THE CHANGING SYMBOLIC IMAGES OF THE TRUMPET: BOLOGNA AND VENICE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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The trumpet is among the most ancient of all musical instruments, and an examination of its history reveals that it has consistently maintained important and specific symbolic roles in society. Although from its origins this symbolic identity was linked to the instrument’s limited ceremonial and signaling function, the seventeenth century represents a period in which a variety of new roles and identities emerged.

Bologna and Venice represent the two most important centers for trumpet writing in Italy during the seventeenth century. Because of the differing ideologies at work in these cities, two distinctive symbolic images of the instrument and two different ways of writing for it emerged. The trumpet’s ecclesiastic role in Bologna and its participation in Venetian opera put the instrument at the service of two societies, one centered around the Church, and another around a more permissive state. Against the backdrop of the social and political structures in Venice and Bologna, and through an examination of its newly-emerging musical roles in each city, the trumpet’s changing identities during a most important point in the history of the instrument will be examined.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The trumpet is more than a musical instrument: it is an idea, a concept, with deeper allegorical associations.

– Don Smithers, *The History of the Trumpet before 1721*

The trumpet is among the most ancient of all musical instruments, and an examination of its history reveals that it has consistently maintained important and specific symbolic roles in society. Although from its origins these identities were connected to the instrument’s limited ceremonial and signaling usage, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries allowed for a variety of new functions and symbolic identities to develop. In addition to these newly emerging roles for the trumpet, this period also marks one of the most abrupt and definitive shifts in musical aesthetics and compositional approaches in the history of Western music. Many of the novelties associated with this period were taking place in Italy, including the trumpet’s momentous transformation from a limited usage to its acceptance into church and theater music. However, an image of a new aesthetic emerging from a unified and hegemonic Italy, which at this time was comprised of a diverse collection of city-states and courts, was far from reality.¹ Cultural unity was continually destabilized by economic, religious, and political tensions.² It is through an examination of this period that both the possible implications of these new roles for the trumpet and the complexities of late the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Italy can be

discovered. Ultimately, a better understanding of both the instrument itself and the cultures in which it was utilized can be achieved.

This project begins with a brief exploration of the trumpet’s history prior to the late sixteenth century and will illustrate two main ideas; first, that the instrument has always held important and symbolic roles in society. Second, it serves to determine how these societal roles and their symbolic images would ultimately influence the emergence of new repertoires in Bologna and Venice. By interpreting these long-standing roles as reflections of the societies in which they developed, the symbolic value assumed by the trumpet can be understood. Mark J. Smith’s example of a cultural symbol from his text *Culture: Reinventing the Social Sciences*, serves as a useful model:

Foods do not intrinsically symbolize. They are used to symbolize. For example, when we are told that the cooked dinner of meat and two vegetables symbolizes the woman’s obligation as homemaker and her husband’s as breadwinner…the food does not itself stand for homemaking and caring. The values are respective gender roles, whilst the food is the medium through which that is communicated…Meat is symbolic…since its economic and social importance is frequently greater than might be anticipated from its purely nutritional value.  

Like foods, the trumpet can be used as a transmitter of various symbolic images associated with its clearly-defined societal roles. For example, the material out of which the medieval trumpet was constructed was not exceptionally valuable to the societies in which it was utilized. Even the trumpeters themselves were relegated to the social status of the serving class. However, because the instrument had ascended to hold the status of a symbolic image that universally reflected courtly wealth and power, the trumpet itself had come to represent and communicate those ideals.

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Accepting that the trumpet has consistently maintained the status of a cultural image, however, is not enough to identify a connection to the instrument’s newly emerging musical roles during the seventeenth century. By adopting one of Mike Parker’s core tenants regarding what he refers to as “primary cultural icons”, the possibility for making this connection can be made clear:

The strong narrative meaning contained in primary iconic images is sufficient, not only to prove perceptually to the originating receptive communities, but also proving significant to future generations.⁴

The symbolic images conveyed by trumpet are therefore contingent on permanency. According to Parker’s model, if the images of the trumpet are durable, then they can serve as “vessels for cultural meaning.”⁵ In their text, The Trumpet, John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan confirm the durability of the trumpet’s symbolic image: “the instrument is an example of an early man-made object that acts as a cultural transmitter, communicating more than a simple message between living people.”⁶

Eliot Bates makes a similar argument in his article “The Social Life of Musical Instruments.” He suggests that musical instruments are not just objects or artifacts, but are entangled in complex webs of relationships.⁷ The final task is to determine which of these relationships influence the development of the trumpet’s symbolic images and its new roles during the seventeenth century. In his text, Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure, José Antonio Maravall addresses this issue:

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⁵ Ibid., 95.
My thesis is that all these fields of culture coincide as factors of a historical situation and have repercussions in it, some more than others. In their transformation, proper to the situation of each times, they come to be what they are by the combined and reciprocal action of all the other factors.  

In the context of this project, what Maravall refers to as the “factors of a historical situation” can be interpreted as the ideologies at work that were unique to Bologna and Venice during the seventeenth century. Furthermore, through an examination of these ideologies, the most influential of the contributing factors can be identified. In Bologna the city’s predominant ideology was largely dictated by its devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. The central ideology in Venice was a result of the general social permissiveness granted by the city’s status as a republic. These ideologies thus informed and influenced the trumpet’s new roles in ways that were unique to each city.

Finally, taking inspiration from Susan McClary’s work in her text *Modal Subjectivities*, it is possible to identify connections between the ideologies at work in Bologna and Venice and these new trumpet repertoires. McClary’s approach of “critical interpretation” calls for the consideration of, among other factors, the effects of ideologies on musical compositions:

I have no new archival sources to offer nor hitherto-unknown composers to tout. Indeed, *Modal Subjectivities* deals only with the most familiar artists and madrigals of the tradition – the ones most celebrated in their own day for their impact on cultural life, the ones most readily available in textbooks, anthologies, and recordings. First, I want to begin interpreting critically a major repertory that has received mostly stylistic descriptions. By “interpreting critically” I mean interrogating the formal details through which the selected compositions produce their effects – structural, expressive, ideological, and cultural. 

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Although the level of detail and complexity involved in McClary’s approach exceeds that which is utilized for this project, her work can serve as a basic model. Instead of a purely musical and stylistic exploration of the trumpet repertories in Venice and Bologna, the relationship between the social structures in each city and the symbolic images of the trumpet are examined.

By establishing a connection between the trumpet’s long-standing cultural images and the societies that promoted them, a fresh understanding of the two most important centers for trumpet writing during the seventeenth century can be revealed. Against the backdrop of the social and political structures in Venice and Bologna, and through an examination of its newly-emerging musical roles in each city, the trumpet’s changing identities during a most important point in the history of the instrument is examined.
CHAPTER II
THE TRUMPET AS A SYMBOLIC IMAGE

In order to fully understand the scope of the trumpet’s transformation from a purely utilitarian implement to its acceptance in church and theater music (as advanced in the introduction) the early history of the instrument must be explored. What is revealed is that well before this transformation began during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the instrument had already ascended to hold the status of an important symbolic image. Furthermore, the instrument experienced a change crucial to my argument when it assumed a cluster of ceremonial roles in certain Northern Italian cities. Whereas in prehistoric and early-historic times, the trumpet served collective ritual functions, later to become a herald of nobility, by 1400 it had been also converted into an icon of civic pride. This chapter explores this transformation, and subsequent Chapters VI and VII address how these symbolic images informed and influenced the trumpet’s role in seventeenth-century Italian music.

Nearly every ancient society throughout the world utilized some form of the trumpet. Remarkably, in addition to its widespread use, the roles that the ancient trumpet fulfilled were almost exclusively limited to ceremonial and military functions.¹ Even the physical features of the instruments, in both design and material, remained rather limited to a set of characteristics recognizable across cultures and eras.

The trumpet’s use as a ceremonial instrument can be understood as one of its central roles. These ancient instruments were basic in design, and apparently were

intended to distort the sound of the human voice by acting as a sort of megaphone.² They featured neither a well-formed bell nor mouthpieces resembling those on modern instruments, but were simple tubes shaped of wood, shell, or horn.³ These simple trumpets were utilized in religious and ritual ceremonies, including births, circumcisions, and funerals.⁴ Various forms of more recognizable ceremonial trumpets, constructed of bronze and featuring flared bells, can be traced back to the Romans (tuba, lituus), Teutonic tribes (lur), and the Celts (karnyx).⁵

In addition to ceremonial functions, these same types of early trumpets were also used for signaling. The most basic example of this role is the playing of alternating long and short sounds which could be heard over a great distance, to communicate messages.⁶ The instrument could also be useful when hunting, sounded to flush out prey from hiding.⁷ These and other similar functions were peripheral to the instrument's most important signaling role, which was on the battlefield. The earliest trumpet utilized in war was constructed of shell, likely played harshly as a warning signal to approaching enemies.⁸ Numerous ancient societies utilized other forms of the instrument in war, including the Assyrians, Sumerians, and the Etruscans.⁹

Frequently, ancient trumpets were utilized in both ceremonial rituals (religious or otherwise) and in military operations. Evidence suggests that many societies used

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⁴ Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), 47.
⁵ Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 22.
⁸ Baines, *Brass Instruments*, 44.
similar instruments for both purposes. For example, the Egyptian trumpet, *snb* in hieroglyphic lettering, served both a ceremonial and military function. In addition, the instrument was held in such high regard that it was given a creation myth, said to have been invented by the God Osiris. The Greeks also utilized a single trumpet, the *salpinx*, as a military and ceremonial instrument; its most notable ceremonial use was at the Olympic games. Likewise, the Roman *tuba* was a bronze trumpet that served the same basic dual functions in ceremony and war.

The plurality of roles held by the ancient trumpet, including its use in a variety of ceremonial and signaling functions, resulted in a variety of distinct identities for the instrument. Even in ancient times, many of these identities had already assumed symbolic values. Modern scholars often point to the symbolic status of trumpets utilized for war when detailing its history. For example, in his text *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development*, Anthony Baines describes how the Romans revered the *tuba* because of its symbolic representation of power and achievement. In *The Trumpet*, John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan argue that the first literary reference to the instrument, in the epic *The Battle of Gilgamesh* dating from 2500 BCE, exemplifies the trumpet’s image as the ultimate representation of power.

