers has also pointed out that the typography and paper in the Fantini method are of Italian origin, and that the publisher named on the frontispiece probably served only to allow entry into the Frankfurt book fair.

14. "con tutti li stromenti"


16. Downey, *op. cit.*, 35


18. Downey, *op. cit.*, 63

20. Downey's choice of "Italian trumpet" as a term for the ensemble instrument in C poses an additional problem: the "Welsche" or Italian trumpet was the term used in the late seventeenth century for the trumpet in coiled form (like the one in the famous 1727 Haussmann portrait of Gottfried Reiche). The trumpet in coiled form can also be seen in a woodcut in Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum*. Part of Downey's unconvincing argument for the use of Italian trumpet as the name for the longer instrument is the fact that the Italian trumpet was more expensive than the *clareta*. Downey presumes that this difference in price was due to the use of more tubing in the manufacture of the Italian trumpet. I consider it more likely that the Italian trumpet was more expensive than the *clareta* (which was constructed with mostly straight tubing) because it was wound into a coiled shape, requiring much more labor, and not because of longer tubing.
CHAPTER 2

TRUMPET STYLE AND TRUMPET MUSIC
IN THE RENAISSANCE

The role of the trumpet in the music of the Renaissance was rather limited: trumpeters performed either with a trumpet-kettledrum ensemble, with shawms in an *alta* ensemble, or alone, playing solo fanfares and signals. A single trumpet as the bass instrument in the shawm band, depicted in many iconographic sources, is the subject of much current debate.¹ The disagreement concerns the instrument used with the shawm band, the *trompette des ménestrels*: whether it was equipped with a telescoping slide to enable it to play notes outside the harmonic series or whether it played a simple tonic-dominant bass line using only the lowest four notes of the harmonic series. The other trumpet in use (or, if one does not believe in slide trumpets, the other style of playing the trumpet) was the *trompette de guerre*. At the Burgundian court beginning in 1422, as Edward Tarr points out, these two classifications existed side by side in court records for fifty years.² "It is striking that with few exceptions there are always four to six players of the *trompette de guerre*, but with a single exception there was only one player of the *trompette des ménestrels*, together with

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¹ The disagreement concerns the instrument used with the shawm band, the *trompette des ménestrels*: whether it was equipped with a telescoping slide to enable it to play notes outside the harmonic series or whether it played a simple tonic-dominant bass line using only the lowest four notes of the harmonic series.

² "It is striking that with few exceptions there are always four to six players of the *trompette de guerre*, but with a single exception there was only one player of the *trompette des ménestrels*, together with..."
the minstrels with whom this player obviously performed."

Thus the trompette de guerre was the instrument of the trumpet-kettledrum ensemble; the trompette des ménestrels that of the alta ensemble, which performed basses dances with shawms and a trumpet.

The trumpet's use as a military signal instrument was its most traditional duty. In the section of Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* concerning the usage of the trumpet, he writes:

> As to the usage of trumpets, they serve in time of peace and war for all sorts of public celebrations and solemnities, as is seen in marriages, banquets, tragedies, and carrousels. But its principal usage is destined for war, the greatest part of the action of which is signified by its different tones.

To Mersenne, who was not a trumpeter, the military use of the trumpet clearly outweighed all of its other duties in the early seventeenth century.

The common military calls are found in several sources. They are notated in Bendinelli, in the notebooks of Thomsen and Lübeck, in Fantini, and in Mersenne. Aside from minor differences, which can be ascribed to their primarily aural (rather than notated) transmission from player to player, the calls are very similar in all the sources. In the case of the signal "To Horse" (il monta a cavallo), Bendinelli gives both French and Italian versions of the signal, the difference being that the French version is one harmonic
lower than the Italian but with essentially the same melodic contour. Possibly, the Italian version is a later version of the call, raised in pitch to be more practical on a longer trumpet. The Italian version is the one found in Fantini and Mersenne, both postdating Bendinelli by more than twenty years.

Downey notes that the names and rhythms of all the military calls "suggest a French-language derivation . . . ." Because the calls and their names are similar throughout Europe, they probably descended from a common source. If so, the fact that the names are French could suggest Burgundian origins or strong influences in establishing the trumpet traditions of the early Renaissance. Each call was customarily preceded and followed, if time allowed, by a preparatory piece called the toccata. It is possible that each court had its own toccata, and that the same toccata was used with every call.

On the title page of his method Bendinelli claims to have made "a new invention, concerning the syllables placed under the military calls." In the written instructions of the method, the "invention" of syllables placed under the military calls is revealed to have a dual purpose: to give the preferred tonguing and to aid in differentiating one call from another when memorizing them. The syllables can sometimes be seen to serve as a mnemonic aid, helping to recall the title of the particular signal. For example, for
the call "Allo stendardo," Bendinelli chooses the syllables "dra-lo-sten-dart" among others (Example 1).

Example 1. Bendinelli's version of "Allo stendardo" with mnemonic syllables placed under the notes.

Edward Tarr identifies a third function of the syllables, not mentioned by Bendinelli, as giving a vowel sound appropriate to the required pitch. Usually, low notes are given syllables requiring a relatively large oral cavity such as "da" or "ta" and higher notes are given syllables such as "tin" in which the oral cavity is made smaller (Example 2).

Example 2. Bendinelli's use of different vowels to aid production of the correct pitch.


The technique of matching the desired sounding pitch with a particular resonance frequency in the oral cavity is practiced, either consciously or subconsciously, by modern trumpet players, especially those who have had occasion to experiment or perform on valveless natural trumpets.

A similar technique is utilized by Fantini in his method (Example 3).

Example 3. Tonguing syllables in the Fantini method of 1638.

Mode di battere la lingua puntata in diversi modi.

In Fantini's example, the emphasis is on learning many subtly different ways of articulating, and several alternate possibilities are given on a single example. Bendinelli had given the general direction that one should learn to tongue in many diverse ways, but had provided little specific instruction. Example 4 is taken from the recorder manual of Girolamo Dalla Casa. It is evident that Fantini was practicing the use of paired unequal articulations, just like those used on other wind instruments.
Example 4. Tonguing syllables from the Dalla Casa diminution manual of 1584.

Mersenne makes several interesting comments about articulation on the trumpet. He states that "... when the tongue beats every note, the instrument imitates the human voice and word, in that it articulates its sounds." He even suggests that "This can be carried over to the organ pipe by means of much diligence, which can make tones much more agreeable." Thus, the vocal quality that could be achieved with correct articulation on the trumpet created an effect worthy of emulation on the organ. In the case of specific military articulations, Mersenne tells us that it was the custom to begin each metric foot with "Ta," to use "ra" in notes within the foot, and to close the foot with "re," giving a typical pattern of "Tararararare." Of course, the dental "r" consonant as used in wind instrument articulation is closer to the English "d" than to the English "r." The most important aspect of Mersenne's comment is that the performer's articulation helps to delineate the metric
organization of the call by beginning each foot with a hard consonant and following with softer consonants.

