CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION IN MUSIC FOR THE
TROMPETTES DU ROY AROUND 1700

by Peter Downey

The trumpet played an important rôle in many aspects of life at the French royal court and in two main areas of employment. The first was the military and ceremonial sphere of activity in which the instrument carried out its signalling function in the military affairs of the cavalry regiments and in the associated ceremonial affairs carried out by, respectively, the *trompettes des plaisirs* and the *trompettes ordinaires de la chambre*. The second was embedded in the increasingly important art musical sphere of activity of the *Grande Écurie*, initially in the trumpet ensemble and subsequently in the windband and orchestra. The trumpeters of the French royal court, and also their counterparts attached to the high nobility, cities and satellite courts, were engaged in both spheres as the result of ancient tradition. In addition, and given that the royal trumpeters formed an élite force in their country, it should not be surprising that long before 1700 their performance in the two spheres was being marked by precision and musicality, and that their participation in ceremonial and musical events was guided by discretion and *le bon goût*. The present paper examines afresh the two spheres of activity, notes the traditions within which they occurred, and highlights a number of innovations that resulted from the engagement of the trumpet in them.

The military and ceremonial remit of the trumpet embraced the *sons militaires*, that most ancient repertory which had evolved over centuries of military participation on the battlefield and high sea, at the tournament and carousel, on occasion of church and state, and as part of the daily routine of royal court and metropolitan centre. In France, the activities of the *trompettes du roy* can be traced back to the practices of the ducal court of Burgundy at the height of its power in the 15th century, practices that are indicated in contemporary court chronicles and in the chapel and house regulations of 1469 and 1474.

By 1700, half a century of almost continuous engagement in the field had seen the codification of the French cavalry signal repertory in an attempt to achieve uniformity of practice, mirroring the codification of the drum signals of the French infantry that was undertaken at the same time. Five essential, low-register cavalry trumpet signals – *Boute-selle, à Cheval, la Marche, la Retraite/le Guet* and *la Charge* – were included. Most of them were preceded by a *Prélude* or *Entreé*, although two of the signals – *Boute-selle* and *à Cheval* – were both prefaced with and also followed by a short piece variously known as the *Levée* or *Appel*. While the passing of time and frequency of employment invited gradual changes to these trumpet signals and encouraged the development of additional trumpet signals for other specific purposes, for example, *Aux Armes* and *Le Ralliement* in the code of 1766, the essential content proved to be remarkably resilient. This may be found when the various codes – including the partial code transmitted in the battle onomatopoeia by Jannequin, Andrea Gabrieli and Byrd, as well as in the cavalry trumpet

codes presented by Mersenne, Philidor, Le Coq Madeleine and others – are compared.[1] Interestingly, Philidor's code includes only three of the five essential cavalry trumpet signals for the trumpeters of the *Grande Écurie* in 1705; he may have omitted *la Retraite/le Guet* and *la Charge* simply because there was no need for these signals in the purely ceremonial activities of the royal court at Versailles.[2]

Absent from this central corpus of essential cavalry trumpet signals in France around 1700 are some trumpet signals that were set in a higher pitch range and included passages in the melodic register. These signals were of late 16th century Italian origin and they were identified in the 1630s by Mersenne as the *autre Boute-Selle* and *autre Charge*. However, the style of the rejected trumpet signals – triadic motives and short, mainly stepwise phrases in the melodic register – was adopted for another instrument and another purpose: it served the new type of *trompe de chasse*, the circular horn, and the signal repertory of the aristocratic hunt. Most of these hunting-horn signals – the *Appel, pour le Chien, pour la Voye, le Defaut* and *la Retraite* – are completely or mainly in the triadic range, while two of them – *la Sourcillade* and *la Fanfare* – have a melodic, rather than a motivic, content. The source of inspiration for the two melodic hunting-horn signals is betrayed by the title given to the last-named signal, for both of their melodies follow the style of the trumpet „fanfare", an innovation of the second half of the 17th century that will be examined later.

The trumpet's engagement in mainstream art music, as opposed to functional signal music, may have begun in France at an earlier time than elsewhere, if music for the trumpet ensemble is excepted. Outside of France, the trumpet ensemble *Sonata* had been developed in northern Italy by the middle of the 16th century before it was exported to the German-speaking courts of the Holy Roman Empire and to the Scandinavian royal courts during the ensuing quarter of a century, and the shorter *Aufzug* had been developed in Saxony by the 1580s before its dissemination, initially to Denmark. In both cases the engagement was founded on the homophonic idiom of the five-part trumpet ensemble and featured the measured diminution of an inner, triadic range *Principal* part above a constant drone. Both the *Sonata* and *Aufzug* were heard at the courts and in the field; the former provided a musical accompaniment to the evening meal and was employed for the dance, while the latter accompanied ceremonial entrances and exits. The two genres perfectly matched the capabilities of the natural trumpet and provided a totally idiomatic music for the ensemble of, normally, five trumpets together with timpani. Despite this,

[1] Quotations from the 16th-century codes are found in Jannequin's *La Guerre*, Andrea Gabrieli's *Aria della Battaglia* and Byrd's *The Trumpetts* and *Marche to the fighte*, as well as in pieces by other composers. The other codes are most conveniently accessed, if with errors, in Georges Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire a l'usage des Armées Françaises*, Paris 1848/R Genève 1973, in the appendix entitled „*Batteries et Sonneries de l'Armée Française*", 1, 9, 11, and 12–13.