The trumpet’s ceremonial and religious functions also propelled it to hold the status of a symbolic image in ancient society. The Egyptian *snb*, for example, supposedly was created by the god of the dead Osiris and was used in his worship. As

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11 Ibid., 19.
12 Ibid., 21.
the ruler of the dead, Osiris held a supremely powerful role as the final judge in the afterlife.\textsuperscript{15} The Israelites also utilized the instrument for religious purposes and reserved trumpeting only for the high-ranking priests.\textsuperscript{16} In the Old Testament, many references to the trumpet may be found in the Book of Exodus and the Book of Revelation. An often cited example in the Book of Numbers (10:1-10) is particularly descriptive of the connection between the roles and the symbolic image of the instrument.\textsuperscript{17} There, God instructs Moses to create two silver trumpets in order to lead his people out of Sinai. In the final two verses, the trumpet’s functions as both a military and ceremonial instrument are referenced:

And when you go to war in your land against the adversary who oppresses you, then you shall sound an alarm with the trumpets, that you may be remembered before the Lord your God, and you should be saved from your enemies. On the day of your gladness also, and at your appointed feasts, and at the beginning of your months, you shall blow the trumpets over your burnt offerings and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; they shall serve you for remembrance before your God: I am the Lord your God.\textsuperscript{18}

By the Middle Ages, as cities and courts were emerging across Europe, the trumpet’s status as a symbolic image became even more defined. Its continued use on the battlefield during the Crusades promoted its associations with military and heroism to represent one the trumpet’s most prominent images.\textsuperscript{19} The \textit{busine}, a long metal instrument thought to have originated with the Saracens, became the most important

\textsuperscript{15} Wallace and McGrattan, \textit{The Trumpet}, 12.
\textsuperscript{16} Tarr, \textit{The Trumpet}, 23.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 17-18.
\textsuperscript{18} Numbers 10:9-10 HB.
\textsuperscript{19} Tarr, \textit{The Trumpet}, 28.
trumpet in Western cultures.\textsuperscript{20} During the Third Crusade, around 1180, a new form of this instrument emerged called the \textit{trumpa}.\textsuperscript{21} The modern term “trumpet” is derived from the name of this military instrument.

As the trumpet’s image of an instrument of war continued to be propagated, it took on a new facet to its ceremonial image, namely it also assumed connotations of wealth and power through its employment during lavish court ceremonies. It was undoubtedly the trumpet’s importance on the battlefield that was the motivation for rulers to utilize it in courts.\textsuperscript{22} After the year 1100, long straight trumpets that were constructed almost exclusively out of metal were utilized in courtly ceremony. These instruments were often ornately decorated and the players lavishly costumed in what assumed the guise of a true exhibition of wealth and power.\textsuperscript{23}

Wealthy cities soon followed the model established by courts, Bologna representing one of the earliest examples, having hired two municipal trumpeters as early as 1281.\textsuperscript{24} By 1329 six more trumpeters had been added and were renamed the \textit{trombetti della Signoria}.\textsuperscript{25} Other wealthy cities, including Florence and Lucca, had similar groups of civic trumpeters.\textsuperscript{26}

It was from this tradition of civic function that the trumpet emerged as viable instrument for ensemble playing. It was soon utilized in a variety of settings, including

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{20} Tarr, \textit{The Trumpet}, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 30.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 33.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Wallace and McGrattan, \textit{The Trumpet}, 65.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Tarr, \textit{The Trumpet}, 33.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Tarr, \textit{The Trumpet}, 34.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
groups comprised of only trumpets, trumpets with kettledrums or with shawms.\textsuperscript{27} This tradition of trumpet ensembles played an important role in the instrument’s transition into ecclesiastic and theater music in the late seventeenth century.

Following the instrument’s establishment as a viable player in ensembles, technological advances during the early fifteenth century allowed for the trumpet to take on another new role. With the discovery of techniques which allowed instrument makers to bend metal tubing, two new forms of the trumpet emerged.\textsuperscript{28} The natural trumpet, in its traditional folded form, was utilized for battle and in courtly ceremony. The slide trumpet, more closely related to the modern trombone, participated in ecclesiastic music during the second half of the fifteenth century. Although the slide trumpet’s lineage is not directly connected with that of the natural trumpet, its acceptance in church music marked an important progression towards the possibility of new roles for the instrument during the seventeenth century.

The functional roles assumed by the trumpet during the Middle Ages and Renaissance were more well-defined than in antiquity. However, an examination of the instrument’s early history reveals that, as we can know it today, the primary function of the instrument did not drastically change across these far-reaching periods. Its use did not go beyond its variety of ceremonial and military purposes. These functions and their symbolic connotations had become so intimately linked to the instrument that the trumpet had already ascended to hold the status of an important reflection of the cultures in which it was utilized. These firmly established symbolic images proved to be

\textsuperscript{27} Tarr, \textit{The Trumpet}, 28.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 41.
influential in the trumpet’s employment during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in roles that were previously unexplored.
Seventeenth-century Bologna had a reputation as a city of great religiosity and conservatism. In addition to their spiritual heritage, Bolognese citizenry were also known for their civic pride. Celebratory displays of pomp and ceremony were an important means of expressing both Bolognese religious devotion and civic spirit. Additionally, a general fondness for lavishness permeated all aspects of life and contributed to the size and splendor of these spectacles. Music played an integral role in the conveying of civic pride and furthering Bologna’s reputation as a center for religious devotion. As discussed in Chapter II, the trumpet, an instrument long associated with nobility through displays of pomp and ceremony, was an ideal symbol for such occasions. The emergence of an entirely new approach to trumpet writing as part of what is known as the Bolognese school, which is discussed in Chapter VI, was a direct result of the instrument’s ability to promote the city’s reputation as a center for religious devotion through elaborate religious and musical displays.

Bolognese life during the seventeenth century can be understood as a function of two distinct and important entities at work – ecclesiastic and civic or political.¹ Although each of these entities represented an important aspect of the power structure in Bologna, it was the ecclesiastic (more specifically the Roman Catholic Church as represented by the basilica of San Petronio) that maintained the most significant influence.

As the highest-ranking papal state after Rome, religious devoutness dominated all aspects of Bolognese life. The massive basilica of San Petronio, located on the Piazza Maggiore, represents the symbolic flagship of the city’s piety. In both size and location San Petronio stands as a testament to the significance of the Church and its dominating role in Bolognese life. The church was constructed in honor of Saint Petronius, known during the fifth century for his supreme religious devoutness and dedication to learning and education. Although never completed, when construction began on San Petronio in 1390 it was intended to be the largest church in Italy. By October of 1392, the north end of the nave was completed, allowing for the first mass to be celebrated in one of the side chapels. Following its first celebrations, construction on the basilica progressed continuously for nearly a century. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries San Petronio was under construction on only a somewhat regular basis, as this period was fraught by many financial and political obstacles. Construction on the facade was halted at the beginning of the seventeenth century – and it remains unfinished today.

Seventeenth-century Bologna was also a center for learning. Like other facets of life, the city’s educational institutions were closely tied to the Roman Catholic Church.

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7 Enrico, *The Orchestra at San Petronio*, 4-12.
By 1650, the population of Bologna had reached 65,000 inhabitants, with a flourishing educated class that encouraged and supported innovation in the arts. The University of Bologna was the most important contributor to the education of the city’s populace. The university, along with similar educational institutions at Oxford and Paris, is one of the three most ancient of medieval European universities. Founded in 1088, the University of Bologna is the oldest. Originally classified not as a universitas but as a studium generale, this title indicated that the institution developed out of the Cathedral school in Bologna. By 1372 Pope Gregory had called for the employment of six priests to conduct various religious ceremonies at the university. Music was often an integral part of these services, even before a chair of music theory was established at the university in 1420. In 1405 a mention of doubling the salary for trumpeters who performed on horseback at academic ceremonies gives an indication of the lavishness that had permeated the musical happenings at the university.

Although Bologna had been under the rule of the Pope since the early sixteenth century, it also maintained its system of civic governmental structure, allowing the city a certain amount of autonomy. In other words, the old system wasn’t replaced, but

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12 Ibid., 34.
14 Ibid., 35.
rather functioned under the pope’s supervision.\textsuperscript{16} This system did not include nobility or a hereditary court. Instead, various councils of Senatori, who were appointed for a lifelong term by their successor, fulfilled civic functions.\textsuperscript{17} The body of Senatori, 50 members in total, had far-reaching duties including “legislative, executive, military, economic, and judiciary” authority.\textsuperscript{18} This configuration of power contributed to Bologna’s reputation of conservatism and unwillingness to change, as political progress was stifled by the dissemination of power among members of the Senatori.\textsuperscript{19}

The sheer massiveness of San Petronio, in addition to being a center for religious life, also represented a general desire for lavishness by Bolognese citizenry. On a smaller scale this lavishness permeated other aspects of life as well. Bologna enjoyed markets for luxuries such as perfumes and silks because of its location as a trade route between Rome and Venice.\textsuperscript{20} This “frivolous” side of Bolognese life is sometimes overlooked because of the city’s dedication to the papacy.\textsuperscript{21} However, this desire for extravagance permeated a variety of aspects of Bolognese culture, including ecclesiastic music.

Music in general, including seventeenth-century oratorio, was an integral aspect of expressing the city’s religious devotion, civic pride, and desire for musical

\textsuperscript{16} Vanscheeuwijck, \textit{The Cappella Musicale of San Petronio in Bologna under Giovanni Paolo Colonna (1674-95)}, 26.

\textsuperscript{17} Jackson, “Late Seventeenth-Century Italian Trumpet Concertos,” 4-30.

\textsuperscript{18} Vanscheeuwijck, \textit{The Cappella Musicale of San Petronio}, 30.

\textsuperscript{19} Victor Crowther, \textit{The Oratorio in Bologna (1650-1730)} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), V.


\textsuperscript{21} Wiel, \textit{The Story of Bologna}, vii.
extravagance.\textsuperscript{22} The city boasted a public theater for \textit{drammi in musica} as early as 1631, predating both the Venetians and Romans.\textsuperscript{23} The main objective of oratorio was to further the reputation of Bologna as a center of religious orthodoxy, celebrating Bolognese saints.\textsuperscript{24} In his text, \textit{The Oratorio in Bologna (1650-1730)}, Victor Crowther offers the following interpretation of a line from Giacomo Perti’s work, \textit{S. Petronio} (1720):

> Be pleased to remember that when Rome itself was prey to the barbarians in the fifth century AD, our Catholic heritage was sustained only by the strong faith of bishops like Petronius in Bologna.\textsuperscript{25}

Promoting the city’s reputation as a high-ranking papal state through an extravagant musical display would also prove to be a catalyst for innovations in ecclesiastic trumpet music.