Aside from military duties, another ceremonial function of the solo trumpeter was to announce the comings and goings of the sovereign as well as important visitors. For this purpose, another piece called toccata (although different from the toccata played with the military signals) was used (Example 5).

Example 5. Bendinelli’s Toccata No. 1

Fantini calls these fanfares chiamate and the Danish trumpeters refer to them as Tokkaten. They are characterized by rapid repeated notes (usually four sixteenth notes followed by a quarter note), arpeggiated figures, and the dran, an ancient trumpet and horn call motive consisting of the second or third harmonic note (c or g) quickly overblown to the next higher harmonic (g or c'). The dran, which Fantini calls ta dra, is also used on some of the military signals.
From trumpet articulations intended to emulate the voice, we turn next to vocal imitation of the trumpet. The early Renaissance device of *trumpetum* occurs when one part in mensural music moves continually to the fifth and the octave in the manner of a trumpet. The parts usually bear a notation such as "ad modum tubae," "tuba gallicalis," or "contratenor trompette." Example 6 is an excerpt from Guillaume Dufay's *Gloria ad modum tubae*, displaying trumpet-like motives (that Baines suggests may have come from the actual military call "charge") in the tenor and contratenor parts.

Example 6. Excerpt from Dufay's *Gloria ad modum tubae*.17

![Example 6](image)

Other examples include the *Missa trompetta* of Estienne Grossin and two three-part compositions from the now lost Strasbourg MS. No suggestion is made here that the *trumpetum* parts were intended for performance by a trumpet, although Tarr, Baines, and Smithers have each proposed that these works may occasionally have employed a trumpet.
The quotation of military trumpet calls has continued throughout the history of art music. The seventeenth-century cantata All'armi pensierii by Allessandro Melani opens with the soprano singing the "Alarm" call (echoed by solo trumpet) to the text "All'armi pensieri . . ." (To arms, my thoughts). Joseph Haydn quotes the call "Au Pas" with a trumpet solo in the second movement of the "Military" symphony. The "Tuba mirum" of Giuseppe Verdi's Requiem and the opening of Gustav Mahler's Symphony No. 5 are not quotations of identifiable military calls, but certainly draw upon that association for dramatic effect.

Aside from the solo performance of military calls, trumpeters played in ensembles of four to six players with a kettledrummer, hereafter referred to as the courtly trumpet ensemble. Numerous iconographic representations of the courtly trumpet ensemble exist, as do court payment records, but no actual music for the trumpet ensemble exists before the Bendinelli method, which has some sonatas dated in the 1580's. Although only a single line for each sonata is notated, Bendinelli makes it clear that performance by at least five trumpeters is required:

Here all the trumpeters begin to play, in the field, at princely courts, or in other places. I wish to point out that a single [player] begins and the others follow in order, as is the custom. If one wishes to play from two places [i.e. antiphonally], there may not be less than 10 [players], that is, 5 at each place. First the grosso [player]; second, the vulgano; third, alto e basso, that is, he who imitates the sonata with his
notes, only lower, and who has to be quite expert; fourth, the one who leads; [and] fifth, the clarino, who [should seek to] avoid [parallel] octaves [with the lower parts], since they clash and are not used by those who understand music.  

Bendinelli's terminology for each of the five parts of the trumpet ensemble correspond very closely to the labels given in the other sources. The names of the bottom two parts of the ensemble, grosso and vulgano, are the same as the names given by Bendinelli to the notes c and g in his chart of the range of the trumpet, because the bottom two players each play only that single pitch. The other voices in the ensemble play parts that involve more than one pitch, and thus are given names that reflect the entire register in which they play: the alto e basso, or high and low player, bridges the gap between the written sonata part and the two lower drone parts; the clarino part is improvised from the eighth harmonic and higher.

The sonatas are in a highly structured form, which has been discussed in detail by Downey.  

Briefly, the sonatas are divided into regular, sixteen-bar (in alla breve time) units called posts. Each post is further sub-divided into four-bar or eight-bar phrases. The early phrases consist of a two-bar "theme" followed by one of two phrase endings, one a "Half-Close" and the other a "Close." Such a structured form offers advantages when most of the parts are improvised. The players of the improvised parts know exactly when to
bring their own phrases to an end, as well as when to make final-sounding phrase endings.

In addition to the few instructions given in the quote above, Bendinelli has given several musical examples to further illustrate the improvised parts and their relationship to the written *sonata* part. Bendinelli notates these instructions after Sonata no. 245 (fol. 37v): "This [part] serves as the *altò e bassò* [part] of the above *sonata*." The *altò e bassò* part supplied is consistently one harmonic lower than the *sonata* part, following the rhythm of the *sonata* part exactly.

In a second example, Sonata No. 328 (fol. 53v), there are several unexplained departures from previous explanations. First, the sonata is labeled for three "clarini." It is not clear whether the piece is intended for performance by seven players (the normal five-part ensemble with two additional *clarino* players for a total of three *clarino* parts), or simply a *clarino* trio. The term *clarino*, as used by Bendinelli implies parts exclusively in the upper register, so either explanation seems plausible. Second, the highest notated part is written in the key of G, rather than C like all the other sonatas in the volume. It is written in treble clef, which Bendinelli uses only for *clarino* parts. Peter Downey suggests that the notation in the key of G here is evidence for the use of a C trumpet crooked down a perfect fourth to the key of G, a practice
alluded to by Praetorius.\textsuperscript{21} Regardless of this claim, the supplied \textit{alto e basso} parts (two alternate parts in this case) are in the key of C. Perhaps the notation of the first part gives the desired crooking, and the other parts are written in C, the more familiar notation to trumpeters, with the understanding that they would follow the crooking of the first player. A third departure, and perhaps the most significant, is the fact that the \textit{alto e basso} part in this case does not "shadow" the \textit{sonata} part one harmonic lower. Instead, the \textit{alto e basso} part often moves in contrary motion with the \textit{sonata} and occasionally cadences on a unison. This could indicate that the \textit{alto e basso} player, who Bendinelli claims "has to be quite expert,"\textsuperscript{22} may not have simply paralleled the \textit{sonata} part one harmonic lower, a task which clearly would not have taken great skill.