[2] F: V Ms 1163 (Côte 168), 116–119.

it proved difficult to develop the genre *per se* in the musical mainstream, the efforts of composers such as Lassus, Praetorius, Schütz, Valentini and Straus notwithstanding, since its weakness lay in the disconnection between this „Italian style", as it was termed at the time, and the more harmonically-aware developments in the musical mainstream of the polychoral idiom. The next generation of composers had more success in purely instrumental works, including Schmelzer's *Arie per il balletto a cavallo* of 1667, although even here the constraints of the ensemble proved to be a limiting factor. (Interestingly, composers in the German-speaking lands had been much more successful in including paired *Clarien* parts – high-register, melodic trumpet parts – in their motets, *Geistliche Konzerte* and polychoral concertos, a practice that began with the publication of Schein's *Allegrezza spirituale* in 1617).

The „Italian style" five-part trumpet ensemble was itself an advance on an earlier and simpler trumpet ensemble that seems to have comprised a high-register, melodic part, termed the *Claret* in the German-speaking lands, supported by an accompanying part that sounded natural harmonics 2–4, a part called the *Alter Bass* there; timpani were added following the introduction of the instrument via Hungary towards the end of the 15th century. This earlier trumpet ensemble was, of course, the brass counterpart to the shawm-bombard combination that formed the early *Alta Capella*. France seems to have been unaffected by this „Italian style" or to have rejected it, and her trumpeters continued to promote the more ancient type of trumpet ensemble music, naming the melodic, high-register part the *Cléron* and the low-register part the *Bourdon*, later *Basse de Trompette*. This was fortuitous, since the *Bourdon*, the French cognate to the trumpet part described in German as the *Alter Bass* and in Italian as the *Alto e Basso*, retained an important characteristic that had been lost with the introduction of the „Italian style" elsewhere: the ability to function as a true harmonic foundation to the other trumpet part(s). Such a function was the essential prerequisite that enabled French trumpeters to accommodate in their trumpet ensemble music the melodies and genres addressed by other musical instruments, particularly the dance music of the French royal court.

That this function was consciously understood by composers of French trumpet ensemble music, rather than forming an incidental outcome of improvisation on the restricted number of available harmonics (natural harmonics 2–4 produce the pitches *c*, *g* and *c'* for a trumpet in C) is shown in Mersenne's commentary on the trumpet ensemble *chanson* that he included in the *Harmonicorum* and in *Harmonie universelle*: he noted that „the *bourdon* part [...] employs the low-sounding pitches which produce consonances with the high-register [pitches]".[3] The successors to this isolated early 17th-century example of the genre comprise the largest single collection of trumpet ensemble music of the

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[3] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique 5*, Paris 1636/R. Paris 1965, 269: „Le Bourdon [...] se fait auec les gros sons, qui font des accords auec les gresles ou aigus."

Baroque era and they are all the product of the industry of André Danican Philidor *l'aisné*: the printed collection of *Pièces de Trompettes et Timballes* of 1685 and the manuscript collection of French court trumpet ensemble music *F: Pn-Rés* 921 of 1705, the latter including original and arranged contributions from composers other than Philidor himself.

A comment needs to be made at this point concerning the nature of the lowest trumpet part, the *bourdon* or *basse [de trompette]*, due to the continuing influence of the erroneous suggestion made in the *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*[4] that it may have been played „soit par une trompette basse, soit par un trombone". This is the result of a misunderstanding of a change in notation practice that took place around 1650. Previously, the *basse de trompette* part was notated at sounding pitch and using the C4 clef (Mersenne followed this practice); now, however, the part was customarily written using the F4 clef but notated one octave lower than sounding pitch. This device facilitated the flexible employment of trumpeters in the ensemble without the acquisition of additional music theory since they could simply substitute an imaginary octave G1 clef for the F4 clef to perform the music. For example, if the trumpeter playing the *basse* part was required to produce the pitch *c'*, that note was notated one octave lower as the second space *c* on the F4 clef; a trumpeter playing the part substituted a mental G1 clef, read the note as *c''* and sounded one octave lower, producing the intended pitch *c'*. (The problem of comprehensive musical literacy is not unique to today's world of „strategic" learning, musical or otherwise!). This simple and effective solution soon found more universal application by coming to the daily assistance of later composers and performers as they began to manage an ever-increasing variety of transposing woodwind and brass instruments in their musical scores.