As discussed in Chapter I, Bologna was one of the earliest cities to hire municipal trumpeters. These players, hired to emulate courtly splendor, served to further promote the ideals of civic pride and pageantry in Bologna. The two trumpeters, who were given decorated silver instruments and uniforms, were employed as early as 1281 to make civic proclamations.\textsuperscript{26} When six more civic trumpeters were added in 1329 they were given the name the \textit{trombetti della Signoria}.\textsuperscript{27} By 1417 these trumpets, along with the addition of three \textit{pifferi} and a drum, would be known as the \textit{Concerto Palatino}.\textsuperscript{28} During the late sixteenth century, this ensemble would split into two groups, according to

\textsuperscript{22} Crowther, \textit{The Oratorio in Bologna (1650-1730)}, 1.
\textsuperscript{24} Crowther, \textit{The Oratorio in Bologna}, 1.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 2.
\textsuperscript{26} Edward Tarr, \textit{The Trumpet} (Chandler, AZ: Hickman Music Editions, 2008), 33.
\textsuperscript{27} Schnoebelen, “The Concerted Mass at San Petronio in Bologna,” 12.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
function. The *trombetti* performed fanfares, civic processions, and civic concerts. Liturgical functions were performed by the *musici*. During the first half of the seventeenth century the *Concerto Palatino* enjoyed notoriety for its excellence, rivaling the famed instrumental ensembles at Venice’s San Marco before its eventual disbanding in 1779.

As a result of Bologna’s system of ruling civic councils and the lack of a hereditary court, extravagant festive celebrations emulating the grandeur of courtly spectacle were central to musical life at San Petronio. Of the annual celebrations, the two most important were the feast of San Petronio and the feast of San Antonio of Padua. The feast of San Petronio, named for Bologna’s ruling bishop from 432-450, Petronius, was celebrated on October 4. Extant basilica records show that there were extra funds allocated each year for this feast. In a display of extravagance, music composed for the feast of San Petronio sometimes required up to 180 extra musicians to be hired. It was the largest celebration of the season, and between 1701 and 1706 the funds were increased from 680 to 825 lire, allocated to provide wine, décor, extra musicians and other luxuries. Although surviving musical manuscripts and payments records do not specifically indicate performance dates or purposes, the trumpet works that would later constitute the Bolognese school would have likely been composed for

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29 Jackson, “Late Seventeenth-Century Italian Trumpet Concertos,” 5.
30 Ibid.
34 Enrico, *The Orchestra at San Petronio*, 34.
such occasions.\textsuperscript{36} The celebration of San Antonio of Padua honored the adopted patron of the Accademia Filarmonica, the most influential of the city’s academies.\textsuperscript{36}

Academies represent another important factor that influenced life in Bologna.\textsuperscript{37} These societies, which were organized by Bolognese intellectuals, often maintained a variety of interests including poetry, science, and music. The first group of this nature, the Accademia dei Floridi, was founded in 1615 by Adriano Banchieri.\textsuperscript{38} Later, in 1623 after the group had changed its name to Accademia dei Filomusi, Claudio Monteverdi was accepted as a member.\textsuperscript{39} By 1633 a third academy, the Academia dei Filaschisi, had been established.\textsuperscript{40} The Accademia Filarmonica, previously mentioned as the most influential, was formed in 1666 when Vincenzo Carrati combined the Filomusi and Filaschisi.\textsuperscript{41} Part of the Accademia Filarmonica’s influence was derived from the reputation of excellence associated with its music performances.\textsuperscript{42} The Accademia Filarmonica’s membership, unlike other academies, was comprised exclusively of professional musicians, as dictated by the group’s constitutions.\textsuperscript{43} Within the academy there existed a hierarchy amongst its membership, the \textit{compositori} (composers) were the highest ranking, followed by \textit{cantori} (singers), and \textit{suonatori} (players).\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{35} Smithers, \textit{The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet}, 99.
\textsuperscript{36} Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 16.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{42} Schnoebelen, “The Concerted Mass at San Petronio in Bologna,” 27.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
However, the establishment of the Accademia Filarmonica and its subsequent influences on the musical happenings at San Petronio were entangled in a controversy that is indicative of the social complexities and ideology unique to Bologna during the seventeenth century. The academy’s formation was in response to an ongoing polemic regarding the appointment of Maurizio Cazzati as maestro di cappella at San Petronio in 1653.  

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly the sources of this polemic. Cazzati, unlike the majority of his predecessors, was not a native of Bologna. Upon his appointment as maestro and with the support of civic officials, Cazzati dramatically expanded and restructured the orchestra at San Petronio. Cazzati’s new regulations were outlined in a document entitled ORDINI per la Musica dell’Insigne Collegiata di S. Petronio. Reformati d’ordini de gl’Illustriissimi Signori Presidente, e Fabbricieri della Fabbrica di ess, L’anno 1658. These rules clearly established Cazzati’s preferred practices regarding conduct, dress-code, and salaries. Cazzati also required all musicians previously employed by the cappella to audition to maintain their positions.  Although it is clear that perhaps these circumstances as a whole could be responsible for igniting controversy at the basilica, it was Cazzati’s compositional approach that would ultimately be the central issue in a heated debate between the new maestro and Giulo Cesare Arresti.

45 Vanscheeuwijck, The Cappella Musicale of San Petronio in Bologna, 82.
47 Ibid., 57.
Within the first year of his appointment, Cazzati’s *Kyrie* from op. 11 was criticized privately by members of the *cappella* for contrapuntal errors.\(^{49}\) Arresti, as a result of becoming involved in the debate, was dismissed from his position as organist at San Petronio in 1661. Outraged, Arresti initiated the most public and controversial critiques of Cazzati’s work.\(^{50}\)

Utilizing Cazzati’s counterpoint mistakes as a vehicle, Arresti was addressing more overarching issues pertinent to the complex social climate in Bologna and at San Petronio. Cazzati, who repeatedly identified himself and his music with “modernity”, stood in great contrast to the conservative ideology that was previously associated with San Petronio.\(^{51}\) This conservative tradition was precisely what the *Accademia Filarmonica* was primarily concerned with upholding when it was established in 1666. Musically, this was what the academy called the “true ecclesiastical style” associated with the contrapuntal compositional approach of Palestrina and *stylo antico* of Zarlino.\(^{52}\)

Cazzati’s inadequate *stylo antico* aside, his contributions to the festival celebrations at San Petronio were tolerated. Despite the general conservative nature of the Bolognese and the academy’s desire to uphold the old style, the opportunity for lavish display intended to promote the religiosity of San Petronio proved to be of greater importance. These festival displays would later include Cazzati’s newfangled trumpet sonatas and other works by composers of the Bolognese school. Cazzati was never

\(^{49}\) Brett, *Music and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, 79.
\(^{50}\) Vanscheeuwijck, *The Cappella Musicale of San Petronio in Bologna*, 81.
\(^{51}\) Brett, *Music and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, 33.
\(^{52}\) Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 23.
offered membership in the *Accademia Filarmonica* and after struggling throughout his tenure to be fully accepted at San Petronio left Bologna in 1671.
Seventeenth-century Venice provided a unique configuration of circumstances that, most notably, allowed for the emergence of public opera during the early part of the century. Although opera itself did not originate in Venice, it was the unique structure of civic, political, and ecclesiastic entities that functioned essentially as one conglomeration of centralized power that allowed it to flourish.¹ This triadic power structure and the city’s status as a republic also resulted in a widely acknowledged reputation of social permissiveness for the city. A variety of means were utilized to uphold and promote this reputation, including music. For the trumpet, as is discussed in Chapter VI, Venetian opera offered the opportunity for a new musical role in which the instrument’s already clearly-defined associations with war and heroism would continue to be promoted.

Venice, the mythical floating city, owes much of its legacy as a trade and economic powerhouse to its northeasterly location on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. Although the origins of the city itself are difficult to pinpoint, it is generally accepted that Venice was established in 452 after the fall of Aquileia.² With the election of the first Doge in 697 the city’s independence, which would endure for approximately 1,000 years, was solidified.³

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By the seventeenth century Venice’s enduring status as a republic had come to represent societal freedoms and civic-political stability unparalleled elsewhere in Italy. The triadic power structure formed by the civic, political, and ecclesiastic entities was, with purpose, intimately involved in the upholding of the city’s outward image. However, as early as the fourteenth century, the viability of this apparent harmony was already coming into question, ultimately developing into the main component of the so-called “myth of Venice”. The complexities of separating this myth from reality can be daunting, especially during the volatile decades of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Further complicating the issue, Venetians utilized a variety of means to uphold this reputation, including music, even as their power relative to other Italian cities was in decline after 1625.

As the private chapel of the city’s most significant political figure, the Doge, the basilica of San Marco represents the conglomerated structure of political, civic, and ecclesiastic power in Venice. Dating back to the ninth century, after the body of St. Mark the Evangelist was said to have been brought to Venice from Alexandria, the church was constructed to house the relic next to the Doge’s palace. With the construction of the basilica the city adopted St. Mark as its patron, replacing St. Theodore. After being burned to the ground for the first time in 976, the basilica

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4 Ferraro, Venice: History of the Floating City, 125.
underwent constant construction for nearly 100 years to repair the damage.\footnote{9} The basilica as it stands today was built between 1063 and 1093, notwithstanding several more fires and many centuries of embellishments.\footnote{10}

With the freedoms allowed to the city by means of its status as a republic, San Marco stood as a symbol of Venice’s unique relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. As Catholicism was the official religious affiliation of the republic, Venetians were not opposed to the church in Rome. Rather, in order to uphold their republican ideals, Venetians adopted a sort of permissiveness towards papal authority.\footnote{11} Manifesting in a variety of ways, this dynamic relationship between Venetian ideals of freedom and their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church resulted not only in allowance and tolerance of other types of religious practices outside of Catholicism but in their protection as well.\footnote{12} Another example of Venetian tolerance can be found in the sixteenth-century polychoral music of Giovanni Gabrieli, who continually cultivated innovative music in services at San Marco. These musical practices placed the basilica at odds with the ideals of the Counter Reformation. This permissiveness towards following papal authority was so widely known that Lutheran composers were attracted there to study with Gabrieli during his tenure as the principal organist and composer.\footnote{13}

\footnote{10} Ibid., 13.  
\footnote{12} Kenton, \textit{Life and Works of Giovanni Gabrieli}, 16.  
Venice’s permissive attitude resulted in its reputation throughout Europe as a center for the questioning and challenging of papal authority.\textsuperscript{14}

Another important indication of the freedoms allowed by the Venetian power structure was its associations with the university in Padua. Like Venice, Padua was known for its openness towards freethinking and skepticism not matched elsewhere in Italy. Located just outside of the Republic, the University of Padua boasted the largest budget of any similar Italian institution and a more exclusive faculty that received higher pay.\textsuperscript{15} In an attempt to prevent faculty corruption and encourage free thinking, professorships for Venetian patricians were outlawed and only a limited number of Paduans were allowed to be employed.\textsuperscript{16} Perhaps most significantly, the university in Padua not only fostered free thinking but was symbolic of the protection Venice offered from the overtly negative side of the Roman Catholic Church’s action.