Near the end of his method, Bendinelli turns his attention to the improvisation of the \textit{clarino} part. On fol. 54v, the notes of the \textit{clarino} register (c'', d'', e'', f'', and g'') are given, along with a page of diminution exercises similar to those found in the tutors of Girolamo Dalla Casa and Giovanni Bassano. One a'' is reached near the end of the page, and a b' (a note outside the harmonic series only obtainable by lipping c'' down a half-step) occurs several times in passagework. The remaining pages of the method contain three sonatas in two parts (\textit{sonata} and \textit{clarino}) given
as examples of the art of improvising a clarino part over the written sonata part (Example 7).

Example 7. Bendinelli's example of the improvisation of a clarino part above the sonata part.

As in the sonata part itself, a general pattern of increasing rhythmic activity is observed in the clarino part from the beginning to the end of each example. The clarino parts themselves are simple diatonic melodies traversing the range between c'' and g'', always ending phrases on one of those two pitches.

In Book III of the Syntagma Musicum Praetorius gives the reader his methods of arranging Latin and German hymns for chorus and instruments (Chapter Eight). The first manner discussed is the addition of trumpets and timpani. Rather than composing five or six trumpet parts with timpani to augment the chorus, it is clear that Praetorius is talking about integrating the trumpet ensemble as a unit, complete with most of the performance practices unique to that ensemble. For example, if none of the trumpeters could read music, he suggests simply having the trumpets and timpani
play their usual "sonaden" in alternation with the choir. In order to perform his arrangements, he specifies that at least two players, the one playing the _quint_ and the one playing the second _clarino_ part, must know how to read music and who "... can play from the notes as I wrote them." Because the first _clarino_ part plays the chorale melody, it could be played by anyone who knew the tune, whether or not he could read music.

Praetorius then gives several definitions to acquaint the reader with the conventions of the court trumpet ensemble. First, the types of music played by the ensemble are introduced: the _intrada_, a separate piece played as introductory and final material; and the _sonada_ or _sonata_, a piece for banquets and dancing, which may be a _Vortanz_ or a _Nachtanz_, depending on whether it is in duple or triple meter. Downey has pointed out that all surviving examples of the _intrada_ are subtle variations of the same piece of music, and that apparently the same _intrada_ was used throughout Europe. The separation into _Vortanz_ and _Nachtanz_ recalls a similar division in the Danish notebooks of Thomsen and Lübeck, as well as Bendinelli's notation of sonatas in both duple and triple meter. Praetorius next lists the parts in the trumpet ensemble:

The _Principal_, _Quinta_, or _Sonada_ as some call it, is the tenor proper which governs and leads the entire trumpet and timpani choir. _Clarino_ is the discant which carries the melody or chorale, embellishing it with ascending and descending
diminutions or coloraturas at his pleasure and to
to the best of his ability. *Alter Bass* is like an
alto, forming at all times thirds and fourths, rarely fifths with the *Sonada* or *Quint*. *Volgan*
keeps to the fifth above the bass or *Grob* and always remains on one tone, namely the "g." *Grob*
is the proper bass or foundation and also remains on one tone -- the four-foot "c." *Fladdergrub*
stays one octave below the bass or *Grob*, on the eight-foot "C." 

Although these definitions are slightly more vague than
Bendinelli's, we can understand both more clearly when they are considered together. Aside from the slight differences in terminology (Praetorius uses the Germanic *alter bass* where Bendinelli uses *alto e basso*), we do learn that the *quint*, *sonada*, and *principal* are one and the same part. We also learn that the *clarino* part was improvised according to the taste and ability of the performer. Apparently, a sixth and lower part had been added to the ensemble by this time, namely the *fladdergrub*, which played the fundamental tone C. The remarks about the *alter bass* are no more definite than Bendinelli's, although Praetorius did give the upper three voices (*clarino*, *quinta*, and *alter bass*) special attention in his arrangements:

*It is quite customary for the *Quinta* and *Clarino* to move mostly in octaves, especially when they play chorales or other pieces in their *sonaden*, which appears strange to an experienced musician. In some of these concerti I have therefore wanted to compose and print the notes of the three upper voices, *Clarino*, *Quinta*, and *Alter Bass*, in order that the trumpeters able to read music could practice them and thus play along with the entire ensemble with better results. It is not always*
possible, however, to avoid dissonances and other forbidden intervals in writing out [the parts].

As mentioned above, only the setting of "In Dulci Jubilo" survives, and we do not have the luxury of examining the remaining concerted pieces of Praetorius. The "In Dulci Jubilo" setting is for seven trumpets (Praetorius' normal six plus an extra clarino) and may not reflect normal practice. However, since the extra voice in this case is added above the quinta part, it is likely that the relationship between alter bass and quinta is preserved as usual. It is worthy of note that here, just as in the second of Bendinelli's examples, the alter bass and quinta do not move in parallel, separated by a single harmonic (Example 8).

Example 8. Excerpt from Praetorius' setting of "In Dulci Jubilo."

Instead of moving in parallel, the alter bass and quinta voices almost always move in contrary motion, separated by either an octave, a third, or a fourth. Further, the parts are not in exact rhythmic unison, the alter bass performing
straight rhythms when the *quinta* plays dotted figures. Certainly the spontaneous improvisation of an *alter bass* part in this manner would have taken the "expert" skill to which Bendinelli referred. I propose that the type of interplay illustrated here between the *quinta* and *alter bass* is exactly that which was intended by Bendinelli, and that the first example given by Bendinelli merely illustrates the least difficult possibility, that of the *alter bass* "shadowing" the *quinta* part one harmonic lower.

The Toccata to precede Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* is another source of notated five-part trumpet music. There are five lines in the score; they are labeled *Clarino, Quinta, Alto e basso, Vulgano*, and *Basso*. The *clarino* part stays within the range used by Bendinelli, from c'' to g'' with one a''. The motives used in the *clarino* part are typical of those used by Bendinelli in his page of exercises in the *clarino* register. The *quinta* part, which Bendinelli called the *sonata* part, is motivically reminiscent of Bendinelli's "Intrada" and Fantini's "Entrata Imperiale." It fits into the *Auftaktige* category (beginning with a pick-up note) in Lübeck's sonata index, bearing a resemblance to his Sonata no. 27, and is exactly one post long. Remembering that Praetorius defines an *Intrada* as a separate piece used as introductory and final material, this toccata may simply represent either Monteverdi's version of the *Intrada* (all examples of which Downey proposes came from a single source in the last third
of the sixteenth century) or a fanfare written in imitation of the Intrada.