The French trumpet ensemble normally included parts for one or two, more-or-less equal, melodic *dessus* trumpets, one *basse de trompette*, and *timbales*. Its musical repertory completely assimilated the *sons animés* and *sons non-passionés* of the contemporary musical mainstream: binary dances and character pieces, as well as preludes, canons and martial *bruits*. More complex pieces were added as the *rondeau* and *chaconne* became available. Solo-tutti contrast was built into the more substantial pieces by alternating passages for full ensemble, including part-doubling, with short duets for *dessus* players; occasional solos for the timpanist were also incorporated. There was no essential difference here between music for the trumpet and for other musical instruments, except for their particular idiomatic styles and aesthetic associations. This enabled a new source of repertory for brass, and later other ensembles that would feature more strongly in later centuries: adaptations of

[4]   The assertion is found in Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurencie (eds.), *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire, Deuxime partie: Technique – Esthétique – Péda-gogie*, 3, Paris 1925, 2227.

popular orchestral, and even vocal, pieces. The manuscript *F-PN: Rés 921* also contains thirty-two arrangements of pieces by Lully, many of them orchestral and choral theatre pieces with trumpets in the originals, but some of them arrangements of vocal or other instrumental pieces, including No. 205 on the air „*L'autre jour d'Annette j'entendes*" from *George Dandin* (LWV 38) of 1668, and No. 233 on the air *Dans nos bois Silvandre s'ecrit* which is better known as a string trio (LWV 35/4).[5]

Four innovations associated with the France trumpet ensemble had an impact on developments elsewhere. The first is the formal recognition in the ensemble of the subdominant degree. Previously, due to the unavailability of the pitch in the low register of the natural trumpet and to the practice of tuning of the usual pair of kettledrums on the tonic and dominant degrees, the subdominant had been represented unsatisfactorily with second inversion chords. By 1685 Philidor had introduced into some trumpet ensemble pieces a third kettledrum tuned to the subdominant degree and enabled the most important chords of the major mode to be fully recognised through the presentation of tonic, subdominant and dominant harmonies in the fundamental root position. This simple device set into motion a trend. Not only did Philidor himself compose a *Marche de timballes* for two pairs of timpani, the one pair tuned to *e* and *g*, the other to *G* and *c*,[6] but this lead resulted in the composition of concertos for multiple timpani by Graupner, Molter, Fischer and Druschetzky, not to mention the use of multiple timpani in other genres, including Mozart's *Divertimento* No 6 in C Major, KV 188, for two flutes, five trumpets and four timpani.

The second innovation was the use in single pieces of trumpets at different crookings. Another of Philidor's initiatives, this is first met in his *Pièce a double trompette et de different ton* in which two pairs of *dessus* trumpets, one pair pitched in C and the other pair crooked down into G, supported by a bassoon, negotiate effortlessly passages in the tonic and dominant keys. There is no evidence to suggest that trumpets were being manufactured at such a low pitch as G at this time. Crooking had been promoted by Praetorius in 1617 and it may have been employed by Bendinelli as early as 1587, but this very restricted lead was not followed until the closing decades of the 17th century – Biber's *Requiem* à 15 in A major of 1690 with its parts for „2 Trombe Basse", trumpets crooked into A, is an early example – and even then only rarely. Yet this advance would inform the employment of trumpets in particular, and brass instruments in general, in the course of the 18th century: the simultaneous use of trumpets in E♭ and also crooked into B♭ in the trumpet ensemble music of the Portuguese *Charamela Real*; and the simultaneous employment of natural brass instruments at different crookings in music for military ensembles before,

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[5] For a more detailed account of this repertory, including a number of musical examples, see my „Trumpet style in 17th-century France and the music of les Trompettes du Roy", *Historic Brass Society Journal* 7 (1995) 67–99.

[6] F–V: Ms 1163, 106–110.

during, and after the introduction of key and valve mechanisms, and also in the orchestra, such as Beethoven's *Wellington's Victory*, Op. 91, in the major mode and, in the minor mode, Mozart's *Symphony* No 40, KV 550.