For Venetians, civic life was structured by a three-tiered system of social statuses largely determined not by wealth but by hereditary lineage. While limiting some aspects of life, this allowed citizens more or less equal access to commercial opportunities in the city.\textsuperscript{17} These three main social groups consisted of nobili, cittadini, and the lowest-ranking popolani.\textsuperscript{18} The nobili, whose status was attainable only if inherited through male lineage, were automatically eligible to participate in

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{14}] Edward Muir, \textit{The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance} (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 2-3.
\item[\textsuperscript{15}] Muir, \textit{The Culture Wars of the Late Renaissance}, 23.
\item[\textsuperscript{16}] Ibid.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}] Masataka Yoshioka, “Singing the Republic: Polychoral Culture at San Marco in Venice” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 2010), 35.
\item[\textsuperscript{18}] Ibid., 25-26.
\end{itemize}
governmental practices at the age of twenty-five.\textsuperscript{19} The \textit{cittadini}, with more limited ability to hold governmental office were made up of some citizens from Venetian lineage and some that paid taxes to maintain their status.\textsuperscript{20} The lowest ranking group, the \textit{popolani}, was not permitted to participate in politics.

As the central figure of political authority in the Republic, the Venetian Doge was elected by the city’s highest ranking aristocracy.\textsuperscript{21} The rest of the governmental structure was made up of various councils elected by a body that included all high-ranking noblemen called the Great Council.\textsuperscript{22} As per Venetian class designations discussed previously, only those ranking in the higher two, the \textit{nobili} and the \textit{cittadini}, could serve on a governmental council in any capacity.\textsuperscript{23} Although the rather complex governmental structure included many different types of council, it was the Senate, comprised of the Doge and his various committees, that were the most powerful.\textsuperscript{24} Unlike the council members, who did not typically hold office for more than one or two years, the Doge was elected for life.\textsuperscript{25} Although the Doge was technically an elected official, because of the eligibility restrictions contingent on a social status determined through lineage, in reality the position fell somewhere between the embodiment of

\textsuperscript{20} Yoshioka, “Singing the Republic,” 26-27.
\textsuperscript{22} Muir, \textit{Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice}, 19.
\textsuperscript{24} Muir, \textit{Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice}, 19-20.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 20.
actual republican ideals and a ruling monarchy.\textsuperscript{26} Additionally, the Doge’s ability to take political action was contingent on permission of the Senate.\textsuperscript{27} In reality, like other aspects of the Venetian self-image, his position was designed to symbolically represent the splendor of the Republic.

Music, particularly at San Marco, was often was used symbolically to represent and promote this conglomeration of political, civic and ecclesiastic power in Venice. Most of what has been recorded regarding early musical activity in Venice focuses on the basilica, and these musical happenings were under the jurisdiction of the Doge’s appointed \textit{Procuratori}. These accounts offer little information about practices prior to the sixteenth century, but what is clear is that as the role of music expanded, it had developed into a means of promoting the city’s reputation.\textsuperscript{28}

Extant payment records indicate that in 1316 a “Mistro Zucchetto” was hired to serve as an organist.\textsuperscript{29} By 1403, as the result not of the action of the \textit{Procurator}i but a direct proclamation from the Doge, singers were employed at the church.\textsuperscript{30} With the instillation of a second organ in 1490, and the following year the establishment of the position of \textit{maestro di cappella}, music at San Marco was beginning to take on a more prominent role.\textsuperscript{31} By the time Adrian Willaert had been brought in from the Netherlands to take on the position of \textit{maestro di cappella} in 1527, music had become central to celebrations at San Marco and in upholding the city’s reputation of excellence.

\textsuperscript{26} Pullan, “Three Orders of Inhabitants,” 150-51.
\textsuperscript{27} Kenton, \textit{Life and Works of Giovanni Gabrieli}, 20.
\textsuperscript{28} Rosand, “Music in the Myth of Venice,” 518.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 512.
\textsuperscript{31} Rosand, “Music in the Myth of Venice,” 517.
Willaert’s 35-year tenure saw the development of the famed Venetian school and helped to promote the musical happenings at San Marco to international fame for excellence and variety.\textsuperscript{32} It was the Doge, Andrea Gritti, who had taken the initiative to hire Willaert, again representing the nearly indistinguishable facets of civic, ecclesiastic, and political entities in Venice. Following Willaert’s death, with the appointment of Gioseffo Zarlino as the \textit{maestro di cappella}, the organists began to take on more prominent roles as the composers of service music.\textsuperscript{33} The size of performance forces at San Marco continued to expand during Zarlino’s tenure, with the appointment of a permanent instrumental ensemble in 1568.\textsuperscript{34} The famed Venetian School of polyphonic music that emerged during the second half of the sixteenth century with the music of Giovanni Gabrieli is often referred to as the high point of brass playing at San Marco. However, the trumpet, even in later generations, was not a part of this brass playing tradition.

As a thriving center for print culture, which had emerged around the end of the fifteenth century, Venetians found another opportunity to perpetuate the city’s reputation. Widely dispersed printed music further established the city as a center of musical excellence.\textsuperscript{35} Like the elaboration and expansion of musical forces at San Marco, printed collections reflected the increasing size of performance forces and a variety of musical styles.\textsuperscript{36} By the 1530s the industry for printed music was commercially thriving. In 1536 Girolamo Scott and Antonio Gardano each released over

\textsuperscript{32} Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice," 519.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., 520-21.
\textsuperscript{34} Selfridge-Field, \textit{Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi}, 14.
\textsuperscript{35} Bronwen Wilson, \textit{The World in Venice} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 3-4.
\textsuperscript{36} Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice," 526.
400 editions in a variety of styles that included Masses, madrigals, and instrumental music. Furthermore, the thriving music printing industry in Venice was not limited to only local music. Venetian presses often published works by composers from other cities, including Maurizio Cazzati’s op. 35 of the Bolognese school discussed in Chapter V.

Along with the Venetian predilection for theatrical performances, especially those for carnival season and other special occasions, the social permissiveness unique to Venice offered the ideal environment for the emergence of public opera. The tradition of civic spectacle associated with the Doge and the already thriving practice of dramatic performance in the private residences of wealthy patricians allowed for the transition to the public arena. With the opening of Teatro S. Cassiano in 1637 the tradition of public opera was initiated. Furthermore, this new venue for dramatic performance would ultimately foster a new role and symbolic image for the trumpet as well.

Venice’s unique status as a republic during the seventeenth century resulted in a way of life for its citizens not found in other Italian cities. The city’s self-image, particularly in terms of its general social permissiveness, was promoted through a variety of means by the wealthiest of Venetian patricians that served as the elected officials of the governmental body. San Marco, the University of Padua, and the city’s Doge all represented this conglomeration of civic, political, and ecclesiastic powers active in Venice. Music, print culture, and theater offered means of promoting both

inwardly and outwardly the city’s reputation of unparalleled freedoms and superiority in the arts. Venetian opera in particular served to promote the city’s self-image, and would ultimately offer a new musical role for the trumpet during the seventeenth century.
Bologna and Venice represent the two most important centers for trumpet writing during the seventeenth century. The importance of both the clearly-defined symbolic images of the trumpet and the circumstances unique to each city are discussed in detail in Chapters I, II, and III. However, in addition to those factors, it is also crucial to consider other innovations specific to the trumpet that were taking place during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that allowed the instrument to assume new roles in these cities. Northern Italy fostered several innovations that made possible the religious and theatrical uses for the trumpet in Bologna and Venice. In particular, developments in playing techniques, the emergence of notated trumpet music, and Girolamo Fantini’s introduction of the instrument into the solo idiom are explored.

One crucial development that ultimately allowed the trumpet to enjoy new roles as a viable soloistic instrument during the seventeenth century was the development of the clarino register. The clarino register is the common designation given to the fourth octave of the harmonic series (Ex 1). By developing the ability to play in this register of the trumpet, new possibilities for more scale-like and melodic passages are realized.

Ex 1 – Notes of the harmonic series through the fourth octave

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1^{st} & 2^{nd} & 3^{rd} & 4^{th} \\
& & & \\
& & & \\
& & & \\
& & & \\
& & & \\
\end{array}
\]
However, it is difficult to trace the development of this technique, or to make even 
general observations regarding the nature of trumpet playing prior to the late 
Renaissance. Surviving evidence in the form of notated music or instruments is nearly 
non-existent. Some of what is known about the nature of trumpet playing prior to this 
period comes from iconography, which depicts loose embouchures and large 
mouthpieces. These images suggest that the range of the trumpet was relegated to 
only in the lowest part of the harmonic series.\(^1\) One surviving treatise by Johannes de 
Grocheo, dating from around 1300, indicates that the trumpet generally played only the 
first four notes of the harmonic series.\(^2\) Evidence suggests that by 1400 players were 
probably capable of playing up to the eighth partial of the harmonic series.\(^3\) It is likely 
that players had begun to specialize in clarino playing around 1450.\(^4\) Although 
documentary evidence regarding the development of this technique is limited, the ability 
to play in the fourth octave of the harmonic series represents an important development 
in the evolution of the instrument.

The ability to play in ensembles and the subsequent notation of this repertoire 
represents another important development for the trumpet. By 1580, the structure of 
the five-part trumpet ensemble briefly discussed in Chapter I had been established.\(^5\) In 
his famous method, *Tutta l’arte della Trombetta*, Cesare Bendinelli outlines the rules for 
this type of ensemble playing, in which all but one of the parts would have been

\(^1\) Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 32.
\(^2\) Ibid., 32.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 49.
improvised.⁶ Each trumpet in the ensemble played in a specific register of the instrument, with the highest part being designated as the “clarino”. Although Bendinelli’s method was not published until 1614, it is thought that the contents were compiled as early as 1584, making it the earliest example of clarino playing to be notated.⁷ These dates also give the work the distinction of being the first method in the history of the trumpet.⁸

Claudio Monteverdi’s L’Orfeo (1607) represents a crucial link for the trumpet between its long-standing roles as an instrument limited to ceremonial and military use and its newfound roles in church and theater music. Utilized only in the introductory toccata, L’Orfeo represents the first time that the trumpet was called for specifically in printed music.⁹ Although the parts were notated, this toccata fits the basic structural model of Bendinelli’s improvised five-part ensemble previously discussed. The utilization of an opening fanfare for a dramatic presentation was not a novelty. However, prior to Monteverdi’s work these would have been improvised. Improvised preludes would not have included other instruments playing along as is found in L’Orfeo.¹⁰ Likely out of concern for balance among the voices, Monteverdi called for the trumpets in C to be muted, the wood mutes requiring transposition.¹¹

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⁷ Ibid., 14.
¹¹ Ibid.
Girolamo Fantini’s method *modo per imparare a sonare di tromba* (1638) represents one of the most important links between the trumpet’s ceremonial and military roles and its newfound roles in seventeenth century religious and theatrical music. Fantini’s method, like Bendinelli’s, begins with exercises in the low register and military calls. However, in place of five-part trumpet ensemble pieces, he includes a collection of dance movements for trumpet and an unspecified continuo voice and eight pieces for solo trumpet and organ designated as sonatas. These sonatas are truly a milestone of almost unparalleled importance in the history of the instrument, as they represent the first utilization of trumpet in the solo idiom.