The *alto e basso* part does not follow the *quinta* part exactly one harmonic lower, but if we recall Bendinelli's assertion that the player of this traditionally improvised part has to be quite skilled, and Praetorius' written example in his setting of "In dulci jubilo," the relationship here between *alto e basso* and *quinta* does not appear entirely unusual. Praetorius' comment that the *quinta* (*sonata*) part governs the counterpoint within the ensemble is entirely consistent with Bendinelli's remark that the *alto e basso* part follows the *sonata* part, as long as one remembers that acceptable part-writing, or part-improvising in this case, does not lead to only one correct choice. In other words, the *alto e basso* part, whether it moved parallel to the *quinta* part (except for parallel octaves or fifths) or in contrary motion, could still adhere to the advice of both Bendinelli and Praetorius.

The most striking aspect of the relationship between the *alto e basso* and *quinta* parts is the rhythmic interplay. The *alto e basso* begins immediately with a four sixteenth-note and quarter-note rhythmic motive which is a very characteristic trumpet rhythm. The same motive can be found throughout the sources described in chapter one. The rhythm is particularly characteristic of the rotta, the ending section of the sonata. The same rhythmic motive is taken up
by the *quinta* in the second half of the toccata, creating the sense of increasing rhythmic intensity that has been noted above in the sonatas of Bendinelli, Thomsen and Lübeck. Indeed, if each of the two parts is considered separately, we see in each part the development of its own opening motive. The *vulgano* and basso parts play a steady drone, just as Bendinelli and Praetorius described in their descriptions of the trumpet ensemble.

Overall, the work easily falls within the descriptions of trumpet ensemble music offered by Bendinelli, Praetorius and, as we shall see next, Daniel Speer, unless one accepts the very narrow view that the *alto e basso* part must simply follow the *sonata* or *quinta* part one harmonic lower. I propose that this piece reflects the desire of Monteverdi to control the counterpoint of the *quinta* and *alto e basso* parts to insure results that would be acceptable to musically refined ears, just as Praetorius did twelve years later in his setting of "In Dulci Jubilo." In writing out each of the five parts, Monteverdi departed only slightly, or possibly not at all, from the guidelines set down by Bendinelli and described by Praetorius for the improvisation of courtly trumpet ensemble music. Peter Downey has noted that the *principal* part plays the traditional Intrada, while the *alter bass* part simultaneously performs a normal toccata form.30 Such a clever manipulation of specifically trumpet music, Downey postulates, could only have come from an actual
trumpeter, leading him to suspect that perhaps Monteverdi had a court trumpeter notate this work.\textsuperscript{32}

Daniel Speer gives a description of trumpet ensemble music as he observed it in 1697. He lists the parts of the trumpet ensemble, which he defines as consisting of six or seven trumpets. The parts are: \textit{Flatter Grob}, on C (first harmonic, and best played on a bass trombone mouthpiece); \textit{Grob}, on c; \textit{Faul}, on g; \textit{Mittel}, which "is played in marches and alarms,"\textsuperscript{32} on c'; \textit{Principal}, on which "alarms, signals, and many other pieces are played . . .,"\textsuperscript{33} which begins on g', ascends to c'', and ends on e'; \textit{Second Clarino}, which should remain a third lower than the first \textit{clarino}, and ranges from g' to g''; and \textit{First Clarino}, which begins on c''' and ascends one octave, though many play only to f'''. We notice here some subtle differences from the previous descriptions of the trumpet ensemble. As in Praetorius, there is the inclusion of the \textit{flatter grob} and the second \textit{clarino} parts. Speer makes the practical suggestion that a very large mouthpiece be used to facilitate production of the first harmonic tone of the \textit{flatter grob} part. His terminology is slightly different: \textit{faul} instead of \textit{volgan} or \textit{vulgano}, and \textit{mittel} instead of \textit{alto e basso} or \textit{alter bass}. In addition, his comments about the function of the \textit{principal} and \textit{mittel} parts suggest that theirs is a dying role. None of the other parts were described with comments about their musical use. Speer's comments probably reflect the trumpet's
growing role in orchestral and other concerted music and mark the "beginning of the end" for the traditional improvised music of the court trumpet ensemble.

After discussing the ranges of the parts, several musical examples are given by Speer. There are two movements for six trumpets, to which Speer says a flatter grob part may also be added, and four duets for two clarinos. In the large ensemble pieces, as in Monteverdi and Praetorius, the mittel (alto e basso) part is more than a simple shadow of the principal part one harmonic lower. There are occasional uses of contrary motion and rhythmic variances between the two parts, exactly as noted in Praetorius and Monteverdi.
NOTES

Chapter 2

1. The following articles express contrasting views on the possible existence of a slide trumpet in the Renaissance: Peter Downey, "The Renaissance Slide Trumpet: Fact or Fiction?" (Early Music XII/1, February 1984), 26-33; Herbert W. Myers, "Slide Trumpet Madness: Fact or Fiction?" (Early Music XVII/3, August 1989), 382-389; Keith Polk, "The Trombone, the Slide Trumpet and the Ensemble Tradition of the Early Renaissance" (Early Music XVII/3, August 1989), 389-402.

2. Tarr, op. cit., 56.

3. Ibid.


5. Downey, op. cit., 71.

6. Ibid., 74.


10. Bendinelli, facsimile, fol. 3.


14. Ibid.

15. Bendinelli, facsimile, fol. 5.

16. Baines, op. cit., 86.


19. Downey, op. cit., 85-87. In addition, Chapter 11 of the same dissertation contains an extensive analysis of the sonata, rotta, and intrada.


23. Bendinelli, facsimile, fol. 56.

24. Praetorius refers to an entire volume (Polyhymnia Heroica seu Tubicinia & Tympanistria) of settings for chorus with trumpets and timpani which was either never published or is entirely lost. The only existing arrangement is the setting of "In Dulci Jubilo" in which a second clarino is added to the usual (for Praetorius) six-part trumpet ensemble. In the Syntagma he discusses the use in his arrangements of the usual six-part ensemble with its single clarino part, presumably in the volume that is lost.