The third innovation was one that was restricted to France and was originally an expedient, but it also informed the development of French trumpet style itself. In addition to music for the trumpet ensemble, French trumpeters, like trumpeters elsewhere, began to write and perform duets for equal *dessus* trumpets during the second half of the 17th century. Such duets were probably intended for informal and pedagogic use rather than for employment in public, although the practice later gave rise to the development of a printed repertory targeted at amateur and dilettante musicians. The restriction to *dessus* parts, together with recognition of the obvious fact that the *basse de trompette* part in trumpet ensemble pieces could be omitted since it was more-or-less doubled by the timpani part, led to the strategic introduction of an *alternatim* performance practice in which suitable pieces were scored with alternative second *dessus* trumpet parts to permit performance in the absence of a *basse de trompette* part and without compromising the integrity of the music. The result was the gradual abandonment of the archaic *basse de trompette*, despite initial attempts to both expand its ambitus and also to add a fourth trumpet part between the high *dessus* and low *basse de trompette*. (The addition of a fourth trumpet part to the trumpet ensemble will be examined later and in connection with the orchestra, for it seems to have evolved there before dissemination into other ensembles.)

The gradual loss of the *basse de trompette* part also led to a fourth innovation, the creation of a new type of music called the *fanfare*, initially for the trumpet ensemble. Jean-Jacques Rousseau defined the term *fanfare* in the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné* as „a type of military air, usually short and bright, which is performed by trumpets, and also imitated on other instruments. The *fanfare* is commonly [set] for two *dessus* trumpet parts accompanied by timpani and, when well executed, it displays martial and lively attributes, which contribute much to its employment".[7] Unfortunately modern lay understanding of the term *fanfare* in the English language extends the term to encompass the cavalry signal and ceremonial trumpet monophony, as well as older types of trumpet ensemble music, particularly *Aufzug* which is normally termed „processional fanfare". More accurate cognates were employed during the 18th century, including the German *Feld-Music* and the English *Warlike Musick*.[8] While it is unlikely that the well-established, achronological association of

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[7]   In Denis Diderot & Jean le Rond d'Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 5, Paris 1755, 401: „[...] *Sorte d'air militaire, pour l'ordinaire court & brillant, qui s'exécute par des trompettes, & qu'on imite sur d'autres instrumens. La fanfare est communément à deux dessus de trompette, accompagnées de tymballes; & bien exécutée, elle a quelque chose de martial & de gai, qui convient fort à son usage* [...]."

[8]   Johann Philipp Krieger published a collection of „*Lustige Feld-Music*" at Nuremberg in 1704, while Handel contributed to the volumes of „*Warlike Musick*" at London in 1758, for example.

dissimilar genres can be reversed, the musicologist should at least be aware of the original application of the term. An important offshoot of the trumpet ensemble *fanfarè*, the orchestral *fanfare*, will be examined later.

Historically, the trumpet was militarily located as the signal instrument of the cavalry and shared that formation's association with nobility and chivalry. A clear distinction was made between it and the musical instruments associated with the infantry, the fife-and-drum of the Swiss and the *hautbois et tambour* of the French and other nations. It was against this powerful tradition, privilege and demarcation that Lully, having already engaged with these musical accessories of the military, adopted a unification strategy and combined the two musical wings of the *Grande Écurie* to form a new musical ensemble, the windband. The inspiration for him may have been the usefulness of the orchestral practice of juxtaposing and contrasting between the trumpet and the oboe, particularly in *Echo* pieces, which he then transferred to the new windband idiom. *Les Airs* [...] *pour le Carousel de Monseigneur* (LWV 72) is a four-movement dance suite set for windband that combines a four-part trumpet ensemble, with timpani, and a four-part oboe band, without the usual *tambours*. Lully's windband was the prototype for the mixed bands that soon began to appear elsewhere – the Prussian band of oboes and horns that was established by 1705, the *Harmonie-musik* of the mid-18th century and, of course, the massed windband of oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani and side-drums that was originally included in Handel's *Music for the Royal Fireworks* (HWV 351) in 1749 – and that have continued to the present as the military or concert band.

Viewed from the modern perspective, the most important and most rewarding aspect of the trumpet's involvement in art music is, of course, the development of its relationship with the orchestra. The orchestra was the outcome of Lully's early engagement with the string band, when he added to the essential string ensemble woodwind instruments (oboes, flutes, recorders and bassoons) and brass instruments (trumpets and timpani) in appropriate affective contexts. The trumpet was a member of the Lullian orchestra, if an occasional one, almost from its inception. The first evidence of its orchestral employment in France is found in the ballet music for the performance of Cavalli's opera *Serses* at the French court in November 1660. In the second and third airs of the *Quatrième Entrée* of *Xerxes* (LWV 12), a single *dessus* trumpet part doubles the first violin melody while the *basse de trompette* and timpani parts supply a slightly more rhythmically active version of the *basse de violon* line. The *basse de trompette* part is identified in the score with the rubric „*timbales*" although the part itself reproduces the trumpet part with its characteristic three pitches *c*, *g* and *c'*, rather than the two pitches available to a pair of kettledrums; the timpani part must be realised by substituting *c* when *c'* is met in the *basse de trompette* part. The *Quatrième Entrée* is also the location of the famous rubric indicating the participation of „*Matelots joüant de la Trompette marine*", but the *trompettes marines* did not double the trumpet parts: they reinforced the *basse de violon* line in all three dances of *Entrée*.[9]

⁹ See Jérôme de la Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, [Paris] 2002, 465.