Several important observations can be made regarding Fantini’s sonatas. First is his approach to the technique of lipping. Utilized as a means of playing notes outside of the harmonic series, this was one of the obstacles that trumpeters had to overcome in order to be a viable soloistic instrument. Fantini refers to these notes in the written commentary of his method:

> Certain notes will be found which have not been listed at the beginning of [this method], [notes] which would be imperfect if you were to hold them, but can be accepted since they go by rapidly.¹³

In addition to referencing playing notes outside of the harmonic series in his written commentary, Fantini includes many of these notes in the context of his sonatas. In his Sonata no. 5, *detta Dell’ Adimari*, the *f*, *d*, and *b* are notes from outside of the harmonic series (Ex. 2).

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¹³ Ibid., 3.
It is important to observe Fantini’s treatment of these notes. They are never unprepared, and typically act as either a passing or neighboring tone in relation to notes from the harmonic series.\textsuperscript{14} Furthermore, it is likely that many players had already developed this ability of lipping in order for Fantini to include it in his method.\textsuperscript{15}

Fantini’s trumpet sonatas do not generally linger in the excessively high range of the clarino register. Occasionally notes beyond the fourth octave of the harmonic series are utilized, for example, the seventeenth partial can be found in “Seconda Ricercata detta i’Acciaioli” (Ex. 3).

As the end of the Renaissance was approaching the trumpet was poised to take on two important new roles. Innovations and developments, especially in Northern Italy, helped to make possible the trumpet’s acceptance into theater and church music for the first time during the seventeenth century. As these innovations were evolving, the symbolic images associated with the trumpet were still consistently maintained. These

\textsuperscript{14} Smithers, \textit{The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet}, 86.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 86.
images, which had emerged as a result of the trumpet’s use as a military and ceremonial instrument, served to inform the trumpet’s newfound roles in the realms of church and theater during the seventeenth century.
The role of the trumpet in Bolognese music prior to the seventeenth century, including its utilization in a variety of civic roles, has been discussed in Chapter II. Bolognese composers included instrumentalists in ecclesiastic settings as early as 1617. However, the trumpet was not utilized at San Petronio until the second half of the century. The emergence of works that included the instrument, initiated by Maurizio Cazzati, would prove to be the most significant of the repertoire written for performance at San Petronio. It was the trumpet’s long-standing associations with nobility and pomp and ceremony that primarily informed its new function in ecclesiastic music in Bologna.

Musical life at San Petronio officially began in 1450 when Giovanni Spataro was appointed the first maestro di cappella. A chorus was added to the payroll at the basilica in 1468. An organ, which was installed in 1472 but not completed for use until 1476, was used to accompany full ensembles of voices and later instruments. A second organ, which was used to accompany smaller ensembles, was installed on the opposite side of the nave in 1596. The addition of this second organ could have been a sign of influence from the practice of concerted music at San Marco in Venice.

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3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
However, unlike the organs at San Marco, both of the original organs at San Petronio have been preserved.

The tradition of instrumental music at the basilica, which included the trumpet works of the Bolognese school, began as a means of promoting the city’s reputation as a religious center as discussed in Chapter II. Bolognese composers included instrumentalists at the basilica as early as 1617. Extant payment records indicate that frequently the instrumentalists that were hired to perform at these festival celebrations were members of the Concerto Palatino. However, the players that formed the permanent orchestra at San Petronio were not hired until 1595. Some of the first instrumentalists added included four trombonists, one cornettist, and a violinist. Following Cazzati’s appointment as maestro di cappella the expenditures dedicated to the most important feasts at San Petronio were increased. Extent records indicate that the budget for the feast of San Petronio prior to 1660 was never more than 234 Lire, but shortly after Cazzati’s appointment it had already increased to 1,888 Lire.

The first trumpeters to be employed at San Petronio were hired in 1676. Extant records indicate that these players performed a fanfare at the feast of San Petronio. Beginning in 1679, one or two trumpets were regularly hired for the festival and were given payments of about seven lire. The names of several trumpet players appear in

9 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
records from around this time, including Trombetta del S. Cardinale and Sig. Vincenzo. Giovanni Pellegrino Brandi, the most notable virtuoso trumpeter at San Petronio, is listed in records between 1680 and 1699.\textsuperscript{14} It is likely that Franceschini, Torelli, and Perti composed their sonatas for Brandi. On rare occasions between 1698 and 1744 up to four trumpets were employed for festival performances.\textsuperscript{15}

With almost no exception, the trumpet works of the Bolognese school were composed primarily for performances at the feasts of San Petronio, celebrated each year on October 4. The titles of only two works suggest their use in other ecclesiastic functions, the Mass for the Dead, Jacchini’s \textit{Da Morto con Trombe Sordine} (D-xii-7, 1695) and Perti’s \textit{Sinfonia Avanti il Chirie per li Morti} (D-iii-6).\textsuperscript{16} Additionally, there is evidence that at least one of Torelli’s compositions (G-29) was performed in connection with some type of celebration sponsored by the \textit{Accademia Filarmonica}.\textsuperscript{17} However, the festival function of the majority of these works remains the central feature of this repertoire. Furthermore, because of the trumpet’s longstanding symbolic association with nobility and ceremony, its utilization in the festival performances at San Petronio served to outwardly express Bolognese civic pride and religious devotion.

A total of 83 works utilizing one, two, or four trumpets with strings were composed between 1665-1696, making Bologna the most prolific and important center for trumpet writing during the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{18} Additionally, the exclusivity to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Enrico, \textit{The Orchestra at San Petronio}, 20.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Schnoebelen, “The Concerted Mass at San Petronio in Bologna,” 329.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 31.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Don L. Smithers, \textit{The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721} (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1988), 92.
\end{itemize}
Bologna of this configuration for trumpet and strings suggests that the dynamic relationship between the city’s religiosity and its predilection for extravagance contributed to the development of this repertoire.\(^{19}\)

The basilica of San Petronio itself also contributed to the development of this repertoire. The sheer size of the interior of San Petronio, a staggering 11,824,828 square feet, has been the subject of much discussion regarding its influence on compositional practices. The vastness of the space is said to cause so much reverberation that the resulting lack of clarity is not conducive to polyphonic music.\(^{20}\) The trumpet served as a solution to this problem, offering musical clarity to works with its penetrating and characteristic sound.\(^{21}\) Another possible ramification of extraordinary resonance at San Petronio is that the embellishments of slow movements would have likely been unnecessary.\(^{22}\)

The body of this trumpet repertoire is housed in the archives at San Petronio. The majority of manuscripts are not dated, most likely because they were never intended to be performed outside of the church. Exceptions include Franceschini’s sonata for two trumpets (1680), several of Torelli’s works (1690, 1692, 1693), and one work by Perti (1693).\(^{23}\) Perhaps for the same reason this repertoire was largely undated, most of the trumpet music written during this period was not published during the seventeenth century. Notable exceptions include Cazzati’s op. 35 *Sonate à due, trè, Quattro, e cinque, con alcune per Tromba* (1665), which was published in Venice in

\(^{19}\) Berger, "Notes on some 17th-Century Compositions," 356.
\(^{23}\) See Appendix A for complete list of works contained in the archives at San Petronio.
1668.\textsuperscript{24} Cazzati’s work was reprinted in Bologna in 1677 and represents the first full-scale sonata for trumpet to be published. Andrea Grossi also published three trumpet sonatas as a part of a larger instrumental collection in 1682.\textsuperscript{25}

Most of the works written for performance at San Petronio that are labeled “sonata” utilize only one trumpet. The earliest works all utilize this designation. Of the later works, more feature the “sonata” label than any other designation. Although there are exceptions, generally compositions written for two trumpets are more commonly labeled “sinfonia” and “concerto” than “sonata”.\textsuperscript{26} The first compositions to utilize the designation of “sinfonia” seem to have emerged around 1685 with Bononcini. “Concerto” seems to be the last of these designations to emerge, and is used less frequently than the others. Often these labels are interchangeable, for example, in Torelli’s G2 the title on the score is designated as “Sinfonia con Tromba” but the parts are labeled “Sonata con Tromba”.\textsuperscript{27} The general lack of consistency in the labeling of this repertoire indicates that there was no significant connection between the compositional approach of these works and their title designations.\textsuperscript{28}

Like the title designations given to these works, there is also a general inconsistency in the number and configuration of movements. Tempo of the movements in early works typically alternated between slow and fast. However, there is little consistency in the number of movements, often varying between four or five.\textsuperscript{29} By

\textsuperscript{24} Smithers, \textit{The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet}, 95.
\textsuperscript{25} Berger, ”Notes on some 17th-Century Compositions,” 356.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 357.
\textsuperscript{27} Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 33.
\textsuperscript{28} See Appendix A for list of works according to title designation.
\textsuperscript{29} Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 35-36.
the late 1690’s, especially in the works of Torelli, but also Perti and Jacchini, a more standardized practice emerged utilizing alternating movements of fast-slow-fast.\(^{30}\)

Although some early works written for performance at San Petronio were for trumpet in C, most were written for trumpet in D.\(^{31}\) The nature and design of these trumpets, which changed very little between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, is discussed in detail in Chapters I and IV. Perhaps the most notable development in instrument design during this period was the narrowing of throat and bell to facilitate ease in the highest part of the clarino register, which coincided with the emergence of the Bolognese school.\(^{32}\)

The origins of this brief yet incredibly innovative period in which the trumpet flourished was initiated by Mauritio Cazzati upon arrival as the newly appointed maestro di cappella at San Petronio in 1657. Cazzati is believed to have been the first composer to utilize the specific configuration of solo trumpet, strings, and continuo.\(^{33}\) His reconfiguration and expansion of the orchestra, which contributed to the polemics discussed in Chapter II, was essential to the emergence of this repertoire.

Cazzati, unlike the majority of his predecessors, was not Bolognese. Before he was brought to San Petronio he had served as maestro di cappella in his native city of Mantua.\(^{34}\) He had also served in a similar capacity in Sabbioneta and Ferrara. Cazzati

\(^{30}\) Prizer, "Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba," 36.