26. Ibid.

27. Downey, op. cit., 84. Also, see Chapter 11 of the same dissertation.


29. Ibid., 288.


31. Ibid.

32. Speer, op. cit., 160.

33. Ibid.
CHAPTER 3

THE BATTLE CHANSONS OF CLEMENT JANEQUIN

The Burgundian chanson, as practiced between about 1430 and the turn of the sixteenth century, was originally a treble-dominated, three-part vocal work. Represented in the works of composers such as Guillaume Dufay and Gilles Binchois, the Burgundian chansons were mostly set in one of the *formes fixes*. As the genre evolved throughout the fifteenth century, a more equal-voiced and more complex polyphony was seen, especially in the works of Johannes Ockeghem and Antoine Busnois. The works were still primarily in three voices, but one-third of Busnois' chansons are written in four voices, which became the norm by about 1500. At the end of the century, in the works of Josquin Desprez and his contemporaries, a change in style is evident. Although the works were still set in the *formes fixes*, the texts chosen were more often in popular character, and often strophic. Three, four, or sometimes more voices were engaged in a texture of pervading imitation, with the motive as the primary unit of construction. The breaking down of strict adherence to the *formes fixes* led to a still newer and freer style, the Parisian chanson.
The Parisian chanson was cultivated around 1525 by composers in and around Paris and first published by Pierre Attaingnant. The texture of these chansons, as seen in the works of Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Janequin, has been described by Howard Mayer Brown as polyphonically-animated homophony. The form, freed from the restrictions of the formes fixes, is often closely related to the text, as in the case of rhyme schemes of the text determining simple repetition schemes in the music. Although imitation is used, the "... imitations are woven into the robust rhythmic patterns characteristic of these chansons." The works are most often written for four voices, and closely wed the rhythms of the text to the music.

Peter Downey has pointed out that the evolution of the trumpet ensemble throughout the second half of the fifteenth century paralleled several changes in the style of popular music. He cites the example given by Gioseffo Zarlino in his Sopplimenti musicali of 1588, in which three parts each play a drone on harmonics two to four and one part plays a florid part extending to harmonic twelve. Zarlino refers to this as trumpet music of an earlier time. According to Downey, "Early Renaissance trumpet music, then, seems to have consisted of four trumpet parts: a single melodic part and three drone parts." Once the court trumpet ensemble was established, its use quickly spread to courts across Europe. Downey identifies four specific reasons for the immense
popularity of trumpet ensemble music: the use of major mode, homophony, regular phrase lengths, and recurring implied V-I cadences. The use of major mode is also noted in a large number of basse danse tenors which date from 1450 to 1470. The element of homophony as used in the trumpet ensemble is further remarkable in that unlike other instrumental combinations, which required a family of similar instruments in different sizes, trumpeters could perform on the same instruments in several registers. This all resulted, says Downey, in a "... sound that must have tantalised ears more suited to church modes and to an intricate web of different but simultaneously sounded mensurations."

The Parisian chanson was an ideal vehicle for the inclusion of special sound effects, such as the imitation of trumpets. In the words of Harry Gudmundson,

The Parisian chanson was especially well suited to the incorporation of such programmatic ideas as the street cries, bird calls, battle sounds, and various onomatopoetic devices for the portrayal of extra-musical sounds. It offered many opportunities to the composers of such compositions because of its freedom from strict forms and the relative flexibility of the voices, even in the basically treble-dominated style characteristic of the genre.

The five programmatic chansons of Clément Janequin which employ battle sounds were both popular and influential in the sixteenth century. The first, "La Guerre," was published in 1528 in Chansons de maistre Clément Janequin nouvellement et correctement par Pierre Attaingnant. It celebrates the
victory of Francis I at the battle of Marignan in 1515 over a mercenary army of Swiss employed by the Milanese. A very similar work, "La Bataglia taliana" (possibly also written in 1528, but not published until 1544) by Matthias Herman Werrecore, the Flemish maestro di cappella of the Milan cathedral, celebrates the defeat of an unnamed French king, probably at Pavia in 1525. Whether Werrecore's work is an imitation intended to goad the French, or whether it was written first and Janequin's piece was written soon after, to help the French forget defeat by celebrating an earlier victory, will probably never be established with certainty.

The immense popularity of "La Guerre" helped to establish the fame of Janequin. Howard Mayer Brown says of this chanson, "It became one of the best-known pieces of the entire century, copied by many other composers and arranged for keyboard or lute solo and for all varieties of instrumental ensemble." In 1545 a version was published by Tylman Susato with an added fifth voice by Phillipe Verdelot. A five-voice, slightly lengthened version by Janequin himself was then published in 1555 by du Chemin, and it also was immensely popular.

Numerous parody masses were written on "La Guerre," including Masses by Janequin, Juan Esquivel Barabona, Francisco Guerrero, and Tomas Luis de Victoria. Gustave Reese has speculated that the Victoria mass, Missa Pro Victoria, may have been a prayer for victory. Guerrero's
mass, *Missa Della batalla ecoutez*, was one of only three parodies written by Guerrero on non-sacred models. Janequin wrote only two masses, one of them the parody mass based on "La Guerre," *Messe la Bataille*.

Among the other battaglia pieces inspired by "La Guerre" are works from 1592 by Andrea Gabrielli and Annibale Padovano, both entitled "Aria della battaglia," both for eight winds, and both quoting from Janequin as well as Werrecore." There are also many Italian dance movement parodies of "La Guerre," such as the villanesca written in 1545 by Tomaso Cimello, as well as other battaglia by Adriano Banchieri and Giuseffo Biffi.

Part of the reason for the immense popularity of "La Guerre" lies in the clever onomatopoeic second part of the chanson. Example 11 (page 55) contains the opening of part two of "La Guerre," demonstrating this "sound-painting." Reese points out that devices such as sound effects were not entirely new, but that their application to such an emotionally charged subject as a battle was a new idea. Early scholars speculated that Janequin was actually present at the battle; however, Daniel Heartz notes that pamphlets describing every battle in gruesome detail were among the most successful ventures of the popular press, and suggests that Janequin got his account of the battle from a pamphlet. Nonetheless, Janequin was apparently very
familiar with the musical ensembles of Francis I, and had no trouble recreating the musical sounds of battle.

"Chantons, sonnons trompetes" was published in 1530. It was written to commemorate the entry of Francis I into Bordeaux to retrieve his children, who had been hostages in Spain as the king's pledge of fidelity to the treaty of Madrid. Two additional battle chansons were published in 1555, the above-mentioned five voice reworking of "La Guerre," and "La bataille de Mets." In 1559, the chanson "La Guerre de Renty," was published, celebrating the victory of Henry II over Charles V at Renty on August 13, 1554. This work is less onomatopoeic, perhaps due to the more serious avenue taken by Janequin late in his life.

As mentioned previously, the chanson "La Guerre" as well as the other battle chansons of Janequin contain vocal effects to imitate the sounds of battle. According to Howard Mayer Brown, "The harmonically static La Guerre . . . imitates trumpet fanfares, calls to arms, battle cries, cannon fire and other warlike sounds."
NOTES

Chapter 3

   The Age of Humanism 1540-1630, Vol. IV of The New Oxford
   History of Music, nine volumes to date (London: Oxford

2. Downey, op. cit., 63.

3. Ibid., 64.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Harry Edwin Gudmundson, Parody and Symbolism in Three
   Battle Masses of the Sixteenth Century (Ph.D.
   dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976; Ann Arbor,
   Mich.: University Microfilms), 24.

   Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. by

   York: W.W. Norton, 1959), 609.

   Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. by Stanley Sadie


11. Daniel Heartz, "Les Gouts Réunis, or the Worlds of the
    Madrigal and Chanson Confronted," in Chanson and
    Madrigal, 1480-1530: Studies in Companion and Contrast,
    ed. by James Haar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,

12. H.M. Brown, loc. cit.
CHAPTER 4

MUSICAL REFERENCES TO TRUMPET STYLE
IN JANEQUIN'S BATTLE WORKS

References to military trumpet signals in Janequin's chanson "La Guerre" have previously been noted by several trumpet scholars. Anthony Baines notes that "... Jannequin's [sic] well-known part-song 'La Guerre' (1528) accurately quotes the essential kernels of several calls including 'Bouteselle,' writing them both across a fourth and across a fifth, following the principles of imitative counterpoint and sounding recognizably the same either way."¹ Edward Tarr notes that "The second part of this work ['La Guerre'] contains the first surviving trumpet signals, 'Saddle Up' and 'To the Standard,' embedded in the vocal composition."² The issues addressed in this chapter include: are there references to trumpet music other than the simple quotation of military signals in "La Guerre," and do the other battle works of Janequin also contain references to trumpet music? On the last question, Peter Downey has given some illumination:

... Janequin shows what they (claret and trompette) played in his chanson 'La bataille de Mets' of 1528(sic). In the tenor 2ème part are found two untexted but vocalised sections, one for cléron (or claret part):
and one for trompette (or lower part):

"La Guerre" is composed in two lengthy parts. In m. 78 the first textual reference to trumpets occurs, with "Sonnez trompettes et clarons" set to a simple triad-based melody, evoking the sound of trumpets (Example 9).

Example 9. Measures 78-80 of Part One of "La Guerre."

This section is set apart from the previous portion of the chanson by a change of meter and a change in texture from four to two voices. The superius-contratenor duet is echoed two measures later in the tenor and bassus parts. Certainly this device was employed by Janequin to complement the text "Sound the trumpets and clarinos" by bringing the sound of trumpets to the listener's ear. Triple-meter trumpet sonatas
of a similar character can be found in Bendinelli and in the Danish notebooks (Example 10).

Example 10. Excerpt from Sonata 45 by Lübeck.

The second part of "La Guerre" contains a great number of references to trumpet music. In the opening six measures (Example 11), with only small exceptions in the tenor part, the tenor and bassus remain a perfect fifth apart, recalling the descriptions of Bendinelli, Praetorius and Speer of the grob and volgan parts in music for the courtly trumpet ensemble. In addition, all four voices employ the traditional rhythm of four sixteenth notes followed by a quarter note. This rhythm has previously been noted in the solo toccata, as well as the ensemble intrada and rottà. These traditional rhythms appear first in only one voice, and are imitated in other voices. In addition, the imitations occur in stretto later in this section (mm. 20-38), creating the same kind of increasing rhythmic density noted in trumpet sonatas and toccatas.
Example 11. Measures 1-6 of Part Two of "La Guerre."
The melodic lines played by the superius, contratenor and tenor consist mainly of falling arpeggios, very similar in nature to the intrada given by Bendinelli on fol. 8 of his method (Example 12). Praetorius defined the intrada as a piece used both as introductory and final material, making its quotation at the beginning of Part Two of the chanson appropriate.

Example 12. Bendinelli, "Intrada."

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\[ MUSICAL_NOTATION \\
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Between measures seven and nineteen, many military signals are quoted in a "collage" effect. The "Bouteselle" call (Boots and Saddles) is quoted in all four voices, at times over the interval of a fifth and at times over a fourth. Example 13 provides a comparison of the Boots and
Saddles call as notated by Bendinelli and as quoted in "La Guerre."

Example 13. "Butasella" as notated by Bendinelli (a) and as quoted in Janequin's "La Guerre" (b and c).

a. [Music notation]

b. [Music notation]

c. [Music notation]

"A l'estendart" (To the Standard) is also quoted in all four voices, although the call is altered slightly in some of the voices by placing it on a different portion of the harmonic series. Example 14 gives Mersenne's version of "A l'estendart" and the call as quoted in "La Guerre."

Example 14. "A l'estendart" from Mersenne (a) and Part Two of "La Guerre" (b).

a. [Music notation]

b. [Music notation]
The call "a Cheval" (To Horse) in mm. 9-16 is not a recognizable quotation of the same call as given in the trumpet sources, although Mersenne comments that with military calls, the meter of a call is more of an identifying factor than its melody. Thus, Janequin may have been quoting an earlier and longer version of the call using the words "Gendarmes a cheval," or he may simply have fabricated a melody to fit the rhythm of the text. Because "a Cheval" is sometimes quoted on only one pitch at a time (c'' or f''), it cannot be ascertained whether Janequin is quoting from the older French version of the call or the newer Italian version. It is also possible that this "collage" section represents the preparation for Battle of both the French and the Italians and that this call (and others) is quoted on two different pitches for that reason.

The superius voice contains fewer of the military calls, but has an additional reference to trumpet music in mm. 7-8 and mm. 11-15. In these measures, the notes A, B-flat, and C are used over and over with the text "fa-ri-ra-ri" etc.

Example 15. Excerpt from Bendinelli's clarino register exercises (a) and superius part, mm. 7-8 from Part Two of "La Guerre" (b).

Example 15.
This passage is reminiscent of Mersenne's comment that "Tarararare" is a typical military articulation and also of the tonguing syllables of Fantini. The melody itself is very similar to the exercises given by Bendinelli for the clarino register, and would cover the range of harmonics ten to twelve if played on a trumpet (Example 15). The same device is repeated in mm. 67-75, again in the superius.

A final trumpet-like motive in "La Guerre" occurs in the contratenor part in the penultimate measure (Example 16), a very different final cadence than those seen in Janequin's other (non-Battle) chansons.

Example 16. Measures 143-144 of Part Two of "La Guerre."

In 1532 Janequin wrote a parody mass based on "La Guerre," one of only two masses known to have been composed by Janequin. The mass draws primarily on the first part of the chanson; the second part of the chanson which depicts battle sounds is less appropriate for a mass. In the mass,
the only use of chanson material containing a reference to trumpet music is in the Credo. There, the words "ex Maria Virgine" are set to the music from the chanson that originally accompanied "Sonnez trompettes et clarons" (mm. 78-81 of "La Guerre"). The use of trumpet-like material from the chanson forces the composer to find an appropriate place for material of that character in the text of the Mass. Janequin chose to place this trumpet-like music as a heraldic fanfare at the reference in the text of the Mass to the Virgin Mary.