Lully adopted a contrasting orchestral employment for the trumpet in the ballet *Hercule amoureux* (LWV 17) that he composed for Cavalli's opera *Ercole amante* when it was performed at the royal court in February 1662. This time he experimented with an italianate, *concertante* employment of two, equal, *dessus* trumpet parts in the appropriately-named *Concert de Trompettes*. This approach highlighted the difference between the trumpet and other instruments – a contemporary feature in sacred and, to a lesser extent, secular polychoral works in the German-speaking lands and northern Italy – and it was also an exact counterpart to – and possibly inspired by – the Viennese court operas of Cesti and others, but it was a practice that was also immediately rejected by Lully in favour of the more discrete, non-soloistic engagement he had experimented with in *Xerxes*. This rejection of soloistic engagement was generally maintained by later French composers and became a defining characteristic of French Baroque orchestral practice. After *Hercule amoureux*, the trumpet ensemble – usually with parts for 1–2 *dessus*, one *basse de trompette* and one pair of *timbales* – was employed in the French orchestra as an orchestral brass section in the modern sense. Its Baroque participation was mainly in choral music and in dramatic situations in which deities, royalty and heroes figured, and in which glory, battle, victory, celebration and rejoicing were depicted. (Similarly, the sonority of the oboe and bassoons was added to the orchestra to indicate pastoral settings and military situations due to the association of the oboe with the countryside and the oboe band with the infantry, while traverse flutes and recorders were essential components of the *sommeil*).

For a long time it was unusual to meet the sound of the trumpet in *ouvertures* to *ballets*, *tragèdies lyriques* and other large-scale secular works, although it was standard practice to feature it in introductory *préludes* to sacred works, particularly settings of the *Te deum*. Rather, in large-scale secular works, the trumpet ensemble added its colour to the orchestral mix in the short, abstract instrumental forms of the *rondeau*, *marche*, *marche-rondeau* and *chaconne*, the through-composed *prélude*, *bruit*, *concert* and *air*, and the traditional dance genres of the *menuet*, *gigue*, *bourée*, *gavotte*, *passepied* and *canaries*. Moreover, although the sonority of the trumpet was exploited in martial situations direct reference to the cavalry signals was avoided in favour of the employment of rapid, beating quaver and semiquaver rhythms, and the high tessitura associated with the *stile concitato*. Lully supplies only one exception in Act I of *Amadis* (LWV 63) of 1684, in the *Premier Air les Combatans* where the *dessus* part shared by violins and trumpets includes direct reference to the cavalry signal *la Charge*.

It has been noted that Lully tended to include the complete trumpet ensemble in the orchestra, as did his French contemporaries and followers. This is apparently even the case in works, such as *Isis* and the *Te Deum*, that were printed under the composer's supervision without any indication of the inclusion of any *basse* trumpet part. (*Isis* also lacks a timpani part.) Not many orchestral scores by other composers specify a *basse de trompette* part – Charpentier is one of the exceptions – and it is the case that composers gradually dispensed with it in favour of an orchestral brass section of 1–2 *dessus* trumpets

and timpani. However, rubrics included in the „Prin manuscript" *F-LYm: Ms 133654* permit a distinction to be made between „*Trompettes*" – meaning parts for *dessus* trumpets in unison, *basse de trompette* and timpani – and „*Trio de trompettes*" – meaning separate parts for two *dessus* trumpets, *basse de trompette*, and timpani – and show that, whether specified in the scores or not, the *basse de trompette* part continued to make a contribution to the orchestral trumpet ensemble, at least at the Royal court, until well into the 18th century. The evidence shows that it was standard performance practice at Versailles to include both *dessus* and *basse* trumpets, together with timpani, in the orchestra.

A particular feature of the Lullian orchestra was the flexible employment of the *dessus* trumpet parts. Two such parts were normally included in the orchestral scores. These might contain different music to produce a trumpet *dessus* homophony, as in *Isis* in 1677 (LWV 54), or they might supply identical music and produce a trumpet *dessus* monophony, as in *Monseigneur de Pourceugnac* in 1669 (LWV 41). That part-doubling was the norm when a single *dessus* trumpet part was included in the scores is confirmed by the common employment of the plural rubric „*Trompettes*" in manuscript and printed scores (this practice was also occasionally adopted in England) and by further evidence from the Prin manuscript. In *Monseigneur de Pourceugnac*, for example, one manuscript score includes this rubric above the violin music in the final *Bourée*; the Prin manuscript confirms the rubric and presents on facing pages two *dessus* trumpet parts containing identical music.[10] By contrast, slightly later scores by Henry Purcell, Alessandro Scarlatti and others in which some pieces have a single trumpet part and other pieces two or more trumpet parts do so in contexts from which it is more difficult to establish a clear consensus on the appropriate performance practices for them.