\(^{31}\) Enrico, The Orchestra at San Petronio, 17.


\(^{33}\) Tarr, The Trumpet, 84.

\(^{34}\) Enrico, The Orchestra at San Petronio, 30.
published at least two volumes of instrumental chamber music before his hiring in Bologna.\textsuperscript{35}

Cazzati’s first work to utilize the trumpet, op. 35 from 1665, was composed eight years after his appointment in Bologna. During his tenure in Sabbioneta, Cazzati may have come into contact with a reputable trumpeter named Orfeo Gentilini.\textsuperscript{36} It is thought that perhaps it was Gentilini’s playing that inspired Cazzati to write for this unique combination of trumpet and strings. Cazzati provided the following introduction to his published op. 35:

The present collection [is made up of] sonatas for two, three, four, and five instruments, in which you will find marked in the Bass Continuo the letters V.P. or Violino Primo, and V.S. or Violino Secundo. [In] the sonatas for trumpet, realize that if you do not have the commodity of the trumpet, you may play [the parts] on the violin; thus the other parts should be Violin, Alto Viola, Tenor Viola, and Violone or Trombone. The sonata named La Caprara is to be played by the closed trumpet, that is muted, and if you wish to play it with the open trumpet, it will be necessary to play a tone lower; and so also the other parts. La Bianchina and La Zambecari are to be played as they are with open trumpet; if you wish to play them with the closed trumpet, it will be necessary to play them a tone higher. In as much as you are willing to excuse by habitual weaknesses, you will be pleased [with the sonatas].\textsuperscript{37}

Like Fantini’s sonatas discussed in Chapter IV, Cazzati included descriptive titles with each of these works: “La Caprara” (no. 10), “La Bianchina” (no. 11), and “La Zambecari” (no. 11). These early sonatas were written for trumpet in C. Sonata no.10, as per Cazzati’s preface, is notated at sounding pitch. The utilization of a mute results in the pitches sounding a whole step higher; therefore the part is notated in D. Cazzati indicates the work can alternatively be played on violin if no trumpet is available. This

\textsuperscript{35} Enrico, \textit{The Orchestra at San Petronio}, 30.
\textsuperscript{36} Jackson, “Late Seventeenth-Century Italian Trumpet Concertos,” 9.
\textsuperscript{37} Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 41.
suggests Cazzati was aware that the thriving tradition of trumpet playing in Bologna was unique.

Notes from outside of the harmonic series are generally not utilized in the trumpet works for performance at San Petronio. Cazzati’s sonatas contain no notes from outside the series.\(^{38}\) The range of Op. 35 is also rather conservative, and extends only from written \(c\) to \(a\).\(^{39}\) The opening fanfare of sonata no. 11 (Ex. 4) contains the full range of notes found in Cazzati’s op. 35.

Ex 4 – Maurizio Cazzati, *Sonata La Bianchina*, op. 35, no. 11 – opening fanfare

These early sonatas are structured into three or four fast movements and therefore do not adhere to the general slow-fast-slow-fast model later utilized at San Petronio.\(^{40}\) Cazzati did not indicate tempo in the opening movements of these sonatas. However, the fanfare-like character suggests a stately and lively approach (Ex. 5, 6).


\(^{40}\) Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 35.
The most significant aspect of these opening fanfares is in their association with the trumpet’s longstanding role as a ceremonial instrument. The connotations of pomp and ceremony associated with these types of figures were the primary determinant in their utilization in the festival displays at San Petronio.41

The most innovative feature of Cazzati’s sonatas is in the treatment of melodic material. These sonatas closely resemble the polychoral model made famous by Gabrieli in Venice during the previous generation. Cazzati, rather than pitting two groups of instruments or voices against each other, transforms the role of one of the choirs into the solo trumpet. The melodic material heard in the trumpet in mm. 6-8 is echoed by the strings in mm. 8-9 (Ex. 7).

Ex 7 – Maurizio Cazzati, *Sonata La Cappara* Op. 35, No. 10 – mvt. 2, mm. 6-12

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43 Cazzati, *Sonata a 5*. 
It is in this treatment of melodic material that later composers of the Bolognese school would fully realize the possibilities of the trumpet as a viable solo instrument as well. Cazzati’s innovative approach, when fully developed, would emerge as the first steps towards a solidified concerto form.

After nearly fourteen years of service at San Petronio, and because of controversy surrounding his appointment and work, Cazzati was asked to resign in 1671. Upon his departure he suggested that his close friend, the Venetian Giovanni Legrenzi, should be his successor. Giovanni Colonna, a native of Bologna, was instead named as *maestro di cappella* in 1674. During his tenure, Colonna did not write any purely instrumental works. He was, however, responsible for bringing Giuseppe Torelli to San Petronio as a permanent member of the orchestra in 1686.

Torelli’s works represent the epitome of innovational trumpet writing at San Petronio. His musical output far exceeds that of any other Bolognese composer. A total of forty-two works for solo trumpet (in configurations of one, two, and four trumpets) are attributed to Torelli. Like works by other composers at San Petronio, the terms “sonata”, “sinfonia”, and “concerto” seem to be freely applied by Torelli. These titles do not necessarily designate a specified instrumentation. A three-movement (fast, slow, fast) structure is standard. The middle movement frequently modulates to the

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46 Ibid.
relative minor or some other related key. This modulation precludes the trumpet playing in the middle movement.

Like Cazzati’s early sonatas, it is in the treatment of melodic material between the trumpet and strings that proved to be the most innovative feature of these works. However, a more fully developed approach to the utilization of melodic material can be found in these works than in Cazzati’s. Melodic material introduced by the trumpet is not always shared in the strings, creating a sort of rivalry between the voices. For example, in Torelli’s *Sinfonia à 4 con Tromba, e Violini unissoni* (1693), the oscillating intervals of fourths and thirds heard in the string introduction are interrupted by the trumpet’s scalewise passage in m. 7 (Ex. 8).

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Ex 8 – Giuseppe Torelli, *Sinfonia à 4 con Tromba* (1693), mvt. 1, mm. 1-12

Trumpet

Strings
This *Sinfonia* (G-4) is one of only three works by the composer that is dated (1693). In the strings, violin lines in fast movements are notated in unison but are divided in slow movements. This same configuration for the strings can be found in Torelli’s G-8 and G-9. The well-known “Concerto con Tromba”, which is not contained in the archives at San Petronio, is also noted in the same fashion. The trumpet writing is generally confined to the fourth octave and almost exclusively utilizes notes from within the harmonic series.

In G-4 there are five tempo designations clearly marked with double bars in the manuscript: *presto*, *adagio*, *presto*, *adagio*, *allegro*. However, typical of Torelli’s writing, the two *adagio* sections function only as brief transitions in and out of the middle *presto* section. Therefore, this work adheres to the typical three movement model.51

Following Colona’s death in 1695, Giacomo Perti took over as *maestro di cappella* at San Petronio. Unlike his predecessor, Perti composed purely instrumental works that included the trumpet. The size of the orchestra at San Petronio, however, was greatly diminished in 1695 when Pope Innocent XII’s economic reform banned the use of funds for a permanent orchestra. Torelli soon thereafter departed from Bologna.52 In 1701, following the reinstatement of the orchestra, some composers did continue to write for solo trumpet, although it never regained its glory. Giovanni Battista Martini composed his *Sinfonia per due violini, viola, basso e due trombe* as late as 1746.53 After a five-year absence Torelli returned to Bologna following the

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51 Enrico, “Giuseppe Torelli’s Music,” 137.
52 Ibid., 32.
reinstatement of the orchestra at San Petronio. It is likely that the entirety of Torelli’s works containing oboe were written after his return in 1701.\textsuperscript{54}

An exploration of this repertoire makes clear that the trumpet’s new role in ecclesiastic music at San Petronio was greatly informed by its longstanding role as a ceremonial instrument associated with pomp and nobility. Specifically composed for festival performances, the distinctive voice of the trumpet against a large group of strings would have provided the type of extravagant display useful to promote Bolognese religiosity and civic pride.\textsuperscript{55} Furthermore, the large body of surviving works and the exclusivity of this configuration for trumpet and strings to San Petronio confirms the repertoires importance at the basilica. This rich and vast repertoire stands as a product of Bolognese ideology during the seventeenth-century.

\textsuperscript{54} Prizer, “Some Bolognese Sonate con Tromba,” 28.
CHAPTER VII
THE TRUMPET IN VENETIAN MUSIC

The musical happenings at San Marco were at the center of Venice’s rich tradition of instrumental music. However, the trumpet was almost entirely excluded from ecclesiastic celebrations at the basilica. It was outside of the church, in the realm of public opera, that the instrument enjoyed a prominent new role during the seventeenth century. An exploration of both the trumpet’s limited use at San Marco and its new musical role in public opera reveals that it was the instrument’s long-standing association with war and heroism that greatly influenced its utilization in Venice.

Although the trumpet was not a part of ecclesiastic celebrations at San Marco, it was utilized for civic functions in Venice that took place on the Piazza. Various *piffari*, employed by the Doge, included trumpets in mixed ensembles with trombones, cornettos, shawms, bagpipes, and drums.¹ These ensembles performed various types of ceremonial displays associated with the Doge. By the sixteenth century the *piffari* also performed daily public concerts.² In addition to performances to celebrate the Doge, the ensembles often played in a municipal capacity. For example, twelve trumpets and drums performed on the Piazza to mark the end of the city’s plague in 1631.³ As civic and political entities serving various functions centered around the basilica, these ensembles epitomize the conglomeration of power in Venice.

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² Ibid.
Players from the *piffari* eventually made their way into the ecclesiastic celebrations at San Marco. The first permanent instrumental ensemble, which included trombones and cornettos, was established by Girolamo dalla Casa in 1568. Payment records indicate that on festival occasions the ensemble was expanded, increasing the number of winds and adding strings. The famed brass writing briefly discussed in Chapter III was for an ensemble comprised of these trombonists and cornettists, and did not include the trumpet.

It is difficult to pinpoint precisely why the trumpet was not utilized in services at San Marco. However, the cornetto may have contributed to its exclusion from ecclesiastic music. As in other locations in Northern Italy, the cornetto was the most favored soprano instrument at San Marco because it so closely resembled the sound of the human voice. Throughout the sixteenth century Venice was a hub for fine cornetto playing and manufacturing. Dalla Casa, mentioned previously for his role in establishing the first instrumental ensemble at San Marco, was a famous cornettist. His method, *Il vero modo di diminuir* (1584) includes discussions of improvisation and playing techniques.