"Chantons sonnons trompetes" (1530) contains trumpet-like material which is not a description of battle, but which represents the ceremonial functions of the courtly trumpet ensemble. The trumpet references in this work are more subtle than those found in "La Guerre," but considering the "word-painting" traditions of the Renaissance, almost certainly not unintentional. The opening motive is reminiscent of the sonatas of Bendinelli, Thomsen and Lübeck, and is especially similar to Sonata No. 15 of Bendinelli (Example 17).

Example 17. Bendinelli, "Sonata No. 15" (a) and mm. 1-3 of "Chantons, sonnons trompetes" (b) by Janequin.

a. 

b. 

Example 17: Bendinelli, "Sonata No. 15" (a) and mm. 1-3 of "Chantons, sonnons trompetes" (b) by Janequin.
The traditional rhythm of four faster notes followed by a long note (in this case four eighth notes and a half note) is heard once, in the contratenor voice in measure twenty-three, not coincidentally to the text "le son de la trompette." The same text in the bassus is set to a triadic figure consisting of the last half of the opening sonata-like motive.

In 1555, after the success of "La Guerre" was well established, Janequin's five-voice version was published. A version for five voices had been printed ten years earlier in 1545, but that version was merely a reprint of the original four-voice version with a fifth voice added by Phillippe Verdelot. The 1555 version was by Janequin himself, and included a slight lengthening as well as the addition of a fifth voice.

The 1555 version of "La Guerre" contains the same references to trumpet music that were found in the original version. The "Bouteselle" call is also heard in a third version, spanning the interval of a major third. In the section containing military calls, each voice maintains for the most part its own unique and narrow register. Although this may simply reflect careful part-writing, it is also possible that Janequin was aware of the courtly trumpet ensemble tradition of specific range responsibilities for each player, and was imitating it in his chanson. In this same section, the superius voice which formerly had the text
"fa-ri-ra-ri" is more rhythmically complex in the new version and has the syllable "ron" inserted at several places. The new text of the superius line is very similar to the tonguing syllables given by Fantini (Example 18).

Example 18. Measures 12-15 of Part Two of the five-voice version of "La Guerre" (a) and tonguing syllables from Fantini (b).

Another chanson published in the same collection as Janequin's five voice version of "La Guerre" contains perhaps the most remarkable musical allusions to Renaissance trumpet performance. "La bataille de Mets" contains several sections without text, but with labels above them in the parts to indicate which instrument is being imitated. The labels are: "cleron" (Clarino), mm. 62-64 (secundus tenor); "Le phifre" (The Fifer), mm. 61-68 and mm. 73-83 (superius), mm. 61-65 and mm. 73-77 (contratenor); "Tabourin de Suisse" (Swiss Drum), mm. 62-68 (primus tenor and bassus); and "Trompette" (Trumpet), mm. 73-83 (secundus tenor) and mm. 77-83
(contratenor, primus tenor, and bassus). The chanson is eighty-three measures long, ending with the instrumental (mostly trumpet) imitations. In the modern edition of this chanson, syllables are added to these sections by the editor as an aid to the performer. The added syllables, placed in italics, were borrowed from the sections of "La Guerre" that imitate instruments. The instrumental labels above the parts, however, are Janequin's own.

The fife and drum corps were the musical ensemble of the infantry, so their inclusion in the musical depiction of a battle is normal. Henry Farmer reports that Francis I allotted two fifers (fifres) and four drummers (tabourins) to each one-thousand soldiers. The trumpet, and presumably the cleron, was the exclusive province of the cavalry. In this instance, the trompette parts play the traditional double-tongued rhythms, while the cleron plays a melodic line that would ascend to harmonic sixteen if played on a trumpet (Example 19).

Example 19. Janequin, "cleron" part from "La Bataille de Mets."

The character of the cleron melody fits the description of clarino playing given in the trumpet sources, and even if the single highest note is removed, still reaches the top of
the clarino register as described by Bendinelli fifty-nine years later. The trompette parts contain some notes that would not have been playable, except as extra-harmonic notes, on a natural trumpet, so caution should be exercised in taking literally the exact melodic figures given.

Janequin's final battle chanson, "Guerre de Renty," published in 1559, contains fewer references to trumpet music than his previous battle chansons. The only references to trumpet music are the military calls "a Cheval" and "a l'estendart," quoted in all four voices. The ending cadence does not contain any trumpet imitation like that found in the final cadence of "La Guerre."

After the examination of Janequin's battle chansons and related parody mass, it is apparent that the references to trumpet music contained in these works go far beyond the quotation of military calls that has been pointed out by previous authors. The references to trumpet music fall into two categories: references to ceremonial trumpet ensemble music, and references to military calls.

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, Janequin's battle works make musical references to the music of the courtly trumpet ensemble in many ways. In Part One of "La Guerre" and the Credo of its related parody mass, there is a triple-meter section reminiscent of triple-meter trumpet sonatas. The texture of the five-part trumpet sonata, with its lower two "drone" parts and voices with limited ranges,
can be seen in the opening of Part Two of "La Guerre" (both four- and five-voice versions).

The characteristic rhythm of the rotta (\[\text{\begin{tikzpicture} \node (n1) at (0,0) {\text{\texttt{}}}; \node (n2) at (1,0) {\text{\texttt{}}}; \node (n3) at (2,0) {\text{\texttt{}}}; \node (n4) at (3,0) {\text{\texttt{}}}; \node (n5) at (4,0) {\text{\texttt{}}}; \node (n6) at (5,0) {\text{\texttt{}}}; \end{tikzpicture}}\]), an integral part of the sonata, can be seen in "La Guerre," "Chantons sonnons trompetes," and "La Bataille de Mets." The increasing rhythmic intensity noted in the sonatas of Bendinelli, Thomsen, and Lübeck and in the Monteverdi "Toccata" can be observed in Part Two of both versions of "La Guerre."

Melodic similarities to surviving trumpet music can also be seen in these chansons. The opening of "Chantons sonnons trompetes" was shown to be very similar to Bendinelli's Sonata No. 15. Bendinelli's "Intrada" was shown to be similar in character to the melodic lines in portions of Part Two of "La Guerre." Melodies similar to Bendinelli's written exercises for the clarino register are seen in "La Guerre" and "La Bataille de Mets," at locations in those chansons where it was demonstrated that Janequin was imitating trumpet music. In addition, the text of these clarino-like sections is essentially the same as the articulations given in the trumpet sources and other contemporary wind instrument tutors. The use of text referring to "trompettes et clarons" in "La Guerre," and instrumental labels of "cleron" and "trompette" in "La Bataille de Mets" make it clear that Janequin was very familiar not only with the music, but also
with the instruments in use by the trumpeters of the Renaissance.