[10] The issue of part-doubling can be complicated by *Livrets* that generally refer to royal command performances before the king. For instance, the list in the *Livret* to the *Ballet des Ballets* (LWV 46) indicates that nine trumpeters participated in the final act in 1671. Assuming that the usual score of the music, extracted from *Psyché* (LWV 45), was used then the nine trumpeters were unequally divided among the single *dessus* and *basse de trompette* parts. The *Livrets* do not always make it clear whether instrumentalists or actor/dancers are being indicated. For example, parts for two *dessus* and one *basse de trompette* were employed for court performances of *Isis* (LWV 54) rather than the parts for two *dessus* trumpets only in the contemporary print, but there is no need to consider allocating the „*Cinq Trompettes*" indicated in the list of „*Acteurs du Prologue*" to them. The „*Cinq Trompettes*" are further specified as the „*Rumeurs*" and „*Bruits*" who are included in the entourage of „*La Renommée*", or Fame. A further rubric in the *Livret* notes that Fame was accompanied by her entourage of „[...] *Les Rumeurs & les Bruits qui portent comme elle [ie La Renommée], chacun une Trompette à la main* [...]", showing that there were at least six trumpet – carrying people on the stage – 32, if the „*Suivants de la Renommée chantants*" are included. Unless the person playing the singing rôle of Fame was both a soprano singer and a trumpeter, there is no need to equate the „*Rumeurs*" and „*Bruits*" who were also required to sing during the scene with actual trumpeters. The situation with the entourages of Neptune and Apollo is different, and this is clearly indicated by the rubrics and the music.

A feature of the French trumpet ensemble that had produced its brilliant, versatile texture and facilitated its transition from functional music to art music – the gap between the high-sounding *dessus* trumpets and harmonically-active, low-register *basse de trompette* and/or timpani – was now perceived as a defect. Lully sought to overcome the apparent weakness. His first attempt at a solution is found in the *Intermède* „Les jeux pythiens" from *Les Amants Magnifiques* (LWV 42) of 1670. The printed *Livret* notes that six trumpeters and one timpanist took part in the original production, that is, two trumpeters on each of the three orchestral trumpet parts. However, the Prin manuscript supplies an additional part for trombone for later performances of the work whose range is such that it helps to fill the gap. Indeed, the Prin manuscript also provides material that is crucial to the development of a truly „critical" edition of this *Intermède* for the *second dessus* trumpet part includes an important musical line at the final cadence, albeit with errors, that is only incompletely and unsatisfactorily presented in the contemporary orchestral score – and also unsatisfactorily reproduced in modern performances.[11] This scoring device supplies a template for reconstructing the similar trombone part that was added for performances of *Psyché* (LWV 45) and the *Ballet des Ballets* (LWV 46) in 1671. (The trombonist who played in the *Ballet des Ballets* is identified with the surname „Ferrier" in the *Livret*. Like many other musicians at royal and noble courts he may have belonged to a musical dynasty, in which case he may have been related to the brothers Jehan and Estienne Ferrier who served as trumpeters and minstrels at Geneva towards the end of the 15th century).

Lully revisited the problem of the gap in *Proserpine* (LWV 58) in 1680 and in *Les Airs* [...] *pour le Carousel de Monseigneur* (LWV 72) in 1686. In both works he inserted between the two *dessus* parts and the *basse de trompette* part a fourth trumpet part sounding the pitches *e'* and *g'* and written using the C' clef.[12] The added part helped to consolidate the contribution of the trumpet ensemble in the Lullian orchestra and windband, but as the *basse de trompette* began to be considered as optional, interest in filling the gap also waned and the fourth trumpet part was also abandoned: those that Lully had included in *Proserpine* and *Les Airs* [...] *pour le Carousel de Monseigneur* are missing from the Prin manuscript, for example.

The variety of genres performed by trumpets in the orchestra also increased, initially by adding the short, martial *préludes* and *bruits*. These were then supplemented with two important orchestral trumpet pieces. The first is the orchestral version of the trumpet ensemble *fanfare* which was introduced in *Bellérophon* (LWV 57) in 1679 to frame the concluding chorus „Les plaisirs

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[11] For a transcription and comparison of the two versions of this *Menuet des Trompettes*, see my „Trumpet style in 17th-century France", 91.