However, by the first half of the seventeenth century the popularity of the cornetto in Venice was in great decline. A victim of changing musical tastes, the

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7 Ibid., 58.
8 Ibid., 64.
instrument never regained its prominence. By the time the cornetto had been almost completely eliminated from use in the 1650s, the trumpet had already established itself as a viable soloistic instrument. This led to a unique, yet brief, period in the 1670s where printed cornetto music often indicated that it could be played by either cornetto or trumpet. During this same period clarino writing was nearly indistinguishable from cornetto writing.

Despite its growing popularity, there is very little evidence to suggest that the trumpet was utilized at San Marco. Surviving payment records indicate only a single entry for a trumpeter, who was employed for the Mass on Christmas Eve in 1602. The repertoire for this celebration was not disclosed in the document. Only one work utilizing the trumpet survives in the archives at San Marco, Giovanni Legrenzi’s *Laudate Pueri* (1694). This work is scored for chorus, solo trumpet in D, strings, and continuo. However, even during Legrenzi’s tenure as maestro di cappella there were no payments records indicating the utilization of the instrument. This brings into question whether San Marco was the intended performance venue for *Laudate Pueri*.

The trumpet is an active participant in *Laudate Pueri*, taking on three essential roles. Functioning as a prominent soloist, serving to reinforce the strings, and interjecting within the vocal lines, the instrument remains quite active throughout the work. However, Legrenzi’s treatment of the trumpet is rather conservative in terms of range. Only rarely does it exceed beyond the thirteenth partial of the harmonic series.

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10 Ibid., 62.
12 Ibid.
The use of notes from outside of the series is also infrequent. Typically these notes are prepared and resolved with notes from the series, for example the $g#$ in m. 2 (Ex. 9).\footnote{See Appendix C for complete trumpet part.}

Ex 9. Giovanni Legrenzi, \textit{Laudate Pueri} – mm. 1-6

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Ex9.jpg}
\end{center}

Even if Legrenzi’s work was intended for performance at San Marco, the total absence of other works containing trumpet parts suggest that this work is unique. However, like many influential composers from this period, Legrenzi worked in other mediums in addition to his employment at San Marco. Along with Antonio Sartorio, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, and others, Legrenzi was one of the leading composers of Venetian opera. This medium allowed the trumpet to find one of its most important new roles during the seventeenth century.

In Venetian opera, the earliest use of the trumpet did not include the actual instrument itself, but rather a sonorous representation of the trumpet. The instrument was represented by the strings, and references in the libretto to war or battle were almost always marked with a trumpet imitation in the orchestra.\footnote{Ellan Rosand, \textit{Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 330.} The earliest example
of this type of imitation seems to be Francesco Cavalli’s *Le Nozze di Teti* (1639).\textsuperscript{15} Cavalli utilized a similar technique in at least two of his other operas, *La Rosinda* (1651) and *L’Elena* (1660). During the second half of the seventeenth century these fleeting trumpet imitations developed into full-sized arias.\textsuperscript{16}

Trumpet arias are just one example of the types of musical and dramatic elements that were becoming conventional in Venetian opera.\textsuperscript{17} Emerging in Mantua as early as 1608 with Monteverdi’s *Lamento d’Arianna*, conventions would later become particularly important to Venetian operas.\textsuperscript{18} Conventions allowed the composers and librettists to keep up with high demands for new works and audiences wanted to recognize and interpret their experiences.\textsuperscript{19} This practice of trumpet imitation in arias persisted for over thirty years before the instrument itself was introduced into the opera orchestra. By the middle of the seventeenth century at least one trumpet aria was expected in any opera.\textsuperscript{20}

The eventual utilization of actual trumpets in Venetian operas did not have a significant effect on these arias.\textsuperscript{21} They were not employed more frequently or structurally altered to accommodate the use of the actual instrument.\textsuperscript{22} For these arias, the military image of the trumpet far exceeded the physical or musical representation of the instrument in importance.

\textsuperscript{15} Edward Tarr, *The Trumpet* (Chandler, AZ: Hickman Music Editions, 2008), 82.


\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 322.

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 362.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 322.


\textsuperscript{21} Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 331-32.

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 332.
Antonio Sartorio’s *L’Adelaide* (1672) is generally accepted as the first opera to call specifically for trumpets. The opening *sinfonia* for two trumpets and strings utilizes typical fanfare-like writing throughout (Ex. 10). Sartorio sets the strings and trumpets in a dialogue in which they exchange fanfare motives back and forth. The opening half notes in the trumpet serve to announce the beginning of the opera.²³

Ex 10. Antonio Sartorio, *Sinfonia* from *L’Adelaide*, mm. 1-6

In the opening aria, “Vittrici schieri”, Sartorio utilizes string imitation in place of actual trumpets (Ex. 11). The sonorous representation of the instrument through both intervallic content and unison rhythms harkens ceremonial trumpeting for this scene in which Adelaide is the focus of a triumphal procession.²⁴

²³ Tarr, *The Trumpet*, 82.
During the last decades of the seventeenth century the use of solo instrumental passages in Venetian opera orchestras increased in popularity. For the trumpet, Sartorio’s *Massenzio* (1673) represents one of the instrument’s earliest obbligato roles.\(^{25}\) Additionally, this work is significant because it established the trumpet’s association with the Goddess *Fama* (fame).\(^{26}\) Fame would eventually become a widely recognized association for the instrument in Venetian opera.

As a result of its increasing popularity as a solo instrument, two distinct approaches to trumpet writing in Venetian opera can be identified. Frequently, playing in the fourth octave of the harmonic series and beyond, the trumpet was given highly

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\(^{26}\) Ibid.
virtuosic coloratura lines. Sartorio’s *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1676) utilizes this style of trumpet writing in the opening aria (Ex. 12).

Ex 12 – Antonio Sartorio, *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* – “Su trombe guerriere”

Another characteristically Venetian approach to instrumental writing, which included the trumpet, was to engage the instrument in dialogue with the vocal soloist.

In Sartorio’s *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1676) the trumpets as well as the strings are imitative of the vocal soloist’s melodic line (Ex. 13).

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Ex 13 – Antonio Sartorio, *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* – “Seguaci campioni”, mm. 1-18

Se gua-ci cam-pio-ni, (se-gua-ci-

pio-ni, é tem-po di guer-ra, di guer-ra guera-ra

guera-ra guera-ra guer-ra
Even as the trumpet’s musical language expanded to include virtuosic and vocal-like characteristics, the symbolic image associating the instrument with war was pervasive. In both of the examples from Sartorio’s *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* the text refers to this symbolic image. From the aria “Su trombe guerriere” in the first act:

Sound, O warlike trumpets,
‘Midst bellicose flashes
Let ranks of troops
Flood the field.\(^{31}\)

As well as the duet “Seguaci campioni” in the third act:

Onward, champions,
It is time for war.
To the sound of the trumpet
The sea already resounds
And the earth already trembles.\(^{32}\)

Virtuosic and vocal-like trumpet writing established the instrument as an important contributor to the opera orchestra in Venice during the late seventeenth century. This approach later influenced other composers as opera radiated to other cities across Italy and beyond. The symbolic image associating the trumpet with war played an integral part in shaping the instrument’s new role in theatrical music. The pervasive utilization of the trumpet in relation to battle also served to further promote this symbolic image for the trumpet.

\(^{31}\) Antonio Sartorio and G.F. Bussani, *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*.

\(^{32}\) Ibid.
CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSIONS

The trumpet has always held important and symbolic roles in society. The signaling and ceremonial functions that it mostly held through Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages, however, changed and developed with the passing of time. As the cultures that embraced and continued to use the instrument underwent dramatic changes, so did the image of the trumpet.

Bologna and Venice represent the two most important centers for trumpet writing during the seventeenth century, and each of these cities was subject to a set of unique social and political circumstances. Through an examination of this repertoire, and the societies which created it, both the complexities of this period and the importance of the symbolic images associated with the trumpet can be revealed.

In Bologna, the second-highest ranking papal state, all aspects of life were dominated by the Church. The massive basilica of San Petronio, including its musical happenings, symbolically represented the city’s religious devotion. However, a general predilection for lavishness was also an important determinate in Bolognese life. These two factors greatly contributed to the emergence of a flourishing tradition of ecclesiastic trumpet music. This repertoire served to promote Bologna’s religious devotion through elaborate festival performances. The trumpet’s previously well-defined role as a ceremonial instrument informed and influenced its utilization in this setting.

In the republic of Venice, the conglomeration of ecclesiastic, political, and civic power resulted in a socially permissive way of life. This unique configuration of power
allowed for public opera to emerge, and for the trumpet to enjoy a new role in theatrical music. The trumpet's long-standing role as a military instrument primarily influenced its utilization in Venetian opera.

The complexity of the seventeenth century and the unique ideologies in Bologna and Venice allowed for two distinctive images of the trumpet to develop. Ultimately, a better understanding of both the instrument itself and the cultures in which it was utilized can be achieved through an examination of this unique repertoire. In the eras following the seventeenth century the trumpet’s status as a symbolic image has continued to inform its use in music - and will undoubtedly continue to do so in the future.
APPENDIX A

COMPLETE LIST OF TRUMPET WORKS CONTAINED IN THE ARCHIVES AT SAN PETRONIO
APPENDIX A CONTENTS:

Table A.1: Manuscripts for solo trumpet, strings, and basso continuo
Table A.2: Published works for solo trumpet, strings, and basso continuo
Table A.3: Manuscripts for one or two solo trumpets, strings and basso continuo
Table A.4 – Manuscripts for two solo trumpets, strings, and basso continuo
Table A.5 – Published works for two solo trumpets, strings, and basso continuo
Table A.6 – Manuscripts for solo trumpet or trumpets, oboes, strings, and continuo
Table A.7 – Manuscripts for four solo trumpets, strings, and basso continuo
Table A.8 – Number of works that include solo trumpet(s) by composer
Table A.9 – List of composition designations and number of trumpets
Table A.10 – List of designations by composer

The following sources were consulted when compiling these tables:


Table A.1: Manuscripts for solo trumpet, strings, and basso continuo

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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Tromba Di G. Torelli</td>
<td>D-vi-4 G-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sonata à 5 con Tromba Di G. Torelli</td>
<td>D-vi-5 G-3</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sonata à 5 con Tromba Di G. Torelli</td>
<td>D-vi-6 None</td>
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Table A.2: Published works for solo trumpet, strings, and basso continuo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bononcini, G.B.</td>
<td>Sinfonie à 5, 6, 7, e 8 Instromenti con alcune á una e due Trombe (op. 3, 1685)</td>
<td>Sinfonia Quinta a 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bononcini, G.B.</td>
<td>Sinfonie à 5, 6, 7, e 8 Instromenti con alcune á una e due Trombe (op. 3, 1685)</td>
<td>Sinfonia Ottava a 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cazzati</td>
<td>Sonate à 2,3,4 e 5 con alcune per Tromba (op. 35)</td>
<td>no. 10 – La Caprara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cazzati</td>
<td>Sonate à 2,3,4 e 5 con alcune per Tromba (op. 35)</td>
<td>no. 11 – La Bianchina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cazzati</td>
<td>Sonate à 2,3,4 e 5 con alcune per Tromba (op. 35)</td>
<td>no. 12 – La Zambecari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grossi</td>
<td>Sonate à due, tre, Quattro, e cinque Instromenti (op. 3, 1682)</td>
<td>Sonata Decima</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grossi</td>
<td>Sonate à due, tre, Quattro, e cinque Instromenti (op. 3, 1682)</td>
<td>Sonata Undecima</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grossi</td>
<td>Sonate à due, tre, Quattro, e cinque Instromenti (op. 3, 1682)</td>
<td>Sonata Duodecima</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacchini</td>
<td>Trattenimenti per Camera (op. 5, 1703)</td>
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Table A.3: Manuscripts for one or two solo trumpets, strings, and basso continuo

<table>
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<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Shelf Number</th>
<th>Geigling Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manfredini</td>
<td>Concerto con una o due Trombe del Signor Francesco Manfredini</td>
<td>D-xiii-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Tromba</td>
<td>D-vi-7</td>
<td>G-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Tromba e violin Del Signor Gioseppe Torelli</td>
<td>D-vi-8</td>
<td>G-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con due Trombe et altri Stromenti Di Giuseppe Torelli</td>
<td>D-vi-9</td>
<td>G-21</td>
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Table A.4: Manuscripts for two solo trumpets, strings, and basso continuo

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<th>Composer</th>
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<th>Geigling Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Sinfonia à due Trombe, e Stromiti</td>
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<td>D-i8</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Sonata à due Trombe</td>
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<td>D-i-9</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Sinfonia à 6 con Due Trombe</td>
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<td>D-i-10</td>
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<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Sonata con Trombe</td>
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<td>D-i-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alberti</td>
<td>Sonata con Trombe, e VV: del Signor Giuseppe Alberti</td>
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<td>D-xii-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alberti</td>
<td>Sinfonia Teatrale, con Trombe e VV: del Signori Giuseppe Alberti</td>
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<td>D-xiii-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aldrovandini</td>
<td>Sonata à sei-due Tromba – di-Giuseppe Aldrovandini</td>
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<td>D-xi-14</td>
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<td>Aldrovandini</td>
<td>Sinfonia Con Trombe Di G.e. Aldrovandini</td>
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<td>Aldrovandini</td>
<td>Sonata à 2 Trombe con Instromenti di G.A.</td>
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<td>D-xii-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colona</td>
<td>Sonata à 5 Trombe e Cornetto con Viol. A B.C.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C.56</td>
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<td>Franceschini</td>
<td>Suonata à 7 con Due Trombe Di P.F. (1680)</td>
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<td>D-xii-9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gabrielli</td>
<td>Sonata à Due Trombe di Dominico Gabrielli</td>
<td></td>
<td>D-xi-9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacchini</td>
<td>Da Morto con Trombe Sordine di Giuseppe Jacchini</td>
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<td>D-xii-7</td>
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<td>Jacchini</td>
<td>Sinfonia con due Trombe, Di Giuseppe Jacchini</td>
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<td>D-xii-8</td>
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<td>Lazzari</td>
<td>Sonata à 6 con due Trombe e Stromenti</td>
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<td>D-xii-10</td>
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<td>Perti</td>
<td>Sinfonia Avanti la Serenata</td>
<td>D-iv-2</td>
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<td>Perti</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Due Trombe, et Instromenti G.A.P.</td>
<td>D-iv-3</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con 2. Trombe, e Instromenti di Giuseppe Torelli</td>
<td>D-viii-1</td>
<td>G-22</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con 2. Trombe di G.T.</td>
<td>D-viii-2</td>
<td>G-17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia, con 2 Trombe, e violini Unisoni. Torelli</td>
<td>D-viii-3</td>
<td>G-19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sonata 5. Due Trombe, e VV unison del Sig. G. Torelli (1692)</td>
<td>D-viii-4</td>
<td>G-15</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con due Trombe. Torelli</td>
<td>D-viii-5</td>
<td>G-23</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia Con Due Trombe Di Giuseppe Torelli</td>
<td>D-viii-6</td>
<td>G-20</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Concerto con Trombe Torelli</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Concerto Con due Trombe Di Giuseppe Torelli</td>
<td>D-vii-8</td>
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Table A.5: Published works for two solo trumpets, strings, and basso continuo

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<th>Composer</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bononcini, G.B.</td>
<td>Sinfonie à 5, 6, 7, e 8 Instromenti con alcune á una e due Trombe (op. 3, 1685)</td>
<td>Sinfonia Quinta a 6</td>
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<td>Bononcini, G.B.</td>
<td>Sinfonie à 5, 6, 7, e 8 Instromenti con alcune á una e due Trombe (op. 3, 1685)</td>
<td>Sinfonia Ottava a 6</td>
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<td>Jacchini</td>
<td>Trattenimenti per Camera (op. 5, 1703)</td>
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Table A.6: Manuscripts for solo trumpet or trumpets, oboes, strings, and continuo

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<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<th>Geigling Number</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Trombe, Oboe, e V.V. Unissoni</td>
<td>D-i-12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberti</td>
<td>Sonata à 4:o Trombe del Sig. Giuseppe Alberti</td>
<td>D-xiii-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perti</td>
<td>Sonata con 4 TRombe, Oboe, V.V</td>
<td>D-14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po dal Finale</td>
<td>Sinfonia con due Trombe, due Oboe, Violini e Violiette (1706)</td>
<td>D-xiii-5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia Torelli</td>
<td>D-viii-1</td>
<td>G-26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Per il Sig Conte Cicholini. Concerto con Trombe, Obois, e Violini Torelli</td>
<td>D-viii-2</td>
<td>G-27</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Trombe, Oboe e altri strumenti p. l'Accademia del (1707)</td>
<td>D-viii-3</td>
<td>G-29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Obois, Tombe e violini Di Giuseppe Torelli</td>
<td>D-viii-4</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia con Trombe e Oboe e Quattro Violini Obligati e quattro Viole obligate del Sig. G. T.</td>
<td>D-viii-5</td>
<td>G-31</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Sinfonia à 4 de Ge: Torelli</td>
<td>D-xi-1</td>
<td>G-33</td>
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<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Concerto con Trombe et Oboe di Ge: Torelli</td>
<td>D-xi-2</td>
<td>G-28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Torelli</td>
<td>Concerto à 2 Chori con Trombe Torelli</td>
<td>D-ix-3</td>
<td>G-32</td>
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Table A.7: Manuscripts for four solo trumpets, strings, and basso continuo

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<th>Composer</th>
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<tr>
<td>Martini</td>
<td>Sonata con Violini e quattro Trombe (1743)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Martini</td>
<td>Sinfonia per due violini, viola, basso e due trombe (1746)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Martini</td>
<td>Concerto con stromenti, due oboe obbligati e trombe (1745)</td>
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Table A.8: Number of works that include solo trumpet(s) by composer

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<th>Composer</th>
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<td>Albergati, Pirro</td>
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<td>Alberti, Giuseppe Matteo</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Aldrovandini, Giuseppe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bononcini, Giovanni</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cazzati, Maurizio</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colona, Giovanni</td>
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<td>Foggia, Francesco</td>
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<tr>
<td>Franceschini, Petronio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gabrielli, Domenico</td>
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<td>Grossi, Carlo</td>
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<td>Jacchini, Giuseppe Maria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lazzari, Ferdinando Antonio</td>
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<td>Manfredini, Freancesco</td>
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<td>Martini, Giovanni Battista</td>
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<td>Perti, Giacomo Antonio</td>
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<td>Po Dal Finale, Giuseppe</td>
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<td>Torelli, Giuseppe</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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Table A.9: List of compositions designations and number of trumpets

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<th>Four Trumpets</th>
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<td>Sonata</td>
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<td>Sinfonia</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Concerto</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td><strong>3</strong></td>
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<td>Sinfonia</td>
<td>Concerto</td>
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<td>Aldrovandini, Giuseppe</td>
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<td>Colona, Giovanni</td>
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<td>Foggia, Francesco</td>
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<td>Franceschini, Petronio</td>
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<td>Gabrielli, Domenico</td>
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<td>Grossi, Carlo</td>
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<td>Jacchini, Giuseppe Maria</td>
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<td>Lazzari, Ferdinando Antnio</td>
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<td>Manfredini, Francesco</td>
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<tr>
<td>Martini, Giovanni Battista</td>
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<td>Perti, Giacomo Antonio</td>
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<td>Po Dal Finale, Giuseppe</td>
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<td>Torelli, Giuseppe</td>
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APPENDIX B

LIST OF VENETIAN OPERAS WITH TRUMPET
APPENDIX B CONTENTS

Table B.1: List of Venetian operas with trumpet

Table B.2: List of works with trumpet, no manuscript survives

The following sources were consulted when compiling these tables:


Table B.1: List of Venetian operas with trumpet

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<thead>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Opera</th>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th># of Trumpets</th>
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<td>Sartorio</td>
<td>LÁdelaide</td>
<td>C and D</td>
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<td>1674</td>
<td>Pallavicino</td>
<td>Il Diocletiano</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>1675</td>
<td>Legrenzi</td>
<td>Eteocle e Polinice</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>1676</td>
<td>Sartorio</td>
<td>Massenzio</td>
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<td>1677</td>
<td>Legrenzi</td>
<td>Totila</td>
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<td>Pallavicino</td>
<td>Il Glieno</td>
<td>C and D</td>
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<td>Sartorio</td>
<td>Giulio Cesare in Egitto</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>Ziani</td>
<td>L’innocenza risorta</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>Pallavicino</td>
<td>Il re infante</td>
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<td>1686</td>
<td>Pallavicino</td>
<td>L’amazzone corsara</td>
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<td>Pollarolo</td>
<td>La Forza della Virtu</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>Albinoni</td>
<td>Zenobia</td>
<td>C and D</td>
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<td>Gasparini</td>
<td>Hamlet</td>
<td>C and D</td>
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<td><em>Andromeda</em></td>
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<td><em>Silla</em></td>
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<td>1703</td>
<td>Pollarolo</td>
<td><em>L’Almansore in Alimena</em></td>
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<td>1712</td>
<td>Ruggieri</td>
<td><em>Arinoe vendicta</em></td>
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APPENDIX C

COLLECTION OF TRUMPET PARTS
APPENDIX C CONTENTS:

C.1 Maurizio Cazzati - *Sonata La Caprara*, op. 35, no. 10 ........................................ 85

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