The quotation of military calls can be seen in both versions of "La Guerre" as well as "Guerre de Renty." The calls quoted include "Bouteselle," "a l'estendart," and "a Cheval." Several of the calls are quoted in more than one version, perhaps reflecting the evolution of the calls as a reaction to the change in the length of the instrument in common use.
NOTES

Chapter 4

1. Baines, op. cit., 86.

2. Tarr, op. cit., 76. On page 75, Tarr erroneously cites the title of this chanson as "La Bataille," but it is clear from his description of the work and the date that he actually refers to "La Guerre."

3. Downey, op. cit., 62. The chanson "La bataille de Mets" to which Downey refers here was published in 1555, not 1528. In addition, Downey offers no explanation why the "claret part," as he calls it, is given a melody characteristic of the clarino register (in his dissertation, Downey assigns the name "claret trumpet" to a shorter instrument on which the clarino register would have been very difficult to play).

4. The musical examples in this chapter have been originally typeset for this paper except where cited otherwise.


6. The notebook of the German trumpeter Thomsen at the Danish court may provide additional evidence of this possibility. Thomsen's version of the call "a Cheval," which he refers to by its German title "Monttacawalla," uses a half note to begin each phrase of the call. The call as quoted by Janequin in "La Guerre" uses a similar long note to begin each phrase, but all of the other trumpet sources omit this long note, beginning each phrase of the call with quarter or eighth notes. Thomsen's versions of the military calls may be older than those given in Bendinelli, because the Danish court, due to its relatively remote location, was somewhat removed from the evolution of the military calls taking place in France and Italy.

7. Fantini, facsimile, 11.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The battle chansons of Janequin contain sections that imitate trumpet music. In those sections, there are clear references to unequal articulation, military calls, characteristic trumpet rhythms, and voice ranges similar to those found in the courtly trumpet ensemble. In addition, the chansons provide evidence, both in their text and in the music itself, that Renaissance trumpeters made use of two different instruments and styles of playing.

Unequal articulation as applied to the trumpet has been discussed and illustrated with tonguing syllables in trumpet sources from Bendinelli to Altenburg. In other wind instrument sources such as the recorder treatise of Girolamo Dalla Casa, similar tonguing syllables are found, indicating that trumpeters were simply following a general trend in the instrumental music of the Renaissance and Baroque. In the Janequin chansons, the use of the syllables "fre-re-le-re" and "fa-ri-ri-ri-ron" as text for music in trumpet style is almost certainly an indication that unequal articulations were being used by trumpet players in the first third of the sixteenth century. The choice of other syllables by Janequin when he imitated other instruments adds credence to the idea...
that his choice of syllables was indeed related to the instrument being copied.

The accurate quotation of several military trumpet calls further reveals Janequin's knowledge and portrayal of trumpet traditions. The quotation of some of the calls on more than one harmonic may serve as evidence that the military calls were undergoing a transformation at this time. The rhythm of each call was probably originally based on the spoken rhythm of the associated command, and some of the calls in Janequin's chansons probably reflect earlier, longer versions of the calls than those notated in the seventeenth-century trumpet sources. Mersenne commented in 1636 that the essential element in identifying the calls was their rhythm, so the calls would have been recognized even if they were performed on a different harmonic than usual.

The courtly trumpet ensemble consisted of five players, each assigned to a limited rhythmic-melodic role. The sonatas performed by the ensemble made use of characteristic multiple-tongued rhythms in a texture of ever-increasing rhythmic density. These characteristics are all noted in the sections of "La Guerre" that imitate trumpet music. This adds musical support to the contention of Downey and Tarr, based on iconographic evidence and financial records, that the courtly trumpet ensemble traditions described by Bendlinelli and others were already in use in the early sixteenth century.
The examination of primary sources in Chapter Two indicates that the descriptions of trumpet ensemble music found in Praetorius and Bendinelli are not specific enough to allow a clear understanding of the method of improvisation of the alto e basso part. Unfortunately, Janequin's musical allusions to courtly trumpet ensemble playing are not exact enough to provide further insight to that problem. Praetorius' "In dulci jubilo" setting for choir and trumpet ensemble and the Monteverdi Toccata can be shown to conform closely to the descriptions of ensemble music in both Bendinelli and Praetorius. This leads to a less rigid interpretation of improvisation within the trumpet ensemble than that espoused by Edward Tarr in the critical notes to the modern facsimile edition of Bendinelli's treatise.

The use of the traditional rhythm (JTJj J) characteristic of all trumpet music and especially of the rottta, an integral part of the sonata, can be seen in several of the chansons, including the section of "La Bataille de Mets" in which the imitation of the "trompette" is specifically cited. In "La Guerre," the section imitating trumpet music makes use of increasing rhythmic density, as has been noted in the sonatas of Bendinelli, Thomsen, and Lübeck.

In "La bataille de Mets," the specific reference made by Janequin to the clerlon and the trompette lead to the conclusion that two different instruments, as illustrated by
Virdung in 1511, and two different styles of playing were definitely in use in the middle of the sixteenth century. The shorter instrument was used for playing ceremonial and signal music, such as the military calls. Its shorter length raised the harmonic series, and allowed the lower harmonics used in military calls and fanfares to sound at a pitch level in which trumpeters could easily play loudly. The longer instrument was suited to playing in the clarino register (eighth harmonic and higher) with relative ease. A longer trumpet would produce the entire harmonic series at a lower pitch, including the clarino register. Since Janequin (and probably Virdung, as shown) labeled this longer instrument "Cleron," the French version of clareta, the use by Peter Downey of the term "Claret trumpet" for a shorter instrument is most likely incorrect.

The use of the clarino register is clearly portrayed in these chansons, providing musical evidence that the clarino register was already in use in the first third of the sixteenth century. This is especially significant because "La Guerre" was published some fifty to sixty years prior to the first known written trumpet music in the clarino register. Trumpet scholars have speculated that clarino playing occurred in the late fifteenth century; these works provide the first musical evidence that trumpeters in the middle Renaissance played in the clarino register.


"The Renaissance Slide Trumpet: Fact or Fiction?," *Early Music* XII/1 (February 1984), 26-33.


Method for Learning to Play the Trumpet in a Warlike Way as well as Musically, with the Organ, with a Mute, with the Harpsichord, and Every Other Instrument, edited and translated by Edward H. Tarr. Nashville: The Brass Press, 1975.