[12] It is interesting to note that the printed score of *Proserpine* includes the *basse de trompette* part at sounding pitch on the F4 stave; the manuscript score of *Les Airs* [...] *pour le Carousel de Monseigneur* employs the more usual octave transposition notation system on the F4 stave.

nous preparent leurs charmes".[13] While Charpentier was of necessity reduced to writing *fanfares* for two *dessus* trumpets only in *l'Inconnu* (H 499) in 1679 and *Extremum dei judicum* (H 401) around 1680,[14] later composers were able to expand on Lully's short orchestral *fanfare*. This gave rise to the orchestral suite of the same name in France, such as Montéclair's *Airs de Fanfares* of 1697[15] and Mouret's *Fanfares pour des Trompettes, Timbales, Violons et Hautbois* of around 1729.[16] Associated with these orchestral borrowings from the trumpet repertory was the general adoption in France of the melodic style of the trumpet in the orchestral writing itself. Initially this was the logical result of the dramatic and affective contexts of the music and it caused melodic shapes, harmonic underpinnings and musical genres to become infused with the French trumpet idiom. Well-known are the sequence *Bruit de Trompettes – Rondeau – Menuet* that accompanies the descent of Glory in Act I of Lully's *Alceste* (LWV 50) and the *Prélude* in trumpet rondeau form with which Charpentier's *Te Deum* in D Major (H 146) commences; less well-known is Freillon-Poncein's orchestral *bruit de guerre* of 1700 with its four „reprises" for two *dessus* trumpets and unison trumpet reinforcement of the orchestral *dessus* part in the recurring tutti section.[17]

This permeation of orchestral genres by the French trumpet idiom was exported to other parts of Europe. Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer employed it in *Le Journal de Printems* in 1695 in Germany, while Henry Purcell, John Blow, Jeremiah Clarke and others took advantage of it in their semi-operas, odes and other pieces in late Stuart and early Williamite England.[18] This imitation of what had been originally a French trumpet idiom was found equally in orchestral guises – for example, in Clarke's *Suite* for trumpet and strings, Bach's third and fourth *Ouverturen* (BWV 1068–9), and Handel's second suite

[13] *Bellerophon, Tragedie*, Paris 1679, fol. 152r–v.

[14] Two mainly canonic *fanfares* for two trumpets, the one „*pour les trompettes*" and the other „*à deux trompettes*", are included in *l'Inconnu*; the first of them is also found as a „*Bruit de trompette*" in *Extremum dei judicum*.

[15] In the *Serenade ou Concert, divisé en trois suites de Pieces* [...] *composées d'Airs de Fanfares, d'Airs Tendres, & d'Airs Champestres*, Paris 1697. The „*Airs de Fanfares*" in C major comprises the first of three orchestral suites, all of which are printed with reduced, three-part scoring. Unison *dessus* trumpets are indicated for the second movement, a trumpet *rondeau*, where their participation is restricted to the recurring „A" section.

[16] *Fanfares pour des Trompettes, Timbales, Violons et Hautbois avec une Suitte de Simphonies melées de Cors de Chasse* [...] *Livre Second*, Paris ca. 1729.

[17] The reduced, two-stave score is printed as a musical appendix to Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein's *La veritable manière d'apprendre à jouer en perfection du Haut-bois, de la Flute et du Flageolet*, Paris 1720, 90–94. The composer indicates that *trompettes marines* may be played to reinforce the orchestral bass line and, in the absence of trumpets, to perform the trumpet *reprises*.

[18] On the indebtedness of English composers to the French trumpet idiom, particularly in during the second half of the 17th century, see my „What Samuel Pepys heard on 3 february 1661: English trumpet style under the later Stuart monarchs", *Early Music* 18 (1990) 417–428, „On sounding the trumpet and beating the drum in 17th-century England", *Early Music* 24 (1996) 263–277, and „Performing Mr Purcell's ‚Exotick' trumpet notes", in: Michael Burden (ed.), *Performing the music of Henry Purcell*, Oxford 1996, 49–60.

from *The Water Music* (HWV 349) – and in works variously written for harp-
sichord and organ – including the well-known trumpet tunes and trumpet
minuets of Purcell and Clarke, and the *Trumpet Voluntaries* of Stanley and
Handel. Handel was also particularly fond of including it in oratorios and odes
in the guise of the dramatic trumpet marches and battle pieces, for example,
in *Jephtha* (HWV 70) and in the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day* (HWV 76).

   The French trumpet idiom also made its way to Italy, where it was adopted
by, among others, Arcangelo Corelli. The presence of trumpet-like motifs and
melodic shapes in the violin parts in three of the *Concerti Grossi*, Op. 6 – No. 2
in F major, and Nos. 4 and 7 in D major – is often commented upon.[19] Yet the
more direct example of No. 10 in C major has been overlooked in the process.
Its final movement is a „*Minuetto Vivace*" and it is set in a ternary form in
which the framing „A" section in C major contrasts stylistically with the
central „B" section in E minor. Interest in the „B" section is invested in solo
violin I arpeggio figuration. However, the C major „A" section is rather differ-
ent. It lacks any virtuosic material and is complete in itself. It also supplies a
binary-form trumpet minuet in melodic shape, rhythmical content, harmonic
outline and design. Indeed, its first violin line presents a part that is totally
idiomatic for a trumpet *dessus* in the French idiom; this may be noted by
comparison with the trumpet *dessus* melody of the second movement of *Les
Airs* [...] *pour le Carousel de Monseigneur*, an authentic trumpet minuet.

Ex. 1: The Trumpet Minuets of Arcangelo Corelli and Jean-Baptiste Lully compared
a) A. Corelli: Concerto Grosso, Op. 6 No. 10, Movement 5 „Minuetto Vivace" (bars
   1–16 only).
b) J.-B. Lully: Les Airs du Carousel de Monseigneur (LWV 72), Movement 2 „Menuet"
   (note values halved)

Corelli may have composed a piece for strings that included imitation of the
French trumpet minuet within a larger structure. However, it is possible that

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[19] See Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our times*, Oxford 1999, 151.

the „A" section may have originated as a separate and free-standing dance movement before subsequent reworking for inclusion in what became Op. 6, No. 10.[20] If this is so, then the dance movement may have included trumpet parts in its original form, or it may have been performed with trumpet doubling of the first violin music at outdoor performances in Rome.

The final innovation concerns the orchestral rôle of the trumpet. The martial and celebratory music provided in the orchestral *dessus* trumpet parts was defined by melodies and genres that were superbly accommodated to the limitations of the instrument itself. In choral contexts, and despite some excellent employment of the trumpet to progress the unfolding drama, for example, in *Isis* and *Thésée*, considerations of balance and the difficulty in repeatedly matching the highest vocal and instrumental lines to the melodic *tessitura* of the trumpet were impediments. The trumpet was initially restricted to orchestral *ritornelles* and to the last few bars of the final choral entries in choruses. In following this path, Lully showed his indebtedness to the grand court opera promoted at Vienna and to the influence of Cesti: comparison of the latter's employment of the trumpet in *Il Pomo d'Oro* of 1667 with Lully's employment of the instrument in his stage works is revelatory.

Yet Lully also experimented. For example, there are musico-dramatic occasions where the inclusion of the trumpet would be expected but where the instrument is not employed. Good examples are the grand motet *Exaudiat te, Domine* (LWV 77) from 1687, in which the two *dessus* trumpets are silent until the concluding doxology, the *Triomphe de l'Amour* (LWV 59) from 1681, in which the *Entrée de Mars et de Guerriers* and in a „trumpet key" – in this instance D major – is even named as „*Trompettes*" in a harpsichord arrangement, and *Alceste* (LWV 50) from 1674, in Act II, Scene 4 of which trumpets and timpani are employed in the battle chorus „*Aux Armes*" but are apparently omitted from the *Marche* that follows. Moreover, he provided a solution to the problems found at those final choral entries by indirectly borrowing from the *alternatim* trumpet ensemble practice described earlier that had enabled the *basse de trompette* to be omitted. In the context of dramatic choral music, the *dessus* trumpet part was permitted to move away from the highest vocal/violin part and to be given an independent part above it, thus maintaining the individual integrities of the different parts. The practice also permitted the independent *dessus* trumpet line to be included in the absence of the other trumpet(s), reversing the occasional practice of preceding entries of the *dessus* trumpet with a short solo for *basse de trompette* and/or *timbales*. A very early example of this orchestral employment of the *dessus* trumpet in a manner that permitted short-term focus on the instrument without engaging in any soloistic or concerto-like contrast with the rest is found at the end of the chorus „Liberté, Victoire" in Act I, Scene 6 of *Thésée* (LWV 51) from 1675.

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[20] Evidence in support of an earlier, unassociated existence is already present in the same concerto: the third movement, a *Corrente*, is also found separately and in a different key, D major: see *ibid.*, 114.

Ex. 2: *Thésée* (LWV 51), Act I, Scene 6, Chœr „Liberté, victoire" (conclusion)

As trumpets came to be used more generally in the choruses – in Charpentier's *Medée* (H 491) of 1693 and Colasse's *Achille et Polixene* of 1687 for example – this concern for instrumental and vocal integrity resulted in the deviation of the *dessus* trumpet part from the others for many bars at a time and the production of the „trumpet descant" above the rest: Charpentier's *Te Deum* includes a well-known example towards the end of the final chorus „In te, domine, speravi". This immediately recognisable, yet purely orchestral, non-soloistic employment of the trumpet provided both the final freedom for the instrument and also arguably the major innovation of the French trumpet style, whether as a minor contributor to the development of the *Cantate françoise* in France in the early 1700s or in its more profound application by Johann Sebastian Bach, for example, in the contribution of the instrument at the „Patrem omnipotentem" section of the *Symbolum Nicenum* in the great *Mass in B minor* (BWV 232).